MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 29 May 1872

Dear Friend,

En toute hâte.\(^a\)

In yesterday's meeting of the General Council, at which almost all the members of the Commune were present, Hales read out Praitsching's letter.\(^530\)

I followed this up by relating the aventures of the Contre Council, basing myself partly on your letter,\(^b\) and partly on the issue of the World you sent me, and I emphasised how these facts confirmed the necessity of the resolutions adopted at my suggestion.\(^531\) Eccarius was thunderstruck.

This was followed by a useful incident which I instantly exploited.

Eccarius had received a letter from St Louis in which a German section which had formed there inquired which of the two Federal Councils to go by. I said, naturally, they should acknowledge the Council that agreed with us, the old one. Hales and Eccarius (although mortal enemies) spoke against this. I replied and the motion was carried in the very well-attended meeting with only 3 votes against (Hales, Eccarius and Delahaye—who counts for nothing with the other members of the Commune).

Le Moussu will inform you of this officially tomorrow, and you would then do well to make it known (naturally as something self-evident and not on instructions from London) that, on the occasion of this application from that German section, the General Council resolved that your Council is the only one with which it is en règle\(^c\) and hence which is recognised.

Tout à vous,\(^d\)

Karl Marx

---

\(^{a}\) In all haste. \(^{b}\) Sorge's letter to Marx of 7 May 1872. \(^{c}\) in agreement \(^{d}\) Yours sincerely
ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT  
IN LEIPZIG

London, 5[-6] June 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

My condolences on confirmation [of your sentence].\(^{592}\) So much is certain: in no other country are our party comrades subject to such persecution as in the glorious Empire of Bismarck-Stieber, scarcely excepting even Austria. However, if there is any certainty in anything, it is that this sentence will never be carried out to the end. In France and Spain, persecution of the International (apart from reprisals against the Communards) exists up to now only on paper, and in Italy it rarely involves more than 3 months, the rest being commuted to a fine, which admittedly often works out at a rate of 3 frs per day.

Marx had taken Wuttke’s book\(^a\) himself and kept it despite much pestering. Finally, I myself forgot to keep reminding him of it. Now I have got it from him, I read it through in a day and then sent it on to Borkheim with the request to look around for a publisher. Your memory is playing tricks on you if you believe that you wrote to me earlier on, asking me to look into it. I know only that you asked me for my opinion and that I wrote to you saying it would be extremely difficult to find a publisher here who would pay, since Wuttke is completely unknown here. I would otherwise have added that neither Marx nor I have those sorts of contacts here, otherwise we would long since have discovered one for Capital.

I can now add only this:

1. Because of its many technical expressions, the book is very difficult to translate, almost impossible for anyone who is not in daily contact with English people.

2. The book would have to be significantly adapted for local consumption. All the waffle in the introduction and the excessively long chapter on Chinese literature would have to go and the arcane style would have to be transformed into plain English.

I think then that Borkheim is the right man to discover a

\(^a\) H. Wuttke, Geschichte der Schrift und des Schrifttums...
publisher, if this is at all possible. A businessman who seems totally unconnected with literature often has the best chance of succeeding with these things. It was Strohn after all who put us in touch with Meissner in Hamburg. At all events, do not count too much on Borkheim succeeding and do not waste time translating until he comes up with someone.

6 June. Wróblewski interrupted me yesterday and stayed the whole evening, so I can now answer your letter of the 4th as well, which I received this morning. I am sorry that you have to go inside so soon, but I hope you will not be in there for long.

The proofs of the Manifesto together with a short preface will go off as soon as possible, tomorrow, I hope.\(^{189}\)

Best thanks for the information about individuals,\(^{533}\) but there is still no answer to my question about how your Party intends to put its relations with the General Council on a clear footing, without which it will be absolutely impossible for it to be represented at the Congress.\(^{b}\)

Your

F. E.

Nothing can be done in the matter of the inheritance, if the people are reluctant to risk money. These things have to be looked at by lawyers, and they do nothing on speculation. Anyway, the best the heirs could hope for would be the satisfaction of knowing that they had been swindled. They cannot reckon on salvaging any money after all these years—it is 100:1 against.

First published, in Russian, in Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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

\(^{a}\) K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German edition of the Manifesto of the Communist Party'. \(^{b}\) See this volume, p. 376.
...a have every confidence in the character of Mr Glaser whom you will, I have no doubt, always find straightforward in all his dealings. As to his means I cannot give you any definite information but as I have the confidence in him that he would not order more than he was justified in doing, I should not hesitate to give him a moderate credit say a couple of £100—or even more. I think if you were to limit your credit at the beginning to £200—and then extend it afterwards as the business goes on and you get better acquainted with him, you would be pretty safe.

It is what I should do in your case.
the midst of the International, a secret society which seeks to control it; we have proof of this as regards Spain, and the situation in Italy must be the same. These men, who always have the words autonomy and free federation on their lips, treat the workers like a flock of sheep, only good for being steered by the leaders of this secret society, using it for purposes of which the mass is unaware. You had a good example in Terzaghi (an investigation is being demanded into the handing over of the letter). Having rebelled against the whole organisation of the International, and knowing that it will have great difficulty in justifying itself at the Congress next September, the Jura Committee is now looking for letters and mandates from the General Council in order to fabricate false accusations against us. I, like all of us, willingly consent to all letters being read to the Congress, but we do not find it agreeable to learn that the same letters, written for this or that section, have been put at the disposal of these gentlemen.

The circular makes things known. We urge you meanwhile to suspend all decisions and you will subsequently act as the interest of the International dictates. I hope you will find that it is not the General Council, but these men of the Jura, acting solely to further the personal ambitions of Bakunin, head of the secret society, who have sown discord.

(Ask for immediate reply about the letter.)
Dear Cuno,

A few words in all haste. I have today sent by first post to Herman 2 copies (one of them for you) of the circular of the General Council on the Bakuninist intrigues, wrapped in a copy of the Kölnische Zeitung. You will find in it all the material you need from A to Z.

We now possess accurate information on the Spanish secret society, La Aleanza—it will be quite a surprise to that gang at the Congress. The same society doubtless exists in Italy. If only Regis could get down there! But the poor devil is now peddling newspapers in Geneva, to earn a living as best he can. Cafiero in Naples and someone else in Turin whom I don’t yet know turned letters of mine over to the Jurassians; that doesn’t matter to me in itself, but the very fact of their perfidy is unpleasant. The Italians will still have to pass through a school of experience to realise that a peasant people as backward as they are merely makes itself ridiculous when it tries to prescribe to the workers of big industrial nations the road they should take for their emancipation.

Incidentally, I no longer receive any Italian newspapers, so I cannot send you any. Cafiero, who always used to send them, has obviously got a bad conscience.

You will have received the letter from Düsseldorf, which I sent on to you.

We know that affairs are in pretty bad shape in Belgium. The apathy of this neutral nation (sit venia verbo) is the underlying reason for the fact that a plotter and a jackass can call the tune there. The International is falling apart in Belgium by the day, thanks to the inertia of the intelligent and reliable men among the leaders. Incidentally, the clique’s leaders have done us a tremendous service with their new draft Rules. The proposal for the abolition of the General Council has put an end to the last vestiges of their influence (which was far from small, since this was

\[ a \quad K. \quad Marx \quad and \quad F. \quad Engels, \quad Fictitious \quad Splits \quad in \quad the \quad International. \quad - \quad b \quad if \quad that \quad word \quad can \quad be \quad used \]
one of the oldest federations). The Spaniards call this downright treason.\textsuperscript{537} It's a pity that you're not going to Spain; you would like these people; \textit{après tout}\textsuperscript{a} they are the most gifted of all the Latins, and you could be very useful there. What they need is a dose of German theory, and they take it very well; besides, they are distinguished by a fanaticism and a class hatred of the bourgeois such as we northerners or the vacillating Italians cannot imagine.

The true author of the Belgian draft for the Rules is, of course, Bakunin again. The draft is by Hins and he is a tool of Bakunin both by virtue of a spiritual affinity and because of his Russian wife.

Liebknecht is going into the \textit{cachot}\textsuperscript{b} on the 15th of this month.\textsuperscript{588} As soon as my friends are back in Manchester, I shall again take a look around on your behalf. I can do nothing for the moment. For all your misfortunes, you nevertheless have the luck to have a profession which you can follow anywhere fairly easily, at least on the Continent, if needs be. Here, because of the different employment system, it is much more difficult.

Your recent description\textsuperscript{c} of the impression Düsseldorf made upon you made me laugh heartily. Why, for us, the philistine Wuppertalers, Düsseldorf was always a little Paris, where the pious gentlemen of Barmen and Elberfeld kept their mistresses, went to the theatre, and had a right royal time. But the sky always looks grey where one's own reactionary family lives. Moreover, the process of industrial development, which has after all spread to Düsseldorf as well, is extremely depressing and deadly boring throughout Germany, so that I can well imagine that Wuppertal's dreariness and wretchedness have now conquered Düsseldorf as well. But one fine day we shall send them packing, and then we'll sing the old song again that they used to sing thirty years ago in Milan:

\begin{quote}
We, we, always we,
And if we go out on a spree,
Who'll have to pay for it? We!
\end{quote}

But it will be the bourgeois that will have to pay for the spree.

Yours,

F. Engels

---

\textsuperscript{a} after all - \textsuperscript{b} gaol - \textsuperscript{c} in Cuno's letter to Engels of 30 May 1872
ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, 14 June 1872

Dear old Friend,

We are not entirely in agreement with your calculations about the Congress. The Jurassians with their well-known manoeuvres, for example, and the Italians would certainly send close to 30 delegates on their own, if not 50. But unfortunately that is the least of our worries at the moment. What makes it impossible to hold the Congress in Switzerland this year is the unfortunate and quite unnecessary division between the German- and French-speaking Swiss workers which occurred on the revision of the Constitution—a rift that has given the Jurassians such a wonderful opportunity to rejoice and solemnly expiate on the superiority of their policy of abstention.\(^a\) We here cannot help thinking that the two sides are equally to blame. The revised Swiss Constitution was at most no more than an extremely moderate bourgeois step forward. While, on the one hand, it forced the barbarians of the original cantons to bestir themselves a little, on the other hand, it could act as a brake to the most progressive cantons and in particular Geneva, which—as an industrial city which is also an autonomous republic—is in an exceptionally well-favoured position, since it would place them under the control of the overall Swiss peasant majority. So depending on the locality there was something to be said both for and against the revision; my personal sympathies were, if anything, for rather than against. But it is certain that the whole business was not worth the trouble of creating a dispute within the International and of giving the Jurassians the opportunity to crow: Look we savages are the better human beings, nous nous abstenons,\(^b\) while the others quarrel over trifles and so prove that all politics are of the devil.—We are very well aware how things work in a place like Geneva, which is, after all, still pretty small, and in Switzerland as a whole for that matter, where everyone knows everyone else personally and so every political movement assumes the form of gossip and intrigue.

\(^a\) 'Le vote du 12 mai', Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 6, 10 May 1872. \(^b\) we abstain
So we do not take the whole thing too seriously and are convinced that proletarian sentiments will once more gain the upper hand in a short time and put everything back on an even keel. But as I said, it does unfortunately make it impossible to hold the Congress in Geneva, and so we are thinking now of Holland.\footnote{450}

Utin, who is a fine fellow for all this (even though a Russian is, of course, neither a Frenchman nor a German), will be better off for being away from the local Genevan cliques. Incidentally, I have written as much to him in a letter,\footnote{45} saying that we are by no means of his opinion on the subject of federalism as he has been preaching it in the \textit{Égalité}.\footnote{540} But all these questions are secondary and our real battle-field lies quite elsewhere. I hope to hear soon that you two non-Swiss will have forgotten your local Swiss quarrels and have got together to drown your sorrows in Yvorne or Cortaillod. Think of the hue and cry there would have been throughout the Swiss Federal Assembly if you two had proposed to them the liberation of the workers by the workers themselves!

Vaillant is well enough up to now and so is Frankel—who is even better than well since he is of a very amorous nature. I saw Jung yesterday and he seems to have recovered from the rheumatism that plagued him 18 months ago. Marx is also significantly improved on last winter, but is very busy with the 2nd German edition\footnote{396} and the French translation of \textit{Capital},\footnote{36} which is coming out now. The Russian edition has appeared and is very good.\footnote{360} As for the Russians in general, there is an enormous difference between those who came to Europe earlier on—noble, aristocratic Russians, among whom we must include Herzen and Bakunin and who are swindlers to the last man—and those who are coming now, all of whom are of the \textit{people}. As far as talent and character are concerned, some of these are absolutely among the very best in our party. They have a stoicism, a strength of character and at the same time a grasp of theory which are truly admirable.

What is the title of your new, as yet embryonic, work?\footnote{541}

Fraternally yours,

F. Engels

---


Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time
No newspapers received from him since 16 May, although *The Eastern Post*, etc., sent regularly. How come? Might it be too much of a coincidence that at the same time (10 May) the *Bulletin jurassien* boasts of having in its possession private letters from me to friends in Italy 'full of odious slanders', etc., etc.? In any case, I have not written to anyone in Italy other than you, and it must be these letters of mine to you that Schwitzguébel's paper is referring to. You owe me an explanation of that matter and I expect you to give it to me. I am amazed that you did not supply it as soon as this was published.

My letters have nothing to fear from publication, but it is a question of honour for you to inform me whether they were sent to my enemies with your consent or not. If it was done with your consent, I can only come to one conclusion: that you have allowed yourself to be persuaded to join the *Bakuninist secret society, the Alliance* which, preaching to the profane—behind the mask of autonomy, anarchy and anti-authoritarianism—the breaking up of the International's organisation, practises towards its initiates an absolute authoritarianism, with the aim of taking over the leadership of the Association. It is a society which treats the working masses as a flock of sheep, led by a few initiates whom they follow blindly, and which imitates, within the International, the role of the Jesuits in the Catholic Church.

If my conjecture is correct, I must congratulate you on having permanently safeguarded your precious 'autonomy' by delivering it entirely into the hands of Pope Bakunin. But I cannot believe that you, an anarchist and anti-authoritarian of the first water, should have so far forsworn your dearest principles, still less that you could stoop to such depths towards myself, when I have
always treated you with the greatest sincerity and trust. In short, you must clarify this matter, and without delay. Greetings and emancipation.

Yours,

F. E.


Printed according to the original
Translated from the Italian

236

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 21 June 1872

Dear Friend,

I received what you sent on 7 June yesterday (together with the enclosed report). You will in the meantime have received my second letter, ditto Le Moussu's letter, which definitively formulates the Council's position for the United States.

The next Congress will be held on the first Monday in September 1872 in The Hague (Holland)—the official notification will be sent to New York next week. It simply will not do for you to fob us off with a memorandum. At this Congress the life or death of the International will be at stake. You yourself and at least one other, if not two, must attend. As for the sections which do not send delegates directly, they can send mandates (mandates for delegates).

The Germans for me, F. Engels, Lochner, Karl Pfänder, Lessner. The French for G. Ranvier, Auguste Serraillier, Le Moussu, Ed. Vaillant, F. Cournet, Ant. Arnaud. The Irish for MacDonnel, who is doing very well, or if they prefer, for one of the above-named Germans or French.

Naturally, only 1 delegate for each section, however numerous, unless it has over 500.

---

a See this volume, p. 388.
You will already know of the beautiful Belgian project to revise the Rules.\(^a\) It stems from Hins, an *ambitieux impuissant*,\(^b\) who, together with his Russian wife, takes orders from Bakouine. One of its finest features is the abolition of the *General Council*.\(^c\) The whole plan has been deservedly hauled over the coals in *La Emancipacion* (Madrid), the organ of the Spanish Federal Council.\(^d\) The same paper gave enthusiastic approval to our American resolutions.\(^e\)

From the enclosed copy of the *Égalité* you will see that the *Congrès Romand* has also rapped Hins over the knuckles.\(^f\)

I am sending you by post 4 copies of the *Circulaire* of the *General Council* on *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale*.\(^g\) Engels has despatched 200 to you per *parcel company*.

As for my *Capital*, the first German instalment will be published next week,\(^h\) ditto the first French instalment in Paris.\(^i\) You will be getting copies of both regularly from me for you and some of your friends. Of the French edition (the title-page of which reads, by no means as a mere phrase, 'entièremment révisée par l'auteur',\(^d\) for I have had the devil of a job with it), 10,000 copies have been printed and 8,000 sold already before publication of the first instalment.

In Russia, books after printing is completed but before they are released to the public, must be submitted to the censorship authority, which must file suit in court if it does not want to pass them.

They write me as follows from Russia regarding the Russian translation (a masterly one) of my book:\(^i\)

> 'In the censorship office two censors went over the work and laid their conclusions before the censorship committee. Even before the examination it was decided in principle not to hold this book up merely because of the author's name, but to make a close investigation of how far it really corresponds to its title. The following is a summary of the conclusion that was unanimously adopted by the censorship committee and submitted to the Main Administration for decision:
>
> '"Although the author, according to his convictions, is a thorough-going socialist and the whole book has a quite definite socialist character, nevertheless, in view of the fact that the presentation can by no means be called accessible to everyone and that, on the other hand, it possesses the form of a rigidly mathematical scientific demonstration, the Committee declares the prosecution of this book in court to be impossible."'\(^j\)

\(^a\) 'Congrès ouvrier belge', *L'Internationale*, No. 176, 26 May 1872. \(^b\) ambitious nonentity \(^c\) K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. \(^d\) fully revised by the author
Accordingly it was allowed out into the world. Three thousand copies have been printed. It was made available to the Russian public on 27 March, and 1,000 copies had been sold by 15 May already.

In his announcement of my book the primeval *know-nothing* lout Heinzen found cause for amusement at the statement on the title-page: 'Translation rights reserved'. Who would want to translate such nonsense! The book was obviously written merely in order that Karl Heinzen shouldn't understand it.

We have issued a French translation of the *Address on the Civil War*, price 2 1/2d. per copy. If wanted in the United States, please write.

Regarding the Nicholson affair, it is best not to say anything about it in the General Council for the present.

Salut.

Yours,

K. M.


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

237

**MARX TO OCTAVE VAN SUETENDAEL**

IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 21 June 1872

Dear Citizen,

Many thanks for your letter. Everywhere the same thing is going on. Everywhere it is non-working men who hamper the advance of the International and who intrigue against the General Council precisely because it represents the general interest and stands in the way of their petty personal ambitions.

According to the General Regulations, we have the right to ask the Belgian Federal Council for a copy of its printed regulations, and for information regarding the financial position of the sections and the number of members. We shall make these requests in such a manner as not to arouse suspicion.
As for the Paris correspondent, I now have his name.\textsuperscript{a}

According to the General Regulations, \textit{II, Art. 5}\textsuperscript{b}: ‘The General Council has the right to admit or to refuse the affiliation of any new society or group, subject to appeal to the Congress. Nevertheless, where there exist Federal Councils or Committees, the General Council is bound to consult them before admitting or rejecting the affiliation of a new branch or society, \textit{without prejudice, however, to its right of provisional decision}’.

Thus, the new section now forming in Brussels has only to write to the General Council (and it may use my address, the Belgian secretary being away) and state that it wishes to form ‘an independent society’, in direct relation with the General Council. It must explain (without holding anything back) the reasons why it wants to constitute itself independently of the Belgian Federal Council. Whereupon, the General Council must consult the Belgian Council, however, ‘\textit{without prejudice to its right of decision}’.

The Federation of Working Men’s Societies of which you speak would be well-advised, when nominally constituting several sections (say 3 or 4), to request the Council to admit them all at the same time. Their very number would make it easier for the General Council to act. For the fact that several societies in Brussels desired to constitute themselves independently of the Belgian Federal Council would of itself provide serious presumptive evidence against the latter. Once admitted by the General Council, the said societies will have the right to send delegates to the next Congress—either a common delegate or one delegate per society. The next Congress will take place at The Hague,\textsuperscript{450} on the first Monday of September 1872. I shall be sending an official communication to that effect to the Brussels \textit{Internationale} in a few days’ time.\textsuperscript{c}

As for the Hins draft\textsuperscript{524} (Hins and his wife are correspondents and agents of Bakunin), this has had a \textit{very bad} reception in all the countries from which we have heard so far, France, Germany, England, etc.

In \textit{L’Égalité} (organ of the Romance Federal Council), which I am sending you, you will find resolutions against the Hins draft.\textsuperscript{545}

\textit{L’Emancipación} (of Madrid), organ of the Spanish Federal Council, has published two articles against the Hins draft.\textsuperscript{537}

The first article is in the issue of 8 June and is entitled ‘The Belgian Draft of the General Rules’.

It says, among other things:

‘If the draft stood the slightest chance of being accepted, this would of itself suffice to disorganise the International... The Congresses, which take place only once a year, cannot serve as a true link uniting the various federations. The immediate effect of the suppression of the General Council would be to disrupt the unity of the Association and the strength deriving therefrom... Consistency would further demand the suppression of the federal and local Councils, etc.... The suppression of the General Council would spell death to the International.’

The Volksfreund (‘Friend of the People’), the organ of the International sections of Brunswick, gave the Hins draft a thorough trouncing. Among other things it says that, if the working men of other countries were to imitate those of Belgium, the International would be transformed from a society organised for struggle into an incoherent mass of pietistic socialist conventicles. In its issue of 16 June it returns to the charge.

It refers to the police Conference (consisting of Prussian, Austrian, Hungarian, etc., functionaries) which is to be held in Berlin in August and is to discuss measures to be taken by governments against the International. One of the first measures adumbrated by these gentlemen is to confine the proletarian movement within the national boundaries of each country. The Volksfreund concludes its article by saying: Thus it is the despotic governments on the Continent which, in order to destroy the International, propose to break the ties which bind the various national proletarian movements to the centre in London.

‘Let our friends, the Belgians, ponder this: If we are reduced to the national level, as proposed by Bismarck’s agents in Berlin, we shall be killed off in all the Continental countries, one after the other, by the reactionary forces. If, on the other hand, we retain our centre in London and thus remain Europeans, we shall be invulnerable. Our General Council and headquarters in London is not accessible to the blows struck by reaction: it would succumb in one situation only: if government agents were able to stir up successful rebellions against the common centre of the Association among the ranks of continental Internationalists.’

Letters from the French sections express contempt for the Hins draft and say, for example, that according to this fine draft, France, Spain, Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary—in a word, all those countries where the International is prevented by the

---

governments from forming official federations, will be virtually excluded from the International 1) because it is intended to deprive them of their right to vote at Congresses, and 2) because, circumstances being what they are, the different sections in those countries would, without the General Council, lose all unified organisation and all reciprocal ties.

So, as you can see, the Hins draft will prove a fiasco. But there is one thing you must not forget! If the Federal Council sends deputies to the Hague Congress, insist that they be given precise written mandates signed by all the members of the Federal Council. That is the only way to prevent the trickery to which the friends of the Alliance\textsuperscript{10} never hesitate to stoop in furtherance of their own particular little plans.

It goes without saying that you need fear no indiscretion, however slight, on my part.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

First published in Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 9, Berlin, 1986

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

238

ENGELS TO ADOLF HEPNER

IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 July 1872

Dear Hepner,

When mandates\textsuperscript{a} are sent out it is absolutely essential to include one for Cuno, who is now in Belgium. He is of the greatest importance because of the Italian Bakuninists; these people will send nothing but lawyers and other doctrinaire bourgeois who play at being workers' representatives and who have done everything in their power to prevent the workers from corres-

\textsuperscript{a} for delegates to the Hague Congress
ponding with us directly. It was precisely Cuno who was the first
to break through this barrier and, had he remained there, the
whole problem would have been solved by now. Moreover, Cuno
is one of our very best people; Liebknecht’s entire mistrust of him
is groundless and is based on his belief that Cuno was an agent of
J. Ph. Becker, working in the interests of the Geneva ‘Mother
Section’, something that never crossed Cuno’s mind. I had to
explain the whole absurd story to him later on since he knew
nothing about the Mother Section.\(^a\) When I know what a man
has really accomplished, I do not let myself be misled by such
matters.

It goes without saying that the Congress deliberations will be
conducted in all 3 languages—German, English and French—so
that ignorance of the two last languages need deter no-one.\(^b\)

Returning herewith Boruttai’s letter.\(^c\) The man is assuredly
honest, but terribly muddle-headed and driven on by an urge to
perform deeds out of all proportion to his talents. These qualities
make him a highly suitable dupe for the Bakuninists who surround
him and exploit him. If you read the Bulletin de la Fédération
jurassienne, you will see that precisely now, before the Congress,
these gentlemen are doing all they can to obtain private letters and
so forth from us and to discover what material damaging to them
we have in our possession.\(^d\) Apart from that the Boruttai letter is
of no significance. It would not occur to us to do additional work
for these gentlemen to our own detriment. If Boruttai is so
unfamiliar with notorious facts which even Bakunin has never
denied, it is not our responsibility to look up the issue of Kolokol
where he can find it all, i.e. if he knows Russian, for if he doesn’t,
even referring him to the right issue will not help him.\(^e\) So much
is certain: we have the material. Moreover, as long as 3 years ago
Borkheim published more on this matter in his Russische Briefe\(^f\)
than six Boruttaias could ask for. You would be well advised to
tread warily with Boruttai. The magniloquent phrases of the
Bakuninists have completely beguiled this muddle-head and this
over-intense sort of honesty often turns into treachery in practice.

‘Scissions’.\(^g\) The circular is confidential and so not intended for

---

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 370-72. - \(^b\) ‘La Liberté de Bruxelles du 5 mai publie...’,
Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 6, 10 May 1872. - \(^c\) This presumably refers to
Bakunin’s appeal, ‘Русским, полякам и всем славянским друзьям’ (To
Russian, Polish and All Slavic Friends), Калок (The Bell), No. 122 & 123 (with
Supplement No. 4), 15 February 1862. - \(^d\) K. Marx and F. Engels, Fictitious Splits in
the International.
publication. We do not know how the (legitimist) *Courrier de France* in Paris—which is publishing it—obtained possession of it. Likewise with the *Radical*, which may have taken it from the *Courrier*. A German translation in the *Volksstaat* (which you would have to produce over there) would only be desirable if the bourgeois press in Germany makes a scandal of the affair—but in that event it would be very desirable indeed. In the meantime the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* has publicly attacked it, so an article in the *Volksstaat* could do no harm. I assume that Liebknecht has left you the copy we sent him. If not, I shall send you one in a letter—a postal wrapper is impossible since the police have stolen everything I sent to Germany in that way.

Henri Perret, Temple Unique, Genève, has been instructed to *send the 'Volksstaat' 50 copies for distribution in Germany*. If they have not yet arrived, please drop him a few lines.

I shall write to *Wigand*.552

*Schulze-Bastiat*. Marx is buried up to his ears in work on the 2nd German edition396 and the 1st French edition of *Capital*.436 But even apart from this he would never agree to write an appendix to correct the blunders in such a completely unscientific book as Lassalle's. He would have to correct almost the whole book. *Entre nous* if Marx ever does get around to correcting Lassalle there will be precious little of Lassalle left over. He has not done so up to now out of consideration for the many Lassalleans who have joined the Party, but one day it is sure to come.

*The Housing Question*. Liebknecht spoke of his intention of publishing my articleb on its own.504 If this is the case, please let me have the galley proofs since there are a number of disastrous printing errors in it. There is also the following to be considered:

You write to me about Sax. Is it worthwhile writing a special article on a bookc which appeared in 1869? If so, I shall give the man a good hiding for you, and it would perhaps be a good idea to follow up the critique of the petit bourgeois solution to the housing problem with a critique of the grand bourgeois solution. In that event the two articlesd could be published together on their own, which would provide a more exhaustive treatment of

---

the subject. Please let me know about this soon so that I may act accordingly.

I shall also produce a small article for you about the latest squabble in America."

Yours,

F. E.


ENGLNS TO TH. SMART & CO.

IN LESTER

[Draft]

[London, after 3 July 1872]

Mr Glaser is a highly respectable man well known in Brussels whom I have no doubt you will always find thoroughly straightforward and honest in all his dealings. As far as I know, he is not without some means and I should not hesitate, if I were in a position to do business with him, to trust him to the extent of a couple of £100.


F. Engels, 'The International in America'.

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time
Dear Cuno,

I sent some English and Spanish newspapers to Herman for you yesterday.

The Belgians make the same impression on everyone who comes in contact with them. The whole International there is just so much hot air and nothing more. This is chiefly the fault of the leaders, of whom only De Paepe is really capable, although indolent, while Hins is empty-headed, but cunning, scheming, ambitious and energetic. Through his Russian wife Hins is in direct contact with Bakunin and on the latter's instructions he has devised a salubrious project to abolish the General Council. Hins is at present in Verviers. You would be doing us a service if you could keep an eye on him.

There is also a German section in Verviers which is in correspondence with the Volksstaat. I wrote to their correspondent, P. Schlebach, rue de Pont 2, (on 14 June) and also sent a copy of the Scissions, but have had no reply up to now. It would be a good idea if you could slip over there and establish contact with them. *I have written to Hepner* saying that they should send you a mandate from Germany for the Congress. To be on the safe side, however, it would be good if you could also get the German section in Verviers to give you a mandate from them in case they do not send someone of their own. Bakunin & Co. will make every effort to beat us at the Congress, and as these gentlemen have no scruples about methods, we must take precautionary measures. They will send delegates from a hundred different societies not belonging to the International at all, and will try to obtain a seat and a vote for these persons as delegates of the International in order to place the General Council in the minority with the aid of a coalition of the most heterogeneous elements. Schweitzer and Hasenclever have already concluded an avowed alliance with the scoundrels over here—Vésinier, Landeck, Smith, Schneider, etc.—while the latter, in turn, are corresponding with the Jurassians and the American rogues (see the *Emancipación* I sent yesterday).

---

*Engels to Cuno, 5 July 1872*
How have the Scissions been received there? I have sent Herman 5 copies in all, but they must be distributed. Is Herman doing that? And how is he doing in general? I heard that at the last Belgian Congress he spoke out very vigorously in favour of the General Council.

It is questionable whether you can qualify for Belgian citizenship. American citizenship is only obtainable by prior registration and five years’ residence in the country.

The Congress will be held in any event. On the Continent there is never any guarantee against police interference; but then we will have to get aboard a steamer, go to England, and hold it there. It would be inexpedient to convene it in England from the very start, for although it would be quite safe from police interference here, it would nevertheless be subjected to attacks by our enemies. The General Council, they would say, is convening the Congress in England because only there does it possess an artificial majority.

Bakunin has issued a furious, but very weak, abusive letter in reply to the Scissions. That fat elephant is beside himself with rage because he has finally been dragged from his Locarno lair out into the light, where neither scheming nor intrigues are of any more use. Now he declares that he is the victim of a conspiracy of all the European—Jews!

What will break the old scoundrel’s neck is the continued existence of the ‘Alliance’—at least in Spain—as a secret society. Not only do we have proof of this, but the affair has now become quite public in Madrid, etc., so that there can be no denying it any more. This gentleman, who everywhere acted as the most devoted champion of the International, organised this quiet conspiracy to seize overall control and, with the assistance of his initiated Jesuit brothers, to lead the broad masses of workers by the nose like a blind herd! If this had been tolerated, I wouldn’t have remained in the International for a day. To be Bakunin’s sheep—that would have been the limit! The hardest blow of all for him is that we have uncovered this whole story and are threatening to expose him at the Congress. And now Lafargue (Marx’s son-in-law, who has been in Madrid for 8 months) is accusing him, Bakunin, of having drawn up by his own hand and sent to Spain the secret instructions on how the International was to be run there!a

---

The enclosed letter arrived today.
Give my best wishes to Herman, is he quite well again?

Yours,
F. E.

First published in Die Gesellschaft, No. 11, Berlin, 1925
Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

241

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 9 July 1872

Dear Kugelmann,

My best thanks for the gift of £15 for Jennychen. I have worked myself so much into the ground that today (in 2 hours) I am leaving London with Engels for 4 or 5 days, and going to the seaside (Ramsgate). From the date of my return until 2 September (when the international Congress is to meet at The Hague) I shall have my hands more than full, but from then on I shall have more free time again. But this freedom will not begin until mid-September, because I myself shall go to The Hague.

Perhaps we could see each other later (that is, you could see me, for I would not be safe in Germany).

Adio.

Your
Karl Marx

As soon as the first instalments (whether German or French are out, you will of course receive them. I am highly dissatisfied with Meissner. He has led me by the nose—first overworked me due to the sudden haste with which he announced the 2nd edition (late November 1871); then wasted months and let the best time slip by. He is a lazy little philistine.

---

a of Volume I of Capital
To punish Meissner it would be good if you were to write him on the pretext of wanting to know when the ‘first’ instalment will finally appear. You can then remark, quite en passant, that from my last letters it seemed to you that I was feeling very embittered towards Meissner and very dissatisfied with him; what is the reason for that? It is not my usual manner! The fellow has really annoyed me very much by his ‘if you don’t come today, you’ll come tomorrow’ attitude.

First published, in Russian, in Письма Маркса к Кугельману (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

ENGELS TO ADOLF HEPNER

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 9 July 1872

Dear Hepner,

1. Proofs\(^a\) sent off yesterday. Ditto general title.

2. A note to the above which I should very much like to see inserted since it forestalls a possible misunderstanding.\(^b\)

3. Furthermore, the article on the American squabbles.\(^b\)

4. Sax must wait awhile.\(^c\) Marx and I are leaving tomorrow to relax a little for a few days at the seaside.\(^556\) I shall be back on Tuesday the 16th of the month and shall go hard at it as soon as I have dealt with the correspondence that is certain to have piled up in my absence. Marx wanted to reply to the Concordia today but was unwell, and it is not clear whether he can manage it now before his return.\(^492\) He has received the Volks-Zeitung. Lindau will receive no article from him, you can bet on that.\(^598\) Marx will probably take steps himself on the matter.

First published, in Russian, in Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

\(^a\) of Part I of Engels’ The Housing Question. \(^b\) F. Engels, ‘The International in America’. \(^c\) See this volume, pp. 405-06.
Citizen,

In reply to your letter of 27 June, postmarked Florence 6 July, and which, not being correctly addressed, reached me not until the 16th of this month, I should advise you that we have no other flag than that of the world proletariat, the red flag.

It would appear from the same letter that your society has constituted itself and considers itself as a section of the International; it is therefore my duty to inform you that the General Regulations currently in force require the completion of a number of formalities before new sections can be admitted.\(^560\)

Section II, Art. 4 states:

Every new branch or society intending to join the International, is bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council. The General Council has the right, etc. (Basle resolution).

And in Section V, Art. 1:

Every branch has the right to make particular rules and bye-laws, adapted to the local circumstances and the laws of its country; but these must in no respect contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations (Geneva resolution).\(^561\)

And since, according to Section II, Art. 2, 'the General Council is bound to execute the resolutions of Congresses', to which it is responsible, this General Council cannot recognise as sections of the International any societies other than those which have conformed to these articles, agreed to abide by the General Rules and Regulations of the Association, and whose Rules it has recognised as being in conformity with the General Rules and Regulations. We are sure that you have omitted to do this only because you were unaware of these rules, of which an authentic Italian edition does not exist. I therefore enclose a copy in French with the relevant articles marked in red.

As the Congress is approaching (2 September, in The Hague,\(^450\) Holland) we would also draw your attention to Article 7 of Section I, which states: 'Only the delegates of such societies, sections or groups as form parts of the International, and shall
have paid their contributions to the General Council (10 c. per member), will in future be allowed to take their seats and to vote at Congresses.'

Greetings and brotherhood.


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

244

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 23 July 1872

Dear Kugelmann,

If nothing happens in between, I shall be at The Hague on 2 September and shall be very glad to see you there. I had already sent you the Scissions etc., but it seems to have been confiscated. I am therefore enclosing a copy in this letter. You must excuse me for not writing more today. I have to send épreuves to Paris and am in general overburdened with work.

Your
K. M.

First published in Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

\[\text{\footnotesize a} \ K. \ Marx \ and \ F. \ Engels, \ Fictitious \ Splits \ in \ the \ International. \ \text{\footnotesize b} \ proofs \ (of \ the \ French \ edition \ of \ Volume \ I \ of \ Capital)\]
Dear Kugelmann,

At the International Congress (Hague, opening 2 September),\textsuperscript{450} it will be a matter of life or death for the International; and, before I resign,\textsuperscript{3} I want at least to protect it from disintegrating elements. Germany must therefore have as many representatives as possible. Since you are in any case coming, write to Hepner that I ask him to get you a delegate's mandate.

Your
K. Marx

---

Dear Jung,

Voilà\textsuperscript{b} Article 8 in the French and English versions:

'Dans sa lutte contre le pouvoir collectif des classes possédantes, le prolétariat ne peut agir comme classe qu'en se constituant lui-même en parti politique distinct, opposé à tous les anciens partis formés par les classes possédantes. Cette constitution du prolétariat en parti politique est indispensable pour assurer le triomphe de la révolution sociale et son but suprême, l'abolition des classes.

'La coalition des forces ouvrières déjà obtenue par ses luttes économiques doit aussi servir de levier aux mains de cette classe dans sa lutte contre le pouvoir politique de ses exploiteurs.

\textsuperscript{a} from the General Council; see this volume, p. 384. - \textsuperscript{b} Here is
Les seigneurs de la terre et du capital se serviront toujours de leurs privilèges politiques pour défendre et perpétuer leurs monopoles économiques et asservir le travail.

‘La conquête du pouvoir politique devient donc le grand devoir du prolétariat.’

‘Against the collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.

‘This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social Revolution and its ultimate end—the abolition of classes.

‘The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists.

‘The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies and for enslaving labour. To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes.’*

Salut.

Karl Marx


Printed according to the original Published, in the languages of the original, in full for the first time

247

ENGELS TO ADOLF HEPNER

IN LEIPZIG

London, 4 August 1872

Dear Hepner,

I was about to write a brief article for you on the latest Bakuninist affairs, when it developed that the General Council would have to make a statement on the matter itself. Thus the
article has turned into an address, the German translation of which you will receive on Wednesday.

The latest Spanish documents may well serve as a supplement shortly. Bakunin retained the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste,* which you know of from the *Scissions,* as a secret society in order to obtain control of the International. But we learned of this, and now we have the proof. Thus, the charge will now be made publicly, as otherwise the elections to the Congress in Spain would be run by the Alliance and their outcome would be in its favour. Bakunin will break his neck in this affair.

You will have received the reply to the *Concordia.* So that is what the armchair socialists amount to! I had not thought that they could be as stupid as that, I had thought that the paper must be edited by someone like Beta-Betzzieh.

The factum of Verdy was something I knew from the *Kölnische Zeitung,* but I did not know that the man was also a trickster. Very fine. That wretched Sonnemann, incidentally, regards every great historical event merely as an opportunity to change his lousy Frankfurt back into a free city of the Empire. And for this reason the Prussians must always serve as whipping-boy. According to our information, the preparations are being made on such a colossal scale that the Prussians can be defeated only if they are opposed by Austria, as well as France and Russia. But Austria will be on Prussia's side, unless some sudden change occurs, which is not to be expected in the circumstances. Moreover, we shall soon witness the diverting spectacle of William issuing an appeal to the Poles and re-establishing some sort of Poland. And with this he, and the whole Prussian regime, will break their necks. The Prusso-German Empire is far from having reached its culminating point; this war (if it ends well, which is to be expected) will swiftly raise it to its climax, and then it will come tumbling down from the dizzy heights of Napoleonic glory. It is quite possible that this time the movement will start in Berlin; the contradictions are growing very acute there, and all that is required to bring things to a head is a change in the political situation. A Berlin revolution of that kind will certainly be pretty rough, but still it is better for it to come from within than after a Sedan, which only brings harm everywhere.

Hirsch must send to Switzerland for the following writings of Bakunin:

---

*a 7 August - b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International* - c K. Marx, 'Reply to Brentano's Second Article' - d William I*
ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO
IN LIÈGE
London, 4 August 1872

Dear Cuno,

The Belgian Federal Council could not have done us a greater favour than by taking action against the German section in Verviers. By doing that it shows how necessary it is to have a General Council in order to defend the autonomy of the sections against the Federal Councils. The Belgian Federal Council, however, cannot exclude the German section from the International, but only from the Belgian Federation:

"Administrative Regulations Section IV: Federal Councils or Committees, Article 4. Any Federation may refuse to admit or may exclude from its midst societies or branches. It is, however, not empowered to deprive them of their International character."a

Thus as an independent section, the German section in Verviers has, under Art. 7 of the General Rules (end of the Article), the

---
right to correspond directly with the General Council. Please draw their attention to this fact and urge them to write to us; up to now nothing has arrived here.

Has Schlehabach in Verviers received my letter and why does he not reply?

I am sending you an issue of the Emancipación and a circular in Spanish by Lafargue (Marx’s son-in-law) and would like you to study it carefully. You will see from it what was at stake for Bakunin: a secret society within the International to gain control of the latter. Fortunately, the plan has now come to light and just in time. This business will break Bakunin’s neck. The General Council will issue an Address devoted to it on Tuesday, also indicting the Spanish Federal Council, which has 5 members of the Alliance sitting on it.563

In all haste—I have to edit this Address and have a terrible amount of other work for the International in preparation for the Congress.450

Yours,
F. E.

Tell Herman that I have looked around for work for him, but have not come up with anything yet. There is no point in going to Jackson & Sons after my last experiences there in February. Tell Herman to write to his friend Prigneaux here: he is the right man.

First published in Die Gesellschaft, No. 11, Berlin, 1925
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

---

a See this volume, p. 407. - b P. Lafargue, A los internacionales de la región española. - c 6 August
ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, 5 August 1872

My dear old Friend,

The fact that the Congress is to be held in The Hague is due, above all, to your unfortunate split on the question of revising the constitution. We could not foresee where that would lead and had no time to waste. However, there are also the following considerations to be borne in mind:

1. We have not overestimated the strength of the Jurassians. On their own count, and this is confirmed by their membership dues, they number 294, including Section Longemalle with 62, and also 74 newly joined graveurs and guillocheurs. But we know their tactics. Of the 62 Longemallers every one would have managed to obtain an illicit mandate by some means or other; then there are the people from the Jura itself, say a dozen, and then some 20 Italians and 6 Spaniards—which makes more than enough. In these circumstances some of the Belgians would have gone over to their side.

2. As for the forged mandates, they would have around 30-40 from America (from the Woodhull people), around a dozen from here (from the sections forming the Universal Federalist Council which have never been affiliated to the International), around 50-60 from the German Schweitzerians who joined the Federalist Council directly, and if they play their cards well, they would also receive a fair number from Spain. I shall deal with Italy in a moment. So there was every chance that when the mandates are scrutinised—and this time everything depends on that—the societies which wish to force their way into the International without ever having belonged to it would have been able to gain entry with a majority, particularly when you remember how tolerant the workers usually are in such matters and how things worked out at all previous Congresses. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that there will be enough sections on our side, too, whose dues are not in order and which will have to take an indulgent line in voting so as to ensure that they too may be

---
a See this volume, pp. 395-96. - b engravers and etchers
treated indulgently. And if that were to happen we would have had no choice but to take our hats and leave the International.

3. You underestimate the power of the Alliance in Italy. In the whole of Italy we have only one section, Turin, of whose quality we are certain; and perhaps Ferrara. Milan has been, since Cuno's departure, completely in the hands of the Bakuninists, Naples always was and the Fascio Operaio in Emilia, the Romagna and Tuscany is wholly under Bakunin's influence. These people constitute an International of their own, they have never applied for membership, have never paid dues, but they act as if they belonged to the International. Directed by members of the secret Alliance, they are very numerous and at a rate of 1 delegate for 50 members they could easily elect 40 delegates, 15-20 of whom would be sent from there and the rest would come from Longemalle, provided with blank mandates.

4. The Belgians will not swamp The Hague, they are reluctant to pay. Moreover, the last Congress in Brussels has proved that when matters come to a head, they are not so bad at all. They have resolved that only sections that have been properly recognised can be represented in The Hague, and that is the main thing.

5. Finally, you should have read Schwitzguébel's hypocritical letter complaining that the Congress is not to be held in Switzerland and already giving a gentle hint of a future protest. If nothing else had shown me that we were pursuing the right tactics, this would.

At all events, pack your things and come, you will see that all will be well. But only if we, too, turn out in force. The others are fanatics, they have a number of wealthy bourgeois on a string who are willing to pay, and they have no expenses themselves the whole year through. If our friends were half as active as they, matters would never have deteriorated to such a point. From America Sorge and Dereure are coming, the others (the Woodhullers) are sending 3, including a petticoat. All of us will come, of course. See to it that the Swiss spare no expense this time and that they are properly represented. Especially the Swiss Germans.

Incidentally, we shall be launching a bombshell tomorrow evening which will cause no small panic among the Bakuninists. It

---

a A. Schwitzguébel, 'Au Conseil général de l'Internationale à Londres', Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 13, 27 July 1872, Supplement. b the Bakuninists
is a public statement about the continued existence of the Alliance de la démocratie socialiste as a secret society.\(^563\) We have at long last received the necessary material and the proof of this from Spain\(^564\) and are launching an attack without delay on the Spanish Federal Council, which has 5 members of the Alliance on it.\(^a\) The Emancipación in Madrid opened fire last Saturday week\(^b\) and there should be quite a battle. Of course, you will receive a copy for the Égalité without delay. Those swine imagined that with their secret organisation they could direct the entire International from Locarno.\(^c\) But this revelation will break their necks, and if Switzerland and Germany exert themselves just a little bit so that the Alliance people do not get a majority after all through the negligence of our friends, then the whole bubble will burst and we shall have peace and quiet at last.

I shall pass on your instructions to Frankel and Lessner tomorrow.

Vaillant is jogging along here as always, he is busy with chemistry and Rule-revision,\(^570\) something in which he takes a great interest.

Regards from Marx.

Your
F. Engels


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

\(^a\) K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Spanish Sections of the International Working Men's Association'. - \(^b\) 'Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores. Nueva Federacion madrileña. Circular', La Emancipación, No. 59, 27 July 1872. -

\(^c\) Bakunin's place of residence at the time
ENGELS TO WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI

IN LONDON

London, 7 August 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

To Citizen Wróblewski,
Chairman of the Judicial Committee

Citizen,

Having been accused by Citizen Hales of untruths at a plenary meeting of the General Council, I ask the Judicial Committee to call upon the said citizen to be more specific in his accusation and to communicate it to me so that I may defend myself.

At the same time I am accusing Citizen Hales before the Judicial Committee of having shamefully calumniated me by uttering such an accusation against me before the General Council.

I am instructing Citizen Marx to impart this communication to the Judicial Committee.


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

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 15 August 1872

Dear Sir,

I hope you have received the first part of the second German edition of Volume I of Capital which I have sent you a few days since. I shall also send
you the first 6 livraisons\(^a\) of the French edition\(^436\) which will be out in a few days. It is necessary to compare both editions because I have added and changed here and there in the French edition.

Your interesting letter\(^572\) I have received and shall answer to it in a few days. I have also received the manuscript\(^573\) and the article of the Vestnik\(^b\).

To-day I write in all haste, for one special purpose which is of the most urgent character.

Bakunin has worked secretly since years to undermine the International and has now been pushed by us so far as to throw away the mask and secede openly with the foolish people led by him—the same man who was the manager in the Nechayev affair.\(^529\) Now this Bakunin was once charged with the Russian translation of my book,\(^c\) received the money for it in advance, and instead of giving work, sent or had sent to Lubanin (I think)\(^d\) who transacted for the publisher\(^e\) with him the affair, a most infamous and compromising letter.\(^574\) It would be of the highest utility for me, if this letter was sent me immediately. As this is a mere commercial affair and as in the use to be made of the letter no names will be used, I hope you will procure me that letter. But no time is to be lost. If it is sent, it ought to be sent at once as I shall leave London for the Haag Congress\(^450\) at the end of this month.

Yours very truly,

A. Williams\(^f\)

---

\(^a\) instalments - \(^b\) I. Kaufman, ‘Точка зрения политико-экономической критики у Карла Маркса’, Вестник Европы (Vestnik Yevropy), Vol. III, Book 5, May 1872. - \(^c\) Volume 1 of Capital - \(^d\) N. N. Lyubavin - \(^e\) N. P. Polyakov - \(^f\) Marx's pseudonym
MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET

IN PARIS

[London,] 15 August 1872

Dear Sir,

According to a letter from Mr Lachâtre which reached me yesterday, I am in future to send the proofs\(^a\) to Mr Lahure.\(^b\) However, Mr Lachâtre forgot to let me have Mr Lahure's address, which is why I am writing you this note.

Last week I despatched to Mr Dervaux, at the last address he had given me—34 Rue Fontaine, Quartier St Georges—the manuscript of Section II. He has not yet acknowledged receipt.

On Monday last\(^b\) I sent him the final proof of instalment 6, which I had marked *ready for press* (after having made the few corrections indicated).

I hope that everything has reached the publisher's. If you have received No. 6 and made the corrections, I authorise you, as requested by Mr Lachâtre, to print instalments 1 to 6 straightaway.

Perhaps you would be good enough to reply by return of post.

Yours very faithfully,

Karl Marx

---


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

---

\(^a\) of the French edition of Volume 1 of *Capital*  \(^b\) 12 August
As you will already know, victory is now ours. The Italians, self-styled Internationalists, have held a Conference at Rimini at which the representatives of 21 sections resolved that: The Conference, etc., etc.

It would be advisable to publish this immediately, in the Internationale and the Liberté. Bakunin, whose style is detectable throughout the document, realising that the game was up, has beaten a retreat all along the line and, with his followers, is leaving the International. *Bon voyage* to Neuchâtel.

But what is even more absurd is that, of the 21 sections which claim the right to convene an International Congress, only one, that of Naples, actually belongs to the International. The remaining 20, in order to safeguard their autonomy, have repeatedly abstained from taking any of the steps prescribed by our General Regulations as conditions of admission. Their principle is 'L'Italia farà da sé'; they constitute an International outside the International. The three other sections which maintain relations with the General Council—Milan, Turin and Ferrara—did not send delegates to Rimini.

Thus, in addition to the Conseil fédéraliste universel constituted by societies which do not belong to the International and, for that very reason, claim to control it, we now have an anti-authoritarian Congress convened by societies outside the International and claiming to make laws for it.

For the rest, this has happened just at the right moment to open the Spaniards' eyes; in that country we have succeeded in enticing the fox from his lair. We have forced the Alliancists themselves to publish the Rules of the 'eminently secret' Alliance. The present (Spanish) Federal Council, with 5 Alliancists out of 8 members, has been unmasked and publicly denounced as perfidious to the International. Everywhere the struggle has broken out between

---
a 'Italy will cope on her own' (the device of the Italian independence fighters in 1848-49).
Alliancists and Internationalists. The oldest trade union in the world, that of machine-spinners and weavers in Catalonia, 40,000 strong, has come out in support of us and sent Mora, who is one of us, to the Congress because, according to his mandate, he knows better than anyone else what the Alliance is like. The Rimini resolution will put paid to the Alliance in Spain.

The Danes are sending two delegates; the Germans 5 or 6 at least. Sorge and Dereure are on their way from America; the schismatics there want to send three.

Lafargue is coming with a mandate from the Portuguese.

Another advantage is that the Congress will henceforth be free of public rumpuses. Everything will go off decorously in front of the bourgeois public.

As for the Neuchâtel Congress, it will turn out to be nothing more than a meeting of the Jura Federation, in company with a few Italian sections, and hence an utter fiasco.

At last all is going well, but we must not allow this to lull us to sleep. If the Internationalists do their duty, the Hague Congress will be a great success; it will establish the organisation on a sound basis and will once again enable the Association to develop internally in a peaceful manner while confronting its external enemies with renewed vigour.

First published, in the language of the original (French), in: M. Nettlau, Michael Bakunin. Eine Biographie, Bd. III, London, 1898

Printed according to the book

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

254

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN HUBERTUSBURG

London, 24 August 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

I regret that I have to decline your proposal for me to offer myself as a candidate, if only because I have forfeited my status as a Prussian subject, and hence my rights of citizenship in the

a Mora did not attend the Hague Congress.
German Empire, by having stayed abroad for ten years without permission.\footnote{578}

We learned today that the Jurassians will be coming to The Hague\footnote{450} after all, but that they will withdraw after the first resolutions against the Alliance\footnote{10} and will then hold their own congress in Neuchâtel. Bakunin seems to have been premature with his instructions to Italy; the Spaniards will have shown him that things cannot be dealt with \textit{in such a way} and that they would have to go to The Hague, if only to protest. The situation is that the Spanish Federal Council has an Alliance-majority and has operated an electoral procedure which makes it probable that they will send 4 Alliance representatives.\footnote{579} In contrast, the union of the (40,000-strong) Catalan factory workers\footnote{577} will send Mora, a supporter of ours.\footnote{a} The Italians will take good care not to show up after their Rimini resolution.\footnote{576}

Sorge is here, with me, and sends his regards.

Your

F. E.

The Bakuninists are unlikely to provoke a fight. Their cowardice is really without limits, though they are always ready to speak out of turn. But they won't attack unless they are 8 against 1.

First published, in Russian, in \textit{Marx-Engels Archives}, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

\vspace{1cm}

\textbf{255}

\textbf{MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN}\footnote{121}

\textbf{IN HANOVER}

[London,] 26 August 1872

Dear Kugelmann,

At The Hague\footnote{450} the delegates must wear blue bands so that the people who come to meet them will recognise them.

\footnote{a}{Mora did not attend the Hague Congress.}
If anything goes wrong:
Private address: Bruno Liebers, 148 Jacob Catsstraat.
Public Congress Hall: Concordia, Lombardstraat.
In all haste,

Your
K. M.

First published in Pisma Marxs k Kugel-
manu (Letters from Marx to Kugel-
mann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

256

ENGELS TO HERMANN JUNG
IN LONDON

[The Hague, early September 1872]

Dear Jung,

In the whole of financial year I find payments for rent

\[
\begin{align*}
1871 \text{ October 31} & \quad - & \quad \text{Truelove} & \quad \text{£7.7.-} \\
& & \quad \text{and two payments to Martin} & \quad \text{"5.-} \\
& & \quad & \quad \text{£12.7.-}
\end{align*}
\]

but no payments to Truelove on leaving the old shop.\(a\) Now this must have been paid—have you forgotten to enter it? Please write to the Hague to address on other side if this payment has been omitted on the books. I know last year at the Conference\(b\) we owed six months rent and now we owe none.

Yours fraternally,

F. Engels

---

\(a\) This refers to the premises of the General Council of the International at 256 High Holborn, London, W.C., which it occupied from 2 June 1868 to 20 February 1872, before moving to 33 Rathbone Place, Oxford Street. - \(b\) the London Conference of 1871
Dear Barry,

Marx wishes me to send you a few notes on the Hall of Science men, here they are, I hope they will prove sufficient. Marx said he would send you the circular of the General Council relating to these fellows, but for safety's sake I enclose you a copy which please return.

Yours truly,
F. Engels

About April last a knot of men clubbed together, pretending to represent a few societies which nobody knows, and adopted the grandiloquent name of Universal Federalist Council of the I.W.M.A. and of the sections adhering to it. Not one of the societies they pretended to represent belonged to the International. Not one of themselves belonged to it, on the contrary, two of them had been expelled from it. But this was the very reason why they claimed the right to supersede the then existing General Council and to [take the] direction of the International into their own hands. A circular of that General Council held them up to the ridicule of Europe and they were silent for a time. Now these very same men reappear under the name of Universal Federalist

---

\[a\] K. Marx, ‘Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council’. - \[b\] Engels’ signature is witnessed by the copyist.
Congress. We find here again the same Landeck who entered at the last trial of the International in Paris (June 1870) into a solemn engagement with the Prefect of Police\(^a\) not to occupy himself anymore with politics or with the International,\(^b\) and [was] since expelled from the London society of French refugees.\(^583\) The same Vésinier, author of a whole library of Holywell street\(^c\) literature ad\(^d\) Louis Napoleon, expelled from the International by a committee of the Brussels Congress in 1868, and from the London society of refugees in 1872. The same Schneider, denounced in the German Press as a disturber of workmen's meetings (the police used next morning to pay for the windows, glasses and furniture smashed by him and his helpmates) and as a swindler.\(^e\) The same Zielinski, his right hand man, the same Adolphe Smith, etc., we find moreover a few additional pretenders to fame such as the Pole Mileski who during the conference\(^f\) translated all speeches into Polish for the exclusive benefit of himself, he being the only Pole present most of the time, and Oudet whose harebrained tomfooleries during the Commune are still in the recollection of many. Add a few German poor workingmen from the East End and you have the whole composition of this Universal Congress of twenty five rogues and fools.


258

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 21 September 1872

Dear Sorge,

I hope that you have arrived safely in New York and that Cuno has also survived the terrors of the steerage.

\(^a\) J. Pietri - \(^b\) See B. Landeck's statement to the Prefect of Police in Troisième procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à Paris, p. 4. - \(^c\) Street in 19th-century London notorious for filth and vice. - \(^d\) on - \(^e\) See T. Kalb, G. Beer, 'Wer ist Joseph Schneider?', Der Volksstaat, No. 14, 17 February 1872. - \(^f\) the conference of April 1872 at which the Universal Federalist Council was established
Of the Congress Resolutions you took the following with you:

1. the new Articles 2 and 6 of the Administrative Regulations, Section II, *on the General Council*;  
2. the report of the Commission on the Alliance;  
3. the declaration of the minority;  
4. the resolution about the transfer [of the seat of the General Council] and the election of 12 members of the General Council with plenary powers to co-opt another 3, together with the list of those elected.

So what you still do not have are:

1. the resolution expressing sympathies with the martyrs of the proletariat;  
2. the one about subscriptions,  
3. the one about cancelling plenary powers and  
4. perhaps the wording of the article in the Rules about politics.

I enclose all 4.

The other papers you left behind are 1. incoming items about which nothing was decided, 2. motions that were not accepted, 3. one or two motions on procedural matters which were adopted and, having been put into effect at the Congress, are now disposed of. All these will go into the minutes and are of no interest to you.

It occurs to me that perhaps you do not have

5. Lafargue's proposal for international *Trades Unions*, so I have translated it from the Spanish and enclose it herewith.

As soon as we have received the report you promised on the mandate debate (which, as you know, was not minuted, owing to the stupidity of the President, who failed to have secretaries nominated), the resolutions will be officially compiled and published.

Lucain took the Commission's papers with him to Brussels and is now sorting out the statements of the witnesses. As soon as we receive from him the papers, promised to us by the end of the month at the latest, all the evidence about Bakunin and the Alliance will be compiled and printed. We have now received some more very nice material, which could not be laid before the Commission because it arrived too late.

Next, the minutes of the Congress for publication.

For the correspondence with Germany, Italy, etc., I enclose all the addresses known to me.
Hales raised hell in the Federal Council here, proposing a motion of censure against Marx because he had said that the English workers' leaders had been sold down the river—but a local English and an Irish section have already protested, saying that Marx is in the right. The whole crew—Hales, Mottershead, Eccarius, etc.—are furious that the General Council has been taken out of their hands.

Guillaume has said in Brussels to Wilmart (who has passed it on to us in writing) that the Spaniards would re-establish the Alliance since it was now more necessary than ever.

West is still stuck here—no money for the return journey.

Give my warmest regards to Cuno and tell him to keep in touch with me wherever he might go. Best wishes,

Your
F. Engels

The Dutch say that the main reason they voted with the minority was that they want to be reunited with Belgium and hence have to oblige the Belgians!

Hepner has been arrested and threatened with 4 weeks gaol because, as you know, the Chief of Police in Leipzig has banned the International on his own initiative!

Resolution approved at the first public session:

The Congress of the International Working Men's Association, assembled at The Hague, expresses in the name of the world proletariat its admiration for the heroic fighters for the emancipation of labour who fell victims of their devotion, and sends fraternal and sympathetic greetings to all those who are at present persecuted by bourgeois reaction in France, Germany, Denmark and the entire world.

(Proposed by A. Schwitzguébel and 7 others.)

On subscriptions:

We propose that the subscription should remain as fixed by the General Rules.

(Proposed by E. Dupont and 3 others—adopted on Saturday morning.)

On the cancellation of the old plenary powers:

---
a The texts of the resolutions quoted and the first two comments in brackets are in French in Engels' letter.  
b 7 September
I propose that all powers granted by the General Council, the councils, committees and sections in the countries where the International is banned should be cancelled and that the General Council alone should have the right to nominate representatives in those countries.

(Proposed by A. Serraillier and 7 other French delegates and adopted on Saturday.)

The Lafargue motion was passed unanimously on Saturday morning. However, I have only a Spanish version which will not correspond exactly to the official wording.

On behalf of the Portuguese Federation and the New Madrid Federation I propose:

That the new General Council be charged with the special mission of organising international trade associations (TRADES UNIONS).

For this purpose it will, within one month of the conclusion of this Congress, draw up a circular which shall be printed and forwarded to all working men's associations whose addresses are in its possession, whether they are affiliated to the International or not.

In this circular the Council will invite the working men's associations to form an International union of their respective trades.

Every working men's association shall be invited to fix itself the conditions under which it proposes to enter the International Union of its own trade.

The General Council is charged with unifying all the conditions put forward by the associations which have endorsed this idea and to draw up a general plan to be submitted to the provisional acceptance of all the working men's associations wishing to enter International trades unions.

The next Congress will then formally ratify the project.

(Supported by 10 others and passed unanimously without debate.)

Germany—everything to the editors of the Volksstaat, Hepner and, at the moment, Rud. Seiffert—the addresses of the Committee, etc., are to be found in the Volksstaat.

Italy: Turin Section (Società Emancipazione del Proletario):

1. Outer envelope: M. Jean Jacques Goss, Concierge de l'église évangélique, Via Principe Tommaso No. 1, Turin; inner envelope: Signor Cesare Bert—Secretary. 2. Signor Luigi Perrini, Viale del Rè 26, Torino. Be on your guard here against that scoundrel Carlo Terzaghi.

Milan Section: (Circolo Operaio*) Secretary, Mauro Gandolfi, Via Solferino 11, Milano (a member of the Alliance, and the Section is rotten. Details from Cuno). Rome Section: 1. Outer envelope: Signor Leonardo Centenari, direttore della Tipografia Rechiedei, Via Monserrato 25, Roma. Inner envelope: Signor Osvaldo

---

* Workers' Circle
Gnocchi-Viani.—Parcels—outer address: alla Libreria dell’Università, Via Staderari 38-40, inner address to O. G. Viani. Only registered 2 weeks before the Congress.

_Ferrara_ Section: everything to be sent to Enrico Bignami, Periodico _La Plebe_, Via Cavour 19, _Lodi_, Lombardia. This and the Turin Section are the best. I know nothing about the Rome Section.

_Girgenti*_ Section, Sicily: Avvocato Antonino Riggio (Bakuninist)—have heard nothing from there for ages.


_Nueva Federación Madrileña_: José Mesa y Leompart, San Pedro 16, 3º (third floor) Madrid (French).

Portugal: José C. Nobre-França, Travessa do Abarracamento de Peniche, No. 4, 2º andar (second floor), Lisboa, Portugal (French).

Serraillier, Auguste, 35 Gaisford Street, Kentish Town, London, N.W.

Brussels: De Paepe, César, Hôpital Saint-Jean, Bruxelles.


Holland: H. Gerhardt, 472 Runstraat, Amsterdam.

Art. 7a of the General Rules, adopted Saturday morning by 28 to 13 (including abstentions), i.e. with more than a two-thirds majority.—

In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.—This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution, and of its ultimate end, the abolition of classes. The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles, ought, at the same time, to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of its exploiters. The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies, and for the enslavement of labour. The conquest of political power has therefore become the great duty of the working class.


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

---

*a Modern name: Agrigento.*
ENGELS TO HERMANN JUNG
IN LONDON

[London,] 1 October 1872
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Jung,

Can you furnish me with the addresses of the Secretaries of
1) The Iron Founders,
2) The Ship’s Carpenters,
3) The Ship’s Caulkers (if they have a union).
I want these immediately in order to communicate with them on some strike affairs in Portugal\(^591\)—I have applied to the British Federal Council but cannot learn that they are taking any steps whatever, and so I must act on my own hook.

Yours truly,
F. Engels

My and Mrs Engels’\(^a\) compliments to Mrs Jung and yourself.


Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time

MARX TO P. VAN DER WILLGEN\(^592\)
IN LONDON

London, 4 October 1872

Dear Sir,

My best thanks for your pamphlet.\(^b\)
The report of the Hague Congress will not appear for some little while, whereupon I shall send you a copy.

\(^a\) Lydia Burns - \(^b\) v.d.W. [van der Willigen, P.] De Internationale en de Parijsche Commune van 1871.
Enclosed the first instalment of the French translation of my book, *Das Kapital*. I am sending you at the same time the 4 instalments of the 2nd German edition that have appeared so far.

You must excuse me for not having replied any sooner to your various letters, the reasons being a complete lack of time and a surfeit of work. I shall be pleased to see you at my place one evening (e.g. Wednesday) next week.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

---

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 5 October 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Sorge,

*On vous taille de la besogne.* Enclosed the French translation (because the wording can be done most literally in that language) of 2 articles from the *Federación* (Alerini's paper). However, the Belgians are not really so terrifying. According to letters received subsequently they have already taken fright at their own boldness and do not know how to extricate themselves; in addition the disorganisation in the International in Belgium increases daily, which is very useful in view of the need to re-organise everything.

In contrast, you cannot simply ignore the resolutions of the Jurassians which, having been passed by a Federal Congress, amount to an open declaration of war. Le Conseil général est tenu

---

* a You'll have your work cut out for you.  
  b Presumably 'El Congreso de la Haya' and 'Congreso de la Federación del Jura', *La Federación*, Nos. 162 and 163, 21 and 28 September 1872.
d’exécuter les résolutions du Congrès\(^a\) (Geneva Resolution\(^5^{94}\)). We wrote off to Geneva at once for the latest Bulletin jurassien and shall send it to you as soon as it arrives. In addition, you could if you want write directly to the Comité Fédéral Jurassien (address: Adhémar Schwitzguébel, graveur, Sonvillier, Jura Bernois, Suisse) and ask for information.

It is a very good thing that these gentlemen have openly declared war and thus given us a sufficient reason to show them the door. After this open declaration it is impossible for a majority of the federations to demand that the matter be brought before a Congress\(^b\) especially since at most 4 would vote in favour (they themselves, the Spaniards, Belgians and Dutch), while all the rest would be against. Swift, vigorous action against these eternal troublemakers is, in our view, very much in place as soon as you have the evidence in your hands, and will probably suffice to disperse the threatened Sonderbund.\(^5^{95}\)

Yesterday I sent you Nos. 65, 66 and 67 of the Emancipación.

The fact that Guillaume had told Wilmart in Brussels that the Spaniards would re-establish the Alliance since now, after the Hague Congress, it was more necessary than ever, was reported by Wilmart himself in a letter to Lafargue (which I have read).

I had intended to enclose the report on Spain, Portugal and Italy to the General Council\(^c\) but will not have it ready in time for the post. However, I do enclose my report to Section 6,\(^5^{96}\) which you can give to Bertrand.

Here Hales has launched a colossal slander campaign against Marx and myself, but it is rebounding on him without our having to lift a finger.\(^5^{90}\) The pretext was Marx's statement about the corruptness of the English labour leaders. Some London sections and the whole of Manchester have protested most vigorously and Hales has lost his former majority in the Federal Council, so that he will probably be thrown out entirely soon.

That damned Lucain has still not sent us the papers about the Alliance that he took with him, so we are still unable to make a start.\(^d\) The documents subsequently received from Switzerland give a full account of the Nechayev trial\(^2^{80}\) and include some Russian publications of Bakunin's. They are all highly interesting and will cause a fearful scandal. I have never seen such an infamous band of scoundrels in all my life.

\(^a\) The General Council is commissioned to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect. - \(^b\) In the original: 'conference'. - \(^c\) F. Engels, 'Report to the General Council of the I.W.M.A. upon the Situation in Spain, Portugal and Italy'. - \(^d\) See this volume, p. 430.
My wife\(^a\) discovered after your departure that Emma had accepted money from you for your laundry and asks me to tell you that this was done behind her back, for otherwise she would never have permitted it.

Do not forget the minutes of the mandate debate,\(^b\) since without them we cannot include that section in the minutes; no one here has anything on it.

With every post we are waiting for news from you and signs of life from the new General Council.

Best wishes to Cuno, I hope he will write soon.

Poor Hepner has indeed been given 4 weeks gaol because the International is prohibited in Leipzig!

Your

F. Engels

---

\(^a\) Lydia Burns - \(^b\) This refers to the minutes of the Hague Congress, which were to be published.
ress, but after that I shall be able to dispose of my time more freely.

The first series of Capital has been well done on the whole—I refer to those things incumbent upon the editor. However I was much shocked at the errata which it contains and which were not in the last proofs corrected by me. As an example I am sending you a bit from instalment II p. 16 which reads:

‘Ensuite nous avons vu que dès qu'il s'exprime dans la valeur, tous les caractères qui distinguaient le travail productif de valeurs d'usage disparaissent.’

In instalment II as published (p. 16) they have this totally meaningless sentence:

‘Ensuite nous avons vu que dès que le travail productif s'exprime dans la valeur, tous les caractères qui le distinguaient des valeurs d'usage disparaissent.’

There are other errors of this kind and I have sent a list of them to Mr Vernouillet, at the same time informing him that I shall pass nothing for press until I have in front of me the whole series of five instalments to be published.

Mr Vernouillet has been good enough to send me Mr Maurice Block's pamphlet (extracted from the Journal des Économistes). Here we have a man of brains who doesn't even know what an 'average' is, although he purports to have devoted his whole life to statistics! I wouldn't deny that there may have been a certain amount of ill-will on his part, but on the whole there is more stupidity in him than malice.

The changes it was necessary to make in Mr Roy's translation have taken a great deal of time, but it gets better from the third section onwards.

In Russia my book has proved an extraordinary success. As soon as I have a little more time, I shall send you some extracts from the Russian reviews. The Russian translation (in a fat volume) was published at the end of April (72) and I have already been advised by Petersburg that a second edition will be appearing in 1873.

At The Hague I found Laura very unwell and her health

---

a ‘Later on, we have seen that as soon as it finds expression in value, all the characteristics that distinguished labour as a creator of use values disappear'; cf. the corresponding passage in Section 2, Chapter I of the authorised English edition of Capital (present edition, Vol. 35). - b ‘Later on, we have seen that so far as productive labour finds expression in value, all the characteristics that distinguished it from use values disappear.' - c Volume I of Capital
deteriorated still further after my departure. A letter received yesterday brings better news and next month I shall have the pleasure of seeing her here with her husband.\\footnote{a}

Last Friday the wedding took place between Jenny, my eldest daughter, and Longuet (who sends you his regards).\\footnote{b}

How goes it with public affairs in Spain? In my opinion you and many of the other proscribed Frenchmen\\footnote{c} (save, perhaps, for those most compromised) will soon be able to return home.

I remain, dear Citizen,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

---

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 October 1872

Dear Jung,

About the grève\\footnote{d} you had best write directly\\footnote{591}:
1. Leipzig: Editor of the Volksstaat, 4 Hoherstrasse.
2. Vienna: Editor of the Volkswille, 32 Alserstrasse.
Salut.

K. M.

---

\*\*\*

\footnote{a}{Paul Lafargue} \footnote{b}{An inaccuracy in the original; the wedding took place on 9 October, Wednesday.} \footnote{c}{Communard refugees} \footnote{d}{strike}
Dear Lessner,

Would you please give the enclosed letter\textsuperscript{a} to the Secretary of the Federal Council tomorrow evening. If Hales then insists that it is necessary to write to Lisbon direct,\textsuperscript{591} without going through me, it would be best if you were to say no more than this: the matter should be \textit{dealt with speedily} and so the best course to take would be to reply to me without delay; if Hales still wanted to discuss formalities and personalities, this would only show that he did not want any \textit{real work} to be done, but merely wanted to waste the time of the \textit{Federal Council} and to sacrifice the interests of the Portuguese workers to his personal intrigues. If they demand that I should give them the Lisbon address, it would be best to say nothing for the time being; it will all work out.

Your
F. E.

---

\textsuperscript{a} F. Engels, 'To the British Federal Council, International Working Men's Association [Concerning Portuguese Strikes]'.
Dear Cuno,

Received your letter of the 8th and the minutes\(^a\); many thanks for both.

The *Bulletin jurassien*, which you will have received,\(^b\) and the *Internationale* of Brussels, which is going off today, will prove to you that we must really get down to it and that it is absolutely essential for *Sorge* at least to shake off his reservations and agree to an election\(^c\) so that not just unity of action but above all action itself can be ensured. If we do not, without further ado, take energetic steps to suspend the Jurassians because of their Congress resolutions, which ride roughshod over the Rules and the Hague resolutions,\(^593\) and to expel the members of the anti-authoritarian Congress,\(^599\) in so far as they belong to the International at all, and to proclaim and justify such actions, then these people really will become altogether too cocksure. Time is still on our side: the Belgians are frightened by their own initial courage and are vacillating, in Spain the opposition to the Alliance people is growing stronger by the day, they are already calling for an extraordinary Spanish congress to examine the behaviour of the Federal Council and the delegates in The Hague—but all of this will go cold if the impertinent behaviour of the Jurassians is tolerated. And you can see from Hales’ letter in the *Internationale*\(^d\) that these men will do their utmost.\(^600\) Hales is the Jurassians’ correspondent and distributes their *Bulletin* with its filthy articles here gratis to anyone who will take it and he sends it to all the sections.

I must close now to catch the post. Marx and I are overloaded as never before with work on the Congress, preparing things for print, and with correspondence.\(^588\) *Sorge* will have received the

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 430. \(^b\) *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, Nos. 17 and 18, 15 September-1 October 1872. \(^c\) to the post of General Secretary of the General Council - \(^d\) J. Hales, *Conseil Fédéral Anglais, Londres, 21 octobre 1872*, *L’Internationale*, No. 198, 27 October 1872.
Emancipación, you can translate it for him. The next steamer will bring another few issues. Along with the Volksstaat it is our best paper.

The business with West amused us greatly.

We all send our best regards to Sorge and yourself.

Your

F. Engels

Lafargue and wife a arrived here the day before yesterday.  

First published in Die Gesellschaft, No. 11, Berlin, 1925

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

266

ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET  

IN OXFORD

London as usual, October 30th 1872

My dear Jenny,

You must consider me an awfully cruel individual to think that I should be capable to poison, by malice prepensée, even with one drop of vinegar, the sweetness of your honeymoon.  

If Mottershead or Guillaume said such a thing of me, I should not wonder, but you! Indeed I never thought that there was in one of the numbers that little entrefilet b about a certain great man c whom I better not name, and if I had seen it I should have kept the number back or used Russian censorship to tease you a bit.

Your account of Oxford people only gives a sad confirmation to the sad fact that landladies are the same all the world over, indeed one does not know which are the worst, landladies or landlords. It's the difference of retail and wholesale which distinguishes the landlady of Stanhope House from the Marquis of Westminster,  

d the principle is the same.

---
a Laura Lafargue  
b note; presumably 'Proudhon y las huelgas', L'Emancipación, No. 68, 5 October 1872  
c P. J. Proudhon  
d owner of residential areas in London
Now the Lafargues are here\textsuperscript{601} and you no doubt now and then feel inclined to come over here, I hope you will recollect that there is always plenty of accommodation, both for you and for the Longuet of all Charlies, at our house, and he shall find a bed where he can stretch himself without laying crossways. And as I am on this subject, an idea strikes me. To-morrow night seven sharp we shall have the whole of your house, Lafargues and Ellen\textsuperscript{a} and all, here for dinner, and would it not be a nice surprise if they found you here? I could not well write about this before, as the thing was only finally settled to-day, Mohr being so very uncertain on account of his hard work; but I know you're quite capable of making up your mind even to-morrow morning, and so I hope you will come. And as there are generally such things to be had as return tickets available for three or four days, you might stay a few days here, and perhaps Longuet finds time to come on Saturday to take you back on Sunday or Monday morning. If you leave by 2.30 train (if my old railway guide be still correct) you will be here in very good time, and indeed we might go across to Maitland Park\textsuperscript{b} before dinner and see how they are getting on. I hope you will ruminate this suggestion to-morrow morning over breakfast and find it excellent.

As to the \textit{purs}, \textit{impurs} and \textit{demipurs}\textsuperscript{604} I see very little of them, the \textit{purs} are going to publish a pamphlet\textsuperscript{d} containing all their grievances but it is still a mystery to me whether they will say much about us. At all events they are going to organise \textit{une société indépendente où toute tendence anti-révolutionnaire serait exclue}.

Last Sunday\textsuperscript{f} Mohr delivered a lecture before the \textit{Knoten}.\textsuperscript{605} I brought a German chemical manufacturer, friend of Schorlemmer's\textsuperscript{g} ("not unlike your brothers, but otherwise a typically easy-going son of the Palatinate", as Schorlemmer described him in his unsealed letter!) who permitted himself one or two objections but was pretty well rebuffed by Lessner and a few other working men.

So I am counting on your innate energy to make a bold decision and come here tomorrow; that would be an enormous pleasure.

\textsuperscript{a} Helene Demuth - \textsuperscript{b} the area where the Marx family lived - \textsuperscript{c} pure, the impure and the semi-pure - \textsuperscript{d} \textit{Internationale et révolution} - \textsuperscript{e} an independent society from which all anti-revolutionary tendencies would be excluded - \textsuperscript{f} 27 October - \textsuperscript{g} Thus far English in the original. The rest of the letter is in German.
My wife and Pumps join me in sending you both our best wishes.

Your old

F. Engels

This page has, of course, been written in German especially for Longuet’s benefit. Lafargue is quite good at German and could follow Mohr’s lecture fairly well.

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

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 November 1872
122 Regent’s Park Road

Dear Sorge,

Enclosed is my report on Spain.

I have just been asked to inform the General Council officially of the formation of the following two sections:

1. Associazione degli operai e degli agricoltori della Bassa Lombardia (Sezione di Lodi), Enrico Bignami, Via Cavour 19 (secretary).

2. Consociazione dei liberi Lavoratori Abruzzesi (Sezione di Aquila, in the province of the same name. Correspondence via Lodi for the moment).

The announcement comes from Bignami, who also states that both have adopted Rules that conform to the General Rules. I shall ask for copies and send them to you.

Bignami is the only fellow in Italy to have taken our side, even though not very vigorously up to now. In his paper, *La Plebe*, he has printed not only my report on the Hague Congress but also

---

*Lydia Burns - Mary Ellen Burns - F. Engels, ‘Report to the General Council of the I.W.M.A. upon the Situation in Spain, Portugal and Italy.’ - F. Engels, ‘The Congress at The Hague (Letter to Enrico Bignami).’*
my much more outspoken private letter to him. Since I have to send him news reports, the paper remains in our hands. In addition, he has had the General Rules reprinted with the Hague amendments and also my Congress report. He is surrounded by the autonomists and so still has to act circumspectly.

I hear nothing from Turin any more. In Milan Cuno must find at least one contact for us so that we at least get reports. We hear from Ferrara via Lodi; the section was established by Bignami.

Marx asks me to tell you that at the moment the minutes are still absolutely necessary here. In view of the lies that Hales, Mottershead and Eccarius are spreading here, as well as those of the Jurassians, etc., on the Continent, it may turn out any day that we need to reply in the form of extracts from these minutes. For you, on the other hand, they can easily be dispensed with for the time being. We are making a copy of the parts with the administrative resolutions together with their motivation and shall send it to you.

To be on the safe side I am again giving you the addresses for Spain, Italy and Portugal. If you have accepted the post, I think it is very sensible to have a single corresponding general secretary, who will only co-opt assistants for languages.

Best regards to you all.

Your
F. Engels

José Mesa y Leompart, Calle de San Pedro No. 16, 3º (3rd floor), Madrid.

Spanish Federal Council: In a double envelope (the inner one to be addressed to Francisco Tomás) to Don Julian Valero, Calle de Sorolla 35, Valencia.

Lisbon: Signor Dom J. C. Nobre-França, Travessa do Abarracamento de Peniche No. 4, 2º andar (2nd floor), Lisboa.

Turin: Inner envelope: Cesare Bert, Secretary of the local section. Outer: Monsieur J. J. Goss, Concierge de l'église évangélique, No. 1, Via Principe Tommaso, Turin.

Turin, alternative address: Luigi Perrini, Viale del Rè 21 (without inner envelope, he is an old member).

Report on Italy to follow—on Portugal Lafargue is translating the report sent from there to the Congress.

---

a F. Engels, 'Letters from London.—II. More about the Hague Congress'. - b of the former General Council
I am just revising the *French* translation of the *Manifesto*; the handwritten version that has been brought is quite good in the main, in so far as *Woodhull* was good.  


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

---

268

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 16 November 1872

Dear Sorge,

Your letter of the 25th crossed with mine of 2 November. Marx will have written to you since then.

I gave a copy of the Address \(^{610}\) to Serraillier in French and first of all to MacDonnel in English for the Irish. I next copied one out myself for *The International Herald* and lastly sent one to the *Federal Council*. The fact is that I was very uncertain whether the *Federal Council* might not suppress it or, alternatively, that they might not print it *word for word* with various mistakes in the English and strong Germanisms, so as to expose it to ridicule. I have, of course, changed the latter since the Address was, *as it stood*, quite unprintable either in English or French. We have always had such things corrected by some educated *native*. You will have to do the same as in official documents it is often not possible to make even grammatical alterations, and it is always fatal. For Hales and the *Jurassians*, etc., any mistake of that sort is in any case a source of amusement.

Up to now the Belgians have not printed anything.

You will have to send the Address to Australia yourselves; you will have had a visit from Harcourt in the meantime; I do not have any addresses in Australia.  

Jones and Le Moussu have been warned. I shall see Serraillier
tomorrow and shall tell him to send you a report which, on account of Dereure, will have to dispense with both names and addresses—the latter he can send you privatim. More on Dereure below.

The stamps 420 cost about £1—Le Moussu did the design gratis. To print the Rules in English a cost around £12.

I have already told you of the formation of two new Italian sections. b The official letter now enclosed.

I am sending you today:
1 Emancipación and the manifesto of the Nueva Federación Madrileña 612
1 Égalité
1 International Herald—report of the Federal Council c
7 Résolutions du Congrès de la Haye.

The following matters to report in addition:

1. Blanquists. They have issued a pamphlet: Internationale et révolution 654 of which several copies per next steamer. They announce their resignation from the International on the grounds that with the transfer of the General Council to New York it has committed suicide. They will found their own association and are already intriguing actively in France. It is therefore absolutely essential, firstly, that Dereure should not get hold of any addresses in France, and secondly, that he should say where he stands. Of course, this second point is only urgent if you consider it desirable. Serraillier will reply to this concoction in the Liberté and the Égalité. Ranvier has told Lafargue that the first draft was so full of personalities that he declared he would never put his name to it. He had never seen the second, published, version and his name appeared under it without his authorisation. He has quarrelled with them: they have had the audacity to put him on trial because he continues to belong to a refugee club called the Cercle d'Études Sociales 613 without permission, and he refused to submit to a schoolmasterly examination in the court set up by the purs (which is the name the Blanquists give themselves). As you can see, they are playing at Commune révolutionnaire in the same old way. You will be amused by their little pamphlet in which Vaillant in all seriousness presents all our economic and political ideas as Blanquist discoveries. They have already started to cause trouble

---

in various places in France, apart from Paris where that tall man, Walter, is their agent. Although they are not a threat, they must not be given the means to stir up even more trouble, which is why Dereure must not have any addresses and why we must keep an eye on him.

2. Spain. Matters are going splendidly here. The **Federal Council** has had a long thing printed and circulated on the quiet.\(^{614}\) It contains
   a) a report on the Congress by the 4 Spaniards which is full of lies,\(^{a}\)
   b) the resolutions of the anti-authoritarians of Saint-Imier,\(^{599}\)
   c) a motion from the Barcelona Federation to convene a Spanish Congress on 25 December which would decide between the resolutions of The Hague and Saint-Imier,
   d) a request to all local federations to give their views on this by 10 November.

The **Nueva Federación Madrileña** replied to this with the manifesto being sent to you today. It objects to the submission of the Hague resolutions to any International assembly except for the purposes of consideration and implementation. (We have already sent the materials necessary to counter the lies of the 4 Spaniards to Madrid.)

However, in order that the Spaniards should realise who actually rules them, the Jura Committee has already sent the Saint-Imier resolutions direct to all local federations in Spain with the request for their views on them; they have completely by-passed the Spanish **Federal Council**.

In the meantime, things have been happening in Spain. The federations of Gracia (industrial suburb of Barcelona) with 500 members, of Toledo (200 members) and those of Badalona and Denia near Barcelona, have come out in our favour and against the Spanish Congress. In Valencia a large part of the local federation is on our side, as well as part of the one in Cádiz, which has already broken away from the old federation there. The sale of the *Emancipación*, which had been moribund and kept alive by money we had sent from here, is greatly on the increase once more (150 copies in Cádiz, Valencia and Gracia alone). In Gracia there was a large general assembly on 4 November.\(^{615}\) The Barcelonese, with Alerini at their head, put their proposal forward, but as Mora (who is there) writes:

\(^{a}\) 'El Congreso de la Haya', *La Federación*, No. 162, 21 September 1872.
‘Despite all his shouting and gesticulating with his arms and his stick, Alerini was unable to convince these atheists that the Society of Jesus had been acting well. So it was resolved to approve all the Hague resolutions and to censure the attitude of the Spanish delegates.’

Things are going well; if the worst comes to the worst we shall keep a very respectable minority in Spain which will part company with the rest and be of greater value than all the vague nonsense hitherto. However, it is quite possible that we shall smash the whole thing to pieces and throw the Alliance out. For all of this we have Mesa to thank, who has had to bear the brunt all on his own. Mora is feeble and at one point vacillated for a moment. Read the article ‘Los medios de la Alianza’, in Emancipación No. 71, to see how the Spanish Federal Council attempted to win over Mora by intimidation.

3. London Federal Council. Thanks to the slackness of the better people among the English, Hales and Mottershead have succeeded in gaining complete control of the Federal Council. A mass of delegates from imaginary sections have momentarily provided Hales with a majority; he is secretary and treasurer all in one, and you can see from the report in today’s International Herald that he is doing as he pleases. The only thing we can do is to hold the better elements together until those crooks clash with each other, which will happen soon enough. Give them rope enough and they will hang themselves. You will now be receiving The International Herald regularly so that you can see for yourselves how Hales is giving himself airs and acting as if he were the General Council. As soon as an opportunity presents itself—a breach of the Rules or something of the sort—and, as an intimate and correspondent of the Jurassians, Hales will provoke one soon enough, our people will split off and form a federation of their own, perhaps one together with the Irish. Unfortunately MacDonnel is leaving for America, but even so we have a very good successor to him in De Morgan, one, moreover, who travels all over England as a lecturer. He is completely in the picture about the situation.

In order to ensure here the desired publicity for your proclamations, etc., it would be good if the General Council could officially put me in charge of these matters for England. The Federal Council undoubtedly suppresses as much as it can, and although Riley of The International Herald is an honest fellow and has left the Federal Council in disgust, he is weak and somewhat dependent on the Federal Council for the sale of his paper. So if I

---

a i.e. the Alliance of Socialist Democracy
can show him a resolution to that effect he will be covered and will do everything.

I leave it to you to decide whether you wish to send me plenary powers for Italy.\footnote{619} In view of the struggle there, in which our people are in a tiny minority, swift intervention would be very desirable. I do indeed maintain my private correspondence with them and also write for the *Plebe*, but without plenary powers I cannot exert any influence on the sections, which, like the one in Turin, appear to be going to seed entirely and do not communicate at all, something which happens all too often in Italy.

Marx is on a visit to Longuet and his wife in Oxford for a few days\footnote{620} so as to go through a part of the French translation of *Capital*\footnote{436} with Longuet. He will probably not be back before Monday.\footnote{a}

In my opinion you should in any case delegate plenary powers for France to Serrailier.\footnote{621} This sort of correspondence cannot possibly be conducted from over there; only, you should require him to send you monthly reports. You will not find anyone better; Dupont is too negligent unless he is spurred on daily and we frequently do not see him here for a fortnight at a time.

As to the Jurassians, it is our view that the best way to proceed is simply to declare that they had disqualified themselves from membership of the International by the resolutions of their congress in Saint-Imier,\footnote{593} which contravene such-and-such articles of the Rules and Administrative Regulations, and then simply to notify the other federations of this fact. Incidentally, things are going badly for them. In Biel, where they no longer had a single member (see *Scissions*\footnote{b}), a new section has been formed but it has affiliated itself to *Geneva*, and their model section in Moutier (see *Scissions*) has repudiated the resolutions of Saint-Imier. As you see, the Hague resolutions\footnote{580} are already bearing fruit everywhere.

As for Germany, it would be good if Marx were to have plenary powers—just in case of emergencies with the Schweitzerians.

All these are matters that you must consider.

I am up to my eyes in work here. The fact that Mesa has started to translate the *Manifesto* has forced me to send him a revised version of the French translation from the *Socialiste*.\footnote{622} The version

\footnote{a} 18 November  \footnote{b} K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International.*
you brought with you in manuscript turned out to be very useful in this, as it is much better, although still based on Woodhull's English.\textsuperscript{609} I am taking the opportunity this provides to put the French translation in order altogether. In addition I have articles to do for \textit{Volksstaat}, \textit{Emancipación} and \textit{Plebe}; and as soon as Lafargue, who is now here, has found somewhere to live, we shall make a start on the \textit{Alliance} business.\textsuperscript{623} Lucain still has a lot of papers in Brussels and now writes that he will send them \textit{at the end of next week}, because he wants to copy them!\textsuperscript{a}

What is that scamp Cuno up to?

Your

F. Engels

---

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 430. \textsuperscript{b} 21 November
whole seems to coincide with me. I tell him to mention it to Mohr and so I think this business is as good as disposed of, and the rooms will be got ready.

Viele Grüße an Deinen Mann.

Dein alter

General


Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

270

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 25 November 1872

My dear friend,

The letter sent over to me has been duly received and has done its work.⁵⁷⁴

If I have not written earlier, and if, even at this moment, I do not send but these few lines, it is because I want you to send me another—if possible—strictly commercial address under which I may write to you.

In consequence of the extradition of Nechayev⁶⁹⁴ and the intrigues of his master Bakunin, I feel very anxious on your behalf and that of some other friends. Those men are able of every infamy.

I cannot enough express my gratitude for the interest taken in my work and labours by you and other Russian friends.

Yours most sincerely

A. Williams

Please reply to those lines as soon as possible.

First published, in Russian, in Minuvshiye gody, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

---

a Greetings to your husband [Charles Longuet]. Your old - b Marx's pseudonym
Dear Sorge,

Today I am sending you the Emancipation 76, The International Herald 36 and the Blanquist pamphlet, which is quite unobtainable here and which I was only able to acquire this morning in a roundabout way. Serraillier has written off in answer to the Liberté in Brussels and the Égalité in Geneva, but those jackasses from the Égalité say it is too personal and refuse to print it!

On 3.12. I sent you the Emancipación 74/75, the Plebe 117 and The International Herald 33-35.

MacDonnel sailed for New York on Wednesday, I gave him a few lines for you. If the Fenians there should still mistrust him, you would be doing a service if you could reassure them; he helped us here very ably and quite selflessly.

1. Holland. Van der Hout arrived here the day before yesterday; the Dutch bourgeois will give him no more work, so he wants to look for some here. He says that the Jurassians had invited the Dutch Federation to a new separatist congress. Whereupon they held a Dutch congress at which they resolved: 1. to stand by the General Council, 2. to send a delegate to the separatist congress, but only to report, not to vote, 3. not to recognise any congress but the legitimate one of September 1873 and only to put their complaints, etc., to it. So this amounts to the divorce of the Dutch and the separatists.

2. Spain. You will have seen from the Emancipación that all is going well there. Apart from those known to you, Lérida, the new federation of Cádiz, a large proportion of the Valencians and Pont de Vilumara have come out against the Federal Council. After the Spanish Federal Council directly contravened both the General and the special Spanish Rules by convening a congress in Córdoba on 25 December to choose between the resolutions of The Hague and Saint-Imier, the New Madrid Federation announced that the Federal Council had forfeited its mandate, and is calling for the

---

a In the original: 'September'. b Internationale et révolution
election of a new provisional Federal Council. This decisive step will soon clarify the position. In the meantime, a section of our people in Spain, above all the Catalan factory workers, think that the issue should be fought out at the congress in Córdoba, and so will not join in for the present. The Alliance people are hurrying matters along so as to have a majority in Córdoba and they will most probably succeed in their aim, after which the Catalans will formally come over to us.

3. France. Despite the intrigues of the Jurassians and the Blanquists things are going well in the South, where there will be a congress in the next few days which will endorse the Hague resolutions and will probably issue an address to the General Council. However, they demand that there should be someone here with plenary powers who can also delegate temporary powers for France. There is a whole pile of money to be raised which can only be collected by a fully authorised agent on the spot. Larroque, our best man in Bordeaux, is now asking Serraillier and myself to grant him such authority to collect monies there, and I think I am justified in doing so by virtue of the money-raising powers conferred on me, until such a time as this is confirmed or cancelled by the General Council. Since it is vital that there should be somebody at the congress I have just referred to who does have some sort of authority emanating from the General Council, I am taking it upon myself to issue it to him, and if you disapprove you should inform me at once so that it can be withdrawn without delay.—Lyons is the only place where the Jurassians have some support, thanks to the indolence of the Genevans, but otherwise they have only individuals on their side. You will have seen that the Bulletin jurassien has taken the side of that policeman, Bousquet, and has declared him to be a man of honour.

4. England. The opposition to Hales is growing. Murray, Milner and Dupont have come onto the Federal Council and will be joined by others. Riley has declared that he no longer wishes to have The International Herald as the official organ of this Federal Council and, as you will see, the relevant part of the title has disappeared. However, it will probably be a while before the swindle finally collapses. The Hague resolutions will appear in the next International Herald, as will also some reports by us on the course of events in the International.

We do not even have a complete set of the minutes. Hales still

---

has some. It would be a very good thing therefore if you could
authorise Marx to take possession of all the papers belonging to
the International and/or the old General Council, and particularly
the minutes.\(^{631}\)

A letter of authority for Serraillier for France is absolutely
indispensable,\(^{621}\) unless you want everything to fall apart once
more. Serraillier is continuing to conduct his correspondence
energetically and we are finding the money for him to do so, but
he is nothing but a private individual as long as he has not received
proper authorisation; and for all their autonomy, the French do
want to be directed by someone who has been duly authorised by
the General Council. We have nobody else but Serraillier for the
job here; Dupont is much too unreliable for such an extensive
correspondence and is too busy with his patent.

Greetings from Marx together with his family and from my
wife.\(^a\) Lafargue and Longuet are both here now so that père Marx
is surrounded by his entire family.

Your
F. E.

Greetings to Cuno. Why does the scamp not write?

---


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

---

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON\(^{165}\)

IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 12 December 1872

Dear Friend,

From the enclosed you can see the results of the Hague
Congress.\(^{632}\) I read out the letter to Lyubavin\(^{574}\) to the Commission
d'enquête\(^b\) on the Alliance\(^{584}\) in the strictest confidence and without
divulging the name of the addressee. Nevertheless, the secret was

\(\text{---}\)

\(^a\) Lydia Burns

\(^b\) of enquiry
not kept, firstly because the Commission included Splingard, the Belgian lawyer, among its numbers, and he was in reality no more than an agent of the Alliancists; secondly, because Zhukovsky, Guillaume et Co. had already earlier—as a preventive measure—recounted the story all over the place in their own way and with apologist interpretations. This was how it came about that, in its report to the Congress, the Commission was compelled to pass on the facts relative to Bakunin that were contained in the letter to Lyubavin (of course, I had not revealed his name, but Bakunin’s friends had already been informed on that score by Geneva). The question that presents itself now is whether the Commission appointed by the Congress to publish the minutes (of which I am a member) may make public use of that letter or not? That is for Lyubavin to decide. However, I may note that—ever since the Congress—the facts have been going the rounds of the European press, and this was none of our doing. I found the whole business all the more distasteful since I had reckoned on the strictest discretion and solemnly demanded it.

As a consequence of the expulsion of Bakunin and Guillaume, the Alliance, which had control of the Association in Spain and Italy, has unleashed a campaign of vilification, etc., against us everywhere. It is joining forces with all the disreputable elements and attempting to force a split into two camps. However, its ultimate defeat is assured. Indeed, the Alliance is only helping us to purge the Association of the unsavoury or feeble-minded elements who have pushed their way in here and there.

It is a fact that Bakunin’s friends in Zurich have tried to murder poor Outine. Outine himself is in a very critical state of health at the moment. This scurrilous deed has already been reported in a number of papers belonging to the Association (including the Emancipación in Madrid) and will figure in detail in our official Compte rendu of the Hague Congress. The same scurrilous gang has made two similar attempts on the lives of their opponents in Spain. Its misdeeds will soon be exposed to the view of the world at large.

The fate of our dear ‘mutual friend’ has been of the very greatest interest to my entire family. I have a plan to obtain help for him from Constantinople—through diplomatic channels. It may work.

---

a Rapport de la commission d’enquête sur la Société l’Alliance secrète. b Los medios de la Alianza, La Emancipación, No. 71, 26 October 1872. c Hermann Lopatin
I still have the manuscript you sent me,\(^a\) for Outline is not in a position to see to the printing, while Elpidin is just a scoundrel belonging to the gang. It is very interesting.\(^573\)

I am eagerly looking forward to the promised review (in manuscript)\(^635\) as indeed to anything printed you have in this line. One of my friends wants to write something on the way my book was received in Russia.

The publication of the French translation\(^436\) has been interrupted by unpleasant accidents, but will be resumed in a few days.

An Italian translation is in preparation.\(^636\)

Lastly, a request: My son-in-law, Dr Lafargue M.D. (a refugee), would—if possible—be happy to contribute to some Russian Review, etc.; he could supply articles either on the natural sciences or on the state of affairs in Spain and Portugal (as well as France).\(^637\) However, his circumstances would not permit him to do this gratis and he could only submit articles in French.

I should very much like to see a copy of the book by Prof. Sieber (Kiev) on Ricardo's, etc., doctrines of value and capital,\(^6\) which also contains a discussion of my book.

Yours very sincerely,
A. Williams\(^d\)

In Volume II of Capital I shall, in the section on landed property, deal in great detail with the Russian form.\(^638\)

One last point. I would like to publish something on Chernyshevsky's life and personality, etc., so as to create some interest in him in the West.\(^639\) But I need information for it.

First published, in Russian, in Minvushie gody, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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

---

\(^a\) the manuscript of an unpublished article by N. G. Chernyshevsky, 'Письма безъ адреса' (Letters Without an Address) - b Volume I of Capital - c N. Sieber, Теория цѣнности и капитала Д. Ри卡尔до (D. Ricardo's Theory of Value and Capital) - d Marx's pseudonym
Dear Sorge,

I confirm my letter of the 7th inst., and am sending today 1 copy of the Emancipación with the article on Bakunin containing information you too will not have had, and The International Herald with the Congress resolutions. That jackass Riley has left out the voting figures.

In Lodi, No. 118 of the Plebe, which contained your Address, has been confiscated and Bignami, the editor, has been arrested. It looks as though the Leipzig high treason trial may be about to repeat itself there. We shall, of course, make as much capital as possible from the affair; it will appear at once in the Volksstaat and the Emancipación as proof of whom the governments regard as the greater threat: the General Council and its adherents or the Alliancists. It is the best thing that could have happened to us in Italy.

You should have some brief reports on the meetings of the General Council printed in the Oestliche Post and in the American press, and send the relevant issues to the Volksstaat, Égalité and The International Herald, as well as one or two copies here, so that we can use them for Spain and Italy as well as for the French sections; the Danes and Dutch would also print them.

The letter of authority for Serraillier becomes more urgent every day. The Jurassians on one side and the Blanquists on the other, are burrowing away all over France and are making progress while Serraillier is already starting not to receive replies from various quarters anymore because he can only write as a private individual. If you continue to delay out of consideration for Dereure, who has been more than suspect since the resignation of the Blanquists, or for any other reason, we shall lose the greater...
part of France and the tables will be turned on us at the next Congress.
In haste.

Your
F. E.


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

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 21 December 1872

Dear Sorge,

Just a few words in great haste.

The ostensible majority on the British Federal Council (consisting to a very large extent of sham sections numbering a few individuals and founded by that scoundrel Hales merely for the purpose of sending delegates) has seceded from the minority (which alone represents the large English sections in London, as well as in Manchester, Birkenhead, etc.). The fellows secretly put together a circular to the Federation (will be sent to you), (dated the 10th of this month), in which they summon the sections to a congress in London to make common cause with the Jurassians, with whom Hales has kept up contact ever since The Hague.

Our people—who now constitute the only legal Federal Council—at once sent out printed postcards to all the sections, advising them to delay any decision until they had received their counter-manifesto, to consult about which they all assembled in my house yesterday (to draw up the main points). You will get it

---

a 'To the Branches, Sections and Members of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association'.
without delay. It will be printed at the beginning of next week. They will also adopt a formal resolution to recognise the Hague Congress and the General Council.

At the same time Engels, at the request of one of the Manchester sections, has prepared for them a reply to the circular of the scoundrels (who include among their number that vain idiot Jung, who has been unable to stomach the removal of the General Council from London and who has for a long time now been Hales' tool). They will receive it in their meeting today and will print it without delay.

My view is that you should confine yourselves to the role of observers as much as possible for the time being, and leave the battle to the sections on the spot. In the meantime of course circulars like the one to Spain that I found in the Emancipación are very good.

Apropos. On my advice The International Herald and its proprietor, Riley (a member of the Federal Council), have gone independent. We shall probably agree a contract whereby we shall publish our own international supplement to it once a week. I am sending you a copy today in which Engels and I open a polemic against Hales et Co.

As for Poland, your letter cannot be sent there. The old General Council was only able to obtain Poland's accession on the condition (essential, given the situation in the country) that it dealt exclusively with Wróblewski, who lets us know what he thinks would be appropriate or necessary.

In this situation you have no choice. You must grant Wróblewski the same unlimited authority as we did, or else renounce Poland's membership.

Because of the French translation, which makes me more work than if I had to do it without the translator, I am so overworked that I have not been able to write to you, as I have wanted for such a long time.

Cuno has promised to provide details of the meeting of the Committee of Enquiry in The Hague. Tell him that if he does not do so immediately, we cannot wait for him any longer and that his personal honour is at stake in the matter.

---

a K. Marx, 'Address of the British Federal Council to the Sections, Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members of the International Working Men's Association'.
b F. Engels, 'The Manchester Foreign Section to All Sections and Members of the British Federation'.
c 'Consejo General. Á los miembros de la Asociacion en España', La Emancipación, No. 78, 14 December 1872.
d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of The International Herald'.

275. Marx to Riley. 23 December 1872

With best wishes from the whole family.

Your
Karl Marx

MARX TO WILLIAM RILEY

IN LONDON

[London,] 23 December 1872

Dear Riley,

When Hales sends his reply, the best thing will be to communicate it at once to me so that his letter and our reply may appear together in the same number. At the same time, you would then do well, to state in an editorial remark that after the things that have happened, especially his postcard, the columns of the Herald will no longer be open to him.

Yours fraternally
Karl Marx

\[a \text{ The International Herald} \]
Dear Hepner,

[...] and provides a direct refutation of Sybel, in such a way, moreover, as presupposes independent and quite accurate thought of his own. Both Marx and I were delighted with the article, even though it contains minor inexactitudes here and there. Of course, I was not in a position to know what Schramm is like otherwise, but he certainly knows his economics.

4. In contrast, of the two articles on the 'Revival of the Reform Movement', the first is good, while the second is in direct conflict with the facts. The many wretched little congresses, which are taken seriously in this article only because they are taken seriously by The Bee-Hive, which has sold out to the bourgeoisie, have no other purpose than as preparations for the impending parliamentary elections. All the reform leagues listed in the article are of absolutely no importance and, moreover, consist, for the most part, of the very same people. And what people? With a few exceptions, they consist of the labour leaders whom Marx branded as corrupt at The Hague! It is impossible to judge the movement here from over there, taking The Bee-Hive and Reynolds's as your guides. The fact that a few \textit{trades unionists} attend such congresses does not mean that the \textit{trades unions} are thinking of becoming political, which they (at least most of them, including the biggest ones) \textit{couldn't} do at all without totally revising their rules. [...] In reality the movement here is lousier than ever, as is only to be expected with such industrial prosperity.

[...] Whenever we send [articles] or pamphlets to Spain, [Italy] or elsewhere, we regularly receive in return a number of copies of them, without our asking for them, and a further quantity is put at our disposal, as is indeed right and proper. The only administration that makes an exception here is that of the \textit{Volksstaat}. I had to

\footnote{a H. Sybel, \textit{Die Lehren des heutigen Socialismus und Kommunismus}. - b C. A. S[chramm], 'Der Tauschwerth', \textit{Der Volksstaat}, No. 82, 12 October 1872. - c 'Der Wiederbeginn der Reformbewegung in England'. I, II, \textit{Der Volksstaat}, Nos. 98 and 102, 7 and 21 December 1872.}
buy a copy of my *Peasant War* myself. As for my *Housing Question*, I see Part I announced daily in the *Volksstaat*, but *do not have even a single complete copy* here to enable me to reply to Mülberger, since Frankel had managed to mislay the copy of the *Volksstaat* which contained the concluding section, and the offprint sent to me had the last page missing! If Marx had not finally succeeded in finding his copy of the issue in question, I would have been quite unable to reply. I would put a lot of this down to sheer carelessness, e.g. the fact that a bill was sent to me for the copies of the *Manifesto*; but in the long run it is going too far, and if a stop is not put to this truly shoddy treatment of us soon, the *Volksstaat* will have no reason to be surprised if one fine day Marx and I simply go on strike. It just will not do for us to have to beg for free copies or buy from the bookseller our own things which we have let you have for nothing. People in other countries immediately send us copies of all pamphlets, etc., because they know full well that we do more to publicise them and make them known [...] is not expressly requested.

First published, in Russian, in Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. I (V1), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

---

Dear Sorge,

1. Have received your letters of 3 and 6 December. Cannot understand why the papers, etc., should not have reached you. I wrote to you on 7 and 14 December about the arrests in Lodi and sent: on 14 December Emancipación and International Herald; on 22 December Emancipación and International Herald; on the 23rd Emancipación and Égalité (Cluseret against the Blanquists, which was good, though it was bad that his name appeared at the end) and on the 24th, 3 copies of the circular of the Manchester FOREIGN SECTION. There follow today: Emancipación and a further copy of the circular as well as the circular of the minority within the British Federal Council.

2. So the majority of the British Federal Council has seceded—under the leadership of Hales, Mottershead, Roach and—Jung. They have issued a circular and come out against the Hague Congress, etc. Up to now we have only a single copy, but as soon as we obtain another you shall have it. So it was not the BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL but this-hole-and-corner-meeting of the majority that called for an English congress on 5 January. However, organising a coup d'état among the English workers is not such a simple matter. The minority continued to assemble in its old meeting-place at 7 Red Lion Court, it constituted itself the BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL and advised all sections not to make up their minds until...
they had heard from it. Immediately after this, as early as 23 December, the circular of the Manchester Foreign Section, which I had drafted, was despatched, and this was followed on 31 December by that of the minority of the Federal Council. In the meantime, the West End Section here had declared its opposition to the majority, Nottingham followed suit, even before the circular of the minority had reached it, ditto Middlesborough, which immediately removed Jung from office and requested the minority to propose a new delegate for them, ditto the Manchester District Council. All declared themselves to be in favour of the Hague resolutions, and according to private information of Riley’s, we can be sure of all the provincial sections, with the exception of Liverpool. So that would put paid to this coup d'état. I am particularly pleased by the prompt justice meted out to Mr Jung. It serves him right for following in the wake of Hales and allowing himself to be used as the tool of his mortal enemy Guillaume. He is now as dead as a doornail.

2. *Belgium.* The Belgian Congress s’est bien moqué du Conseil Général. They have declared that they want nothing to do with you and that the Hague resolutions are null and void. Shall see whether I cannot send you more precise information on Tuesday; I do not have the paper with me here.

3. The Spanish Congress will come to the same decision since our people did not send any delegates. Unfortunately, Mesa writes to me that many of our supporters are involved in the insurrection, and are in prison or in the mountains with the guerillas, which is especially disastrous just at this moment.

4. So you now have 1. the Jurassians, 2. the Belgians, 3. the old Spanish Federation and 4. the present minority sections here who have gone into rebellion. We are now unanimously of the opinion here that there is no case for suspension here, but that the General Council should simply state that such-and-such federations and sections have declared the properly valid rules of the Association to be null and void, that they thereby place themselves outside the International and have ceased to belong to it. This will rule out any talk of a conference, which would still be a possibility in the event of a suspension.

It is obvious that you can only proceed to such measures when you have the official documents in your hands. We shall procure them for you.

---

\( ^a \) Thus in the original. \( ^b \) has cocked a snook at the General Council. \( ^c \) 7 January
5. In Portugal all is in perfect order; Lafargue received a letter yesterday saying that I could expect to receive a longer one.

6. Still no word from Denmark. I suspect that the Schweitzerians have used their Schleswig supporters there to kick up a stink. But there is no opening there for the Alliance.\(^{10}\)

7. France. You will have received Serraillier's report. There have been numerous arrests in the South—37 people, 27 have been released again, some of our people are still imprisoned. In Toulouse, incidentally, a conference of our people was in progress at the very time of the arrests.\(^{628}\)

8. Italy. The families of the 3 arrested men and of the 6 who fled in Lodi\(^{641}\) are in the gravest need, and Bignami is bombarding me with letters asking for help, since the section has naturally been outlawed by the other Italian sections (of the Alliance). We have sent some money and have used our influence in Spain and Germany. The fact is, however, that not much can be obtained from there; people there have enough such expenses of their own. But something should be done in America. It is of the greatest importance that Lodi should be supported from outside, it is our strongest base in Italy, and the only reliable one, now that nothing more has been heard from Turin. As soon as these people can see that the International is something more than words, it will mean a serious blow for the Alliance, which uses all its money for printing, etc., and never helps people out. Lodi is much more important, and more can be done with less money there than with the Geneva jewellers' strike,\(^{655}\) on which Outine once again, as usual, makes the existence of the International there depend. In this respect, the Genevans resemble the Belgians: they never do anything and always demand everything. What we here and you there can do for the jewellers is a drop in the ocean and will not advance their cause—the days of the great Genevan strike\(^{656}\) are past and will never come back; until the internal affairs of the International have been put in order, we shall not have the means to carry out any strike. On the other hand, a colossal success can be obtained in Italy with half the effort or even less. Just picture the fury of the Alliancists when they suddenly read in the *Plebe: Soscrizione per le famiglie, etc., etc. Ricevuto dal Consiglio Generale dell' Internazionale, Nuovo Jork*\(^{a}\)—so-and-so-many lire, and the General Council suddenly provides the Italians with proofs of its existence in this form! So do what you can. The people have been put in

---

\(^{a}\) Subscription for the families, etc., etc. Received from the General Council of the International in New York
gaol because of your circular and so you owe it to them. You ought to be able to raise some $30-50, but however much or little it is, send them something and soon, if you like with assurances of possible further remittances. If we lose Lodi and the Plebe, we shall no longer have a pied-à-terre in Italy, of that you may be sure.

9. We receive here at best 1 copy of most of the papers of the International and the Alliance, etc., and even then only with difficulty. However, we shall see to it that we procure them for you regularly.

10. Your proclamations are very much to the point, but as long as you correspond in French with people like the Jurassians and the Belgians, and in English with Hales, you will risk having them print your things with all the linguistic errors and Germanisms, which would certainly not be pleasant. You must surely have some people whose mother-tongue is French or English and who would be in a position to look through these things. Our Frenchmen here would have raised hell if we had put their names to Marx’s or my French. None of us can be so secure in a foreign language that he can produce a text for publication without having it knocked into shape by a native. Apropos, Mesa says that in your Address to the Spanish Congress you had in a sense acknowledged their right to sit in judgment on the Hague resolutions and had thereby compromised yourselves—since I have not seen the document (it will not come until the next Emancipación) I do not know what truth there is in this.

11. Serrailier does not know this Argaing either to whom you have sent a letter of authority. If he was recommended by Walter, then something is rotten. Walter is an agent of the Blanquists, and is involved in intrigues in Toulouse, Bordeaux, etc. The Blanquists, by the way, have slipped up badly with their manifesto; one by one they are all trying to worm their way back into the International. Moreover, Ranvier has dissociated himself from the whole business.

12. In Portugal they have a right of coalition, but not the right of association. So the International is not officially constituted there, but, since everything is shipshape, an authorised representative is not needed for the moment, and could only give rise to jealousy and dissension.— It would also be best to leave the Danes to themselves until we find out what is wrong there.

---

a 'Il Consiglio Generale alle Federazioni, alle Società affigliate, alle Sezioni ed a tutti i membri dell’Associazione Internazionale dei lavoratori'.
13. It serves Cuno right. Practical life in America will soon teach him some manners. 

Best wishes from Marx and me.

Your

F. E.

According to the last Spring-Street session\[^a\] in *The World*—received from you this week—there can, I suppose, be no doubt that there are *agents provocateurs* among them.

---


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

278

**ENGELS TO RUDOLF SEIFFERT**\[^660\]

**IN LEIPZIG**

[Excerpt]

[London, between 15 and 20 January 1873]

31 December [1872]—letter to Liebknecht\[^45\] and Hepner.\[^661\]
6 January [1873] (Fink) a few items of printed matter, No. 38 of *International Herald*,\[^b\] etc.
7 " (Fink) registered letter with article on Prussia.\[^c\]
15 " (ditto) again *International Herald*,\[^d\] 2 Nos., and other printed matter.

Hope everything arrived safely.

---


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

Dear Friend,

I have received, together with your letter, Sieber, a Golovachev, b and 5 volumes of Скребицки [Skrebitsky]. c I find it almost embarrassing for you to be put to such expense on my account. My warmest thanks!

The operas also arrived duly and gave my daughter great pleasure. 662 She believed, however, that they had been sent by a Russian lady she knows, and now asks me to convey her thanks to the unknown giver.

The Знание [Znanie] d had approached me directly earlier on with a request for contributions, 668 but I have no time for such things. As for Lafargue, he will send a trial piece through you. 637

As to Chernyshevsky, it entirely depends on you whether I confine myself wholly to his scientific work, or touch on his other activities as well. 639 In the second volume of my book e he will, of course, only appear as an economist. I am familiar with a major part of his writings.

*As to the mutual friend, f you may be sure that if I take steps 634 —and I am still waiting for some informations [sic] on that point from Constantinople—they will be of such a nature as not to compromise him or anybody else.

As to L[yubavin] I should prefer suppressing that whole part of the enquiry to be published rather than expose him to the least danger. 664 On the other hand, boldness is perhaps the best policy. According to something which B[akunin] has published in Switzerland, not in his name, but in that of some of his Slavonian friends, 665 they intend giving their own account of the transaction as

---

soon as circumstances will permit them to do so. The indiscretion of
their accomplices at The Hague was intentional and, I suppose,
was meant as a sort of intimidation.

On the other hand, I cannot judge of the possible consequences
of the publication, and, therefore, should wish our friend to
communicate [to] me through you his resolution, after having
again quietly reconsidered the case.*

The second fascicle of the French translation\(^a\) will only appear
in the course of the next few days.\(^{436}\) The délais have been caused
by all sorts of incidents which, in view of the present state of siege
in Paris, make every transaction more difficult. The toil involved
in revising the translation is incredible. I would probably have
had less trouble if I had done the whole thing myself from the
start. And moreover, such patched-up jobs are always an amateur
job.

The last numbers of the Paris Économiste of last year contain a
review of my book\(^a\) by Block\(^b\) which demonstrates once again how
completely bankrupt the theoretical representatives of the middle
class are.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Yours very sincerely,

A. Williams\(^c\)

First published, in Russian, in Minuushiye gody, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908
Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time

\(^a\) of Volume 1 of Capital - \(^b\) M. Block, 'Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne', Journal des Économistes, Nos. 79, 80; July, August 1872. - \(^c\) Marx's pseudonym
Dear Oswald,

My wife and I thank you cordially for your kind invitation, but we are unfortunately not yet in a position to say whether we shall be able to take it up. My wife has again been plagued by all sorts of illnesses ever since Christmas; she is suffering from the after-effects of pleurisy, and so it is very doubtful whether she will be able to go out in the evening—it would be the first time for 2 weeks. For my part, I have promised the German Workers' Society that I would, if required, put in an appearance at the meeting on Saturday evening and give a talk, and I shall be unlikely to hear before Friday whether it is due to take place this Saturday or the following one.

When your children came yesterday afternoon I was just working with Marx on something that absolutely had to go off by the first post and so could not get away for a moment. My wife believes that Pumps delivered 'a saucy message' instead of my words: TELL THEM TO GIVE OUR COMPLIMENTS TO MR. AND MRS. OSWALD, AND THAT WE ARE MUCH OBLIGED [TO THEM], BUT THAT I CANNOT JUST NOW TELL WHETHER WE CAN COME. If this is the case, you now know what happened.

Our best regards to Mrs Oswald and to your sister.

Sincerely yours,

F. Engels
MARX TO ARISTIDE FANTON
IN [.........]

London, 1 February 1873
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

My dear Fanton,

I have decided to write to you about a matter concerning our friend Dupont. Since you left, he has been working steadily and conscientiously. He was lucky enough to find an honest and skilful German workman who has the necessary set of tools worth nearly £500 St., thereby enabling Dupont to set up a small workshop with him where they not only make instruments based on Dupont’s invention, but also manufacture improved versions of old instruments. I have seen them at work.

Unfortunately they have come to the end of their resources. Yesterday I obtained a loan of £8 St. for Dupont, but cannot be of greater help to him, since my disbursements for the French refugees\(^a\) (more than £150 St.) have left me flat broke. This is a critical moment for their enterprise.

I hope you won’t abandon our friend. If you come to his assistance, I shall see to it that funds are made available to him only as and when they are needed for the work, which would go ahead under my supervision.

With warm regards from all the family,

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

---

\(^{a}\) members of the Paris Commune
Dear Becker,

The second fascicle of the French translation\(^a\) has just been published.\(^436\) You will have received it, if it has not been intercepted, before the arrival of these lines.

The German instalments to you and to others have obviously been intercepted. In a few weeks the whole first volume will appear\(^996\) and I shall have it sent to you through a bookseller. I would be grateful if you could acknowledge receipt.

I can do absolutely nothing for Kostecki. 1. I am myself in high pressure, I have run myself significantly into debt on behalf of Messieurs les réfugiés français, who, in consequence, do nothing but heap abuse on my head; 2. Mr Kostecki was by no means sent off because of me, far from it. He could not maintain himself in London and told me that he would go to Galicia and wanted help from the International; I told him that its coffer s were empty, but added that something could possibly be done for him once he had arrived in Geneva. 3. All this took place long before the Hague Congress. Kostecki had taken his leave of me, but I met him long afterwards in the street in London and then heard nothing further. Since then everything has changed. Our ties with Galicia, where many Poles have gone from here since then, are active and in good order, and this is true also of other parts of Poland. So no new emissary is required. Moreover, Wróblewski thinks nothing of Kostecki, who is in general held in little regard by our Polish people.

I shall be writing to you in the next few days about relations within the International.\(^b\)

Your

K. M.

---

\(^a\) of Volume I of *Capital*  \(^b\) See this volume, p. 489.
Dear Friend,

Up to now the first 8 instalments of the German edition of *Capital* have appeared.\(^{145}\) Since the last part will come out in two or three weeks as well, I shall send the whole thing off at once (i.e. from instalment 5) to you and other friends in New York. As for an English edition, this is no doubt assured now, as a result of the French version.\(^{486}\) Nevertheless, I look forward to it with some concern. The revision of the French translation is causing me more work than if I had done the whole translation myself. So if I am unable to find a completely competent English translator I would have to take the thing into my own hands, and the French edition has already prevented me—and, until I am through with it, will continue to prevent me—from working on the final version of the second volume.

Engels and I will, as far as our time permits, contribute to both the German and the Federal paper.\(^{667}\)

The secessionists in England—Mottershead, Huber, Roach, Alonzo, Jung, Eccarius & Co.—have in recent weeks repeated the farce of the London *Universal Federalist Council*\(^ {417}\) in the form of a so-called Congress of the British Federation.\(^ {668}\) The gentlemen consisted only of themselves; two of them, Jung and Pape, had already been unseated by their sections, Middlesborough and Nottingham, and so did not even nominally represent anything. If you add all these *hole-and-corner sections* together, which these people have invented, they will certainly not come to 50. With the exception of a small notice which Eccarius as a wage-slave of *The Times* managed to smuggle into that paper,\(^ {a}\) the congress passed unnoticed, but will be exploited by the secessionists on the Continent. Jung's speech at the congress surpasses everything in its stupidity and infamy. It is a gossipy tissue of lies, distortions and idiocy. The vain fellow seems to have suffered a softening of the brain. That is the way things are and one just has to get used

---

\(^ a \) [J. G. Eccarius,] 'An English International Congress', *The Times*, No. 27598, 28 January 1873.
to it; the movement wears people out and as soon as they feel themselves to be on the outside, they lapse into meanness and try and persuade themselves that it is someone else's fault that they have become scoundrels.

In my opinion the General Council in New York has made a great mistake by suspending the Jura Federation.\(^669\) These people have already left the International by their declaration that the International's Congress and Rules do not exist for them; they have formed the centre of a conspiracy to set up a *Counter-International*; following their congress at Saint-Imier\(^599\) similar congresses have taken place in Córdoba,\(^627\) Brussels\(^658\) and London, and lastly the Alliancists in Italy will hold a similar congress.\(^670\)

Everyone and every group has the right to withdraw from the International, and when that happens the General Council has only to record their departure officially; it is not in any way its function to suspend them. Suspension is provided for where groups (sections or federations) merely dispute the authority of the General Council, or infringe one or another of its Rules or Regulations. However, the Rules have no article concerning groups which reject the organisation in its entirety—for the simple reason that, according to the Rules, it is self-evident that such groups no longer belong to the International.

This is by no means a pure formality.

The secessionists have resolved at their various congresses to convene a general secessionist congress to constitute their new organisation, which would be independent of the International. Such a congress is to take place in the spring or summer.\(^671\)

At the same time these gentlemen would like to keep a door open in case of failure. This emerges from the bulky circular of the Spanish Alliancists.\(^614\) If their congress is a failure, they reserve the right to attend the Geneva Congress,\(^672\) a plan which the Italian Alliancist Gambuzzi ... was naive enough to reveal to me back during his stay in London.

So if the New York General Council does not alter its procedure, what will be the consequences?

The Council will follow up its suspension of the Jura by suspending also the secessionist federations in Spain, Italy, Belgium and England. Result: all the riff-raff will turn up again in Geneva and paralyse all serious work there, just as they did in The Hague, and they will once again compromise the whole work of the Congress for the greater good of the bourgeoisie. The great achievement of the Hague Congress\(^580\) was to induce the rot-
ten elements to exclude themselves, i.e. to leave. The procedure of the General Council now threatens to invalidate that achievement.

These people do no harm when they openly oppose the International, the latter only benefits by it; but as hostile elements within the International they spell the ruin of the movement in all the countries where they have managed to obtain a foothold.

The work they and their emissaries cause for us in Europe can scarcely be imagined in New York.

In order to strengthen the International in those countries where the struggle is chiefly being carried on, what is needed above all is vigorous action from the General Council.

Now that the mistake has been made with the Jura, it would perhaps be best simply to ignore the others entirely for the time being (unless our own federations demand the opposite), and then to bide our time until the general secessionist congress, when we can announce that all its constituencies have withdrawn from the International, that they have excluded themselves from it and from now on are to be treated as alien and even hostile associations. Eccarius very naively stated at the London hole-and-corner congress that they must make politics with the bourgeoisie. His soul has been longing to sell itself for some considerable time now.

The news of the great misfortune that has befallen Sorge\(^a\) has affected us very deeply. My very best regards to him.

\textit{Salut fraterne}.

Karl Marx


Printed according to the text of the first publication

Published in English in full for the first time

\(^a\) the death of his daughter
Dear Liebknecht,

Before I can give you a definite answer to the many questions in your letter, I must first know exactly what you mean by saying that 'the Volksstaat cannot become involved in International polemics at the present time'. If the Volksstaat proclaims itself neutral in the International's war against the secessionists, if it refuses to explain these events clearly to the German workers, if, in a word, the Lassallean revolt is to be concluded by your shaking hands over and beyond the International and by your sacrificing the International and Yorck to the Hasselmanns, then our attitude to the Volksstaat will change fundamentally. So I must ask you to speak out frankly at once.

About my book, negotiations are pending with Wigand and I would have to free myself from him before deciding on any alternative. But on the general issue of letting you have the rights to practically all our earlier writings gratis at the very moment when we are in a position to make money from them, I would ask you to bear in mind that we too need money, firstly in order to live, and secondly in order to meet the daily mounting costs of agitation, propaganda material, etc. The essays by Marx and myself will certainly be collected and printed, but at the moment we have no time to take care of it ourselves. I am even less in a position to distil the essence of Owen's works for you. In the first place I do not have the time and in the second, I lack the material—my collection of Owen's writings went astray in 1848-49, and these things are no longer obtainable.—At all events the Misère de la philosophie is being reprinted in Paris; as to the German translation, Marx is negotiating with Meissner about a complete edition of earlier writings and so can hardly just take out one of the largest works without further ado. And anyway, you have plenty of time before you get from the Utopia to us; better look after the intermediate links first.

---

Furthermore, I cannot conceal from you the fact that our treatment at the hands of the 'Party' does absolutely nothing to encourage us to entrust even more of our writings to it. I have not been sent even a single copy of my Peasant War; I had to purchase the copies I needed for myself. I am not even consulted about the publication of the articles on the housing shortage,\(^a\) whether they should come out separately or together. When I asked for free copies of the Manifesto\(^b\) for us and for the Workers’ Society here\(^c\)—in recognition of their having reprinted it three times at their own expense—we were sent 100 copies together with the bill. I have written to Hepner about that and now request once and for all that this boorish treatment should cease.

I shall try and unearth a copy of the Utopia (in English), but it may be difficult as all the old popular editions were bought up long since.

I must close here and regret that I am prevented by the need to catch the post from enclosing a few lines to your wife.\(^d\) Please be kind enough to make my excuses. Does your family still live at 11 Brauustrasse? We have only that address and the Volksstaat.

With best wishes from your

F. E.

---

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

285

ENGELS TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE\(^675\)

IN SAN SEBASTIAN

[Draft]

[London, after 14 February 1873]

Citizen,

I accept your proposal that I should write the life of Karl Marx, a work that would at the same time be the history of the German

---

\(^a\) F. Engels, *The Housing Question*. \(^b\) K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. \(^c\) See this volume, pp. 462-63. \(^d\) Natalie Liebknecht
communist party before '48 and of the socialist party after '52. Looked at from this point of view, the biography of the man would become the history of the party of which Marx indisputably is the highest personification, and would be of great interest to French democracy. It is this consideration that would persuade me to lay aside my work so as to devote myself to a task that would take time and call for research, if it was to be worthy of its subject. But I cannot agree to set to work until I have received a further letter from you informing me of the conditions which, no doubt by an oversight, you omitted to mention in your letter of 14 February.\(^a\)

First published in *Cahiers de l'Institut Maurice Thorez*, No. 28, September-October, Paris, 1972

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

---

**286**

**ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNICHT**

**IN LEIPZIG**

London, 11 March 1873
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

Would you be so kind as to hand the enclosed letter to Liebknecht\(^45\) on your next visit to the Castle?\(^538\) Up to now I have sent most letters for him to the office of the *Volksstaat*, because I did not know whether you still lived at 11 Braustrasse. Your enforced grass-widowhood must be increasingly burdensome to you as time passes. You really have a lot to put up with! At all events, however, you are still able to visit Liebknecht regularly, and if you do not think it too impertinent of me I would ask you to tell me how he is physically, what the treatment is like, whether he is limited to the resources of the Castle for food and drink, or whether he can supplement this from outside, and in general everything pertaining to his situation and Bebel's—he himself

---

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 486.
writes very little about such matters, indeed recently he has stopped commenting on them altogether, and you will appreciate that all this interests us very much. Not only for the prisoners' own sake—our interest is also a little egoistic, since this is something that might happen to us too, one day, and we would like to know what we might have to expect. What is the position with regard to books? Can he have everything he needs—at least as far as scholarly and literary works are concerned—or is the censorship strict? I know of course that the pigeon-post, or THE UNDERGROUND RAILWAY as they say in America, is easily organised.

I hope that you are in good spirits and that you and the children are in good health. IT IS A LONG LANE THAT HAS NO TURNING, as the English proverb has it, and the TURNING cannot be very far away any more. And you may be sure that, however things turn out, you have friends here in London who take the warmest interest in Liebknecht’s and your fate.

If any of the children should remember me, which I very much doubt, since I did not live in London at the time,676 please give them my very kindest regards.

With sincere good wishes,

Yours truly,

Friedrich Engels

First published, in Russian, in Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

287

ENGELS TO EUGEN OSWALD
IN LONDON

[London,] 18 March 1873
122 Regent’s Park Road

Dear Oswald,

My very best thanks for the concert tickets you so kindly sent—I have managed in the meantime to sell 2 more of the same sort. I
enclose 10/- for them and would ask you to give them to Pumps.\footnote{b}  
My best regards to Mrs and Miss Oswald.

Yours cordially,

F. Engels

---


---

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 20 March 1873
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Sorge,

First of all let me convey to you our heartfelt sympathies on the
great family misfortune that has befallen you.\footnote{a} We have all had to
endure similar losses and know how deeply they scar a person's
whole life. It takes a long time and a hard struggle to overcome
them, but we know that you have the strength to do so.

Your last or rather your penultimate letter is in Marx's hands.
He intended to drop you a few lines, but I doubt whether he has
done so and cannot ask him today since he and Tussy have gone
off to Brighton for a few days. As far as the minutes of the
former General Council are concerned, they can be of no use to
you, since you have already been notified of all the resolutions of
general interest, and the others have lost all their validity. For us,
on the other hand, they are \textit{absolutely vital} in our struggle against
the secessionists, if we are to be able to answer their lies and
slanders. I think that the interests of the International are more
important than the need to comply with a formality.—That the
other secretaries\footnote{c} have failed to send in reports is indeed
irregular. The one from Serrailler was in the letter that went
astray. Wróblewski is \textit{unable} to send one since everything in
Poland is secret and we never used to ask for details from him

\footnote{a}{Mary Ellen Burns} \hspace{1em} \footnote{b}{the death of Sorge's daughter} \hspace{1em} \footnote{c}{the corresponding secretaries of the former General Council in London}
earlier either. How matters stand in Austria and Germany is something you know as much about as we do, since you correspond with people there directly and we do not have any further details about the position of the sections either. No report can be demanded from the secretaries who have resigned—Jung for Switzerland and Cournet for Denmark. So who else is left to report? We have not heard a word from Denmark, I am afraid that the Lassallean intrigues may have taken root there.

In France everyone seems to have been caught. Heddeghem has been the traitor, as proved by the trial in Caen, where the prosecutor actually named him as the informer. Dentraygues in Toulouse (Swarm), with his accustomed pedantry, kept a mass of useless lists which have told the police all they needed to know. His trial is now in progress, we expect the reports any day. Larroque fortunately managed to escape to San Sebastian via London, from where he is attempting to renew contacts with Bordeaux. His address (to be kept secret) is:

Señor Latraque
21, Calle de la Aduana, San Sebastian, Spain.

No inner envelope is necessary.

Cuno was out of luck with his resolution from Section 29. He sent it to the Alliancist Spanish Federal Council, adding that Capestro=Cuno! So why the comedy of names? The Federación of Barcelona duly printed the stuff and concluded—not without some apparent reason—that Cuno too had repented and realised that the old General Council was in the wrong. That comes from mediating.

Ad vocem Lodi. When your letter of 12 February arrived, they had all been released and Bignami was reinstated as editor. So I took it upon myself not to send the $20, since money was no longer needed, particularly as the General Council needs its money itself. May I ask you for instructions by return of post about whether to send it or whether you wish to dispose of it otherwise.

As far as payments for the General Council are concerned, I have not yet received a penny. You will see from the Administrative Regulations, III, Art. 4, that subscriptions do not fall due until 1 March; the almost universal practice was for them not to be paid in until shortly before or at the Congress. Until then we lived

---

a 'La verdad se va abriendo paso', La Federación, No. 183, 15 February 1873. - b As for - c See this volume, p. 466.
mainly from individual contributions and from credit. As to the former, I shall try to exact payments, but it will be difficult unless we wish to use up all the resources for the next Congress in advance and leave the course of the Congress itself to chance.

Send 80-100 English-language trade-union plans at once. The 40 that have been sent, like most of the letters, have not yet arrived—a search is being made—and 40 is not enough for here anyway; we could distribute 30-40 in Manchester alone, since the Trades Unions here are mainly local and not centralised. For the moment you could send everything for the British Federal Council either to me, or to S. Vickery, the secretary, at 3 Oak Villas, Friern Park, Finchley, N. London. Or to F. Lessner, 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, W. London. The present headquarters of the Federal Council is itself only provisional. I could also use some copies of the French version for Italy, Holland and Belgium; I send them out individually or 2-3 at a time to strike committees wherever a strike breaks out.

I cannot obtain any addresses in Holland or Belgium at the moment. Liebers is no longer in The Hague, but in Germany; van der Hout, who is an idler, by the way, is a coal miner near Essen.

The resolution of 26 January is very good. All that is needed now to settle the matter is for you to pass a resolution after the conclusion of the Jurassian, Italian and other congresses which are due to be held in March in which the resolution of 26 January is applied to the secessionists in Spain, Belgium, England and the Jura by name. Italy could only be referred to in so far as recognised sections—Naples, Milan, Ferrara, Turin, Lodi, Aquila—might be affected by it—the others have never belonged to the International.

The Address to the Spaniards will also have a very good effect. On the one hand, it is thoroughly correct from a theoretical point of view and, on the other, it avoids everything which might provide the Alliancists with a pretext to make an anarchist song-and-dance about it, and thirdly, it is brief. In general, all your Addresses have been received very well by the workers.

I have sent the resolution of 26 January to the British Federal Council, where it will be presented this evening.

The demands of the General Council (of 15 December) about the admission of sections will beyond doubt never be fulfilled in this manner. The General Council must admit every section that

---

* 'An alle Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation'.
fulfils the conditions of the Rules and Administrative Regulations. It cannot lay down any new conditions, so No. 1 lapses in part (the General Council is entitled to require the statistics of numbers and branches of work, but not names), and No. 4 lapses entirely since Section III of the Administrative Regulations provides otherwise for the mode of payment. The best thing would be just to drop this quietly—we here have never obtained more than is prescribed in Nos. 2 and 3, and even then only with difficulty, and where people acted reliably in good faith we were never strict about formalities. For doubtful cases, of course, it is good to have such a resolution behind one.

It will be just as impossible for Wróblewski to stick to his instructions. The authorised representative for Poland must be taken fully into your confidence, otherwise we cannot achieve anything at all there, and a detailed monthly report from him is quite out of the question.—*Quant à moi,* I can only report about Italy that there is nothing to report apart from the fact that the Lodi section has not yet reconstituted itself and the one in Turin has probably come apart at the seams.

It really was an unfortunate idea to pass the *STAMPS* on to me. Last year we did not receive them before March or April, now it will be even later. Le Moussu, like all Frenchmen, is bone-idle in business affairs, unless matters are really pressing, and even a good kick is of no avail. Formerly, Jung saw to the printing and that task too now falls to Le Moussu, who does not know any English.

I have sent you *The International Herald* and the *Emancipación*, the former up to No. 50 (goes off today), the latter up to No. 88; I hope they have arrived safely.

I had almost forgotten to thank you for the wine that arrived at last after a lengthy journey. It went by German *STEAMER* to Bremen and was then sent on carriage paid from there to here where it arrived safely after some further wanderings. I have shared it with Marx, but have only tried a few bottles myself. The *SWEET* Catawba pleased the ladies very well. The red is not bad and the white I have tried so far is an interesting drink somewhere between hock and *DRY SHERRY*. The few bottles I still have in my cellar are being saved up for great occasions. The wine is pleasant to drink but lacks the individual character of the original European wines. I am very grateful to you for having enriched my knowledge of wine by

---

*As for me*
a whole hemisphere and in such an agreeable manner; I was most
astonished to discover the northerly position of the Ohio vineyards
on this occasion. I had supposed they lay much further to the
South.

The set-to in Spring Street\(^a\) about Woodhull amused me greatly.
I shall spread the story to Spain, etc. Likewise, that Eccarius has
ventured to describe their sham congress\(^{652}\) in The World as a mere
friendly gathering. Have received the Arbeiter-Zeitung up to No. 4.
Very good, if stylistically a little rough here and there—which
does no harm at all, but bears witness to its proletarian character.
Very good attack on Singer Co.\(^b\) —ought to be continued and extended
to others.

Otherwise, nothing new here. The Jung-Hales slanders have
been going through the entire Jurassian, Belgian and other
secessionist papers. Longuet intends to answer them in the Liberté,
whether it will come to anything is not quite clear to me, given his
laziness.\(^c\)

Must catch the post.

Best wishes.

Your

F. Engels

---

\(^a\) Situated in Spring Street was the office of the separatist Federal Council. - 
\(^b\) 'Fabrikantenspiegel', Arbeiter-Zeitung, No. 3, 22 February 1873. - 
\(^c\) Ch. Longuet, 'Monsieur le Rédacteur, Lorsque j'ai lu l'article publié par La Liberté..., La Liberté,
No. 14, 6 April 1873.
ENGELS TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

IN SAN SEBASTIAN

[Draft]

[London, after 21 March 1873]

Citizen,

In your letter of 16 March you appear to be under the impression that I am ‘presenting you with a book on the communist party’, whereas it was you who, by requesting me to write a serious biography of Karl Marx, asked for a history of that party. Marx has led an essentially active life and thus to recount his life would be to write the history of the philosophic and revolutionary movement, both German and international, since ’42, in order to trace therein his personal participation and the influence of his writings. If you merely want a reporter’s biography, that has already been done. *L’Illustration* has published one and if you care to send me a copy I shall make the necessary corrections.

Since the study I had in mind was intended to be a serious work, I should have thought I would be doing you an injury by supposing that you who, in this business matter, have assumed the role of capitalist, would have wished to evade the prime social rule, operative even in our bourgeois society, that the capitalist pays the workman in proportion to his labour. However, since you say you are increasing your Capital for the sole purpose of placing it at the service of the Community, I shall consent to donate my labour on condition that you set aside a sum for the foundation of a weekly international organ, of which the socialist party has a pressing need, and of which Marx would be editor.

First published in *Cahiers de l’Institut Maurice Thorez*, No. 28, September-October, Paris, 1972

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

---

a See this volume, p. 479. - b ‘Karl Marx’, *L’Illustration*, No. 1498, 11 November 1871.
MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON
IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 22 March 1873

My dear Sir,

You would much oblige me in giving me some information on the views of Tschitscherin, relating to the historical development of communal property in Russia; and on his polemics on that subject with Bjeljajew. The way in which that form of property was founded (historically) in Russia, is of course a secondary question, and has nothing whatever to do with the value of that institution. Still, the German reactionists like Professor A. Wagner in Berlin, etc., use that weapon put in their hands by Tschitscherin. At the same time all historical analogy speaks against Tschitscherin. How should it have come to happen that in Russia the same institution had been simply introduced as a fiscal measure, as a concomitant incident of serfdom, while everywhere else it was of spontaneous growth and marked a necessary phase of development of free peoples?

Yours most truly,

A. Williams* 

First published, in Russian, in Minuvshiye gody, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, 22 March 1873

Dear Sorge,

I wrote to you on the 20th inst. and am today sending Emancipación No. 89 and International Herald No. 51.

* Marx's pseudonym  –  b See this volume, pp. 481-85.
I forgot to add when talking of the $20 not sent to Lodi that during their period of difficulties, those people had received the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from here</td>
<td>50 frs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, 20 thalers</td>
<td>75 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Oberwinder in Vienna 50 florins</td>
<td>125 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250 francs</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I thought this was sufficient for a situation with such a favourable outcome: 3 were released after two weeks and only Bignami was in custody for circa 6 weeks.

The resolution of 26 January\textsuperscript{680} and the Address to the Spaniards have been sent off to Lodi.

As you can see from the *Emancipación*, the Address to the Spaniards was very well received.\textsuperscript{687}

Best wishes,

Your

F. E.

---


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
instructed Meissner to send you the whole-volume edition post-free, which is due out in about a week. You would oblige me by letting me know when it comes.

Engels asks you to forward the enclosed letter to Goegg as soon as possible. It is to do with some information about the Alliance (we are at present engaged in assembling documentary evidence with which to demolish them). Might I also ask you to send us, if at all possible, the first programme of the public Alliance in Geneva, in which your name appeared among others.

We thought that the Égalité of Geneva must have folded up as we had not seen a copy since Outine’s departure from Geneva. At his request I had induced some French friends to become correspondents for it, but our belief in its demise put a stop to everything. So if Perret wishes for reports from here, he must make sure that Engels (122 Regent’s Park Road) and myself each receive a copy. We shall pay for it if he so desires.

The General Council will likely decide on Geneva as the venue for the next Congress. You must even now start working to ensure a large attendance. This is all the more indispensable as the Alliancist band of rogues is planning to turn up en masse. Of course, they must not be allowed in. The Hague Congress must have brought us at least the one advantage that the rabble will be removed from our midst. But for that it is essential for us to have completely reliable local representatives at our disposal.

With best wishes from the whole family.

Your

Karl Marx


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

---

*This refers to work on the pamphlet The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men’s Association. - b Programm der Internationalen Allianz der Sozial-Demokratie*
Dear Sorge,

Have received your letter of the 9th and that of the General Council of the 11th.

1. Serraillier. What Dereure says is utter nonsense. The priest story amounts only to this: Pottier, a delegate of the Commune in the 2nd arrondissement, to which Serraillier was assigned, hired out the churches to the priests (le dit délégué loue la boutique nommé Eglise, etc. etc. au nommé ... pour y exercer le métier de cure was the formula) and Pottier collected all the money and used it for Commune and arrondissement business and credited it to the Commune. Serraillier never had a sou of it in his hands. Le Moussu, who rises to the word ‘priest’ like a hungry fish to the bait, actually intended to have Pottier and Serraillier arrested for this, because, as he expressed it, ceci était un commerce immoral. When it comes to bad jokes I am not sure who has produced the best one, Le Moussu or Pottier and Serraillier. But to base serious accusations on such childish grounds is worse than childish. However, the Frenchmen of today are children. What the demonstration of the 22 is supposed to be, I do not know; I suppose it was the attempted resignation of the minority. The row between majority and minority in the Commune is still going on and for everyone with a Blanquist taint it is still an offence even today, and a capital offence moreover, to have belonged to the minority. All this is ancient history for us here; we have heard every conceivable variation on that tune until we are sick of it and would not give a brass farthing for the entire story.

2. Arbeiter-Zeitung—it must indeed be said that the uncouthness of its style could not be surpassed. However, that is American—the entire German-American press writes like that. For the present neither Marx nor myself have a single spare moment to write regular reports; I am up to my eyes in work for the Congress

---

a the aforesaided delegate lets the premises, known as the church, etc., etc., to the person named ... for the purpose of carrying out the trade of priest - b it was unethical commerce
which is to be tabled in French and Marx is immersed in his French translation.  

3. The Viennese. We know no more than has appeared publicly, since neither Oberwinder nor Scheu has written to us direct. However, we have our suspicions about Scheu. 1. He is in touch with Vaillant and 2. there are signs that like his friend and predecessor, Neumayr, who has since gone mad, he is in contact with Bakunin. The echo of the latter's resounding phrases can be detected in Scheu's articles and speeches, and you will remember how his brother disappeared from The Hague as soon as the business with Bakunin came to a head. Up to now no serious allegations against Oberwinder have been made, at least in public. His collaboration on bourgeois papers took place with the foreknowledge and approval of the party and directly served party purposes. If The Times were put at my disposal tomorrow and I could write what I wanted and receive payment for it, I would accept without hesitation. Nobody objected to Eccarius doing this until he reversed the situation and exploited the International in his own financial interests and no longer wrote in its interests but in his own and those of The Times. And since in Austria feudalism has only partly been overcome, the masses are still incredibly stupid and conditions are still about the same as those in Germany before 1848, we naturally do not take it amiss that Oberwinder does not immediately demand the moon with the maximum of radical hullaballoo, but instead pursues the policies we advocated at the end of the Communist Manifesto as being appropriate for Germany at the time. Here and there he may exhibit an excess of petty-bourgeois caution, but in the first place even that has not been proved and in the second, it is no cause for such a tremendous hue and cry. Moreover, Oberwinder is no Austrian and so could be deported at any time. But, as I have said, we do not know the details and so reserve our judgment.

4. Admission requirements.—Even assuming that formally you are in the right to make all these demands on the individual sections (which is, however, very much open to doubt), up to now no Federal Council has ever imposed these bureaucratically precise conditions, and had it imposed them, they would never have been fulfilled. What a great mistake it was to make such requirements even in France is demonstrated by the article in No. 49 of the Neuer Social-Demokrat, which I am sending you today. I

---

[a] This refers to work on the pamphlet The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.  
[b] Heinrich Scheu  
[c] See this volume, pp. 483-84.
informed Hepner\(^a\) straightaway and, having made precise enquiries yesterday about Dentraygues and Heddeghem, I have despatched the necessary statement to the *Volksstaat*.\(^b\)

5. *We expect more news about France before taking any steps. I do not see that there are any steps you could possibly take. All our sections have been uncovered. Heddeghem was a spy as early as The Hague. Dentraygues is not, but for personal reasons and from weakness, he denounced some individuals who had previously beaten him up. A member who wanted to obtain some money for the party had given his watch to Dentraygues, asking him to pawn it. Dentraygues' wife did so and later refused to redeem it or even to hand over the pawn-*ticket*. This caused a scandal. A few people—mainly bourgeois—got together, gave Dentraygues a thrashing and then denounced him to the public prosecutor, at whose urgings *they confessed that the money had been intended for the use of the International!!!* This was the *real* beginning of the whole business—but since Heddeghem had already informed the police in Paris of all this, it could come as a surprise only to the Toulouse police at most. These then are the fellows that Dentraygues denounced, and there was *no one else*. How the police found out about other things you will see from the *Volksstaat*. At all events, at the present time the organisation in France is in pieces and will take some time to recover since all communications have broken down. Larroque is in Spain, in San Sebastian. His address: Monsieur Latraque, Calle de la Aduana, No. 21—he is living there under that name. For goodness' sake do not send any new letters of authority to France. Larroque has been given 3 years in *contumaciam*.\(^c\)

6. *Stamps*.\(^682\)—I hardly ever see Le Moussu, I have got Marx to give him a good kick, but still no answer. It is impossible to do any business with these Frenchmen without wasting whole weeks at a time chasing after them, and I cannot do that.

7. *Venue for the Congress*.\(^672\)—I hope you have only asked the Swiss for their advice as we did with the Dutch last year. In Switzerland there is only *one possible place* and that is Geneva. There we have the mass of workers behind us, and also a *hall belonging to the International*, the Temple Unique, from which we can simply throw the gentlemen from the Alliance\(^10\) out when they present themselves. Apart from Geneva, only Zurich would be possible; but there we have hardly more than the few *German* workers and not even all of these (vide the *Felleisen*) and your

\(^a\) F. Engels, 'On the Articles in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (From a Letter to A. Hepner)*.  
\(^b\) F. Engels, 'The International and the *Neuer*'.  
\(^c\) in his absence
enquiry might even result in the proposal from various sides that the Congress should be held at the centrally situated town of Olten—the chief railway junction in Switzerland, in which case we should really be in the soup. The Alliancists are doing everything in their power to turn up at the Congress in force, whereas on our side everyone is going to sleep. No French delegates can come since the collapse. The Germans, although they have their own quarrel with the Lassalleans, were very disheartened by the Hague Congress, where they expected nothing but fraternity and harmony in contrast to their own squabbles, and have become apathetic. Moreover, the party authorities of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party consist at the moment of nothing but dyed-in-the-wool Lassalleans (Yorck & Co.) who are insisting that both the Party and its paper should be forced into the straitjacket of a Lassalienism of the most superficial sort. The struggle continues; the Lassalleans wish to take advantage of the time in which Liebknecht and Bebel are in gao\textsuperscript{274} so as to get their own way. Little Hepner is putting up vigorous resistance, but he has been as good as forced off the board of the \textit{Volksstaat} and anyway has been deported from Leipzig.\textsuperscript{691} The victory of these fellows would be synonymous with the loss of the Party for us—for the moment at least. I have written Liebknecht a very determined letter to this effect\textsuperscript{45} and am still awaiting a reply.—From Denmark nothing has been seen or heard. My long-held suspicion that the Lassalleans of the \textit{Neuer Social-Demokrat} have thrown everything into confusion there through their supporters in North Schleswig and have induced people to withdraw from the International,\textsuperscript{a} is daily confirmed by the \textit{Neuer Social-Demokrat}, which is much better informed about events in Copenhagen than the \textit{Volksstaat}.—From England only a few delegates can come and it is very doubtful whether the Spaniards will send one, so it is to be expected that the Congress will be very poorly attended and that the Bakuninists will have more people there than us. The Genevans themselves are doing nothing, the \textit{Égalité} seems to be defunct, so that even there no great support appears likely—merely the consciousness that there we shall be \textit{sitting in our own house} and among people who know Bakunin and his gang and can throw them out if need be. So Geneva is the only place possible, and to secure a victory for us, the only necessary condition remaining—\textit{though it is an absolutely indispensable one}—is that, in accordance with the resolution of 26 January,\textsuperscript{680} the General Council should now announce the following resignations:

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 466.
1. The Belgian Federation, which has declared that it has nothing to do with the General Council and which has repudiated the Hague resolutions.

2. That part of the Spanish Federation which was represented in Córdoba and which contravened the Rules by declaring the payment of dues to the General Council to be optional, and which has also repudiated the Hague resolutions.

3. The English sections and individuals represented at the would-be London congress of 26 January, who have likewise repudiated the Hague resolutions.

4. The Jura Federation which, at the congress they are due to hold shortly, will undoubtedly give us adequate grounds to extend the resolution on suspension.

Lastly, it could be announced that the so-called Italian Federation which was represented at the so-called congress of Bologna (instead of Mirandola), is not a member of the International at all since it has never satisfied even a single one of the conditions laid down by the Rules.

Once this resolution has been published and the General Council has set up a committee in Geneva to make preparations for the Congress and to scrutinise the mandates in advance, a committee consisting e.g. of Becker, Perret, Duval and Utin, if he is there, the mass surge forward of the Bakuninists will have been forestalled. As soon as the General Council has issued instructions to the committees that these people cannot be given recognition as delegates until they have been granted admission by the majority of the genuine and acknowledged delegates of the International, all will be well. Even if they were in the majority, they would be innocuous; they could go elsewhere and hold their own congress, but without having brought their majority to bear vis-à-vis ourselves. And that is all we can ask for.

Cordial regards from Marx too.

Your
F. E.


Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time
MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE [?]  
IN SAN SEBASTIAN  

London, 12 May 1873  

Dear Citizen,  

Mr Roy’s address is still Café Richelier, Place de Quinconce, Bordeaux. The Company by which I sent him the last German instalment is to blame for the fact that it failed to reach him in good time. In accordance with the terms I agreed with him, I authorise you to send him 200 francs.  

Yours very faithfully,  
Karl Marx  

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

MARX TO ENGELS  
IN LONDON  

Manchester, 23 May [1873]  
25 Dover Street  

Dear Fred,  

Put up at the Brunswick Hotel last night; found neither Moore nor Schorlemmer.  
This morning I looked up Moore; he wasn’t there. I asked his landlady if she could find me a room in the neighbourhood, whereupon she offered me SLEEPING ROOM in her own house. I came to an arrangement with her on the spot.  
Then called on Gumpert, who was in Germany; I shall find out today (via Zapp) when he is due back.  
On my return to the Brunswick Hotel I found Moore at the entrance. He was very pleased that I HAD SETTLED things with his landlady.  

a Samuel Moore
I have written to Tussy today and am convinced that Mr Lissagaray must *pour le moment* make *bonne mine à mauvais jeu.*

Your

K. M.

Regards to Mrs. Shall see Renshaws.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

296

**MARX TO HUGO HELLER**

*IN OXFORD*

Manchester, 23 May 1873

Dear Friend,

I am staying up here for a day or two, but would rather not put off answering your letter until my return to London.

I have sent 2/6d in stamps for a membership card to a member of the British Federal Council, Serraillier, so that it will, in a few days' time (the Federal Council meets only once a week), be sent to Oxford.

If Thomas, your friend there, would care to write to me direct, I shall be very glad to get in touch with him.

In a week or two the 2nd German edition of *Capital*, which came out in instalments, will be published in one volume and I should be pleased to present it to you as a memento, and likewise such instalments of the Paris translation as have so far appeared.

Madame and Mr Longuet have asked me to send you their warm regards.

*Salut fraternel.*

Karl Marx

Published for the first time

Printed according to the original

---

*a make the best of a bad job for the moment; see this volume, p. 499.  
*b Lydia Burns*
London, 24 May 1873

Dear Moor,

I wrote to Gumpert the day before yesterday and gave him my opinion on your case, together with a brief account of what had happened (of course, I kept quiet about everything to do with the situation at home, merely saying that you had had a lot of vexation in various matters), just so that I should have done my bit to win my bet about the diagnosis. Today I received a letter from his eldest stepson saying that Gumpert wouldn’t be back for 8-10 days and that he had sent my letter on to him.

Kept busy by Lafargue until 4.30; it got too late for me to send off a registered letter, so I shall send it on Monday with money so that you can use the time for excursions if you feel like it.

I also have the £50 here; should I give it to your wife?

We shall be finished with Russia in a few days, except for a tiny detail for which I shall have to work my way through the Russian stuff, in doing which I have been constantly interrupted.

Regards to Moore and Schorlemmer.

Your

F. E.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

———

a This refers to work on the pamphlet The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men’s Association. b Samuel Moore
Dear Fred,

I am quickly writing these few lines in reply in Schorlemmer's room. I am just on the point of going for a walk with him since Moore is with his Dulcinea and only intends to reappear at about 6 o'clock.

It was damnably cold here with an easterly wind until today, so that I have caught a cold in optima forma.

The same day, or rather evening, as I arrived, the first person I encountered was, as usual, the inevitable Borchardt.

Yesterday I also met the worthy Knowles, very boozzy, with a reddish complexion.

Brave Dakyns, I learn from Moore, will have nothing more to do with the International because it has split.643

I would be grateful if you could give the £50 to my wife.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Schorlemmer sends his regards and says—alluding to your letter to Gumpert45—that he has been confirmed once again in his belief that you are a great strategist.
Dear Moor,

Enclosed £10 in 2 bills: C76, 48 876 & 77, London, 6 February 1873.—I shall go round to your wife with the money this afternoon.

I did a stupid thing on Saturday. Your wife was here and in something of a flurry I gave her your letter—she stared at the closing passage for some time but said nothing. Nor could she in fact make anything very much from your belief that Mr Lissagaray will have *pour le moment* to make *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*. If she asks me, I shall say that all I know is that you had expressed doubts as to whether one could simply rely on Lissagaray’s sticking to his promise and that you had therefore already talked here about writing to Tussy in an attempt to influence her.

So Mr Thiers has been truly out-parliamented and shown to the door by MacMahon, the greatest jackass in France. The reaction really is a slippery slope down which one cannot stop oneself sliding, once one has embarked on it. If MacMahon is *anything* at all, then he is a Bonapartist, and it is delightful to see that, just as in 1848 when the two old monarchist parties were forced to place Louis Bonaparte at the head, so now they have to rally behind his governor. In my opinion, this makes the restoration of the Empire the only possible monarchist combination for the moment. The quarrels of the Orleanists and Legitimists will disgust MacMahon; the Rouhers, etc., will ensnare him and, when he is ripe for it, the point where they can instruct him how to lead the troops, etc., to a Bonapartist coup. Then everything will depend on the troops, and MacMahon, whatever else he may be, will certainly do everything in his power—and *en connaissance de cause*—to train them to this end. *En attendant* Thiers is now becoming more popular than ever and Gambetta is receding into the background, so that when things start up once more, the line of people who will have to make complete asses of themselves all over again will stretch all the way from Thiers to Félix Pyat.

---

*a 24 May - b See this volume, p. 496. - c make the best of a bad job for the moment - d with expert knowledge - e Meanwhile*
The thing that particularly delights me is that MacMahon has once again proved to Thiers what extraordinary scoundrels precisely the military worthies happen to be.

Regards to Moore and Schorlemmer.

Your

F. E.

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

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

300

**ENGELS TO MARX**

**IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] 30 May 1873

Dear Moor,

This morning in bed the following dialectical points about the natural sciences came into my head:

The object of science: matter in motion, bodies. Bodies cannot be separated from motion, their forms and kinds can only be apprehended in motion; nothing can be said about bodies divorced from motion, divorced from all relation to other bodies. Only in motion does the body reveal what it is. Hence natural science obtains knowledge about bodies by examining them in their relationship to each other, in motion. Cognition of the various forms of motion is cognition of bodies. The investigation of these various forms of motion is therefore the chief object of the natural sciences.\(^b\)

1. The simplest form of motion is change of *place* (within time, to do old Hegel a favour)—*mechanical* motion.

   a) There is no such thing as the motion of a *single* body, but relatively speaking one can talk of a *falling* body in such terms. Motion towards a centre common to many bodies. However, as soon as a single body moves in a direction *other* than towards the centre, the laws of *falling* still apply, it is true, but they are modified\(^c\)

---

\(^a\) Samuel Moore - \(^b\) Marginal note by Carl Schorlemmer: 'Very good; my own view. C. S.' - \(^c\) Marginal note by Carl Schorlemmer: 'Quite right.'
First page of Engels' letter to Marx of 30 May 1873
b) into the laws of trajectories and lead directly to the interaction of several bodies—planetary, etc., motion, astronomy, equilibrium—temporarily or apparently to motion itself. The real result of this kind of motion, however, is ultimately always the contact of the moving bodies; they fall into one another.

c) Mechanics of contact—bodies in contact. Ordinary mechanics, levers, inclined planes, etc. But this does not exhaust the effects of contact. Contact is manifested directly in two forms: friction and impact. It is a characteristic of both that, at certain degrees of intensity and under certain conditions, they give rise to new effects, no longer of a merely mechanical nature: heat, light, electricity, magnetism.

2. Physics proper, the science of these forms of motion, establishes the fact, after investigating each form of motion separately, that they merge into one another under certain conditions, and ultimately discovers that given a certain degree of intensity, which varies for different moving bodies, they all produce effects that transcend physics; changes in the internal structure of bodies—chemical effects.

3. Chemistry. In the case of the preceding forms of motion it was more or less immaterial whether the bodies under investigation were animate or inanimate. In fact inanimate objects revealed the nature of the phenomena involved in their greatest purity. Chemistry, on the other hand, can only discover the chemical nature of the most important bodies by using substances deriving from the life process. Its principal task is increasingly that of producing these substances synthetically. It forms the transition to the science of organisms, but the dialectical point of transition can only be constructed when chemistry has effected the real transition or is on the point of doing so.a

4. Organism—for the present I shall not indulge in any dialectical speculations on the subject.b

Since you are at the very centre of the natural sciences there, you will be in the best position to judge whether there is anything in it or not.

Your

F. E.

---

a Marginal note by Carl Schorlemmer in English: ‘That’s the point!’ - b Marginal note by Carl Schorlemmer: ‘Nor shall I. C.S.’
If you think I am on to something, don’t tell anyone about it lest some rotten Englishman or other makes off with it. Working it all out will take a long time yet.

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

301

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 31 May 1873
25 Dover Street

DEAR FRED,

Have just received your letter which edified me greatly. However, I shall venture no judgment until I have had time to reflect on the matter and consult the ‘authorities’.

I have been telling Moore about a problem with which I have been racking my brains for some time now. However, he thinks it is insoluble, at least pro tempore, because of the many factors involved, factors which for the most part have yet to be discovered. The problem is this: you know about those graphs in which the movements of prices, discount rates, etc., over the year, etc., are shown in rising and falling zigzags. I have variously attempted to analyse crises by calculating these ups and downs as irregular curves and I believed (and still believe it would be possible if the material were sufficiently studied) that I might be able to determine mathematically the principal laws governing crises. As I said, Moore thinks it cannot be done at present and I have resolved to give it up FOR THE TIME BEING.

The French catastrophe was welcome in so far as it involved disgrace for Thiers and his lickspittles; but unwelcome since, if it had gone the other way, I might have hoped to see various individuals removed from London soon. Moreover, I regard any violent catastrophe now as untimely both from the viewpoint of the interests of France and from our own.

Nevertheless, I am by no means convinced that the événement

---

a Carl Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore - b event
will result in a restoration. The Rurals had undoubtedly reckoned with some sort of revolt in Paris, Lyons and Marseilles, and especially in Paris. In that event they would have come down hard, some of the radical Left would have been arrested, etc., in short it would have led to a situation which *d'une manière ou d'une autre* would have had to end in a restoration, and quickly at that. Bonaparte himself, in his attempt to carry out his coup d'état, i.e. to bring it to a conclusion, found himself paralysed the very first day by the merely passive resistance of the Parisians, and he knew full well that if that were to last another 6-8 days the coup would be lost and lost irrevocably. Hence the signal to go ahead with gruesome murders in the boulevards, etc., *sans provocation aucune*, to improvise a *terreur*. Mr Morny in particular, the real manager, has since spoken very candidly about this planned operation, whose author he had been.

For that, however, the Rurals lacked the *pluck*; and they could only have had it if they had had one pretender instead of three. Their hope was rather the opposite one: that events would force them to stop acting like Buridan's ass.

Now that they find themselves, in contrast, in a purely parliamentary situation, the row is flaring up again in their own ranks. Each hopes to gain the support of as much of the nearest faction, *say, for instance, the left centre*, as would be necessary to enable him to dispense with his rivals. However, as far as MacMahon is concerned, in my judgment, the worthy fellow will never take any action on his own initiative. There is also another factor that must hasten the dissolution of this amalgam. The only thing that formally binds them together is God, i.e. Catholicism. The more impetuous and 'honest' people on the Right will absolutely insist that the Ministry should show its colours to the Pope and Spain, and it seems to me that, quite apart from any inner reluctance to do so, the need to consider Mr Bismarck's feelings must prevent any step in that direction. However, the Jesuit fathers who have actually directed the entire strategy of the Rurals up to now, including, i.e., that old bag, MacMahon's wife, will not let themselves be fobbed off so simply. In such a situation the National Assembly might easily witness just such a swift *changement de décoration* as took place recently. After all, it was

---

*a* in one way or another - *b* without any provocation - *c* This refers to the actions of the instigators of the Bonapartist coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851. - *d* Pius IX - *e* Elisabeth Charlotte - *f* change of sets
only the shifting of 9 votes that made the *homme nécessaire*\(^a\) impossible, a thing which, incidentally, disproves Hegel's view that necessity entails possibility.\(^b\)

The day before yesterday I went to see Dronke in Southport. He has become exceedingly fat, which does not suit him. While there I saw *par accident* Strauss' book *Der neue und der alte Glaube*, loaned to him by a German philistine. I leafed through it, and it really is proof of the great weakness of the *Volksstaat* that no one there has put this damned priest and Bismarck-worshipper (who gives himself such airs vis-à-vis socialism) in his proper place.

This afternoon I am going to Buxton with Moore, so that I shall be out of the way until Monday.\(^c\) As soon as I have seen Gumpert, I shall return. Just lazing-around and idling has done me a world of good.

Enclosed a letter from Tussy. In the letter the child received from me\(^17\) I said to her that her last letter had greatly reassured me, etc.; her reproach that I was unjust towards Lissagaray was unfounded. I asked nothing of him but that he should provide proof instead of words that he was better than his reputation and that there was some good reason to rely on him. You can see from the reply how the *homme fort*\(^d\) proceeds. The damned nuisance is that I must be very circumspect and indulgent because of the child. I shall not answer until I have consulted you on my return. Keep the letter by you.

Schorlemmer has just arrived. He cannot accompany Moore and me because Roscoe is unwell and this is the period for preparing for exams.

Schorlemmer read you letter\(^e\) and says that he is essentially in agreement with you but reserves his judgment on points of detail. *My compliments to Mrs Lizzy.*

Your

K. M.

---

\(^a\) necessary man (Thiers) - \(^b\) G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*. In: *Werke*, Bd. IV, Buch II, Abschnitt 3, B, p. 211. - \(^c\) 2 June - \(^d\) strong man - \(^e\) See this volume, pp. 500-04.
Dear Sorge,

Work on the *Alliance*\(^{a}\) has interrupted my correspondence. In addition the newspapers have only just started to arrive regularly again now that we have ordered them, and so it is only now that I can report properly again.

First, to deal with the points raised in your letters.

The ones from the General Council\(^{b}\) are answered in the enclosure.

14 May.—The business about the shortage of funds is as old as the International itself. The Americans were the only ones to pay, and if it hadn’t been for you, we would have been unlikely to receive even that.—Postponing the Congress\(^{672}\) is absolutely out of the question; it would mean abandoning the field to the other side and anyway is not at all necessary, as you will see.

23 May.—The people in Geneva I am supposed to be giving a kick do not even answer us. Even old Becker\(^{c}\) does not reply to Marx. Outine is we know not where. We ourselves do not receive the *Bulletin jurassien*, and only see extracts quoted in the *Liberté* and the *Internationale*.

27 May.—The statement on France\(^{700}\)—*very good!*—has gone off in English to the British Federal Council and will go off today in French to the *Plebe*, the Spanish Federal Council and Portugal. By the bye the Portuguese are complaining that they are not receiving *anything at all* from you and yet they are *very* important for us!—Serraillier has absolutely nothing to write about, since he does not have a single address in France any more; *everyone* has been caught. However, he will send in a little report on the trials\(^{677}\) for your own report to the Congress—there were trials *everywhere* where there were sections, in Béziers, Lisieux, etc., etc.—Correspondence for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*? Who is to do it? Marx and I are so overworked that Marx has been limited by his doctor to 4 hours work a day because of blood-congestion in the

---

\(^{a}\) K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*.\(^{b}\) F. Engels, 'To the General Council of the International Working Men's Association'.\(^{c}\) Johann Philipp Becker
head, so that I have to deal with everything together with Lafargue. Frankel works in his shop until 9 p.m. The others cannot write.—The Hamburgers\textsuperscript{452} are numskulls. I shall write and tell Liebknecht.—For Holland the German version of the statement will be adequate.—The Arbeiter-Zeitung should make more use of the Volksstaat.

And now for some news, and this time it is no message of ill-tidings.

1. The British Congress, held in Manchester on 1 and 2 June, was a success.\textsuperscript{701} 26 delegates.—Report from the Tory paper going off by book-post herewith; ditto 1 issue of the Brussels Internationale. The Federal Council to remain in London, although the locals wanted it transferred to Nottingham. The Eastern Post, hitherto the organ of Jung and Hales, has written a satirical article on the Congress which nevertheless acknowledges it as the real representative of the English International, and since then I observe that they have stopped publishing reports on bogus meetings in Hales' house; they seem to have shut up shop. Up to now they had always alternated these reports with reports from all of their 2 sections: Stratford and Limehouse, and Limehouse and Stratford; but this no longer seems to work.—Mottershead turned up in Hyde Park on Whit Monday\textsuperscript{a} for the Trades Union meeting, completely drunk as usual.—I have not received The International Herald for the past 2 weeks, so that too seems to have folded up. It's no misfortune since there are the other publications of the English press. The new French section here (Dupont and Serraillier) have some chance of starting up a French paper here, though French assurances cannot be relied on very much.

2. The Jurassians have carried out their decisive retreat.\textsuperscript{692} You will see from the Internationale that they have resolved to propose to their colleagues in the Alliance: not to send representatives to any congress 'que le prétendu Conseil général pourrait être tenté de convoquer',\textsuperscript{b} but to hold a separate congress at a place in Switzerland to be determined by their federations.

Translated that means: we cannot put in an appearance in Geneva, otherwise we shall be thrown out on our ears. So they will meet in some corner of the Jura; after the Olten Congress (see below) they cannot show their faces anywhere else in Switzerland.—Other reasons are: 1. Bakunin's old reluctance to appear in debates personally, 2. Guillaume's and his own expulsion, which would raise the crucial issue from the very outset in a purely

\textsuperscript{a} 9 June - \textsuperscript{b} which the so-called General Council might be tempted to convene
personal form, added to which there is also the fact of Bakunin's escroquerie,\(^a\) which would immediately finish him off, and 3. the certainty that in reality they are in as bad a way as we are and that internal squabbles have exhausted and irritated their people too. At their great Jura congress only nine sections were represented! In Italy, for all their bluster, they cannot put a single newspaper on its feet, and in Spain, in the movement as it stands, their stock is=0. More, they have had to renege on their own policy of abstention at once, and sent 8 members (10 according to them) into the Cortes.

3. In Rome a committee 'of the International' has been disbanded. It was called Società del Silenzio, clandestine society, oath of absolute obedience, the sacramental formula at the end of letters—the one proclaimed by Bakunin last year: Salute e liquidazione sociale, anarchia e collectivismo\(^b\)—in short, the secret Alliance\(^c\) with its whole bag of tricks. It comes just at the right time.

4. Serraillier has had an exchange in the Liberté with the Blanquists about the French trials\(^702\) in which the latter took a very impudent line, but were duly boxed around the ears for it. What really finished them off was that after the letters of authority of those with mandates had been annulled at The Hague and the General Council was alone empowered to issue new ones,\(^c\) Cournet and Ranvier issued a new letter of authority to Heddeghem in their names—and while still at The Hague!

5. Swiss workers' congress at Olten\(^703\)—70 delegates, 5 Jurassians, proposed decentralisation, defeated with all votes against their 5—they withdrew at once. But you will have known this long since from the Tagwacht.\(^d\)

I hope that your arm and voice are now recovered and that your prospects for the Congress have also improved. Even if the Congress is not very brilliant, it is nevertheless necessary and with some effort will turn out well. Don't forget that according to the Rules you must convene it and prepare a programme 2 months in advance, i.e. by 1 July.

Alliance as good as finished—in French; a mammoth task in this tricky language—shall hit out and surprise even you.

---

\(^a\) swindling \(^b\) Greetings and social liquidation, anarchy and collectivism \(^c\) K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872. VI. Powers Issued by the General Council, and by Federal Councils'. \(^d\) 'Der Kongreß in Olten und die Gewerkschaftsbewegung der Schweiz', Die Tagwacht, No. 28, 7 June 1873.
Must catch the post. Cordial regards.

Your
F. E.


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

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN HUBERTUSBURG

London, 20 June 1873

Dear Bebel,

I am answering your letter first because Liebknecht’s is still with Marx, who cannot locate it just now.

It was not Hepner but Yorck’s letter to him, signed by the Committee, which made us here fear that your imprisonment would be used by the Party authorities, which unfortunately are entirely Lassallean, to transform the Volksstaat into an ‘honest’ Neuer Social-Demokrat. Yorck plainly confessed to such an intention, and as the Committee claimed to have the right to appoint and remove the editors, the danger was certainly big enough. Hepner’s impending deportation was another argument in favour of these plans. Under these circumstances it was absolutely necessary for us to know where we stood; hence this correspondence.

You must not forget that Hepner, to say nothing of Seiffert and Blos, etc., do not enjoy anything like the same position vis-à-vis Yorck as you and Liebknecht do as founders of the Party, and that if you simply ignore such impertinences, this is something that can hardly be expected of them. The Party authorities, after all, have a certain formal measure of control over the Party paper, which they refrained from exercising when you were there, but which they have undeniably tried to impose this time, with damaging
effects on the Party. We thought it our duty, therefore, to do what we could to counteract this.

Hepner may have been involved in tactical infringements on points of detail, chiefly after receiving the Committee's letter, but we definitely think he is in the right on the substantial issue. Nor can I accuse him of weakness, for if the Committee clearly gives him to understand that he should resign from the editorial board, adding that otherwise he will have to work under Blos, I do not see what other resistance he could offer. He could certainly not barricade himself in the editor's office against the Committee. After such a categorical letter from a superior authority I can even find it in me to excuse Hepner's comments in the Volksstaat which you cited and which had when I first read them, earlier on, made an unpleasant impression on me.

This much is certain: since Hepner's arrest and absence from Leipzig, the Volksstaat has deteriorated greatly, and instead of quarrelling with him the Committee would have done better to give him every possible support. The Committee went so far as to demand changes in the editorial policy of the Volksstaat, they insisted that the scholarly articles should be omitted and replaced by leading articles in the style of the Neuer Social-Demokrat and threatened direct compulsion. I do not know Blos at all, but if the same Committee simultaneously nominates him, it must be assumed that they have chosen someone after their own heart.

With regard to the attitude of the Party towards Lassalleanism, you, of course, can judge better than us what tactics should be adopted, especially in individual cases. But there is also this to be considered. When, as in your case, one is to a certain extent in the position of a competitor to the General Association of German Workers, one can easily become too considerate of one's rival and get into the habit of always thinking of him first. But both the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party together still form only a very small minority of the German working class. Our view, which we have found confirmed by long practice, is that the correct tactics in propaganda are not to entice away a few individuals and memberships here and there from one's opponent, but to work on the great mass, which is as yet uninvolved. The force of a single individual whom one has oneself reared from the raw is worth more than ten Lassallean defectors, who always bring the germ of their false tendencies into the Party with them. And if one could

---

*a Neuer Social-Demokrat*
only get the masses without the local leaders it would still be all right. But one always has to take along a whole crowd of these leaders into the bargain, who are bound by their earlier public utterances, if not by their views hitherto, and now must prove above all things that they have not deserted their principles but that, on the contrary, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party preaches true Lassalleanism. This was the unfortunate thing at Eisenach,\textsuperscript{707} which could not be avoided at that time, perhaps, but there is no doubt at all that these elements have done harm to the Party and I am not sure that the Party would not be at least as strong today without that accession. In any case, however, I should regard it as a misfortune if these elements were to receive reinforcements.

One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity'. Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most discord, just as at present the Jura Bakuninists in Switzerland, who have provoked all the splits, shout for nothing so much as for unity. These unity fanatics are either people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything into one nondescript mush, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast, because they will then be all in one pot (in Germany we have a fine example of this in the people who preach reconciliation of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie)—or else they are people who unconsciously (like Mülberger, for instance) or consciously want to adulterate the movement. For this reason the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues shout loudest for unity at certain times. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the shouters for unity.

Naturally every party leadership wants to see successes, and this is perfectly good. But there are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice momentary success for more important things. Especially for a party like ours, whose ultimate success is so absolutely certain and which has developed so enormously in our own lifetimes and before our own eyes, momentary success is by no means always and absolutely necessary. Take the International for instance. After the Commune it had a colossal success. The bourgeois, struck all of a heap, ascribed omnipotence to it. The great mass of the members believed things would stay like that for all eternity. We knew very well that the bubble must burst. All the riff-raff attached themselves to it. The sectarians within it became arrogant and misused the International in the hope that the most stupid and
meanest actions would be permitted them. We did not allow that. Knowing well that the bubble must burst some time, our concern was not to delay the catastrophe but to take care that the International emerged from it pure and unadulterated. The bubble burst at The Hague and you know that the majority of the Congress members went home sick with disappointment. And yet nearly all these disappointed people, who imagined they would find the ideal of universal brotherhood and reconciliation in the International, had far more bitter quarrels at home than those which broke out at The Hague. Now the sectarian quarrelmongers are preaching reconciliation and decrying us as being quarrelsome and dictators. And if we had come out in a conciliatory way at The Hague, if we had hushed up the breaking out of the split—what would have been the result? The sectarians, especially the Bakuninists, would have got another year in which to perpetrate in the name of the International even far greater stupidities and infamies; the workers of the most developed countries would have turned away in disgust; the bubble would not have burst but, pierced by pinpricks, would have slowly collapsed, and the next Congress, which would have been bound to bring the crisis anyhow, would have turned into a row among the lowest kind of people, because principles would already have been sacrificed at The Hague. Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces—gone to pieces through ‘unity’! Instead of this we have now got rid of the rotten elements with honour to ourselves—the members of the Commune who were present at the last and decisive session say that no session of the Commune left such an excruciating impression upon them as this session of the tribunal which passed judgment on the traitors to the European proletariat. For ten months we let them expend all their energies on lies, slander and intrigue—and where are they? They, the alleged representatives of the great majority of the International, now themselves announce that they do not dare to come to the next Congress. (More details in an article which is being sent off to the Volksstaat with this letter.*) And if we had to do it again we would not, taking it all together, act any differently—tactical mistakes are always made, of course.

In any case, I think the capable elements among the Lassalleans will fall to you of themselves in the course of time and it would, therefore, be unwise to break off the fruit before it is ripe, as the unity crowd wants to.

---

* F. Engels, ‘From the International’. 
Incidentally, old man Hegel said long ago: A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split. The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not participate in the further advance; and this in itself is sufficient to explain why the 'solidarity of the proletariat', in fact, everywhere takes the form of different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions.

You must also not forget that, if the *Neuer*, for example, has more subscribers than the *Volksstaat*, this is due to the fact that each *sect* is necessarily fanatic and through this fanaticism obtains, particularly in regions where it is new (as, for instance, the General Association of German Workers in Schleswig-Holstein), much greater momentary successes than the Party, which simply represents the real movement, without any sectarian oddities. On the other hand, fanaticism does not last long.

I have to close my letter so as to catch the post. Let me only add hurriedly: Marx cannot tackle Lassalle until the French translation is finished (approx. end of July), after which he will absolutely need a rest as he is very overworked.

That you have been serving your jail sentence stoically and are studying is very admirable. We shall all be glad to see you here next year.

Cordial greetings to Liebknecht.

Sincerely yours,

F. Engels


Printed according to a typewritten copy

---

*b* of Volume I of *Capital*
Sir,

In reply to your inquiry I beg to say that I believe Mr De Morgan to be very honest but am not in a position to say anything definite as to his means.

The entire story about Marx’s illness stems from that idiot Barry, who got it into the newspapers and who will be given a good telling-off for it when he shows his face again.

The actual situation is as follows: From time to time but to an increasing extent over a period of years now, Marx has suffered from insomnia, which he has always tried to explain away with all sorts of unconvincing reasons, e.g. a persistent cough in the throat, but which remained even when the cough had been cured. The real slog with the French translation of Capital (he more or less has to rewrite the whole thing from the beginning), the urgings of the publisher and unpleasantness connected both with this and other things exacerbated the situation. However, he could not be brought to stop overworking himself until finally he began

---

* Maurice Lachâtre
to experience a conspicuous pressure at the top of the head and
the insomnia increased to an unbearable point where even very
powerful doses of chloral had no effect. I knew about these
symptoms from Lupus, who had also worked himself sick, was
then neglected by his doctor and was finally treated for what was
falsely diagnosed as meningitis. So I told Marx straightaway that
he had the same thing as Lupus and that he must stop working.
He first tried to shrug it off with bad jokes, but soon discovered
that the more he forced himself the less work he could do. So I
finally prevailed on him to go to Manchester and consult
Gumpert. The latter just happened to be in Celle on a visit to
his cousin Captain Wachs, so that Marx had about 12 days in
Manchester to recover before Gumpert returned. I had written to
Gumpert, giving my opinion, and had also told him that Marx
usually recovered very quickly. Gumpert thought my diagnosis was
completely correct and put Marx under a strict regime: not more
than 2 hours work in the morning and 2 in the evening, insisted
on breakfast and exercise after breakfast, light wines with
soda-water, plenty of movement, open bowels, a prescription I
have not seen, a very powerful dose of chloral if the insomnia
persisted, etc. Marx returned from Manchester much improved
and even if he cannot quite keep it up, which is more than can be
expected, he is nevertheless much better than previously, even on
bad days. My intention is to take him right away from his work
routine soon for a while, something which Gumpert incidentally
also recommends as a definitive antidote, and if he can only get
2-3 weeks rest and fresh air, he will be in a better state to take a
few knocks. At all events he now sleeps 4-5 hours a night without
chloral and 1-1 1/2 hours after luncheon, and that is more than he
has done for almost a year—in The Hague, for example, he hardly
slept at all. Moreover, he knows that this time it is serious and
sticks to the stipulations with an almost pedantic strictness, and,
since any deterioration is immediately apparent, I can always
preach rest and convalescence in good time.

Otherwise, things are more or less all right—Jenny is looking
forward to giving birth (but do not let her see that I have told
you)—Lafargue and I have finished the pamphlet on Bakunin
and the Alliance commissioned by the Congress, and as soon as it
has been approved by the Commission, it will go into print; it is

---

a Wilhelm Wolff  b Jenny Longuet  c The Commission appointed to prepare for
publication the minutes and resolutions of the Hague Congress. Apart from Marx and
Engels, it included Eugène Dupont, Léo Frankel, Auguste Serraillier and Benjamin
Le Moussu.
sure to cause a terrible row.\footnote{F. Engels, 'From the International'. - \textsuperscript{b} of the French edition of Volume I of \textit{Capital}} Lafargue and Dupont have started up a workshop to make brass instruments so as to exploit a patent taken out by Dupont; Serraillier will act as their salesman. Johannard has gone to Liverpool, Vichard pretends to be engaged in business transactions, Mottershead goes on drinking, Hales and Jung have failed spectacularly in their efforts to play at secession here, Eccarius has disappeared without trace now that Parliament is not to be dissolved. I have sent other news items to the \textit{Volksstaat}, where you will be able to read them in the next issue.\footnote{F. Engels, 'From the International'. - \textsuperscript{b} of the French edition of Volume I of \textit{Capital}}

With best wishes,

Your
F. Engels


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

306

MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET

IN PARIS

[London,] 10 July 1873

Dear Citizen,

After a lengthy interval, I have just sent off some of the manuscript (Part VI) and some proofs\footnote{of the French edition of Volume I of \textit{Capital}} to Mr Lahure.

As you will know, the most dangerous thing about an illness is a relapse, but I am now in a condition to set to work seriously once more on Mr Roy's manuscript\footnote{of the French edition of Volume I of \textit{Capital}}—of which a great deal has now accumulated.

However, the disruption caused by my illness cannot be to blame for the delay in the publication of fascicle IV and for the non-publication of fascicle V.

At a time when I was very unwell I passed sheet 27 for press,
but since it cannot be stereotyped without the ensuing instalment
VI, I should be glad to have another proof.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935 (the name of the addressee
was mistakenly given as Maurice Lachâtre)

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

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, 26 July 1873

Dear Sorge,

I telegraphed yesterday, cost £1.16:
ENGELS TO SORGE, BOX 101, HOBOKEN, NEW YORK.

Serraillier YES,712

Therefore, send Serraillier instructions and the material at once
so that he has enough time to prepare himself and doesn’t have to
appear without having read the papers. Ditto the money.

Neither Marx nor I could have taken on the task without setting
off the old hue and cry again: they are up to their old tricks, it is
Marx who is behind it all, as usual, and he is just using the
New-Yorkers as a front! It was only with difficulty that I could
persuade Serraillier to take it on; he has found a position at last
that can feed him decently and first had to cover himself there;
 hence the 3 days’ delay.

Have sent an invitation to the Congress to Bignami, who is at
liberty once more.641 Have also informed Serraillier, but as I have
already mentioned, he no longer has any correspondents in
France.

Am sending off to you by today’s post 2 parcels 16 copies of
Congress resolutions. You could have had them long since had

a See this volume, p. 507. - b K. Marx and F. Engels, ‘Resolutions of the
General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872’. 
you asked. But since you had no French sections, I thought that those I had sent for the use of the General Council would suffice.—8 or 10 have been sent off to Buenos Aires.\textsuperscript{715}

Have still not received any money.

The issue of \textit{The International Herald} with the English translation of the Congress resolutions is no longer to be obtained. Moreover, Riley has seceded and gone over to the republican camp, and the reports of the \textit{Federal Council} are appearing once again in \textit{The Eastern Post}, to the great annoyance of Jung and Hales, whose organ this was up to the time of the Manchester Congress\textsuperscript{701}; the Congress, however, finished them off. For this reason I have \textit{not} ordered \textit{The International Herald} for Meyer.\textsuperscript{a}

The statement about the French mandates has gone off to Italy, Portugal and Spain.\textsuperscript{700}

Marx and I would welcome mandates from there. We shall presumably have to go, for various reasons, although we would, of course, prefer to stay here.

Marx will send on the instalments of \textit{Capital},\textsuperscript{145} if he has not done so already. Four instalments of the French translation are out already,\textsuperscript{436} the publisher\textsuperscript{b} is afraid, and not without reason, that under the present clerical regime it may be confiscated, hence the slow appearance.

Admission for \textit{trades unions} varied. Some paid 1d per member, others a lump sum; yet others only enrolled the \textit{Central Council} directly and they too paid a lump sum. In conformity with the relevant article in the Rules, affiliation was approved by simple resolution and a certificate was issued to them.—For 1sh. they could receive a printed illustrated version of it to hang on the wall.

The \textit{Demokratische Taschenbuch} and the \textit{Geheimnisse von Europa} might be obtainable if further details about the time and place of publication were available; the book-lexica do not stretch to such things and it is hardly worthwhile searching through 20 half-year issues of Hinrich's \textit{Bibliography}\textsuperscript{c} in order to discover finally that they are \textit{not} there (which is all too likely to be the case with books of this sort).

I still have the Geneva money in my pocket, thanks to the impossible instructions you have lumbered me with. How am I to discover an address to send money to for the widows and orphans of the Commune? This part of the money really must be retained here for your further instructions, since we simply cannot carry

\textsuperscript{a} Hermann Meyer - \textsuperscript{b} Maurice Lachâtre - \textsuperscript{c} Halbjahrskatalog der im deutschen Buchhandel erschienenen Bücher, Zeitschriften und Landkarten.
out your orders. I would suggest transferring it to Serrailier with a request to devote it to the purpose specified, *if at all possible*, but otherwise using it for any refugees of the Commune in general. Or else transferring it to the International, which can certainly put it to good use.—The refugees here who have still not been fixed up are a pretty worthless lot. I shall send £10 to Geneva and hold the rest here, pending further instructions from you.714

*Oberwinder.* a We are entirely of your opinion as far as we can judge from the *published* documents.715 Oberwinder has always been a *trimmer* who may have made too much of the backwardness of Austrian conditions in order to have an excuse to act as mediator. Andreas Scheu, on the other hand, is a muddle-headed fellow at best, who wants to stand out as a man who 'goes as far as possible' and whose ambition quite certainly outstrips his abilities. We have long suspected him of being in contact with the Bakuninists, and now, in his programme (*Volksstaat* No. 59), he has used the phrase taken directly from Bakunin that all other parties *constitute a single reactionary mass* vis-à-vis the proletariat.716

We shall reserve our judgment until we learn more. Very suspect too is the fact that Heinrich Scheu, who was present at The Hague, has been here for 4 weeks and only looked up Marx after Mrs Marx had met him in the street. Up to now we have taken care not to discuss the matter with him, otherwise he behaves quite decently and heaps abuse on Bakunin and the Blanquists, but it is peculiar all the same.

*Würtz* was described to me by Pihl as a vain, importunate fellow who imagines he is indispensable and whose indiscretion in pushing himself forward has done them considerable harm. *The long and the short of it is* that, thanks to the Lassalleans in Flensburg and others in North Schleswig, the Danes lean more towards the General Association of German Workers706 and have got themselves into a mess as a result. Hence their silence. The devil take the socialists of all these peasant countries, they are always fooled by fine phrases.

Look at our Bakuninists in Spain, for example. On Bakunin's orders they abolished the state in Alcoy (the so-called atrocities were, of course, reactionary inventions), and set up a *Comité de salut public* b (which includes Severino Albarracin, a member of the Bakuninist Federal Council of Valencia and of the Correspondence Commission that has now been established in Córdoba627). So what happens? At the suggestion of some deputies anxious to

---

a See this volume, p. 491.  b Committee of Public Salvation
mediate, peace is concluded; on the one hand, an amnesty, on the other, all resistance is abandoned and the troops move in amongst the jubilation of the bourgeosist. In Barcelona they are neither strong nor courageous enough to attempt anything of the sort, but wherever they are, they strengthen 'anarchy', general confusion, and—they smooth the way for the Carlists.

The report on the Alliance is in print—I read the first proofs yesterday. It is supposed to be ready in a week but I very much doubt that it will. It will be some 160 pages long, I shall advance circa £40 for the printing costs. Edition of 1,000—price: 2 francs=1/9d sterling. I shall send you the first copies to come off the press. But since the thing simply has to be sold so as to recover our costs, please let me know right away how many copies can be ordered for you over there; we shall then have a few more sent. Could you also look around for a reliable bookseller who would distribute it over there. Because of the additional expenses you will probably have to fix the price at about 60-75 cents in your currency—c'est votre affaire—at any rate, we here have to receive 1/9d per copy, with the exception of those sold through the bookseller since his discount will have to be subtracted, otherwise we shall not recover our costs. The book will hit the autonomists like a bombshell, and if anyone at all can be broken, it will finish off Bakunin. Lafargue and I wrote it together; only the conclusion is by Marx and myself. We shall send it to the entire press. You yourself will be surprised at the infamies revealed in it; even the people from the Commission were quite astonished.

The Federal Council here proceeds on its somnolent way. Apart from the printed reports I see and hear little of them. At all events, Jung, Hales, Mottershead and Co. are finished as far as their pseudo-International is concerned.

Get some Copenhagen addresses for me through Würtz right away, so that I can send there a few copies of the Alliance report. Have not heard another word from Pihl, so that I do not know if his address is still valid.

Apart from that things are jogging along here. My wife is in Ramsgate and Mrs Marx was due to go there today too. Jenny Longuet will probably enlarge the family in a week or two (do not

---

a K. Marx and F. Engels, The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association. b that's your business. c The Commission appointed to prepare for publication the minutes and resolutions of the Hague Congress. Apart from Marx and Engels, it included Eugène Dupont, Léo Frankel, Auguste Serraillier and Benjamin Le Moussu. d Lydia Burns
write to Marx or Mrs Marx about it until you receive official notice, they are very particular about family matters). Lafargue and Le Mousu have started up an engraving business, based on a patent. Dupont too is attempting to exploit his patent in brass instruments, but keeps coming up against obstacles, mostly of his own making, since he knows as much about business as my dog. All this between ourselves. You have no idea how sensitive these people are about private communications, moreover their sensitivity is in direct proportion to their own tendency to gossip.

Finally, it would still be best if one of you were to come. How can we possibly represent the General Council here as effectively as this would be done by one of its members?

Your

F. Engels


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
You will have received—at least I read your last letter in that sense—3 copies of *Das Kapital* in one volume. I send you to-day the last *livraison*\(^a\) of the *Heftedition*.\(^b\)

We are publishing the Revelations on the *Alliance*\(^c\) (you know the sect of teetotallers call themselves thus in England\(^721\)), and want to know the cheapest way to send you a somewhat large number of copies. A letter relative to the chief\(^d\) of that sanctimonious people is still held in reserve.\(^574\)

I thank you much for your last long letter and shall make proper use of it. It is of great commercial value for myself.\(^722\)

Yours most truly,

A. Williams\(^e\)

---

First published, in Russian, in *Minuushie gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

---

309

MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE.\(^725\)

[London,] 29 August 1873

Dear Fred,

Serraillier was here this evening. He was full of complaints and very much in two minds about his going to Geneva.\(^724\) Quite apart from personal reasons, he says he had only agreed in the first place because he thought we were going. In addition, however, he has now read the mandate, which had been promised him two weeks before the Congress, so he says. He finds that it contains things, such as increasing the powers of the Council, that he could not defend either personally or in the name of the Federal Council.\(^f\)

But none of that is the essential point. The Federal Council has received a letter from Perret which makes it clear

1. that the *Fédération Romande* wishes to annul the plenary powers granted to the General Council by the Hague Congress\(^580\);

---

\(^a\) instalment - \(^b\) edition in serial parts - \(^c\) K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men’s Association* - \(^d\) Bakunin - \(^e\) Marx’s pseudonym - \(^f\) the British Federal Council
2. that not a single member of the Romance gang in Geneva will accept a mandate from an English section, apart from Duval, and even he will only do so on the condition stated under 1;

3. that, as Perret writes, none of the oafs there is prepared to spend as much as a week at the Congress, which would be essential if the mandate is to go through.

Under these circumstances I am definitely of the opinion that it would be better for Serrailier not to go. The scandal rebounds back on us, not him, if he goes—under these circumstances, which could not have been foreseen. In my view he should send a letter enclosing the American papers and go on to say that ill health prevents him from taking up the mandates he has received from New York, London, etc. Finally, he should say that the letters he has received in London from the main continental countries have convinced him that in the light of circumstances currently prevailing in France, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Portugal, etc., no bona fide congress is possible.

Telegraph Yes right away, if you agree; No, if opposed. I did not wish to commit myself to anything definite without consulting you first.

In view of the circumstances in Switzerland, which have been carefully concealed from us up to the last moment, I think it would be absolutely crazy to send Serrailier. Our complete abstention, which even at this stage both can and will make an impression on the governments and the bourgeoisie—despite the hullabaloo the papers will create to start with—va au diable, if Serrailier turns up under these circumstances.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Sorge also writes (perhaps you know already) that the Dutch have informed them that they will also attend the Jura Congress, and he insists that the Dutch should not be admitted to our (!) Congress, a point which Serrailier, as their mandated representative, is expressly asked to support.

My compliments to Mrs.  

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

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

---

*a* will go to the devil  
*Lydia Burns*
Dear Moor,

If Serraillier won't go, we cannot force him to.\textsuperscript{724} However, I cannot absolve him of his promise, since I have telegraphed his acceptance,\textsuperscript{a} and in any event he must himself come to terms with the General Council.

Against the reasons you give, it must be urged that it is important for us to have a reporter; without Serraillier we shall not receive any account of what takes place, especially in the closed sessions.

What is \textit{absolutely essential}, however, and our duty to the General Council, is that the two reports enclosed\textsuperscript{725} which are utterly useless in Geneva in English, should be translated into French in time and sent off to Geneva. In the circumstances you must make sure that this is done. If 3-4 people each do a part at the same time, it can be ready in 1-2 days, and even if it doesn't come out just as one would have wished, the rush excuses everything.

In the circumstances, the sorrier our Congress\textsuperscript{672} turns out to be the better, of course, and to that extent it is better if Serraillier doesn't go. But I am in the awkward position of having given assurances that he would attend, assurances that I cannot reverse unilaterally.

Why on earth doesn't even one of those Geneva jackasses write in good time! What a dirty trick, and brought about by the very people who made all the fuss to start with! The others will undoubtedly have the laugh on them and insist that they \textit{should} indeed eat humble pie and recognise \textit{their} Congress\textsuperscript{671} and \textit{their} new Rules. And Duval, who was in such a fury in The Hague,\textsuperscript{580} has also joined in the hue and cry—it really is the last straw.

Well, it will all be very jolly. Regards to all.

Your

F. E.

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 518.
Dear Fred,

Your telegram received; Serraillier arrived later on with Perret's letter to Days in his pocket. I couldn't keep it for you because Days, who is secretary of the local Federal Council, needs to report on it on Tuesday. However, Serraillier has promised to make a copie of it for you. The letter is classical; the 'illimite' powers or rather 'pouvoirs illimités' which the La Haye Congress granted to the General Council, must be withdrawn from it. On this point the Genevois—and ditto Mr Perret—are agreed; for then there is some hope that des sections jurassiennes will go over to them. For years now this same Perret has been writing that these sections would go over to them if only the General Council would proceed more energetically against the Jurassians! And of course everything is always looked at from the most bigoted and most parochial Swiss point of view. Furthermore, Frankel tells me that the same riff-raff are discontented with the resolutions passed at Olden, or whatever the place is called where the local Swiss congress met! In the circumstances there can be absolutely no question of going to Geneva on account of people like that, people who even refuse to accept mandates from English sections. I think you would do well to send a counter-order to Hepner without delay; he will still receive the avis in time.

Yesterday, a few hours before I wrote to you, je l'ai échappé belle, and can still feel the effects in all my bones. I drank a spoonful of raspberry vinegar and some of it stuck in my wind-pipe. I had a terrible choking-fit, my face went quite black, etc. Another second or so and I would have departed this life. The first thing that occurred to me post festum was whether it might not be possible to bring about such accidents artificially. It would be the most decent and least suspicious method, and moreover a highly expeditious one, of doing away with oneself. It would be a great service to the English if one could recommend the experiment publicly.

---

a 3 September - b See this volume, p. 523. - c message - d I had a narrow escape - e subsequently
Madame Longuet will arrive tomorrow, after all sorts of telegrams to and fro—it was very stormy in Boulogne.

Apropos! Lafargue and Le Moussu have definitely split up.\textsuperscript{719} It took place—the separation, that is—when Le Moussu declared his willingness to do so since reluctance was in evidence on the other side. Le Moussu is now counting on you. I think the separation is a good thing and had become a necessity for both sides, since a lot of time was wasted in this war between the frogs and mice.\textsuperscript{728}

Salut.

Your
K. M.

As for Serraillier, who couldn’t work for a week because he was unwell and who would have lost about another two weeks with the Geneva trip,\textsuperscript{724} I am very pleased that we have not given him any reason to accuse us later on of having ruined his whole business! You know how, where and when the Frenchman makes a habit of bringing to bear his ‘working-class nature’ against the ‘bourgeois’ in his own party.

Have received a letter from França.\textsuperscript{729}

---

\textsuperscript{a} Jenny Longuet
The Genevans are complete philistines. So everything is to be overturned on the possibility that des sections jurassiennes will return to the fold! I am convinced that they are already up to their tricks with the others and absolutely dying to compromise—had we gone there, we might well have found everything settled in advance. The confidential report of the General Council can hardly be entrusted to such a congress in extenso. Incidentally, the others are also making a rather poor beginning with only 30 members!

I had given my agreement to Le Moussu on 2 matters unconnected with each other:

1. to advance him the £23 for his patent, whatever the situation;

2. if Lafargue were to leave him in the lurch, or back out of his own accord, or if there were to be a separation in any other form that would not prejudice my relations with Lafargue—then I would enter into negotiations with him and Moore on the same basis as they had established with Lafargue previously. It seems to follow from your letter that the terms of the separation were such that Lafargue cannot reproach me with anything if I take his place and go into partnership with Le Moussu. If this is right—and your opinion on this will be entirely sufficient for me—then Moore and Le Moussu can come and visit me in the evening, when I have to be in because of Andrews, and we can talk the matter over. But if he has to have the money for the patent immediately, he must let me know at once, since I would have to go to London right away to see to it.

My congratulations on your narrow escape. Unfortunately, such fits cannot be produced to order with any certainty. The raspberry vinegar, and even more solid bodies, might have got into your wind-pipe a hundred times over without provoking the same symptoms.

Have written to Hepner.

Would you inform Le Moussu of what I said above, if you believe that I can do it with a good conscience vis-à-vis Lafargue? It should be made clear, incidentally, that my offer only refers to Lafargue's position in 'Moore & Le Moussu'. The other affair—the big printing works—should be abandoned for the time being, if only for commercial reasons. We shall have enough on our hands, for the moment at least, with exploiting the patent itself. I shall explain all this when I come.

---

* See this volume, p. 527.  
* George Moore  
* See this volume, p. 526.
Best regards to the whole family from Lizzie and myself.
I hope that Andrews has also sent you the title, the table of contents and the cover? Put on the cover, in small print at the bottom: *Prix 2 sh.*

Your

F. E.

---

313

MARX TO BENJAMIN LE MOUSSU
IN LONDON

[London, after 3 September 1873]

My dear Le Moussu,

I have considered the matter about which you got in touch with me719 and shall be obliged if you will come and see me before going into town.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

---

* of Marx's and Engels' pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*
Dear Fred,

Letter from Hepner enclosed.\(^7^3^0\)

The copies of the *Alliance*\(^a\) which were meant to go to your house have not yet arrived, even though Darson had them as early as last Saturday.\(^b\) Therefore, so far I have had nothing to send off but the 12 copies still at your home.

*Salut*

Your

K. M.

That sorry piece of work signed Perret, Duval, etc., was written—according to Trusov—by Cluseret.\(^7^3^1\) I said to you at the time that it could not have been written by those oafs because of the *affectation of a small sort of literary style*.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

\(^a\) K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*.

\(^b\) 6 September
Dear Citizen!

On Monday* I found the letter from you which Miss Carroll had left at my house. That day and Tuesday I was so much engaged on French refugee and International business that I could not attend even to the most pressing portion of my own affairs, nor find time to reply to the numerous letters found here on my return to town. Otherwise I should at once have written to you that I could not take the chair for her next Sunday.

On Tuesday as I was just on the point of going out on business which admitted of no delay and must be settled before 1 o'clock that day, Miss Carroll called again. It was half past twelve and I had above a mile to walk to the place. If a dozen of my oldest friends had arrived from the other end of the world, I could not have seen them at that moment where I had not five minutes to spare. I must have treated them as I treated Miss Carroll.

On telling her as politely as I could my momentous situation, she merely asked me categorically whether yes or no, I would take the chair for her; I regretted I could not, as I had an engagement for that evening, and again expressed my sorrow for having to leave her so abruptly; upon which she at once interrupted me, leaving me not even the time to ask her when and where I could have another interview with her, by saying that she was quite used to that sort of thing on the part of the London Internationals, and walked out of the house.

I felt sorry for her, attributing her behaviour to the exaggerated touchiness often brought on by misfortune. Fortunately, the would-be insulting letter she wrote to me since, leaves me no room to doubts as to what is hidden behind all this virtuous indignation.

As to taking the chair on Sunday I was compelled to decline the honour.

---

* 15 September
1) because, as stated, I had a previous engagement;
2) because, contrary to your expectation, I do not recollect having heard Miss Carroll's name once before, nor could I get any further information from one or two others I asked. And I cannot be expected to take the chair for parties of whom I know nothing or next to nothing.
3) I never took the chair at a public meeting of Englishmen and do not intend doing so. When I once took the chair for you, that was at the meeting of a German private society of which I was a member.

At all events this little incident will not have been without its use, if you will see from it the impropriety of proposing people for chairmen using their names without having previously obtained their consent.

Yours fraternally


316

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

[London.] 20 September 1873

My dear Oswald,

I have written to Wróblewski, who is as fluent in Russian as he is in Polish, being Lithuanian by birth.

\(^{a}\) Crossed out in the draft here: 'Suppose even she was what you must have considered her when you recommended her to me, a sincere revolutionist, you still must know that there are a good many different sorts of them and that it would be impossible for any of us to identify ourselves publicly with every one of them. Not knowing anything of Miss Carroll's views, it might very possibly have been my duty to get up at the end of her speech and express my dissent from part of what she had said, and thus do more harm than good.'

\(^{b}\) Crossed out in the draft here: 'which for me has no importance whatever'.
If he does not agree I have another Russian (non-Polish) in
petto.3

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33,
Moscow, 1964

Printed according to a typewritten copy
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

317

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD
IN LONDON

[London, 24 September 1873]

Dear Oswald,

In future could you please address yourself directly to the
people you wish to recommend and not to me. I wrote to
Wróblewski17 on the basis of a letter which I had just received
from you, while in the meantime, you had recommended
Rozwadowski, whom I also knew about, but whom I had
overlooked in favour of others, since he already had other
employment.

But never mind.—We needn’t fall out over this; however, you
must realise that it is unpleasant to be put in a false position like
that. I immediately told Wróblewski that the business had come to
nothing and I do not think that he was greatly interested.

Yours,
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33,
Moscow, 1964

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

---

3 up my sleeve
MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 27 September 1873

Dear Sorge,

My wife has written you a number of letters about my state of health. There was a serious possibility of my succumbing to apoplexy and I am still suffering greatly from headaches, so that I must severely restrict my working time. This is the sole reason for my long silence. As far as I can recollect, I have only written one letter to New York, and that was to Bolte\(^a\) since it seemed to me from your letter that I might usefully intervene to smooth the troubled waters and clarify matters.

The fiasco of the Geneva Congress\(^672\) was unavoidable. From the moment it became known here that no delegates would be coming from America, it was clear that matters were going awry. The attempt had been made in Europe to represent you as mere figureheads. If you had not put in an appearance and instead we had turned up, this would have been interpreted as confirmation of the rumour anxiously put about by our adversaries. It also would have passed as proof that your American Federation existed only on paper.

Furthermore, the British Federation was unable to scrape enough money together for a single delegate; the Portuguese, the Spaniards and Italians notified us that in the circumstances they could not send any delegates directly. The news from Germany, Austria and Hungary was just as bad and participation by the French was out of the question.

It was a foregone conclusion therefore that, under the circumstances, the great majority at the Congress would have consisted of Swiss—moreover, of local Genevans. From Geneva itself we had heard nothing; Outine was no longer there, old Becker\(^b\) persisted in an obstinate silence and Mr Perret wrote once or twice to create a false impression.

At the very last moment a letter arrived for the British Federal Council from the Romance Committee in Geneva\(^727\) couched in sentimentally conciliatory terms. In it the Genevans firstly refuse

---

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 474-76. \(^b\) Johann Philipp Becker
to accept English mandates and then enclose a leaflet (signed by Perret, Duval, etc.) directly attacking the Hague Congress and the former General Council in London. In some respects the fellows even go further than the Jurassians, e.g. they call for the expulsion of the so-called brain-workers. (The nicest thing about the whole business is that this piece of nonsense was written by that miserable military adventurer Cluseret (who in Geneva describes himself as the founder of the 'International' in America). The gentleman wanted to have the General Council in Geneva in order to run a secret dictatorship from there.)

This letter, together with its enclosure, arrived just in time to keep Serraillier from setting off for Geneva, and to induce him to protest against the activities of the fellows there (as did the British Federal Council) and to inform them in advance that their congress would be treated as nothing more than a local Genevan event. It was very good that no one turned up there whose presence might have cast doubt on such a view of the congress.

Notwithstanding this state of affairs the Genevans failed in their bid to gain control of the General Council, but they have, as you will be aware, managed to nullify all the work done since the first Geneva Congress and even to carry through numerous measures running counter to the resolutions adopted there.

As I view European conditions, it is quite useful to let the formal organisation of the International recede into the background for the time being, but, if possible, not to relinquish control of the central point in New York so that no idiots like Pettet or adventurers like Cluseret may seize the leadership and discredit the whole business. Events and the inevitable development and intertwining of things will of themselves see to it that the International rises again in an improved form. For the present it suffices not to let the connection with the most capable in the various countries slip altogether out of our hands and for the rest not to give a jot for the Geneva local decisions, to simply ignore them. The only good decision adopted there, to postpone the Congress for 2 years, facilitates this mode of action. Furthermore it upsets the calculations of the Continental governments, the spectre of the International refusing, just now, to be of service to them in the impending reactionary crusade; indeed, the bourgeois everywhere consider the spectre dead and buried.

Apropos. It is absolutely essential that the account book with the records of how the monies were managed for the refugees of the Commune is sent back to us. We simply cannot do without it if we are to justify ourselves against slanderous insinuations. It was
something completely unconnected with the general function of the General Council and in my view it should never have left our hands.

I hope that the American panic does not get too much out of hand and so have too great a repercussion on England and hence on Europe. General periodic crises are always preceded by such partial ones. If they are too violent they only preempt the general crisis and take the sting out of it.

With cordial greetings from my wife.

Your

Karl Marx

I would be glad to receive any cuttings from the Yankee papers reporting on the crisis.

What is the address of our mutual friend, Weydemeyer’s executor? 

Next week Engels will send you the 25 copies of the Alliance still outstanding.


Printed according to the original

319

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 25 November 1873

Dear Sorge,

Having been summoned to Germany by the illness and death of my mother, I returned from there a few days ago and found your letter of 22 October waiting for me. Quite unknowingly you do me an injustice to blame me for keeping you in the dark for so long about decisions and developments here. The facts are these.

After long hesitation and after receiving lukewarm reports from some places and no news at all from others, Marx and I had come to the conclusion that the Congress\textsuperscript{672} would become essentially a local Swiss affair and that since no one would be able to come over directly from America, we would do best to stay away too. (An additional factor was that no mandates arrived for either Marx or myself, apart from the alternative one from America.) As soon as this had definitively been agreed, I went off to the seaside at Ramsgate\textsuperscript{723} to join my family, a break I needed urgently in view of my constant insomnia and nervous irritability. While I was there, Marx wrote to me about the sudden revelations about the treachery of the Genevans\textsuperscript{a} which made it necessary to decide that neither should Serraillier attend the Congress.\textsuperscript{724} This was pretty clear to me from Marx's letter and I agreed to it on condition that Serraillier should inform you at once.\textsuperscript{b} A few days later I went to London for 24 hours in order to pay the \textit{Alliance}\textsuperscript{c} printer\textsuperscript{d} and to organise the distribution. I had a look at the relevant documents and became convinced that it would have been the greatest folly for Serraillier to have gone there as your representative. Our absence and his, together with that of every German with one exception,\textsuperscript{e} stamped the Congress as a merely local assembly which still looked respectable enough when compared to the Alliance,\textsuperscript{671} but which could lay no claim to any moral authority vis-à-vis the International. Furthermore, the general world situation was such that any congress was bound to end badly, as we can see from the fact that by now both the congress of the Alliance and that of the International have completely been forgotten. Well, I urged Marx to let you know at once and went off again, and until I received your present letter, I assumed that this had been done. For his part, Marx had thought that Serraillier would have given you the first news when he sent back the money and that he could therefore wait until he was in a position to give you information about the results of the Congress, etc.

Instead of that, Serraillier gave the money to Lafargue for safe keeping, as we discovered only last week, and I shall get it from Lafargue in the next few days and take care of the matter. I am very busy looking through the—extremely bad—German translation of the \textit{Alliance} pamphlet, which has been sent to me—Bracke is bringing it out in Brunswick.\textsuperscript{735} What I have of your version has

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 523-24. \textsuperscript{b} Ibid., p. 525. \textsuperscript{c} K. Marx and F. Engels, \textit{The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association}. \textsuperscript{d} Andrews \textsuperscript{e} A. Burchardt
been very helpful in correcting the other one. Of course, the
matter is urgent and I have to work through it as the manuscript
has to go back this week.

Marx and his youngest daughter\(^a\) went to Harrogate in
Yorkshire yesterday; both of them are to spend some time there
convalescing.\(^{736}\) He needed it badly; the severe symptoms he had
felt in the spring had vanished, but chronic brain pressure
set in, which made him unable to work and unwilling to write, and
which, if allowed to go unchecked for too long, might have serious
consequences. During the next few days he will go and see our
friend Gumpert in Manchester, the only doctor in whom he has
complete confidence and who also looked after him in the spring.
His condition is another reason why you have had to wait so long
for a reply.

Bakunin's answer to the pamphlet has been to send the *Journal
de Genève* and the Jurassians a statement announcing his political
demise\(^{737}\): I withdraw—*dorénavant je ne troublerai plus personne et je
ne demande que ce qu'on me laisse tranquille à mon tour.*\(^b\) He is gravely
mistaken in this. Apart from that, not the slightest attempt to
reply to anything.

Outline has been here for 4 weeks or so and has told us still
more wonderful stories about Bakunin. The fellow has really put
his catechism\(^{738}\) into practice; for years now he and his Alliance\(^10\)
have lived exclusively from *blackmail*, relying on the fact that
nothing could be put into print about this without compromising
other people who have to be taken into account. You have no idea
what a low-down gang they are. That aside, their pseudo-
International is as quiet as a mouse; the pamphlet has exposed
their frauds and Messrs Guillaume & Co. will have to let the dust
settle first. In Spain they have put an end to themselves, see my
article in the *Volksstaat*.\(^c\)

The real International is equally silent. I have still not had an
answer from Mesa, to whom I wrote in September.\(^{45}\) In Portugal
they are all being persecuted and have to watch their step. In Italy
a section has been formed in Melegnano,\(^{739}\) a fact I herewith bring
to the attention of the General Council; for the address see below.
The *Plebe* is still coming out, but very irregularly and with a
strong emphasis on mediation. That is all I have to report. The
federation here, having been badly shaken by Jung, Hales & Co., is

---

\(^a\) Eleanor - \(^b\) henceforth I shall interfere with no one and in return ask only that
others should leave me in peace too. - \(^c\) F. Engels, 'The Bakuminists at Work'.

now suffering badly from consumption; it is barely possible even to bring all the members together any more.

With best wishes.

Your
F. Engels

Address for Melegnano: Luigi Zoncada, Melegnano, Provincia de Milano, Italia.


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

320

ENGELS TO MARX

IN HARROGATE

[London,] 29 November 1873

Dear Moor,

Lopatin left for Paris again yesterday evening. He intends to come here in a month or two, at which time Lavrov too will move in with his printing shop, unless he changes his mind on account of the expense, a matter to which I particularly drew Lopatin's attention.

It is unlikely that Lopatin and Outine will ever be very firm friends, their temperaments are not really compatible and the shadow of their first cool encounter in Geneva still weighs down on them. Moreover, Lopatin remains a great Russian patriot and still treats the русское дело as something special, having nothing to do with the West, and is hardly grateful to Outine for having initiated us into its mysteries. In addition, Lopatin has just passed through Lavrov's hands and coming fresh, as he does, from the solitude of Siberia may well be fair game for the latter's befuddled dreams of reconciliation.

On the other hand, he is fed up to the back teeth with the

---

* (Russ.) Russian cause
whole Russian emigration nonsense and wants to have nothing further to do with it whereas Outine, despite and because of his hostility to the gang, is still up to his ears in all their gossip and thinks every last fart a matter of importance. He is absolutely furious because Lopatin wants to have Chernyshevsky's manuscript that you know about printed not by Trusov but by Lavrov, parce que cela leur donne du prestige!

So in my view it is of no great significance whether Lopatin takes Elpidin, for example, not for a sophisticated rogue, but for a simple ass. Even though it was precisely the indiscreet remarks of this same Elpidin to a certain Fedetzki or Feletzki, and the latter's inability to hold his tongue, that put the Russian government wise to Lopatin's presence in Irkutsk and so brought about his arrest.

When Lopatin arrived at Irkutsk, Chernyshevsky was 'quite close by', i.e. 700-800 English miles further on near Nerchinsk, but was straightaway removed to Srednevilyuisk, to the north of Yakutsk, 65° latitude, where, apart from the indigenous Tungus, the only company he has are the non-commissioned officer and the 2 soldiers who guard him.

Having escaped in July, Lopatin remained in hiding in Irkutsk for a month, ending up in the house of the very man who had been ordered to discover his hiding place. He then travelled on his own telega to Tomsk, disguised as a peasant and doing the driving himself; from there he went by steamer, from Tobolsk by post-horse and finally by train to St Petersburg, still dressed as a peasant. There he stayed in hiding for another month, after which he quietly crossed the frontier by train.

In the перевод 'Капитала' Chapters 2-5 (including machinery and large-scale industry) are by him, i.e. quite a decent chunk. He is now translating from the English for Поляков.

Yesterday I read the chapter on factory legislation in the French translation. With all due respect for the skill with which this chapter has been rendered into elegant French, I still felt regret at what had been lost from the beautiful chapter. Its vigour and vitality and life have gone to the devil. The chance for an ordinary writer to express himself with a certain elegance has been purchased by castrating the language. It is becoming increasingly impossible to think originally in the strait-jacket of modern

---

a N. G. Chernyshevsky, 'Письма безъ адреса' (Letters Without an Address).
b because it will add to their prestige - (Russ.)
c (Russ.) cart - d (Russ.)
French. Everything striking or vital is removed if only by the need, which has become essential almost everywhere, to bow to the dictates of a pedantic formal logic and change round the sentences. I would think it a great mistake to take the French version as a model for the English translation. In English the power of expression in the original does not need to be toned down; whatever has inevitably to be sacrificed in the genuinely dialectical passages can be made up in others by the greater energy and brevity of the English language.

Apropos, how does Mr Kokosky set about excusing his bad translation? By claiming that I write in that 'Liebknecht/Marxian style' that is so hard to capture! What a compliment!

Tussy's letter arrived yesterday evening. Shall answer it tomorrow, so that you don't receive everything on one day.

What does Gumpert have to say?

Best regards to Tussy.

Your
F. E.

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

321

MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Harrogate,] 30 November 1873

DEAR FRED,

On Thursday I went to see Gumpert whom I found very bald and aged. The poor fellow suffers terribly from haemorrhoidal convolution he has had for ages and for which he at long last intends to have an operation, something which, as he admits himself, always involves a certain degree of danger. I dined at his home (apart from him I could not, of course, see anyone in the

a 27 November

19-556
few hours I had in Manchester) together with his four self-made
children and their governess.

Gumpert examined me bodily and found a certain elongation
of the liver which according to him I cannot get rid of completely
until I go to Carlsbad. I have to take the same water as Tussy
(they call it Kissingen water here, on account of its resemblance
to the real things), but none of the mineral baths. Apart from that
my regime and Tussy's are somewhat different. She may only walk
in great moderation—a point on which Gumpert is wholly in
agreement with Tussy's local doctor, Dr Myrtle (a very sweet-
smelling name, the man is a Scot and boasts himself a Jacobite
this very day; he should get to know Colonel Stuart chez Don
Carlos); I, on the other hand, am supposed to go on vigorous
marches. Gumpert's advice to do very little was scarcely necessary,
since up to now I have actually done nothing, not even written
letters. I had imagined that two weeks here would suffice, but
Gumpert insisted on three. And in fact Tussy will not be able to
take a much stronger mineral bath than she has been taking so far
until the middle of next week.

Apropos. Gumpert has not received the Alliance pamphlet that I
sent him; in general, there have been many complaints in
Manchester about the failure of the post to deliver papers and
prints. So send him one by return; ditto a copy of your articles on
Spain printed in the Volksstaat, if you have received them yet.
Gumpert says that all these things interest him greatly, and that
we must help to keep him au courant by sending him things from
London, as otherwise he will completely go to seed among the
Manchester philistines.

I am very sorry that the good Lopatin has missed me; but how
lucky he has been in his misfortune. When he moves to London
we shall protect him against Lavrov's soft-sawder.

There was a storm here yesterday (although on the whole the
air is extremely invigorating) and I caught a bad cold which has
kept me indoors today, in accordance with the maxim: Principiis
obsta.

Our lune-de-miel couple, about whom Tussy has already told
you, were so horribly bored in the first 3 days—they are called
Briggs incidentally—that the young husband prescribed a friend,
a devil with a limp, who arrived yesterday. Since then they seem livelier, to judge by the noise they are making. Tussy and I took refuge in chess yesterday evening. Apart from that I have been reading Sainte-Beuve's book on *Chateaubriand*, a an author I have always disliked. If the man has become so famous in France it must be because he is in every respect the most classical incarnation of French vanité, a vanité not decked out in the light-hearted and frivolous garb of the 18th century, but strutting about in a romantic disguise and newly minted idioms; the spurious profundity, Byzantine exaggeration, the coquettishness with regard to the feelings, the flamboyant shillerising, word-painting, theatrical, sublime—in a word it is hotchpotch of lies never before achieved in either form or content.

It is very kind of Mr Kokosky to have invented a Liebknecht/ Marxian style. But it seems to refer to Liebknecht's French style, with which we are unacquainted. His German style is, after all, just as uncouth as that of Mr Kokosky and must please and appeal to him for that very reason.

Now that you are taking a look at the French translation of *Capital*, I would be grateful if you could persevere with it. I think you will find that some passages are superior to the German.

*My compliments to Mrs Lizzy.*

*Addio.*

Your

K. M.
ENGELS TO MARX
IN HARROGATE

[London,] 5 December 1873

Dear Moor,

I would have written to you yesterday as agreed, but I had the pleasure of a visit from your esteemed associé, Mr Le Moussu, from 3 to 6 p.m., who honoured me with a list of his complaints. Have no fear, I do not intend to take my revenge by repeating the entire rigmarole. I have urged them both to keep the peace (Moore a week ago, Le Moussu yesterday) and pointed out that they were now married and would simply have to get along with each other. They are two of the oddest fellows one could hope to find, each with a boundless idea of himself and his achievements, but each in his own specialty, and since their specialities are different, each criticises the other to perfection. I gave Moore £5 last week and another £5 to Le Moussu yesterday, reminding him of his duty to take no more than half for himself. He found this somewhat disagreeable, but since Moore did not come but sent him instead, it was my duty to do so after all that had taken place. Le Moussu then said that £10 were still owing on the patent and that would exhaust the £160. I can give them another £5 next week, if you authorise me to do so, in the event that no money comes in; but I shall categorically demand that Moore should get Longuet to cash it, since there have been enough remittances from October which, when cashed, should keep the machine going. If you could write a brief note to Moore along the same lines, it would be of help. And if they pester you with letters, just write and say that they simply must get along together until your return. That would do very nicely since all the grievances are by no means as pressing as they make out.

Have sent the Alliance report b to Gumpert. What does he say about your head? I hope you have got rid of your cold.

I am now in a position to pay the £100 due at Christmas. Should I give it all to your wife, or just part and the rest to you on your return? And also, since you are staying 3 weeks, you will need more money for there; if so, say how much, reckoning liberally.

---

I had commissioned Aston over a fortnight ago to sell some shares but there are no buyers for this special sort. If I manage to get rid of them (and I shall be seeing him tomorrow), your debts can be settled without delay, otherwise we shall have to wait until the beginning of February, when I have prospects of further money.

For your amusement I am sending you a pamphlet on banks, belonging to Utin. It is by Geffcken, a Strasbourg professor. What clever-clever people they are! And they only quote members of their own lousy gang, authorities like Augspurg (who has ever heard of the Jew?) and the great Wagner of whom it is said:

'It the Tosafoth Yom Tobh no longer valid?
What is valid? Murder! Murder!' 744

Utin has left a whole pile of such pamphlets here, it's fantastic stuff, serves him right if he relies on his bookseller to make the choice. Judging them just by the titles, 3/4 of them are only fit for the W.C., and significantly, not a single one of them has had its pages cut.

More soon on the French translation. 436 Up to now I find that what you have revised is indeed better than the German, but neither French nor German has anything to do with that. Best of all is the note on Mill, 745 quant au style. 

Enclosed an excerpt on the way in which mechanical energy is transformed into heat in the human body. Busch is one of the leading contemporary surgeons. The phenomenon described here also explains the claim made by both sides at the start of the war— that—in violation of military convention—the enemy was using dum-dum bullets. Busch's cool account certainly puts one in mind of the old warning; do not play with firearms. A nice business when your own brain smashes open your skull. 746

Best regards to Tussy.

Your
F. E.
Dear Engels,

Of the £60 you gave me, about £23 remained for my journey (having made payments as follows: £10 to Moore* et Co.; instalments: £5 to Beerman, £5 to Grocer, £5 to Withers, £2.17sh. interest to the pawnbrokers, £4 dress, boots, etc., for Tussy, £5 left for my wife). With £10 more I shall have largely enough, but will need £12 if I return via Manchester, as I promised Gumpert, and stay there for 2 days.

Be so good as to give my wife only £20 of the £100, and keep the £80 for me in reserve, as I have to make major payments on 3 and 16 January and would not like to expose her to the temptation of paying off less urgent debts.

The £5 will just have to be shoved down the throat of the Co.719 I shall write to Moore today about collecting the remittances.

My cold, which was damned severe, has not yet gone completely, and I am still downing the medicine which Gumpert prescribed me from Manchester as soon as he heard of it. I hope it will be cured in 1-2 days. But you can see from the fact that I have not felt so well for years, despite this irksome, dizzy-making incident, what an extraordinarily beneficial effect the air here and the peaceful life have had on me (I have done absolutely no work whatsoever).

I caught the cold through following too literally Gumpert's advice to take vigorous exercise after drinking the waters. It should have been clear from the state of the sky that a storm was to be expected.

The cure is doing Tussychen a world of good. Likewise the regimen which prescribes bed by 11 o'clock at the latest.

The table of contents of De Paepe's planned magnum opus747 features, as the main section of Book 2, données physiologiquesb:

‘Analysis of Labour Power and Physiological Conditions of Its Existence.’ 1. Karl Marx's theory of labour power, necessary labour and surplus labour.—The great economic and social significance of this theory; 2. Physiological analysis of what

---

* George Moore - b physiological data
Marx calls *labour power* or the *power of the labourer.*—This force comprises three principal elements: the power of the nerves, the power of the muscles, the power of the senses.\(^a\)

You see how he thus takes the opportunity to enter medical territory. The section ends:

14. How the foregoing physiological data enable us to determine, as precisely as possible, *the value* of labour power as *the basis of all exchange value* and the foundation of all economic science.

The last sounds like a misunderstanding. Then comes the theory of population under the heading: ‘Data furnished by the study of the functions of reproduction.’ I see from the table of contents that because of the delays in publishing the French translation of *Capital,\(^486\) he is unfamiliar with what has been done there and hence has been unable to appropriate it in any way.

The recalcitrance of the Cuban *slaveholders* is a *Godsend*; it would be highly undesirable for the matter to drift on so indecisively. Moreover, any unpleasant complication that overtakes Castelar et Co. is to be welcomed.\(^748\)

Have you read the Pope’s \(^b\) Encyclical in which, very transparently, our handsome William \(^c\) is compared to the Roman Emperors who persecuted the Apostles and followers of Christ?\(^749\)

The Left in the French Assembly will probably find itself subjected to special regulations. The scoundrels are reluctant to walk out *en masse*, for that would mean the end of the security which is the citizen’s prime duty, as well as the official position of importance and the parliamentary remuneration, etc.

Gumpert wants to know when you are next going to show yourself in Manchester? I have reassured him by saying that you would in all likelihood come up on business in the spring.

**Compliments to Mrs Lizzy.**

Your:

K. M.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

---

\(^a\) Here and below Marx quotes from De Paepe in French.  \(^b\) Pius IX  \(^c\) William I
Dear Moor,

Enclosed you will find 3 halves of five-pound notes; please acknowledge receipt at once so that the rest can follow.

Heavy fog since yesterday morning from which I just escaped for a short hour by taking a walk to the Heath.\(^a\) Up there blue sky and warm sunshine, an island of brightness in a sea of fog.

That good-for-nothing Roderich Benedix has left a bad odour behind in the shape of a thick tome against ‘Shakespearomania’.\(^b\) In it he has proved to a nicety that Shakespeare can’t hold a candle to our great poets, not even to those of modern times. Shakespeare is apparently to be hurled down from his pedestal so that fat-arsed Benedix can be hoisted into his place. However, the first act of the *Merry Wives*\(^c\) alone contains more life and reality than all German literature, and Launce\(^d\) with his dog Crab is alone worth more than all the German comedies put together. By way of contrast, the ponderous posterior R. Benedix will indulge in considerations as serious as they are cheap over the casual manner in which Shakespeare often makes short work of his dénouements and thereby cuts short the tedious twaddle that in reality is nevertheless unavoidable. *Habeat sibi*.\(^e\)

Yesterday received a geological map of the Rhine Province. The superficial conjectures I made *in loco*\(^f\) mostly confirmed.

Best regards to Tussy.

Yours

F. E.

---

\(^a\) Hampstead-Heath  
\(^b\) R. Benedix, *Die Shakespearomanie*.  
\(^c\) Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.  
\(^d\) a character in Shakespeare’s *Two Gentlemen of Verona*  
\(^e\) He is welcome to it.  
\(^f\) on the spot
Dear Engels,

The halves of the notes have arrived, for which best thanks. I have received a letter from Sorge\(^a\); he requests you urgently to send off the still missing 25 copies of the *Alliance*\(^b\) to New York.

While you had fog up there, there was real spring weather down here, and air of a purity such as we are not accustomed to having in England.

Roderich Benedix comes as no surprise to me.\(^c\) If he and those like him understood their Shakespeare, where would they get the courage to display their own 'wares' to the public?

Things are going badly for Bazaine.\(^7\) The Orléans have no cheaper way to exhibit their own patriotism than by such an act of brutality against a Bonapartist general. The Duc d'Aumale is a modern Cato.

I have just written to Gumpert,\(^1\) saying that we shall arrive in Manchester at 12 noon on Monday.\(^d\)

Salut.

Your

K. Marx

---

\(^a\) of 26 November 1873 - \(^b\) K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* - \(^c\) Marx refers to Benedix's book *Die Shakespearomanie* - \(^d\) 15 December
My dear and honoured friend,

I felt very anxious about your protracted silence, Mr Leblanc being unable to inform me of your whereabouts and your doings. I am sorry to see from your letter that my apprehensions were not quite unfounded, but the mild climate of Penzance and your robust constitution will, I hope fervently so, soon rid you of the cough which, by the by, sways it now all over the country. It is, in the current phrase, quite a seasonable nuisance.

My youngest daughter\(^a\) and myself have for three weeks stayed at Harrogate\(^b\) whither our medical adviser\(^c\) had sent us. The quiet life, breezy air, mineral waters and pleasant walks of the place have gone far to restore the health of the two patients. When we arrived, the season had already gone, so that we occupied our hotel ‘in single blessedness’,\(^c\) being only disturbed and somewhat amused during the last days of our sojourn by the dropping in of a Church of England parson, a worldly wise old man, with no smack of cant about him, of fluent and trivial talk, with conventional varnish of manners and caring indeed for nothing save his belly. He was the true model of a modern Christian, using that word itself only with respect to the dishes our hotel-keeper provided and saying for instance: this is no Christian mutton chop, if that same chop happened to lack some virtue or other. The man had overrun most countries of Europe and was in himself a recording office of all the merits and demerits of its several hotels, always hunting in vain for that paragon of mankind—a perfect man—cook. At the same time he never tired of bitter sarcasms against the overstrained pretensions and the extravagant living of the miners of the black country,\(^d\) being himself an incumbent at Durham. This man gave me and Eleanor constant occasion to think and speak of you, because a more striking contrast could hardly be fancied—you, so to say an

\(^a\) Eleanor Marx  \(^b\) Eduard Gumpert  \(^c\) Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act I, Scene 1.  \(^d\) the coal-mining and iron-working areas of Staffordshire and Warwickshire
anticipation of what the men of the new society will be, and he, the parson, a stereotyped mould of what the men of the old society have contrived to become.

I send you to-day three further parts of the *Capital*\(^a\) which, on the whole, are less abstract than the preceding ones. If they contribute to enliven your hours of seclusion, I shall feel most happy. In general, I must say that my views commence to spread amongst the workmen of the Continent and that there the upper classes and the official representatives of political economy make much noise about them and feel rather annoyed at them.

In poor Spain things might still right themselves if French reaction gets not the upper hand. With all their shortcomings there is mettle in the Spaniards. The downbreak of the Spanish working class rising—which was unripe and senseless\(^{758}\)—will prove useful if its leaders have been taught by dearly bought experience to emancipate themselves from highflown but hollow French phraseology and to apply themselves to the study of the real conditions of the movement. We have some excellent men at Madrid and Valencia. At Lisbon we have a nucleus of really superior workers.

In the United States our propaganda has been much accelerated by the crisis. It has acted as our recruiting officer.

In Germany we are pretty sure to send at the coming elections at least a dozen intelligent and energetic workmen to parliament.\(^{754}\) The sudden and mighty industrial development in that country is our best agent. Bismarck and the middle class intend striking a blow at the proletarian press, the ‘respectable’ press confessing its inability to cope with it, but the old king\(^b\) is rapidly sinking and his successor\(^c\) cannot dare inaugurate his regime by unpopular measures.

In Russia, what with the social disorganisation consequent upon the emancipation of the serfs\(^{755}\) and the awful growth of financial disease, what with the popular discontent at the loss of the Russian prestige through the Prussian achievements and the hesitations of a weak home-policy making half-concessions to-day to compensate them by ultra-reactionary measures to-morrow, the elements of a general convulsion are accumulating.

Thus, my dear friend, the world is moving with all that. What are the feeble efforts of upper class France at a moment where the

---

\(^{a}\) of the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*  
\(^{b}\) William I  
\(^{c}\) Crown Prince Frederick William
foundations of the very stronghold of European reaction, of Russia, are shaking?

With my and Mrs Marx kind regards to Mrs Allsop and our best wishes for the coming year, I remain, my dear and honoured friend,

Yours most sincerely,

Karl Marx

Engels sends you his compliments and will immediately write to you.

First published, in the language of the original (English), and in Japanese, in *Keizai gakuronshu*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Tokyo, 1969

Reproduced from the original
APPENDICES
Dear Mr Engels,

Moor and Jenny sailed off for Ramsgate yesterday morning, in order to see whether there is anywhere for us to put up our tents. I greatly fear that the rent will be enormous. I have been to see the house-agent, Mr Smith, several times already in order to spur him into action. He claims to have taken all the necessary steps and to have written to the owner in Manchester. No reply has been forthcoming from that fine gentleman, who seems to be in no hurry at all about the business. Smith thinks, however, that you are not running a risk of any kind and that there is time enough to settle the matter for you. He promised to write to me again, but since I have not heard anything further so far, I shall go and see him again tomorrow and not mince words.

Lafargue has just sent a number of French papers and I enclose a copy of Le Soir for you here. It may contain something useful for your military articles. You cannot imagine what a sensation these have been making here! They really have made everything wonderfully clear and vivid, and I cannot but think of you as the jeune Moltke.

The nauseating vituperation in the Figaro, etc., really passes beyond all belief. They want to devour the vandals, bones and all, for having had the impudence to concentrate their forces and dare to set foot in the sol sacré de la patrie. They all deserve to be thrashed by the Prussians; for all the French, even the tiny
number of better ones, have an element of chauvinism in some remote corner of their hearts. This will have to be knocked out of them. Even here in our house, where there was also a bit of chauvinism, there is now just indignation about these gentry with their civilisa-ation and their ideas which they were kind enough to try and import into Germany, which is no sol sacré.

From the stamps on the papers which Laura has sent, I see to my horror that they are still in Levallois-Perret and hence close to the fortifications. We have long since warned them to leave Paris and take little Schnäpschen to Bordeaux. But they won't listen, and I hope they won't have to pay for it. I shall close now so as to catch the post and at the same time to rush for the Pall Mall to see whether there are not any Notes on the War by Z in it. Yesterday they printed your article as the first leader, so as to make even more capital out of it politically.

The Peace League donated £20 to the International yesterday to distribute the Address in Germany and France. I don't know whether Moor will be happy about Wilhelmchen's translation. The French translation of the braves Belges is quite wretched; in terms of fadaise it is surpassed only by the translation which has just arrived from the braves suisses.

Please give my best regards to your dear wife.

Your old friend,

Jenny Marx
ELEANOR MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[Ramsgate,] 12 August 1870
36 Hardres Street

My dear Engels,

You will see from the address that we are once more at Ramsgate.\(^5\) I suppose you know that last Tuesday\(^a\) Mohr and Jenny went to look for houses.—Mama and I left London yesterday, and after a very pleasant journey arrived here safe and sound. I say a pleasant journey, though I don’t think Mama thought so. The sea was very rough, the waves washing over the ship and wetting everybody.—All the passengers with the exception of one lady, myself, and several gentlemen, were sea-sick. This lady and I climbed up just by the side of the Captain’s deck, and there we sat down. It was great fun. This morning I turned out before six o’clock in the morning and walked about till nine. I intend to go to the sands now and take a good bath.—Yesterday Papa had a letter from Kugelmann.—He writes about that book to which Rossa’s likeness is to be prefixed.\(^7\) He thanks very much for what you wrote,\(^b\) but says he has not got the likeness.—Now Jane sent it shortly after your preface was sent—so I suppose they didn’t get it. Would you mind sending them your copy—you know that one that was given with *The Irishman*.—We shall be much obliged to you if you will.—Now I must finish, for I’m in a hurry to go out again, so with best love to all

Believe me to be

Your affectionate

Tussy

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

Reproduced from the original

---

\(^a\) 9 August - \(^b\) F. Engels, ‘Notes for the Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs’.
JENNY MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER
Ramsgate [around 18 August 1870]
36 Hardres Street

Dear Mr Engels,

I am enclosing a letter from Lafargue which will certainly be of interest to you. It is the first time in ages that we have heard from them and so we now know that they do not intend to take part in the siège. That is one consolation at least. All the news from Paris is really frightful. If the grande nation had attacked at the right time, they would have been spared the régime of Eugénie and Palikao now. Isn't it scandalous that they simply continue to keep Rochefort in jail, the only intelligent politician among the whole of the jeune France? The fact is that they deserve the Prussian rod even more than one might have supposed.

I really am furious about the business with the house and just do not know how you can get around the marquis. Perhaps a letter to Mr Smith would be of more use than my personal intervention. He constantly shifts all the responsibility for the delay away from himself and onto the shoulders of the sub-agent. The whole affair is in a complete muddle.

Yesterday evening there was heavy rain here so that Moor could not go out for his evening walk. This morning the sun is shining splendidly again. I am convinced that the marvellous sea air here would help him to recover completely if only he didn't have this wretched rheumatism that keeps him from walking and sleeping. Last night, though, he had a much better time of it, and after lunch he again went to 'bye-byes' for a while, as we call the siestas. The girls are constantly by, in, near or on the sea and have red cheeks and even redder noses, but otherwise are very well and cheerful. Only both are suffering greatly on account of the downbreak of their favourite nations. Jenny is totally 'French' and Tussy 'Irish'. And Pigott really has behaved like a madman. 'E. M.' is not Tussy. However, today she intends to send the ass an excerpt from the Liberté in which the French explicitly reject all assistance and enthusiasm on the part of the Irish, since they

---

a wife of Napoleon III - b young France
would prefer after all to deal with the 'honest English'. That's the treatment they get from Bonapartist France. This is the thanks for their torchlight processions and demonstrations.

Warmest regards from us all and particularly from me to your dear wife.\(^{a}\)

Yours,

Jenny Marx

---

First published in \textit{MEGA}, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Published in English for the first time

---

\section*{JENNY MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, around 13 September 1870]}

Dear Mr Engels,

Warmest thanks for your kind long and interesting letter.\(^{45}\)

To come back to the subject of our house,\(^{24}\) I am sorry that you were put to the trouble of writing once again. The position with the wallpapering is as follows: Smith and the other agent said they were prepared to paper the room if you desired it; they both thought, however, that the red wallpaper, once it had been cleaned, mended and generally renovated, would be preferable to any other cheaper one, that it was 3 times as expensive as the one in the \textit{front room} and that it was a genuine \textit{dining room} paper. So I went back with Lenchen\(^{b}\) to have another look at it, as I did not trust my own judgment entirely, and Lenchen was \textit{definitely} of 'Smith's' opinion and still claims that she prefers it to any other. I remained undecided and since I did not really know what to do, I waited for your letter. It might perhaps be best if you could look at it for yourself and made up your own mind. It will only take a day if you want to have a new one. Please let me know what you would like to have. Apart from that, the house seemed in good repair from top to bottom, and neither of us could find anything

\(^{a}\) Lydia Burns - \(^{b}\) Helene Demuth
amiss. Two broken windows were just being replaced and also a new *robinet*\(^a\) (I can't just think of the German word) on the stone sink in the washhouse. Apart from that everything seemed to be in good order and I think that the man will replace anything still missing without delay. He appeared very willing in every respect.

At any rate, you must stay with us for a few nights and use our house as a base from which to make your arrangements. We shall be able to find room for everyone. For our house is a veritable palace and much too large and dear for us in my view.

Serraillier has written a very interesting letter from Paris which confirms everything we already knew long since about those amiable phrasemongers.\(^b\)

Serraillier says you can almost get torn in pieces if you tell the truth, and even the better and the best ones are living on their memories of 1792. He is absolutely delighted about Rochefort, whom he has now seen for the second time, and he has enrolled in the home-guard unit *du cher Gustave*.\(^c\) It might be better not to tell Dupont for the moment that Serraillier is helping to defend *le sol sacré*.\(^d\) He might after all start to suffer from *le cœur gros*\(^e\) and want to be off. *Et à quoi bon?*\(^f\) With his quick temper Dupont would make a fine impression. We have had no news from the Lafargues. I am overjoyed that he is safe.

Jenny is feeling better, but is greatly affected by the fate of the *grande nation*, with which both girls\(^g\) are completely infatuated. Time will change all that. Indeed, we have all experienced that enthusiasm.

Best regards to your dear wife\(^h\) from
Your
Jenny Marx

---

\(^a\) tap \(^-\) See this volume, p. 77. \(^-\)\(^c\) of dear Gustave (Flourens) \(^-\)\(^d\) the sacred soil \(^-\)\(^e\) a heavy heart \(^-\)\(^f\) And what would be the good of it? \(^-\)\(^g\) Jenny and Eleanor Marx \(^-\)\(^h\) Lydia Burns
My dear Mr Imandt,

I have just received your letter and make all haste to let you know that Moor is 'all right'. The rumours are just a lot of police fabrications which Stieber has invented in league with those French scoundrels. You will be receiving copies of the Address of the International today. Perhaps you can arrange for something from it to appear in the press. The girls have been with Laura for the past 6 weeks. They were in Bordeaux at first. But then things got too hot for Lafargue. They made their escape from there and are now close to the Spanish border; safe, I hope.

Your brother also wrote briefly yesterday about Moor's arrest. Please tell him what you know. I have my hands full today.

You cannot imagine, dear Mr Imandt, what we have been through, all the misery and anger, during the last few weeks. It took more than 20 years to develop such brave, able, heroic men, and now almost all of them are lost. There is still hope for some, but the best have been murdered. Varlin, Jaclard, Rigault, Tridon. And above all the true heroes, who fought on without leaders for 8 days in Villette, Belleville and St Antoine: workers, both men and women!! The despicable loudmouths like Félix Pyat will probably save their skins. Others are still in hiding, but I am afraid that the bloodhounds will hunt them down.

With best regards.

Yours,

Jenny Marx


Printed according to the original

---

a K. Marx, The Civil War in France. - b Jenny and Eleanor Marx - c working-class quarters in Paris - d In the original, this sentence is given as a postscript.
My dear Doctor,

My best thanks for the portraits you have been kind enough to send us. They are excellent copies. I quite agree with you as to illustrated paper; but as unfortunately we only had two votes between us and as there were many votes against us, I assure you I had to fight many a hard battle, and at length only succeeded in effecting a compromise—that is to say, both copies have been sent to the artist who is going to publish the portrait, and he is to decide between them, or to make use of both.768

I am happy to say it has been possible to persuade Mohr to give up work for five days, and to go to the seaside.516 Today he will have to return, as there is a sitting of the International3: mama who is with him, writes, that the few days’ rest have done him much good. And he was sadly in want of rest! To me it is a marvel how he has been able to bear all the toil and trouble of these last months.

The work has been, and still is, fearful. Take this day for an example. Early this morning there came a letter from an Italian section of the International—stating, that the Association is making wonderful progress in Italy (I suppose you have seen Garibaldi’s letter on the Internationalb), and asking for advice and assistance. Then arrived letters from different parts of France, and finally a crazy epistle from a Swede, who it seems has run mad. ‘He calls upon’ le grand maître ‘to light torches upon the mountains in Sweden’ etc. Close upon the postman’s rap follows a ring. An arrival from France—Russia—or Hong Kong! The number of refugees here is daily increasing. These poor people are in the most heartrending misery—they have not learnt the art of Badinguet,c d’Orléans, Gambetta and Co. of providing for the

---

a a meeting of the General Council — b Garibaldi’s letter to Arthur Arnold published in Der Volksstaat, Nos. 80 and 81, 4 and 7 October 1871. — c Nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III), who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet.
rainy day—they have come over here without clothes on their backs or a farthing in their hands. The winter here will be terrible.

Your fears with regard to the importation from France of mouchards\(^a\) are but too well founded. Happily, the Council has taken its precautions. To give you a proof of the success of those precautionary measures, I need only tell you that the International held a conference from the 17\(^{th}\) to the 23-\(^{rd}\),\(^254\) and not a single paper knew of it. On the 24\(^{-th}\) a banquet wound up the proceedings. Mohr was made to preside on the occasion (much against his will, as you may imagine), and he had the honour of having on his right hand the heroic Polish general Wróblewski. On the other side sat the brother of Dombrowski.\(^b\) A great many members of the Commune were present. From Switzerland, Outine and Perret had arrived as delegates, from Belgium, De Paepe and five others, from Spain, Lorenzo—a most earnest devoted man—Liebknecht and Bebel could not come for want of cash. The Conference has transacted very much business. Among other questions of course the eternal Swiss squabble cropped up. A special Committee\(^{567}\) was selected to examine the difference. The resolutions it has arrived at, will, it is to be hoped, put an end to the underhand machinations of the clique Bakounine-Guillaume-Robin.—The following are some of the resolutions on the Swiss affair—

'Considering
'That the Alliance de la démocratie socialiste has declared itself dissolved;
'That in its sitting of the 18th September the Conference has decided that all existing organisations of the International Association shall henceforth be obliged to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, sections, federations, etc., of the International Association with the names of their respective localities attached;
'That the existing branches and societies shall therefore no longer be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Mutualists, Positivists, Collectivists, Communists, etc.;
'That no branch or society already admitted shall any longer be permitted to form a separatist body under the name of "section of propaganda", alliance, etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the purpose common to the mass of militant proletariat united within the Association, etc.;
'That henceforth the General Council of the International Association will in this sense have to interpret the resolution of the Basle Congress "The General Council has the right either to accept or to refuse the affiliation of any new society or group pending appeal to the next Congress", etc., etc.'\(^c\)

Tussy is calling me—so I must bring this letter to a close. I wished to write also to dear Trautchen,\(^3\) but find I cannot do so

\(^a\) police spies \(^b\) Theophil Dombrowski \(^c\) Jenny Marx quotes in French. Cf. present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 429-30. \(^d\) Gertrud Kugelmann
to-day. Will you therefore ask her to excuse me, and tell her that every word of the report (in the German paper) concerning our arrest is *untrue*. Instead of our having proclaimed our names at Luchon, every letter was sent to us to the name of Williams or Lafargue. We lived in utter retirement, seeing no one but the doctor, of whom alas, we had need during the whole of our stay. The stay was sad indeed, for Laura’s youngest child was ill during the whole time, and after fearful sufferings, died, towards the end of July—on the 26-th.—A few days after the child’s death, just as the Lafargues were able to go out a little, M. de Kératry commenced his *guerre à outrance* against us. Laura who had joined her husband at Bosost (in Spain) suffered much—her eldest child fell ill, so ill that she thought it would die—it was suffering from dysentery, so prevalent in that part of Spain—and she could not move away, as the Spanish and French police were waiting to arrest her. The child is a little better now. Paul, meanwhile, had escaped by unknown paths into the centre of Spain. Tussy and I had been caught on our return from Bosost, arrested, kept close prisoners for several days in our house and then taken to the gendarmerie-barracks. The letter found on me I had written to O’Donovan Rossa. It was an answer to his *shamefull* condemnation in *The Irishman* of the Communal movement. I expressed my surprise that *he, of all men*, should believe the infamous calumnies against the Communists, invented by the wretched police organs *Le Figaro, Paris-Journal* etc. I claimed his sympathy (he is a power at New York at this moment) and that of his fellow-countrymen, for the heroic champions of a better society—for, I said, Irishmen, less than all others, can be interested in the continuation of the present state of things, etc.

With best love to Trautchen and Fränzchen
Believe me, dear Doctor,

Very sincerely yours,

Jenny Marx

First published, in Italian, in *Movimento operaio*, No. 2, Milan, 1955

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

---

*a* war to the knife - *b* Charles Étienne Lafargue - *c* Franziska Kugelmann
ELEANOR MARX TO ARISTIDE BARRÉ

IN LONDON

[London,] 10 October 1871
1 Maitland Park Road

Sir,

My father asks me to tell you that an engraver is wanted, and that if you apply as soon as possible you will obtain employment.—You should go to R. Harper and Son, 16 Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, and say you have been sent by Mr Oswald of 39 Gloucester Crescent.

I am, Sir, Yours very truly,

E. Marx

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, 21-22 December 1871

My dear friends,

First of all let me thank you for your kind letter, my dear Doctor, and ask you to pardon me for not answering it before this. If you knew how much I have had to do of late you would forgive me. For the last three weeks I have been running from one suburb of London to the other (which is no small undertaking in this immense city), and then I have often written letters until one o'clock in the morning. The object of these journeys and letters is
to obtain funds for the support of the refugees. Hitherto, alas, we have been unsuccessful in our endeavours. The infamous calumnies of the shameless newspapermongers have so much prejudiced the English against the Communeux, that they are generally looked upon with unmitigated horror. Employers will have nothing to do with them. The men who had succeeded in obtaining engagements under borrowed names, are dismissed so soon as it is found out who they are. Poor M. and Mad. Serraillier for instance had obtained engagements as French teachers. A few days ago, however, they were informed that the services of an ex-member of the Commune and of his wife would no longer be required. But I can speak of these things from personal experience. The Monros, for instance, have broken off all connection with me, because they have made the terrible discovery that I am the daughter of the pétroleur chief, who defended the iniquitous Communal movement.

As the refugees cannot find employment, you can imagine to what straits they are reduced. Their sufferings are beyond description—they are literally starving in the streets of this great city—the city, that has carried the chacun pour soi principle to its greatest perfection. It is not to be wondered at that Englishmen, who consider starvation cases to be part and parcel of their own glorious constitution, who look upon the liberty to starve as a privilege to be proud of, are not much impressed by the nameless misery of foreigners for whom they have no sympathies whatever. For more than five months the International has now supported, that is to say, has held between life and death the great mass of exiles. But its resources are now exhausted. In this extremity we have had the enclosed private circular printed. I have drawn it up, and you will see carefully avoided any word or allusion that might shock the philistines.

You can imagine, my dear friends, how much all these difficulties and troubles worry poor Mohr. Not only that he has to fight with all the Governments of the ruling classes—into the bargain, he has hand to hand combats with the 'fat, fair and forty' landladies, who attack him, because this or that Communeux hasn't paid his rent. Just as he has lost himself in the abstrakten Gedanken, in rushes Mrs Smith or Mrs Brown. If only the Figaro knew this—what a feuilleton would be offered to his readers!

What with interruptions of every kind Mohr has had the greatest difficulty to find time to arrange the first chapter of his

---

*a incendiaries' chief - b every man for himself - c abstract thoughts*
book for the second edition. By hook and crook he now hopes to be enabled to send it to his publisher before the end of the next week. He has much simplified parts of it. But, I am happy to say that in spite of such an ocean of cares, Papa's health is pretty good, better than it has generally been at this time of the year. Some weeks ago he had an abscess under the arm, but it was not a bad one and was soon cured. His cough also has almost left him—he only coughs in the morning—(formerly you will remember he sometimes coughed during the whole night).

The successors of the defunct Alliancists have not given the General Council one moment's peace. During several months they succeeded in carrying their intrigues into every country. They went to work with such wild energy that for some time things looked bad for the future of the International. Spain, Italy, Belgium apparently sided with the Bakoune abstentionists, and were against the resolution on the necessity of the International taking part in politics. Here in England the clique of abstentionists intrigued with Bradlaugh, Odger and their followers, they did not even scruple to make use of the mouchards and agents provocateurs of Thiers and Badinguet. Their organs, the Qui Vive! in London, and the Révolution Sociale in Geneva, outdid each other in calumniating 'ces autoritaires', 'ces 'dictateurs', 'ces 'Bismarckiens' du Conseil Général. Mr Bradlaugh has resorted to the most miserable misrepresentation to calumniate 'le grand chef de ce conseil'. For weeks he secretly insinuated at private assemblies, at length he has openly proclaimed at a public meeting that Karl Marx was and is, a Bonapartist. His assertions are based upon the passage in the Civil War in which it is shown that the Empire 'was the only form of government possible'—here Bradlaugh stops omitting the concluding words 'at a time when the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the working class had not yet acquired, the faculty of ruling the nation'.

However the success of these intrigants was only apparent, in reality they have everywhere been unsuccessful. All their deep laid plots and manoeuvres have availed them nothing.

In Geneva, that hotbed of intrigants, a congress representing thirty sections of the International has declared itself for the

---

General Council, has passed a resolution to the effect that the separatist factions cannot henceforth be considered to form parts of the International, their acts having clearly shown that their object is to disorganise the Association. That these sections, who under another name, are only a fraction of the old Alliance faction, by continuing to sow dissension, are opposed to the interests of the federation. This resolution was voted unanimously in an assembly of 500 members. The Bakounists who had come all the way from Neufchâtel to be present would have been seriously ill-used, had it not been for the men whom they style 'des Bismarchiens', 'des autoritaires'—Outine, Perret etc. who rescued them and begged the assembly to allow them to speak. (Outine of course was well aware that the best means of killing them altogether was to allow them to make their speeches.)

From Belgium, the news according to De Paepe is equally good. On Sunday, a congress is to be held at Brussels.

The Spanish Federal Council has likewise adopted all the resolutions of the delegates of the Conference, and has exposed the bad faith of the separatist faction.

In America the latter party, represented by Section 12, is powerless. All they can do is to disturb the meetings of the other sections.

The London French branch has ceased to exist—Vermersch (Le Père Duchêne) has acted as its undertaker.

I am afraid I have already taken up far too much of your time—yet I must add a few words in reply to your letter, my dear Doctor.

Papa’s opinion is that in the event of a war between Russia and Prussia, Austria will be the scapegoat, and that the wolves will make it up by helping each other to a slice of the lamb.

I was sorry to hear you did not receive the Illustrated paper—firstly, because it is difficult to get hold of copies of it, then I am sorry to think you have been fancying all this time that I forgot to send you the paper. Believe me, my dear ‘Trautchen’ und ‘Wenzel’, you were the very first persons it was sent to. I sent it you even before Laura had a copy. The portrait has likewise appeared in an Italian paper, in The Illustrated London News and will shortly be published in the Spanish Illustriación. You see it is making le tour du monde.—Thanks for the German Illustration. I do not much like the portrait. In the attempt to beautify features

---

8. Jenny Marx (daughter) to the Kugelmanns. 21-22 December 1871

etc.—the artist has sacrificed everything that was characteristic. A friend of ours says that if he had by chance seen it in a shop-window he would have said 'Voilà un bel homme qui ressemble à M. Marx'.

I will send you another Paris Illustration, so soon as I can get a copy from Paris—here in London the paper is not to be had.

As regards Bergeret’s book, I have not sent it. It is not worth while reading. With one exception, all the books on the Commune that have hitherto appeared, are mere trash. That one exception to the general rule, is Lissagaray's work—which you will receive together with this letter.

To return to the vexed question of the erratic letter that travelled all the way to Russia before reaching you, I must remark you are mistaken in supposing that I was really vexed when I made a joke about German 'Bildung'.—Far be it from me, a French barbarian, to venture to criticize the cultivated German nation, cette grrrrrrande nation! But, as it seems you are determined to take up an imaginary gauntlet (imaginary it is, I assure you, for I have both of my gloves in my pocket), I must request you not to use unfair arms against me. If you will look at the enclosed address, you will see that I have never written Hanover with an accent over the ô. On the envelope I wrote 'Hannover'—when I write in English I only put one n, which is the correct spelling in English.—But let us shake hands (how I wish we could really do so!)—for it won't do to be quarrelling as the New Year is walking in. For the New Year I wish you all the best health and happiness, and above all, I hope we may see each other in its course. As our family cannot venture to go to the Continent, and as therefore there is no chance of our paying you a visit in Germany, you must by all means come over here to see us—for let me warn you, that unless you make up your minds to come to London during the next spring or summer, you may no longer find us here, as the English government is taking underhand measures to introduce a bill for the expulsion of Communists and Internationals. The prospect of settling down in the land of Yankee Doodle Dandy is not a very pleasing one to us. However, sufficient for the day is the evil thereof!

With renewed wishes from all at home for your happiness, and with a hearty kiss to dear Fränzchen, who will be quite a

---

a 'That is a handsome man who resembles Mr Marx'. - b J. Bergeret, Le 18 mars. - c [P. O.] Lissagaray, Les huit journées de mai derrière les barricades. - d 'culture'. - e Matthew 6:34 - f Franziska Kugelmann
grown-up young lady by the time I see her again (this summer I trust),
Believe me, my dear friends,
       Ever affectionately yours,
      Jenny Marx

December 22... We have just received your letters. I do not know how to thank you for all your kindness. You spoil us too much... The box has not arrived as yet, in unpacking it we shall follow your instructions to the letter.—With regard to your kind invitation, my dear Trautchen, accept my best thanks for it. I am afraid, however, it will be impossible for me to leave home this winter. I am able to make myself of some use here at this moment—besides which, I have already been away from home for four months this year, 281 and that seemed to be an eternity to me. I feel as if I had just only come back from that long banishment. You must promise to come and see us next year, my dear Trautchen!
By the bye I forgot to give you my opinion as to O'Donovan Rossa 3—I am sorry to say that I believe there is much truth in the reports given of him. He has not answered the letter I wrote him—but has not again attacked the Communists and that is all I wanted.
The Irish in London are entering the ranks of the International. Irish Sections are being formed in various parts of the East-End... But you will think this tape-worm epistle is never coming to an end and perhaps it wouldn't, if my pen didn't positively refuse to mark. So with love to all
Believe me,
          Your sincere friend
         Jenny Marx

The box has just arrived. I really do not know which of the presents most to admire. I shall spare the locket for the very first grand occasion and shall at once get a frame for Shakespeare's portrait. It is one of the finest I have ever seen. Mohr is very much pleased with his book-shelves. Tussy and mama are not at home!

First published, in Italian, in Movimento operato, No. 2, Milan, 1955
Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time

---

a See this volume, p. 564.
My dear old Library,

I suppose you'll be astonished at receiving a letter from me, but Papa is so busy that he has ordered his secretary to answer for him. Before speaking to you then of anything else I must give you his message. Mohr says he has been so busy that he could not answer your questions before—and that as regards Biedermann, you had only to compare your translation in the Volksstaat of resolution No. IX 'Political Action of the Working Class' with what he says to see that his was nothing but a police edition of them. Moreover no second Conference has been held.—

Now that business is attended to let us return to ourselves.

No doubt you think that after all these years I have forgotten you. I can assure [you] I have done nothing of the kind. I remember both you and Alice perfectly—at least I remember Alice as she was, now of course she must be quite changed. You I should know anywhere though I'm sure you'd never recognize me. People that saw me only two or three years ago hardly know me again. I should so like to see Alice, and you too. We quite expected to see you at the Conference, and I was much disappointed when you didn't come.

I suppose you have heard of Jenny's and my adventures in France, about our being arrested, and cross-examined by M. le Préfet Kéraudy and M. le Procureur général Delpech.—Jenny and I on returning from Bosost, a small village in Spain (whither we had accompanied Laura and her little boy who went [there] to stay a few days with Lafargue who had gone there to prevent being arrested), were arrested on the French frontier, and conducted by 24 gendarmes right across the Pyrenees from Fos to Luchón, where we were staying. Arrived there we were driven to the door of M. de Kéraudy's house, kept waiting in front of it in an open carriage with two gendarmes opposite us for three quarters

---

a Liebknecht's nickname coined by Marx's daughters  
b Liebknecht's daughter  
c Charles Étienne Lafargue
of an hour, and then taken to our own house. It was Sunday night
and everybody out in the street. At our house we found the police
who had in the morning searched the house from top to bottom,
and had treated our poor landlady and our servant who were
alone in the house very badly. Kératry had already cross-examined
them, and we were informed that he would presently arrive to do
the same for us. At last he came, for he wouldn't leave the park
till the band stopped playing. Our room was already full of
gendarmes, mouchards, and agents of every description when the
Préfet Kératry arrived accompanied by Delpech, procureur général, a
juge de paix, a juge d'instruction, the procureur de la république, etc.
I was sent with the Commissaire de Toulouse and a gendarme into
a side room and Jenny's examination began, it being then about
10 o'clock. They examined her over two hours but to no use for
they heard nothing from her. Then came my turn. Kératry told
me most shameful lies. He got one or two answers from me by
pointing to Jenny's declaration, and telling me she had said such
and such a thing. Fearing to contradict her I said: 'Yes, it is so.' It
was a dirty trick, wasn't it? However he heard precious little with
all that. The next day when they came again we refused to take
the oath. Two days after Keratry came and said he should in the
evening send orders for our liberation (we were guarded by
police). Instead of that we were taken off to a 'gendarmerie', and
there we passed the night. The next day we were, however, let off,
though we could not really move a step without being watched,
besides we couldn't get back our English passport. At last we got
everything, and arrived at last in London. Laura went through
much the same adventures at Bosost, though not quite so bad as
we, for she was in Spain. It appears that Kératry after the first
evening did everything he could to get us free but Thiers wished
us to be imprisoned. What was very amusing were the blunders
Kératry and the police made—for instance they looked in the
mattresses for bombs, and thought that the lamp in which we had
warmed the milk for the poor little baby who died, was full of
'pétrole'! And all that because Lafargue is Mohr's son-in-law, for
Lafargue had done nothing at all.

There are a great many members of the Commune here, and
the poor refugees suffer frightfully—they have none of them any
money, and you can't think how difficult it is for them to get
work. I wish they'd taken some of the millions they're accused of
having stolen.
Now, my dear old-friend, good-bye.—Kiss all at home for me, especially Alice, and receive all our best wishes for the New Year. I must apologize for my dreadful writing, but I’ve such a wretched pen and almost no ink.

Once more ‘A Happy New Year’

and believe me to be

Your affectionate

Tussy


10

JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)
TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 22 January 1872

My dear Doctor,

I am afraid your plan with regard to the refugees cannot be carried out. On the slightest pretext they would be delivered up into the hands of the Versailles hangmen. Why, even here in England the ministry have been working underhand to introduce a bill for their extradition. If it does not come to that it is simply owing to the fact, that so soon as the intention of the Government had been discovered, it was at once made known to the English people, who now being forewarned will be forearmed, and will not stand tamely by to see their country degraded by such an act. I do not know whether I have told you that it was Papa who first obtained information of the plans of the Government by means of an acquaintance of his connected with the Home Ministry,a and that he at once made them known in the General Council, after which the news was published in *The Eastern Post*. And yet, with such proofs of the absolute necessity for the political and

---
a Nicolas Léon Thieblin
diplomatic action of the General Council staring them in the face, the miserable band of intriguers, who style themselves Internationals, continue to work as indefatigably as ever to undermine the Council. In the Belgian Congress you will have seen that they have already reaped the first fruits of their intrigues. They have passed a resolution, the object of which is to transform the General Council into a bureau de renseignement. De Paepe, who had written to the Council some time before the Belgian Congress, and with the contents of whose letter I acquainted you, had been altogether mistaken in his appreciation of the state of affairs!

In London, Bradlaugh is doing all the dirty work, together with his understrapper Le Lubez. They do not shrink from employing the vilest means to obtain their ends. Mr Bradlaugh's latest expedient consisted in spreading the report that Karl Marx is a police agent. But instead of entering into the details of that affair, I will send you the numbers of The Eastern Post, containing the correspondence on that subject.

Papa has already sent off more than half his book to Meissner. In the first chapter he has made great alterations, and what is more important, he himself is satisfied (which does not happen often) with these alterations. The work he has done these last few weeks is immense, and it is really a wonder that his health (it continues to be good) has not given way under it.

Entre nous, my dear friend, I must say that I think Meissner has been behaving very badly to Papa—that instead of forcing him to do all this work at the last moment, he ought to have informed him of the forthcoming publication of a second edition at least four months ago and thus have given him time.

Unfortunately Papa is obliged at this moment likewise to prepare the first chapter for the French translator, who is at once to set to work, Lafargue having come across a first-rate French publisher, who is very anxious to publish Das Kapital. The translator is not Keller, who was prevented from resuming his translation, because he is engaged on another work. Charles Longuet, one of the ex-members of the Commune, has found another translator for it—Leroy I believe his name is—who has translated several works of Feuerbach with much skill. He is said to have succeeded in rendering in the fixed formal French language much of the movement of German thought—no easy task. The book is to come out in livraisons—thirty I believe.

---

a information bureau - b Volume 1 of Capital - c Maurice Lachâtre - d Joseph Roy - e L. Feuerbach, Das Wesen des Christenthums; Vorlesungen über das Wesen der Religion... - f instalments
I must not forget to tell you that Lafargue has again been disturbed by the police, has been obliged to leave St Sebastian and is now staying at Madrid. So Laura is left alone with her child in a strange country. We cannot imagine on what pretext Lafargue has again been expelled as the International, of which he formed sections, is not being persecuted at this moment in Spain.

As I wish to post this letter to-day I must say good-bye to you now. Hoping soon to have the long-promised letter from Trautchen and with my best love to her and Käuzchen. Believe me, my dear Doctor,

Very faithfully yours,
Jenny Marx

Not only in Germany books, papers and letters are being continually lost. I do not know whether this is owing to the so-called postboxes in the streets. The next time I send you anything I will post it at the office.

First published, in Italian, in Movimento operaio, No. 2, Milan, 1955

Reproduced from the original

11

ELEANOR MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON
IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 23 January 1872

Dear Sir,

Papa is so very much overworked at the present moment that he begs you will excuse his not writing himself and my doing so for him.—He has so very little time that I am convinced you will for once not mind his not writing himself.—He says I am to tell you that notwithstanding all the work he has to get through, he would have written long since had he not put off doing so from day to day in the hope of being able to correspond directly with you.—A

a Charles Étienne Lafargue - b Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - c A note in the margin in Jenny Marx's hand: 'This Moreau is no doubt a police agent anxious to obtain the portraits of the Communists.'
second edition of Papa's book\textsuperscript{a} is about to appear in Germany,\textsuperscript{396} and this has given him much to do, for many changes have been made. A French edition\textsuperscript{436} is also about to appear, and you can understand what work it is to prepare for all this.—He is up the greater part of the night writing, and all day he does not leave his room—I am much afraid that this will compromise his health.—It is to be hoped that he will soon have finished with these difficult editions. As to Roberti, Papa says I am to tell you that he has seen the essay in the \textit{Revue Positive}, but never received the book.\textsuperscript{762}—Thus it would be impossible for him to write anything in refutation of the said book—and the essay does not give sufficient matter for attack.—Papa thinks you would do well to retard the Russian edition in no way, but to continue as quickly as possible.\textsuperscript{560}—I am in great hopes that when once a French edition of \textit{Das Kapital} has appeared, an English one will soon follow\textsuperscript{763}—the English ape everything the French do, only when a thing comes from \textit{Paris} does it meet with success here.—For instance, the biography and portrait which appeared of Papa in the \textit{Illustration}\textsuperscript{758} have been copied by no end of papers—not only here but in Spain, Italy, Germany, America, etc.—doubtless you also have seen it in Russia.

We are all beginning to feel very anxious about our 'mutual friend'.\textsuperscript{b}—The interest we all take in him makes us fear greatly.\textsuperscript{740}—Alas that he should ever have left England!—It is several months since we heard anything, and the last news was not reassuring.—

Hoping, dear Sir, that you will excuse Papa, and begging you to accept his best compliments,

I am

Yours most faithfully,

Eleanor Marx

---

\textsuperscript{a} Volume I of \textit{Capital} \textsuperscript{b} Hermann Lopatin
WILHELM LIEBKNECHT TO LUIGI STEFANONI

IN FLORENCE

Leipzig, 29 February 1872

Sir,

I have just learnt that your paper has not only published repeated attacks on the International Working Men's Association, but that it has also (in Nos. 1 & 4 of this year) translated and endorsed the filthy slanders of the police about the London General Council and Marx in particular, which appeared in the Berlin Neuer Social-Demokrat.

Since the publication of my previous letter to you, in the Libero Pensiero No. 3, was suited and perhaps designed to give the impression that I approve of this conduct, I hereby formally request you to inform your readers that I must repudiate any connection with men who aid and abet the European police in their persecution of the International and thus—whether consciously or unconsciously—play into the hands of Messrs Bismarck and Bonaparte.

I may tell you furthermore that the regional congress in Chemnitz, to which I referred in the letter published by you, has unanimously come out in favour of the London General Council. In conclusion I would add that a copy of this letter is being sent to my friend and teacher, Karl Marx, for him to make whatever use of it he wishes.

W. Liebknecht

First published in Gazzettino Rosa, No. 110, 20 April 1872

Printed according to the newspaper
Translated from the Italian
Published in English for the first time

---

a 'L'Internazionale e il Consiglio Supremo di Londra', Il Libero Pensiero, Nos. 1 and 4, 4 and 25 January 1872. - b J. Schneider, 'An die Socialdemokraten Deutschlands', Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 67, 9 December 1871; see also items in Nos. 68-70 of Neuer Social-Demokrat of 6, 8 and 10 December 1871. - c on 18 January 1872
My dear friend,

Knowing how deep an interest you take in everything that concerns Papa, I hasten to tell you that he has just received the first proof-sheets of the *livraisons* to be published in French. Unfortunately much time has been lost because M. Lachâtre, the publisher, insisted upon printing in the first *livraison* a portrait of the author of *Das Kapital*. Perhaps we ought to excuse Lachâtre for attaching so much importance to the publication of the portrait if we take into consideration the fact that the Russian government has allowed *Das Kapital* to be printed, but has put its veto upon the issue of the author’s likeness! However that may be, the fact is that it is owing to the likeness which had to be first taken, then engraved, that a great delay has been occasioned.

The translation of the first part of the book is not so good as we had every reason to hope it would be from the fame of the translator, M. Roy, who has with great success translated Feuerbach. Papa is obliged to make numberless corrections, he has to re-write not only whole sentences but entire pages. This labour, added to the correcting of the proof-sheets from Germany and to the overwhelming International business is too much even for Papa, though you know his *Arbeitskraft* is extraordinary. I hope therefore you will pardon him for not writing oftener to you. It is absolutely impossible for him to do so. I greatly fear he will soon fall ill again—as so much work will be unendurable when the hot weather sets in. At the present moment his health is not bad.

I suppose you have seen from the German papers that the International has been fiercely attacked in the House of Commons? Enclosed is the answer issued by the General Council and which (with the exception of *The Eastern Post*) not one London paper has had the common fairness to insert.

---

*a* instalments (of Volume I of *Capital*) - *b* of the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* - *c* capacity for work - *d* K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association Concerning Cochrane’s Speech in the House of Commons'.

London, 3 May 1872
Though the British Government has been obliged to declare its inability to comply with the wishes of M. Thiers openly to interfere with the International, it secretly does all the dirty work demanded of it. Mr Gladstone furnishes M. Thiers with the correspondence of the General Council to the Continent. Last week, for instance, Ouinte from Geneva wrote to inform us that a letter Papa had written to him on International affairs had evidently been opened, and that, strange to say, at the post-office in London the words *via Ostende* had been changed for *via Calais*, which of course enabled the Versaillists to make themselves acquainted with the contents of the letter. And this letter had been registered!

We have had very sad news from Spain. Our poor little Schnaps is very very ill. He has never recovered from the terrible attack of cholera he had last August. He is getting weaker and weaker.

Will you please give my love to Trautchen and tell her I will write to her soon.

With kindest regards from all at home to yourself, Trautchen and Käuzchen.

Believe me, my dear friend,

Very sincerely yours,

Jenny Marx

---

14. Jenny Marx to Liebknecht. 26 May 1872

My dear Library,

Engels has taken upon himself the task of informing you about the Eccarius affair and of putting you in the picture with regard to all the despicable infamies of which I cannot think without

---

*a* Charles Étienne Lafargue  
*b* Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann  
*c* Liebknecht's nickname coined by Marx's daughters  
*d* See this volume, pp. 381-84.
indignation and which I might not be calm and dispassionate enough to recount to you myself. For my part, I am happy to seize the opportunity to thank you for the confidence you have so genuinely retained in your old and undoubtedly sorely tried friend, and to tell you of the intense sympathy and concern with which I have thought of you and your dear wife in these difficult, troubled times. I have often longed to tell you how much I admired the fortitude, tact and skill which you have displayed in these trying circumstances. And to be quite frank, my thoughts have lingered even more with your wife than with you. In all these struggles we women have the harder part to bear, because it is the lesser one. A man draws strength from his struggle with the world outside, and is invigorated by the sight of the enemy, be their number legion. We remain sitting at home, darning socks. That does nothing to dispel our fears and the gnawing day-to-day petty worries slowly but surely sap our spirit. I can say this from over 30 years' experience, and can certainly claim that I am not one to lose heart easily. Now I have grown too old to hope for much and the recent terrible events have completely shattered my peace of mind. I fear that we ourselves, we old ones will not live to experience much good any more and my only hope is that our children will have an easier time of it. You cannot imagine what we have had to endure here in London since the fall of the Commune. All the nameless misery, the suffering without end! And on top of that, the almost unbearable work on behalf of the International. As long as Moor had all the work and just managed, thanks to his diplomacy and tactical skill, to keep the various unruly elements together in the face of the world and the cohorts of enemies, as long as he succeeded in sparing the Association ridicule, inspired the trembling crew with fear and terror, attended no Congress and never claimed the limelight, had all the labour and none of the credit—as long as that was the case, the rabble remained silent. But now that his enemies have dragged him into the light of day, have put his name in the forefront of attention, the whole pack have joined forces, and police and democrats alike all bay the same refrain about his 'despotic nature, his craving for authority and his ambition'! How much better it would have been, and how much happier he would be, if he had just gone on working quietly and developed the theory of struggle for those in the fight. But he has no peace by day or by night.

---

a Natalie Liebknecht - b the defeat of the Paris Commune
And what deprivation, what gêne\(^a\) in our private lives! And at the very time when our girls need our help.

So you have heard of Jenny's engagement. Longuet is a very gifted man and he is good, honest and decent, and the harmony of opinions and convictions between the young couple is certainly a guarantee of their future happiness. On the other hand, I cannot contemplate their union without great uneasiness and would really have preferred it if Jenny's choice had fallen (for a change) on an Englishman or a German, instead of a Frenchman, who of course possesses all the charming qualities of his nation, but is not free of their foibles and inadequacies. At present, he is tutoring in Oxford, in the hope of making better contacts. But you know yourself how precarious private tutoring can be, and I cannot help being afraid that, as a political woman, Jenny will be exposed to all the anxieties and torments inseparable from it. All of this entre nous. I know that you will keep it to yourself. It was an immeasurable relief to be able to open my heart to an old loyal friend and reveal my silent worries. I feel easier after these words and hope that you will not be angry with me for 'striking such a sad note' instead of writing cheerful letters to you and your dear wife. We heard from Laura yesterday. Her little boy,\(^b\) who is now 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) years old and the only survivor of her three children, had been lying sick with cholera for 9 months and was so emaciated that his poor parents had given him up for lost. Laura, in a strange land,\(^c\) whose language she did not know, had spent the whole 9 months at his bedside! I need say no more. The child is now somewhat better and if he recovers still further and is able to travel, the Lafargues intend to come here in August. Tussy is well and in good cheer and a politician from top to bottom! Lenchen\(^d\) is her old self. The smell of the Sunday roastbeef is just coming in from the kitchen and since the tablecloth is pushing me away from the desk, I shall bid you an affectionate farewell.

Give your dear children a thousand kisses from their old friend, especially my dear Alice.

Embracing you and your dear wife, I remain your old friend

Jenny Marx

---

\(^a\) straits \(^b\) Charles Étienne Lafargue \(^c\) The Lafargues lived in Madrid at the time. \(^d\) Helene Demuth
My dear friends,

If you knew how often I have sat down to write to you, and how often I have been interrupted before I had written half a dozen lines, I am sure you would forgive me for not having answered your last letter before this.

You, my dear Doctor, will be glad to hear that Mohr is entirely of your opinion with regard to his activity in the International. He is convinced that so long as he remains in the General Council, it will be impossible for him to write the second volume of Das Kapital, at which he has been unable to work during the last year. Consequently, he has made up his mind to give up his post as secretary immediately after the next Congress. Until that time however, he will have to work terribly hard in the Council and out of it, in order to prepare for the great battle that will be fought out at the Congress, which is to take place in Holland.

You will have some idea of this work when I tell you that besides writing manifestoes, reading or answering mountains of letters, Mohr is obliged to attend not only the usual weekly sittings at Rathbone Place, but additional ones at our house and that of Engels, the last of which lasted from four in the afternoon until one o'clock in the morning. So much for International business. The remaining time (and there is not much of it) is given up to the correction of the proof-sheets from Meissner, and the revision of the French translation, which unfortunately is so very imperfect, that Mohr has been obliged to re-write the greater part of the first chapter. The first livraison, consisting only of the portrait of the author, after the enclosed photograph by Mayall—an autograph letter and answer from the publisher Lachâtre, will shortly appear, in about a week.—Of the Russian translation, which is excellent, a thousand copies have already been sold.
The French translation of the Civil War is producing a very
good effect upon the refugees, equally satisfying all parties—
Blanquists, Proudhoniens, and Communists. It is a great pity it did
not appear earlier,245 as it undoubtedly have done much
towards smoothing down the animosity against the General
Council.—

And now, my dearest Trautchena, let me also give you some
news. In all probability the marriage so often announced by the
presse policière de Paris will take place somewhere about the middle
of July—the 18th or 19th. Last week the Gaulois married me for
the 20th time. It selected the notorious Landeck as my husband.b
When I am married in good earnest I suppose those idiotic
scribblers will let me alone.

I cannot send you M. Longuet's photograph, my dear friends,
as I only have a very horrible one, that is being exposed in the
shop windows, a caricature made to please the bourgeoisie, and to
satisfy them that physically as well as morally the Communeux are
the monsters for which they took them. So soon as I have a better
likeness I will send it [to] you. What do you think of the enclosed
one of Papa? We all greatly admire it and think it superior to the
one he had taken at Hanover.—

With best love from all at home to yourselves and Käuzchenc
Believe me as ever
your affectionate friend
Jenny Marx

First published, in Italian, in Movimento
Reproduced from the original
operaio, No. 2, Milan, 1955
will have seen from the above address I am again in my dear old home with my parents. My husband and I have left Oxford after a fruitless stay of six weeks, during which time not a single pupil was forthcoming. The learned Dundrearies who had taken lessons during the summer term were no doubt so much shocked at seeing Mr Longuet's name among the names of the delegates to the International Congress that they resolved to have nothing to do with their former teacher. Of course this was a great disappointment to me at first, knowing how difficult it is to find employment where there is so much competition—this country is overflowing with all sorts of French professors, French exiled journalists, doctors, lawyers, tinkers and tailors having indiscriminately taken to that line. Gradually I have however become reconciled to our Oxford misadventures. I am so very much happier in London than in orthodox snobbish Oxford. London contains Modena Villas and in the front room first floor of Modena Villas I can always find my dear Mohr. I cannot express you how lonely I feel when separated from him—and he tells me that he also missed me very much, and that during my absence he buried himself altogether in his den. If only my husband and I could find something to do in London, I shall bless the ill luck that has driven us from the grand seat of sham science.

The Lafargues are also staying at Hampstead, where they intend settling down for a few years. Mama wishes me to tell you that Laura is looking much better now than while staying at the Hague—she is much more cheerful, and we trust, will gradually altogether recover from the terrible shock caused by the death of her dear little boy. All the other members of our family are well. I trust, my dear friends, you will be able to give me equally good news of yourselves. Do write me soon. You know I take a deep interest in all that concerns you. If you, my dear Trautchen, would only condescend to let me have one letter for every half dozen you write your friend Mrs Tenge I should be satisfied. You see I am not very exacting and not at all jealous!

The French translation of Das Kapital is slowly progressing. The next livraison will be excellent. Papa has re-written it altogether. The translator, who is a very dull dog, had made a sad mess of it. Unfortunately this sort of correction gives Mohr as much, if not more work, than if he had written the whole thing himself. He works every night till two or three o'clock in the morning. Have you read the articles on the first livraison that have

---

*a Charles Étienne Lafargue - b Gertrud Kugelmann - c instalment*
just appeared in the *Liberté* of Brussels? It was left for these Belgian wiseacres to discover that Marx and Proudhon have together resolved the 'constitution de la valeur'. Voilà ce que c'est que l'esprit belge—du faro tout pur, unadulterated. However dull these Belgians be, they are not too dull to carry on their miserable intrigues against the International. They work as hard as ever with their brothers of the Jura and have of late also joined hands with the model British workmen Hales and the drunken Mottershead. Their party has been further strengthened by the addition of Jung—whose shameful defection is the result of his grotesque vanity. The miserable wretch could not bear the idea of transferring the Council to New York, which robs him of all his importance. For weeks he fumed and fretted in silence, and now at length has openly entered the service of the Great Hales. All these petty intrigues however will soon have played out their small games, and certainly it will be a good thing for the Association to have got rid of such workers as the illustrious Jung, Hales etc. It is after all no misfortune these men have come out in their true colours.—

My paper is full—so I have just only time to repeat to you our best wishes for yourselves and dear Fränzchen.

I remain your sincere friend

Jenny

First published in *Istorichesky arkhiv*, No. 2, Moscow, 1959

Reproduced from the original

17

JENNY MARX-LONGUET TO LUDWIG AND GERTRUD KUGELENN

IN HANOVER

London, 12 May 1873

My dear friends,

I should be really grieved if I thought you had all this time been looking upon me as a faithless friend—but no—you must surely

---

a 'Karl Marx et son analyse de la valeur', *La Liberté*, Nos. 49 and 51, 8 and 22 December 1872. - b 'composition of value'. There you have the Belgian spirit as it is—the purest beer - c Franziska Kugelmann
know me well enough to have attributed my silence to everything but want of friendship. And indeed everything but that has been the cause of it. Ever since Christmas I have been altogether absorbed by the delightful battle known as the struggle for life. Were I to enumerate all the races I have run from the north to the south, from the east to the west of London—and run in vain—to pick up pupils for French, German, singing and elocution, I should sadly tire you. The result of all this has been the acquisition of a vast amount of experience, a thorough insight into the shameless impossible tricks of advertisers, agents, principals of schools etc. Though like Shakespeare’s Rosalind I would rather have a fool to make me merry than experience to make me sad—a—yet in this case I do not regret my hard earned experience—for I hope some day to make known to the public the machinations of these ghouls of middlemen and thus to save others from the snares into which I have fallen. My husband has not been more successful than myself in this land of liberty and free competition. Of course if we had chosen to settle down somewhere in the provinces, to vegetate in some corner out of the world, we might have found employment long ago—but though married, my heart is as it ever was chained to the spot where my Papa is, and elsewhere life would not be life to me. If all fails however I suppose I must leave him... But sufficient for the day is the evil thereof—I will not think of it beforehand.

I have yet to thank you for your last letters, my dear friends. To you, my dear Doctor, I need not write a line in answer to your opinion of the representatives of the Jura at the Congress. Time has taken the trouble to do that for me, and to do it far more effectually than I could have done. Those miserable intriguer whose sole object is to sow dissension in the Association and to reap the benefit thereof, have been all along treated far too generously by their opponents.—Have you seen the last production of that infamous lump of vanity, Jung, in the Liberté? The lies he tells of my husband he has concocted together with a quondam revolutionist who has now settled down as flunkey in an English gentleman’s family, and is content to figure as ‘calves’. A companion worthy of the illustrious Jung!

There is no truth whatever in the rumour to which you allude of Papa’s going to America.—

---

The second volume of *Das Kapital* does not progress at all, as the French translation,\(^4\) which has to be almost entirely re-written, takes up the whole of Mohr’s time. What do you think of it and of the epilogue to the second edition\(^3\) of *Das Kapital*?

To you, dear Trautchen,\(^a\) I need not say that I think of you very very often and that I long to see you again,—you and dear Fränzchen.\(^b\) Does that young lady still recollect a certain *by-by*\(^c\) of old? Give her my best love. Mohr sends you and Wenzel many greetings in which my husband and mama join. He will write to you soon.

Very faithfully yours,

Jenny

---

First published in *Istorichesky arkhiv*, No. 2, Moscow, 1959

Reproduced from the original

---

CHARLES LONGUET TO HUGO HELLER

IN OXFORD

[London,] 23 June 1873
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Friend,

May I thank you on both my own and my father-in-law’s behalf for your kind suggestion; but at this moment we neither of us have anything of importance to convey to Paris. So if the French customs search your pockets or your baggage for petrol, they will be wasting their time.

Do not, however, let this deter you from coming to see us on Friday,\(^d\) if you have a moment to spare. In any case I very much hope we shall see you before your return to Oxford.

To the best of my knowledge there has never been a General Clément in the Commune; I presume you must mean Citizen

---

\(^a\) Gertrud Kugelmann - \(^b\) Franziska Kugelmann - \(^c\) Jenny’s nickname coined by Marx - \(^d\) 27 June
J. B. Clément, ex-member of the Commune for the 18th arrondissement.

My wife and I beg you to convey our respects to Mrs Heller.

With cordial salutations,

Charles Longuet

Published for the first time

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French
NOTES
AND
INDEXES
NOTES

1 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934].—3, 30, 38, 61, 127

2 This refers to the letter which Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Marx on the eve of France declaring war on Prussia (18 July 1870). He expressed his conviction that any further aggravation of Franco-Prussian relations would lead to war and criticised the proclamation adopted at a meeting of Brunswick workers held on 16 July 1870. He considered it to be a mistake to demand categorically of the French workers that they overthrow the Empire in order to avert war. The meeting was called by the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (the Eisenachers) in protest against war preparations by the ruling classes and to express solidarity with the manifesto issued by the Paris members of the International (see Le Réveil, 12 July 1870). Despite certain shortcomings the proclamation as a whole was internationalist in spirit. It is quoted by Marx in the ‘First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association on the Franco-Prussian War’ (see present edition, Vol. 22).—3

3 This refers to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.—3

4 The issue of Le Réveil with the article in question has not been found.—3

5 In July and August 1870, the town of Blois was the scene of a major political trial. Seventy-two people, among them such prominent Blanquists as Charles Victor Jaclard, Edme Marie Gustave Tridon, Gustave Paul Flourens, Théophile Charles Gilles Ferré, as well as Félix Pyat, were charged with conspiring to assassinate Napoleon III and stage a coup d’état. The Supreme Court sentenced most of the accused to penal servitude and to terms varying from 5 to 20 years in prison and exile.—3

6 The Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the ‘Féne’—the name of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the
interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and believed in conspiratorial tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement with drastic police action. — 3

7 A reference to the psychological law formulated, in the mid-19th century, by Ernst Weber and Gustav Fechner. It establishes the correlation between the intensity of a sensation and the intensity of the stimuli that cause it. — 4

8 Marx is alluding to Léo Frankel's article 'Ein belauschtes Zwiegespräch' in the Volksville, No. 10, 2 April 1870, in which Frankel evolved a 'formula' that, he thought, explained the essence of value. See also Marx's letter to Engels of 14 April 1870 (present edition, Vol. 43). — 4

9 At a congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds between 4 and 6 April 1870, there occurred a split between the Bakunists and the General Council supporters. The Bakunist delegates, having usurped the name of the Romance Congress, elected their own Federal Committee and transferred its seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds. The General Council supporters continued their work under the leadership of the Romance Federal Committee residing in Geneva. On 28 June the General Council passed a resolution, submitted by Marx, which recognised the Geneva Committee as the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 136); the resolution was sent to both Federal Committees by Jung and published in La Solidarité, No. 16, on 23 July 1870, and in Le Mirabeau, No. 53, on 24 July 1870. — 5, 26, 179, 285, 316

10 The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste)—an international anarchist organisation founded by Mikhail Bakunin and his followers in Geneva in October 1868. The programme of the Alliance called for the immediate abolition of all states, the equalisation of classes, and the abolition of the right of inheritance. The leaders of the Alliance sought admission to the International as an autonomous international organisation within the International Working Men's Association. Their claims were rejected by the General Council (see the resolution written by Marx and approved by the General Council on 22 December 1868: 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy', present edition, Vol. 21); and only after the leaders of the Alliance had expressed their readiness to dissolve it were its sections admitted to the International, on the common terms, in 1869. Having publicly declared the dissolution of the Alliance, the Bakunist leaders actually preserved it as a secret, conspiratorial organisation and sought to use it to boost their influence in the International as a counter to the General Council.

The struggle of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the International against the Bakunist sectarians gained momentum after the Paris Commune, and became especially sharp after the London Conference of 1871. By a decision of the Hague Congress of the International (1872), at which the existence of the secret Bakunist Alliance and its divisive activities were exposed, its chief leaders, Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume, were expelled from the International Working Men's Association. — 5, 26, 163, 181, 233, 255, 266, 358, 372, 375, 387, 392, 397, 403, 408, 415, 419, 424, 426, 466, 492, 509, 538, 567

11 The Landwehr—a second-line army reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1870s, it consisted of men under forty years of age who had seen active service and had been in the first-line reserve.
During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, the Landwehr was used in military actions on a par with the regular troops.—7, 12, 20, 117

12 Between the end of July 1870 and February 1871, Engels wrote a series of 59 articles published in The Pall Mall Gazette under the title Notes on the War (see present edition, Vol. 22). In these articles, written in the form of military surveys, Engels analysed the events of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 from the angle of historical materialism. With the exception of the first three articles, signed 'Z', they were published unsigned.—7, 17, 22, 35, 56, 58, 62

13 In 1866 The Manchester Guardian published five articles by Engels on the Austro-Prussian war under the title Notes on the War in Germany (see present edition, Vol. 20).—7

14 The reference is to the report on a meeting organised by members of the German colony in Manchester at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. One of the aims of the meeting was to set up a relief fund for the wounded and the families of the war dead. The report was published in The Manchester Guardian, No. 7466, on 22 July 1870 under the heading 'Meeting of Germans in Manchester'.—8

15 In his letter of 18 July 1870, Eugen Oswald, a German refugee, asked Marx to sign an Address on the Franco-Prussian War drawn up by a group of French and German democratic refugees. The Address was published as a leaflet on 31 July 1870; the editions that followed were signed by Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel and other members of the International. Marx and his associates agreed to sign it on conditions outlined by Marx in his letter to Oswald of 3 August 1870 (see this volume, p. 34).

Oswald enclosed with his letter an excerpt from Louis Blanc's letter in which he called for the Address on the Franco-Prussian War to be signed by as many people as possible.—9, 11, 31, 35, 36, 37, 64

16 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—10, 24, 195

17 This letter by Marx has not been found.—10, 15, 26, 33, 65, 70, 106, 176, 192, 194, 204, 215, 327, 328, 384, 495, 506, 532, 533, 549, 579

18 'Departing for Syria' ('Partant pour la Syrie')—the opening words of a song written in the early 19th century. During the Second Empire it became a sort of Bonapartist anthem and was sung at festivities arranged by Napoleon III.—10, 13

19 'Lord, in Thee is all my trust' ('Jesus meine Zuversicht')—a song by Christoph Runge, a German poet and publisher, dedicated to Luise Henriette von Brandenburg, the wife of the Elector. It was first published in Runge's Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen, which appeared in Berlin in 1650.—10, 13

20 The draft of a secret treaty between France and Prussia, drawn up in 1866, was published in the German press after 20 July 1870. On 25 July it was published in The Times. The draft treaty envisaged the annexation of Belgium and Luxembourg by France in return for which France undertook to observe neutrality in Prussia's war against Austria in 1866. By publishing the draft Bismarck sought to turn public opinion in England and Belgium against France.—11, 19
21 On 23 January 1860 Britain and France signed a commercial treaty under which France renounced its excessively high protective tariffs. Article 2 of the treaty contained a special proviso which obliged France to lower the duties on imported British coal to 15 centimes per 100 kg. France in return was granted the right to export most of her goods to Britain duty-free.—11, 19

22 In the German original the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* (principal and spectacular actions) is used; this has several meanings. In the 17th and the first half of the 18th century it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The term can also denote major political events.—11

23 This refers to the letter of 24 July 1870 written by the members of the Committee of the Russian Section of the International and signed by Nikolai Utin, Victor Bartenev and Anton Trusov. They wrote about the Section's struggle against Mikhail Bakunin and his attacks on members of the Russian Section as well as the Romance Federation. The authors also referred to their intention to publish a pamphlet against Bakunin (their plan was not carried out). The Committee members warned the General Council that Sergei Nechayev and Vladimir Serebrennikov had left for London and that the latter had obtained a recommendation to Dupont. Marx replied to their letter in his letter to Johann Philipp Becker of 2 August 1870 (see this volume, pp. 26-27).—11, 19, 22, 26

24 Marx means renting a house for Engels who intended to move from Manchester to London for good in September 1870 after retiring from the firm of Ermen & Engels. Jenny Marx took an active part in looking for a suitable house.—12, 15, 19, 49, 52, 555, 558, 559

25 This letter was written in English. It was first published in full (in English) in *Annali*, Milan, 1958, an. 1.—12

26 *Mitrailleuse*—a multi-barrelled, rapid-fire gun mounted on a heavy carriage. The mitrailleuse used in the French army in 1870-71 had 25 barrels that fired in succession by means of a special mechanism. It could fire up to 175 shots a minute with carbine cartridges. However, the experience of the Franco-Prussian War showed the mitrailleuse to be unsuited to battlefield conditions due to construction inadequacies.—12, 35

27 On this see also Engels' 'Notes on the War.'—1' in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1703, 29 July 1870 (present edition, Vol. 22).—13

28 Marx sent to Paul and Laura Lafargue a clipping from *Der Volksstaat*, No. 59, 23 July 1870, with a report from Berlin which quoted the declaration made by Bebel and Liebknecht in the Reichstag on 21 July 1870. He may also have enclosed the 'Politische Uebersicht' column from the same issue, dealing with the attitude of the German working class to the Franco-Prussian War. On Bebel's and Liebknecht's declaration in the Reichstag see Note 31.—14

29 Paul and Laura Lafargue lived in a suburb of Paris known as Levallois-Perret, on place de la Reine-Hortense, in the immediate vicinity of military fortifications.—14, 35

30 The 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War' (see present edition, Vol. 22) was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 63, 7 August 1870, under the heading 'Manifester des Generalrath's der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziatiou', with the note to which Marx is referring in his letter.—16
On 21 July 1870, during the vote on war credits in the North German Reichstag, Bebel and Liebknecht abstained, declaring that to vote for credits would signify giving a vote of confidence in the Prussian Government, which was waging a dynastic war; to vote against the credits, on the other hand, might be regarded as an approval of Bonaparte's treacherous policy. On 26 July 1870, Marx read their declaration in the General Council of the International, which unreservedly approved their action. The declaration was translated into English by Marx and published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* on 6 August 1870 in the report on the General Council meeting.—16, 51

Engels' forecast proved correct. On 6 August 1870 one of the major battles of the early period of the war took place at Forbach (in Lorraine, not far from Saarbrücken), in which the Prussian troops defeated the French 2nd Corps under General Frossard. In historical literature this battle is also called the Battle of Spicheren. Engels refers to it as such in several of his letters.—18, 35, 54

Engels attached these calculations to his article 'Notes on the War.—III', which he enclosed with his letter to Marx. As from 31 July Engels forwarded his articles directly to *The Pall Mall Gazette*.—20

The *Zouaves* (after the name of an Algerian tribe)—a type of French light infantry first formed in 1830 as colonial troops in Algeria. Three Zouave regiments of the MacMahon Corps took part in the war of 1870-71.—21

The *Turcos* or *Algerian riflemen*—French light infantry formed in the early 1840s from native inhabitants of Algeria (the officers and some of the NCOs were French).—21

The *Garde mobile* (Mobile National Guard)—special armed forces introduced in France in 1848. From 1868 onwards it was made up of men who had reached call-up age but were not enlisted for active service or in the reserve; it was assigned to frontier defence, and to rear and garrison service. In 1870 it was called up for active service for the first time and formed the core of the French armed forces after the fall of the Empire. The *Garde mobile* was abolished in 1872.—21

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: *Marx on Revolution*. Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—22, 504

The agenda for the next Congress of the International, to be opened in Mainz on 5 September 1870, was drawn up by Marx and approved by the General Council on 12 July 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 21). The text adopted by the Council was issued in English as a leaflet entitled *The Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association* and appeared in a number of English, French and German papers.

On 14 July 1870 Marx sent to Hermann Jung the French text of the agenda for translation into German (see present edition, Vol. 43, pp. 537-38). The corrected German translation was published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 65, on 13 August 1870.—25

Marx is referring to an attempt by the Bakuninists to gain a false majority at the Congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds between 4 and 6 April 1870 (see Note 9), by sending delegates from minor and often non-existent sections, with a view to usurping the leadership of the Romance Federation of the International.—25

On 17 May 1870 the General Council decided to convene the Fifth Congress of
the International in Mainz. On 2 August 1870 the General Council resolved to defer the Congress owing to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War and ask the sections of the International for approval of its decision. The Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, the German sections in Switzerland, and the Belgian and Romance Federations of the International supported the General Council's proposal. On 23 August 1870 the Council officially decided to defer the Congress. — 25, 33

41 The Pan-Slavic Congress met in Prague on 2 June 1848. It was attended by representatives of the Slavic countries forming part of the Habsburg Empire. The Right, liberal moderate wing, sought to solve the national problem through autonomy of the Slavic countries within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. The Left, radical wing, wanted to act in alliance with the revolutionary-democratic movement in Germany and Hungary. Mikhail Bakunin affiliated with the Left. Radical delegates took an active part in the popular uprising in Prague (12-17 June 1848), directed against the arbitrary rule of the Austrian authorities, and were subjected to cruel reprisals. — 26

42 From 3 to 9 May 1849, Dresden, the capital of Saxony, was the scene of an armed uprising caused by the refusal of the Saxon King to recognise the Imperial Constitution. The insurgents captured a considerable part of the city, the workers being the most active among the barricade fighters. The Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin, the German working-class leader Stephan Born, and the composer Richard Wagner were active participants in the uprising. — 27

43 Marx is referring to the articles by Sigismund Borkheim, 'Russische Briefe. VIII-X. Michael Bakunin, XI. Ein russischer penny-a-liner', which were published anonymously in Die Zukunft between July and November 1869. Analysing Bakunin's articles which had appeared in Russian, Borkheim criticised the author mainly for his Pan-Slavist ideas and the idealisation of the Russian peasant commune. — 27, 404

44 In their letter of 24 July 1870 (see Note 23) the members of the Committee of the Russian Section asked Marx to pass on their thanks to Borkheim for his article against Sergei Nechayev published in Der Volksstaat, and expressed their willingness to support him in the polemics.

The dispute had arisen when Borkheim published his article 'Der Brief Njetschajeffs' (Der Volksstaat, No. 22, 16 March 1870). Borkheim warmly welcomed the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia, but at the same time exposed various false rumours which Nechayev had spread about his arrest, exile to Siberia, escape, etc. — 27

45 This letter by Engels has not been found. — 29, 43, 125, 156, 159, 185, 277, 305, 319, 321, 337, 352, 367, 368, 370, 396, 407, 453, 468, 479, 489, 493, 497, 498, 516, 526, 538, 559

46 Bas (Lower) Empire is the name sometimes given to the Byzantine Empire and also to the late Roman Empire. In a more general sense, the name is applied to any state going through a period of decline and disintegration. Here the Second Empire in France is meant. — 30, 39, 41

47 Speaking in the House of Commons on 1 August 1870, Disraeli dwelt upon the idea of rapprochement between Britain and Russia. He pointed out that they were the only powers to have abided by the provisions of the Vienna Treaty of 1815 which guaranteed Prussia the right to Saxony.

Speaking in this connection on the Polish question, Marx had in mind the violation of the terms of the Vienna Treaty concerning the Constitution of the
Polish lands. Thus in 1832, following the suppression of the Polish uprising, the tsarist government, with the connivance of the Western powers, abrogated the Constitution in that part of Poland which was annexed to Russia in 1815 as an autonomous region. The same thing happened with regard to the guarantees of the autonomous rights of the Cracow Republic, whose territory was seized by Austria in 1846 after the suppression of the Cracow insurrection.—33

48 On 23 July 1870 La Solidarité published the General Council's resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland (see Note 9) signed by Hermann Jung, the Council's Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland. The editors of La Solidarité added their comments on the resolution, denying the right of the General Council to decide on this issue.—33, 36

49 The first open clash between the adherents of scientific socialism and the Bakuninists over abolishing the right of inheritance came at the Basle Congress (September 1869). Since none of the proposals produced an absolute majority the Basle Congress did not adopt any resolution on this question.—33

50 This refers to the French Branch in London, founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides proletarian members (Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and others), the Branch also included petty-bourgeois refugees (Victor Le Lubez and later Félix Pyat). In 1868, after the General Council had adopted a resolution proposed by Marx (7 July 1868) condemning Pyat's provocative calls for terrorist acts against Napoleon III (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7), a split occurred in the Branch, and its proletarian members resigned. But Pyat's group, having lost virtually all ties with the International, continued to call itself the French Branch in London. It also repeatedly gave support to 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).—33, 64, 141, 342

51 Marx wrote this letter on a form from Borkheim's office bearing its address: 9 Billiter Square, E.C.—36

52 The original version of the General Council's resolution, written by Marx on 22 December 1868, 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy', made the point that it was necessary to publish this resolution in all countries where sections of the International existed. This point was omitted from the final text (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 36).—37

53 Marx and his family were on vacation in Ramsgate from 9 to 31 August 1870.—38, 56, 60, 64, 82, 555, 557

54 Boustrapa—a nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of cities where he staged putsches: Boulogne (6 August 1840), Strasbourg (30 October 1836) and Paris (coup d'état of 2 December 1851, which led to the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship in France).—38, 51

55 The North German Confederation (Norddeutscher Bund)—a federative state formed in 1867 under the domination of Prussia, after her victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. It replaced the defunct German Confederation. The North German Confederation included 19 German states and three free cities, which were formally recognised as autonomous. Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt joined it in 1870. The establishment of the North German Confederation was a major step towards German national unity.
The Confederation ceased to exist in January 1871, when the German Empire was formed.—38, 91

56 The Peace Society—a pacifist organisation founded by the Quakers in London in 1816. The Society, which was actively supported by the Free Traders, donated £20 for the dissemination of the ‘First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association on the Franco-Prussian War’. Johann Philipp Becker used this money in Switzerland to have 30,000 copies of the Address printed in German and French.

At a meeting of the General Council on 2 August 1870, John Weston, who acted as chairman, announced that John Stuart Mill had commended the Address.—40, 51, 77, 82, 100, 556

57 Engels worked on The History of Ireland in the latter months of 1869 and during the first half of 1870. However, this work remained unfinished. Engels wrote the first chapter (‘Natural Conditions’) and part of the second chapter (‘Old Ireland’), which are contained in Volume 21 of the present edition; the preparatory materials for the book will be found in part in Volume 21 and also in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978.—40, 329

58 The defeats of the French army at Forbach (Spicheren) and Werth led to spontaneous anti-government demonstrations in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles and other cities on 7-9 August 1870. These revolutionary actions almost coincided with the anniversary of the popular insurrection in Paris (10 August 1792) which had led to the overthrow of the monarchy in France and the foundation of the First Republic.


59 Engels alludes to Henri de Rochefort, editor of La Marseillaise, a Left Republican paper. From February 1870, he had been serving a six-month term in the Sainte-Pelagie prison for an article published in the newspaper on 12 January 1870, after the assassination of the journalist Victor Noir by Prince Pierre Bonaparte. La Marseillaise was suppressed from 18 May to 20 July 1870 for its articles directed against the ruling circles of the Second Empire, and on 9 September it ceased publication altogether.—41

60 The Schiller Institute, founded in Manchester in November 1859 to coincide with the celebrations of Schiller’s centenary, was conceived as a cultural and social centre for the city’s German colony. In 1864 Engels became a member of its Directorate and later President of the Institute, devoting much time to it and exercising considerable influence over its activities.

In September 1868 while Engels was away from Manchester, the Directorate invited Karl Vogt, who had connections with Bonapartist circles, to give a lecture at the Institute. This caused Engels to resign his positions (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 18). In April 1870 Engels was again elected a member of the Directorate, but he no longer took an active part in its work.—43

61 A reference to the letters written by the members of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party and to other documents which Marx was receiving from Germany in connection with the disagreements that had arisen between the Brunswick Committee and the editorial board of Der Volksstaat, the central organ of the Party, over the attitude to the Franco-Prussian War and the tactics to be pursued by the working class.
At the beginning of the war the editorial board of Der Volksstaat, taking an internationalist position on the whole, rather ignored the task of national unification. Some members of the Brunswick Committee, on the other hand, underestimated the expansionist tendencies of the Prussian ruling circles, which had become obvious even in the initial stages of the war when it was largely defensive on the German side. When disagreements sharpened, the members of the Committee requested Marx to give his opinion on the subject.

Marx and Engels elaborated the tactical line of the German proletariat and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and expounded it in their 'Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party' (see present edition, Vol. 22).—43, 45

62 Marx wrote this letter to Jung after he had received resolutions from the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Switzerland which endorsed the General Council's proposal to defer the regular congress of the International due on 5 September 1870.

A copy, handwritten by Marx, of the resolution of the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party was enclosed with the letter.—44

63 By a decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815, the northern regions of Savoy (Chablais, Faucigny and Genesves), which formed part of the Sardian Kingdom, were declared a neutral zone. After Savoy and Nice had been annexed by France in 1859, Switzerland laid claim to these neutral regions.—45

64 This letter was published in English for the first time, in part, in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934] and in full in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—45, 50

65 Engels is referring to workers employed in the large-scale replanning and reconstruction of Paris, a project headed by Georges Eugène Haussmann, the Prefect of the Seine Department, in the 1850s and 1860s. The purpose of the reconstruction was not only to improve the aristocratic areas and widen streets to make it easier for the troops to manoeuvre and the artillery to fire in the event of a popular uprising; it was also planned to reinforce Bonapartist influence among the section of the proletariat that received temporary employment as a result of this project.—46

66 This refers to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the formation of the North German Confederation (see Note 55).—47, 57

67 In his letter of 7 August 1870 Kugelmann informed Marx of the national enthusiasm that the war had given rise to in Germany.—47

68 The Confederation of the Rhine (Rheinbund)—an association of the states of Western and Southern Germany founded in 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon. Initially it embraced 16 states. Five more joined later. All virtually became vassals of Napoleonic France. The Confederation collapsed in 1813 after the military defeats suffered by Napoleon in Germany.—47

69 In his letter to Marx of 13 August 1870 Liebknecht quoted the Elberfelder Zeitung as saying that Engels was in a state of 'patriotic euphoria'.—48

70 The chassepot—a breech-loading rifle named after its inventor, was adopted by the French army in 1866. It was much superior to Dreyse's needle gun used by the Prussian army.—48
Engels is referring to the **German People’s Party** (Deutsche Volkspartei) which was set up in 1865 and consisted of democratic elements of the petty bourgeoisie and partly of the bourgeoisie, chiefly from South German states. As distinct from the National Liberals, the German People’s Party opposed the establishment of Prussian supremacy in Germany and advocated a so-called Greater Germany embracing both Prussia and Austria. While pursuing an anti-Prussian policy and advancing general democratic slogans, the People’s Party at the same time voiced the particularist aspirations of some German states.—48

Engels wrote this letter in reply to Mrs Marx’s letter of 10 August 1870 (see this volume, pp. 555-56).—49

*The Pall Mall Gazette* of 9 August 1870 carried the article ‘England’s Position’ which was written in the form of a letter and signed with the pseudonym ‘Von Thunder-ten-Tronckh’ (Thunder-ten-Tronckh is a castle in Westphalia).—50

Engels means the portrait of Jeremiah O’Donovan Rossa, a Fenian leader, which Ludwig Kugelmann asked to be sent for a collection of Irish folk songs entitled *Erins Harfe* being prepared for publication by Joseph Risse. At the request of Marx’s eldest daughter Jenny, Engels wrote short notes for the Preface (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 140). However, neither Rossa’s portrait nor Engels’ notes appeared in the collection, which was published in Hanover in 1870.—50, 54, 557

The letter to the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party in reply to a request from the members of the Committee that Marx express his viewpoint on the war and the attitude the Party should take to it (see Note 61) was prepared jointly by Marx and Engels, during Marx’s stay in Manchester from 22 to 30 August 1870, and sent to Germany signed by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 22).—50


Engels calls Alsace and Lorraine a ‘German-speaking Venetia’, by analogy with the Italian province of Venetia, which was part of the Habsburg Empire in 1799-1805 and 1814-1866 and a stronghold of the Italian national liberation movement against Austrian oppression.—53

After the Battle of Gravelotte, which took place on 18 August 1870 (in historical literature it is also known as the Battle of Saint Privat), the Army of the Rhine under Bazaine was surrounded in Metz and surrendered in late October 1870.—53

This refers to the defeats which the French army suffered at the Battle of Colombey-Nouilly (known also as the Battle of Borny) on 14 August 1870, the Battle of Vionville-Mars-la-Tour on 16 August, and the Battle of Gravelotte-Saint Privat on 18 August.—53

An allusion to the Battle of Gravelotte (see Note 78).—54

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—54, 58, 75, 538

*The Times* of 22 August 1870 published a letter by Francis Douglas Elcho, M.P., in which he expressed his views concerning the organisation of the armed forces in Germany, France and Britain.—55
83 Ferdinand Freiligrath wrote this poem on 25 July 1870, and The Pall Mall Gazette printed it on 20 August 1870.—55

84 This letter was published in English for the first time, in part, in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934] and in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—56

85 Marx wrote this letter in reply to several letters from Sorge, written between 4 May and 4 August 1870. A correspondence developed, linking Marx, and also Engels, with Sorge in close friendship for many years.—56

86 In his letters Sorge informed Marx that Robert William Hume, the General Council’s correspondent in the USA, used his powers for self-advertisement. In the ‘membership cards’ of the International, which he issued without the knowledge of the General Council, Hume distorted the aims and tasks of the International Working Men’s Association.

Marx informed the General Council about Sorge’s letter on 6 September 1870. Eccarius, the Corresponding Secretary for the United States, was instructed to demand from Hume that he abide strictly by the Rules of the International Working Men’s Association.—57, 60

87 At the beginning of 1870, Gustave Paul Cluseret was empowered by the General Council to establish contacts with the French sections in the USA. However, passing himself off as an organiser of the International, Cluseret ignored the already existing sections in the USA and went beyond his brief. Several sections, including Section No. 1 (see Note 354), protested at Cluseret’s behaviour and contacted the General Council, Johann Philipp Becker and Eugène Varlin with an inquiry about the powers granted to Cluseret. Marx replied to the inquiry in his letter to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt of 9 April 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 43).—57

88 Marx is referring to the groundless assertion made by August Vogt, a member of German Section No. 1, that Victor Schily, who fought in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and belonged to the International, was a spy.—57, 60, 102

89 In August 1870 Cincinnati was the scene of the Fifth Congress of the National Labor Union, which embraced a number of trade union organisations and workers’ societies in the USA. The Congress adopted a resolution expressing adherence to the principles of the International Working Men’s Association and the Union’s intention to join.

Sigfrid Meyer was elected delegate of the General Association of German Workers which, till the autumn of 1870, was part of the National Labor Union (it went under the name of Labor Union No. 5 of New York) and, at the same time, from December 1869, had been a section of the International (Section No. 1). Meyer was not able to attend the Congress, and the General Association of German Workers was represented by Friedrich Adolph Sorge.—57, 60

90 This refers to Edward Kellogg’s A New Monetary System, which Marx, evidently, first read in translation. In February 1871 Sorge sent him the first edition which had appeared in New York. This copy of the book with Marx’s notes and remarks is still in existence.—58
In his article 'Notes on the War.—XII' Engels not only forecast the possibility of MacMahon's Châlons Army being encircled by the Prussian troops, but also pointed quite accurately to the place where it was to happen. Engels' prediction came true. On 1 and 2 September 1870, at Sedan, the Prussian troops defeated the French army under MacMahon and forced it to capitulate. Over 80,000 soldiers, officers and generals, Napoleon III among them, were taken prisoner. The Sedan catastrophe caused a revolution in Paris on 4 September 1870 which led to the collapse of the Second Empire and the proclamation of the republic in France. All power passed to the Provisional Government (known as the Government of National Defence) headed by the Orleanist Louis Jules Trochu.—58, 61

The treaties of Tilsit—peace treaties signed on 7 and 9 July 1807 by Napoleonic France, and Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition. In an attempt to split the defeated powers, Napoleon I made no territorial claims on Russia. However, Russia, like Prussia, had to abrogate its alliance with Britain and, to its disadvantage, join Napoleon's Continental System. The treaty of 9 July imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which ceded nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities and had its army reduced.—59

Marx may have had in mind rumours circulating in the press about Russia's pro-French orientation and the favourable reception given the French Ambassador, General Fleury, at the Russian court.—59

Ferdinand Freiligrath wrote his poem 'An Wolfgang im Felde' on 12 August 1870 and dedicated it to his son whom he had sent to the front as a volunteer.—59

On 12 August 1870 the German philosopher David Friedrich Strauss wrote an open letter to Joseph Ernest Renan, the French historian, which was published in the supplement to the Allgemeine Zeitung. Strauss urged Renan to admit the justice of the rights for which Germany fought in the war and applaud her military successes.—59

In his letter to Marx of 26 July 1870, Sigfrid Meyer expressed the opinion that Friedrich Sorge was incompetent to carry out his duties as the Corresponding Secretary for the General Association of German Workers in the USA.—60

The Arcadians—an extreme right-wing group in the Corps législatif which received its name from Rue des Arcades where its members met.—61

The French army under Marshal Bazaine surrendered at the fortress of Metz on 27 October 1870.—62, 68

On the passage which Frederick Greenwood, the editor of The Pall Mall Gazette, added at the end of Engels' article 'Notes on the War.—XIII', see present edition, Vol. 22, Note 45.

Engels provided a correct description of the siege of Strasbourg by the Prussians in his 'Notes on the War.—XVII' (see present edition, Vol. 22).—62

This letter was first published in English in full in: Marx on Revolution. Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—64, 561

On 5 September 1870 the Paris Federal Council sent a letter to Marx and Eccarius, signed by Henrik Bachruch, with a request that they issue a proclamation to the German people as soon as possible. Enclosed with the letter
was the proclamation, 'Au peuple allemand, à la démocratique socialiste de la nation allemande', written on behalf of the French workers' societies and the French sections of the International Working Men's Association. It was published as a leaflet on 4 and 5 September 1870 and later in Der Volksstaat—65, 66, 70, 79

102 See notes 61 and 75. — 65

103 Comités de la défense (defence committees) were set up in a number of major French cities in the early stages of the Franco-Prussian War; their main function was to organise the supply of provisions for the army. — 65, 89

104 In May 1870 Napoleon III's government held a plebiscite in an attempt to strengthen the tottering regime of the Second Empire. The issues put to the vote were formulated in such a way that disapproval of the policy pursued by the Second Empire could not be expressed without opposing all democratic reforms at the same time. Despite this, 1.5 million votes were cast against the government, with 1.9 million abstentions. — 67, 342

105 A reference to the Danish War, the war waged by Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864; it was an important step on the way to Germany's unification under Prussian supremacy. — 67

106 At the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War members of the German colony in Manchester (Carl Schorlemmer, G. Beer, J. G. Wehner and others) organised a committee to assist the war victims. Engels joined the committee but in September 1870, when the war ceased to be defensive on the German side, he withdrew. — 68

107 Marx is referring to the Manifesto issued on 5 September 1870 by the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Manifest des Ausschusses der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter!). The Manifesto proclaimed the German working class's loyalty to the cause of internationalism and called on German workers to organise mass protest meetings against the Prussian government's plans for annexations. Excerpts from the letter which Marx and Engels wrote to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 260-62) were included in the Manifesto with a note that they had been written by 'one of our oldest and most meritorious comrades in London'. — 69, 71, 79, 82

108 The General Council of the International including Marx played a major part in organising the movement of British workers for recognition of the French Republic by the British government. From 5 September mass demonstrations were held in London, Birmingham, Newcastle and other English cities. — 70, 196

109 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934], and K. Marx, The Civil War in France, Kerr, Chicago, 1934. — 71

110 The proclamation by the French sections of the International to the German people was published in Der Volksstaat, No. 73, on 11 September 1870 (see Note 101). — 71

111 Engels is referring to the bourgeois revolution in Spain which began in September 1868 when Queen Isabella was dethroned. In the course of the revolution Spain was declared a constitutional monarchy. It was not until February 1873 that a republic was proclaimed, but it survived less than a year.
In 1874 the big bourgeoisie and landowners brought about the restoration of the Bourbons.—71

112 The Customs Parliament (Zollparlament) was the leading body of the Customs Union (Zollverein) reorganised after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the signing of a treaty between Prussia and the South German states on 8 July 1867, which stipulated the establishment of such a body. The parliament consisted of members of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation (see Note 55) and specially elected deputies from the South German states—Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse. It was to deal exclusively with trade and customs policy.—72

113 The reference is to the heroic uprising of Paris workers on 23-26 June 1848.—74, 99, 132

114 This refers to the Déclaration régulant divers points de droit maritime (Declaration Regulating Various Items of Maritime Law), a supplement to the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 which marked the end of the Crimean War of 1853-56. It was signed on 16 April 1856 by the representatives of Austria, France, Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey. The Declaration formulated the rules of war at sea, incorporating the principles of armed neutrality, which were proclaimed in 1780 by the government of Catherine II and envisaged the abolition of privateering, immunity of neutral cargo in enemy vessels and of enemy cargo in neutral vessels (with the exception of war contraband), and the recognition only of a real blockade. Lord Clarendon, British representative at the Paris Congress, signed the Declaration on behalf of his country.—74, 93

115 On 9 September 1870 Wilhelm Bracke, Leonhard von Bonhors, Spier, Kühn, Gralle, and Ehlers, members of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, as well as Sievers, a printer, were arrested for publishing the Manifesto on the war on 5 September (see Note 107). In November 1871 these members of the Brunswick Committee were brought to trial (see Note 335).—75, 77, 79, 82, 85, 96, 196

116 Demagogues in Germany were the participants in the students' opposition movement after the liberation of the country from Napoleonic rule. After the 1830 Revolution in France the opposition movement of the so-called demagogues became more intense in Germany and gave rise to renewed police repression and arrests and increased emigration.—77, 85, 228, 360

117 The meeting Marx is writing about was called by the Labour Representation League (see Note 406) and trade union leaders on 13 September 1870 in honour of the French Republic. The resolution moved by George Howell was limited to the expression of sympathies with the French people. To oppose this, Robert Applegarth, a General Council member, moved a resolution that urged the British Government to use all its influence to bring an end to the war between France and Germany and to protest against any dismemberment of France. The resolution also demanded that a peace treaty be concluded on conditions that ensured a lasting peace in Europe. After a prolonged and heated discussion Applegarth's resolution was adopted by a majority of 7 votes.

By instructions for Belgium, Marx probably meant his letter to César De Paepe of 14 September 1870 (see this volume, pp. 79-81). Instructions for Switzerland and the United States have not been found.—77, 82
118 This letter was written on a letterhead of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.—78, 100, 121, 125, 190, 248, 315, 341, 354, 378, 386

119 Referring to General Vogel von Falkenstein's vandalism in 1866, Marx had in mind the following fact: on 16 July 1866, during the Austro-Prussian war, the forces under Vogel von Falkenstein occupied the free city of Frankfurt. On his orders several senators were arrested, newspapers suppressed, and a heavy military indemnity imposed on the city which, on failure to pay, was threatened with destruction. These threats by the Prussian command led to the suicide of Frankfurt's burgomaster.—79

120 A reference to 'Manifeste aux Sections de l'Internationale' published in the Supplement to La Solidarité, No. 22, on 5 September 1870. It called upon the members of the International to take up arms to defend the French bourgeois republic proclaimed on 4 September 1870.—80

121 This letter was first published in English in full in: Karl Marx, Letters to Dr. Kugelmann, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad [1934].—81, 91, 108, 131, 157, 176, 243, 409, 412, 413, 426

122 This is the last letter in the sustained correspondence between Marx in London and Engels in Manchester. After retiring from the Ermen & Engels firm in Manchester, Engels moved to London on 20 September 1870 and settled not far from where Marx lived. After that they wrote to each other only occasionally, when one of them left London.—84, 380

123 This refers to the Manifesto of the Marseilles section of the International Working Men's Association, 'Aux travailleurs allemands!', written in the first half of September 1870 and printed originally as a leaflet and then, on 25 September, in L'Internationale, No. 89 and Bulletin de la Fédération ouvrière rouennaise, No. 3. Marx sharply criticised this Manifesto for its chauvinistic tendencies.—84

124 Marx is referring to the article printed on 15 September 1870 in The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1744 and dealing unfavourably with Spencer Beesly's pamphlet A Word for France: Addressed to the Workmen of London.—85

125 Marx is speaking about Engels' move to London. See Note 122.—87

126 Oswald enclosed with his letter to Marx of 23 September a copy of the letter he had sent to Thiers, in which he proposed the establishment of a 'neutral zone' between France and Germany. Oswald asked Marx for his opinion on the matter.—87

127 On 19 September 1870 The Times (under the heading 'Russia') published an excerpt from the Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg of 17 September 1870 stating that France's prestige would not suffer if, in concluding a peace treaty, she agreed to demolish her fortresses on the border with Germany.—88

128 The news of the defeat at Sedan caused an uprising in Lyons on 4 September 1870. On his arrival in Lyons on 15 September, Bakunin tried to assume leadership of the movement and carry out his anarchist programme. On 28 September the anarchists attempted a coup d'état which was a complete failure.—88, 162

129 Marx has in mind the collection of donations for Ferdinand Freiligrath started
in 1867 by German petty-bourgeois democrats when the London branch of the Banque Générale Suisse he had managed was closed down. Special committees organised in Germany and New York raised 60,000 thalers by subscription.—90, 102

130 *Francs-tireurs*—guerrilla volunteers formed into small detachments to defend France against the invaders. The Prussian command did not recognise the French guerrilla fighters as belligerents.—93

131 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle arena and the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany.—93

132 *Landsturm regulations* (Verordnung über den Landsturm)—a law adopted in Prussia on 21 April 1813. It envisaged the organisation of detachments which were to employ the methods of guerrilla warfare in the rear and on the flanks of the Napoleonic army. Engels analysed the regulations in detail in *Notes on the War*, 'Prussian Francs-Tireurs' (present edition, Vol. 22, p. 201).—93

133 The *Loire Army* under the command of General d'Aurelle de Paladines fought near Orleans. For details of the operations by this army and its composition see Engels, *Notes on the War*.—XXXI and XXXII (present edition, Vol. 22).—93

134 On 26 November 1870, when the North German Reichstag discussed the question of granting credits for the continuation of the war against France, Bebel and Liebknecht spoke against credits and for a speedy peace treaty with the French Republic without annexations. On 17 December, after the Reichstag session had drawn to a close, Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner were arrested and charged with high treason.—95

135 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. The Society's leaders played a prominent part in founding the Communist League (1847). 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 temporarily withdrew because the sectarian and adventurist faction led by August Willich and Karl Schapper had increased its influence in the Society. In the late 1850s Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Society. When the International was established the Society became its German Section in London and from late 1871 it was a section of the British Federation. The German Workers' Educational Society in London existed until 1918, when it was closed down by the British Government.—96, 178, 233, 279, 319, 471, 478

136 On 19 December 1870 *The Times* published Gladstone's letter, dated 15 December, which announced an amnesty of the condemned Fenians (on the Fenians see Note 6). However, this amnesty was hedged round with numerous reservations, which caused Engels to compare it with the shabby amnesty of political prisoners announced in Prussia in January 1861 on the occasion of William I's accession to the throne.—96

137 This letter was first published in English in full in: Karl Marx, *On the First

138 The Cologne Communist trial (4 October-12 November 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian Government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of 'treasonable plotting'. The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress for terms ranging from three to six years. (See K. Marx, Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne, present edition, Vol. 11.)—97, 130, 320

139 At the General Council meeting of 17 January 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 571-72), Marx strongly criticised George Odger, a trade union leader, who had praised the Government of National Defence and its Foreign Minister Jules Favre at a meeting in St James's Hall in London on 10 January.—98

140 This refers to Administrative Resolution VI passed by the Basle Congress, 'The Procedure for Expelling Sections from the Association'. It conferred on the General Council the right to suspend individual sections of the International until the meeting of the next Congress.—99

141 The reference is to the reactionary laws passed by the Constituent Assembly of the French Republic after the suppression of the June 1848 insurrection. The press laws of 11 July and 11 August envisaged severe punishment for the printing of articles against the government, the existing order and private property. The decree on clubs, adopted on 28 July 1848, placed them under the surveillance of the authorities.—99

142 In April 1849 the French bourgeois government, in alliance with Austria and Naples, intervened against the Roman Republic for the purpose of suppressing it and restoring the Pope's secular power. Despite its heroic resistance the Roman Republic was overthrown and Rome occupied by French troops.—99

143 Marx is referring to his work on the third book of Capital, which was, with the second book, to form Volume II of Capital (see also Note 219).

Marx planned to make a special study of agrarian relations in the United States in connection with his examination of the origin of rent.

The American Civil War (1861-65) was caused mainly by the struggle between two social systems—the capitalist system of wage labour in the North and the slave system in the South. Workers, farmers and the Black population played a decisive role in the defeat of the slave-owners of the South and the conclusion of the war in favour of the North.—100


145 The second German edition of Volume I of Capital appeared between July 1872 and April 1873 in nine separate instalments, and in June 1873 it was published as a book. While preparing this edition Marx partly revised the text and introduced some changes in its structure.—100, 362, 367, 377, 385, 409, 474, 519, 523

21*
Volume I of *Capital* was translated into Russian by Hermann Lopatin, Nikolai Danielson and Nikolai Lyubavin. It was the first translation of his work into any foreign language. The book was published in full in the spring of 1872 except for the portrait of Marx, because the censor had forbidden its reproduction in the Russian edition.—100, 578

The translation of Volume I of *Capital* into French, started by Charles Keller, was interrupted by the Franco-Prussian War. The first French edition appeared in separate installments between 1872 and 1875 in a translation by Joseph Roy. Roy's translation being too literal, Marx virtually retranslated the whole book, introducing changes as against the second German edition.—100, 212, 258, 283, 327

This may refer to Nahmer, a German émigré living in New York, who wrote to Marx on 20 September 1867 offering his services as a translator of *Capital*.

The English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, edited by Engels, was published in London in 1887; half of the printed copies were distributed in the USA. Later the London edition was reprinted in New York.—100

After a certain decline, the movement for recognition of the French Republic (see Note 108) gained fresh momentum in Britain at the end of December 1870.—100, 102


The Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for the United States was formed on 1 December 1870 by delegates from several sections of the International: German Section No. 1, French Section No. 2 and Czech Section No. 3, with powers for a year.—101, 106, 217, 242, 244, 273

Marx is referring to the article 'On the Condition of West-European Workers from the Social and Hygienic Points of View', written by P. I. Yakobi and V. A. Zaitsev and published in the journal *Arkhiv sudebnoi meditsiny i obschestvennoi gigiyeny* (Archives of Forensic Medicine and Social Hygiene), Book 3 for 1870, under the initials 'P. Ya.'. The article was based mainly on the first volume of Marx's *Capital*. A few copies of the journal appeared with this article and were sold out, then the censor stepped in and the article was banned.

Marx received this information from Hermann Lopatin.—105

Arrested in July 1862, Nikolai Chernyshevsky was kept in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St Petersburg until 1864 and then sentenced to seven years hard labour and exile for life in Siberia.—105

This refers to the admission fees to the International Working Men's Association which German Section No. 1 (see Note 354) had sent without getting a written acknowledgement of the receipt.—106

Marx and his daughter Jenny went for a holiday to Kugelmann in Hanover where they stayed approximately from 18 September to 7 October 1869. On 11 October Marx returned to Britain.—108

The Bretons—the Breton Mobile Guards, whom Trochu used as a gendarmerie to suppress the revolutionary movement in Paris. The Bretons replaced the Corsicans who, under the Second Empire, constituted a large section of the gendarmerie corps.—108
This refers to the Convention on the Armistice and Capitulation of Paris signed by Bismarck and Favre on 28 January 1871, after the Government of National Defence had ceased all resistance to the Prussian invaders and agreed to an ignominious surrender. In so doing, it sacrificed the national interests of France to the interests of the ruling classes, which needed all the available forces to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country. In signing the Convention Favre accepted the humiliating demands of the Prussians: payment of an indemnity of 200 million francs within a fortnight, immediate surrender of most of the Paris forts, handing over of the field guns and ammunition of the Paris army, and the disbanding of the francs-tireurs (see Note 130). The Convention provided for speedy elections to the National Assembly to decide on the question of a peace treaty.—109, 112, 197

This refers to the delegation of the Government of National Defence sent to Tours in mid-September 1870 to organise resistance to the German invasion in the provinces and to carry on external relations. From the beginning of October till the end of the war the delegation was headed by Gambetta. In early December 1870, it moved to Bordeaux.—109, 113

On the surrender at Sedan see Note 91.—109, 113

Marx is referring to a decree issued by Gambetta on 31 January 1871 which deprived all persons who had held high official posts during the Second Empire of the right to stand for election. On 3 February Bismarck sent a protest to Gambetta referring him to the clause on 'freedom of elections'. The government in Paris also issued a decree on electoral procedure which led to a serious conflict between Gambetta and the other members of the government, after which Gambetta resigned.—110, 113

The indemnity which Bismarck demanded from France and which she undertook to pay under the treaty was 5,000 million francs. The report on the armistice published in The Times on 2 February 1871 spoke of 10,000 million francs.—110, 113

King William I of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany on 18 January 1871.—110, 114

This presumably refers to the arrest and deportation of Joseph Schneider, a Frankfurt worker nominated in Stuttgart as a candidate for the Reichstag elections. This was reported by Der Volksstaat, 1 February 1871.—113

This letter is evidently an answer to Lavrov's inquiry concerning Hermann Lopatin's fate. From Lopatin's letter of 15 December 1870 Marx already knew that the latter was in Russia to make arrangements for Nikolai Chernyshevsky's escape from exile; however, probably for reasons of secrecy, he disclosed neither Lopatin's whereabouts nor the purpose of his trip.—115


This is Marx's reply to letters he had received from Wilhelm Liebknecht's wife Natalie, dated 18 January, 22 and 27 February 1871. Natalie Liebknecht informed Marx that she could not send a receipt for monies received for the benefit of the families of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party who had been arrested in Germany. Such a receipt, she wrote, might have been
used as additional evidence against Liebknecht and Bebel who had been charged with high treason. One of the points on the indictment was the affiliation of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party to the International Working Men’s Association since Prussian laws banned participation of German political parties and associations in any international organisation.—115

167 In his article ‘The International Working Men’s Association’ (The Fortnightly Review, p. 531) Beesly wrote that the members of the International ‘are all Republicans, and all determined opponents of war. In both these qualities they have drawn upon themselves the persecution of the despots of France and Prussia’.—116

168 In a letter of 8 October 1865 Lothar Bucher invited Marx to become the London financial correspondent of the Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger, and also suggested that Marx change sides and back Bismarck’s government. These attempts to bribe him met with vehement protests from Marx (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 202).

At the Battle of Sadowa (3 July 1866) in the Austro-Prussian war the Austrian army sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Prussian troops.—116

169 Marx has in mind Papiers et Correspondance de la Famille Impériale, published in two volumes in Paris at the end of 1870 and the beginning of 1871. Volume I included despatches by Minister Émile Ollivier in which he ordered the arrest of members of the International. These measures by the Bonapartist government were connected with preparations for a plebiscite called for 8 May 1870 (see Note 104).

On the eve of the plebiscite, members of the Paris Federation of the International were arrested and charged with conspiring to assassinate Napoleon III. Persecution of members of the International began simultaneously in Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles and other cities. The third trial of members of the Paris Federation was held from 22 June to 5 July 1870; the detainees were sentenced for being members of the International.—116

170 On 29 November 1850 Olmütz (Olomouc) was the scene of a meeting between the Prime Ministers of Prussia and Austria, Baron von Manteuffel and Prince von Schwarzenberg. Under pressure from Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, Prussia renounced her plans for suppressing the uprising in the Electorate of Hesse and complied with Austrian demands.

On the initiative of Nicholas I negotiations between the Austrian Chancellor Prince von Schwarzenberg and the Prussian Prime Minister Count von Brandenburg had taken place in Warsaw in October 1850. The point at issue was the conflict between Austria and Prussia over supremacy in Germany. During this meeting Nicholas I intimated that he was firmly on Austria’s side.—120

171 The French newspaper Paris-Journal, in issue No. 71, 14 March 1871, carried an article, ‘Le Grand Chef de l’Internationale’, alleging that it had in its possession a letter from Marx to Auguste Serrailhier testifying to strife between the French and German members of the International; on 19 March this forged letter attributed to Marx was published in the newspaper. The slanderous statement was reprinted in bourgeois newspapers of various countries, including The Times. The attempts by the Paris-Journal to split the French and German members of the International were exposed by Marx at the General Council meeting of 21 March 1871 and also in a letter Engels wrote at his request to The Times (for the Times version of this letter see
In addition, at Marx's request Serraillier wrote a letter on 16 March 1871 exposing the slander of the Paris-Journal (a clipping from the Courrier de l'Europe with the text of Serraillier's letter was enclosed by Marx with his letter to Paul Lafargue).

At its meeting of 21 March 1871 the General Council exposed another provocative invention of the French reactionary press—the alleged expulsion of persons of German nationality from the Paris sections of the International.—121, 124, 130

In the first half of March 1871, the French bourgeois papers, notably the Paris-Journal and the Gaulois, actively campaigned for the foundation of a so-called Anti-German League.—122

The Jockey Club—an aristocratic club founded in Paris in 1833.—122

A meeting of Germans belonging to the propertied classes was held in Zurich in March 1871 to celebrate Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian War. The meeting was the scene of a clash between a group of French officers interned in Switzerland and the Germans. The reactionary press tried to put the blame on the International. The Swiss section of the International exposed the slander in a special statement.—122

On 22 March 1871 the royalists attempted to stage a counter-revolutionary putsch in Paris under the pretext of a peaceful demonstration. Its aim was the restoration of the bourgeois regime overthrown by the proletarian revolution of 18 March 1871. One of the main organisers of the putsch was Henri de Pêne, editor of the Paris-Journal (see K. Marx, The Civil War in France, present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 324-26).—124, 128

'Hauptchef' (principal leader)—the description given by Wilhelm Stieber, organiser of the 1852 Cologne Communist trial (see Note 138), to Julien Cherval, an agent provocateur, in an attempt to ascribe to him a leading role in the Communist League (see K. Marx, Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne, present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 407-19).—124

Marx and Engels learned about the strike of the cigar-workers in Antwerp from a letter written by Philippe Coenen, an organiser of the International's sections in Belgium and the Netherlands, on 29 March 1871. They immediately took steps to organise international aid for the strikers. At the General Council meeting of 4 April 1871 Engels spoke about the strike and proposed that the Council send letters and delegations to the British trade unions to organise support. In response to the General Council's appeal, money to the Antwerp cigar-workers was sent by a number of British trades unions and by the workers of Brussels, where the cigar-workers walked out in solidarity.

The support by the General Council of the Antwerp cigar-workers defending their trade union enabled them to hold out till September 1871 and to push through their demands.—125, 127, 145, 190

Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Adolf Hepner, arrested on 17 December 1870 on a charge of high treason (see Note 134), were released from detention on 28 March 1871. Their trial took place in March 1872 (see Note 274).—127

Engels is referring to a message of greetings to the Paris Commune members which was adopted on 26 March 1871 at a meeting of the General Association of German Workers in Elberfeld. The message was despatched directly to Paris,
Notes

while a second copy, for safety's sake, was sent to the General Council, and later Eccarius forwarded it to Commune member Léopold Frankel.—127

On 4 October 1871 Der Volksstaat, No. 80, carried an item unmasking Blind as a chauvinist and phrasemonger who, by self-praise, tried to make a reputation for himself as a public figure.—129

On 15 April 1871 Der Volksstaat, No. 31, carried a note reprinted from the Petit Journal of 5 April, which Marx sent to Liebknecht. It read: 'May we ask Mr Stieber, Chief of the German Police, in what kind of wagons he sent to Prussia the clocks, vases and statues from the apartment he occupied on the Königs-Boulevard?'—129

Liebknecht used the information sent by Marx for the report published in Der Volksstaat, No. 31, 15 April 1871, unmasking Karl Vogt as a paid Bonapartist agent.—130

This refers to preparations for a trial of the Brunswick Committee members who were arrested on 9 September 1870 (see Note 115). The charge of 'causing a breach of the peace' was 'based', i.e., on the fact that they were members of the International Working Men's Association. The trial took place in November 1871 (see Note 335).—130, 288

After the victorious uprising of the Paris proletariat on 18 March 1871, power was in the hands of the Central Committee of the National Guard, which surrendered it to the Commune on 28 March following the elections of 26 March 1871.—132

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital*', New Park Publications, London, 1983.—135, 152

The reference is to Ferdinand Freiligrath's poem 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', an attack on Gottfried Kinkel, written in January 1852 (Marx has, erroneously, '1851') specially for *Die Revolution*, a journal published in the USA by Weydemeyer. Since its publication in America was delayed, Freiligrath published this poem in the literary newspaper *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* (No. 10, 7 March 1852) printed in Stuttgart and Tübingen. In America the poem was published in May 1852.—135

In his letter to Marx written around 10 April 1871, Liebknecht asked his consent to reprint articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, and requested Marx to send a complete run of the journal.

The magazine published several reviews by Marx and Engels, three international reviews written jointly by them, as well as Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and *Louis Napoleon and Fould*, and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution, The English Ten Hours' Bill and The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10).—135

This refers to Section 2 ('The So-Called Primitive Accumulation') of the last, sixth Chapter of the first German edition of Volume I of *Capital*. When preparing the second German edition of this volume, which appeared in 1872-73, Marx made this section into a separate Chapter. In the authorised English edition Engels changed the composition of the volume making this Chapter into Part VIII (see present edition, Vol. 35).—135

A new German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* being prepared, Wilhelm Liebknecht, on behalf of the editors of *Der Volksstaat*, requested Marx
and Engels to write a new preface for it, which they duly did at the close of June 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23).—135, 248, 319, 348, 390

190 This letter was first published in English in full in: Karl Marx, Letters to Dr. Kugelmann, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, and in: K. Marx, The Civil War in France, Kerr, Chicago, 1934.—136

191 On 13 June 1849 the petty-bourgeois Party of the Mountain organised a peaceful demonstration in Paris to protest against the infringements of the Constitution of the French Republic by the President and the majority of the Legislative Assembly. The demonstration was easily dispersed by government troops. It confirmed the bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois democracy in France.—136

192 The International Democratic Association included petty-bourgeois French and German émigrés in London and also English bourgeois Republicans.

In April 1871 members of the Association founded the Universal Republican League. Its leaders invited the General Council of the International to join, but their proposal was rejected unanimously at the General Council meeting on 25 April 1871.

With his letter Engels enclosed a newspaper clipping with the League's programme.—137

193 The Poor Law of 1834—An Act for the Amendment and Better Administration of the Laws Relating to the Poor in England and Wales—provided for only one form of relief for the able-bodied poor: workhouses with a prison-like regime.—138

194 Its revolutionary publications brought Der Volksstaat frequent harassment from the Prussian government. In April alone several issues were impounded 'for insulting state authorities and the Emperor of Germany'.—138, 158

195 These are notes for a reply to Francisco Mora (the letter itself has not been found) Engels made on an official message sent by the Spanish Federal Council to the General Council on 11 April 1871 in connection with the spinners' strike in Barcelona. The document is marked by Engels: 'Received 18 April.'—139

196 A reference to the appeal The Civil War in France, on which Marx was working at the time. It was first published in London on 13 June 1871, in English, as a pamphlet of 35 pages in 1,000 copies.—140, 141

197 Marx is speaking of the campaign started by the General Council of the International to explain to British workers the historical significance of the revolution in France. The Council organised a number of mass meetings in London, Manchester and other cities in defence of the Paris Commune.—140

198 This letter was first published in English in full in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, On the Paris Commune, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—141

199 Marx drafted this letter after the General Council, at its meeting of 25 April 1871, had entrusted him with answering the slanderous inventions of the French petty-bourgeois democrat Félix Pyat, who had attacked General Council member Auguste Serraillier in connection with the elections to the Paris Commune.—141

200 This refers to Tridon's letter to the editors of La Cigale, who published it in No. 29, 19 July 1868 under the heading 'La commune révolutionnaire de
Paris'. Tridon, who was a Blanquist, condemned the provocative speech made by Pyat at a meeting held in Cleveland Hall, London, on 29 June 1868, to celebrate the anniversary of the June 1848 uprising. At this meeting Pyat read out an appeal, which he had allegedly received from the 'Paris Revolutionary Commune', a secret society, and moved a resolution proclaiming the assassination of Napoleon III to be the sacred duty of every Frenchman.

The same issue of *La Cigale* carried a resolution of the General Council disavowing Pyat's behaviour (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7).—141

201 This refers to Karl Vogt's *Politische Briefe an Friedrich Kolb*, a pamphlet published in the autumn of 1870, in which the author tried to camouflage his one-time ties with the Bonapartists. This pamphlet was criticised by Engels in his article 'Once Again "Herr Vogt!"' (see present edition, Vol. 22).—144

202 On 3 May 1871 Liebknecht wrote to Marx that after the publication in *Der Volksstaat* of an item about Vogt receiving subsidies from funds belonging to the Bonaparte family (see Note 182), he was reproached for unnecessarily returning to the 'Vogt affair'. Liebknecht stressed the need to publish more material on this question. In connection with this, Engels sent to *Der Volksstaat* his article 'Once Again "Herr Vogt!"' (see present edition, Vol. 22).

On the *People's Party* see Note 71. —145

203 Bebel was released from detention on 28 March 1871 and on 3 April he spoke in the German Reichstag during the debate on the proposition made by the representatives of several bourgeois parties to include articles 'on basic rights' (freedom of the press, association, speech, etc.) in the German Constitution. Bebel asserted that in the German Empire all these rights were purely abstract and that all possible measures, including the use of revolutionary force, had to be taken for their genuine implementation.—145

204 This refers to the choice of candidates for the post of Secretary of the General Council following Eccarius' resignation as secretary on 9 May 1871. The committee of the General Council with Jung as chairman proposed Hales and Mottershead. During the discussion in the General Council questions were raised concerning the expulsion of Hales from the Elastic Web-Weavers' Society in 1867. When it was explained that the decision on expulsion had later been revoked, Hales was elected Secretary of the General Council on 16 May 1871.—147

205 An allusion to the fact that at that time the salary of the General Council's Secretary was 15s. per week. From mid-May 1871 it was reduced to 10s. per week.—147

206 On the night of 8 May 1871 the Paris Communards abandoned Fort Issy after ten days of bombardment by the Versailles troops that besieged Paris.—148

207 Marx drafted this letter in reply to Léo Frankel's letter written around 25 April 1871, in which he informed Marx about his election to the Executive of the Commune and requested advice concerning its work.

This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934] and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—148

208 This refers to the municipal elections conducted by the Thiers government in April 1871 when the civil war was at its height. In Bordeaux the democratic
forces won the day. Four delegates of the International's section were elected. Most likely Marx learned this from his daughter Jenny's letter to Engels datelined Bordeaux, 9 May 1871.—149

The final peace treaty between France and the German Empire was signed in Frankfurt am Main on 10 May 1871. (The date given by Marx is a slip of the pen.) According to the terms of the preliminary peace treaty signed on 26 February 1871 at Versailles, France ceded Alsace and East Lorraine to Germany and paid 5 thousand million francs indemnity; until the indemnity was paid part of French territory continued to be occupied by the German troops. Under the treaty of 10 May France was to pay indemnities on more onerous terms and the occupation of French territory by the German troops was prolonged in exchange for help rendered by Bismarck to the Versailles Government in suppressing the Commune.—149

According to newspaper reports, out of the domestic loan that the government of the Third Republic had decided to float, Thiers and his ministers, Finance Minister Pouyer-Quertier among them, were to receive over 300 million francs by way of 'commission'. The law on the loan was passed on 20 June 1871, after the suppression of the Commune.—149

This letter was written in English, but the original has not been traced. It was published, abridged, in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1984] and in full in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—150

Towards the end of April 1871 Marx's daughters Jenny and Eleanor set out for Bordeaux to visit Laura and Paul Lafargue; in June all of them moved to Bagnères-de-Luchon. Early in August, fearful of persecution, Lafargue left for Spain and Laura followed him. Jenny and Eleanor were arrested in Luchon and later expelled from France. On this see K. Marx, 'Letter to the Editor of The Sun, Charles Dana' and Jenny Marx's Letter to the Editor of Woodhull & Clafin's Weekly (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 396-99, 622).—150, 153, 177, 199, 201, 202, 206, 211, 561

A reference to Beesly's articles on the Paris Commune published in The Bee-Hive, No. 493, 25 March; Nos. 494, 495, 497 and 498, 1, 15, 22 and 29 April; Nos. 501-504, 20 and 27 May, 3 and 10 June 1871. Clippings of some of the articles with Marx's notes have been preserved in his archive.—150

Comtism or positivism—a trend in philosophy, sociology and historiography that arose in the 1830s, its leading proponent being Auguste Comte, the French sociologist. The positivists extended methods of natural science to the study of society. They saw the historical process in terms of slow evolutionary changes and denied the role of revolutions.—150

In November 1864, The Bee-Hive became the official organ of the International Working Men's Association, but, being closely linked with trade union leaders and bourgeois radicals, it remained a narrow trade unionist newspaper (see Marx's letter to Sigfrid Meyer of 4 July 1868, present edition, Vol. 43). Its editors delayed the publication of the International's documents and tampered with reports of the General Council meetings. The question of severing all links with the Bee-Hive editors was discussed in the General Council on 26 April 1870; Marx took part in the discussion (see present
At the same time as the official peace treaty between the German Empire and France was signed in Frankfurt am Main on 10 May 1871 (see Note 209), Bismarck and Favre made a secret verbal agreement on joint action against the Commune (negotiations had begun on 6 May 1871). The agreement allowed the Versailles troops to pass through the German lines, and the stopping of food supplies to Paris; the German High Command, moreover, was to present the Commune with an ultimatum demanding the dismantling of the fortifications protecting Paris. The Versailles troops invaded Paris on 21 May 1871.

Evidently Marx has in mind his letter to Léo Frankel and Louis Eugène Varlin of 13 May 1871. See this volume, pp. 148-49.—151

This refers to the Communist League, the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat, formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just. The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the participation of Marx and Engels. The Communist League’s members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In 1849 and 1850, after the defeat of the revolution, it was reorganised and continued its activities. Owing to police persecution and arrests of League members, in May 1851 the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On 17 November 1852, on a motion by Marx, the League announced its dissolution.—151

In his letter of 11 (23) May 1871, Nikolai Danielson informed Marx that Hermann Lopatin could not complete the translation of Capital into Russian and had asked Danielson to finish the work. Knowing from Lopatin that Marx intended to revise the first chapter of the first German edition of Capital, Volume I, for the Russian edition, Danielson asked Marx to send him the new version of the chapter. Being very busy at the time, Marx was unable to revise the chapter for the first Russian edition. In preparing the second German edition of Volume I of Capital Marx substantially revised the chapter and turned it into Part I, ‘Commodities and Money’ (see present edition, Vol. 35).

On the Russian edition of Capital see Note 146.—152, 238, 263, 265

In his letter to Marx, dated 11 (23) May 1871, Danielson wrote: “Our mutual friend” [Lopatin], speaking in friendly company to people interested in the continuation of your work, said that your publisher, owing to commercial considerations, does not wish to print Volume II, which you have ready in manuscript, before Volume I has been sold out.’ However, Volume II, which included the 2nd and 3rd books of Capital, was not actually ready for publication. After Marx’s death Engels prepared the relevant manuscripts for the press and published them as Volumes II and III of Capital.—152

A reference to Lopatin’s trip to Siberia to arrange Chernyshevsky’s escape from exile. In February 1871 Lopatin was arrested and imprisoned in Irkutsk. He attempted to escape on 3 June but was caught immediately.

Apparently Marx did not know yet of Lopatin’s arrest and did not understand Danielson’s allusion to the matter in his letter of 11 (23) May 1871. However, aware of the danger Lopatin was facing he tried to warn him through Danielson.—152
221 Danielson regularly supplied Marx with Russian literature chiefly on economic problems. Among the printed matter which Danielson sent Marx in May 1871 was Chernyshevsky's work *On Landed Property*, published in *Sovremennik*, Nos. 9 and 11 for 1857.—152

222 Marx gave his advice in the form of medical prescriptions, knowing full well that his correspondence with Lafargue was under close surveillance. According to records in the French police archives, some of the letters sent by Paul Lafargue to Marx were intercepted.—153

223 Engels' contract with his partner Gottfried Ermen expired on 30 June 1869, so he resigned from the firm Ermen & Engels.—156

224 Jules Favre's Circular of 6 June 1871 to the diplomatic representatives of France urged the European governments to join forces in combating the International Working Men's Association. The Standing Committee of the General Council, at its meeting on 11 June 1871, discussed the text of the 'Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular' (see present edition, Vol. 22), drafted by Marx and Engels. The Statement was adopted by the General Council on 13 June and published in many papers, including *The Eastern Post*, No. 142, 17 June 1871, a copy of which was appended to the letter.—158

225 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—159, 228

226 The German translation of Marx's *The Civil War in France* was made by Engels and published in *Der Volksstaat* (Nos. 52-61, 28 June and 1, 5, 8, 12, 16, 19, 22, 26 and 29 July 1871), and, in abridged form, in *Der Vorbote* in August-October 1871; it also came out as a pamphlet in Leipzig.—159, 161, 166, 215

227 No sooner had *The Civil War in France* been published than numerous hostile comments appeared in the bourgeois press, for example, in *The Evening Standard*, No. 14623, 14 June 1871 (leader); *The Spectator*, No. 2242, 17 June 1871, 'The English Communists on Paris'; *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1979, 17 June 1871, 'The International Working Men's Association' (leader); *The Standard*, No. 14627, 19 June 1871 (leader); *The Times*, No. 27093, 19 June 1871 (leader); *The Times*, No. 27095, 21 June 1871 (leader).—159

228 Following his expulsion from Prussia in 1865, Liebknecht became a Hessian subject but settled in Saxony. On 24 May 1871 Liebknecht wrote to Engels about his intention to give up Hessian citizenship and apply for SAXONIAN citizenship because he was in danger of being expelled from Saxony too.

In the same letter Liebknecht asked Engels to recommend him as a correspondent for *The Pall Mall Gazette*; he also suggested that the *Reynold's Weekly Newspaper* be used to publish the International's documents.—159, 166

229 Apparently an allusion to the *National Liberals*—the party formed by members of the German, mostly Prussian, big bourgeoisie in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress (see Note 236). The policy of the National Liberals reflected the German liberal bourgeoisie's capitulation to Bismarck. After the unification of Germany in 1871 it became increasingly subservient to the government.—160
Bebel spoke in the Reichstag on 25 May 1871 during the debate on the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to the German Empire. He passionately defended the Paris Communards and ended by saying that 'the battlecry of the Paris proletariat—"War on the palaces, peace to the huts, death to privation and idleness"—will become the battlecry of the entire European proletariat'.—160

Engels' letters to Carlo Cafiero of 1[-3], 16 and 28 July 1871, written in English, were confiscated by the police when Cafiero was arrested in August 1871. They were translated into Italian by a police translator. These copies were discovered in 1946 by the Italian historian Aldo Romano among the documents of the prefecture at the State Archives in Naples. Engels' original letters have not been traced.

In the texts published in this volume, obvious distortions and errors by the translator and copyist have been corrected.


Engels' intention to establish correspondence with L. Castellazzo, whose address he knew from Carlo Cafiero, did not materialise. In his letter of 28 June 1871, Cafiero informed Engels that Castellazzo and the Florentine *Società Democratica Internazionale* were being harassed by the police.—162

A reference to Jules Favre's Circular of 6 June 1871 addressed to the diplomatic representatives of France (see Note 224). In his Circular Favre made use of police forgeries and documents of the Alliance.—164

At the General Council meeting of 4 July 1871, Paolo Tibaldi, a Paris Commune fighter, exposed Luigi Wolff as a paid agent of the French police. The statement was published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 145, 8 July 1871.—164, 173

Engels made a tour of Lombardy in the summer of 1841.—165

The *Party of Progress* was formed by members of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie in June 1861. It advocated the unification of Germany under Prussian supremacy, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and the establishment of a liberal ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1866, after a split in the Party of Progress, its Right wing, the National Liberals (see Note 229), formed a separate party. Following the unification of Germany in 1871, the Left wing declared themselves the party of opposition, but this opposition remained only on paper.—166, 289

A Social-Democratic daily newspaper, *Crimmitschauer Bürger- und Bauernfreund, Organ des gesamten Osterlandes*, was founded in the summer of 1870 in Crimmitschau (Saxony).—167

The General Council members Odger and Lucraft expressed their disapproval of the Address of the General Council *The Civil War in France*, virtually joining in the campaign of slander against the International started by the bourgeois press when this Address was published. At its meetings on 20 and 27 June 1871 the General Council unanimously condemned Odger and Lucraft and accepted their resignations.—167, 186, 215, 233

Towards the end of June 1871 the editors of *The Pall Mall Gazette* took a hostile attitude to the Paris Communards and joined in the slander campaign unleashed by English bourgeois papers against the International Working
Men's Association. In this connection Marx and Engels officially broke off relations with the paper and on 4 July informed the General Council of their decision.—167

240 Marx wrote this in reply to the letter the lawyer Léon Bigot had sent to the Secretary of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. When a group of Communards were court-martialled in Paris (see Note 268) Bigot defended the accused Adolphe Alphonse Assi, a member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune. In his letter, written with Assi's consent, Bigot asked the International's leaders what they thought of the slanderous accusation 'of spreading false rumours' about Assi which the bourgeois papers had levelled against Marx.

The letter is printed from the rough copy Marx made in a notebook where, under the heading 'Affaire Assi', a collection of material is to be found relating to the above-mentioned affair.—167

241 Marx wrote this letter in reply to A. O. Rutson, private secretary to Bruce, British Home Secretary. Rutson had asked Marx to send him copies of all official documents issued by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.—169

242 On 17 May 1870 the General Council resolved to convene the Fifth Congress of the International in Mainz. However, the Congress was unable to meet owing to the Franco-Prussian War that broke out in July 1870 (see Note 40).—169, 237, 260

243 This refers to the 'Address to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America' (see present edition, Vol. 20) written by Marx on the occasion of Lincoln's re-election as President. The Address was forwarded to Lincoln through Adams, the American envoy to London.

On 28 January 1865, Adams, on behalf of Lincoln, handed over the reply to the Address of the Central (General) Council. It was published in The Times on 6 February 1865.—169

244 In his letter of 28 June 1871 Cafiero informed Engels that a Russian lady, one of his 'socialist republican' friends, had started to translate The Civil War in France into Russian. Nothing is known of the fate of this translation.—170

245 The Civil War in France was published in French for the first time in L'Internationale in Brussels in July-September 1871 and in L'Égalité in Geneva in August-October 1871. It appeared between separate covers in Brussels in June 1872. In Spain Marx's work was published in La Emancipación in July-September 1871. The publication of the Italian edition, started in L'Eguaglianza (Girgenti) in November-December 1871, was not completed. The Dutch edition appeared in De Toekomst in June-July 1871. On the German translation of The Civil War in France see Note 226.—170, 400, 583

246 In his letter dated 28 June 1871 Cafiero informed Engels that for liaison with the Florentine Società Democratica Internazionale he should write to Francesco Piccini, a shoemaker.—170

247 Cafiero wrote that after serving a short term in prison on account of the strike organised by the Naples section in early 1870, Stefano Caporusso had renounced his socialist and republican convictions.—171

248 A reference to passports allowing the Communards to leave Paris. See also this volume, p. 151.—174
An allusion to the documents of the International Working Men's Association published by the General Council which Danielson asked Marx to send to him via Berlin for reasons of secrecy, giving the following address: Berlin poste restante. Herrn Kirschbaum.—174

The letter has been preserved in the form of a résumé in Marx's notebook of excerpts. It was written in reply to Charles Caron's letter to Hermann Jung of 15 July 1871, in which Caron informed Jung that the New Orleans Club International et Républicain wanted to affiliate to the International Working Men's Association. The Club was admitted into the International as Section No. 15.—176

In June 1871 the General Council began to raise funds and distribute them among the Commune refugees; it also found jobs for them. In July the General Council formed a special Relief Committee which included Marx, Engels, Jung and other members of the Council. On 5 September 1871 Marx and Engels, being busy with the preparations for the London Conference of 1871, resigned from the Committee. Marx nevertheless continued to take an active part in organising assistance to the Commune refugees.—176, 202, 326, 566

A reference to the second German edition of Engels' work, The Peasant War in Germany, put out by the Volksstaat Publishers in 1870.—178

Engels has in mind Borkheim's work, Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten. 1806-1807, which was published in Der Volksstaat in July-September 1871 and was to appear as a pamphlet some time later; A. Bebel's pamphlets Unsere Ziele (second edition) and Die Reden Bebel's, which were issued in August 1871 by the Volksstaat Publishers; and J. Dietzgen's Die Religion der Sozial-Demokratie, which was published between August 1870 and August 1871 in Der Volksstaat, and in 1871 appeared as a pamphlet.—178

An allusion to the preliminary conference held in London on 25-29 September 1865 instead of the congress of the International Working Men's Association planned for Brussels.

In line with a resolution of the Basle Congress (1869), the next congress of the International Working Men's Association was to be held in Paris. However, the persecution of the International's sections by the police in France compelled the General Council to move the next congress to Mainz (see Note 40). The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War made the congress impossible; nor was it possible to hold it in the atmosphere of severe reprisals against the members of the International during the civil war in France, especially after the suppression of the Paris Commune. In these circumstances, the majority of national federations agreed that the congress be postponed and the General Council be empowered to fix the date of its convocation. At the same time the urgent tasks to be undertaken in the struggle against the Bakuninists and other sectarian elements, as well as other pressing problems, demanded the adoption of collective decisions. At its meeting on 25 July 1871 the General Council, at Engels' suggestion, resolved to convene a private conference of the International in London on the third Sunday of September. The majority of the federations agreed to the proposal.

The London Conference was held from 17 to 23 September 1871. Twenty-two voting, and ten non-voting, delegates took part in its work. The countries unable to send delegates were represented by the corresponding secretaries. Marx represented Germany, Engels—Italy. In all, nine sessions were held. The most important decision of the Conference was formula-
ted in Resolution IX, 'Political Action of the Working Class', which declared the need to found, in each country, an independent proletarian party whose ultimate goal was the conquest of political power by the working class.—178, 187, 308, 326, 346, 563

At the meeting of the General Council on 25 July 1871 the Bakuninist Robin, Guillaume's associate, raised the question about relations between the Bakuninist Alliance (see Note 10) and the International in connection with a speech made in Geneva by Utin, representative of the Russian Section of the International Working Men's Association, declaring that the Alliance had never been admitted into the International.

In its resolutions of 22 December 1868 and 9 March 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 34-36, 45-46), the General Council did refuse to admit the Alliance as an international organisation; should the Alliance dissolve itself, however, its separate groups were to be allowed to affiliate to the International Association as sections. Following the Alliance's declaration that it had dissolved itself, the General Council admitted into the International the Geneva Section, which called itself the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. During the discussion of this question at its meeting of 25 July 1871, the General Council confirmed that the Geneva Section of the Alliance had been admitted into the International. However, at Marx's and Engels' suggestion the General Council resolved to examine at the forthcoming conference the question of whether the leaders of the Alliance complied with the terms on which its sections had been admitted into the International; any violation of those terms placed the organisations of the Alliance outside the International Working Men's Association.—179

Caporuzzo embezzled the 300 lire which had been collected by members of the Naples Section to assist their imprisoned comrades.—180

The League of Peace and Freedom was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. In 1867-68 Mikhail Bakunin was also among the members of the League.

Marx's tactics vis-à-vis the League of Peace and Freedom were approved by the Brussels Congress of the International in 1868, which opposed official affiliation to the League but was in favour of joint action by the working class and all the progressive anti-war forces.—182

The report on the General Council meeting of 25 July was published in The Eastern Post, No. 148, 29 July 1871.—185

On Engels' advice, Caffiero published the subsequent part of the letter (up to the words: 'At last Tuesday's meeting the Council...') in Libero Pensiero on 31 August 1871 and in several other Italian papers (see F. Engels, 'Mazzini's Statement Against the International Working Men's Association', present edition, Vol. 22).—185

This refers to the withdrawal of the Italian Mazzinists from the Central (General) Council in April 1865 following the discussion of the conflict in the Paris Section of the International (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 82-83).—185

This refers to Jung's letter to the editor of the bourgeois-democratic newspaper L'Echo de Verviers, in reply to the libellous attacks made on the International's leaders by the petty-bourgeois journalist Pierre Vésinier in the paper. Jung's
letter, dated 15 February 1866, had been edited by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 392-400).—186

262 In Volume 2 of his *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, Louis Blanc maintained that the Bonapartists had taken an active part in the events of June 1848 (see Note 113), which, he alleged, had been provoked by them.—186

263 Engels is quoting Resolution VIII on organisational questions adopted by the Basle Congress of the International (1869). By decision of the London Conference of 1871 this Resolution was incorporated into the new edition of the Administrative Regulations (I. The General Congress, Art. 7) (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 8).—187

264 Marx is referring to the planned publication of the proceedings of the third court martial, which was to try a group of Paris Communards (see Note 268). Owing to financial difficulties the proceedings were not published.—188, 195

265 This refers to the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association held between 17 and 23 September 1871 (see Note 254).—191, 217, 220, 221, 259

266 Engels has in mind the enquiry concerning Lopatin's fate which Marx made in his letter to Danielson dated 22 July 1871. In his reply to Marx on 31 July (12 August) Danielson wrote: 'The news about "our mutual friend" is correct. His position is extremely dangerous and may become chronic' (see Note 220).—192

267 Engels sent to Lavrov two issues of *The Eastern Post*, namely No. 148 of 29 July 1871, which carried the report on the General Council meeting of 25 July with Engels' speech on Mazzini's attitude towards the International and No. 149 of 5 August with the report on the General Council meeting of 1 August containing Marx's speech against Odger (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 607-08 and 610-11).—192

268 This refers to the trial of 15 members of the Paris Commune and 2 members of the Central Committee of the National Guard which began on 7 August 1871 in the Third Court Martial. Following the suppression of the Paris Commune there were altogether 26 courts martial in France. Judicial proceedings continued until 1877. The number of people shot, sentenced to exile with hard labour or confined to prison amounted to 70,000.—193, 207, 209

269 Paris was besieged by the Prussians in September 1870-January 1871 and by the Versailles Government troops in April-May 1871.—193

270 Marx wrote this letter to Theodor Koll, treasurer of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 135), in connection with the slander campaign which the Lassalleans elements in the Society were conducting against him. They alleged that Marx had embezzled money collected by the Society for the striking tailors in Pest. Early in August 1871 Marx temporarily withdrew from the Society. In December 1871 the Lassalleans were expelled.—194, 202

271 On 1 May 1871 the tailors of 28 factories in Pest, Austria-Hungary, staged a strike, which later spread to other factories. The workers demanded hourly rates instead of piece rates, shorter working hours and a 20 per cent rise in wages. The strike was crushed by troops.—194
272 A reference to the bill of indictment against a group of the Paris Communards tried by the Third Court Martial (see Note 268). It was drawn up by public prosecutor Captain Gaveau (not long before that he had been a patient in a mental hospital, which he re-entered three months later and where he died). The bill of indictment was a collection of the most absurd slanderous inventions.—195

273 In his letter to Bebel and Liebknecht of 4 December 1870 Lefaiivre thanked them in the name of the French Republic for their speeches in the North German Reichstag on 26 November 1870 (see Note 134). The letter of thanks was published in the Börsenzeitung and reprinted in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. Der Volksstaat published it in No. 101, 17 December 1870.—196

274 Following the arrest of Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner (17 December 1870), Bismarck's government started preparations for a trial of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, who were charged with 'high treason' (see Note 134). The trial was held in Leipzig between 11 and 26 March 1872. Though the charges brought against them had not been proved, Bebel and Liebknecht were condemned to two-year imprisonment in a fortress (with the deduction of the two months they had spent in prison before the trial); Hepner was acquitted. Following the trial in Leipzig, early in July 1872 Bebel was again brought before the court 'for insulting His Majesty', which he had allegedly done when addressing workers in Leipzig. Bebel was sentenced to additional 9 months in prison and deprived of his seat in the Reichstag.—196, 360, 365, 458, 493, 510

275 The Russian revolutionary Yelizaveta Dmitrieva (Tomanovskaya) took an active part in the Paris Commune and helped Marx and the General Council in maintaining contacts with the French members of the International during the Commune and after its suppression. Marx's letter to Dmitrieva has not survived.—198

276 In August 1871, at the trial of a group of Communards, François Jourde, delegate of the Finance Commission of the Commune, was accused, among other things, of having set fire to the Ministry of Finance building. This charge was based on evidence fabricated by the police.—199

277 On 9 August 1871 Der Volksstaat published a statement by Amand Goegg addressed to the editors of the Schwäbischer Merkur, in which he declared himself an advocate of individualism. On 12 August Der Volksstaat published Bernhard Becker's letter headed 'Zur Geschichte des Preußischen Regierungssozialismus' referring to the time of his expulsion from the General Association of German Workers (1865).—199, 215

278 Between 16 and 29 August 1871 Marx stayed at Brighton where, on his doctor's advice, he received treatment for overstrain.—200, 201, 204, 206, 209

279 On 19 August 1871 the newspaper Public Opinion (apparently Engels had a copy of this issue already on 18 August) published, under the title 'A German View of the International', an account of the leader 'Die Internationale' from the National-Zeitung, No. 351, 30 July 1871. On August 26 the Editor of Public Opinion published Marx's protest against the libels contained in the account (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 993-94) as well as an apology, as demanded by Marx.—200, 201, 204
In 1869 Nechayev established contacts with Bakunin and began setting up a secret organisation called Narodnaya Rasprava (The People's Judgment) in a number of Russian cities. Having received from Bakunin the credentials of the 'Alliance révolutionnaire européenne', Nechayev passed himself off as a representative of the International. When members of Nechayev's organisation were arrested and put on trial in St Petersburg in the summer of 1871, the adventurer methods he had used—blackmail, intimidation, deception, etc.—were brought out into the open. The bourgeois press used the Nechayev case to discredit the International.

On 22 September 1871 the London Conference charged the General Council to declare publicly that the International Working Men's Association had nothing to do with Nechayev's activities. On October 16 the General Council adopted an appropriate resolution drafted by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 23).—201, 311, 436

Early in August 1871 Lafargue had to flee to Spain in order to escape persecution by the Versailles Government. On 11 August he was arrested in Huesca on the orders of the Thiers government, but released 10 days later.—202, 204, 570

The Appeal to members of the American sections of the International to raise money for the Paris Commune refugees was written by Marx and sent to Sorge, as can be seen from Marx's letter to Sorge of 5 September (see this volume, p. 211). The text of the Appeal has not been found.—203, 204, 208, 211

The text of Marx's telegram is not known.—204

This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans. 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—204, 236, 241

A strike by dressers started on 11 June 1871 at clothing factories in St Gallen (Switzerland). Eight hundred strikers who had resolved at their meeting to join the International were sacked. The support of the Swiss sections of the International enabled the strikers to hold out until September, secure reinstatement for the sacked workers, and win a reduction of the working day by one hour.—205

On 3 August 1871 The New-York Herald published a report from its London correspondent about his meeting with Marx on 20 July 1871. The author distorted the content of their talk. Le Gaulois published excerpts from this report and Marx sent its editor a copy of the relevant statement which he had sent to The New-York Herald. Marx's statement was published in Le Gaulois, No. 1145, 27 August 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 395); it did not appear in the Herald.—205

This letter was published in English, in full, for the first time in: The Letters of Karl Marx, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—206

The letter from the Russian revolutionary A. Davydov of 21 August 1871 was prompted by a request Engels had made to him on 15 August for assistance to Paris Commune refugees. A cheque for £4 was enclosed with Davydov's reply. The text of Engels' letter to Davydov is not extant.

Marx wrote 'Davyson' instead of Davydov.—206
Of this letter only an excerpt cited in the article 'Pecuniary Position of the International' has been preserved. The article was published in The World, No. 3687, 21 September 1871.—208

Marx drafted this letter on the back of a letter from M. D. Conway, an American radical writer staying in Britain at the time. Conway enquired about the possibility of attending the General Council's forthcoming meetings.

This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans. 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—209

The reference is to the report of the International Working Men's Association's Central Committee for North America on the situation in the country and the activities of the International's organisations; it was sent to the London Conference of 1871.—211

In his letter of 30 August 1871 Collet asked Marx where he could get Volume I of Capital, or excerpts from it in English, French or Italian, for the purpose of comparing them with the addresses issued by the International, which, as he put it, alarmed him.—211

Engels wrote a review of Volume I of Capital for The Fortnightly Review in May-June 1868, but it was rejected by the editorial board (see present edition, Vol. 20).—212

Taking advantage of Engels' short holiday in Ramsgate (somewhere between 3 and 9 September 1871) Marx asked him to talk with the British democrat Thomas Allsop about assistance to the Paris Commune refugees.—213

In his letter to Marx of 7 September 1871 Allsop proposed that they meet on 12 September to discuss the question of assistance to the Paris Commune refugees; he also asked Marx to make a list of those who were in particular need.—213

The reference is to the London newspaper reports on the court proceedings instituted by Favre against Laluyé in March 1871. Favre charged Laluyé, a former Commander-in-Chief of the Paris National Guard, with slander.

The newspapers, which reported the case, notably The Times, kept changing their stance, supporting now Favre now Laluyé.—213

On 2 September 1871 The Evening Standard reproduced a slanderous article about Marx previously published by the London Public Opinion (see Note 279). Marx sent a letter to The Evening Standard enclosing a copy of his statement to the Public Opinion for publication. The statement was not published on the pretext that it had not been found in the envelope.—213

This is a draft of Engels' answer to an enquiry from this firm about MacDonnel who had applied to it for a loan to start a printshop.—214

Liebknecht offered Engels a mandate to attend the International's 1871 London Conference (see Note 265). Engels was to represent the Saxonian members of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. See also this volume, p. 232.—215, 288

Liebknecht and his wife decided to name their son, born on 13 August 1871, Karl Friedrich Paul, in honour of Marx, Engels and Paul Stumpf, Liebknecht's associate. This was the reason why Liebknecht enquired about Marx's and Engels' full names.—215
The London Trades Council was elected at a conference of trade union delegates in 1860. The Council headed the London trade unions, numbering many thousand members, and was fairly influential among the British workers. On 14 January 1867 the London Council resolved 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'.—215

Referring to Engels' doubts about the wisdom of inviting Bernhard Becker to contribute to Der Volksstaat (see this volume, p. 199), Liebknecht wrote on 8 September 1871 that the editorial board 'needed men of ability', but that they intended to keep him 'on a string'.—216, 233

The reference is to B. Becker, Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's, Schleiz, 1868. Engels gave his assessment of this work in the article 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association (Postscript)' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 24).—216

On 9 September 1871 Der Volksstaat, No. 73, published an announcement, 'Zur Notiz', informing the readers that the paper, 'by agreement with the General Council, ... would be publishing an authentic history of the Paris Commune'.—216

In the summer of 1871, Bismarck and the Chancellor of Austria-Hungary Beust took coordinated steps to curb the working-class movement. The German and Austrian emperors specially discussed joint measures against the International at their meetings in Bad Gastein in August, and in Salzburg in September 1871.

The Italian government joined the general crusade against the International by breaking up the Naples Section in August 1871, and persecuting members of the International, Theodor Cuno among others (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 151-52).—216

Verona was the venue of the last congress of the Holy Alliance, held in October-December 1822. The congress adopted a resolution on the French intervention in Spain, which led to the restoration of the absolutist regime there in 1823.

In Carlsbad (Karlov Vary), the conference of German states' ministers in August 1819 resolved to introduce precensorship in all German states, establish strict surveillance over the universities, prohibit student societies and set up a central committee of inquiry for prosecuting persons suspected of opposition.

In the 1820s the Austrian authorities instituted reprisals against the carbonari, members of secret political societies advocating unification, independence and liberal constitutional reforms for Italy.—216

Engels was on another holiday in Ramsgate (see Note 294) around 13-15 September 1871.—216, 229

This is Marx's reply to Sorge's letter of 8 August 1871. Sorge had informed Marx of the growing conflict in the International's Central Committee for North America with bourgeois reformists who were seeking to establish their influence over the organisations of the International.

This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—217

The International's Central Committee for North America proposed that all sections submit to the Committee lists of their members with addresses and occupations. Washington's Section No. 23 responded by declaring that it preferred to maintain direct contact with the International's General Council residing in London rather than with the Central Committee.—217, 236, 257

On receiving a false report of Marx's death, the conference of the Cosmopolitan Society adopted a resolution saying that Marx was 'one of the most devoted, most fearless and most selfless defenders of all oppressed classes and peoples'.

The *Cosmopolitan Society* was one of the many democratic organisations formed in the United States in the early 1870s. It consisted of petty-bourgeois elements and workers, and also included members of the International's sections. The society disbanded in early 1872.—220

The reference is to Danielson's letter to Eleanor Marx of 31 August (12 September) 1871 in which he asked whether Russian newspaper reports about Marx's serious illness were true.—220

When the Swiss conflict (see Note 9) was discussed at the 1871 London Conference, Utin, Perret and Serrailier exposed the splitting activities of the Bakuninists Robin and Bastelica.—220

Jenny Marx's letter to the American newspaper *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* about the police persecution she and her sister Eleanor had been subjected to in France in the summer of 1871 (see Note 212) was sent by Marx and published on 21 October 1871 together with his covering letter (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 432).—220

This letter is printed according to a handwritten copy now in the Berlin police archives.


Lavrov's letter of 29 September and this one by Engels refer to a consignment of books for Lavrov (see this volume, p. 218) and also discuss in a coded form the organisation of assistance to the French refugees.—222, 562

Marx, his wife Jenny and Engels went on holiday to Ramsgate from 28 September to 3 October 1871.—222, 562

This probably refers to certain French refugees and the Society of Commune Refugees (see this volume, p. 274).—223

In his letter of 8 October 1871 Perret asked Marx to send urgently the London Conference resolution relating to the split in Romance Switzerland (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 419-22).—223
A reference to the £42 collected by German Section No. 1 in the USA by subscription for the Paris Commune refugees. The money was later sent to the General Council to be distributed among the refugees. A deputation from the Society of Commune Refugees in London (see Note 378) attended the meeting of the General Council on 29 August 1871 to demand an account of how the émigré fund was being distributed. A resolution proposed by Engels was adopted, recognising the donors as the only persons with the right to monitor the actions of the General Council in this respect. At the Council's meeting of 16 October 1871 Marx insisted that the money should be distributed by the General Council to those Commune refugees who were hardest hit. — 224

Marx's letter to Hales was written on a General Council form together with the text of the resolution on Nechayev (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 23). British newspapers did not publish the Nechayev resolution. — 225

In response to Marx's enquiry, Utin wrote on 28 October 1871 that the Bakuninists were attempting to set up in Zurich a Slav section consisting of Bulgarian and Serbian students and to counterpose it to the Russian Section of the International. The group, which took the name of 'Slavenski Zaves', affiliated to the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. After the General Council refused to recognise it as a section of the International in the spring of 1872, it became part of the Jura Federation. The group ceased to exist in the summer of 1873. — 227

The reference is to the 1871 London Conference resolutions (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 423-31). The General Council asked Marx to prepare them for publication in English, French and German. — 227, 231, 257

The Tugendbund ('Union of Virtue') was one of the patriotic societies founded in Prussia in 1808 following the defeat by Napoleonic France. It united representatives of the liberal nobility and the bourgeois intelligentsia. The society advocated moderate liberal reforms and sought to rally support for the idea of an anti-Napoleonic liberation war. — 228

At the sitting of the London Conference on 20 September 1871 Vaillant tabled a draft resolution stressing the need for political action by the working class. In the course of the discussion of this resolution and Serraillier's and Frankel's addenda to it Marx and Engels made speeches which provided the basis for the resolution 'Political Action of the Working Class' (IX). To draw up the resolution a special commission of the General Council was set up which included Engels, Martin and Le Moussu. The resolution was then discussed at the General Council's meeting of 16 October. Marx was asked to prepare it for the press. — 231, 331

On 12 September 1871 Liebknecht sent Engels a mandate to attend the London Conference as a representative of the Saxonian members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. — 232, 571

On 27 October 1871 The Times published an unsigned article 'The International Working Men's Association'. It described the origins of the International since 1848. Its closing lines stated that the Association's aim remained as it was at its foundation, 'the complete emancipation of the working class'. — 233

The reference is to a number of sections organised by Bakuninists in the Swiss Jura. Relying on these sections, the Bakuninists managed to obtain a formal majority at the Romance Federation Congress held in La Chaux-de-Fonds on
4-6 April 1870. The Bakuninists attempted to seize leadership of the whole federation, which caused a split (see Note 9).

This conflict was discussed at the 1871 London Conference, and was resolved in favour of the genuine Romance Federal Committee. It was suggested that the Bakunist Council should call itself the Council of the Jura Federation (see K. Marx, 'Resolution of the London Conference relating to the Split in Romance Switzerland', present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 419-22).—234

The list sent in by Engels appeared in Der Volksstaat, No. 92, 15 November 1871. It included *Il Proletario Italiano*, Turin; *Gazzettino Rosa*, Milan; *La Plebe*, Lodi; *Il Libero Pensiero*, Florence; *Il Romagnolo*, Parma; *Il Tribuno (Ciceruacchio)*, Rome; *L'Eguaglianza*, Girgenti, Sicily, and *L'Operaio Italiano*, Catania, Sicily.—234

The 1871 London Conference, on Marx's initiative, instructed the General Council to establish a Federal Council for England. The General Council itself had acted as such from the International's foundation to the autumn of 1871. In October 1871 a provisional London Federal Council was formed from representatives of the International's London Section and some of the trade unions. From the outset it was dominated by a group of reformists headed by John Hales, Secretary of the General Council. They attempted to set the Federal Council against the General Council. Following the Hague Congress of 1872 the left wing of the Federal Council, supported by Marx and Engels, constituted itself the British Federal Council.—234, 302, 382

Eccarius was appointed the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for the USA (French sections excluded) at the Council's meeting of 2 October 1871.—236, 382

Section No. 12 joined the American sections of the International in July 1871. Its leaders, the feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, began campaigning for bourgeois reforms on behalf of the International. On 27 September 1871, without the knowledge of the New York Central Committee, Section No. 12 demanded that the General Council recognise it as the leading body of the International in the USA. Simultaneously it campaigned in the press against the sections which upheld the proletarian character of the International.

In its resolution of 5 November 1871 the General Council rejected the claims of Section No. 12 and confirmed the powers of the New York Central Committee. Nevertheless Section No. 12 continued to act in the same vein, which led to a split between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois sections. In March 1872 the General Council expelled Section No. 12 from the International, and in September 1872 this decision was confirmed by the Hague Congress.—236, 252, 568

This letter is printed according to a handwritten copy now in the Berlin police archives.


In his letter of 18 October 1871 Ferdinand Jozewicz informed Marx about the activities of the Berlin Section of the International and enquired about the expediency of the Section's public statements.—237

The trial of Bracke, Bonhorst, Spier and other members of the Committee of
the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party took place in the Brunswick district court in November 1871. (On their arrest see Note 115.) The main point of the indictment was their membership of the International. The court found Bracke and Bonhors guilty of 'infringing public order' and sentenced them to 16 months in prison. In February 1872, however, the court of appeal quashed the sentence as groundless and cut the term of imprisonment from 16 to 3 months, also deducting the period of preliminary detention; this virtually amounted to an acquittal.—237, 242, 360


Marx gives the pages and numbers of footnotes according to the first German edition of Volume I of *Capital* which came out in 1867. Marx inserted all the amendments and printing corrections enumerated in the appendix, together with some minor editorial changes, in the second German edition of Volume I which appeared in 1872-73. They were also included in all subsequent editions. (Volume 35 of the present edition reproduces the text according to the 1887 English edition of *Capital*, edited by Engels.) Throughout this letter the page numbers in brackets refer to the corresponding pages of the paperback English edition of *Capital*, Volume I, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1967, from which the passages cited have been taken (where relevant).—238

The French Section of 1871 was formed in London in September of that year by French refugees. The leaders of the Section established close contacts with Bakuninists in Switzerland. The Rules of the French Section of 1871, published in *Qui Vive!*, its official newspaper, were submitted to the General Council at its extraordinary meeting on 16 October 1871 and referred to a special commission (see Note 341). At the General Council meeting of 17 October Marx tabled a resolution on behalf of the commission (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 24-27), recommending that the Section bring several paragraphs of its Rules into line with the Rules of the International. In its letter of 31 October signed by Augustin Avrial, the Section rejected the General Council resolution. This reply was discussed in the commission and at the General Council meeting of 7 November 1871. Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for France, submitted a resolution written by Marx, which was adopted unanimously by the Council (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 37-42). In December 1871 the French Section of 1871 split up into a number of groups. In some of his letters Marx called this section French Section No. 2 to distinguish it from the French Section in London, established in 1865 (see Note 50).—241, 256, 267, 278, 302, 309, 315, 331, 568

The reference is to a group of French refugees, participants in the Paris Commune, who allied themselves with the Bakuninists in Switzerland (Aristide Claris, Benoît Malon, Jules Guesde, André Léo, and others). On 6 September 1871 they set up a section of propaganda and revolutionary socialist action together with members of the Geneva Section of the Alliance de la démocratie socialiste (Nikolai Zhukovsky, Charles Perron) which had dissolved on the eve of the London Conference. The General Council, proceeding from the London Conference decisions prohibiting the admission of sectarian groups, refused to admit the section. This was confirmed by the Hague Congress in September 1872.—241, 268, 315
At the morning sitting on 22 September 1871 the London Conference discussed the Belgian delegates' proposal, tabled by De Paepe, to limit the number of representatives from each nationality in the General Council. Marx opposed De Paepe. The Conference confirmed as members of the General Council all the previously admitted Communards. — 241

After the 1871 London Conference, the Rules of the International's local organisations were subject to approval by the General Council. They were first discussed by the Council's committee which had been appointed on 6 October 1871 to prepare a new edition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations, and included Marx, Jung and Serrailler. — 242

On 1 November 1871 Kugelmann sent Marx the indictment handed down by the Brunswick court (see Note 335). Marx compares it to the Vienna court judgment of 26 July 1870 which charged the Austrian Social-Democrats Heinrich Oberwinder, J. Most and Andreas Scheu with high treason. They were sentenced to several years' imprisonment with a strict regime and one day a month without food. — 243

The reference is to the followers of James O'Brien. On a number of questions, such as nationalisation of the land and the Irish question, they supported Marx in the International. Some other points of their programme were of a utopian character, viz: 'a just and direct exchange' of the products of labour at their cost-price through the establishment of public warehouses and the introduction of symbolic labour money. — 244, 252

Prior to the establishment in December 1870 of the International's Central Committee for North America, the General Council maintained contact with the International's sections in the USA through its local permanent correspondents, who received their plenary powers from the General Council. The General Council approved the appointment of Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt on 29 September and 13 October 1868, and Marx sent their credentials to the USA on 28 October 1868 (see present edition, Vol. 43, pp. 148-49). — 244

This letter marks the beginning of Engels' correspondence with Theodor Cuno, a member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, who organised a section of the International in Milan. On 1 November 1871, soon after he had arrived in Milan and begun working as an engineer at the large *Elvetica* plant, Cuno wrote to Engels, the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for Italy, requesting assistance in making contact with members of the International in Milan and Italy at large.


Engels established contact with the *Gazzettino Rosa* through Cafiero in July-August 1871; in the next few months the newspaper published several General Council documents. — 245

The reference is to Giuseppe Garibaldi's letter to Giuseppe Petroni, editor of *La Roma del Popolo*, of 21 October 1871. In it, Garibaldi declared his disagreement with Mazzini's attacks on the Paris Commune and the International. This letter was published in many Italian newspapers. On 7 November 1871 Engels reported the content of the letter to the General Council. Engels
translated it and included it almost in full in the report of the Council's sitting. The report was published in *The Eastern Post* on 11 November 1871.—245

348 Marx sent Jung a letter from Mainier, Secretary of the Eastern Paris Section, who requested the General Council on 15 November 1871 to support the Paris jewellers, who intended to go on strike for a shorter working day. Marx's letter to Mainier has not been found. Its content is known from Mainier's reply of 27 November, in which he thanked Marx for his promise of assistance and informed him that no strike had taken place.—246

349 The reference is to the collection of funds for the Paris Commune refugees; in this connection the General Council appealed, in particular, to the British Radicals, notably to Charles Dilke, M.P.—249

350 The reference is to the nomination of Frederick Cournet, an active Communard, to the General Council. He was coopted at the meeting of 21 November 1871.—249

351 In his letter of 19 November 1871 Adolphe Hubert informed Marx of the forthcoming changes in the editorial board of *Qui Vive*. He suggested that French members of the International and Paris Commune refugees close to Marx be brought onto the board.—250, 281

352 This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: *The International Socialist Review*, Chicago, 1911; and in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—251

353 The reference is to the Report for October 1871 of the North American Central Committee of the International to the General Council, signed by Sorge and dated 5 November 1871.—251

354 A reference to *German Section No. 1 in New York*, which was the oldest section of the International in the USA, and originated from a Communist Club set up in 1857 by German revolutionary émigrés. The nucleus of this club consisted of former members of the Communist League and Marx's associates. Its members played a leading role in the New York General Association of German Workers, which propagated Marxism. In December 1869 the General Association of German Workers affiliated to the International and took the name of Section No. 1. The Section engaged in an active struggle against bourgeois reformers.—251, 334

355 *Mutualists*—this is what the Right-wing Proudhonists called themselves in the 1860s when they were members of the French sections of the International. These sections advocated a scheme for working people's emancipation through organised mutual assistance, i.e., the formation of cooperatives, mutual aid societies, etc.—255

356 The reference is to the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference: 'Designation of National Councils, etc.' (Resolution II, Points 1, 2, 3), 'Political Action of the Working Class' (Resolution IX), 'The Alliance of Socialist Democracy' (Resolution XVI) and 'Split in the French-speaking part of Switzerland' (Resolution XVII) (see present edition, Vol. 22).—255, 270

357 Marx is referring to André Léo's speech at the 1871 Peace Congress in Lausanne. Léo called Ferré and Rigault sinister figures of the Commune.—256
On 16 November 1871 No. 39 of Qui Vive! carried a letter written, on behalf of the General Council by Serrailier, Corresponding Secretary for France, dated 11 November. Addressed to Vermersch, Editor of Qui Vive!, the letter stated that the General Council accepted no responsibility for the publication in the said newspaper of the London Conference resolutions, taken from some unofficial source. Serrailier drew attention, in particular, to the distortion of Point 2, Resolution XIII, which said that 'German working men have done their duty during the Franco-German war' (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 428).

In reply to Serrailier's letter, fifteen members of the French Section of 1871 published a 'Protestation' in No. 42 of Qui Vive!, 19-20 November 1871.—256

The reference is to the French-Language Section in London, formed in November 1871 by the proletarian elements from among the Paris Commune refugees. On 18 November 1871 the Section adopted its Rules, which were approved by the General Council in February 1872. The French-Language Section in London included Marguerittes, Le Moussu, De Wolffers, etc., and supported the General Council in its campaign against the petty-bourgeois stand adopted by some of the French refugees (Vermersch, etc.).—256, 269, 280, 302

The Russian edition of Volume I of Capital was published at the end of March 1872; the edition of 3,000 copies was rather large for that time. It was sold very quickly, contrary to the Tsarist censors' expectations; they considered Capital to be a work 'difficult to understand', and that was the reason they allowed its publication (see also Note 146).—256, 283, 362, 377, 385, 396, 399, 438, 576, 582

The case of Gustave Durand, who tricked his way into the International as a leader of the French Section of 1871 and then was discovered to be a police agent, was considered at the special meeting of the General Council on 7 October 1871. Durand's correspondence with police officers was brought before the Council. The resolution on Durand's expulsion was drawn up and submitted to the General Council meeting by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 21).—257, 267

The reference is to the letter to Serrailier of 13 November 1871 written on behalf of the International's sections in Béziers and Pézenas. The authors denounced Bousquet as a police agent and demanded his expulsion from the International.—257, 270

Engels meant 'Relazione sulla Sezione Napoletana dell'Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori'. This document, written in November 1871 by Carmelo Palladino, described the state of the workers' movement in Naples and the background and activities of the International's Naples Section. Some material from 'Relazione' was used by Marx and Engels in their work The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 23).—259

On 20 August 1871 the Naples Section was broken up by the police.—260

On the London Conference of 1865, see Note 254.

Engels probably has in mind the fact that the 1866 Geneva Congress of the International approved the agenda proposed by the London Conference of 1865 and worked out by the Central (General) Council.—260

This letter was published in English for the first time in part in: Annali, an. 1, Milano, 1958, and in full in: Karl Marx, On the First International. Arranged

The reference is to a commission set up by the London Conference to consider the Swiss conflict (see Note 9). It included Marx, Vaillant, Verrycken, MacDonnel and Eccarius; Engels also took part in the commission's work. The meeting mentioned by Marx was held on 18 September 1871. Marx reported on the commission's findings at the sitting of 21 September 1871, which unanimously adopted the resolution tabled by him (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 419-22).

The question of Robin's expulsion from the General Council for his attempt to disrupt the work of the commission was considered at several Council meetings. On 17 October 1871 Robin was expelled.—266, 563

An allusion to the custom of the ancient Parthians of shooting at an enemy from horseback with the horse turned away as if in flight. Hence the expression 'a Parthian shot', which means a parting shot or, in modern parlance, the last word in an argument.—266

Marx had in mind an episode from Book Four of Rabelais' Gargantua and Pantagruel in which Panurge, having quarrelled with a sheep trader travelling on the same ship, bought a ram called Robin (the traditional name for a ram in France) from the trader and threw it overboard, and the whole flock followed.—267

*Revenons à nos moutons* (let's return to our sheep)—an expression from a medieval French farce which means 'let us return to our starting point, the subject of our conversation'.—267

An allusion to the 'Protestation' of the French Section of 1871, published in *Qui Vive!*, No. 42, 19-20 November 1871 (see Note 358).—268

The reference is to Raul Rigault's article 'Les agents secrets', published in *La Patrie en danger*, No. 62, 11 November 1870. It said that Chouteau had been used by a police provocateur for the purpose of setting up a secret workers' society.—268

Marx is referring to Sicard's letter to Vermersch of 22 November published in *Qui Vive!*, No. 46, 24 November 1871.—269

The Congress of the Bakuninist Jura Federation held in Sonvillier on 12 November 1871 adopted the *Sonvillier circular*, 'Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs'. It was directed against the General Council and the 1871 London Conference, and countered the Conference decisions with anarchist phrases about the sections' political indifferentism and complete autonomy. The Bakuninists proposed that all the federations demand the immediate convocation of a congress to revise the General Rules and to condemn the General Council's actions.

The International's sections in Germany, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, the USA, and also the Section in Milan, came out against the circular. Engels gave the Bakuninists a vigorous rebuff in his article 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International' (present edition, Vol. 23).—270, 289, 292, 299, 310, 318, 323, 331

This letter by Engels to Lafargue is a postscript to Marx's letter to Laura and Paul Lafargue of 24-25 November 1871.

It was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. III: 1891-1895, Moscow, 1963.—271
Marx's letters to Bałaszewicz-Potocki of 25 and 29 November 1871 were found in the archives of the Third Department (political police in Tsarist Russia). Juliusz Bałaszewicz was an agent of the Russian secret police in London, where he posed as Count A. Potocki, a Polish émigré.

These letters were written in reply to Bałaszewicz's letters offering his assistance in distributing the documents of the International among Poles and Russians.

Marx's letters were written on letterheads of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.—272, 273

The letter was written on a letterhead of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association.—273

The Society of Commune Refugees, formed in London in July 1871, attempted to gain control over the distribution of funds the General Council was collecting for the refugees. At the beginning of 1872 the society was transformed into a mutual aid society.—274

Answering the letter from Sorge of 12 November 1871 which said that the Irish members of the Central Committee of the International for North America in New York were against electing MacDonnel Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for Ireland, Marx deemed it necessary to give a detailed explanation of the matter.

MacDonnel had been elected Secretary on 1 August 1871. His activities resulted in the establishment of Irish sections of the International in a number of English towns in 1871-1872.—274

A reference to Lavrov's letters to Engels dated 26 October and 9 November 1871.—275

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, Correspondence, Vol. I: 1868-1886, Moscow, 1959.—277, 284, 336, 338

Mesa's letter to Lafargue of 28 November 1871 was forwarded by Lafargue to Marx on 3 December. Mesa wrote that the Spanish Federal Council regarded abstention from voting at elections as the only possible way for the proletariat to separate from the bourgeoisie and to form its own, independent party.—277

A reference to the article 'La política de la Internacional', published in La Emancipación, No. 24, 27 November 1871. In the article the editorial board approved the London Conference resolution 'Political Action of the Working Class', but said that the policy of abstaining from political struggle was, for a time, a necessary measure in Spain. The article was reproduced in La Federación on 3 December 1871 (No. 120), and, slightly abridged, in L'Égalité, No. 24, 24 December 1871.—277, 282

A reference to the 'Declaration Sent by the General Council to the Editors of Italian Newspapers Concerning Mazzini's Articles about the International' written by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 23). It was written in reply to Mazzini's articles 'Documenti sull'internazionale' published in La Roma del Popolo, No. 38, 16 November; No. 39, 23 November, and No. 41, 7 December 1871.—278

From mid-January to early March 1872 Marx and Engels wrote 'Fictitious Splits in the International. Private Circular from the General Council of the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 23). Marx
set forth its principal propositions at the meeting of the General Council on 5 March 1872.

The circular was issued as a pamphlet in French at the end of May 1872; it was signed by all members of the General Council and sent to all federations of the International.—278, 284, 294, 393, 404, 407, 412, 415

386 After the 1871 London Conference the Lassalleans in the German Workers' Educational Society in London began campaigning against the General Council. They acted jointly with the Bakuninists and the petty-bourgeois refugees from the French Section of 1871. Joseph Schneider's article 'An die Socialdemokraten Deutschlands' was published in No. 67 of the Neuer Social-Demokrat, 3 December 1871. In it he calumniated Marx, Bebel and the International, citing, in particular, the 'Protestation' of 15 members of the French Section of 1871 (see Note 358).

The Neuer Social-Demokrat, Nos. 68 and 69, 6 and 8 December 1871, published contributions by 'a socialist living in London' which contained attacks on the International. They could have been written by E. J. Weber.

In December 1871 the Lassalleans were expelled from the Society, and it declared its solidarity with the General Council and the decisions of the London Conference.—279, 297, 320

387 A reference to 'Ein offenes Wort an Herrn W. Liebknecht' by Frankel, published in the Social-Demokrat, No. 105, 5 September 1869; in the first part of the letter Frankel expressed support for Schweitzer, and in the second part, he criticised Liebknecht's speech at a workers' meeting in Vienna on 25 July 1869. The letter was reproduced in the Neuer Social-Demokrat, Nos. 66 and 67, 1 and 3 December 1871. In his letter of 8 December 1871, Liebknecht asked Engels to persuade Frankel to protest publicly against the reprinting of the letter.—280

388 On 10 December 1871 the Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 70, carried an item which refuted the information published in the 'Politische Uebersicht' column of Der Volksstaat on 29 November 1871. Der Volksstaat had denied the assertion of the bourgeois press that Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, M.P., Radical, was an honorary member of the London Section of the International.—280

389 The Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 69, 8 December 1871 carried a report from Copenhagen in the Lassallean spirit. Liebknecht, therefore, asked Engels in his letter of 8 December 1871 to help him find a correspondent in Denmark for Der Volksstaat.—280

390 A reference to Karl Boruttus's letter which Liebknecht forwarded to Marx together with his own letter of 8 December 1871.—281

391 On 2 December 1871 the general meeting of the Geneva Federation of the International heard a report by Perret, its delegate to the London Conference, about the work of the Conference and the decisions it had adopted (see also Note 398).—281, 310

392 In his letter of 8 December 1871 Liebknecht wrote: 'In last year's circular on Bakunin there is a reference to the subterrânee ... of the I.W.M.A. You can prepare an explanation of this expression for our trial.' He had in mind the passage in the circular 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland' where Marx pointed out that the General Council may achieve success with the English workers not through 'showman's chatter', but by 'serious and unostentatious work' (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 87).—282
A reference to the adventurist and provocative activities of a group of French petty-bourgeois refugees in London headed by Félix Pyat, who were members of the French Section of the International (see Note 50).—282

In his letter of 8 December 1871 Liebknecht asked Engels to write an article for *Der Volksstaat* on the large crop of new speculative undertakings in Europe.—282

Laura Lafargue, in her letter to Marx of 12 December 1871, and Paul Lafargue, in his letter to Engels of the same date, reported on the results of their preliminary negotiations with Maurice Lachâtre, a French publisher, concerning the publication of the French translation of Volume I of *Capital* (see also Note 147). Laura wrote that Lachâtre had stated that not more than 4,000 francs would be needed to start work on the publication, of which the author had to pay one half. Lafargue had accepted these conditions and offered to pay the sum himself.—283, 298, 301, 314

In his letter to Marx of 28 November 1871 Meissner wrote that almost the whole of the first German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, issued in 1867, had been sold out. He suggested that Marx should start preparing the second German edition (see Note 145).—283, 298, 301, 314, 327, 343, 347, 374, 379, 396, 399, 405, 421, 435, 473, 489, 495, 496, 567, 574, 576, 578, 582, 587

A reference to the 'Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs' adopted at Sonvillier on 12 November 1871 (see Note 374). It was printed in *La Emancipación*, the organ of the Spanish Federal Council, on 25 December 1871.—284

The resolutions of Thirty Sections in Geneva were adopted at the meeting of the Geneva Sections of the International on 2 December 1871. They rejected the Bakuninist Sonvillier circular and expressed solidarity with and support for the General Council's activities and the London Conference resolutions. The resolutions of the thirty sections were published in *L'Égalité*, Nos. 23 and 24, 7 and 24 December 1871. In addition, Engels sent to Lafargue the 'Réponse du Comité fédéral romand à la Circulaire des 16 signataires, membres du Congrès de Sonvilliers', published in *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 24 December 1871, which condemned the Bakuninists' splitting activities. All these documents were published by Lafargue in *La Emancipación*, Nos. 29 and 30, 1 and 7 January 1872.—284, 568

A reference to the 1869 Basle Congress Administrative Resolutions, which extended the rights of the General Council; Resolution V gave the Council the right to refuse admission to new sections; Resolution VI gave it the right to suspend individual sections until the next congress. These resolutions were incorporated into the International's Administrative Regulations after the 1871 London Conference.—285, 289, 292, 296, 308, 313

On 23 December 1871 the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 300, and on 28 December, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 302, printed a report on the 1871 London Conference, including the texts of its resolutions. At Marx's request Eleanor Marx informed Liebknecht on 29 December (see this volume, p. 571) that the report was a falsification. On 30 December *Der Volksstaat*, No. 104, printed a statement in its 'Politische Uebersicht' column pointing out that the above-mentioned resolutions were falsified.

Engels referred to it as the 'Stieberian escapade' after Wilhelm Stieber, the
organiser of the trumped-up Communist trial in Cologne (1852). On the trial, see Note 138.—288, 571

Engels is referring to Liebknecht's letter of 23 December 1871.—288

The Federal Diet (Bundestag), the central body of the German Confederation, was founded in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna. It consisted of representatives of the German states and met in Frankfurt am Main under the chairmanship of the Austrian delegate. Having neither an army nor financial means at its disposal the Diet did not have any real power; it ceased to exist in 1866.—288

Der Volksstaat did not carry Engels' article on the subject.—289

In its discussion of the Sonvillier circular (see Note 374), the congress of the Belgian Federation of the International Working Men’s Association held on 24-25 December 1871 in Brussels declined to back the demand of the Jura Federation that a General Congress of the International be convened without delay, yet at the same time instructed the Belgian Federal Council to draw up new draft Rules for the Association. Those behind the project were motivated by the desire to deprive the General Council of its powers. A short report on the congress was published in L’Internationale, No. 155, 31 December 1871, and also in Der Volksstaat, No. 5, 17 January 1872.—289, 296, 310, 374, 568, 574

In his letters to Marx and Engels of 2, 9 and 29 December 1871 and 1 and 4 January 1872, Maltman Barry proposed that a new secretary of the General Council be elected, since John Hales had been elected secretary of the British Federal Council (see Note 330).—291

The Labour Representation League was founded in November 1869. It embraced trade union leaders who sought to have working-class candidates elected to the House of Commons by making a deal with the Liberals. The League ceased to exist around 1880.—291

In a letter to Engels dated 4 December 1871 Carlo Terzaghi applied for financial assistance for Il Proletario Italiano newspaper, of which he was publisher. Engels drafted a reply after 6 January 1872. However, before the letter was despatched Engels read in the Gazzettino Rosa of Terzaghi's support for the demand of the Bakuninist Jura Federation that a General Congress be convened without delay. Thus, on 14[-15] January Engels wrote another letter with only the first two paragraphs of the old draft left more or less intact. The remainder was written partly between the deleted lines of the first draft and partly on a clean sheet. Engels wrote in German across Terzaghi's letter: 'Answered on 6 January 1872-14 January.'

The second version of the letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—291

In December 1871 in the Turin Workers' Federation (Federazione operaia), set up in late September of that year, a split occurred between the supporters of the International (including the Bakunists) and the Mazzinians. The Mazzinians' opponents left the Federation to form a society called the Emancipation of the Proletarian (La Emancipazione del Proletario), which declared itself a section of the International. It consisted of workers from the railway workshops, the machine-building works and the arsenal. The Bakuninist Carlo Terzaghi was elected secretary. Later he was dismissed from the position and exposed as a police agent.—292
A reference to the 'Réponse du Comité fédéral romand à la Circulaire des 16 signataires, membres du Congrès de Sonvilliers', resolutions of Thirty Sections in Geneva (see Note 398), and the 'Déclaration de la rédaction' directed against the Sonvillier circular. They appeared in L'Égalité, No. 24, 24 December 1871.—292

A reference to the report of the Bakuninist committee to the Sonvillier congress of 5 October 1871. The committee, after the split in the Romance Federation in April 1870, continued illegitimately to call itself the Romance Federal Committee. The report cited facts about the anarchist sections supporting the Bakuninists (mostly in highland Jura).—293

A reference to the statement carried by the Gazzettino Rosa, No. 360, 28 December 1871, as part of the 'Movimento operajo' review that the Emancipation of the Proletarian society in Turin had resolved, under Terzaghi's influence, to support the Sonvillier circular of the Jura Federation.—294

Engels means the publication of the resolutions passed by the congress of the Belgian Federation (see Note 404) by Die Tagwacht, No. 1, 6 January 1872 (in the 'Belgien' column), and by La Emancipation, No. 30, 7 January 1872.—296

On 5 January 1872 Liebknecht wrote to Engels asking when the next Congress of the International was to take place, and suggested Germany or a country bordering on it as its venue.—297

On 7 January 1872 the Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 3, printed a letter written by a number of Lassalleans. It was signed by Heinrich Schenck and Christian Winand, who had been expelled from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 135), and contained libellous attacks on Marx and the General Council.

On 27 January 1872 Der Volksstaat, No. 8, carried a reply signed by A. Caulaincourt, secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society, under the heading 'Die Gegner der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation'. Der Volksstaat, No. 14 (17 February 1872), printed an article headed 'Wer ist Joseph Schneider?' criticising the Lassallean views expounded by Schneider in his article 'An die Socialdemokraten Deutschlands'. Directed against the International (see Note 386), it had appeared in the Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 67, 3 December 1871.—297, 320

A reference to the editorial statement in the 'Sucesos de la semana' column published by La Emancipation, No. 31, 14 January 1872, which described the Neuer Social-Demokrat as a newspaper which had sold out to Bismarck. This piece was translated by Engels and published by Der Volksstaat, No. 10, 3 February 1872.—297, 302

In April 1872 the Universal Federalist Council was formed in London, comprising what was left of the French Section of 1871 (see Note 338), some of the Lassalleans expelled from the German Workers' Educational Society in London, and representatives of the bourgeois Universal Republican League and the Land and Labour League. The Council proclaimed itself a 'true' leading body of the International in a pamphlet called Conseil fédéraliste universel de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et des Sociétés républicaines socialistes adhérentes. This prompted Marx to write the 'Declaration of the
General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. In September 1872 the Universal Federalist Council convened a congress in London which claimed to be a congress of the International Working Men's Association. Its subsequent activities amounted to in-fighting between the various cliques which laid claim to leadership of the workers' movement.—297, 418, 424, 428, 474

The Congress of Saxonian Social-Democrats was held in Chemnitz on 6-7 January 1872. It was attended by 120 delegates, among them Bebel and Liebknecht, representing nearly 60 local organisations. In closed session the congress considered its attitude to the Sonvillier circular (see Note 374) and the battle against the anarchists in the International. Having rejected the circular and approved the resolutions of the London Conference, the congress gave its unanimous support to the General Council.—298, 304, 310, 577

Membership of the International could be either collective or individual. In countries where its activities were officially banned (Germany, for instance), the General Council issued membership cards to each new recruit individually. The Congress of Saxonian Social-Democrats (see Note 418) passed a resolution in favour of recruiting individual applicants to the International.—298, 318

Resolution IV of the 1871 London Conference introduced penny stamps for the payment of membership dues. 'These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the [livret] or to the Rules which every member is held to possess' (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 424). Consequently, the General Council ceased to issue membership cards.—298, 306, 314, 315, 319, 332, 447

Luigi Stefanoni, a bourgeois democrat and member of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy, presented himself in November 1871 as the initiator of the Universal Society of Rationalists (Società Universale dei Razionalisti) allegedly intended to put into practice the principles of the International but free of 'its negative features'. Stefanoni advanced as a social panacea the utopian idea of buying land from the landlords and establishing agricultural colonies. The draft programme of the Society was printed by Il Libero Pensiero, No. 18, 2 November 1871. Later, Stefanoni published a number of slanderous articles directed against the General Council and Marx and Engels personally. Marx's and Engels' writings (e.g. Engels' letter to the editors of the Gazzettino Rosa, Marx's article 'Stefanoni and the International Again', present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 74-75, 160-63), which exposed Stefanoni's real ambitions, contributed to the failure of Stefanoni's attempts to subject the workers' movement in Italy to bourgeois influence.—298, 319

A reference to the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America, which occurred in December 1871. After the London Conference of 1871 strife flared up within the Committee between the proletarian and the bourgeois-reformist elements. As a result of the split two committees were formed, the Provisional Federal Council (Committee No. I), which comprised representatives of the 14 sections adhering to the proletarian stand (Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Friedrich Bolte, etc.), and the separatist council (Committee No. II), headed by Victoria Woodhull and other bourgeois reformists belonging to Section No. 12. At its meetings of 5 and 12 March the General Council voiced its support for the proletarian wing of the North American Federation; Section No. 12 was suspended from the International pending the next Congress. On 28 May 1872 the General Council
declared the Provisional Federal Council the sole leading body of the North American sections. The congress of the North American Federation held in July 1872 elected the standing Federal Council which included all members of the provisional body (see Engels' 'The International in America' and Marx's 'American Split', present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 177-83, 636-43).—298, 334, 341, 381

The second congress of the Spanish Federation of the International was held in Saragossa on 4-11 April 1872, attended by 45 delegates representing 31 local federations. The congress voted down the demand of Swiss Bakuninists that a General Congress be convened without delay, but, under the influence of the anarchists, decided to support the revision of the General Rules proposed by the Belgian Federation with a view to granting greater autonomy to the local sections. Opposing the Bakuninists, the congress ruled the expulsion of the editors of *La Emancipación* from the Federation to be illegal and restored their rights. However, when it came to electing the new Federal Council the Bakuninists managed to fill it mostly with members of the Alliance.—299, 301, 309, 331, 368

The bourgeois radical Charles Bradlaugh made slanderous attacks on Marx in a public lecture delivered on 11 December 1871 and in a letter to *The Eastern Post* printed in its second edition on 16 December. At the General Council meeting of 19 December Marx pointed to the close link between Bradlaugh's behaviour and the harassment of the International by the ruling circles and the bourgeois press.

Replying to the slanderous letters printed in January 1872 by *The National Reformer*, which was edited by Bradlaugh, Marx sent several statements exposing them to *The Eastern Post* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 62-63, 71, 72-73).—299, 567, 574

In a letter to Engels of 21 December 1871 Pyotr Lavrov asked for two works by Alexander Bain, *The Senses and the Intellect* and *The Emotions and the Will*, and for *The Principles of Psychology* by Herbert Spencer. He also requested Engels to look for Sh. H. Hodgson's *A New System of Philosophy* (the title is inaccurate; the reference is either to Hodgson's *Philosophy of Reflection*, published in 1870, or to another of his philosophical works).—300

This is a reply to Lafargue's letter of 7 January 1872, in which he wrote that the Spanish Federal Council had rejected the Bakuninists' proposal on the convocation of an extraordinary Congress but supported the decision of the Belgian Federation to consider the revision of the General Rules at the next Congress. Knowing that Marx and Engels were working on the *Fictitious Splits in the International*, the General Council's reply to the Sonvillier circular, Lafargue warned them against being too personal. In conclusion he wrote that he had made arrangements with José Mesa to have Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* translated into Spanish (see Note 456).

The letter was published in English for the first time in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I: 1868-1886, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.—301

By the old German section Engels means the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 135).—302

Engels is referring to the Romance Federal Committee's official reply to the Sonvillier circular, which was approved at the meeting of 20 December 1871 (see Note 410), and to the article headed 'Die Internationale' and carried by
Die Tagwacht, No. 1, 6 January 1872. Below, Engels quotes this article in French.—303

429 This is Engels' reply to several letters from Theodor Cuno, including that of 11 January 1872 in which Cuno wrote that he had lost his job as an engineer since the owner of the factory made his continued employment conditional on his withdrawal from the International. He also wrote that he was threatened with deportation from Italy if, as the police had warned him, he did not 'modify' the nature of his public speeches.

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—305

430 In a letter of 27 December 1871 Cuno asked Engels for information concerning a 'retired captain with the wooden leg'. The latter, according to one of Cuno's friends, had a membership card issued by the General Council and was corresponding with London; Cuno suspected him of being a police agent.—306

431 The second congress of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 257), which was held in Berne on 21-25 September 1868, rejected by a majority vote the resolution proposed by Bakunin which called for 'economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals', 'abolition of the state', and 'abolition of the right of inheritance'. Bakunin and his followers withdrew from the League and, in the same year, formed an International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 10).—306

432 In a letter of 14 January 1872, Carlo Terzaghi informed Engels about the split in the Workers' Federation (Federazione operia) and the founding of a society called the Emancipation of the Proletarian (see Note 408). He appealed to the General Council not to recognise the Workers' Federation as a section of the International Working Men's Association. He also asked the General Council officially to disavow the statements made by Giuseppe Beghelli, one of the leaders of the Workers' Federation.—312

433 A copy of this letter, written by Marx in reply to Jozewicz's letter of 6-7 December 1871, was discovered in the Prussian Secret State Archives among the documents of Berlin's Police Presidium.—314

434 At the General Council meeting of 24 October 1871 Hermann Jung read out Benoît Malon's letter of 20 October to the Council, in which the latter repeated his request that the Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action be admitted to the International. Having obtained the opinion of the Romance Federal Committee, which strongly opposed recognition of this section, the General Council confirmed its earlier decision to refuse admittance.—315

435 The Sub-Committee (Standing Committee), or Executive Committee, grew out of the commission set up at the time of the International's inauguration in 1864 to draw up its rules and programme. It comprised corresponding secretaries for various countries, the General Council Secretary, and its treasurer. The Standing Committee, which had not been envisaged in the Rules of the International Working Men's Association, functioned as a working executive body. In the summer of 1872 the General Council decided to entrust all organisational matters to the Sub-Committee (which in June 1872 was renamed the Executive Committee).

As Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for Switzerland, Jung received a large number of letters dealing with the campaign waged by the
Romance Federation against the divisive Bakuninist sections; the letters were referred to the Sub-Committee for consideration.—316, 341, 383

The surviving manuscript copy of the letter does not bear the name of the addressee. However, its contents and Marx's correspondence on the subject indicate that it was addressed to the heads of the Lachâtre publishing house in Paris. On 13 February 1872 Marx received a reply from the manager Juste Vernouillet, who informed him about the despatch of copies of the agreement on the publication of the French translation of Volume I of *Capital*. The agreement was signed on 15 February by Marx on one side, and Maurice Lachâtre and Juste Vernouillet on the other. It stipulated that the French edition was to be published in 44 instalments, and sold five instalments at a time.

The French authorised edition of Volume I of *Capital* was published between 17 September 1872 and November 1875. The translation was done by Joseph Roy, who began in February 1872 and completed work in late 1873. The quality of the translation largely failed to satisfy Marx; besides, he was convinced that the original needed to be revised to adapt it to French readers.—316, 319, 328, 343, 362, 367, 374, 377, 379, 385, 396, 399, 405, 409, 422, 423, 435, 438, 450, 457, 460, 470, 473, 474, 488, 491, 496, 514, 515, 517, 519, 540, 543, 545, 547, 574, 576, 578, 582, 584, 587

This is a reply to the request from the firm Asher & Co. (contained in a letter of 12 February 1872) to send them a copy of the English edition of the *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association*.

This letter was published in English for the first time in *Unbekanntes von Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx* Part I: 1840-1874. Ed. by Bert Andrias, Jacques Grandjonc, Hans Pelger. Papers of the Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier, 1986.—318

In a letter to Engels of 16 January 1872, Liebknecht enquired about the amount of tax revenues for the benefit of the poor received in various parishes of London. He needed the figures for a criticism of the unequal distribution of poor-tax proceeds in the different parts of the German Empire.—318

At the General Council meeting of 6 February 1872 Marx called attention to the fact that Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc had become Bonapartist agents and had shortly before published a pamphlet *L'Empire et la France nouvelle. Appel du peuple et de la jeunesse à la conscience française* (Brussels, 1872), in which they appealed to the working people of France to assist them in trying to restore the Empire. The report on this meeting was carried by *The Eastern Post*, No. 176, 10 February 1872.—318

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published in English on 30 December 1871 in the American *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 7. Chapter IV, except for the last four paragraphs, was omitted.

The first and second chapters of the *Manifesto* were published in French in the weekly *Le Socialiste*, the organ of the French sections of the International in the USA, in January-March 1872 under the heading 'Manifeste de Karl Marx' (Nos. 16-17, 19-24 and 26 of 20 and 27 January, 10, 17 and 24 February, and 2, 9, 16 and 30 March 1872).—319, 343, 378

Having advanced a plan to set up the *Universal Society of Rationalists*, Luigi Stefanoni tried to enlist support from a number of prominent members of the republican and working-class movements. With this in mind, he wrote to Liebknecht on 18 December 1871. The latter, having no real knowledge of Stefanoni's plans, sent him a letter of commendation. On receiving the letter
from Engels and acting on his advice, Liebknecht wrote to Stefanoni on 29 February expressing unreserved solidarity with the General Council (see this volume, p. 577).—320

On 20 January 1872 Becker wrote to Engels that he was forwarding to Friedrich Lessner the dues for the International's Milan section which he had received from Theodor Cuno. Becker further asked for 100 stamps to be sent to Cologne for the admission of new members to the Cologne section of the Association.—321

In January 1872 Engels learned from Paul Lafargue that the Spanish Federal Council was planning to publish its correspondence with the General Council in order to expose the slanders spread by the Jura Federation about the Council's 'dictatorial practices'. The plan was not carried through.—322

A reference to the search of Nikolai Utin's (Outine's) flat on 26-28 January 1872 by the Geneva police who had invented his alleged participation in forging Russian banknotes. Utin's papers, including some documents of the International he was keeping, were confiscated, and only the intervention of a progressive-minded lawyer prevented the Swiss authorities from handing them over to the Russian government.—322

A reference to the Administrative Resolutions passed by the Basle Congress of 1869 (see Note 399).—323

A reference to Article 14 of the Administrative Regulations adopted by the Geneva Congress of the International (1866), which states that the rules and bye-laws of individual sections must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations of the International. This article corresponds to Article 12 of the English edition of the Regulations (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 446).—323

A draft of this letter was written by Engels across Burr's letter to him of 19 February 1872. The former letter, as well as Engels' draft letters to J. Molesworth (written after 5 June) and to Th. Smart & Co. (3 July), are replies to enquiries by the relevant companies regarding E. Glaser de Willebrod's solvency and his reliability as a potential partner (see this volume, pp. 391 and 406).—324

When this letter was first published in Die Gesellschaft magazine (from the manuscript copy kept in the Prussian Secret State Archives), it was erroneously believed to be addressed to Fritz Milke. It is in fact a reply to Jozewicz's letter of 10 February 1872.


The reference is to Resolution X of the 1871 London Conference, 'General Resolution as to the Countries Where the Regular Organisation of the International Is Interfered with by the Governments' (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 427-28).—325

On 11 June 1872, on Marx's suggestion, the General Council resolved to convene a regular Congress in Holland on 2 September 1872 and decided on the principal item on the agenda, the consolidation of the International's organisation (revision of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations).
At its next meeting on 18 June the Council decided on The Hague as the venue for the Congress and appointed a special commission (Engels, Edouard Vaillant, Joseph MacDonnel) to prepare an official announcement of the forthcoming Congress. The announcement was written by Engels and despatched to *The International Herald*, which published it on 29 June 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 170-73).—325, 366, 372, 374, 376, 392, 396, 398, 401, 404, 407, 409, 411-13, 415, 417, 418, 422, 425, 426

Resolution VI of the 1871 London Conference, 'General Statistics of the Working Class', stated in Article 2: 'Every local branch is bound to appoint a special committee of statistics' (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 425).—325

The Dresden Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party held between 12 and 15 August 1871 decided on Hamburg as the Party Committee headquarters.—326, 376, 508

A reference to the regular meeting of the General Council due to be held on 27 February 1872; Council members were unable to get to the meeting because of a public procession on that day to celebrate the recovery of the Prince of Wales.—326

Marx is apparently referring to Lafargue's letter to him written between 17 and 24 February 1872.—327

Maurice Lachâtre, the publisher of Volume I of *Capital* in French, intended to include a biography of Marx. Passing on Lachâtre's wish in a letter of 12 December 1871, Laura Lafargue also wrote that Paul Lafargue would undertake to write the biography. Lachâtre subsequently approached Engels with this proposal (see this volume, pp. 478-79).—327

On 7 January 1872 Lafargue wrote to Engels that since Proudhonist ideas held considerable sway with Spanish workers he had arranged with José Mesa to have Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* translated into Spanish, and passed on Mesa's request that a special foreword be written for the Spanish edition. However, the translation was not completed, and the foreword was not written. Several excerpts translated into Spanish were carried by *La Emancipaciôn*.—327

In a letter written around 14 February 1872, Lafargue asked Marx to send him several copies of the *Inaugural Address, General Rules, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, and *The Civil War in France*, and also of Joseph Dietzgen's works.—327

A reference to Lafargue's repeated requests for assistance in establishing ongoing contacts between *La Emancipación* and *Der Volksstaat* edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht. We do not know whether Marx wrote to Liebknecht as he had promised Lafargue.—327

In his letters to Marx written in February 1872 Lafargue proposed to get Lopez de Lara, a Spanish businessman residing in London, to finance publication of the International's official documents.—328

This excerpt is part of Engels' non-extant reply to Borkheim's letter of 24 February 1872. Borkheim wrote about Friedrich Adolph Sorge's request to recommend him books on the history of Ireland written from the materialist standpoint. Replying to Sorge on 15 March Borkheim quoted Engels' letter.

This excerpt was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—329
On 22 September 1871 the ninth session of the London Conference heard the case of James Cohen. The Belgian delegates voiced their indignation at Cohen who, sent to Belgium by the General Council in the summer of 1871 to organise aid to the striking machine-builders in Newcastle, acted not as a Council delegate but as a trade union representative. On returning to England Cohen tried to take credit for everything accomplished by the Belgian sections of the International. At Engels' suggestion the Conference passed a vote of censure on Cohen.—330

Probably a reference to the letter sent by the Committee of the Jura Federation to the Belgian Federal Council on 7 February 1872, which reported on the decision of the Committee to renounce its demand for an immediate Congress of the International.—331, 335, 337

A reference to the parliamentary elections to be held on 24 September 1872. Louis Pio and Paul Geleff, leaders of the Danish Federal Council, were nominated workers' candidates in Copenhagen. At the time of the elections they were in prison, having been arrested on 4 May, and failed to win the required number of votes.—332

A reference to one of the groups formed following the collapse of the French Section of 1871 (see Note 338). The General Council refused to admit this group to the International, since its Rules were at odds with the principles behind the General Rules.—333

The letter was written on a letterhead of the General Council bearing its previous address, 256 High Holborn, London, W.C. Marx crossed it out and wrote in the new address, 33 Rathbone Place, W.C.—333

At the General Council meeting of 20 February 1872 Johann Georg Eccarius reported that he had sent copies of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations to the address of J. W. Gregory, a member of the International in New York. Following Gregory's death in January 1872 the International's documents fell into the hands of petty-bourgeois elements in sections Nos. 12 and 9.—334

The Provisional Federal Council of the International Working Men's Association for North America protested against the appointment by the General Council of a special secretary for the French sections in the USA. In a letter to Marx of 8 March 1872 Sorge wrote that the protest originated from the Irish members of the International.—334

A reference to the poem '¡Leed y estremeceos!' enclosed by Lafargue with his letter to Engels of 11 February 1872.—339

A reference to Engels' account of the report of the Danish Federal Council and of Pio's article 'Om vore Landboforhold' (Socialisten, No. 17, 4 November 1871), made at the General Council meeting of 5 December 1871. The account was included in the report on the General Council meeting carried by The Eastern Post, No. 167, 9 December 1871. The translations of these items which Engels sent to Spain and Portugal were published in La Emancipación, No. 31, 14 January 1872, and O Pensamento Social, Nos. 1 and 2, February and March 1872.—340
During discussion of the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America (see Note 422) at the General Council, Johann Georg Eccarius spoke out against Article 2 of Resolution III, specifically against the part reading: 'For these reasons the General Council recommends that in future there be admitted no new American section of which two-thirds at least do not consist of wage-labourers'.—341

On 1 February 1872 New York Section No. 10 sent the General Council a copy of its letter to the separatist Federal Committee in which it censured attempts by bourgeois reformists to use the International to promote their own ends.—342

The General Council meeting of 20 February 1872 approved Hermann Jung's proposal to mark the anniversaries of the Paris Commune with mass rallies in London. Still, the public meeting, for which 5,000 French and British democrats had gathered, did not take place, since at the last moment the owner of the hall where it was to be held refused admission. The meeting then elected 150 delegates who made their way to Frances Street, where the Cercle d'Études Sociales was housed (see Note 613), and marked 18 March, the first anniversary of the Paris Commune, with a ceremony. At the suggestion of Commune members Albert Theisz and Zéphirin Camélina and General Council member George Milner, the delegates adopted three short resolutions written by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 128).—343, 347, 362

The facsimile of this letter was published as the preface to the French edition of *Capital* (see Note 436). In English it appeared for the first time in: Karl Marx, *Capital*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954.—344

This letter was written on the basis of the information received from Vitale Regis. In the second half of February 1872, on the instructions of the General Council, Regis (under the pseudonym of Étienne Pechard) spent ten days in Milan and Turin, where, acting on Engels' instructions, he was to acquaint himself with the actual state of affairs in the International's sections.

Regis described his trip in a letter to Engels of 1 March; he wrote about Carlo Terzaghi's expulsion from the Turin section of the International—the Emancipation of the Proletarian society—and his suspicions of Terzaghi's contacts with the police. This information prompted Engels to demand that Terzaghi explain his behaviour (see this volume, p. 352).

The original is mistakenly addressed to Carlo Bert and not Cesare Bert. Engels wrote across the letter: 'London, 21 March 1872. To C. Bert, Turin.'—345

A reference to Article 5 of Section II of the Administrative Regulations published on the decision of the 1871 London Conference; this article corresponds to Administrative Resolution V passed by the 1869 Basle Congress (see Note 399).—345

Part of this letter (without the appendix) was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.—346

A reference to the report delivered by Jean François Sacase at the French National Assembly on 5 February 1872 on behalf of the commission considering Jules Dufaure's bill, under which membership of the International was punishable by imprisonment. The bill was passed by the National Assembly on 14 March 1872.
Using the epithet 'Rural' with reference to Sacaze, Marx implies his membership of the 'Assembly of Rurals', a derogatory name given to the National Assembly convened on 12 February 1871 in Bordeaux; it comprised mostly reactionary monarchists, provincial landowners, civil servants, rentiers and tradesmen elected in rural constituencies.—346, 505

On Marx’s final assessment of Joseph Roy’s translation, as well as on Marx’s participation in preparing the French edition of Volume I of Capital, see ‘Afterword to the French Edition’ (present edition, Vol. 35), Note 436, and pp. 385, 515, 578 of this volume.—347

Marx sent Lafargue excerpts from a private circular entitled Fictitious Splits in the International and written by Engels and himself between mid-January and early March 1872, but not yet published at the time this letter was posted (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 79-123). The extracts enclosed with the letter correspond in content to the relevant section in Part IV of the Fictitious Splits. However, these extracts, apart from certain omissions and changes as compared to the published version, contain a number of remarks by Marx (he enclosed some of them in square brackets) that were not included in the pamphlet. In the present edition, the passages that are taken verbatim from the published version are enclosed in inverted commas.

Besides, since the circular refers to the articles of the original Rules, published in English in 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20, Appendices), Marx adds in brackets the corresponding articles of the official version of the General Rules published in late 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 3-20).—348

On Vitale Regis’ (Étienne Pechard’s) trip to Milan and Turin, see Note 475.—352

In a letter of 10 March 1872 Terzaghi asked Engels to remember him to Pietro Savio, an Italian refugee Communard.—353

A draft of the letter has also survived which, with the exception of the deleted passage (reproduced as a footnote) and several phrases crossed out by Engels, coincides with the text published here.—354

A reference to the Eleventh Congress of Italian pro-Mazzini Workers’ Associations held in Naples on 25-27 October 1864. At the congress, Gennaro Bovio, representative of the Workers’ Association of Trani, suggested that international workers’ congresses be regularly convened, and that common Rules be worked out for them.—354

A piece Engels wrote on the persecution of Cuno was carried by The Eastern Post, No. 187, 27 April, and by the Gazzettino Rosa, No. 127, 7 May 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 151-52). Acting on Engels’ advice, on 3 May Cuno wrote a letter to Der Volksstaat, which was published in No. 38 of 11 May 1872; a report on Cuno also appeared on 7 May in L’Égalité, Nos. 9 and 10.—356

The Fascio Operaio (Workers’ Union) was founded on 27 November 1871 in Bologna with Erminio Pescatori as its leader. The Union did not directly declare that it was joining the International, but its manifesto, which was approved on 4 December, did proclaim the principle of international solidarity of the working people. The Union acted as a governing centre for similar organisations formed at the turn of 1871-72 in a number of towns in the Emilia-Romagna (Imola, Forlì, Lugo, Rimini, etc.). It did not maintain regular contacts with the International.—358, 391, 419
The congress in Bologna was the first congress of anarchist groups from Mirandola, Genoa and Mantua, as well as representatives of the International's section in Naples and of the Romagna's workers' unions (Fasci operai), held on 17-19 March 1872. A number of congress resolutions bore the imprint of Bakuninism; in particular, the congress opposed participation in the elections and declared that it regarded the General Council and the Jura Federal Committee as mere correspondence bureaus.—358

A reference to one of the democratic societies in Ravenna, which, through the offices of Lodovico Nabruzzi, Sesto Montanari and Resta Luca, who were on Il Romagnolo editorial board, requested Engels in late October 1871 to help them organise a section of the International. Engels replied to Nabruzzi in early November (the letter has not been found). On November 25 the latter wrote to Engels about considerable successes in spreading the ideas of the International. However, that is where the correspondence ended. On 5 December 1871 L'Internationale, No. 151, in its 'Bulletin de l'intérieur' column, carried a notice about the establishment of a section in Ravenna. Bakunin had managed to win Nabruzzi over to his side.—358

This assessment of the outcome of the Saragossa congress (see Note 423) was based on the information Engels received from Paul Lafargue. Following the receipt of more accurate information on the congress, specifically, on its decision to support the Belgian Federation's demand that the General Rules be revised, Engels changed his opinion. He wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht about this on 22 May 1872 (see this volume, pp. 375-76).—358, 361, 375

On 14 March 1872 at the trial in Leipzig, replying to the question of defence counsel Freytag II from Plauen about the strength of the International in Germany, August Bebel quoted the figure of 1,000 members.—360

In his letters to Engels of 28 and 30 March 1872, Liebknecht wrote about violations of legal procedure at the Leipzig trial (the pressure placed on the jury by the prosecuting counsel, who constantly mixed with the jury and visited inns with them, etc.), and asked him about the corresponding English procedure.

Engels mentions the Tichborne trial in London against adventurer Arthur Orton who, posing as Roger Charles Tichborne, tried to obtain a legacy by means of forgery and fabricated evidence; the trial began on 11 May 1871 and lasted until April 1872.—360

Responding to the slanderous article, 'Wie Karl Marx citirt', written by the German bourgeois economist Lujo Brentano and published in the Concordia magazine, No. 10, 7 March 1872, Marx wrote a letter to Der Volksstaat on 23 May, which the newspaper carried on 1 June 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 164-67). Following the publication of Marx's reply in Der Volksstaat, Concordia, No. 27, 4 July 1872, featured another anonymous article (also written by Brentano), 'Wie Karl Marx sich verteidigt'. Marx's reply to the second article was published in Der Volksstaat, No. 63, 7 August 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 190-97).—360, 376, 410, 415

The penny press became widespread in England after the abolition, in 1855, of the stamp tax which greatly increased the price of newspapers.—361

In a letter to Engels of 19 April 1872, Liebknecht again wrote that the editorial board of Der Volksstaat intended to publish the Manifesto of the Communist Party
as a separate pamphlet and requested the preface to this edition as promised. Marx and Engels wrote the preface to the new edition on 24 June 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 174-75).—361, 374

495 Probably a reference to Police Terrorism in Ireland, a leaflet issued by the General Council of the International around 9 April 1872, and either to Propaganda Fund for Ireland (April 21st, 1872), a leaflet by the General Council Corresponding Secretary for Ireland Joseph Patrick MacDonnel, or to his To the Irish Sections of the International and the Working Classes in General (March 26th, 1872).—362

496 This is a reply to Eccarius’ letter of 2 May 1872, which he had written following the General Council’s discussion of his behaviour in dealing with the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men’s Association for North America.

After the General Council meetings of 5 and 12 March 1872 had approved the relevant resolutions proposed by Marx, John Hales (Council Secretary) and Eccarius (Corresponding Secretary for the USA) took up a conciliatory position towards the American bourgeois reformist elements. Eccarius opposed the expulsion of Section No. 12 and spoke out against Article 2 of Resolution III (see Note 471), accusing Friedrich Adolph Sorge and Section No. 1 (see Note 354), which he headed, of divisive activities. He refused to send the above-mentioned resolutions to the USA, stating in a number of letters (e.g. to petty-bourgeois activist John Elliott) that he strongly disapproved of them.

On 23 April 1872 the General Council meeting instructed Marx to prepare a detailed report on Eccarius’ stand.


497 In early February 1866 on Marx’s insistence and contrary to the wishes of trade union leaders, Eccarius was appointed editor-in-chief of The Commonwealth, the official organ of the International Working Men’s Association.

In September-October 1867, the General Council discussed the clash between Peter Fox and Eccarius. Fox had accused Eccarius of insulting some of the delegates to the Lausanne Congress in his reports published in The Times on 6, 9, 10 and 11 September.—363, 380

498 A reference to Eccarius’ article on the 1871 London Conference in the American newspaper The World, which quoted some of its resolutions despite the Conference’s decision not to make them public without special instructions from the General Council. Following investigation of this fact by the commission appointed by the Council on 10 October (with Hermann Jung as chairman, George Milner and George Harris), Eccarius was reprimanded at the General Council meeting of 30 January 1872.—363, 381

499 In a letter to Eccarius of 30 November 1871 J. W. Gregory, a member of the International in the USA and supporter of the bourgeois reformists, accused Section No. 1 (see Note 354) of divisive activities.—363

500 Engels is referring to Paul Lafargue’s report ‘Apertura del secundo congreso obrero de la region española’ on the Saragossa Congress of the Spanish Federation (see Note 423) carried by La Emancipaciôn, No. 44, 13 April 1872.—365
This is a reference to Lafargue's reports on the Saragossa Congress of the Spanish Federation which appeared in *La Liberté*, Brussels. The first report, dated 9 April, was printed in No. 17 of 28 April 1872, and also carried by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 36, 4 May 1872.

The second report, 'Congrès de Saragosse', written on 12 April, contained revelations about the secret Alliance and was published in *La Liberté*, No. 18, 5 May, and reprinted, in part, by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 41, 22 May 1872. On Lafargue's exaggeration of the successes scored by the General Council supporters at the Saragossa congress, see Note 489.—365, 368, 375

*Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 35 and 36, 1 and 4 May 1872, printed the first two instalments of the article by the French lawyer Émile Acolas translated as 'Die Republik und die Gegenrevolution' (first published in the *Suisse Radicale*, and later as a pamphlet).—365

Liebknecht used the materials received from Engels in the 'Politische Uebersicht' column of *Der Volksstaat*, No. 40, 18 May 1872.—366

*Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 10-13, 15 and 19 of 3, 7, 10, 14 and 21 February and 6 March 1872, reprinted from the Austrian workers' newspaper *Volkswille* a series of anonymous articles under the heading 'Die Wohnungsfrage'. The author of the articles was a doctor of medicine, the Proudhonist Arthur Müllberger. On 22 May Engels sent Liebknecht his reply to Müllberger's articles, which formed Part I of his work *The Housing Question* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 315-37).—366, 405, 478

A reference to the arrest of members of the Danish Federal Council of the International, including Louis Pio, editor of the *Socialisten*, Harald Brix and Paul Geleff, which took place in the night from 4 to 5 May 1872. They were charged with the propagation of socialist ideas 'threatening public order'. In March 1873 the Danish court sentenced the local leaders of the International to various terms of imprisonment.—366

Engels reported on the Italian government's attempt to place the blame for the fire at the Milan Agricultural Academy on members of the International at the General Council meeting of 30 April 1872. Cuno had informed him of the fact on 25 April 1872. Engels' speech was included in the report on the meeting carried by *The Eastern Post*, No. 188, 4 May 1872.—368

On 3 March 1872 a letter was despatched to Engels informing him about the establishment of the Society of Ferrarese Workers and its intention to declare itself a section of the International. After its Rules were revised to conform with the General Rules of the Association, the General Council on 7 May 1872 admitted the Society of Ferrarese Workers to the International.—369

Cuno wrote to Engels on 6 May 1872 that he had been forced to flee from Germany to Belgium, having learnt that he was wanted by the Prussian police.—369

The reference is to the uprising of the Paris proletariat of 23-26 June 1848 (see Note 113).—372

A reference to the letter written by Pierre Schlebach to Liebknecht on behalf of the German refugee section of the International in Verviers in late April 1872 and sent on to Engels on 8 May. Schlebach wrote about the position of Eugène Hins, one of the leaders of the Belgian Federal Council, who had recommended the German members of the International in Belgium to adopt
the organisational structure of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers.—373

511 In a letter to Liebknecht of 17 April 1872, Sorge wrote that Eccarius' behaviour was strengthening the positions of the bourgeois reformist elements in the North American Federation (see Note 496).—374

512 On 8 May 1872 Liebknecht wrote to Engels: 'We now have 5,500 subscribers, an increase of 800 this quarter'.—374

513 A reference to the editorial in the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 6, 10 May 1872, a reply to Paul Lafargue's report 'Congrès de Saragosse' featured by La Liberté on 5 May (see Note 501). The editorial disclosed that Pablo Farga was Lafargue's pseudonym in Spain.—374


515 On 15 May 1872 Liebknecht wrote to Engels: 'You will have to get a new edition of your Condition of the Working-Class etc. printed, since the old one is pretty well sold out.' The first edition of The Condition of the Working-Class in England was issued in early June 1845 by Otto Wigand's publishing house in Leipzig (see present edition, Vol. 4). In his letter, Liebknecht also mentioned the prospects of publishing Marx's and Engels' collected works.—375

516 Engels is referring to Resolution IX of the Saragossa Congress of the Spanish Federation. The resolution declared that the congress supported the decision of the congress of the Belgian Federation that the International's General Rules should be revised.—376

517 Enclosed with Liebknecht's letter to Engels of 15 May 1872 was a receipt from Der Volksstaat's forwarding agent Wilhelm Fink testifying to the sale of 208 copies of the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association, and the corresponding number of stamps pasted to them as membership fees.—376

518 A reference to the letters from Johann Georg Eccarius and John Hales to the members of New York Section No. 12, which had been expelled from the International by the General Council, in which they stated their disagreement with this decision. Hales' letter was printed by Le Socialiste on 18 May 1872.—378

519 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels on the United States, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—380

520 A reference to Johann Georg Eccarius' letter to Liebknecht of 20 May 1872 dealing with the discussion in the General Council of the stand adopted by John Hales and himself on the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America. See this volume, pp. 363 and 579-81.—380

521 A reference to the Judicial Committee elected at the General Council meeting of 13 February 1872, which consisted of Armand Arnaud, Gabriel Ranvier, Frederick Bradnick, George Milner, Karl Pfänder, Hermann Jung and Walery Wróblewski, with the latter as chairman.—382

522 A reference to the appeal of the separatist Federal Council (Committee No. I1) in New York, which was published in the Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly, No. 25/103, 4 May 1872. A detailed analysis of this appeal was made by Engels
in his article 'The International in America' (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 177-83).—383

At the meeting held in Apollo Hall, New York, on 9-11 May 1872, the followers of Victoria Woodhull nominated her for the post of US President.—384

The congress of the Belgian Federation held in Brussels on 19-20 May 1872 considered the draft Rules which had been drawn up by the Belgian Federal Council on the instructions of the Federation's congress held on 24-25 December 1871 (see Note 404). Under this draft, which was written by Eugène Hins, the powers of the General Council to all intents and purposes were to be annulled and the Council turned into a mere correspondence and statistical bureau. After heated debates the congress decided to submit the draft for discussion by the sections, and then for approval by the Federation's extraordinary congress scheduled for July 1872 (see Note 568).—384, 387, 393, 399, 401, 407

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'.* Translated by Andrew Drummond. New Park Publications, London, 1983.—385

Between 1872 and 1875 Marx presented the British Museum Library with three editions of Volume I of *Capital*: the second German, the Russian and the French edition.

On 9 August and 15 November 1873 Marx received letters from J. Winter Jones, the principal librarian of the British Museum, expressing gratitude for the gift: 'I am directed by the Trustees of the British Museum to inform you that they have received the Present..., which you have been pleased to make to them; and I have to return you their best thanks for the same.'—385

In a letter of 15 (27) March 1872 Danielson informed Marx that after eleven months in prison, Hermann Lopatin had been released on condition that he did not leave Irkutsk.—386

Marx's letter to V. O. Baranov has not been found. As can be inferred from Baranov's reply of 10 (22) June 1872, Marx had asked him for information about the progress of Bakunin's translation into Russian of Volume I of *Capital* (see Note 574).—386

A reference to the so-called Nechayev trial (see Note 280, as well as present edition, Vol. 23, p. 23).—386, 422

At the General Council meeting of 28 May 1872 John Hales read out a report on the work of the Provisional Federal Council (Committee No. 1) of the North American sections for April 1872, which had been signed by the Council Secretary Charles Praitsching on 5 May. The report dealt with the unsuccessful attempts to reach an agreement with the separatist council on the basis of the General Council resolutions of 5 and 12 March 1872 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 124-26).—388

Under the resolution passed by the General Council on 28 May 1872 the Provisional Federal Council of the North American sections of the International was recognised as the only lawful one.—388

In late May 1872 the Supreme Court of Appeal in Dresden confirmed the verdict reached by the Leipzig court in March 1872 at the trial of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht (see Note 274).—389
A reference to the list of members of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party who were to liaise with the General Council of the International during Bebel's and Liebknecht's imprisonment. The list was cited by Liebknecht in his letter to Engels of 4 June 1872.—390

This draft of Engels' reply to Molesworth was added to the letter which he posted to Engels in Leicester on 5 June 1872.

On the reasons which prompted Engels to write this letter, see Note 447.—391

Engels is referring to a notice in the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 6, 10 May 1872, stating that the editorial board was in possession of Engels' letters written in the autumn of 1871 to 'his Italian friends'. These letters had been handed over by Carlo Cafiero to the newspaper's editor James Guillaume.—398, 399

A reference to Engels' letter to Cuno of 22[-23] April 1872 (see this volume, pp. 356-59). It was addressed to Düsseldorf and arrived there on 25 April but apparently missed Cuno and was forwarded to him in Seraing (Belgium).—393

La Emancipación, Nos. 52 and 53, 8 and 15 June 1872, featured an article entitled 'El proyecto belga de Estatutos generales', which sharply criticised the draft Rules drawn up by the Belgian Federal Council.—394, 399, 401

On 15 June 1872 Wilhelm Liebknecht began to serve in the Hubertusburg fortress the prison sentence to which he had been condemned at the Leipzig trial (see Note 274). He remained in prison until 15 April 1874.—394, 425, 479

On 12 May 1872 a plebiscite rejected the government draft bill under which the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation, adopted on 12 September 1848, was to be revised. The draft bill, which provided for the introduction of a uniform army, school and legislation for the entire country, caused disagreement within the International's sections in Switzerland, with the supporters of stronger central authority on one side, and those who advocated retention of the cantons' autonomous rights on the other.—395, 418

Engels is referring to Nikolai Utin's article, 'Le fédéralisme ou la centralisation. Voulons-nous la souveraineté républicaine ou la dictature monarchique?', featured by L'Égalité, No. 9-10, 7 May 1872. Utin opposed the trends towards centralisation evident in the new draft Constitution of the Swiss Confederation.—396

Probably a reference to the work by Johann Philipp Becker, Neue Stunden der Andacht (Geneva, 1875) on which he worked intermittently from 1857 to 1875. The work was permeated with the spirit of militant materialism and atheism, and was a biting political pamphlet.—396

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.—397

Enclosed with Sorge's letter to Marx of 7 June 1872 was the report of the Provisional Federal Council for May of the same year.—398

La Emancipación, No. 43, 6 April 1872, carried the General Council's resolutions of 5 and 12 March 1872 on the split in the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America. The editorial introduction noted the great importance of these resolutions to the campaign
against the attempts by bourgeois politicians to use the working-class movement to further their own ends.—399

545 Marx is referring to Resolution IV, ‘Contre la suppression du Conseil Général’, adopted by the Fourth Congress of the International’s Romance Federation, which was held in Vevey on 2-3 June 1872. It appeared in L’Égalité, No. 12, on 13 June 1872. The Congress unreservedly supported the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference and turned down the proposal of the Belgian Federal Council for a revision of the General Rules of the Association.—399, 401

546 Marx quotes and partly renders in his own words Nikolai Danielson’s letter of 23 May (4 June) 1872. The information concerning the publication and circulation of Volume I of Capital is also taken from this letter.—399

547 On 7 June 1872 Sorge wrote to Marx that Nicholson, the treasurer of the Provisional Federal Council of the North American sections, had stopped attending the Council’s meetings and disappeared altogether.—400

548 Marx’s letter is a reply to Suetendael’s letter of 20 June 1872. He thanked Marx for having sent him the General Council’s circular on Fictitious Splits in the International, inquired about Eugène Hins’ draft, and wrote about the dissent within the International’s Brussels section.—400

549 Pietists, adherents of a mystical Lutheran trend which originated in Germany in the 17th century and placed religious feeling above religious dogmas.—402

550 Hepner wrote on 29 June 1872 that he was forwarding Engels Karl Boruttau’s letter requesting the recommendation of material for the campaign against Bakunin.—404

551 A reference to the special issue of the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 10-11, 15 June 1872, which featured replies from a number of Bakuninists to the General Council’s circular Fictitious Splits in the International (including those from James Guillaume, Benoît Malon, and Mikhail Bakunin), as well as the reply of the editorial board to Paul Lafargue’s letter in which he had exposed the activities of the secret Alliance in Spain.—405

552 On 29 June 1872 Hepner wrote to Engels requesting that he ask the Wigand publishing house in Leipzig to return the remaining copies of the first edition of Engels’ The Condition of the Working-Class in England for transmission to Der Volksstaat publishers.—405

553 The draft of Engels’ letter to Th. Smart & Co. was added to the firm’s letter to Engels posted in Leicester on 3 July 1872. On the motives behind Engels’ letter, see Note 447.—406

554 The reference is to the article ‘La burguesía y la Internacional en los Estados-Unidos’ carried by La Emancipación, No. 54, 22 June 1872. The article exposed the attempt by bourgeois reformists to use the International’s organisation in the USA to promote their own ends. It was based on the materials sent by Engels to Paul Lafargue.—407

555 Bakunin’s letter ‘Réponse du citoyen Bakounine. Aux compagnons rédacteurs du Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne’ was printed by the Bulletin on 15 June 1872 (No. 10-11). See Note 551.—408

556 Marx and Engels were on holiday in Ramsgate between 9 and 15 July 1872.—409, 410
In a separate edition of Part I of *The Housing Question* issued by *Der Volksstaat* publishers in 1872, Engels made the following note after the sentence 'It contains no part which is interest on capital, unless the house is encumbered with a mortgage debt': 'For the capitalist who buys a ready-built house, part of the rent price, which is not composed of ground rents and overhead expenses, may appear in the form of interest on capital. But this alters nothing because it does not matter whether the builder of the house lets it himself or sells it for that purpose to another capitalist.'

In 1887, when preparing the second edition of his work, Engels amended this passage and omitted the note (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 334).—410

On 8 May 1872 Paul Lindau, a bourgeois democrat who published *Die Gegenwart* magazine in Berlin, again asked Marx to contribute to the magazine; Lindau requested Marx to write an article about the International.—410

This is Engels' reply to the letter from the Workers' Union (*Fascio Operaio*) in Florence of 27 June 1872 signed by Ugo Bartorelli. Engels made a note on the letter in German and Italian: 'Florence, 27 June 1872. Workers' Union. Answered 18 July. Reply enclosed.'—411

Engels goes on to quote Article 4 of Section II ('The General Council') of the Administrative Regulations. This article corresponds to Administrative Resolution IV passed by the Basle Congress (1869) of the International.—411

Article 1 of Section V ('Local Societies, Branches, and Groups') of the Administrative Regulations corresponds to Article 14 of the Regulations adopted by the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 446).—411


The reference is to the address entitled 'The General Council to All the Members of the International Working Men's Association' (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 205-10), drafted by Engels on the instructions of the Subcommittee (see Note 435). At the General Council meeting of 6 August 1872 the draft provoked a lively discussion, with some of the Council's members opposing publication of the address pending an investigation into the Alliance's activities. The draft proposed by Engels was accepted by a majority vote.

The document has survived in Engels' handwriting in English and in French. It did not appear in *Der Volksstaat*.—415, 417, 420

Following the exposure by Paul Lafargue in April-early May 1872 of the existence of the secret Alliance in Spain, Engels requested Lafargue, José Mesa, Francisco Mora and the other editors of *La Emancipación* to let him have documentary proof of the Alliance's activities. By early August 1872 Engels received from Spain a copy of Bakunin's letter to Mora of 5 April 1872, the statutes of the Alliance in Spain, and other documents. These materials were used by Engels when drafting the above-mentioned address of the General Council.—415, 420
Enclosed with Hepner's letter to Engels of 22 July 1872 was a cutting from the Frankfurter Zeitung on the prospects of a military conflict between Germany on the one hand, and Russia and France on the other. It mentioned the appointment of Verdy du Vernois, Colonel of the General Staff, as head of the Headquarters of the First Army Corps stationed along the Russian border. The authors thought that the transfer had been occasioned by Colonel Verdy's involvement in the activities of leading financial quarters.—415

When discussing the possible consequences of a new European war inspired by the militarists, Engels surmised that in the course of such a conflict the German Empire could collapse in a manner similar to the Bonapartist Second Empire in France, which fell two days after the defeat at Sedan on 1-2 September 1870.—415

In discussing the draft Rules drawn up by the Belgian Federal Council (see Note 524), the members of the German section of the International in Verviers voiced their firm support of the General Council. In response, as Cuno wrote to Engels on 26 July 1872, the Bakuninist majority on the Belgian Federal Council tried to blacken the character of one of the section's members and demanded that he be expelled from the International. The section in question having refused to comply, it was expelled from the Belgian Federation by the Federal Council.—416

The reference is to the extraordinary congress of the Belgian Federation held in Brussels on 14 July 1872. It discussed the new draft of the General Rules of the International drawn up by Eugène Hins, which provided for the annulment of the powers of the General Council, thus turning it into a mere correspondence and statistical bureau. The majority (9 delegates out of 13) voted for the retention of the General Council, with its powers somewhat curtailed.—419

The protest against the venue of the Congress was sent by Adhémar Schwitzguébel to the General Council on 15 July 1872 on behalf and on the instructions of the Jura Federation.—419

The General Council, having included revision of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations in the agenda of the Hague Congress, began discussing the changes to be made in these documents on 25 June 1872. As a result, new draft Rules and Regulations were adopted (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 198-204), including, as Article 8, Resolution IX passed by the 1871 London Conference, 'Political Action of the Working Class'; its text was re-edited (see this volume, p. 414). The draft also incorporated articles specifying more precisely and extending the functions of the General Council.

The Hague Congress, which did not consider the draft Rules and Regulations in their entirety, incorporated the resolution 'Political Action of the Working Class' into the Rules as Article 7a; it also included in the Rules several administrative resolutions (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 243-53).—420

This letter is a draft of Engels' complaint to the Judicial Committee of the General Council (see Note 521). Engels decided to appeal because at the Council meeting of 6 August 1872, during the discussion of his draft address (see Note 563), John Hales accused him of falsifying the information received from Spain. Engels' complaint was discussed at the Committee meeting in late August 1872; however, due to the Hague Congress and the subsequent transfer of the General Council to New York, the investigation of this matter was not completed.—421
572 A reference to Danielson's letter to Marx of 20-25 July (1-6 August) 1872.—422

573 Danielson sent Marx a copy of Nikolai Chernyshevsky's unpublished article 'Letters Without an Address' written in 1862. Marx wanted to publish this work in Geneva with the help of Nikolai Utin. 'Letters Without an Address' was first published in 1874 in Zurich by Pyotr Lavrov. Marx showed great interest in the article and made a detailed synopsis.—422, 457

574 A reference to the letter written by Sergei Nechayev to Nikolai Lyubavin in the spring of 1870 on Bakunin's instructions in the name of the non-existent Bureau of Foreign Agents of the Russian Revolutionary Society The People's Judgment. In this letter, Lyubavin was threatened with reprisals if he did not release Bakunin from the commitments he had undertaken with regard to the translation of Volume I of Capital into Russian. (Under the agreement concluded through Lyubavin with the publisher Nikolai Polyakov, Bakunin was to receive 1,200 roubles for the translation, 300 roubles of which had been paid to him on account on 28 September 1869.) Nechayev's letter was forwarded to Marx by Lyubavin on 20 August 1872 and figured among the documents passed on by Marx and Engels to the committee appointed by the Hague Congress to inquire into the activities of the secret Alliance.—422, 452, 455, 509, 523

575 All that has survived of Engels' letter to Glaser de Willebrord is a long excerpt copied by Nikolai Zhukovsky from Glaser de Willebrord's letter to Désiré Brismée of 21 August 1872, in which he quoted the bulk of what Engels had written. The copy made by Zhukovsky was published by Nettlaü in his lithographic biography of Bakunin (M. Nettlaü, Michael Bakunin. Eine Biographie, Vol. III, Ch. 57, pp. 613-15) and, in an abridged form, by James Guillaume (J. Guillaume, L'Internationale. Documents et souvenirs (1864-1878), Vol. II, Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, Paris, 1907, pp. 318-19).—424

576 The Rimini Conference (4-6 August 1872) was a conference of Italian anarchists which Bakunin helped prepare. A national Italian anarchist organisation was formed in Rimini which illegitimately assumed the name of the Italian Federation of the International. In a special resolution passed on 6 August the Conference declared that it was rupturing all solidarity with the General Council and urged the International's sections to send delegates to the separatist Bakuninist congress, scheduled for 2 September 1872 in Neuchâtel, rather than to the regular congress at The Hague. This divisive proposal was not backed by any of the sections of the International.—424, 426

577 A reference to the Union de las tres clases de vapor (Union of the Three Categories of Factory Workers), one of the first trade unions in Catalonia, which embraced weavers, spinners and other workers employed in the textile industry. The Union was a collective member of the International.—425, 426

578 In his letter to Engels of 18 August 1872 Liebknecht proposed that the former be nominated as a candidate in one of the Saxonian constituencies at the next elections to the Reichstag.—426

579 In a private circular of 7 July 1872 the Spanish Federal Council, which was dominated by the Bakuninists, suggested that all sections elect a delegation to the Hague Congress from a single list, and that a binding mandate be drawn up. As a result the Spanish Federation sent four Bakuninists as its delegates to
the Hague Congress (Tomás Morago González, Nicola Marselau, Alonso Charles Alerini and Rafael Farga Pellicer).—426

On 19 July 1872 at the meeting of the General Council Executive Committee (Sub-Committee; see Note 435), Engels was instructed to prepare the financial report for the Hague Congress covering the period since the London Conference in September 1871. The report was read out by Engels at the Hague Congress sitting of 7 September 1872, and unanimously approved.

Marx and Engels arrived at The Hague to take part in the Congress on 1 September 1872. On 8 September they travelled to Amsterdam, where they took part in the meeting marking the closure of the Congress. Engels returned to London on 12 September, and Marx around 17 September 1872.

The Fifth Congress of the International Working Men's Association was held on 2-7 September 1872 in The Hague and attended by 65 delegates from 15 national organisations. Its decision to include in the General Rules (as Article 7a) the major tenet on the conquest of political power by the proletariat, and its resolutions relating to Administrative Regulations signified a victory for Marxism. The Congress took stock of the struggle Marx, Engels and their followers had waged for years against petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the workers' movement, in whatever guise it appeared, most notably against Bakuninism; Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume, the anarchist leaders, were expelled from the International. The resolutions of the Hague Congress laid the groundwork for the future formation of independent political parties of the working class on a national level.—427, 430, 438, 450, 460, 475, 489, 491, 513, 523, 525, 526, 582, 584, 586

This letter has survived as a certified handwritten copy made from the original by John Burns, a leading figure in the British workers' movement, among whose papers it is kept at the British Museum Library. The copy of the letter is dated 15 September 1872, which may be incorrect. The letter is likely to have been written somewhat later, since it deals with the international Federalist Congress which took place in London on 16-19 September 1872. However, it is possible that having learned in advance about the convocation and agenda of the congress, Engels decided to give a description of its participants prior to its opening.—428

On 16-19 September 1872 the New Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., London (the headquarters of a group of radicals headed by Charles Bradlaugh), hosted an international congress convened by petty-bourgeois federalists as a gesture against the Hague Congress of the International (see Note 580). Its agenda was published in the Federation, No. 4, 14 September 1872.—428

The society of French refugees refers to the French-Language Section in London (see Note 359).

The above-mentioned (third) trial of members of the Paris Federation of the International took place in Paris between 22 June and 5 July 1870. Legal proceedings were instituted against 38 members of the International Working Men's Association. In the course of the trial, the attempts by the Bonapartist authorities to accuse them of involvement in a plot to assassinate Napoleon III collapsed. Nevertheless, the accused were given prison sentences and fined.—429

At the very first sittings of the Hague Congress a question was raised on the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy as a secret sectarian organisation
within the International. On the proposal put by Marx and other delegates, the
sitting of 5 September appointed a special committee to inquire into the secret
activities of the Alliance. Its members were Theodor Cuno, Roch Splingard,
Lucain (Frédéric Potel), Paul Vichard and Walter (L. Van Heddeghem). On 5 and
6 September the Congress heard the evidence given by Marx, Wróblewski,
Dupont, Serrailier, Guillaume, Zhukovsky, Morago González, Marselau,
Alerini, and Farga Pellicer. Engels submitted to the committee a report on the
Alliance (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 228-38).

Due to the torrent of incoming documents and a large volume of evidence,
the committee could not complete the investigation but, on the basis of the
material it had managed to examine, arrived at the conclusion that the Alliance
was incompatible with the International, and on 7 September submitted a
proposal to the Congress that Bakunin, Guillaume, Schwitzguébel, Malon,
Marchand, and Bousquet be expelled from the International Working Men's
Association. (The committee's report was later published in *La Liberté*, No. 42,
20 October 1872.) The Congress adopted the proposal on the expulsion of
Bakunin and Guillaume, and passed a decision to make public the documents
on the Alliance the committee had at its disposal. The committee, however, was
unable to carry through this decision. The documents were sent to Marx and
Engels in London and formed the basis for the pamphlet *The Alliance of
Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see
Note 623).—430, 455, 460

585 The *Declaration of the minority* (Déclaration de la minorité), a statement read out
at the Congress sitting of 7 September by Victor Dave and signed by
13 anarchist delegates (four from Spain, five from Belgium, two from
Switzerland and two from Holland), and also by the representative of New
York Section No. 12 which the Congress had expelled from the International
(see Note 332).

The statement rejected Congress decisions aimed at strengthening discipline
and promoting centralisation within the International, and declared the
'autonomy' and 'independence' of the sections to be the basic principle. The
minority declared that they would recognise the General Council only as a
correspondence and statistical bureau. The statement by the anarchist minority
was a step towards an open split in the International Working Men's
Association.—430

586 On 6 September 1872 Marx and Engels proposed, on behalf of a large group
of the General Council members, that the Council be transferred to New York
for 1872-73. The proposal was prompted by the fact that the situation in
Europe was unfavourable for the Council's work, and the danger that if it
remained in London it may pass into the hands of French Blanquist émigrés,
prone to adventurist and conspiratorial tactics, or of English reformists.
Following a lively discussion, the Congress accepted this proposal by a majority
vote and elected 12 members of the International of different nationalities to
the future Council in the USA, granting them the right to co-opt three more
members.—430

587 A reference to the resolution of the Hague Congress passed at its eighth sitting
on 5 September 1872; it was not included into the official edition of the Hague
Congress resolutions.—430

588 The first sittings of the Hague Congress were devoted to discussing the
delegates' mandates. The results of the discussion were incorporated into a
number of resolutions passed by the Congress, notably into resolutions of Section IV (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 246-48).

The official version of the Hague Congress resolutions was written and edited by Marx and Engels, who were on the committee (together with Eugène Dupont, Léo Frankel, Auguste Serrailler and Benjamin Le Moussu) appointed to prepare the Congress minutes and resolutions for publication. The official edition appeared in November 1872 in French as a separate pamphlet; on 14 December 1872, The International Herald, No. 37, carried the official English version.—430, 437, 441

589 The minutes of the Hague Congress were not published in Marx's and Engels' lifetime.—430

590 At the British Federal Council meeting of 12 September 1872, John Hales, the Council Chairman, who was supported by the reformist majority, managed to have Marx reprimanded for the speech he had made at the Hague Congress on 3 September in defence of the mandate of Maltman Barry, a member of the British Federation. In his speech, Marx accused those who called themselves the British workers' leaders of having more or less sold out to the bourgeoisie and the government. Many sections within the British Federation protested against this decision by the Federal Council.—431, 436, 462

591 On 19 September 1872 a strike was launched at all Lisbon foundries, which was joined by carpenters, caulkers, and workers in other trades, who demanded shorter working hours. The strike was supported by the Portuguese Federation of the International.

On 17-18 September the Lisbon Federal Council wrote a letter to the British Federal Council (c/o Engels), requesting it to act without delay to prevent strike breakers being brought to Portugal from Britain.—434, 439, 440

592 This is a reply to van der Willigen's letter of 2 October 1872 in which the Dutch reporter asked Marx when and where the official account of the Hague Congress would be published. The original of Marx's letter is kept at Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier.—434

593 On 15 September 1872 an extraordinary congress of the Jura Federation was held in Saint-Imier, Switzerland, with 16 delegates attending. The congress voted down the resolutions of the Hague Congress; a report on it was printed by the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, Nos. 17 and 18, 15 September-1 October 1872.

The Jura Federation congress was held immediately before an anarchist congress in Saint-Imier, which likewise opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress (see Note 599).—435, 441, 450

594 This is a reference to Article 1 of the Administrative Regulations adopted in 1866 by the Geneva Congress of the International (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 444).—436

595 Engels ironically applied the name Sonderbund (a separate union) to the emerging bloc of anarchists and their supporters who opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress. The original Sonderbund was a separatist association of reactionary Swiss Catholic cantons that existed in the 1840s.—436, 453

596 On the decision of German Section No. 6 (New York), Engels represented it at the Hague Congress. The above-mentioned report he wrote has not been found.—436
The pamphlet *Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne. Extrait du Journal des Économistes*, Paris, 1872, was a review by Maurice Block of Volume I of *Capital*. A copy with Marx's marginal notes is extant. Marx gave his opinion of the pamphlet in his letter to Nikolai Danielson of 18 January 1873 (see this volume, p. 470).—438

Reviews of the Russian edition of Volume I of *Capital* were featured by *Peterburgskiye Vedomosti*, No. 97, 8 (20) April 1872; *Novye Vremya*, No. 106, 23 April (5 May) 1872; *Birzheviye Vedomosti*, No. 147, 30 May 1872. Syn *Otechestva*, Nos. 97 and 98, 28 and 29 April 1872, carried the article 'The Teachings of Modern Socialism and Communism'; *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, No. 4, April 1872, printed the article 'Concerning the Russian Edition of Karl Marx's Book', written by N. K. Mikhailovsky and published anonymously. Reviews of *Capital* also appeared in other Russian periodicals.—438

On 15-16 September an extraordinary congress of organisations comprising the Bakuninist Alliance was held in *Saint-Imier*, Switzerland. The congress decided not to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the powers of the General Council. It concluded the 'Pacte d'amitié de solidarité et de défense mutuelle' for the purpose of campaigning against the federations and sections of the International Working Men's Association which supported the decisions of the Fifth Congress at *The Hague*. The anarchist congress also adopted a special resolution rejecting political struggle on the part of the working class and denying the need to establish an independent proletarian political party. The congress issued an address to the sections of the International urging them to convene, six months later, an 'anti-authoritarian' congress.—441, 448, 475

In his letter, John Hales proposed the establishment of direct contacts between the British and the Belgian federation and accused the old General Council of 'authoritarianism'. This was in fact a declaration of support for the anarchists' campaign against the General Council.—441

The Lafargues arrived in London from *The Hague*, where they had gone from Spain to attend the International's congress.—442, 443

This is a reply to Jenny Marx-Longuet's letter of 27 October 1872. Thanking Engels for sending her two issues of *La Emancipacion* with a critical article about Proudhon, Jenny wrote that 'Proudhon's unworthy disciple and mutual friend of ours' had read it with a bitter smile, which was a hint at Charles Longuet.—442

The wedding of Jenny Marx and the French socialist Charles Longuet took place on 10 October 1872. The newlyweds settled in Oxford.—442

A reference to the various groups of French refugees in London.

The 'purs' are the Blanquistis headed by Édouard Marie Vaillant. In November 1872 the Blanquistis issued a pamphlet *Internationale et révolution* aimed against the decision of the Hague Congress to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York, in which they accused the leaders of the International of having renounced the idea of revolution. The pamphlet was signed by Armand Arnaud, Frédéric Cournet, Édouard Margueritte, Constant Martin, Gabriel Ranvier and Édouard Vaillant, who simultaneously stated that they were withdrawing from the International. However, as Eugène Dupont
informed Marx on 6 November 1872, Ranvier was unaware that his name had been used.

The ‘impurs’ are probably a group of French refugees headed by Pierre Vésinier and Bernard Landeck.—443, 447, 458, 467

Knoten (boors, louts, yokels), a label Marx and Engels often used in their letters to describe the members of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London. The subject of Marx’s lecture has not been established.—443

Associazione degli operai e degli agricoltori della Bassa Lombardia (Association of Workers and Agricultural Labourers of Lower Lombardy), the International’s section in Lodi, and Consociazione dei liberi Lavoratori Abruzzesi (Society of Free Abruzzi Labourers), the International’s section in L’Aquila, were both formed in October 1872 under the direct influence of Enrico Bignami. Bignami informed Engels of their formation and the adoption of appropriate Rules on 28 October 1872. On 22 December 1872 the New York General Council admitted these sections to the International on Engels’ application. In December 1872-January 1873 their activities were banned by the government.—444

Engels is referring to the announcement, printed by La Plebe, No. 112, on 26 October 1872, of the forthcoming publication as a separate pamphlet of the report on the Hague Congress (which was probably the above-mentioned article by Engels ‘The Congress at The Hague’) together with the General Rules containing the amendments introduced by the Congress. Bignami failed to publish the pamphlet.—445

Friedrich Adolph Sorge was co-opted on to the New York General Council and elected its General Secretary on 11 October 1872. Writing to Marx about this on 12 October, Sorge outlined his plan for reorganising the work at the Council. He suggested that all correspondence should be the responsibility of the General Secretary; at the same time he proposed that for a number of countries authorised representatives be appointed by the General Council, predominantly from among the corresponding secretaries of the old Council. The new structure was approved by the General Council.—445

At Engels’ request, Sorge brought with him to the Congress the handwritten text of a French translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, which had been prepared in the summer of 1872 by a Frenchman residing in the USA. The translator had used the English edition of the Manifesto in Woodhull & Claflin’s Weekly (see Note 440).—446, 451

The reference is to the ‘Address of the General Council. To the federations, affiliated societies, sections and all members of the International Working Men’s Association. New York, October 20th 1872’, the first official Address of the new General Council. It was published in The International Herald, No. 34, on 23 November 1872.—446

In June 1872 the Democratic Association of Victoria was established in Australia and announced that it was joining the International Working Men’s Association.—446

The Bakuninist Spanish Federal Council issued a private circular which announced the convocation of a congress in Córdoba earlier than scheduled and arbitrarily changed the agenda, demanding that a choice be made between the resolutions of the Hague Congress and those of the anarchist congress in Saint-Imier. In this connection, on 1 November 1872, the New Madrid
Federation issued an Address, 'La Nueva Federación madrileña á todas las federaciones, secciones é individuos de la Asociación Internacional en España', which was signed 'Victor Pages' and published in La Emancipación, No. 73, 9 November 1872. The authors of the Address proposed the election of a new Federal Council which would act in conformity with the International's Rules and the resolutions of its General Congresses.

The Nueva Federación madrileña (New Madrid Federation) was founded on 8 July 1872 by the members of the Emancipation editorial board expelled from the Madrid Federation by its anarchist majority. An important part in the foundation and work of the Federation was performed by Paul Lafargue. On 15 August 1872 the General Council recognised it as an equal member of the International (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 215). The New Madrid Federation resolutely opposed the anarchist influence in Spain and spread the ideas of scientific socialism.—447

613 The Cercle d'Études Sociales (Circle for Social Studies) was set up in London by refugee Communards in late 1871-early 1872 with the active participation by the French-speaking section formed in London in October 1871. International members Gabriel Ranvier, Hippolyte Lissagaray and Adolphe Hubert contributed greatly to the work in the Cercle. On their suggestion, Marx was unanimously admitted to the Cercle on 3 February 1872 and took part in its work until the autumn of that year.—447

614 A reference to the private 'Circular á todas las federaciones locales' issued in 1872 in Valencia by the Bakuninist Spanish Federal Council. It called for an extraordinary congress of the Federation with a view to declaring its agreement with the decisions of the Bakuninist congress in Saint-Imier. The circular included the report of the four Spanish delegates to the Hague Congress, which had originally appeared in La Federación, No. 162, on 21 September 1872.—448, 474

615 A general assembly of the Gracia Federation was held on 4-6 November 1872. Having heard the report on the Hague Congress delivered by Charles Alerini, one of the leaders of the Alliance, the assembly censured the attitude of the Spanish delegates at the Congress, rejected the anarchists' proposal to support the resolutions of the Saint-Imier congress and approved by a majority vote the resolutions of the Hague Congress.

The meeting of the Valencia Federation was held on 9 November 1872. It voted down the Alliancists' proposal to include the demand that the Saint-Imier resolutions be approved in the binding mandate given to the delegate to an extraordinary congress in Córdoba (see Note 627).—448

616 Engels learned about the success in the struggle against the Alliance in Spain from José Mesa. Presumably Mesa had enclosed with his letter the information received from Francisco Mora, who was in Barcelona at the time.—449

617 The article, probably written by Mesa on the basis of materials sent over by Lafargue or Engels, gave an account of Sergei Nechayev's activities in Russia, and also of attempts by Spanish members of the Alliance to beat up Mora and Anselmo Lorenzo.—449

618 The International Herald, No. 33, 16 November 1872 featured a report, signed by John Hales, on the meeting of the British Federal Council held on 7 November.—449

619 By the General Council decision of 5 January 1873, Engels was appointed
temporarily representative of the Council for Italy and received the appropriate powers and instructions.—450

620 Marx stayed with Jenny and Charles Longuet in Oxford between 15 and 18 November 1872.—450

621 By a decision of 22 December 1872, Auguste Serrailier, who in 1871 and 1872 was Corresponding Secretary of the London Council for France, was appointed temporary representative of the General Council for France, and received his mandate and instructions.—450, 455, 458

622 The Spanish translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party and Marx’s and Engels’ preface to the 1872 German edition was done by Mesa and printed by La Emancipación, Nos. 72-77, 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30 November and 7 December 1872. Mesa translated from the French version published in Le Socialiste (see Note 440) and sent to him by Engels, who had partially revised and corrected it. Engels also used the manuscript brought by Friedrich Adolph Sorge to the Hague Congress (see Note 609).—450

623 Since the committee appointed by the Hague Congress to inquire into the secret activities of the Alliance did not manage to examine the bulk of the documents submitted to it (see Note 584), Marx had the idea back at the time of the Congress of writing an exposure of the Bakuninist organisation. The Hague Congress decided to publish the documents pertaining to the Alliance (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 249-50). The documents were passed on to the committee appointed to prepare the Congress minutes and resolutions for publication, which included Marx and Engels among its members. In April 1873 they started work on The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men’s Association, as the Congress had resolved. The bulk of the work involved in the collection of additional material, its comparison and analysis was carried out by Engels and Paul Lafargue. The concluding part of the pamphlet was written by Marx (see this volume, p. 521). The pamphlet appeared in French in late August-early September 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 454-580). In the summer of 1874 it was published in German in Brunswick in Samuel Kokosky’s translation entitled Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association.—451, 517, 523

624 Sergei Nechayev, who was living in Zurich at the time, was arrested on 14 August 1872 by the Swiss authorities and in the autumn of the same year extradited to Russia as a criminal. Sentenced to 20 years’ hard labour, Nechayev was kept at the Alexeyevsky Ravelin of the Peter and Paul Fortress in St Petersburg where he died ten years later.—452

625 A reference to the Irish sections of the International Working Men’s Association in the USA. Their members were mostly former Fenians (see Note 6).—453

626 A reference to the congress of a number of the Dutch sections of the International held in Amsterdam on 24 November 1872. It was convened by the Dutch Federal Council as a response to the anarchist campaign against the resolutions of the Hague Congress.—453

627 The congress in Córdoba, attended only by Spanish anarchists (48 delegates), took place on 25 December 1872-2 January 1873. The congress rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the General Rules of the International Working Men’s Association, disbanded the Federal Council and replaced it with
a federal commission with severely restricted powers. It also aligned itself with the resolutions of the international anarchist congress in Saint-Imier (see Note 599), which were hostile to the International.

On the Address of the New Madrid Federation, see Note 612.—454, 465, 475, 494, 520

On 25 December 1872 a private conference of the International Working Men's Association's branches in Southern France was held in Toulouse and attended by delegates from Toulouse, Montpellier, Bordeaux, Béziers, Sète, Agen, Narbonne, Bayonne, Avignon, Castelnaudary, Lavardac, Perpignan, etc. The conference was to endorse the resolutions of the Hague Congress and put up a fight against the Bakuninists. These plans, however, were foiled by arrests of the International's members, which began at that time in Southern France.—454, 466

Engels is referring to Jules Montels' letter protesting at the expulsion from the International's Béziers section of anarchist Abel Bousquet, a police officer. The letter was published in Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 20-21, 10 November 1872.—454

In conformity with the agreement signed by the publisher and proprietor of The International Herald William Riley and the British Federal Council, from 11 May 1872 (No. 6) the paper functioned as the Council's official organ. It was at Marx's suggestion that Riley broke the agreement on 30 November 1872 and refused to give the reformist majority of the British Council an opportunity to use the newspaper against the General Council. After the revolutionary wing of the British Federal Council formed a new Council in late December 1872 (see Note 643), the paper resumed its functions as the Council's mouthpiece.

The Hague Congress resolutions were published in The International Herald, No. 37, 14 December 1872. Reports on the International's activities on the Continent written by Engels were published between mid-January and mid-February 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 409-13).—454, 460

On 30 December 1872 the General Council in New York authorised Marx to collect all property whatsoever of the late General Council of the I.W.M.A. and 'hold the same subject to the order of the General Council'.—455

At Danielson's request Marx sent him the resolutions of the Hague Congress of 1872 (see Note 588).—455

The beating up of Nikolai Utin (Outine) by members of the Alliance's Slav Section, which was to prevent him from completing the report he was writing for the Hague Congress on Bakunin's splitting activities, is described by Marx and Engels in The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 485).—456

Writing to Marx on 21 November (3 December) 1872, Danielson quoted a letter from Lopatin in which the latter reported that he had managed to escape from exile in Irkutsk but had been rearrested in Tomsk and returned to Irkutsk. It is possible that Marx intended to try and get him released through the British diplomat David Urquhart, with whom he maintained friendly relations.—456, 469

A reference to the manuscript of the article by the Russian bourgeois economist Yuli Zhukovsky, 'Karl Marx and His Book about Capital', which was
subsequently published in *Vestnik Yevropy*, Vol. V, September 1877, pp. 64-195. A critical review of this article by an ideologist of Russian Narodism (Populism) Nikolai Mikhailovsky, which appeared in the *Otechestvennye Zapiski* magazine in October 1877 ('Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr Zhukovsky'), prompted Marx to write a 'Letter to Otechestvennye Zapiski' (see present edition, Vol. 24).—457

Marx is referring to the intention of Napoléon La Cécilia, a Communard and member of the International, and Enrico Bignami, editor of *La Plebe*, to translate and publish *Capital* in Italian. However, they did not succeed in carrying out this plan.—457

In a letter of 15 (27) December 1872 Danielson outlined a basis for Lafargue's work for Russian magazines, including *Znaniye*, and asked him to send a trial article. Fruitful cooperation between the Russian magazines *Ustoi*, *Otechestvennye Zapiski* and *Severny Vestnik* and Lafargue began only in the 1880s.—457, 469

Marx intended to use the results of his research into agrarian relations in Russia in the section devoted to rent (in accordance with his plan, in the second book of Volume II of *Capital*). After Marx's death Engels published the first and second books of this volume as Volumes II and III of *Capital*.—457

Marx's intention to write Nikolai Chernyshevsky's biography or an essay about him remained unfulfilled since Danielson failed to obtain necessary information.—457, 469

Engels is referring to the article probably written by José Mesa, who drew on the materials he had been sent by Lafargue or Engels himself.—458

On 21 November 1872 the Royal prosecutor in Lodi announced that issue No. 118 of *La Plebe* of 17 November 1872 had been sequestrated for publishing the General Council's Address of 20 October (see Note 610). Prosecutor Gerli simultaneously announced that proceedings had been instituted against Enrico Bignami, the paper's editor. In December 1872 Bignami and three of his friends were arrested and charged with high treason and propagating the ideas of the International Working Men's Association.—458, 466, 518

Bignami's arrest and the sequestration of issue No. 118 of *La Plebe* were reported in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 101, 18 December 1872. The paper probably used the information supplied by Engels. *La Emancipación* did not carry the report.—458

After the Hague Congress the reformist wing of the British Federal Council refused to recognise the Congress resolutions. To counter the reformists' actions, the revolutionary wing of the Council (Samuel Vickery, William Riley, George Milner, Frederick Lessner, Eugène Dupont and others) vigorously supported Marx and Engels. In early December 1872 a split occurred; the wing of the Council that remained loyal to the Hague Congress resolutions was established as the British Federal Council in late December 1872. The British Federal Council existed until early 1874.—459, 464, 498

A reference to the General Council Address issued on 20 November 1872, which exposed the slander directed against the Hague Congress by the Spanish delegates.—460
By a decision of 2 February 1872, Walery Wróblewski, who from October 1871 and throughout 1872 had been Corresponding Secretary for Poland of the London General Council, was appointed representative for Poland by the New York General Council.—460

This letter was published in English for the first time in Unbekanntes von Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx. Part I: 1840-1874. Ed. by Bert Andréas, Jacques Grandjonc, Hans Pelger. Papers of the Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier, 1986.—461

The reference is to the reply by John Hales to Marx's and Engels' letter of 20 December 1872 to the editor of The International Herald, which exposed the divisive activities of the reformist wing of the British Federal Council. Hales' reply written on 30 December was published in The International Herald, No. 40, 4 January 1873. 'Our reply' is a reference to the Address of the British Federal Council to the Sections, Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members' adopted at the Federal Council meeting of 23 December (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 309-14). It was written by Marx and distributed as a leaflet signed by ten Council members in response to the reformist circular of 10 December.—461

A reference to the circular addressed by Hales to a number of London workers' societies on 21 December 1872, which contained slanderous attacks on the revolutionary wing of the British Federal Council. The circular was distributed as a postcard, which made its contents available to any police agent.—461

The manuscript of this letter has been seriously damaged; the words that have been deciphered are in square brackets.

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans 1848-1895. A Selection. International Publishers, New York, 1953.—462

A reference to Gustave Cluseret's article 'L'Internationale et la Dictature' spearheaded against the Blanquist pamphlet Internationale et révolution (see Note 604). The article was printed by L'Égalité, Nos. 22 and 23, 18 December 1872.—464.

The Manchester Foreign Section of the International Working Men's Association was formed in August 1872, mostly of emigrant workers. It resolutely opposed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council and supported Marx's and Engels' efforts to strengthen the British Federation and purge it of the elements that were disorganising its work. The circular mentioned by Engels was written by him at the request of the Manchester section in reply to the circular of 10 December 1872 drawn up by the reformist wing which had seceded from the British Federal Council. After the section had approved it, Engels' circular was published as a leaflet and sent to all members of the International in Great Britain (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 304-08).—464

The congress, which was convened by the reformist wing of the British Federal Council, took place in London on 26 January 1873. Attended by 12 delegates only, it refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress. The Federal Council set up by the secessionists ceased to meet as early as the spring of 1873; the sections that had supported it either fell apart or rejoined the British Federation.—464, 485, 494

On 25-26 December 1872 a regular congress of the Belgian Federation was
held in Brussels, with the anarchists in the majority. The congress refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress or to maintain contacts with the General Council in New York, and voiced support for the resolutions of the anarchist congress in Saint-Imier (see Note 599).—465, 475

In a letter to Engels of 29 December 1872, José Mesa informed him of the putsch launched by extremist groups of republican federalists in Madrid towards the end of 1872. He wrote that the participation in the putsch of many of the Internationals, who had joined in at the anarchists' instigation, had serious repercussions for the organisation in Spain.—465

The strike that affected jewellers' workshops in Geneva began in late November 1872 and lasted late into April 1873. The strikers demanded a nine-hour working day. At the request of the Romance Federal Council, the General Council appealed to the International's sections and federations to extend support to the striking jewellers. The latter received 49,000 francs from different countries, which enabled them to hold on. The strike ended in victory for the workers.—466

Engels is referring to the strike by 3,000 Geneva building workers in March and April 1868. The workers were demanding a reduction in the working day to ten hours, a pay rise, and payment by the hour instead of by the day. The victory of workers in Geneva was made possible by the solidarity campaign organised by the General Council and involving their British, French and German counterparts.—466

A reference to the address of the General Council to the Jura Federation issued on 8 November 1872, warning it that if it refused to revoke the resolutions of its congress in Saint-Imier (see Note 593) it would be suspended from the International pending the next General Congress. Implied also is the General Council address to the forthcoming Belgian congress issued on 1 December 1872, which urged the Belgian workers to consolidate the unity of the International Working Men's Association.—467

In a letter of 6 December 1872 Sorge wrote to Engels that the General Council had decided to grant temporary powers for Paris to Walter (L. Van Heddeghem), and for Toulouse to Ferdinand Argaing.—467

In a letter to Engels of 6 December 1872 Sorge wrote that against his advice, Theodor Cuno had turned down a job paying $75 a month, considering this to be too little. As a result, he had been forced to content himself with a job at a machine-building factory at less than half that wage.—468

This letter has survived as a scrap pasted by Seiffert onto his letter to Engels of 21 January 1873, in which he acknowledged receipt of all materials posted by Engels to Der Volksstaat.—468

Probably a reference to Engels' letter to Adolf Hepner of 30 December 1872, which has not survived in its entirety (see this volume, pp. 462-63).—468

A reference to the scores of Glinka's operas Life for the Tsar (Ivan Susanin) and Ruslan and Lyudmila sent, back in early 1871, by Danielson to Marx's eldest daughter Jenny at the request of Hermann Lopatin. The sender's name was not on the parcel, and became known to the Marx family only from Danielson's letter of 15 (27) December 1872.—469

Marx is referring to the letter requesting written contributions which he
received from the editorial board of the Znaniye magazine. It was signed 'A. Sleptsov' and sent at the end of 1870.—469

A reference to Nikolai Lyubavin's letter about Sergei Nechayev's threats. Nechayev demanded that Bakunin be released from his obligation to translate Volume I of Capital (see Note 574).—469

Marx is referring to the open letter sent to La Liberté by a group of Russian émigrés in Switzerland who were closely associated with Bakunin (Woldemar Holstein, Barthélemy Zaïzov, Alexander Oelsnitz, Nikolai Ogariev, Vladimir Ozerov, Zemphiri Ralli, A. Ross, Valerian Smirnov). The letter, written on 4 October 1872, protested against Bakunin's expulsion from the International. It was printed by La Liberté, No. 41, on 13 October 1872.—469

This is Marx's reply to Bolte's letter of 22 January 1873. Having received information from Friedrich Adolph Sorge about his disagreements with some members of the General Council, notably Bolte, regarding the divisive activities of anarchists and British reformists, Marx outlines here the stand to be taken by the Council. Under Marx's influence, Bolte supported Sorge when the General Council resolution of 30 May 1873 was being worked out. It declared all organisations and individuals refusing to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress to have placed themselves outside the International.


Bolte asked Marx and Engels to contribute to the Arbeiter-Zeitung newly established in New York, and to the bulletin of the US Federal Council, which was to appear in English. The latter was never published.—474

The congress of the secessionist part of the British Federation (see Note 652), was attended by Bennet, Dunn, Eccarius, Foster, Grout, Hales, Jung, Mac Ara, Pape, Roberts, Seaman and Weston.—474

A reference to the General Council resolution of 5 January 1873, which announced the suspension of the Jura Federation pending the next regular congress of the International, since this organisation had rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress.—475

On 15-17 March 1873 the Second Congress of the so-called Italian Federation of the International was held in Bologna and attracted representatives from 153 anarchist sections. The congress decided to unconditionally support the resolutions of the conference in Rimini (see Note 576) and the Saint-Imier congress (see Note 599), and to reject the Hague Congress resolutions.—475, 494

A congress of anarchist and reformist organisations within the International, which had refused to abide by the resolutions of the Hague Congress, was held in Geneva on 1-6 September 1873. Its organiser was the Bakuninist Geneva Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action (see Note 339). Having declared rejection of all authority as the basic principle of the international anarchist association, the congress abolished the General Council, revoked the right of congresses to pass any definite decisions on issues of principle, and removed from the General Rules Article 7a on the political action by the working class.—475, 524, 525, 528, 537
A reference to the next regular congress of the International scheduled for September 1873.

The 6th Congress of the International Working Men's Association was held in Geneva between 8 and 13 September 1873. Of the 31 delegates present at the Congress, 28 were representatives of the International's Swiss branches or its émigré sections in Switzerland. When considering the General Rules, the majority headed by Johann Philipp Becker endorsed the decisions of the Hague Congress of 1872 on extending the functions of the General Council (against opposition from Henri Perret and a number of other Swiss delegates). The Congress stressed the need for the working class to engage in political struggle. New York was left as the General Council's headquarters until the next Congress scheduled for 1875. The Geneva Congress of 1873 was the last congress of the International Working Men's Association.—475, 489, 492, 507, 525, 526, 528, 534, 537

This is Engels' reply to Liebknecht's letter of 8 February 1873 written from the Hubertusburg fortress where he had been imprisoned. The letter outlined a plan to publish a popular 'social and political library', which was to open with Thomas More's *Utopia*. It was also to comprise a number of Marx's and Engels' works. Liebknecht was making enquiries as to their reprinting. No such library, however, was established in the 1870s.—477

On 8 February 1873 Liebknecht wrote to Engels that *Der Volksstaat* was as yet unable to devote much space to the polemics inside the International. On 27 February 1873, replying to Engels' demand for an explanation of this, Liebknecht wrote that he had had in mind the paper's limited space and its difficult position following the arrest of its editors.—477

The draft of this letter, written in Lafargue's hand, was drawn up as a reply to Lachâtre's letter to Engels of 14 February 1873, probably soon after its receipt. In his letter, Lachâtre suggested that Engels write a short biography of Marx, which he intended to include in the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*, undertaken by his publishing house. This plan did not materialise.—478

Between May 1850 and July 1862 Liebknecht lived in exile in London, while Engels resided (from November 1850) in Manchester.—480

Between 10 and 25 March 1873 a major trial of members of the International's French sections was held in Toulouse. Its organisers made wide use of the evidence received from Emile Dentraygues, a member of the Toulouse section, who gave information about the composition and activities of nearly all the International's sections in Southern France. Twenty-two out of the 38 defendants were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment; Charles Larroque, a representative of the General Council who had managed to escape to Spain under an alias of Mortimer Latraque, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in absentia. Apart from Toulouse, trials of the arrested members of the International were held in other towns of Southern France, including Cannes, Béziers, Narbonne, Perpignan, Montpellier, and Avignon.—482, 507

Following the Hague Congress, Theodor Cuno emigrated to the USA; involved in the campaign against anarchism, he signed the Address to the New Madrid Federation, issued by the International's Section No. 29 on 10 January 1873, using an alias, F. Capestro.—482

In line with the Hague Congress decision on the establishment of International
680 Trade unions (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 245-46), the General Council on 26 January drafted rules for an international association, which Sorge sent to Engels on 12 February 1873. The draft rules were published in The International Herald, No. 49, 8 March 1873.—483

681 Under the resolution issued by the New York General Council on 26 January 1873, all organisations and individuals who refused to comply with the decisions of the Hague Congress thereby placed themselves outside the International Working Men's Association. Later, on 30 May, the General Council passed a new resolution which listed the federations, sections and individuals who had placed themselves outside the International.—483, 488, 493

682 A reference to the General Council Address to the Spanish workers issued on 23 February 1873, the day a republic was proclaimed in Spain. The General Council warned the Spanish workers against being carried away by bourgeois republican ideas and urged them to work for proletarian unity in order to build 'a republic of labour and social democracy'.—483

683 On 22 December 1872 the General Council decided that the stamps pasted on the members' personal copies of the International's Rules as a sign that they had paid their dues (see Note 420) would be printed in London. The plates were to be made by Benjamin Le Moussu, a professional engraver. Engels was requested to supervise their production.—484, 492

684 The draft of this letter, written in Lafargue's hand, is a reply to Lachâtre's letter of 16 March 1873 and has been dated on the basis of the postmark (21 March) stamped on the day of the latter's arrival in London.—486

685 The article 'Karl Marx', together with a portrait of the 'head of the International', was carried by the Paris weekly L'Illustration on 11 November 1871. It consisted of a biographical section, written by one of Marx's associates, and an introduction and conclusion by Eugène Vermersch, a petty-bourgeois journalist, who was largely hostile to Marxism. It is most probable that the biographical section was written by Engels.—486

686 The dispute between Boris Chicherin and Ivan Belyaev on the origins of the Russian commune was opened by Chicherin's article 'A Review of Historical Development of the Village Commune in Russia' published by Russky Vestnik, Vol. 1, 1856, and a critical review of this article written by Belyaev and featured in Book One of Russkaya Beseda, 1856. Belyaev argued against Chicherin's idea that communal landownership, which still existed in Russia in the 19th century, had its roots in the taxation system of the Russian serf-owning state and was not a remnant of the ancient form of communal peasant property.—487

687 In his work Die Abschaffung des privaten Grundeigenthums which was directed against the decision on collective landownership passed by the International's Basle Congress (1869), the German armchair-socialist Adolph Wagner used several of Chicherin's works to support his case.—487

688 The General Council Address to the Spanish workers (see Note 681) was published in La Emancipación, No. 89, 18 March 1873. In an accompanying note, the editorial board approved of the Address.—488

689 In a letter of 9 April 1873 Sorge informed Engels that when confirming Auguste Serraillier's appointment as representative of the General Council for
France, Simon Dereure, referring to Benjamin Le Moussu, had levelled a number of charges against Serrailler, e.g., that at the time of the Commune he had appropriated the money received from priests for the lease of churches. Dereure also accused Serrailler of participation in 'the demonstration of the 22' mentioned by Engels below.

The demonstration of the 22 probably refers to the protest of the Proudhonist minority in the Paris Commune against the decree on the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety which had been passed by a majority vote at the Commune's meeting of 1 May 1871.—490

689 In a letter of 9 April 1873 Sorge asked Engels for detailed information on the strife among the Viennese socialists.

On 15 March 1873 Der Volksstaat, No. 22, printed a letter under the heading 'An die sozialdemokratische Partei Oesterreichs' by the socialist Andreas Scheu, who accused the editor of the Viennese Volksville Heinrich Oberwinder of opportunism and nationalism. In the reply, carried by the Volksville, No. 23, 19 March 1873, Oberwinder reproached Scheu with having links with the anarchists.—491

A reference to the article 'Internationale Arbeiterassoziation' published in the Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 49, 27 April 1873, in which the editors tried to place the responsibility for the arrests and trial of the International's members in France on Marx and the General Council (see Note 677).—491

690 In late 1872 Adolf Hepner was sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment for 'activities in support of the International' and participation in the Hague Congress, and expelled from Leipzig in the spring of 1873. He lived in a Leipzig suburb for a while, but was forced to move to Breslau (Wroclaw) on account of police persecution.—493, 510

691 Engels probably means the congress of the Jura Federation held on 27-28 April 1873 in Neuchâtel (a report on the congress appeared in the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 9, 1 May 1873). The Federation reiterated its refusal to recognise the Hague Congress resolutions and proposed sending delegates to an international anarchist congress scheduled to open on 1 September 1873 (see Note 671).—494, 508

692 The first four points of Engels' recommendations were incorporated by the New York General Council into its resolution of 30 May 1873 (see Note 680). Engels' proposal on the so-called Italian Federation was also taken into account by the Council, which on 30 May drew up a statement complementing the above-mentioned resolution.—494

693 Marx stayed in Manchester from 22 May to about 3 June 1873. The purpose of the trip was to consult Doctor Gumpert on a medical question.—495, 516

694 A reference to Heller's letter to Marx of 14 May 1873.—496

695 On 24 May 1873 the monarchist majority in the French National Assembly forced Thiers to resign, and Marshal MacMahon was elected President of the Third Republic. The reactionaries hoped that MacMahon's assumption of power would be a step towards the restoration of the monarchy.—499, 504

696 In this letter, Engels sets forth his ideas for The Dialectics of Nature (see present edition, Vol. 25), which he began in 1873. The letter was sent to Manchester, where Marx was staying at the time. Engels requested Marx to have Carl Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore read it; the manuscript still contains
674 Notes

Schorlemmer's marginal notes which are reproduced as footnotes in the volume.

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with Commentary and Notes, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London [1934]; and in full in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—500

698 The French medieval logician Jean Buridan (or Buridanus) is said to have illustrated the 'unfreedom' of the will by the dilemma of a hungry donkey standing exactly in the middle between two bundles of hay and, unable to decide which to eat, starving to death.

Marx refers to the fact that both factions of the monarchist majority in the French National Assembly, the Legitimists (supporters of the Bourbon dynasty) and the Orleanists (supporters of the Orleans dynasty), failed to agree about a pretender to the French throne and nominated the Bonapartist MacMahon to the post of President of the Third Republic.—505

699 French monarchist clerical circles, campaigning for the restoration of the monarchy, sought to turn the external political situation to their advantage. They demanded that France align herself with the Pope in the struggle against the anti-Catholic measures taken by Bismarck's government in Germany (the so-called Kulturkampf), and also that France support the Carlist movement in Spain (see Note 718).—505

700 A reference to the General Council's statement on the credentials for France of 23 May 1873, which countered attempts by the Bakuninists and the Lassalleans to place the blame for L. Van Heddegem's and Emile Dentraygues' betrayal on the General Council. The English translation of the statement was the work of Engels, who also edited the French translation by Lafargue.—507, 519

701 The Second Congress of the International's British Federation was held in Manchester on 1-2 June 1873. The congress was attended by 26 delegates from 23 sections. The congress heard the report of the British Federal Council and passed resolutions on the organisation of the British Federation, on propaganda, and on the need to set up an international Trades' Union. They voted that the Red Flag be declared the banner of the British Federation, and the land and all means of production be nationalised. Of particular importance was the resolution 'On Political Action, which stressed the need to establish an independent proletarian political party in Britain.—508, 519

702 On 13 April and 8 June 1873 La Liberté carried two letters by Auguste Serrailier to the editorial board of 1 April and 27 May, which blamed the Blanquist Frederic Cournet and Gabriel Ranvier for the activities of Emile Dentraygues, who had betrayed a number of the International's members at the Toulouse trial (see Note 677). Serrailier wrote that Cournet and Ranvier had granted Dentraygues powers for France without the General Council's approval.—509

703 The first general congress of Swiss trade, cooperative and other organisations was convened on the initiative of the International's sections and took place in Olten on 1-3 June 1873. It attracted 82 delegates representing about 10,000 workers. The congress founded the Swiss Workers' Union which existed until 1880. The congress paved the way for the establishment, in 1888, of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—509, 526
704 This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982.—510

705 On 11 April 1873 Adolf Hepner sent Engels the above-mentioned letter from the Committee of the Social-Democratic Party signed by Theodor Yorck. As is clear from Hepner's letter to Engels of 23 April 1873, the latter wrote on the subject to Wilhelm Liebknecht before that date. This letter of Engels' has not been found.—510

706 The *General Association of German Workers* was founded on 23 May 1863 at a meeting of workers' societies in Leipzig. The establishment of this political organisation promoted the advance of the German workers' movement. However, Ferdinand Lassalle and his followers directed the activities of the Association along reformist lines.

With the formation of the International, the sectarian and nationalistic line adopted by the Lassallean leadership became an obstacle to the involvement of the German workers in the international proletarian movement. Thanks to the persistent campaign by Marx, Engels and their followers against Lassalleanism, the foremost German workers had parted company with it by the early 1870s. At the Gotha Congress held in May 1875 the General Association of German Workers merged with the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers).—511, 520

707 On 7-9 August 1869 a general congress of Social-Democrats from Germany, Austria and Switzerland took place in Eisenach. 263 delegates representing over 150,000 workers attended. The congress founded the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which declared itself a branch of the International Working Men's Association. The congress approved a programme incorporating the main principles of the International's General Rules.—512

708 In 1872-73 Liebknecht and Hepner repeatedly requested Marx to write a pamphlet or a series of articles for *Der Volksstaat* with a critique of Lassalle's ideas.—514

709 Engels is replying to Whittier's request of 24 June 1873 for a recommendation for John De Morgan, who wanted to reside in Whittier's house.—515

710 Kugelmann wrote in a letter to Engels of 29 June 1873 that on 28 June 1873 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* had carried a notice dated 'London, 26 June' about Karl Marx's dangerous illness.—515

711 On the basis of Engels' letter Kugelmann sent a note to *Der Volksstaat* which appeared in No. 58, 13 July 1873, and read: 'Various newspapers have recently reported that Karl Marx was seriously ill. We are pleased to inform our readers that this is not the case. Marx has merely been ordered by his doctors to work no more than 4-6 hours a day.'—516

712 The telegram was sent as a reply to Sorge's letter of 11 July 1873 requesting more speed in deciding who was to represent the General Council at the Geneva Congress, Engels or Serraillier (see Note 672). The General Council confirmed Auguste Serraillier as its delegate, and on 8 August sent him 'Instructions for the delegate of the G.C. to the 6th General Congress'. However, Serraillier did not attend (see Note 724).—518

713 Sorge wrote to Engels on 20 June 1873 that three new sections had been set up in Buenos Aires, the French, the Italian and the Spanish, numbering 130, 90
and 45 members respectively. He asked Engels to send them the resolutions of the Hague Congress.

The first section of the International in Buenos Aires was set up on 28 January 1872 and comprised the Paris Commune refugees. The International's organisation in Buenos Aires grew with the arrival of delegate to the Hague Congress, Raimond Wilmart, who corresponded with Marx and Engels. In 1873, a number of new sections were set up in Buenos Aires, consisting mostly of emigrants.— 519

714 On 11 August 1873, replying to Engels' letter, the General Council instructed him to pass on the money collected in the USA for the widows and orphans of Communards to Auguste Serrailier.— 520

715 Engels is replying to Sorge's questions prompted by the editorial 'Zur Spaltung der Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich' in Der Volksstaat, No. 48, 14 June 1873, which sharply criticised Heinrich Oberwinder's opportunistic stand. The editorial board termed the actions of Oberwinder's group 'an open betrayal of the workers' cause'.— 520

716 A reference to a report from Vienna published in Der Volksstaat, No. 59, 16 July 1873, which quoted in full the resolution proposed by Andreas Scheu on 29 June 1873 at a workers' meeting in Wiener-Neustadt where the reorganisation of the Austrian Social-Democratic Workers' Party was discussed. Alongside consistently democratic demands and calls for the introduction of standard working hours and legal restrictions on women's and child labour, the resolution contained the statement that 'all other parties constituted a single reactionary mass vis-à-vis the proletariat'.— 520

717 In Alcoy, a small but industrially important Spanish town, the workers' decision to declare a general strike on 7 July 1873 led to the armed uprising of 8 July, as a result of which power passed into the hands of the Bakuninists. The Public Welfare Committee they had set up (Engels refers to it as the Comité de salut public after the central body of revolutionary government in France during the Jacobin dictatorship of 1793-94) displayed total passivity and on 12 July surrendered the town to government troops without putting up any resistance. These events were thoroughly analysed by Engels in The Bakuninists at Work (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 590-95).— 521

718 The Carlists, a clerical absolutist group which in the first half of the 19th century supported Don Carlos, brother of King Ferdinand VII and pretender to the Spanish throne. In 1833-40, the Carlists unleashed a civil war known as the First Carlist War. After Don Carlos' death in 1855 they transferred their support to his grandson, Don Carlos Jr. In 1872 they stepped up their activities which culminated in another civil war in 1873 (the Second Carlist War). The war lasted until 1876.— 521

719 In 1873 Lafargue together with Benjamin Le Moussu and George Moore tried to open up in London an association dealing in the production of engravings. After Lafargue had resigned from the business in late summer 1873, he was replaced by Marx. The association fell apart in the spring of 1874.— 522, 527, 529, 544, 546

720 The reference is to the following works, which Danielson sent to Marx: I. Beliaev, 'Laws and Legal Acts Establishing the State of Serfdom in Ancient Russia', in: Arkhiv istoricheskikh i prakticheskikh svedeniy, otnosyaschikhsya do Rossii (Archives of Historical and Practical Data Pertaining to Russia), Book Two,
Ironically referring to the Bakuninists as teetotallers, Marx was hinting at the fact that they preached total abstinence from politics on the part of the workers.—523

A reference to Danielson's letter to Marx of 10 (22) May 1873, which gave a detailed exposition of the dispute between Ivan Belyaev and Boris Chicherin (see Note 685) and supplied a list of sources on the subject. It also contained a review of Russian literature on communal landownership in Russia, a question that interested Marx.—523

In early August 1873 Engels went to Ramsgate to recuperate. He returned to London between 12 and 15 September.—523, 537

A reference to Auguste Serraillier's planned trip to the Geneva Congress of the International (see Note 672) as the General Council representative. As a member of the British Federal Council, he was also to hold credentials from the British sections. However, by the end of August, drawing on the reports from the International's local branches, Marx and Engels had already realised that under the conditions obtaining at the time the Congress had no chance of becoming a truly international forum. They were gravely concerned about the conciliatory tendencies being displayed by some of the International's activists in Romance Switzerland, and their readiness to go back on a number of the Hague Congress resolutions in order to work out a compromise with the anarchists. Marx and Engels thus considered it inadvisable to send a representative to the Congress and persuaded Serraillier not to go to Switzerland.—523, 525, 527, 535, 537

A reference to the General Council documents sent by its Secretary Sorge to Engels in connection with the preparations for the International's congress. Among them were an Address and the annual official report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Geneva Congress, and the 'Annual Confidential Report of the General Council to the 6th General Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Geneva Opening on 8 September 1873'.—524, 525

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in The Letters of Karl Marx. Selected and translated with Explanatory Notes and an Introduction by Saul K. Padover. Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, [1979].—526

A reference to the letter written in late August 1873 by Henri Perret, Secretary of the Romanche Federal Council in Switzerland, to Alfred Days, Secretary of the British Federal Council. It mirrored the conciliatory attitude taken by some
of the International's Swiss members vis-à-vis the Bakuninist sectarians and
their willingness to make concessions, notably to revise the resolutions passed
by the Hague Congress on the powers of the General Council.— 526, 534

728 Marx alluded to Batrachomyomachia (The Battle of the Frogs and Mice), an
ancient Greek anonymous mock-heroic poem parodying Homer's Iliad.— 527

729 José Nobre-França, one of the organisers and leaders of the Portuguese
sections of the International, sent a letter to Marx via Engels thanking him for
the instalments of the French edition of Volume I of Capital. He noted the
great importance of Marx's work in popularising the revolutionary theory
among Portuguese workers and freeing them from the influence of
Proudhonism.— 527

730 In a letter which Adolf Hepner received on 4 September 1873, Engels
described the circumstances in which the Geneva Congress of the International
was being convened and advised him not to go to Switzerland. The letter has
not been found, but its contents can be inferred from Hepner's reply of
5 September 1873 in which he agrees with Engels' reasoning.— 528, 530

731 A reference to the Address 'Compagnons, notre Association traverse...' signed
by Henri Perret, C. Bernard, Theodore Duval and others, which was issued in
August 1873 in Geneva in connection with the forthcoming congress of the
International (see Note 672). It was directed against some of the Hague
Congress resolutions on organisational issues.— 530, 535

732 A reference to John De Morgan's letter to Engels of 15 September 1873
introducing its bearer, reporter Ellen Carroll. De Morgan requested Engels to
chair a meeting scheduled for 21 September, at which Miss Carroll was going
to talk about the Paris Commune.— 531

733 The Geneva Congress, the first congress of the International Working Men's
Association, was held on 3-8 September 1866. There were 60 delegates from
Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. The Geneva Congress passed a
number of important resolutions based on Marx's 'Instructions for the
Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions',
approved the Rules and Regulations, and elected a General Council of the
Association. The Congress signified the completion of the formative
period of the International as a mass international proletarian organisation.—
535

734 Engels stayed in Germany (Engelskirchen) approximately from 28 October to
20 November 1873.— 536

735 A reference to the German edition of the pamphlet which appeared in
Brunswick in the summer of 1874 under the heading Ein Complot gegen die
Internationale Arbeiter-Association (in Samuel Kokosky's translation). Engels was
directly involved in editing the German translation.— 537, 541

736 Marx, with his daughter Eleanor, stayed in Harrogate to recuperate from
24 November to 15 December 1873. On 27 November Marx went to Manches-
ter for the day to consult Doctor Gumpert.— 538, 539, 550

737 Bakunin announced his decision to withdraw from politics in an open letter
carried by the Journal de Genève on 25 September 1873 and in a letter 'Aux
Compagnons de la Fédération jurassienne' published in the Supplément au
Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne on 12 October 1873.— 538
Notes

738 A reference to the so-called Revolutionary Catechism, a copy of which was found in 1869 during the search at the home of Pyotr Uspensky, a member of Sergei Nechayev's organisation. The document was reproduced in the official reports on the Nechayev trial of 1871 (see K. Marx and F. Engels, The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association, present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 527, 544-49).—538

739 Engels was informed by Enrico Bignami on 22 July 1873 about the establishment of a section of the International in Melegnano, which took the name of Gustave Flourens. The section voiced its support for the General Council.—538

740 On 10 June 1873 after two abortive attempts Hermann Lopatin managed to escape from prison in Irkutsk. That August Lopatin arrived in Paris.—539, 542, 576

741 On Lopatin's part in translating Volume I of Capital into Russian see Note 146. Chapters 2-5 of the first German edition of 1867 correspond to chapters IV-XXII of the first English edition, which was published in 1887 and edited by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 35).—540

742 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Literature and Art. Selections from Their Writings. International Publishers, New York, 1947.—541

743 The Jacobites—supporters of the Stuart King James II of England, who was dethroned by the coup d'état of 1688-89, and of his descendants. In 1715 and 1745, they made unsuccessful attempts to stage an uprising with a view to restoring the Stuart dynasty.—542

744 Heinrich Heine's satirical poem 'Disputation' (Romanzero) describes a medieval dispute between a Catholic Capuchin and a learned rabbi, who refers to the Hebrew scripture Tosafoth Yom Tobh. 'To hell with your book,' retorts the friar. Then follows the reply of the enraged rabbi quoted by Engels.—545

745 Engels is referring to Marx's criticism of John Stuart Mill's vulgar economic views on surplus value expounded in Mill's Principles of Political Economy with Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy, London, 1868. It is to be found in the French edition of Volume 1 of Capital (1875), in the third German edition of 1883 and in the English edition of 1887 edited by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 35).—545

746 Wilhelm Busch began observing bullet wounds in late 1870 and published a number of works on the subject.—545

747 In November and December 1873 L'Internationale printed announcements of the publication, scheduled for 1874, of César De Paepe's work Considérations et recherches sur le problème social au XIX siècle, and gave the table of contents of this work. Below Marx quotes the table of contents of Volume 2 featured in L'Internationale, Nos. 254, 255 and 257, 23 and 30 November and 14 December 1873. De Paepe's work was not published.—546

748 In 1868-1878 the Cuban people waged a national liberation war against Spanish colonial rule. On 31 October 1873 the Spanish corvette Tornado attacked and captured the American steamer Virginus on the open sea. The
steamer was carrying military supplies and reinforcements for the insurgents in Cuba. On arrival in Santiago de Cuba, Captain Fry, several of the crew and passengers were put to death. The US government demanded that the culprits be punished, the vessel returned, and the surviving crew members and passengers released. The Spanish head of government Castelar agreed to meet some of the demands, but the authorities in Havana refused to act on his orders. The conflict was finally settled on 12 December 1873.— 547

749 A reference to the Pope's Encyclical of 21 November 1873 issued in connection with the measures introduced by Bismarck's government against the Catholic Church in Germany (the so-called Kulturkampf).— 547

750 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Literature and Art Selections from Their Writings. International Publishers, New York, 1947, and in full in: Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.— 548

751 The French Marshal François Achille Bazaine, who during the Franco-Prussian War surrendered the Metz fortress to the Germans on 27 October 1870, was put on trial on the charge of high treason. The trial took place in Versailles between 6 October and 10 December 1873. Duc d'Aumale chaired the tribunal of military officers. Bazaine was given a death sentence, which was commuted to one of twenty years' imprisonment. After eight months in prison Bazaine fled to Spain in August 1874.— 549

752 Marx is replying to Allsop's letter of 21 December 1873.— 550

753 A reference to the participation of Spanish workers in cantonal uprisings in Spain launched by the extremist wing of the bourgeois republican federalists and their Bakuninist allies in the summer of 1873. These events were the climax of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74. The defeat of the insurgents, whose leaders proved totally incapable of directing popular revolutionary action, paved the way for the restoration of the monarchy. For details, see Engels' The Bakuninists at Work (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 581-98).— 551

754 At the elections to the Imperial Diet held on 10 January 1874 the Social-Democrats won 9 seats; among those elected were August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.— 551

755 A reference to the Peasant Reform of 1861 in Russia, which was introduced from above by the ruling classes under pressure from the acute crisis of serfdom and the growing threat of a popular revolution. The reform was a step towards turning Russia from a tsarist empire into a bourgeois monarchy, yet it failed to eliminate many of the survivals of the feudal system in the country's agriculture. The peasants were set free from personal bondage but lost a substantial part of their land. For the plots that were left to them, they had to continue doing conscript labour for the landowners until the redemption agreement had been concluded. The terms of the redemption turned the peasants into debtors of the state, which paid the landowners the entire redemption fee, and then collected a far greater redemption sum from the peasants over a period of several decades.— 551

756 A number of European newspapers announced that Marx had been arrested in Holland. A statement to this effect appeared in The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1970, 7 June 1871, in the article 'The Interregnum'. Marx replied with a letter to the
The information concerning Charles Victor Jaclard and Edme Marie Gustave Tridon proved erroneous. Jaclard escaped from prison on 7 October 1871, and Tridon emigrated to Brussels, where he died on 31 August 1871.— 561

Marx's portrait, made from a 1867 photograph taken by Fr. Wunder of Hanover and engraved on wood by J. Robert, appeared on the front page of the Paris L'Illustration, No. 1498, 11 November 1871. The same issue printed an anonymous biography of Marx (see Note 684).— 562, 568, 576

The letter gives some idea of Marx's work to organise assistance to the refugee Communards.— 565

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in Labour Monthly, September 1957, and in full in Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Publishers, Vol. II, [Hanover] 1962.— 573, 578

Marx reported on the intention of the Gladstone government to subject refugee Communards to persecution at the General Council meeting of 19 December 1871; his speech was published as part of the report on the Council meeting in The Eastern Post, No. 169, 23 December 1871.— 573

Probably a slip of the pen in Eleanor Marx's letter. The reference is apparently to La Philosophie positive, No. 3 for November-December 1868, which featured a short review of Volume I of Capital written by Yevgeny De-Roberti. Referring to De-Roberti's book, Eleanor Marx probably meant his Politiko-economicheskiye etudy (Essays on Politics and Economics), which appeared in St Petersburg in 1869.— 576

Volume I of Capital first appeared in English under Engels' editorship in 1887.— 576

This letter was written by Liebknecht on 20 February 1872 at Engels' suggestion and on the basis of the information supplied by him (see this volume, pp. 319-20). Liebknecht sent the text to Engels, who translated it into Italian and forwarded it to Carlo Cafiero in Italy to be published in the press (a handwritten draft of the translation has survived which is identical to the version published in the Gazzettino Rosa). The Gazzettino Rosa dated the letter 29 February 1872.— 577

The declaration was written by Marx in connection with the slanderous speech made in the House of Commons by Alexander Baillie-Cochrane on 12 April 1872. It was published in The Eastern Post, No. 186, 20 April 1872.— 578

This letter was published in English for the first time in Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Publishers, Vol. II, [Hanover] 1962.— 582, 583, 585

A reference to the meetings of the General Council Executive Committee (see Note 435). The Committee meetings usually took place at Marx's or Engels' homes.— 582
NAME INDEX

A

Alexander Alexandrovich (1845-1894)—heir to the throne; subsequently Emperor of Russia Alexander III (1881-94).—110, 114

Alexander I (1777-1825)—Emperor of Russia (1801-25).—111

Alexander II (1818-1881)—Emperor of Russia (1855-81).—38, 85, 111, 114, 128

Allen, George—English physician, Marx’s family doctor.—5

Applegarth, Robert (1834-1925)—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 of the International (1869); subsequently left the working-class movement.—203

Argaing, Ferdinand—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the International, representative of the

About, Edmond François Valentin (1828-1885)—French writer and journalist; Bonapartist.—130

Acollas, Émile (1826-1891)—French lawyer and politician; radical-socialist.—365

Albarracin, Severino (d. 1878)—Spanish anarchist, teacher; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1872-73); a leader of an uprising in Alcay (1873); after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland.—520

Alerini, Charles (b. 1842)—French anarchist, Corsican by birth; teacher; member of the Marseilles Section of the International; a participant in the Marseilles Commune (April 1871); after its suppression emigrated to Italy, then to Spain, where he propagated anarchism; editor of the Solidarité révolutionnaire (Barcelona); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—436, 449

Allsop—wife of Thomas Allsop.—552

Allsop, Thomas (1795-1880)—English stockbroker, author; democrat; sided with the Chartists; collaborated with Marx in helping refugees of the Paris Commune; was on friendly terms with Marx’s family.—203, 213, 550-52

Alonzo—participant in the British working-class movement.—474

Alonzo—participant in the British working-class movement.—474

Applegarth, Robert (1834-1925)—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 of the International (1869); subsequently left the working-class movement.—203

Argaing, Ferdinand—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the International, representative of the
General Council in Toulouse from December 1872.—467

**Arnaud, Armand Antoine Jules** (1831-1885)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England after its suppression; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); withdrew from the International because of the Congress decision to transfer the General Council to New York.—269, 280, 297, 302

**Arndt, Ernst Moritz** (1769-1860)—German writer, historian and philologist; took part in the liberation struggle against Napoleon's rule.—13

**Assi, Adolphe Alphonse** (1841-1886)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, mechanic; Left Proudhonist; member of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune, exiled to New Caledonia.—167

**Aston**—lawyer in Manchester.—544

**Augspurg, Dietrich Wilhelm Andreas** (1818-1898)—German economist, National-Liberal; member of the Reichstag in 1871-74.—545

**Augusta, Marie Luise Katharina** (1811-1890)—wife of William I, King of Prussia and German Emperor.—76

**Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d'Orléans duc d'** (1822-1897)—son of King Louis Philippe of France; emigrated to England after the February 1848 revolution; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871.—549

**Avrial, Augustin Germain** (1840-1904)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, mechanic; Left Proudhonist; member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England.—265, 267, 269, 280, 297, 302

**B**

**Bachruch, Henrik**—Hungarian worker; Secretary of the German Section of the International in Paris (1870); member of the Paris Federal Council of the International; participant in the Paris Commune.—194

**Badinguet**—see Napoleon III

**Bain, Alexander** (1818-1903)—Scottish philosopher, psychologist, professor of logic and English at Aberdeen University (1860-81).—276


**Balaszewicz, Juliusz Alexander** (b.1831)—Polish poet; agent of the Russian secret police in London in 1861-76 under the name of Count Albert Henryk Potocki.—272, 273

**Balashewicz, Juliusz Alexander** (b.1831)—Polish poet; agent of the Russian secret police in London in 1861-76 under the name of Count Albert Henryk Potocki.—272, 273

**Baranov (Baranoff), W. O.**—Russian scholar; Doctor of Philosophy; in 1871 lived in Geneva.—386

**Barbès, Armand** (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; was active in the 1848 revolution, deputy to the Constituent Assembly; sentenced to life imprisonment for participation in the popular insurrec-
Barre, Aristide Magloire (b. 1840)—French metal-carver; member of the International; participant in the Paris Commune; emigrated to London after its suppression; a founder of the French Section of 1871; participant in the Hague Congress (1872).—565

Barry, Malman (1842-1909)—British journalist, socialist; member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); member of the General Council (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists and British reformists; in the 1890s was in contact with the 'socialist wing' of the Conservatives.—290, 428, 515

Bartorelli, Ugo—Italian worker, Bakuninist; Secretary of the Workers’ Union in Florence; member of the International.—411

Bastelica, Andre Augustin (1845-1884)—prominent figure in the French and Spanish working-class movement, printer; member of the International, Bakuninist; member of the General Council of the International (1871); delegate to the London Conference (1871).—199, 203, 205, 220, 265-70, 276

Bazaine, Francois Achille (1811-1888)—marshal of France; in the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 3rd Army Corps, then the Army of the Rhine; was besieged at Metz which he surrendered on 27 October 1870; was condemned to degradation and death (1873); the sentence was commuted for 20 years' imprisonment; escaped to Madrid in 1874.—41, 53, 62, 549

Beaumont—French refugee in London.—200, 285

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, turner; President of the Union of German Workers’ Associations from 1867; member of the International; deputy to the North German and Imperial Reichstag from 1867; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; opposed the Lassalleans; during the Franco-Prussian war took a proletarian internationalist stand; supported the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—14, 16, 51, 95, 127, 129, 145, 160, 178, 196, 198, 216, 237, 247, 281, 288-89, 320, 332, 357, 362, 367, 371, 384, 416, 479, 493, 510, 512, 514, 563

Bebel, Julie (1843-1910)—August Bebel's wife.—95, 97

Becker, Bernhard (1826-1891)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported the Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—199, 215, 233, 402

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—German revolutionary; took part in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s and in the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849) left Germany; prominent figure in the International and delegate to all its congresses and the London Conference (1865); editor of Der Vorbote (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—25-27, 78, 83, 159, 178, 306, 321-22, 358, 364, 370-71, 373, 395-96, 404, 418-20, 433, 473, 488, 495, 507, 534

Beer, G.—correspondent of Der Volksstaat.—429

Beesly—Edward Spencer Beesly's wife.—86, 226

Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915)—British historian and politician, radical, positivist philosopher; professor
of history at University college, London (1860-93); 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; Marx's friend.—73, 74, 84, 85, 88, 92, 116, 150-51, 226

Beghelli, Giuseppe (1847-1877)—Italian journalist, democrat, follower of Garibaldi; in 1871 member of the Workers' Federation in Turin; in 1871-72 editor of the republican papers La Democrazia and Il Ficcanaso.—310, 313

Belyaev, Ivan Dmitrievich (1810-1873)—Russian historian, professor at Moscow University (1852-73); Slavophile.—488

Benedetti, Giuseppe—Italian anarchist; a founder of the Bakuninist organisation in Pisa, which pretended to be the International's section.—323

Benedix, Roderich Julius (1811-1873)—German author and playwright; manager of the theatre in Elberfeld (1845), author of plays popular among the lower middle classes.—548-49

Bergeret, Jules Henri Marius (1830-1905)—French revolutionary; was close to Blanquists; travelling salesman, then proof-reader; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England and then to the USA; sentenced to death in his absence; in 1871 founded a weekly Le 18 mars.—569

Bert, Cesare—Italian mechanic; an organiser of the Turin Section of the International; in 1871-72 supported the General Council; then sided with the anarchists; delegate to the anarchist congress in Geneva (1879).—345, 391, 432, 446

Bertrand, Francis-J.—prominent figure in the American working-class movement, cigar-maker; Corresponding Secretary for the Section No. 6 of the International in New York; member of the Federal Council of the International for North America (1872) and the editorial board of Arbeiter-Zeitung; member of the General Council elected by the Hague Congress (1872).—437

Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich (pseudonym N. Flrovsky) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist; enlightener and democrat; Narodnik utopian socialist; author of The Condition of the Working Class in Russia.—105

Bessis, Charles Victor (1795-1878)—French entrepreneur, man of letters and politician; member of the International; Proudhonist; member of the Paris Commune and its Finance Committee, delegate to the Bank of France; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland and then to England.—270

Besson, Alexandre—French refugee in London, metal worker; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium; a leader of the French Section in London; joined the group of petty-bourgeois republicans, follower of Félix Pyat; member of the French Section of 1871.—269

Beta—see Bettziech, Johann Heinrich

Bettziech, Johann Heinrich (pen-name Beta) (1813-1876)—German journalist, democrat; refugee in London; follower of Gottfried Kinkel.—415

Beust, Anna von (née Lipka) (1827-1900)—cousin of Frederick Engels.—321

Biedermann, Friedrich Karl (1812-1901)—German historian and writer, liberal, from the 1860s National-Liberal; editor of the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (1868-79); member of the Reichstag (1871-74).—97, 571
Bignami, Enrico (1844-1921)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic and working-class movement, journalist, republican; took part in Garibaldi’s campaigns; organiser of the section of the International in Lodi; editor of La Plebe (1868-83); from 1871 constantly corresponded with Engels; worked for the establishment of the independent workers’ party in Italy; opposed anarchism.—354, 433, 444, 458, 466, 483, 488, 518

Bigot, Léon (1826-1872)—French lawyer and journalist; Left republican; after the suppression of the Paris Commune counsel for the defence of Communards at the Versailles court martial.—167, 195, 199

Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von (1815-1898)—Prussian and German statesman, diplomat; Envoy to St Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71, 1873-90); Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia.—6, 10-11, 13-14, 19, 23, 33, 39, 41, 42, 47-48, 53, 68, 71, 74, 77, 79-80, 87, 89, 109-14, 116, 130, 149-51, 171, 196, 200, 216, 269, 308, 311, 328, 356, 360, 365, 367, 389, 402, 513, 551, 577

Bjeljajew—see Belyaev, Ivan Dmitrievich

Blanc, Gaspard Antoine (b. 1845)—French Bakuninist, roadman; member of the Lyons Section of the International; took part in the Lyons uprising (September 1870); after the suppression of the Paris Commune sided with the Bonapartists.—257, 270, 311, 318

Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; in 1848 member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Com-

mission; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—11-12, 23, 31, 40, 55, 186

Blank, Emil—son of Marie and Karl Emil Blank; Frederick Engels’ nephew.—230

Blank, Karl Emil (1817-1893)—German merchant; closely connected with socialist circles in the 1840s-50s; married Frederick Engels’ sister Marie.—230

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; leader of the proletarian movement in France; during the Commune was in prison.—49, 108, 172, 361

Blind, Karl (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement of 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National-Liberal in the 1860s; during the Franco-Prussian war took a chauvinist stand.—12, 16, 23, 28, 30-32, 45, 53, 107, 128, 129

Block, Maurice (1816-1901)—French statistician and economist; representative of vulgar political economy.—438, 470

Blos, Wilhelm (1849-1927)—German journalist and politician; from 1872 member of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party; an editor of Der Volksstaat (1872-74), later representative of the opportunist trend in German Social-Democracy.—510

Bollet, Heinrich—German refugee in London; member of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London; member of the Central Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865); participant in the London
Conference (1865); owner of the tavern where workers often held their meetings.— 154

Bolte, Friedrich — prominent figure in the American working-class movement, cigar-maker; Secretary of the Federal Council of the International for North America (1872); member of the editorial board of the Arbiter-Zeitung; member of the General Council (1872-74) elected by the Hague Congress; in 1874 expelled from the International in view of the factious policy pursued by the Arbiter-Zeitung. — 204, 251, 255, 257, 334, 474, 534

Bonaparte — see Napoleon III

Bonhorst, Leonhard von (b. 1840) — German Social-Democrat, technician; member of the General Association of German Workers (1867-69); Secretary of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (Eisenachers); subsequently withdrew from politics. — 46

Boon, Martin James — 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). — 251

Borchart, Louis — German physician, acquaintance of Engels in Manchester. — 7, 498

Borckheim, Sigismund Ludwig (1825-1885) — 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. — 27, 36, 38, 52, 56, 178, 329, 389

Boruitau, Karl (d. 1873) — German physician and journalist, a Lassallean; later member of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party; member of the International; contributed to Der Volksstaat. — 248, 281, 404, 416

Bourbaki, Charles Denis Sauter (1816-1897) — French general, Greek by birth; in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) commanded the Imperial Guard, 18th Corps, then Army of the East. — 124

Bousquet, Abel — French anarchist, member of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy; expelled from the section of the International in Béziers as a police agent. — 257, 270, 302, 311, 454

Boustrapa — see Napoleon III

Bovio, Gennaro — Italian democrat; Left Mazzinist; member of the workers’ societies of mutual help, delegate to their congress in Naples (1864); in 1871 supported the Paris Commune. — 354

Bracke, Wilhelm (1842-1880) — German Social-Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (Eisenachers); opposed the Lassalleans and Bakuninists; an editor of the Braunschweiger Volksfreund. — 46, 242, 537

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891) — English journalist and politician, radical, atheist; from 1860 editor of The National Reformer; sharply attacked Marx and the International Working Men’s Association. — 269, 299, 567, 574

Braß (Brass), August (1818-1876) — German journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland after its defeat; National-Liberal and supporter of Bismarck from the 1860s; publisher of the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. — 11, 62

Bray, John Francis (1809-1895) — English economist; utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; developed the theory of ‘labour money’. — 57
Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph) (1844-1931)—German vulgar economist; armchair socialist.—378, 415

Brix, Harald Frederik Valdemar (1841-1881)—prominent figure in the Danish working-class and socialist movement, journalist; a founder of the sections of the International in Copenhagen; editor of the Socialisten; an organiser of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876).—281

Brunnow, Filipp Ivanovich, Baron von, from 1871 Count (1797-1875)—Russian diplomat; Envoy (1840-54, 1858-60), then Ambassador (1860-74) to London.—32

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.—16

Bucher, Lothar (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848 and then a refugee in London; subsequently a National-Liberal and supporter of Bismarck.—116, 151

Büchner, Ludwig (1824-1899)—German physiologist and philosopher; representative of vulgar materialism.—320, 366

Buckle, Henry Thomas (1821-1862)—English historian and sociologist, positivist.—192, 210, 218

Burchardt, A. — German Social-Democrat; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1873) of the International from the Stuttgart organisation.—536

Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie) (1827-1878)—Irish working woman, took part in the Irish national liberation movement; Frederick Engels' second wife.—5, 8, 19, 43, 50, 54, 73, 96, 167, 216, 286, 304, 339, 434, 436, 444, 451, 455, 464, 496, 506, 521, 524, 529, 543, 547, 559-560

Burns, Mary Ellen (Pumps) (born c. 1860)—niece of Engels' wife, Lydia Burns.—187, 246, 312, 392, 444, 471

Burns, William—owner of a trading firm in Manchester.—324

Busch, Wilhelm (1826-1881)—German surgeon.—545

Butt, Isaac (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician; Liberal M.P.; professor of political economy at Trinity College, Dublin; defended Fenian prisoners in state trials in the 1860s; an organiser of the Home Rule movement in the 1870s.—329

C

Cafiero, Carlo (1846-1892)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, lawyer; member of the International, in 1871 in Italy pursued the General Council's line; from 1872 a leader of the Italian anarchist organisations; in the late 1870s broke with anarchism.—161, 163-65, 170-73, 180, 183-88, 337, 358, 393, 397

Camélinat, Zéphirin Remy (1840-1932)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bronze-worker; a leader of the Paris sections of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to England after its defeat; subsequently active participant in the socialist movement.—265, 267, 269

Campbell—official in the London police.—275

Capestro—see Cuno, Theodor Friedrich

Caporusso, Stefano—Italian anarchist, tailor; a founder of the Naples Section of the International and its Chairman; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); in 1870 was expelled from the section for embezzlement.—162, 171, 180

Carlos, Don (Carlos María de los Dolores Juan Isidro José Francisco de Borbón, duke of Madrid) (1848-1909)—
grandson of Carlos V; pretender to the Spanish throne under the name of Carlos VII; headed the Carlist revolt (1872-76); after its defeat fled to France.—542

Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—39

Caron, Charles—Chairman of the Club International et Républicain in New Orleans (USA), admitted to the International Working Men’s Association as Section No. 15.—176

Carroll, Ellen—English journalist; contributed to the Paris newspapers Le Rappel and La Marseillaise; correspondent in Paris during the Paris Commune.—531

Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio (1832-1899)—Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of Right republicans; President of the Executive (September 1873-January 1874), promoted the restoration of monarchy (1874).—547

Castellazzo, Luigi (1827-1890)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution and Garibaldi’s campaigns; founder of the radical Società Democratica Internazionale in Florence.—161, 165

Cato, Marcus Porcius (95-46 B.C.)—Roman statesman; leader of the republicans; committed suicide, not wishing to survive the fall of the republic.—549

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 (from May 1848); played a leading part in suppressing the June uprising (1848); head of the executive power (from June to December 1848).—99, 108

Centenari, Leonardo—member of the section of the International in Rome.—432

Ceretti, Celso (1844-1909)—Italian democrat; participant in Garibaldi’s campaigns; founder of the Associazione republicana e anticattolica in Mirandola, member of the Federazione italiana dell’Internazionale; Bakunin’s correspondent.—292

Chalain, Louis Denis (1845-c. 1885)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, metalturner; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England, where he became member of the French Section of 1871 for some time, then moved to Austria and Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists.—203, 208, 265, 267, 280

Charnier—French refugee in the USA, member of the International; wine merchant; follower of Victoria Woodhull.—101

Chassepot, Antoine Alphonse (1833-1905)—French inventor of military equipment.—48

Chateaubriand, François René, vicomte de (1768-1848)—French writer, statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1823-24).—543

Châtelain, Amable Pierre Eugène (1829-1902)—French journalist and poet, participant in the 1848 revolution and the Paris Commune; refugee in London after its suppression; member of the French Section of 1871.—33

Chautard, B.—French spy, infiltrated into workers’ organisations; member of the French Section of 1871 in London; was exposed and expelled from the Section.—231, 267-68

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat; socialist; materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic; a precursor
of Russian Social-Democracy.—27, 105, 152, 457, 469, 540

Chicherin, Boris Nikolayevich (1828-1904)—Russian lawyer, historian and philosopher; professor at Moscow University (1861-68); adherent of the constitutional monarchy.—488

Chouteau, Henri (1834-1896)—French house-painter; member of the Paris sections of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; participant in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to London, where he became member of the French Section of 1871.—268

Clafin, Tennessee Celeste (1845-1923)—American feminist; sought to use the International's organisation in the USA for her own ends; together with her sister Victoria Woodhull published Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.—382

Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of, 4th Baron Hyde (1800-1870)—British statesman, Whig, later Liberal; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-52); Foreign Secretary (1853-58, 1865-66, 1868-70).—75, 94

Claris, Aristide Jean (nickname Régis) (1843-1916)—French journalist, anarchist; participant in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland, where he became member of the anarchist section of propaganda and revolutionary socialist action; editor of La Révolution sociale (1871-72).—269

Clarkson—Engels' acquaintance in London.—189

Clément, Jean Baptiste (1836-1903)—French man of letters and journalist; freemason; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Germany, then to Belgium and England.—587

Cluseret, Gustave Paul (1823-1900)—French politician, general; 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; took part in revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune, military delegate (April 1871); after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Belgium.—57, 70, 88, 464, 530, 535

Cobbett, William (1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer; published Cobbett's Weekly Political Register from 1802.—86

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician; a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P.—40

Cochrane-Baillie, Alexander Dundas Ross Wishart, 1st Baron Lamington (1816-1890)—English politician and man of letters; Conservative M.P.—578

Coenen, Philippe (1842-1892)—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class movement, shoemaker; secretary of the Antwerp newspaper De Werker; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, where he supported the Bakuninists; subsequently a founder of the Belgian Socialist Party.—124, 125, 190, 191

Cohn (or Cohen), James—British cigar-maker; active in the British and Danish working-class movement; President of the London Association of Cigar-Makers; member of the General Council of the International (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1870-71); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871).—125, 191, 330

Collet, Collet Dobson (1812-1898)—English radical journalist and public figure; editor and publisher of the
Urquhartist *Free Press* (1859-65) and *Diplomatic Review* from 1866.—212

**Comte, Isidore Auguste François Marie Xavier** (1798-1857)—French philosopher and sociologist; founder of positivism.—92, 150

**Conway, Moncure Daniel** (1832-1907)—American radical writer; at first Methodist minister, later pastor of the Unitarian church; opposed slavery; lived in Europe in 1865-64; during the Franco-Prussian war correspondent of the *New-York World*.—209

**Cotta, Johann Georg, Baron von Cottendorf** (1796-1863)—German publisher, owner of a large publishing house (1832-63); publisher of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*.—135

**Cournet, Frédéric Étienne** (1839-1885)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, journalist; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England after its suppression; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); withdrew from the International in view of the Congress decision to transfer the General Council to New York.—218, 249, 269, 280, 340, 379, 398, 482, 509

**Cousin-Montauban, Charles Guillaume Marie Apolinaire Antoine, comte de Palikao** (1796-1878)—French general, Bonapartist, Prime Minister and Minister of War (August-September 1870).—61, 558

**Cremer, Sir William Randall** (1838-1908)—participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement; a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council and of the Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin’s Hall, London (28 September 1864); member of the Central Council of the International (1864-66) and its General Secretary; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and Geneva Congress (1866); opposed revolutionary tactics; subsequently Liberal M.P.—77, 363

**Crémieux, Isaac Moïse** (called Adolphe) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a liberal in the 1840s; member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51).—317

**Cuno, Edward Heinrich**—engineer and architect; employee in Düsseldorf; father of Theodor Friedrich Cuno.—369

**Cuno, Theodor Friedrich** (pseudonym Capestro, Frederico) (1846-1934)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, engineer, socialist; opposed anarchism in Italy; organiser of the Milan Section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); after the Congress emigrated to the USA and took part in the International’s activities there; subsequently participant in the American working-class and socialist movement.—245-46, 299, 308-09, 312, 319, 321, 356-59, 361, 364, 367-73, 393, 403, 407, 416, 419, 430-32, 437, 440, 445, 451, 455, 460, 468, 482

**Dakyns, John Roche** (1836-1910)—English geologist; member of the International in Manchester from 1869; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—498

**Dana, Charles Anderson** (1819-1897)—American journalist, Fourierist, Abolitionist; an editor (1848) and editor-in-chief (1849-62) of the *New-York Daily Tribune*; from 1868 proprietor and editor of *The Sun* (New York).—89, 206, 328
Danieli, Francesco—member of the Milan Section of the International.—359

Danielson, Nikolai Frantzevich (pseudonym Nikolai—on) (1844-1918)—Russian economist and writer; an ideologist of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years; translated into Russian volumes I (together with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lyubavin), II and III of Marx's Capital.—152, 174, 192, 238, 385, 421-22, 451, 455-57, 469, 488, 522, 575

Darson, A.—publisher and bookseller in London.—530

Davydov, Anatoly Nikolayevich (b. 1823)—Russian revolutionary; in the early 1870s employee of the Odessa steamship line in London; drew close to Marx and helped the Commune refugees; in August 1873 returned to Russia.—200, 206

Days, Alfred (b. 1851)—Secretary of the British Federal Council of the International (from June 1873), joiner; delegate to the Congress of the British Federation in Manchester; participant in the co-operative movement in England.—526

Deák, Ferencz (1803-1876)—Hungarian statesman; representative of the liberal Hungarian aristocracy; advocated compromise with the Austrian monarchy; Minister of Justice in the Batthyány Government (March-September 1848); member of Chamber of Deputies from 1860.—88

Delahaye, Victor Alfred (1838-1897)—French mechanic, Proudhonist; member of the International from 1865; participant in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871).—205, 266, 388

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; killed on the barricades in Paris in May 1871.—9

Delpech—French lawyer, reactionary; in 1871 Procurator-General of the Haute-Garonne department.—199, 571-72

De Morgan, John—Irish socialist, member of the International; supported the revolutionary wing in the British Federation.—357, 449, 515, 531-32

Demuth, Helene (Lenchen) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—443, 559, 581

Dentraygues—Émile Dentraygues' wife.—492

Dentraygues, Émile Jean Philippe (pseudonym Swarm) (b. 1836)—French railwayman; member of the Toulouse Section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); betrayed his comrades at the Toulouse trial of the International's members (1873).—482, 492

De Paepé, César (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, compositor, subsequently physician; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London Conference (1865), 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).—79-80, 262-63, 266, 289, 296, 370, 386, 407, 433, 546-47, 563, 568, 574

Dereure, Louis Simon (1838-1900)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, shoemaker;
Blanquist; member of the Paris Section of the International; member of the Marseillaise editorial board; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to the USA after its suppression; delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the General Council, elected by the Hague Congress.—419, 425, 447-48, 458, 490

De-Roberti, Yevgeny Valentinovich (1843-1915)—Russian positivist philosopher; vulgar economist.—576

Dervaux, A.—employee in the Paris publishing house of Maurice Lachâtre.—423

Desagarre, baron—French lawyer, in 1871 prosecutor-general of the Republic in the Haute-Garonne department.—572

Devoy, John (1842-1928)—Irish journalist and revolutionary; a Fenian leader, a leader of the Land League (the 1880s); member of the Central Committee of the International for North America; an organiser of the Irish sections in the USA; subsequently participant in the national liberation struggle of the Irish people.—217

Diderot, Denis (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist; leader of the Encyclopaedists.—238

Dietgen, Joseph (1828-1888)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, leather-worker; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism; member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—178

Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, Baronet (1843-1911)—English politician and writer; Republican; a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party; M.P.—249, 280, 302

Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—British statesman and writer; leader of the Conservative Party in the second half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—32

Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1836-1861)—Russian revolutionary democrat; literary critic and materialist philosopher; one of the predecesors of Russian Social-Democracy.—238

Dombrowski (Dąbrowski), Jarosław (1836-1871)—Polish revolutionary democrat; participant in the national liberation movement in Poland in the 1860s; general of the Paris Commune; from the beginning of May 1871 Commander-in-Chief of all its armed forces; killed on the barricades.—563

Dombrowski (Dąbrowski), Teofil (1841-1890)—Polish revolutionary; participant in the Polish uprising of 1863 and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England; brother of Jarosław Dombrowski.—563

Douay, Félix Charles (1816-1879)—French general, commanded the 7th Army Corps in the Franco-Prussian war, was taken prisoner at Sedan; an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune.—42

Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891)—German journalist; member of the Communist League and an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; subsequently withdrew from politics and took up commerce.—213, 505

Dubov (Dubow), A.—member of the Bakuninist Slavonic Section of the International in Zurich.—227

Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas (1798-1881)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune;
Minister of Justice (1871-73); Prime Minister (1876, 1877-79).—346

**Dupont** (died c. 1869)—Eugène Dupont’s wife.—189

Dupont, Clarise (born c. 1868)—Eugène Dupont’s daughter.—189, 200

**Dupont, Eugène** (c. 1837 (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 on, 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; from 1870 organiser of sections of the International in Manchester; in 1872-73 member of the British Federal Council; in 1874 moved to the USA; associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 8, 19, 23-24, 57, 66-67, 69-70, 77, 79, 84, 101, 114, 141, 147, 180, 189, 200, 251, 302, 431, 450, 454-55, 472, 508, 517, 522, 560

**Dupont, Eugénie** (born c. 1862)—Eugène Dupont’s daughter.—200

**Dupont, Marie** (born c. 1864)—Eugène Dupont’s daughter.—189, 200

**Durand, Gustave**—member of the Lyons Section of the International, police spy; after the suppression of the Paris Commune passed himself off as a refugee in London; Secretary of the French Section of 1871; expelled from the International in October 1871.—256, 267, 270, 293-94

**Duru**—participant in the Paris Commune; refugee in London, then in Belgium.—224

**Duval, Théodore**—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, joiner; a founder and member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in the early 1870 left the Bakuninists; member of the Romance Federal Committee of the International; opposed the Bakuninists; delegate to the Hague (1872) and Geneva (1873) congresses.—494, 524-25, 530, 535

**Eccarius, Johann Georg** (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor, journalist; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), its General Secretary (1867-71); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International’s congresses (with the exception of the 1873 Geneva Congress) and conferences; supported Marx till 1872; later took part in the British trade union movement.—10, 39, 57, 106, 123, 140, 147, 178, 223, 236, 244, 251, 257-58, 334, 341, 363, 374, 378-83, 388, 431, 445, 474, 485, 491, 517, 579

**Eilau, N.**—German merchant; acted as a mediator between Marx and members of the Paris Commune.—147, 151

**Elcho, Francis Wemyss Charteris Douglas, Lord** (1818-1914)—Scottish politician, Conservative M.P.; came out in Parliament with a demand to extradite the Commune refugees as criminals.—55

**Elliott, John T.**—American democrat; member of the International; active propagator of bourgeois reforms.—384

**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 Delo (People's Cause) was published; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—234-35, 457, 540

Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia (née van Haar) (1797-1873)—mother of Frederick Engels.—120, 155-57, 228-30, 536

Engels, Emil (1828-1884)—Frederick Engels' brother; a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—155-56, 229

Engels, Emma (née Croom) (1834-1916)—Hermann Engels' wife.—156

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905)—Frederick Engels' brother; manufacturer in Barmen; a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—119, 155-56, 203, 228

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother; manufacturer in Barmen; a partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—119-121, 155-56, 200

Engländer, Sigmund (1828-1902)—Austrian journalist; emigrated to England in 1848; police agent.—203

Ermen, Gottfried Peter Jakob (1811-1899)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—119

Eudes, Émile François Désiré (1843-1888)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; member and general of the Paris Commune; after its suppression was in his absence sentenced to be shot; emigrated to England and then to Switzerland.—395

Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba (1826-1920)—Empress of France (1852-70), wife of Napoleon III.—57, 558

Fanton, Aristide—acquaintance of the Marx family.—472

Farga Pellicer, Rafael (1840-1903)—Spanish anarchist, printer and journalist; an organiser and leader of anarchist groups and the first sections of the International in Spain; a leader of the secret Alliance; editor of La Federación (1869-73); delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses.—285

Faucher, Julius (Jules) (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; Free Trader; refugee in England from 1850; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Party of Progress.—72, 298

Faure, Jules Gabriël Claude (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the republican bourgeois opposition from the late 1850s; Foreign Minister (1870-71), together with Thiers headed the struggle against the Paris Commune; inspired the struggle against the International.—61, 65, 87, 98-99, 108-09, 112-13, 144, 151, 158, 164, 177, 196, 213, 308

Fedetzki or Feletzki—Polish refugee in Switzerland.—540

Ferré, Théophile Charles Gilles (1846-1871)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune; member and then leader of the Committee of Public Safety and Vice-Procurator of the Commune; shot by the Versaillists.—256

Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher.—284, 320, 327, 385, 574, 578

Fink, Wilhelm (1833-1890)—German Social-Democrat, member of the editorial staff of Der Volkstaat.—377, 468

Flerovsky, N.—see Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich
Flourens, Gustave Paul (1838-1871)—French revolutionary and naturalist, Blanquist; sympathised with Marxism; a leader of the Paris uprisings on 31 October 1870 and 22 January 1871; member and general of the Paris Commune; was brutally killed by the Versaillists on 3 April 1871.—560

Fondeville, E.—refugee of the Paris Commune in England; member of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1871) from the Bordeaux Section.—339

Forbes, Archibald (1838-1900)—Scottish journalist; during the Franco-Prussian war correspondent of The Morning Advertiser and The Daily News.—366

Forestier—French refugee in London.—226

Fox, Peter (André, Peter Fox) (d. 1869)—journalist; prominent figure in the British democratic and working-class movement; positivist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St Martin's Hall, London (28 September 1864); member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866); Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67).—363

Frank, A.—Paris publisher in the 1840s-early 1860s.—375

Frankel, Léo (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweler; member of the Paris Commune; headed the Labour and Exchange Commission; fled to Switzerland; in August 1871 came to London; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the 1872 Hague Congress of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels.—4, 141-42, 148, 203, 205, 213, 280, 322, 383, 396, 420, 463, 508, 526

Frederick II (The Great) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—132, 226

Frederick William—see Friedrich Wilhelm

Frederick William III (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—93

Freiligrath, Ferdinand (1810-1876)—German poet; member of the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); clerk of the London branch of the Swiss Bank in the 1850s-60s; withdrew from revolutionary activity in the 1850s.—55, 59, 63, 90, 102, 135

Freiligrath, Käthe (1845-1904)—Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter.—101

Freiligrath, Louise—Ferdinand Freiligrath's daughter.—102

Freiligrath, Wolfgang—Ferdinand Freiligrath's son.—60, 63

Friedrich Karl Nikolaus, Prince (1828-1885)—Prussian general and field marshal-general (1870); took part in the Danish war of 1864 and in the war of 1866 with Austria; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 2nd Army.—28

Friedrich Wilhelm (1831-1888)—Prussian Crown Prince; general and field marshal-general (1870); participant in the Austro-Prussian war (1866) and Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), in which he commanded the 3rd Army; after William I's death in 1888 King of Prussia and German Emperor under the name of Frederick III.—7, 29, 77, 100, 551

Fuisse—French refugee in England.—219

Funke—a partner in the firm of Funke, R & Co.—119

G

Gambetta, Léon Michel (1838-1882)—French politician and statesman, lawyer; republican; member of the
Gambuzzi, Carlo (1837-1902)—Italian lawyer; Mazzinist in the early 1860s, then anarchist; a leader of the secret Alliance and anarchist organisations in Italy; in January 1869 founded the Naples Section of the International.—187, 475

Gambuzzi, Carlo (1837-1902)—Italian lawyer; Mazzinist in the early 1860s, then anarchist; a leader of the secret Alliance and anarchist organisations in Italy; in January 1869 founded the Naples Section of the International.—187, 475

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Italy (1848-49); headed the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification in the 1850s-60s; supported the Paris Commune; welcomed the establishment of the International's sections in Italy.—245-46, 289, 562

Garibaldi, Ricciotti (1847-1924)—Giuseppe Garibaldi's son; participant in the national liberation movement in Italy; took part in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of France as the commander of a brigade of the Vosges Army.—220, 245-46

Garibaldi, Ricciotti (1847-1924)—Giuseppe Garibaldi's son; participant in the national liberation movement in Italy; took part in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of France as the commander of a brigade of the Vosges Army.—220, 245-46

Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine (1803-1878)—French lawyer and politician, member of the Provisional Government (1848); member of the Corps législatif (from 1864) and the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—65

Geffcken, Friedrich Heinrich (1830-1896)—German diplomat and lawyer; in 1866-69 Hanseatic Minister-Resident in London.—545

George III (1738-1820)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820).—77, 100

Gerhard, Hendrick (c. 1829-1886)—a founder and leader of the Dutch sections of the International, tailor; member of the Dutch Federal Council; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); joined the Bakuninists.—240

Gerhardt, Charles Frédéric (1816-1856)—French chemist.—433

Giovacchini, P.—member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Italy in 1871.—171

Girardin, Émile de (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician; editor of La Presse and La Liberté; lacked principles in politics; moderate republican during the 1848 revolution; subsequently Bonapartist.—317

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—33, 70, 94, 100, 102, 110, 114, 259, 343, 579

Glaser de Willebrord, E.—participant in the Belgian working-class movement; member of the section of the International in Brussels.—188, 195, 199, 324, 406, 424

Gneisenau, August Wilhelm Anton, Count Neithardt von (1760-1831)—Prussian military leader and reformer; field marshal-general (1825); an organiser of liberation struggle against Napoleonic rule; Chief of Staff of Blücher's army in 1813-14 and 1815.—93

Gnocchi-Viani, Osvaldo (1837-1917)—Italian journalist, follower of Garibaldi; participant in the working-class and socialist movement from the 1870s; took part in the activities of the International in Italy (1872-73); a founder of the Italian Workers' Party (1882).—433

Goegg, Amand (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the defeat of
the revolution; member of the International; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—199, 215, 233, 296-97, 489

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German poet.—135

Goldschmidt, Otto (1829-1907)—German pianist, conductor and composer.—200

Goldstücker, Theodor (1821-1872)—German Sanskrit scholar; professor at University college in London (1852); member of the Royal Asiatic Society.—30

Golovachev, Aleksey Adrianovich (1819-1903)—Russian public figure and journalist; liberal; took part in drafting the 1861 Peasant Reform; author of Детство пяти реформ. 1861-1871 and others.—469

Gomez—see Farga Pellicer, Rafael

Gorchakov (Gorchakoff), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Envoy to Vienna (1854-56); Foreign Minister (1856-82); State Chancellor (1867-82).—111

Goss, Jean Jacques—gate-keeper of an Evangelical church in Turin.—432, 445

Gray, John (1798-1850)—English economist, utopian socialist; follower of Robert Owen; an author of the 'labour money' theory.—57

Greenwood, Frederick (1830-1909)—English journalist, novelist; Conservative; first editor of the Pall Mall Gazette (1856-80).—10, 15, 17, 22, 24, 29, 35, 62, 95, 160-61, 177, 226

Gregory, J. W. (d. 1872)—US Democrat; member of the Cosmopolitan Society; follower of Woodhull and Claflin.—334, 363

Griesheim, Adolf von (1820-1894)—German manufacturer; partner in the firm of Ermen & Engels; husband of Elise, Frederick Engels' sister.—119, 155-56, 229

Grose, Eduard—German refugee in the USA, Lassallean; member of Section No. 6 and the Central Committee of the International for North America; supported bourgeois reformers.—382, 384

Grouset, Paschal (1844(5)–1909)—French journalist and politician, Blanquist, member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; after its suppression deported to New Caledonia, escaped in 1874.—70, 151

Guillaume, James (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist; member of the International; delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses; 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.—179, 268, 285, 295, 351, 431, 436, 442, 456, 465, 508, 538, 563

Gumpert (d. 1873)—Eduard Gumpert's first wife.—157

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester; friend of Marx and Engels.—17, 48, 51-52, 157, 495, 497-98, 506, 516, 538, 541, 544, 546-47, 549-50

H

Hales, John (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of 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); headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council from the beginning of 1872.—147, 203, 206, 225, 291, 330, 332, 334, 363, 375, 378-79, 382, 388, 421, 431, 436, 440-41, 445-46, 449,
Harcourt, W. E.—miner; an organiser of the Federation of the International in Australia; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—446

Harney, George Julian (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of The Northern Star and other Chartist periodicals; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels; in 1863-88 refugee in the USA; member of the International.—100, 105

Harris, George—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of the Chartist O’Brien; member of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—244, 251

Harrison, Frederic (1831-1923)—English lawyer and historian; radical, positivist; took part in the democratic movement in the 1860s-70s; co-operated with Marx in rendering assistance to the Commune’s refugees.—326

Hasenclever, Wilhelm (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat; Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers in 1871-75.—407

Hasselmann, Wilhelm (b. 1844)—a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; in 1871-75 editor of the Neuer Social-Demokrat.—477

Haussmann, Georges Eugène, baron (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist; Prefect of the Seine department (1853-70); directed work on the reconstruction of Paris.—46

Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Baron von (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer, conservative; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—111, 132

Heddeghem—see Van Heddeghem, L.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—181, 500, 506, 514

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—61, 91, 545

Heinzen, Karl Peter (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; from 1847 Marx’s opponent; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA where he became editor-in-chief of Der Pionier (1854-79).—138, 363, 378, 400

Heller—Hugo Heller’s wife.—588

Heller, Hugo—Marx’s correspondent; carried out his conspirative orders on posting the General Council’s documents; in 1872-73 lived in Oxford.—496, 587

Hepner, Adolf (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat; an editor of Der Volksstaat; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); subsequently emigrated to the USA.—95, 319, 403-07, 410, 413-14, 431-32, 437, 462, 468, 478, 492-93, 511, 526, 528, 530

Herman, Alfred—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class movement; sculptor; an organiser of the International’s section in Belgium; member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1871-72); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the Hague Congress joined the anarchist minority.—191, 370, 393, 409, 417

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat; materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847; from 1852 lived in England where he estab-
lished the Free Russian Press and published the periodical Polyarnaya Zvezda (The Polar Star) and the newspaper Kolokol (The Bell).—396

Higham, Joseph—owner of the factory of musical instruments in Manchester.—189

Hildebrand, Bruno (1812-1878)—German vulgar economist and statistician; representative of the historical school in political economy; in 1863 published Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik.—4

Hins—Eugène Hins’ wife.—263, 358, 401

Hins, Eugène (1839-1923)—Belgian teacher, Proudhonist; subsequently Bakuninst; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International; editor of La Liberté (Brussels), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses.—26, 263, 289, 296, 309, 361, 367, 374, 384, 387, 394, 399, 401, 403, 407

Hirsch, Carl (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; from 1869 member of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party; after 1872 Paris correspondent of German Social-Democratic newspapers.—415

Hodgson, Shadwurth Hollway (1832-1912)—English philosopher.—300

Hohenzollerns—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—39-40, 85, 92

Holländer, Jakob (1846-1911)—Hungarian worker, International’s correspondent in Budapest.—194

Home, Daniel Dunglas (1833-1886)—Scottish spiritualist.—383

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—265, 385

Hout, Isaak Salomon van der (b. 1843)—Dutch worker, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the sections in Amsterdam.—453, 483

Howell, George (1833-1910)—bricklayer, a leader of the British trade unions, former Chartist, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin’s Hall, London, member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); participant in the London Conference (1865) of the International; Secretary of the Reform League; opposed revolutionary tactics.—363

Hruvačanin (Ervačanin), Manojlo (1849-1909)—prominent figure in the South Slav liberation movement, journalist; in the early 1870s member of the Bakuninist Slavonic Section in Zurich.—227

Huber—participant in the British working-class movement.—474

Hubert, Adolphe Antoine (b. 1827)—French refugee in London; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the International.—188, 195, 198, 219, 250, 317

Hück—French major; during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) Governor of the Toul fortress.—109, 112

Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; opposed Louis Bonaparte; a refugee in 1851-70.—76, 355

Huleck—member of the General Council of the International (1868); member of the French Section in London; after the split in the Section (1868) opposed the General Council; emigrated to the USA; joined the group of bourgeois reformers.—342

Huleck, Maria—member of the General Council of the International (1868); emigrated to the USA; joined the group of bourgeois reformers.—342
Hume, Robert William—American radical journalist; a leader of the National Labor Union; member of the International; General Council's correspondent.—57, 60

Imandt, Peter Joseph (1823-1897)—German teacher, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to Switzerland and in 1852 to England; member of the Communist League; member of the International; follower of Marx and Engels.—89, 124, 213, 561

Imandt, Robert—nephew of Peter Joseph Imanit; during the Franco-Prussian war emigrated from France to England.—90, 124

Jacquard (née Korvin-Kroukovskaya), Anna Vasilievna (1843-1887)—Russian writer; prominent figure in the Russian and international revolutionary movement; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the Central Committee of the Women's Association; member of the Russian Section of the International; returned to Russia in 1874; Charles Victor Jacquard's wife.—150

Jacquard, Charles Victor (1843-1900)—French physician and journalist, Blanquist; member of the International; active in the Paris Commune; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; commander of a legion of the National Guard; following the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia.—234, 561

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.—30, 87, 107, 111, 123

Jeanneu, Georges (1832-1890)—French officer and journalist; at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war, military correspondent of Le Temps.—42

Jessup, William J.—American worker, carpenter; active participant in the American labour movement; Vice-President (1866) and Corresponding Secretary (1867) of the National Labor Union for the New York State; a leader of the Workers' Union of New York; General Council's correspondent in the USA.—244, 251

Johannard, Jules Paul (1843-1892)—active in the French working-class movement, lithographer; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); member of the Paris Commune; sided with the Blanquists; after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—234, 248, 280, 517

Jones, Edward (born c. 1849)—member of the British Federation of the International; Secretary of the Manchester Section and from the autumn of 1872 Secretary of the Manchester District Committee; supported the General Council in the struggle against reformists.—447

Jourde, François (Francis) (1843-1893)—French bank employee; Right Proudhonist; active in the Paris Commune; leader of the Finance Committee of the Commune; after its suppression sentenced to exile to New Caledonia; escaped in 1874; after his return to France abandoned the working-class movement.—199.

Jozewicz, Ferdinand—German Social-Democrat; Corresponding Secretary for the Berlin Section of the International till the mid-March of 1872.—237, 314, 325
Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement, watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); participant in the London Conference (1865); Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress (1872); later joined the reformists of the British Federation.—25, 36-37, 44, 98, 147-48, 154, 178, 197, 202-03, 206-07, 219, 223-26, 231, 235, 246, 249, 285, 298, 305, 315, 326, 333, 381, 396, 413, 427, 434, 440, 460, 464-65, 474, 482, 484-85, 508, 517, 519, 521, 538, 585, 587

Jung, Sanna (d. 1890)—Hermann Jung’s wife.—197, 249, 434

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis) (born c. 60—died c. 140)—Roman satirical poet.—37

K

Kalb, T.—correspondent of Der Volksstaat.—429

Kaufman, Illarion Ignatievich (1848-1916)—Russian economist, professor at Petersburg University (1895-1916); author of works on money circulation and credit.—422

Keller, Charles (1843-1913)—French socialist; member of the International; translated into French part of Volume One of Marx’s Capital in October 1869-March 1870; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland, where he sided with the Bakuninists.—284, 327, 574

Kellogg, Edward (1790-1858)—American economist; author of works on financial questions.—57, 106, 140

Kéraltry, Emile, comte de (1852-1904)—French politician and writer, Orleanist; Prefect of Paris Police (September-October 1870); later supervised the formation of the territorial armed forces in Brittany; in 1871 Prefect of the Haute-Garonne department; in April 1871 suppressed the Commune in Toulouse.—67, 199, 564, 571-72

Kern, Auguste—French democrat; refugee in London.—154

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 in London; opposed Marx and Engels.—107

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.—117

Knapp, Georg Friedrich (1842-1926)—German economist, representative of the historical school in political economy; professor at Leipzig and Strasbourg universities.—375

Knowles, Alfred—merchant in Manchester.—498

Kohlrausch, Heinrich Friedrich Theodor (1780-1867)—German teacher and historian.—59

Kokosky, Samuel (1838-1899)—German Social-Democrat; editor of the Braunschweiger Volksfreund (1873-78);
translated into German the booklet of Marx and Engels *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association.*—541, 543

**Kolb, Georg Friedrich (1808-1884)**—German politician, democratic journalist and statistician.—144

**Koll, Theodor**—German refugee in London; Treasurer of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—194

**Kostecki, Albert Jan Kanty**—Polish refugee in London.—473

**Krugelmann, Franziska (1858-c. 1930)**—Ludwig Krugelmann's daughter.—81, 94, 111, 132, 158, 177, 243, 564, 569-70, 575, 578, 582, 585, 587

**Krugelmann, Gertrud** (b. 1839)—Ludwig Krugelmann's wife.—84, 94, 111, 131, 157, 176, 243, 563-70, 575, 578, 582-85

**Krugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902)**—German physician; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; Marx's regular correspondent (1862-74); friend of Marx and Engels.—3, 6, 8, 47, 50-51, 54, 81, 91, 94, 108, 111, 131, 136, 143, 151, 157, 176, 243, 409, 412-13, 426, 515-17, 557, 562, 565-70, 573-75, 578, 582-87

**Kwasniewski, Gustav (1833-1902)**—German teacher and writer; a founder of the Democratic Workers' Union in Berlin; member of the Berlin section of the International and from 1869 member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; took part in the distribution of *Capital*; subsequently left the working-class movement.—221, 238

**Lachâtre (La Châtre, Lachastre), Claude Maurice, baron de (1814-1900)**—French progressive journalist; took part in the Paris Commune; publisher of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* in French.—301, 321, 328, 341, 344, 385, 423, 437, 478, 486, 495, 519, 574, 578, 582

**Ladendorf, August**—German democrat; a leader of the German workers' educational societies in Switzerland in the 1860s; editor of the *Felleisen*; delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867) and the Eisenach Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869).—96

**Lafargue, Charles Étienne (1868-1872)**—Paul and Laura Lafargue's son.—14, 35, 65, 112, 114, 270, 272, 279, 284, 304, 327-28, 339, 347, 556, 564, 571, 575, 579, 581, 584

**Lafargue, Laura** (née Marx) (1845-1911)—Marx's second daughter; prominent figure in the French working-class movement; from 1868 Paul Lafargue's wife.—12, 13, 35, 59, 63, 65, 112, 123, 129-31, 142, 150, 153, 155, 177, 199, 206-07, 265, 272, 279, 283, 286, 301, 305, 321, 327, 328, 337-39, 342, 366, 438, 442, 443, 556, 564, 571, 572, 575, 581, 584

**Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)**—prominent figure in the international and French working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International; Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the International's sections in France, Spain and Portugal (1869-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the Workers' Party of France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Marx's daughter Laura.—12-13, 35, 65, 86, 89, 112, 121, 130-31, 146, 150, 153, 199, 202, 204, 211, 216, 265, 271, 277, 279, 284-87, 289, 299, 301-04, 321-22, 327-28, 336-38, 346-47, 365, 367, 369, 371-76, 408, 416, 425, 430, 432, 436, 439, 442-46, 451, 455, 457, 466,
Lahure, Louis Justin (1846-1877)—Paris printer who published Volume One of Marx's *Capital* in French.—423, 517

Landeck, Bernard (b. 1832)—French jeweller; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the French Section of 1871 in London.—268, 280, 407, 429

Larroque, Charles (pseudonym Latraque) (b. 1829)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; a leader of the International's section in Bordeaux; was brought to trial in 1873 but fled to Spain and continued to direct the work of the Bordeaux Section as a representative of the General Council.—454, 482, 492

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German journalist and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—4, 216, 405, 416

Latreque—see Larroque, Charles

Laurent, Auguste (1807-1853)—French organic chemist.—240

Lavelaye, Émile Louis Victor, baron de (1822-1892)—Belgian economist and journalist.—40

Lavrov (Lawroff), Pyotr Lavrovich (1823-1900)—Russian sociologist and revolutionary journalist; an ideologist of Narodism; eclectic philosopher; member of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the *journal Vperyod!* (Forward!) (1873-76) and the newspaper *Vperyod!* (1875-76).—115, 154, 168, 192-93, 210, 218-19, 222, 275, 300, 540

Leblanc, Albert Marie Félix (b. 1844)—participant in the French working-class movement; sided with the Bakuninists; engineer; member of the Paris organisation of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England.—550

Lebouef, Edmond (1809-1888)—marshal of France (1870); in 1869-70 Minister of War; at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war Chief of Staff of the Rhine Army; after its first defeats resigned and commanded the 3rd Army Corps of Bazaine's Army.—39

Lecky, William Edward Hartpole (1838-1903)—Irish historian.—192, 210

Lefaivre, A.—French consul in Vienna (1869-71).—196, 198

Lefrançais, Gustav Adolphe (1826-1901)—French revolutionary, Left Proudhonist, teacher, took part in the revolution of 1848, from the late 1860s member of the International, member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland, where he joined anarchists.—282

Le Lubez, Victor (b. 1834)—French refugee in London; was connected with republican and radical elements in France and Great Britain, took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London, member of the Central Council (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.—138, 269

Le Moussu, Benjamin (pseudonym Constant) (b. 1846)—participant in the French working-class movement, engraver, member of the Paris Commune, after its defeat emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the International and
Corresponding Secretary for the French-language sections in America (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists.— 198, 207, 231, 258, 342, 378-79, 388, 398, 446, 484, 490, 492, 522, 527-29, 544

Léo, André (real name Champseix, Léodile) (1832-1900)—French authoress and journalist, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland, supported the Bakuninists.— 256, 263, 268-69

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.— 238


Lind, Jenny (1820-1887)—Swedish opera singer, Otto Goldschmidt’s wife.—200

Lindau, Paul (1839-1919)—German democrat, journalist and writer, publisher of Die Gegenwart (1872-81).— 410

Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier (1838-1901)—French journalist and historian, participant in the Paris Commune, joined the ‘new Jacobins’, after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; author of Histoire de la Commune de 1871.— 496, 499, 506, 569

Liebknecht, Alice (b. 1857)—Wilhelm Liebknecht’s elder daughter.— 384, 571, 573

Liebknecht, Karl (1871-1919)—Wilhelm Liebknecht’s son, later a leader of the German and international working-class movement, a founder of the German Communist Party.—216, 384

Liebknecht, Natalie (1835-1909)—Wilhelm Liebknecht’s second wife.— 95, 97, 115, 127, 135, 367, 385, 479, 580


Le Verdet—French refugee in London, took part in publishing Qui Vive! in the autumn of 1871.—268

Liebers, Bruno (1836-1905)—Dutch worker, member of the International’s section in The Hague, took an active part in preparing for the Hague Congress (1872).—427-28, 483

Liebknecht, Alice (b. 1857)—Wilhelm Liebknecht’s elder daughter.— 384, 571, 573

Liebknecht, Karl (1871-1919)—Wilhelm Liebknecht’s son, later a leader of the German and international working-class movement, a founder of the German Communist Party.—216, 384

Liebknecht, Natalie (1835-1909)—Wilhelm Liebknecht’s second wife.— 95, 97, 115, 127, 135, 367, 385, 479, 580


Lind, Jenny (1820-1887)—Swedish opera singer, Otto Goldschmidt’s wife.—200

Lindau, Paul (1839-1919)—German democrat, journalist and writer, publisher of Die Gegenwart (1872-81).— 410

Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier (1838-1901)—French journalist and historian, participant in the Paris Commune, joined the ‘new Jacobins’, after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; author of Histoire de la Commune de 1871.— 496, 499, 506, 569
Lochner, Georg (born c. 1824)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, carpenter, member of the Communist League, of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867 and 1871-72), delegate to the London conferences of 1865 and 1871, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—186, 383, 398

Longuet, Charles (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, journalist, Proudhonist, member of the General Council of the International (1866-67, 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866), delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); took part in the defence of Paris (1870-71), member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England, later joined the Possibilists, husband of Marx’s daughter Jenny.—65, 70-71, 192, 199, 203, 205, 280, 339, 367, 439, 442-43, 450-51, 455, 485, 496, 544, 574, 581, 583-86

Longuet, Jenny—see Marx, Jenny

Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, follower of Chernyshevsky, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870), a translator of Volume One of Capital into Russian, friend of Marx and Engels.—33, 114, 152, 175, 385, 456, 469, 540, 542, 576

Lopez de Lara—Spanish merchant in London.—328

Lorenzo, Anselmo (1841-1914)—participant in the Spanish working-class movement, anarchist, printer, an organiser of the International’s sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1870-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—265, 270, 286-87, 368, 563

Lormier, Marie—an acquaintance of the Marx family.—154

Louis Bonaparte—see Napoleon III

Love, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke (1811-1892)—British statesman and journalist; Whig and later Liberal, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73), Home Secretary (1873-74).—158

Lubbock, Sir John, 1st Baron Avebury (1834-1913)—English naturalist and politician, Liberal; Darwinist, author of works on zoology and on history of primitive society.—192, 210

Lucain—see Potel, Frédéric

Luciani, Giuseppe—Italian journalist, member of the International, took part in the workers’ organisations in Rome, contributed to democratic newspapers.—220

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897)—leader of the British trade unions; cabinet-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin’s Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council’s address The Civil War in France and withdrew from the International.—186

Lyubavin, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1845-1918)—Russian chemist, graduated from St Petersburg University (1867), later professor at Moscow University (1890-1906), in the 1860s a member of the student revolutionary circles; a translator of Volume One of Capital into Russian (the late 1860s).—422, 455, 469

MacDonnell(l) (Mac Donnell), Joseph Patrick (c. 1845-1906)—a leader of the Irish national liberation and international working-class movement, Fe-
nian, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872), member of the British Federal Council (1872); in December 1872 emigrated to the USA where took part in the American working-class movement.—186, 208, 214, 217, 274, 398, 446, 449, 453

Mack, Karl, Baron von Leiberich (1752-1828)—Austrian field-marsh, during the war with France capitulated at the Ulm fortress on 17 October 1805 with an army of 23,000 men.—53

MacMahon, Elisabette Charlotte—MacMahon's wife.—505

MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta (1808-1893)—French military figure and politician, marshal, Bonapartist; in the Franco-Prussian war commanded the 1st Army Corps, then the Army of Châlons, was taken prisoner at Sedan, participated in the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—39, 53, 58, 68, 499, 505

Maddison—Scottish physician in London who treated Marx and his family.—5, 54, 56-57, 131, 143, 155

Maddock, G. W.—American radical.—384

Maine, Sir Henry James Sumner (1822-1888)—English lawyer and historian.—192, 210

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868), member of the National Guard's Central Committee and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy, then to Switzerland where he sided with anarchists, later a leader of the Possibilists.—263, 268-69, 276, 281, 315, 346, 366, 383

Marchand, Louis Joseph Gabriel (1842-1901)—French Blanquist, later Bakuninist, was sent on a mission to Bordeaux by the Paris Commune, after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland where he was Secretary of the refugees' society; contributed to La Révolution sociale; was expelled from the International on the Bordeaux Section's demand.—302

Martin, Constant (1839-1906)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, later anarchist, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—207, 231, 427

Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, participant in the British and international working-class movement, married Edward Aveling in 1884.—31, 47, 50, 73, 97, 129, 146, 150, 153-54, 177, 199, 202, 206, 211, 218, 220, 288, 302, 339, 481, 496, 499, 506, 538, 541-43, 545-46, 548, 550, 557-58, 560-61, 563-64, 570-73, 575, 581

Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife.—43, 50, 52, 97, 154, 200, 204, 206, 213, 216, 220, 283, 297, 304, 497-99, 520-21, 527, 534, 536, 546, 552, 555, 563, 570, 579, 581, 583, 587

Marx, Jenny (1844-1883)—Karl Marx's eldest daughter, took part in the international working-class movement, from 1872 Charles Longuet's wife.—31, 45, 97, 111, 117, 123, 129, 146, 150, 153-54, 177, 199, 201-02, 206, 211, 218, 220, 226, 242, 281, 286, 302, 326, 399, 367, 409, 438, 441, 443, 450-51, 496, 516, 521, 526-27, 555, 557-58, 560, 564-65, 568, 575, 578, 581-88

Massenet, Léon Adrien (b. 1834)—French man of letters, participant in
the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Brussels, then to Geneva, brother of Jules Massenet, composer.—401

Maxse, Frederick Augustus (1833-1900)—British admiral and political writer.—40

Mayall—photographer.—582

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.—17, 129, 164, 180, 185-86, 220, 242, 278, 289, 304, 308

Meissner, Otto Karl (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher, printed Capital and other works by Marx and Engels.—385, 390, 409, 477, 489, 567, 574, 582

Mendelssohn, Moses (1729-1786)—German deist philosopher.—4

Mesa y Leompart, José (1840-1904)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer, an organiser of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72), the Emancipación editorial board (1871-73), New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchism; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879), translated several works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.—277-78, 299, 301, 433, 445, 449, 451, 465, 538

Meyer, Hermann (1821-1875)—took part in the German and American working-class movement, socialist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1852, an organiser of the International's sections in Saint Louis; Joseph Weydemeyer's friend.—208, 519, 536

Meyer, Sigfrid (c. 1840-1872)—a leader of the German and American working-class movement, socialist, engineer, member of the General Association of German Workers, opposed the Lassallean influence; in 1866 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA; follower of Marx and Engels.—57, 60, 100-01, 105, 244, 251

Mileski—Polish refugee in London, member of the Universal Federalist Council.—429

Milke, Fritz—German Social-Democrat, printer, member of the Berlin Section of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—439

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher.—40, 152, 545

Mills, Charles—English engineer, in 1871 member of the General Council of the International.—186

Milner, George—active participant in the British working-class movement, Irishman, tailor, follower of James O'Brien, member of the National Reform League, the Land and Labour League, 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.—454

Miquel, Johannes von (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier, member of the Communist League in the 1840s, a National-Liberal from the 1860s, deputy to the North German and then Imperial Reichstag.—135

Molesworth, J.—owner of a trade firm in Manchester.—391

Moll, Friedrich Wilhelm (c. 1835-1871)—Solingen worker, member of the General Association of German
Workers, in 1864 emigrated to the USA, a founder of the General Association of German Workers in New York; after his return to Germany, member of the International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866).—117

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von (1800-1891)—Prussian military leader and writer, general, from 1871 field marshal-general; Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff, an ideologist of Prussian militarism and chauvinism.—18-19, 48, 55, 555

Moore, George—English engraver, together with Laffargue and Le Moussu in 1873-74 organised an association of engravers of which Marx was a member for some time.—528, 544, 546

Moore, Samuel (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the International, translated into English Volume One of Capital (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the Manifesto of the Communist Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—28, 34, 63, 495, 497-500, 504-06

Mora, Francisco (1842-1924)—a leader of the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, shoemaker, an organiser of the International's sections in Spain and Portugal, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-72), the Emancipación editorial board (1871-73), the New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchist influence; an organiser of the Spanish Socialists' Party (1879).—140, 277, 284, 287, 425-26, 448-49

Morago, González, Tomás (d. 1885)—Spanish anarchist, engraver, a founder and leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-71), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—301

More, Sir Thomas (1478-1535)—English politician, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, author of Utopia, an early representative of utopian communism.—477


Morley, Samuel (1809-1886)—English manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85), owner of The Bee-Hive newspaper (from 1869).—150

Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, duc de (1811-1865)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1849-51), an organiser of the coup d'état of 2 December 1851, Minister of the Interior (December 1851 to January 1852); President of the Corps législatif (1854-56, 1857-65); stepbrother of Napoleon III.—505

Mottershead, Thomas (c. 1825-1884)—English weaver, member of the General Council of the International (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.—100, 147, 291, 330, 332, 340, 380-82, 431, 442, 445, 449, 464, 474, 508, 517, 521, 585

Mülberger, Arthur (1847-1907)—German physician, journalist, Proudhonist.—375, 463, 512

Murphy, William Martin (1844-1921)—Irish railway businessman, M.P. (1885-92).—274

Murray, Charles Joseph—participant in the British working-class movement, shoemaker, Chartist, follower of James O'Brien, a leader of the National Reform League, member of the General Council of the Interna-
tional (1870-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74), supporter of Marx and Engels.—454

Myrtle—physician in Harrogate.—542

N

Nabruzzi, Lodovico (1846-1920)—Italian journalist, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, member of the Romagnolo editorial board.—306

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—54, 59-60, 85, 93, 228, 309


Naze, Leon Edouard (b. 1841)—Paris lithographer, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression, refugee in London, member of the International.—219

Nechayev (Netschajeff), Sergei Gennadievich (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, took part in the student movement in St Petersburg (1868-69), in 1869-71 was in close contact with Bakunin, founded a secret organisation Narodnaya Rasprava (People's Judgment) (1869), in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government, died in the Peter and Paul Fortress, St Petersburg.—97, 201, 256, 290, 311, 451

Neumayer, Ludwig—Austrian Social-Democrat, journalist, member of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—491

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—120

Nicholson—member of the Irish Section of the International in New York, Treasurer of the Provisional Federal Council for North America (till June 1872).—400

Nobre-França, José Correia—participant in the Portuguese socialist and workers' movement, an organiser of the first sections of the International in Lisbon.—433, 445, 527

O

Obermüller, Wilhelm (b. 1809)—German journalist, held particularist views.—48

Oberwinder, Heinrich (1846-1914)—a leading figure in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist, Lasallean in the early 1860s, later sided with the Eisenachers, delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International, editor of the Volksstimme and Volkswille, in 1873 came out for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in the late 1870s withdrew from the working-class movement, subsequently was exposed as a police agent.—488, 491, 520

O’Brien, James (literary pseudonym Bronterre) (1805-1864)—Irish journalist, Chartist leader, utopian socialist, founder of the National Reform League (1849).—57, 244, 252

O’Connell, Daniel (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement, founder and leader of the Repeal Association.—329

O’Connor, Arthur (1763-1852)—a prominent figure in the Irish national liberation movement; in 1797-98, a leader of the United Irishmen society, arrested on the eve of the 1798 uprising, emigrated to France in 1803.—343

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 on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67), took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866), opposed revolutionary tactics; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address 'The Civil War in France' and left the Council.—167, 186, 215, 233, 363, 567

O'Donell—contributed to newspapers 'The Irishman' and 'The Irish People'.—275

O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah (1831-1915)—a leader of the Fenian movement, publisher of 'The Irish People' (1863-65), in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment, amnestied in 1870, emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation; retired from political life in the 1880s.—275, 557, 564, 570

Okolowicz, Auguste Adolphe (b. 1838)—Polish refugee in France, general of the Paris Commune, sentenced to death after its suppression, escaped from prison, emigrated to Belgium.—234

Ollivier, Émile (1825-1913)—French politician, moderate republican, member of the Corps législatif (from 1857); became Bonapartist in the late 1860s, head of the government (January-August 1870).—116

Orléans—branch of the house of Bourbons in France.—39, 41, 49, 55, 67-68, 562

Ostyn (Hosteins), François (Charles) (1823-1912)—French turner, Belgian by birth, Proudhonist, member of the Federal Council of the International's Paris sections; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland where he joined Bakuninists.—281

Oswald—Eugen Oswald's wife.—95, 471, 481

Oswald, Eugen (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49), emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution.—9, 11, 23-24, 28, 31-32, 34-37, 40, 64, 82, 87, 95, 174-75, 197, 471, 481, 532-33, 565

Oudet, Joseph Emile (1826-1909)—French worker, porcelain painter, member of the International and of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to London.—429

Outine—see Utin, Nikolai Isaakovich

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—477

P

Palikao—see Cousin-Montauban, Charles

Palladino, Carmelo (1842-1896)—Italian anarchist, lawyer, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, member of the Naples Section of the International.—185, 259-62

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).—11, 75, 94

Pape, Fletcher—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872), belonged to the reformist wing.—474

Pascal, C.—French priest in Brighton.—202

Paul I (1754-1801)—Emperor of Russia (1796-1801).—111

Pechard, Étienne—see Regis, Vitale
Pêne, Henri de (1830-1888)—French journalist, monarchist, an organiser of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Paris on 22 March 1871.—124

Perret, Henri—participant 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 Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1869 broke with the Bakuninists, but adopted a conciliatory stand after the Hague Congress (1872).—5, 36, 179, 220, 223, 225, 405, 433, 494, 523, 526, 530, 534, 563, 568

Perrini, Luigi—Italian worker, member of the Turin Section of the International.—432, 445

Pertz, Georg Heinrich (1795-1876)—German historian, moderate conservative.—93

Pescatori, Erminio (1836-1905)—follower of Mazzini and Garibaldi; founder of the Fascio Operaio (Workers' Union) in Bologna.—292

Peter III (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—111

Petroni, Giuseppe (1812-1888)—Italian revolutionary, journalist and politician, Mazzinist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, editor of the Roma del Popolo.—245

Pezza, Vincenzo (1841-1873)—Italian journalist, Left Mazzinist; Bakuninist from the early 1870s, member of the Milan Section of the International.—358

Pfänder, Karl (c. 1819-1876)—active in the German and international working-class movement, painter; emigrated to London in 1845, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867, 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—383, 398

Piccini, Francesco (d. 1872)—Italian shoemaker, Left Mazzinist, member of the Mazzini workers' unions in Florence, then of the Left republican Società Democratica Internazionale.—169

Pietri, Joseph Marie (1820-1902)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of Paris police (1866-70).—268

Pigott, Richard (c. 1828-1889)—Irish journalist, publisher of The Irishman (1865-79), supporter of the Fenians, sided with the British government in the 1880s.—66, 274, 558.

Pihl, S. F.—active in the Danish working-class movement, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Copenhagen Section.—520-21

Pio, Louis Albert François (1841-1894)—a leader of the Danish working-class and socialist movement, propagated Marx's ideas, organised the International's Danish sections (1871), editor of Socialisten, a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876).—280, 329-33, 340

Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—68, 547

Polyakov, Nikolai Petrovich (1843-1905)—Russian publisher, was close to the Narodniki; published the first Russian edition of Volume One of Capital by Karl Marx in 1872.—422, 540

Potel, Frédéric (pseudonym Lucain)—French refugee in Belgium, engineer, participant in the Paris Commune, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) from the French refugees' section in Brussels.—430, 436, 451

Potter, George (1832-1893)—British carpenter, a reformist trade union
leader, member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalga-
mated Union of Building Workers; founder, editor and publisher of The
Bee-Hive Newspaper.—77, 203

Potier, Eugène Edme (1816-1887)—
French revolutionary, took part in
the February revolution and the June
uprising (1848), member of the In-
ternational and of the Paris Commune,
after its suppression emigrated to Great Britain, then to the USA,
returned to France in 1880, member
of the Workers' Party, author of
L'Internationale song.—490

Pouyer-Quertier, Augustin Thomas (1820-
1891)—French manufacturer and
politician, Finance Minister (1871-
72), took part in peace negotiations
with Germany in Frankfurt (1871).—149

Praisching, Charles—member of the
Provisional Federal Council for
North America and General Council
in New York; expelled from the
International in 1873.—392

Prendergast, John Patrick (1808-1893)—
Irish historian, Liberal.—329

Prigneaux—French refugee in Lon-
don.—417

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865)—
French writer, economist and
socialist, a founder of anarchism.—
4-5, 57-58, 162, 255, 264, 298, 327,
375, 442, 585

Prudhomme (b. 1843)—member of the
International's Section in Bordeaux,
Corresponding Secretary for Bor-
deaux.—115

Pumps—see Burns, Mary Ellen

Pyat, Félix (1810-1889)—French jour-
nalist, playwright and politician,
democrat, took part in the 1848
revolution, emigrated in 1849 to
Switzerland and later to Belgium and
England, opposed independent work-
ing-class movement, conducted a
slandering campaign against Marx and
the International, member of the
Paris Commune (1871), after its sup-
pression emigrated to England.—65,
141, 151, 282, 499, 561

R

Rabelais, François (c. 1494-1553)—
French humanist writer.—267

Ranvier, Gabriel (1828-1879)—French
revolutionary, Blanquist, decorator,
member of the Paris Commune, after
its suppression emigrated to Eng-
land; member of the General Council
of the International (1871-72), dele-
gate to the Hague Congress (1872),
left the International because of the
Congress decision to transfer the
General Council to New York.—
234, 269, 280, 379, 398, 447, 467,
509

Razoua, Eugène Angèle (1830-1878)—
French journalist, republican, sided
with the 'new Jacobins', took part in
the Paris Commune, after its sup-
pression emigrated to Geneva, con-
tributed to L'Emancipació (Madrid).—
263, 268

Regis, Vitale (pseudonym Étienne
Pechard)—Italian revolutionary, mem-
er of the Italian Section of the
International in London, took part in
the Paris Commune, member of the
General Council (1871-72), partici-
pated in the revolutionary events in
Spain (1873).—316, 345, 352, 358,
393

Reilinger—friend and private secretary
of Jules Favre.—197

Renan, Joseph Ernest (1823-1892)—
French philologist and historian of
Christianity, idealist philosopher.—59

Renshaw, Charles—Engels' acquaintance
in Manchester.—353, 496

Reuter, Fritz (1810-1874)—German
humorist.—158

Reynolds, George William MacArthur
(1814-1879)—British politician and
Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—British economist.—457

Richard, Albert Marie (1846-1918)—French journalist, a leader of the Lyons Section of the International, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, member of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, took part in the Lyons uprising of September 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, a Bonapartist.—257, 270, 311, 318

Rigault, Raul Georges Adolphe (1846-1871)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, student, journalist; member of the Paris Commune, delegate to the Commission of Public Safety, from 26 April Public Procurator of the Commune; on 24 May was arrested by the Versailles men and shot without trial.—268, 561

Riggio, Antonio (1842-1900)—Italian revolutionary, Left Mazzinist in the 1860s, lawyer, organised the International's section in Girgenti (1871), had contacts with the General Council, joined the Bakuninists in 1872.—483

Riley, William Harrison (1835-1907)—English journalist, republican, socialist, publisher and editor of The International Herald, member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), withdrew from the working-class movement in 1873.—451, 454, 458, 460-61, 465, 519

Rocha, John—a leader of the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), Corresponding Secretary for the British Federal Council (1872), belonged to its reformist wing, opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress.—186, 464, 474

Rob, Fritz (1845-1899)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International, member of the Solidarité editorial board.—351

Robert—see De-Roberti, Yevgeny Valentinovich

Robin, Paul Charles Louis Jean (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, member of the General Council of the International (1870-71), delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871).—179, 220, 263, 265-67, 285, 308, 563

Rochat, Charles Michel (b. 1844)—a leader of the French working-class movement, member of the Paris Federal Council of the International, took part in the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Holland (October 1871 to 1872), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—203, 205, 213, 379

Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay (1830-1913)—French journalist and politician, Left-wing republican, publisher of La Marseillaise (1869-70); after the revolution of 4 September 1870, a member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia, monarchist from the end of the 1880s.—51, 65, 68, 558, 560

Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich (1817-1894)—German economist, founder of the historical trend in political economy, professor at Göttingen (1843) and Leipzig (1848) universities.—298

Roscoe, Henry Enfield (1833-1915)—English chemist, professor of chemistry at Victoria University (Owens College), Manchester.—506
Rössler, Hermann Karl Friedrich (1834-1894)—German economist and lawyer.—8

Rothschild, H. J.—German refugee in London.—37

Rouher, Eugène (1814-1884)—French statesman, Bonapartist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, held several government posts during the Second Empire, President of the Senate (1869-70), after the fall of the Empire emigrated to England, a leader of Bonapartists in France in the 1870s.—499

Roudier, Edmond Louis Henri Charles (Edouard) (c. 1830-1903)—French shoemaker, Proudhonist, took part in the 1848 revolution, member of the Paris organisation of the International, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, opposed the General Council of the International.—246, 263, 268, 280

Roy, Joseph (1830-1916)—French teacher, translated Volume One of Capital by Marx and works by Feuerbach into French.—283, 316, 327, 347, 385, 438, 495, 517, 574, 578

Rozwadowski, Józef (b. 1846)—Polish revolutionary, took part in the national liberation uprising of 1863-64 in Poland, participated in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, member of the General Council of the International (1872).—175, 200, 210, 224, 276, 593

Rüdt, August—German journalist, Social-Democrat, member of the Volksstaat editorial board.—361

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, German petty-bourgeois refugee leader in England in the 1850s, National-Liberal after 1866.—26, 38, 40

Rutson, A. O.—private secretary to British Home Secretary H. A. Bruce.—169

Sacase, Jean François (1808-1884)—French law official, monarchist, from 1871 deputy to the National Assembly.—345

Sadler, Thomas—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—232

Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo (1827-1903)—Spanish statesman, leader of the Liberal Party, Minister of the Interior (1871-72), Foreign Minister (1874), Prime Minister (1881-83, 1885-90, 1892-95, 1897-99, 1901-02).—369

Saint-Beuve, Charles Augustin (1804-1869)—French literary critic and writer.—543

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—255

Savio, Pietro—participant in the Italian national liberation movement and the Paris Commune (1871), after its suppression emigrated to England.—353

Sax, Emil (1845-1927)—Austrian economist.—405, 410

Schaffte, Albert Friedrich Eberhard (1831-1903)—German vulgar economist and sociologist, called for collaboration between bourgeoisie and proletariat, an armchair socialist.—70, 72, 78

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, a leader of the sectarian-adventurist group during the split in the Communist League (1850), again drew close to
Marx in 1856, member of the Central Council of the International (1865), participant in the London Conference (1865).—117

Schenck, Heinrich—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, Lassallean, late in 1871 was expelled from the Society for slander of the International's General Council and his splitting activities.—320

Scherzer, Andreas (1807-1879)—German tailor, member of the Paris community of the Communist League which sided with the Willich-Schapper sectarian group in 1850; later refugee in London, a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; late in 1871 was expelled from it for slander of the General Council of the International and for his splitting activities.—297, 319

Scheu, Andreas (1844-1927)—a leader in the Austrian (1868-74) and British socialist movement, member of the International; emigrated to England in 1874.—490, 520

Scheu, Heinrich (1845-1926)—Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), emigrated to England in 1878, Andreas Scheu's brother.—365, 491, 517

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—4

Schily, Victor (1810-1875)—German lawyer, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated to France, member of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865), friend of Marx.—57, 60, 102

Schlebach, Pierre—German refugee in Belgium, member of the International's Section in Verviers, Der Volksstaat's correspondent.—407, 417

Schneider, Joseph—German worker, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, in the late 1871 was expelled from it for his splitting activities and slander of the General Council of the International.—113, 207, 280, 297, 407, 429

Scholl, Jean Marie (b. 1829)—French worker, member of the Lyons Section of the International, refugee in London.—314

Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788-1860)—German idealist philosopher, irrationalist and pessimist.—268

Schollemmer, Carl (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, dialectical materialist; professor at Owens College in Manchester, member of the Royal Society, member of the International and the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, friend of Marx and Engels.—19, 63, 68, 70, 443, 495, 497-504, 506

Schramm, Carl August—German Social-Democrat, reformist, left the Party in the 1880s.—462

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, hindered German workers in joining the International, fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; was expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—10; 96, 255, 279, 302, 309, 327, 407, 418

Schwitzguébel, Adhémar (1844-1895)—Swiss anarchist, engraver, member of the International, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the Jura Federation, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—293, 285, 295, 355, 374, 397, 419, 431, 436

Seiffert, Rudolph (1826-1886)—German Social-Democrat, member of Der Volksstaat editorial board, an organiser of
the Woodworkers' Amalgamation.—
432, 468, 510

Senior, Nassau William (1790-1864)—
English economist, vulgarised Ricardo's theory, opposed reduction of the working day.—238-39

Sentinon, Gaspard (d. 1903)—Spanish anarchist, physician, a founder and a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy in Spain, delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869).—285

Serebrennikov, Vladimir Ivanovich (b. 1850)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student unrest (1868-69), was imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress (St Petersburg), then exiled to Riga, fled in 1870, emigrated to England and then to Switzerland, supporter of Nечаев.—26

Serraillier—Auguste Serraillier's wife.—
73, 78, 566

Serraillier, Auguste (b. 1840)—a leader in the French and international working-class movement, shoemaker, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, Holland, Spain (1870) and France (1871-72), in September 1870 was sent to Paris as the General Council's agent, member of the Paris Commune, delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1873), associate of Marx and Engels.—20, 24, 35, 64, 67, 70, 73-74, 77, 79, 121, 141, 205, 222, 225, 256, 265, 278, 280, 302, 375, 378, 398, 432-33, 447, 450, 453, 455, 457-58, 466-67, 481, 490, 496, 508-09, 517-18, 520, 524-27, 535, 537, 560, 566

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—
English playwright and poet.—14, 55, 548-49, 550, 570

Sicard, Auguste Alexandre (1839-c. 1911)—French shoemaker, member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to London.—
234, 269

Sieber, Nikolai Ivanovich (1844-1888)—
Russian economist, one of the first popularisers of Marx's economic works in Russia, advocated radical bourgeois reforms.—457, 469

Sievers—printer in the publishing house of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party.—75, 79, 82

Simon, Ludwig (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49, one of the five imperial regents in 1849, emigrated to Switzerland, lived in Paris (1855-70).—87

Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard (Simonde de) (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, historian, representative of economic romanticism.—165

Skrebitsky, Alexander Ilyich (1827-1915)—Russian liberal historian, author of К деяние по императо Александра II.—469

Smith—a house-agent in London.—12, 16, 43, 51-53, 555, 558-59

Smith, Adolphe (Smith Headingley)—
English journalist, socialist, in 1871 sided with the French Section of 1871 in London, opposed Marx and his supporters.—407, 429

Sonnemann, Leopold (1831-1909)—
German politician, journalist, banker, democrat, founder and publisher of the Frankfurter Zeitung, took South German Federalists' stand in the 1860s, opposed unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-77 and 1878-84).—415

Sorge, Friedrich Adolph(f) (1828-1906)—
prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany,

Spencer, Herbert (1820-1903)—British positivist philosopher, psychologist and sociologist.—276

Speyer, Carl (b. 1845)—German joiner, Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (the 1860s), member of the International, in 1870 emigrated to the USA, member of the General Council from autumn 1872.—243, 251, 334

SPINGARD, Roch Jules Jean Baptiste (1843-1889)—Belgian anarchist, lawyer, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—456

Steens, Eugène (1825-1898)—a leader in the Belgian working-class movement, Left Proudhonist, journalist, member of the International, editor of the Tribune du Peuple, delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871), supported anarchists in 1872.—263, 285, 296, 365, 385

Stefanoni, Luigi (1842-1905)—Italian writer and democratic journalist, rationalist, took part in Garibaldi's campaigns, founder and editor of Il Libero Pensiero, supported Bakuninists.—298, 319-20, 365, 577

Steinmetz, Karl Friedrich von (1796-1877)—Prussian general and field marshal-general (1871), commanded the 1st Army (before September 1870) during the Franco-Prussian war.—28-29

Stepney, Cowell William Frederick (1820-1872)—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), and its Treasurer (1868-70), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1872).—206

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, Chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of and main witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852), chief of military police and head of German counterespionage in France during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—5, 10, 13, 18, 116, 129, 131, 139, 157, 233, 389, 561

STRAUß (STRAUSS), David Friedrich (1808-1874)—German philosopher and writer, Young Hegelian, author of Das Leben Jesu, National-Liberal after 1866.—59, 505

Strohn, Wilhelm—member of the Communist League, a friend of Marx and Engels, refugee in Bradford, England.—390

Stuart, Charles Eduard (1824-1882)—a descendant from the Scottish and English royal house of Stuart, colonel of the Austrian service, took part in the Carlist revolt in Spain (1872-76).—542

Sуетенда, Экав ван—Belgian mechanic, member of the Belgian Federal Council of the International, Treasurer of the mechanics' trade union, Marx's correspondent (1872).—400, 403

Swarm—see Dentaygues, Emile

Sybel, Heinrich von (1817-1895)—German historian and politician, National-Liberal from 1867, an ideolog—
T

Tauchnitz, Karl Christian Philipp (1798-1884)—German publisher and bookseller, published dictionaries.—280

Taylor, Alfred—English worker, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-73).—186

Tenge (born c. 1833)—Gertrud Kugelmann’s friend.—584

Terzaghi, Carlo (b. 1845)—Italian lawyer and journalist, Secretary of the Federation Operaia and the Emancipazione del proletario society in Turin, became police agent in 1872.—292-95, 312-13, 342, 345, 352, 357-58, 392, 432

Testini—Italian student, Bakuninist, member of the Milan Section of the International.—358

Theisz, Albert Frédéric Félix (1839-1881)—a leader in the French working-class movement, engraver, Proudhonist, member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, member of the French Section of 1871 for a short time, member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—192, 205-06, 265, 267-70, 278, 297, 302

Thérésa (real name Emma Valadon) (1837-1919)—French singer.—8

Thiblin, Nicolas Léon (1834-1888)—English journalist, Italian by birth, studied at the military academy in St Petersburg, contributed to several newspapers in London.—4, 10, 15, 86, 158, 573

Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836, 1840), deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) Assemblies, head of the Orleanists after 1848, chief of the executive power (1871), dealt brutally with the Paris Communards (1871), President of the Republic (1871-73).—65, 85, 128, 132, 149, 196, 199, 203, 208, 270, 311, 499, 504, 506, 567, 572, 579

Thomas, Ernest—Hugo Heller’s acquaintance, lived in Oxford in 1873.—496

Tibaldi, Paolo (1825-1901)—Italian revolutionary, Garibaldian, member of the International, took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England.—160, 200

Timashev (Timasheff), Alexander Yegorovich (1818-1893)—Russian statesman, general, Minister of the Interior (1868-77).—105

Tolain, Henri Louis (1828-1897)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, engraver, Right Proudhonist, a leader of the Paris Section of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, deputy to the National Assembly after the elections of 8 February 1871, went over to the side of the Versaillists during the Paris Commune, was expelled from the International on 1 April 1871, a senator in 1876.—293-94

Tomanovskaya (Dmitrieva), Yelisaveta Lukinichna (née Kusheleva) (1851-c. 1910)—Russian revolutionary, was in emigration from 1868 to 1873, took part in publishing the journal Narodnoye Dyelo (People’s Cause), member of the Russian Section of the International in Geneva, supported Marx in the struggle against Bakuninists, friend of Marx and his family, took an active part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression left France, withdrew from revolutionary activities after her return to Russia.—198

Tomás Oliver (Tomas), Francisco (c. 1850-1903)—Spanish anarchick, mason, member of the Spanish Fed-
eral Council of the International (1872-73), a leader of the anarchist organisation in Spain.—433, 445

**Train, George Francis** (1829-1904) — American businessman, supported Victoria Woodhull's bourgeois reformist plans in his newspaper *The Train Ligue.*—275

**Trate, William** — witness for the defence at Jourde's trial.—199

**Travnick (Traunig), János** — Hungarian worker, member of the Workers' Union in Budapest.—194

**Tridon, Edme Marie Gustave** (1841-1871) — French revolutionary, journalist, Blanquist, member of the International, founded *La Patrie en danger* newspaper, member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium.—141, 561

**Truchy** (pseudonym Mousselerès) — French officer, journalist, Bonapartist.—317

**Truelove, Edward** (1809-1899) — publisher and bookseller in London, Chartist, Owenite, printed Marx's *The Civil War in France* (1871).—250, 427

**Trusov, Anton Danilovich** (1835-1886) — Russian revolutionary, Polish by birth, took part in the 1863 Polish uprising, emigrated to Switzerland where he sided with Bakunin, member and Secretary of the *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) editorial board in Geneva, broke with Bakunin, Secretary of the Russian Section of the International, returned to Russia in 1884.—530, 540

**Tschitscherin**—see **Chicherin, Boris Nikolayevich**

**Turski, Kasper Michal** (1847-1925) — Polish revolutionary, Blanquist, participant in the Paris Commune, member of the Bakuninist Slavonic Section in Zurich (1871-72).—227

**Tussy**—see **Marx, Eleanor**

**Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett** (1832-1917) — English anthropologist, ethnographer and historian of primitive culture, supporter of the evolution doctrine.—192, 210

**Tyrtaeus (Tyrtaios)** (7th cent. B.C.) — Greek poet, praised the war feats of the Spartans.—102

**U**

**Urquhart, David** (1805-1877) — British diplomat, writer and politician, Turcophile, Tory M. P. (1847-52), founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-65) and *The Diplomatic Review* (1866-77), exposed foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs.—11, 40

**Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich** (1841-1883) — Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement, member of the Zemlya i Volya (Land and Freedom) society, in 1863 emigrated to England, then to Switzerland, an organiser of the Russian Section of the International, member of the *Narodnoye Dyelo* (People's Cause) editorial board (1868-70), an editor of *L'Égalité* (1870-71), fought against Bakunin and his supporters, delegate to the London Conference of the International (1871), left the revolutionary movement after his return to Russia in the mid-1870s.—179, 220, 226, 263, 266, 315, 322, 329, 396, 456-57, 466, 489, 494, 507, 534, 538-39, 545, 563, 568, 579

**V**

**Vaillant, Edouard Marie** (1840-1915) — French socialist, physician and engineer, Blanquist, member of the
Paris Commune and of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867), London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872), after the Congress’ decision to transfer the General Council to New York left the International.—192, 203, 205, 280, 353, 379, 396, 399, 420, 447, 491

Vallès, Jules Louis (1832-1885)—French politician, writer and journalist, Proudhonist, member of the International and of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, then to Belgium.—234

Van Heddeghem, L. (pseudonym Walter) (born c. 1847)—police agent who infiltrated in the Paris sections of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); was exposed in 1873.—448, 467, 482, 492, 509

Varlin, Louis Eugène (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left 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, member of the Central Committee of the National Guard, member of the Paris Commune, shot by the Versaillists on 28 May 1871.—148, 561

Venedey, Jakob (1805-1871)—German radical journalist and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848, liberal after the 1848-49 revolution.—87

Verdy du Vernois, Julius von (1832-1910)—Prussian general and military writer, during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) Chief of the General Staff department, later War Minister (1889-90).—415

Vermersch, Eugène Marie Joseph (1845-1878)—French journalist, took part in the republican movement, published Le Père Duchêne during the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium, then to Holland and England, editor of Qui Vive!, which attacked the International and the General Council.—235, 268-69, 281, 297, 302, 333, 568

Vernouillet, Juste—director of Lachâtre’s publishing house in Paris.—316, 423, 438, 517

Vésinier, Pierre (1824-1902)—French journalist, refugee, was expelled from the International for slander against the General Council (1868), member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England, an organiser of the Universal Federalist Council, which opposed Marx and the General Council of the International.—151, 186, 297, 302, 386, 407, 429

Vichard, Paul Eugène (b. 1835)—a prominent figure in the French working-class movement, participant in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—517

Vickery, Samuel—Secretary of the British Federal Council of the International (December 1872-May 1873), fought against its reformist wing, President of the British Federation’s Congress in Manchester (1873).—483

 Victor Emmanuel II (1820-1878)—King of Sardinia (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—356

 Victoria (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—70, 74, 77, 94, 100

Victoria (Adelaide Marie Louise) (1840-1901)—elder daughter of Queen Victoria, wife (from 1858) of the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, subsequently German Emperor Frederick III, Empress (1888), took the name of Frederic after her husband’s death (1888).—77, 100

Vieweg, F.—a Paris publisher.—375

Villaret de Prunières, Charles Edmond (1828-1889)—French writer and
journalist, Orleanist, editor of the *Journal des Débats* (1866-73), author of the book on the International (1872) inimical to the working-class movement.—354

Vinoy, Joseph (1800-1880)—French general, Bonapartist, took part in the coup d'État of 2 December 1851, Governor of Paris from 22 January 1871, was active in the suppression of the Paris Commune.—132

Vivanti, Anna—London acquaintance of Marx's daughter Jenny, Paul Lindau's sister.—154

Vogel von Falckenstein, Eduard Ernst Friedrich Hannibal (1797-1885)—German general, during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) General-Governor of the coastal regions of Germany.—75, 79, 82

Vogt, August (c. 1830-c. 1883)—prominent in the German and American working-class movement, shoemaker, member of the Communist League, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the General Association of German Workers, together with Liebknecht opposed Lassalleanism, member of the International, in 1867 emigrated to the USA, member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the USA, correspondent of the General Council, supporter of Marx and Engels.—57, 60, 101, 105, 244

Vogt, Karl (Carl) (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49, one of the five imperial regents (June 1849); refugee in Switzerland from 1849, in the 1850s-60s received subsidies from Napoleon III, slandered Marx and Engels.—130, 132, 138, 144, 146, 299

Voltaire (pen-name of François Marie Arouet) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—226

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wachenhusen, Hans (1823-1898)—German journalist and writer.—228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wachs—captain, Gumpert's relative.—516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagner, Adolph (1835-1917)—German vulgar economist, armchair socialist.—488, 545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter—see Van Heddegem, L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washburne, Elihu Benjamin (1816-1887)—American politician and diplomat, Republican, US Envoy in Paris (1869-77), hostile to the Paris Commune.—169, 171, 176, 188, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watkin, Sir Edward William (1819-1901)—English railway promoter, Liberal M.P.—203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weber, Joseph Valentin (1814-1895)—German watchmaker, took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848, refugee in Switzerland, later in London, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, for his splitting activities and slander of the General Council was expelled from the International in December 1871.—198, 280, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wegmann, Adolph (born c. 1852)—German worker, emigrated to England, member of the Foreign Section of the International in Manchester.—321, 373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wehner, J. G.—German refugee in Manchester, Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s.—68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weiß, Guido (1822-1899)—German democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, in the 1860s belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing), editor of <em>Die Zukunft</em>, organ of the People's Party (1867-71).—145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenzel—see Kugelmann, Ludwig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West, William—American radical, member of the Central Committee of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the International Working Men's Association for North America, Secretary of Section No. 12 (New York) which was expelled from the International by the Hague Congress (1872).—244, 384, 451, 442

Weston, John—active in the British labour movement, carpenter, subsequently manufacturer, Owenite, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), delegate to the London Conference (1865), a leader of the Land and Labour League.—203

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, member of the Communist League, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1851, colonel in the army of the North during the US Civil War, disseminated Marxism in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—536

Whitter, Walter—house-owner in London.—515

Wigand, Hugo (d. 1873)—owner of a publishing firm in Leipzig.—375, 405, 477

William I (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—6, 10, 12, 18, 19, 39, 41, 47-48, 53-54, 61, 71, 74, 76, 85, 88, 90, 109-10, 128, 415, 547, 551

Willigen, P. van der—Dutch journalist, socialist, refugee in London.—434

Wilmart, Raymond (pseudonym Wilmot)—French revolutionary, took part in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Bordeaux sections, in 1873 emigrated to Buenos Aires where he propagated Marx's ideas.—431, 436

Winand, Christian—German worker in London, Lassallean.—321

Windhorst, Ludwig (1812-1891)—German politician, Minister of Justice in Hanover (1851-52, 1862-65), deputy to the Reichstag, a leader of the Party of the 'Centre'.—94

Wolff, Luigi (Louis)—Italian major, originated from the Thurn und Taxis family, follower of Mazzini, member of the Associazione di Mutuo Progresso (organisation of the Italian workers in London), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin's Hall London; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-65), took part in the London Conference (1865); was exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police in 1871.—164, 173, 185

Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League from March 1848, an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49), took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to Switzerland and later to England, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—516

Woodhull, Victoria (née Claflin) (1838-1927)—American feminist, in 1871-72 tried to seize leadership in the North American Federation of the International by organising a section of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements; headed Section No. 12 expelled from the International by the General Council and the Hague Congress (1872), founder and editor of the Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly (1870).—328, 381, 384, 418-19, 485

Wróblewski, Walery (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the 1863-64 Polish uprising, general of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary
for Poland (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), fought against Bakuninists.—175, 199, 218, 272, 276, 390, 421, 460, 473, 481, 484, 532-33, 563

Wulster—German particularist.—48

Würtz—member of the International in the USA, emigrant from Denmark.—520-21

Wurtz, Charles Adolphe (1817-1884)—French organic chemist.—240

Wuttke, Johann Karl Heinrich (1818-1876)—German historian and politician, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (1849), professor at Leipzig University.—389

Y

Yor(c)k, Theodor (1830-1875)—a leader in the German working-class movement, carpenter, Lassallean, member of the Executive committee of the General Association of German Workers, left the Association in 1869 and took part in the organisation of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, its Secretary in 1871-74.—477, 493, 510

Z

Zabel, Friedrich (1802-1875)—German journalist, editor of the Berlin National-Zeitung (1848-75), supporter of the unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy.—200

Zapp—German refugee in Manchester.—495

Zhukovsky (Joukowsky, Joukowski), Nikolai Ivanovich (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist; participant in the St Petersburg revolutionary circles of the early 1860s; from 1862 refugee in Switzerland; a leader of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—268, 315, 456

Zichlinsky—German refugee, Lassallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, late in 1871 was expelled from it for slandering the General Council and for his splitting activities.—207

Zielinski—member of the Universal Federalist Council in London, Polish by birth.—429

Zoncada, Luigi—member of the International's Section in Melegnano.—539

INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

Christ, Jesus (Bib.)—282, 547

Crispinus—a character from a satire by Juvenal; a courtier of the Roman Emperor Domitian.—39

Dulcinea del Toboso—a character in Cervantes' Don Quixote.—498

Dundreary—a character in Tom Taylor's play Our American Cousin, a garrulous, pompous, stupid fop.—584

John Bull—main character in John Arbuthnot's The History of John Bull (1712), his name is used to personify England or Englishmen.—11, 58, 94, 110, 114

Launce—a servant in Shakespeare's comedy Two Gentlemen of Verona.—548

Michel—name for a German philistine.—4, 38-39, 42

Mordecai (Bib.)—a character in The Book of Esther.—245, 293, 305

Moses (Bib.)—a prophet.—375

Panurg—a character in François Rabelais' Horribles et Epouvantables Faits et Prouesses du très renommé Pantagruel.—267

Robert Macaire—a clever swindler, a character immortalised in Honoré Daumier's caricatures.—11

Rosalind—main character in Shakespeare's comedy As You Like It.—586

San Gennaro—Catholic saint, patron of Naples.—185

Winkelried, Arnold—semi-legendary Swiss soldier, fought against the Austrian yoke (14 cent.).—38
INDEX OF QUOTED AND MENTIONED LITERATURE

WORKS BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

Marx, Karl

*Address of the British Federal Council to the Sections, Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members of the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23)


25-556
—Second edition, revised. [London,] 1871.—169, 171, 176
—Third edition, revised. [London,] 1871.—180, 184-85, 186, 355
—Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich. Adresse des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziatie an alle Mitglieder in Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten. In: Der Vorbote, Nrn. 8-10, August-Oktober, 1871.—159
—De Franske Burgeroorlog. In: De Toekomst, jun.-jul. 1871.—161, 170
—La guerra civil en Francia. Manifesto del Consejo general de la Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores. A todos los miembros de esta Asociacion en Europa y en los Estados-Unidos, 30 de mayo de 1871. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 3-5, 7, 8, 10, 12; 3-17 de julio, 31 de julio, 7 de agosto, 21 de agosto, 4 de septiembre de 1871.—170

[Concerning the Arrest of the Members of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party] (present edition, Vol. 22)

—'The Central Committee of the German section of the "International Workmen's Association"...' In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1744, September 15, 1870.—77, 82
—In: The Echo, September 15, 1870.—77, 82

Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council (present edition, Vol. 23)
—'Some weeks ago a pamphlet was published...' In: *The Eastern Post*, No. 191, May 26, 1872. 'International Working Men's Association'.—379, 385, 428


—'The performances of the Versailles Rural Assembly...'; [leaflet]. [London, 1872].—362, 578

—'The performances of the Versailles Rural Assembly...' In: *The Eastern Post*, No. 186, April 20, 1872.—362, 387, 578


—Séance du Conseil général de la Société Internationale du 14 octobre 1871. In: *Qui Vive!*, No. 14, 18 octobre 1871.—201, 225

—Beschluß des Generalrath des Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation vom 14. Oktbr. a 1871. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 88, 1. November 1871.—201, 225

—'Nel processo, detto Netschajeff...' In: *Gazzettino Rosa*, Num. 306, 3 novembre 1871.—245


—Association Internationale des Travailleurs (Conseil Général). In: *La Marseillaise*, No. 145, 14 mai 1870.—342


—The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners. In: *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 1006, November 21, 1869.—169

The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (present edition, Vol. 11)


a In the title erroneously: 19. Oktbr.

— International Working Men's Congress. In: The Times, No. 26225, September 9, 1868.—169

The General Council of the International Working-Men's Association on the War—see First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War and Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War

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 au Comité fédéral, siégeant à la Chaux-de-Fonds. In: La Solidarité, No. 16, 23 juillet 1870.—33

The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland (present edition, Vol. 21)

— Le Conseil Général au Conseil fédéral de la Suisse Romande. Londres, 1 janvier 1870.—26


— Administrative Regulations, revised in accordance with resolutions passed by the Congresses (1866 to 1869), and by the London Conference (1871). In: General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working-Men's Association.—257, 286, 345, 401, 411, 416, 450, 475, 482, 484

Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association (present edition, Vol. 20)


The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (present edition, Vol. 21)

— Le Conseil Général à l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste.—5, 36, 163, 185-86


— The Last Letter from Karl Marx. In: The Sun, September 9, 1871.—209


Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris (present edition, Vol. 22)

— Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris. To the New York Central Committee for the United States' Sections of the International Working Men's Association [London, 1871].—170, 171, 176, 188, 212

On the Freedom of the Press and Meetings in Germany (present edition, Vol. 22)


—Üeber P. J. Proudhon. (Brief an J. B. Schweitzer). In: Der Social-Demokrat, Nrn. 16, 17, 18; 1., 3., 5. Februar 1865.—298

The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon (present edition, Vol. 6)

—Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon. Paris-Bruxelles, 1847.—264, 298, 301, 319, 327, 375, 477


—Internationale Arbeiterassoziation. In: Der Vorbote, Nr. 7, Juli 1870.—25, 26

—'Das vom Generalrath in seiner Sitzung...' In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 65, 13. August 1870.—26


[Record of Marx's speech at the meeting of the General Council of December 19, 1871 on the Attitude of Gladstone's Government to the Refugees from the Commune.] In: The Eastern Post, No. 169, December 23, 1871, 'International Working Men's Association'.—573


[Reply to Brentano's Article] To the Editors of 'Der Volksstaat' (present edition, Vol. 23)

—An die Redaktion des 'Volksstaat'. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 44, 1. Juni 1872.—360, 376, 382

[Reply to Brentano's Second Article] To the Editors of 'Der Volksstaat' (present edition, Vol. 23)

—An die Redaktion des 'Volksstaat'. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 63, 7. August 1872.—410, 415


—Beschuß des Generalrath's der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation bezüglich des 'Beehive'. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 38, 11. Mai 1870.—150

—Communication du Conseil général de Londres de l'Association Internationale. In: La Liberté, No. 55, 12 juillet 1868.—141


—Resolution. Séance du Conseil Général du 17 Octobre 1871. Aux Citoyens membres de la Section française de 1871.—267

Resolutions of the Meeting Held to Celebrate the Anniversary of the Paris Commune (present edition, Vol. 23). In: La Liberté, No. 12, 24 mars 1872.—347, 362


—Resoluciones del Consejo general sobre la division surgida en la Federacion de los Estados-Unidos. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 43, 6 de abril de 1872.—407

Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War (present edition, Vol. 22)


—Der Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation an alle Sektionen in Europa und Amerika. In: Der Volksstaat, No. 76, 21. September 1870.—78, 83

—A Second Address on the War. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1745, September 16, 1870.—84, 85
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature


To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America (present edition, Vol. 20). In: The Daily News, No. 5813, December 23, 1864.—169

To the Editor of 'The Eastern Post' (present edition, Vol. 23). In: The Eastern Post, No. 169, December 23, 1871.—299, 574

To the Editor of 'The Eastern Post' (present edition, Vol. 23). In: The Eastern Post, No. 173, January 20, 1872.—299, 574

To the Editor of 'The Eastern Post' (present edition, Vol. 23). In: The Eastern Post, No. 174, January 28, 1872.—299, 574

[To the Editor of 'The Evening Standard') (present edition, Vol. 22)
—To the Editor. In: The Evening Standard, No. 14695, September 6, 1871.—213

To the Editor of the 'Gaulois' [including Letter to the Editor of 'The New-York Herald'] (present edition, Vol. 22)
—To the Editor of 'The New-York Herald'. In: Le Gaulois, No. 1145, 27 août 1871.—205

[To the Editor of 'La Vérité'] (present edition, Vol. 22)
—'Monsieur le rédacteur...' In: Le Soir, No. 862, 3 septembre 1871.—212

[To the Editor of 'Public Opinion'] Private Letter (present edition, Vol. 22).—201

To the Editor of 'Public Opinion' (present edition, Vol. 22). In: Public Opinion, No. 518, August 26, 1871.—213

To the Editor of 'The Times' (present edition, Vol. 22). In: The Times, No. 27028, April 4, 1871.—149, 168

To the Editorial Boards of the 'Volksstaat' and the 'Zukunft' (present edition, Vol. 22)
—An die Redaktion des 'Volksstaat'. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 26, 29. März 1871.—123

—An die Redaktion der 'Zukunft'. In: Die Zukunft, Nr. 73, 26. März 1871.—123

Engels, Frederick


[Account of Engels' speech at the meeting of the General Council of 30 April 1872 on the slander campaign against the International in Italy.] In: The Eastern Post, No. 188, May 4, 1872.—367

[Account of Engels' speech on the Saragossa Congress and the situation of the International in Italy. From the newspaper report on the General Council meeting of 7 May 1872.] In: The Eastern Post, No. 189, May 12, 1872.—375, 379
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature 733


—Résolutions du Conseil Général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs, Du 18 Juin 1872. In: L'Internationale, No. 182, 7 juillet 1872.—401

The Bakuninists at Work. An Account of the Spanish Revolt in the Summer of 1873 (present edition, Vol. 23)


—Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den letzten Aufstand in Spanien (Separat-Abdruck aus dem 'Volksstaat') [Leipzig, 1873].—542

The Condition of the Working-Class in England. From Personal Observation and Authentic Sources (present edition, Vol. 4)


The Congress at The Hague. (Letter to Enrico Bignami) (present edition, Vol. 23)

—Il congresso all'Aja. In: La Plebe, Num. 106, 5 ottobre 1872. 'Società Internazionale'.—444

The Congress of Sonvillier and the International (present edition, Vol. 23)

—Der Kongress von Sonvilliers und die Internationale. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 3, 10. Januar 1872.—290, 297, 304, 310

The 'Crisis' in Prussia (present edition, Vol. 23)

—Die 'Krisis' in Preußen. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 5, 15. Februar 1873.—468

[Declaration Sent by the General Council to the Editors of Italian Newspapers Concerning Mazzini's Articles about the International] (present edition, Vol. 23)

—Alla redazione della 'Plebe' di Lodi. In: La Plebe, Num. 144, 12 dicembre 1871.—278, 308

—Alla redazione della 'Roma del Popolo'. In: Gazzettino Rosa, Num. 345, 12 dicembre 1871.—278, 308

—Alla redazione della 'Plebe' di Lodi. In: La Favilla, Num. 23, 16 dicembre 1871.—277, 309

—Associazione Internazionale degli Operai. Alla redazione della 'Roma del Popolo'. In: La Roma del Popolo, Num. 43, 21 dicembre 1871.—278, 309

From the International (present edition, Vol. 23)

—Aus der Internationalen. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 53, 2. Juli 1873.—513-14, 517

The General Council to All the Members of the International Working Men's Association (present edition, Vol. 23).—415, 417, 420
The Housing Question (present edition, Vol. 23)

The International and the 'Neuer' (present edition, Vol. 23)
—Die Internationale und der 'Neue'. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 38, 10. Mai 1873.—492

The International in America (present edition, Vol. 23)

—Lettere Londinesi. In: La Plebe, Num. 107, 8 ottobre 1872.—445

The Manchester Foreign Section to All Sections and Members of the British Federation (present edition, Vol. 23)
—International Working Men's Association. The Manchester Foreign Section to all sections and members of the British Federation [leaflet]. Manchester, [1872].—460, 464, 465

Mandat to E. Larroque (present edition, Vol. 23).—454


—'From the Continent we received the following information...' In: The International Herald, Nos. 41, 44, 45, 46; January 11, February 1, 8, 15, 1873.—460


Notes on the War (present edition, Vol. 22). In: The Pall Mall Gazette from July 29, 1870 to February 18, 1871.—7, 15, 17, 24, 35, 49, 56, 85, 555, 556
—Notes on the War.—I. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1703, July 29, 1870.—10, 15, 32
—Notes on the War.—II. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1705, August 1, 1870.—17, 22, 29
—Notes on the War.—III. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1706, August 2, 1870.—17, 22, 29
—The Prussian Victories. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1711, August 8, 1870.—556
—Notes on the War.—V. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1712, August 9, 1870.—42
— Notes on the War.—VI. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1714, August 11, 1870.—42
— Notes on the War.—XII. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1727, August 26, 1870.—58
— Notes on the War.—XIII. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1728, August 27, 1870.—62
— Notes on the War.—XV. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1733, September 2, 1870.—62
— Notes on the War.—XVI. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1737, September 7, 1870.—70
— Notes on the War.—XVII. In: The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1739, September 9, 1870.—62, 70

Notes on the War in Germany (present edition, Vol. 20). In: The Manchester Guardian, Nos. 6190, 6194, 6197, 6201 and 6204; June 20, 25 and 28, July 3 and 6, 1866.—7

[On the Articles in the 'Neuer Social-Demokrat'. (From a Letter to A. Hepner)]
(present edition, Vol. 23)
— Briefkasten. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 37, 7. Mai 1873.—492


— 'It has been known for some time...' In: The Eastern Post, No. 187, April 27, 1872.—356, 367
— È noto gia da qualche tempo che à stata conchiusa. In: Gazzettino Rosa, Num. 127, 7 maggio 1872.—356

Once Again 'Herr Vogt' (present edition, Vol. 22)
— Abermals 'Herr Vogt'. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 38, 10. Mai 1871.—145, 299

[Outline of an Appeal of the General Council to the Weavers' and Spinners' Trade Unions of Manchester for Assistance to the Spanish Textile Workers' Strike] (present edition, Vol. 22).—139

Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy (present edition, Vol. 3)

The Peasant War in Germany (present edition, Vol. 10)
— Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg. 2 Auflage. Leipzig, 1870.—66, 178, 463, 478

a A misprint in the newspaper; should be: 11. November.

—Der deutsche Bauernkrieg. Vorbemerkung. In: Der Volksstaat, Nrn. 27, 28; 2., 6. April 1870.—66

Report to the General Council of the I.W.M.A. upon the Situation in Spain, Portugal and Italy (present edition, Vol. 23).—436, 444


—Risoluzione del Consiglio Generale dell'Associazione Internazionale degli Operai. Seduto 7 ottobre 1871. In: Gazzettino Rosa, Nm. 292, 20 ottobre 1871.—245


—Resolution. In: The Eastern Post, No. 159, October 14, 1871.—257, 267

[Review of Volume One of 'Capital' for 'The Fortnightly Review'] (present edition, Vol. 20)

—Karl Marx on Capital.—212


To the Federal Council of the Spanish Region in Madrid (present edition, Vol. 23).—270, 271, 284

To the General Council of the International Working Men's Association (present edition, Vol. 23).—507

To the Society of Ferrarese Workers (present edition, Vol. 23).—369

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick


—'The Swiss authorities have thought proper...' In: The Eastern Post, No. 178, February 24, 1872. 'International Working Men's Association'.—322
Fictitious Splits in the International. Private Circular from the General Council of the International Working Men's Association (present edition, Vol. 23)


Manifesto of the Communist Party (present edition, Vol. 6)

—Manifest des Kommunistischen Partei. London, 1848.—135, 343, 491


—Manifesto of the German Communist Party. (First published in February 1848.) In: Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly, No. 7 (85), December 30, 1871.—319, 343, 446, 450

—Manifeste de Karl Marx. In: Le Socialiste, Nos. 16, 17, 19-24, 26; 20, 27 janvier, 10, 17, 24 février, 2, 9, 16, 30 mars 1872.—319, 343, 378, 450

—Manifesto comunista de 1848. Precedido de un prologo de sus autores. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 72-77, 2 de noviembre-7 de diciembre de 1872.—450

Preface to the 1872 German Edition of the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' (present edition, Vol. 23)


—Beschlüsse der Delegirtenkonferenz der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, abgehalten zu London vom 17. bis 23. September 1871. In: Der Volkstataa, Nr. 92, 15. November 1871.—234, 237, 571
Resolutions of the General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872 (present edition, Vol. 23)


— Resolutions of the General Congress held at the Hague from the 2nd to the 7th of September, 1872. In: The International Herald, No. 37, December 14, 1872.—454, 458, 518


— To the Editor of 'The Times'. In: The Times, No. 27088, June 13, 1871.—158, 164, 197

— To the Editor of 'The Eastern Post'. In: The Eastern Post, No. 142, June 17, 1871.—158

To the Editor of 'The International Herald' (present edition, Vol. 23)

— 'Dear Citizen, We have hitherto considered...' In: The International Herald, No. 38, December 21, 1872. 'Correspondence'.—460

To the Editor of 'The Times' (present edition, Vol. 22). In: The Times, No. 27017, March 22, 1871.—121, 124, 130

To the Spanish Sections of the International Working Men's Association (present edition, Vol. 23)

— A las secciones españolas de la Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 62, 17 de agosto de 1872.—420

WORKS BY DIFFERENT AUTHORS


Alexis Berneville. [Anonymous novel.] In: Qui Vive!, Nos. 26-33, 36, 38-40, 42, 44, 49-52, 54, 57; 1-9, 12-13, 15-17, 19-20, 22, 28 novembre, 1, 3-4, 7 décembre 1871.—269

Arndt, E. M. Des Teutschen Vaterland. In: Lieder für Teutsche.—13

Avrial, A. Aux Citoyens membres du Conseil général de l'Internationale [manuscript].—268


— Logic. 2 parts. London, 1870.—276

— Mental and Moral Science. 2 parts. London, 1868.—276

— On the Study of Character including an Estimate of Phrenology. London, 1861.—276

— The Senses and the Intellect. 3 ed. London, 1868.—276, 300

—L'Empire knoutogermanique et la révolution sociale. Genève, 1871.—416

—[To the editors of Journal de Genève.] In: Journal de Genève, No. 226, 25 septembre 1873. 'Correspondence'.—538

—Lettres à un français sur la crise actuelle. [Neuchâtel,] septembre 1870.—416


Bakunin, M. Aufruf an die Slaven. Koethen, 1848.—27

[Bakunin, M. or Nechayev, S.] Камехись революционера. Женева [1869].—538

[Bakunin] Бакунинъ, М. А. Русскимъ, полякамъ и всёмъ славянскимъ друзьямъ. In: Колючка (The Bell), No 122 & 123 (supplement), 15 февраля 1862.—27, 404

Batrachomyomachia.—527


Bebel, A. Unsere Ziele. Eine Streitschrift gegen die 'Demokratische korrespondenz'. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig, 1871.—178

Becker, B. Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's. Schleiz, 1868.—215


—Zur Geschichte des Preußischen Regierungssozialismus. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 65, 12. August 1871.—199

[Becker, J. Ph.] Der Völkerkrieg. In: Der Vorbote, Nr. 7, Juli 1870.—27

Beesly, E. S. The International Working Men's Association. In: The Fortnightly Review, No. XLVII, November 1, 1870.—86, 92, 116

—Professor Beesly on the Paris Revolution. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 498, March 25, 1871.—150

—Professor Beesly on the Paris Commune. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 494, April 1, 1871.—150

—Professor Beesly on the 'Poltroons of Belleville'. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 495,a April 15, 1871.—150

—Professor Beesly on Cosmopolitan Republicanism. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 497, April 22, 1871.—150

—Professor Beesly on Communists. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 498, April 29, 1871.—150

a A misprint in the paper; should be: No. 496.
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature


Professor Beesly on the Fall of Paris. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 502, May 27, 1871.—150

Professor Beesly on the Paris Massacres. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 503, June 3, 1871.—150

Professor Beesly on the Comparative Atrocity. In: The Bee-Hive Newspaper, No. 504, June 10, 1871.—150

A Word for France: Addressed to the Workmen of London. London [September 1870].—75

Benedix, R. Die Shakespearomanie. Zur Abwehr. Stuttgart, 1873.—548, 549


Bible

The New Testament

Matthew.—569, 586


— Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne, système de M. Karl Marx. In: Journal des Économistes, Nos. 79, 80, juillet, août 1872.—470


Bovio, G. Una difesa dopo la morte. In: La Libertà, Num. 97-100; 5, 8, 12, 15 luglio 1871.—354

— Via smarrita! In: La Libertà, Num. 90, 10 giugno 1871.—355


— Wie Karl Marx sich vertheidigt. In: Concordia, Nr. 27, 4. Juli 1872.—410, 415


Butt, I. *The Irish People and the Irish Land: a Letter to Lord Lifford*; with comments on the publications of Lord Dufferin and Lord Rosse. Dublin, 1867.—329

Caulaincourt, A. *Die Gegner der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation*. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 8, 27. Januar 1872.—297

[Chernyshevsky] Чернышевский, Н. Г. Дополнения и примечания на первую книгу политической экономии Джона Стюарта Милла. In: Чернышевский, Н. Сочинения. Томъ III. Женева, 1869.—152
— Письма безъ адреса [manuscript, later published in Zurich in 1874].—457, 555
— Сочинения. Очерки изъ политической экономии (по Миллю). Томъ IV.
Genève-Bâle, 1870.—27, 152

[Chicherin] Чичеринъ, Б. Обзоръ историческаго развитія сельской общины въ Россіи. In: Русскій Вѣстникъ, томъ первый. Москва, 1856.—488

Cluseret, G. *L'Internationale et la Dictature. Reponse à la brochure 'Internationale et r{é}volution*'. In: *L'Égalité*, No. 22 et 23, 18 d{é}cembre 1872.—464

Cochrane, A. B. [Speech in the House of Commons, April 12, 1872.] In: *The Times*, No. 27350, April 13, 1872.—578

Cuno, F. [Letter to the Editor of *Der Volksstaat*.] In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 38, 11. Mai 1872.—356

[De Paepe, C.] *Pour paraître apr{é}s la nouvelle ann{é}e consid{é}rations et recherches sur le probl{é}me social au XIX si{è}cle par C. de Paepe. Table des mati{é}res du 2™* volume. In: *L'Internationale*, Nos. 254, 255; 25, 30 novembre 1873.—546-47

Dietzgen, J. *Die Religion der Sozial-Demokratie*. Drei Kanzelreden. Leipzig, 1871.—178

— *The International Conference*. In: *The Scotsman*, No. 8789, October 2, 1871.—225, 381
— *The International Working Men's Association*. In: *The Times*, No. 27205, October 27, 1871.—233


Elcho, F. *To the Editor of 'The Times*. In: *The Times*, No. 26835, August 22, 1870.—55

Feuerbach, L. *Das Wesen des Christenthums*.—574
— *Essence du christianisme*. Traduction de l'allemand, avec autorisation de l'auteur par Joseph Roy. Paris, 1864.—574
— *Vorlesungen {ü}ber das Wesen der Religion*...—574
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature


[Flerovsky] Флеровский, Н. Положение рабочего класса в России. С.—Петербург, 1869.—105

[Forbes, A.] The Opening of the Strasburg University. The Academical Excursion. In:

The Daily News, No. 8120, May 7, 1872.—366

Frankel, L. Ein belauschtes Zwiegespräch. VIII. In: Volkswille, Nr. 10, 2. April 1870.—6


—An Wolfgang im Felde.—63

—Hurra, Germania!—55, 102

Garibaldi, G. Garibaldi a Petroni. In: Avvenire de Sardegna, ottobre 1871.—288

—[A letter to Arthur Arnold.] In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 80, 81; 4., 7. Oktober 1871.—562

Geffcken, F. H. Das Deutsche Reich und die Bankfrage. Hamburg, 1873.—545

Goegg, A. [Erklärung an die Redaktion des 'Schwäbischen Mercur'. Genf, den 25. Juli, 1871.] In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 64, 9. August 1871.—199

Goethe, J. W. von. Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre.—135

[Golovachev] Головачев, А. Десять лет реформ. 1861-1871. Санктпетербург, 1872.—469

Guillaume, I. Réponse du citoyen Guillaume. In: Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs, No. 10-11, 15 juin 1872.—405

Halbjahrskatalog der im deutschen Buchhandel erschienenen Bücher, Zeitschriften und Landkarten. Leipzig [published from 1798].—519


Harrison, F. To the Editor of 'The Times'. In: *The Times*, No. 27309, February 26, 1872. ‘The French exiles’.—326


Heine, H. *Disputation*. In: *Romancero*.—545

—Die Grenadiere. In: *Buch der Lieder*.—61

—Neuer Frühlings. Prolog.—94

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). *Satirae*.—265, 386

Hugo, V. *Aux allemands*. In: *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 253, 10 septembre 1870.—76

—In: *Le Rappel*, No. 455, 10 septembre 1870.—76

[Jakoby and Zaitsev] Я kobи.] П. [и Зайцев, В. А.] О положении рабочих в западной Европе со общественно-гигиенической точки зрения. Ив: Архив судебной медицины и общественной гигиены. Книжка третья. С.-Петербургъ, 1870.—102—05


Jesus meine Zuversicht! (German song).—10, 13


—‘Monsieur le rédacteur...’ In: *La Liberté*, No. 18, 4 mai 1873. ‘Communications’.—586

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis). *Satirae*.—37

Kalb, T., Beer, G. *Wer ist Joseph Schneider?* In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 14, 17. Februar 1872.—297, 429


Kohlrausch, F. *Kurze Darstellung der deutschen Geschichte für Volksschulen*. Elberfeld, 1822.—59
Lafargue, P. A los internacionales de la region española. Madrid, 1872.—417

— Apertura del segundo congreso obrero de la region española. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 44, 13 de abril de 1872.—365

— El apólogo de San Simon. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 29, 1 de enero de 1872.—338


— Correspondance particulière de ‘La Liberté’. In: La Liberté, No. 17, 28 avril 1872. ‘Espagne’.—365

— Aus Spanien. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 36, 4. Mai 1872.—365

— Congrès de Saragosse (Correspondance particulière de la ‘Liberté’). In: La Liberté, No. 18, 5 mai 1872.—365, 368, 375

— Aus Spanien. (Fortsetzung der Berichts über den Kongreß zu Saragossa, nach der Brüsseler ‘Liberté’.) In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 41, 22. Mai 1872.—365, 368, 375

— Organización del trabajo. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 35-38; 11, 18, 25 de febrero, 3 de marzo de 1872.—338

— Las panaceas de la burguesía. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 33, 34; 28 de enero, 4 de febrero de 1872.—338

— El reinado de la burguesía. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 32, 21 de enero de 1872.—338


¡Leed y estrecomeos! (Spanish poem).—339

Lefaivre, A. [Letter to Bebel and Liebknecht.] In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 101. 17. Dezember 1870.—196, 198

Léo, A. La guerre sociale. Discours prononcé au Congrès de la paix à Lausanne (1871). Neuchâtel, 1871.—256

Lessner, F. ‘Honest’ John Hales. In: The International Herald, No. 41, January 11, 1873.—468

Liebknecht, W. To the Editor of ‘The Eastern Post’. In: The Eastern Post, No. 185, April 14, 1872. ‘The Leipzig Trial’.—360

— [Letter to Stefanoni, 28 December 1871.] In: Il Libero Pensiero, Num. 3, 18 gennaio 1872.—324, 577

— [Letter to Stefanoni, 28 February 1872.] In: Gazzettino Rosa, Num. 110, 20 aprile 1872.—324, 577
Mr. Lincoln and the International Working Men's Association (signed: Charles Francis Adams). In: The Times, No. 25101, February 6, 1865.—169

Les huit journées de mai derrière les barricades. Bruxelles, 1871.—569

Monsieur le Rédacteur, Lorsque j'ai lu l'article publié par La Liberté...' In: La Liberté, No. 14, 6 avril 1873. 'Communications'.—485

The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man. Mental and Social Condition of Savages. London, 1870.—192, 210, 218


Réponse du citoyen Malon. In: Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs, Nos. 10-11, 15 juin 1872.—411

Marseillaise (French patriotic song, later the national anthem of the French Republic; text and music by C. J. Rouget de Lisle).—8, 10, 13, 94

To the Editor of 'Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly'. In: Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly, No. 23/75, October 21, 1871.—220, 242

Our Uncultivated Lands. In: The Fortnightly Review, No. XLIV, August 1, 1870.—40

Agli operai italiani. In: La Roma del Popolo, Num. 20, 13 luglio 1871.—180, 185-86


— Documenti sull'Internationale. I, II, III. In: La Roma del Popolo, Num. 38, 39 and 41; 16, 23 novembre and 7 dicembre 1871.—278

El Manifesto del Partido comunista ante los sabios de la Alianza. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 77, 7 de diciembre de 1872.—458

'Compagnons rédacteurs...' In: Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs, No. 20-21, 10 novembre 1872.—454

Utopia. The first edition appeared in 1516 in Louvain under the title De optimo statu rei publicae deque nova insula Utopia.—477, 478


— Zur Wohnungsfrage (Antwort an Friedrich Engels von A. Mülberger). In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 86, 26. Oktober 1872.—463

An die Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich. In: Volkswille, Nr. 23, 19. März 1873.—491

A Memoir on Ireland native and saxon. London, 1869.—329

N.; Zaizev, B.; Ozeroff, W.; Ross, A.; Holstein, W.; Ralli, Z.; Oelsnitz, A.; Smirnoff, W. A la rédaction de 'La Liberté'. In: La Liberté, No. 41, 13 octobre 1872.—469
[Ooutine, N.] Le fédéralisme ou la centralisation. Voulons-nous la souveraineté républicaine ou la dictature monarchique? In: L'Égalité, Nos. 9 et 10, 7 mai 1872.—396

Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso). Remedia amoris.—542

Partant pour la Syrie (official anthem of the Second Empire in France, text by A. de la Borde, music by L. Drouet).—10, 12

Pertz, G. H. Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau. Bände I-III. Berlin, 1864, 1865, 1869.—93

[Pio, L.] Om vore Landboforhold (Brev fra en Landmand). In: Socialisten, Nr. 17, November 4, 1871.—340


Rabelais, F. Horribles et Epouvantables Faits et Prouesses du très renommé Pantagruel.—267

Reuter, F. Ut mine Stromtid.—158


Sax, E. Die Wohnungsstände der arbeitenden Klassen und ihre Reform. Wien, 1869.—405, 410

Schäffle, A. E. Fr. Kapitalismus und Socialismus mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Geschäfts- und Vermögensformen. Vorträge zur Versöhnung der Gegensätze von Lohnarbeit und Kapital. Tübingen, 1870.—70, 72, 78


Scheu, A. An die sozialdemokratische Partei Oesterreichs. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 22, 15. März 1873.—491

—Das Programm der österreichischen Arbeiterpartei. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 59, 16. Juli 1873.—520

Schiller, F. Die Philosophen.—4

Schneider, J. An die Socialdemokraten Deutschlands. In: Neuer Social-Demokrat, Nr. 67, 3. Dezember 1871.—280

Schramm, C. A. Der Tauschwerth. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 82, 12. Oktober 1872.—362

Schwitzguebel, A. Au Conseil général de l'Internationale, à Londres. In: Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs, supplément au No. 13, 27 juillet 1872.—419

Senior, N. W. Letters on the Factory Act, as it affects the cotton manufacture. To which are appended, a Letter to Mr. Senior from L. Horner, and Minutes of a conversation between Mr. E. Ashworth, Mr. Thomson and Mr. Senior. London, 1837.—239
Serraillier, A. 'Monsieur le Rédacteur...' In: Courrier de l'Europe, No. 1620, 18 mars 1871.—121

—'Monsieur le Rédacteur de La Liberté...' In: La Liberté, No. 15, 13 avril 1873. 'Communications'.—508

—Monsieur le Rédacteur de La Liberté. In: La Liberté, No. 23, 8 juin 1873. 'Communications'.—508

Shakespeare, W. As You Like It.—586

—King Henry IV.—55

—The Merry Wives of Windsor.—548

—A Midsummer Night's Dream.—550

—Romeo and Juliet.—14

—Two Gentlemen of Verona.—548

Sicard, A. [Letter to Vermersch of November 22.] In: Quì Vive!, No. 46, 24 novembre 1871.—269

[Sieber, N.] Зибер, Н. Теорія цінності і капіталу Д. Рикардо в європі з позицій ідеї суспільних розмірів і розрахунків. Опинь критико-економічного iшлівляння. Київ, 1871.—457, 469


[Skrebitsky] Скребицький, А. Крестьянское дѣло в царствованіе императора Александра II. Материалы для истории освобождения крестьян. Т. 1-4 (в 5-ти кн.). Боннъ на Рейнѣ, 1862-1868.—469

Spencer, H. First Principles. London, 1862.—276

—The Principles of Psychology. London, 1855.—276, 300

Stefanoni, L. [Letter to Verdi.] In: Il Libero Pensiero, Num. 20, 16 novembre 1871.—320

—[Letter to Bizzoni.] In: Il Libero Pensiero, Num. 21, 23 novembre 1871.—320


—An Ernst Renan. In: Allgemeine Zeitung, 18. August 1870 (Beilage).—59

Sybel, H. Die Lehren des heutigen Socialismus und Kommunismus. In: Kölnische Zeitung, Nr. 89, Drittes Blatt, 29. März 1872; Nr. 90, Erstes Blatt, 30. März 1872; Nr. 92, Drittes Blatt, 2. April 1872; Nr. 93, Drittes Blatt, 3. April 1872; Nr. 94, Drittes Blatt, 4. April 1872; Nr. 95, Drittes Blatt, 5. April 1872.—462

Tridon, G. La commune révolutionnaire de Paris. In: La Cigale, No. 29, 19 juillet 1868.—141


v.d.W. [van der Willigen, P.] De Internationale en de Parijsche Commune van 1871. Amsterdam, [1872].—434

Vogt, C. *An die Redaktion des 'Schweizer Handels-Couriers*. In: *Der Volksstaat*, Nr. 36, 3. Mai 1871.—144
— *Politische Briefe an Friedrich Kolb*. Biel, 1870.—144

*Die Wacht am Rhein* (German song).—92

Wagner, A. *Die Abschaffung des privaten Grundeigenthums*. Leipzig, 1870.—488


Woodhull, V. *The party of the people to secure and maintain human rights to be inaugurated in the U.S., in May, 1872*. In: *Woodhull & Clafin's Weekly*, No. 26/104, May 11, 1872.—384


Yankee Doodle (popular American song).—569

[Zhukovsky] Жуковский, Ю. *Карл Маркс и его книга о капитале*. (Manuscript, later published in: *Вестник Европы, том V, книга 9-я, сентябрь, 1877.*)—457

**DOCUMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION**


*An den Generalrat der Internationalen Arbeiterassocaziation in London. Der Ausschuss der sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands* [manuscript].—44

*Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores. Consejo general*. [Address to the Spanish Workers of February 23, 1873.] In: *La Emancipación*, Núm. 89, 18 de marzo de 1873.—484, 488

---

'a Documents written by Marx and Engels see in the section 'Works by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels'.
Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores. Estracto de las actas del segundo Congreso obrero de la Federación regional española, celebrado en Zaragoza en los días 4 al 11 abril de 1872, según las actas y las notas tomadas por la comisión nombrada al efecto en el mismo. Valencia, 1872.—375


Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte-rendu du IV°-Congrès international tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869. Bruxelles, 1869.—292, 308

Au Congrès régional belge. New York, le 1-er décembre 1872. [Signed:] F. A. Sorge.—467


— An das deutsche Volk! An die Sozialdemokraten Deutschlands! In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 73, 11. September 1870.—71

Aux travailleurs allemands! [Signed:] Granier A., Polletti E., Combe E., Bastelica A.... In: L'Internationale, No. 89, 25 septembre 1870: 'Section marseillaise de l'Association internationale des travailleurs'.—84

Braunschweig, 17. Juli 'In der gestrigen, von Mitgliedern der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei berufenen, stark besuchten Volksversammlung...' Braunschweig, [1870].—3


Congrès ouvrier belge du 14 juillet. In: L'Internationale, No. 184, 21 juillet 1872.—419


Conseil Général de l'Association internationale des travailleurs. In: Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs, No. 4, 15 février 1873. 'La suspension de la Fédération jurassienne'.—475


—In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 49, 18. Juni 1873. 'Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation'.—508

General Council of the International Workingmen's Association. Mandate. [Signed:] F. A. Sorge, New York, January 5th 1873.—450


International Working-Men's Association. [Report of the meeting of the General Council of April 9, 1872.] In: The Eastern Post, No. 185, April 14, 1872.—361


Die Landesversammlung der Sächsischen Social-Demokraten. In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 3, 10. Januar 1872.—298, 304, 310


La Nueva Federación madrileña a todas las federaciones, secciones é individuos de la Asociación Internacional en España. Madrid, 1 de noviembre de 1872. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 73, 9 de noviembre de 1872.—447-48

Procès-Verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 Septembre 1867, Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867.—350

Rapport de la commission d'enquête sur la Société l'Alliance secrète. [Signed:] Cuno, Ph.-P., Lucain. In: La Liberté, Nos. 37, 42; 15 septembre, 20 octobre 1872.—430, 456


— Respuesta del comité federal romano a la circular de los diez y seis firmantes del Congreso de Sonvilliers. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 30, 7 de enero de 1872.—284

Résolution de l'Assemblée générale de la Fédération genevoise concernant la Conférence de Londres. In: L'Égalité, No. 23, 7 décembre 1871.—284, 568

— Resolución de la Asamblea general de la federación ginebrina, concerniente á la Conferencia de Londres. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 29, 1 de enero de 1872.—284


Résolutions du quatreème Congrès romand tenu à Vevey, les 2 et 3 juin 1872. Quatrième résolution. Contre la suppression du Conseil Général. In: L'Égalité, No. 12, 13 juin 1872.—399, 401


Serraillier, A. Au citoyen Vermersch, rédacteur du 'Qui Vive!'. In: ‘Qui Vive!, No. 39, 16 novembre 1871.—256


Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature

Troisième congrès de l'Association internationale des travailleurs. Compte rendu officiel. Bruxelles, 1868.—351

* * *

Association internationale des travailleurs. Declaration de la section française fédéraliste de 1871, siégeant à Londres. Londres, 1871 a.—302


Association internationale des travailleurs. Section française à Londres de 1871. Statuts. In: Qui Vive!, No. 6, 8-9 octobre 1871.—267, 268, 331


—In: La Revolution Sociale, No. 8, 14 décembre 1871.—310

—Circular á todas las federaciones de la Asociacion Internacional de los Travajadores. In: La Emancipación, Núm. 28, 25 de diciembre de 1871.—285

Déclaration de la minorité. In: Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs, No. 17 et 18, 15 septembre-1 octobre 1872.—430

Federazione Italiana. 1 a Conferenza. Risoluzione. Rimini, 6 agosto 1872. [Signed:] Carlo Cafiero, Andrea Costa.—424, 425, 426


Manifeste aux Sections de l'Internationale. Neuchâtel, 5 septembre 1870. In: Solidarité, No. 22, supplément.—80

Palladino, C. Relazione sulla Sezione Napoletana dell'Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori. Napoli, 15 novembre 1871 [manuscript].—259


Protestation. In: Qui Vive!, No. 42, 19-20 novembre 1871.—256, 268

Rapport du Comité fédéral romand siégeant à St.-Imier-Sonvillier, présenté au Congrès

a The first of the list of documents that follow, drawn up by groups and organisations opposing the General Council of the I.W.A., not admitted into the Association or expelled from it.
INDEX OF QUOTED AND MENTIONED LITERATURE

753

régional de la fédération romande de l'Internationale tenu à Sonvillier, le 12 novembre 1871. [Signed:] Adhémar Schwitzguébel. In: La Révolution sociale, No. 5, 23 novembre 1871.—291-93, 295

Résolutions du Congrès anti-autoritaire international tenu à Saint-Imier le 15 septembre 1872 par les délégués des Fédérations et Sections italiennes, françaises, espagnoles, américaines et jurassiennes, 1872.—448, 450

To the Branches, Sections and Members of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association. [London, 1872].—459, 464

DOCUMENTS

Convention entre M. le comte de Bismark, chancelier de la Confédération germanique, stipulant au nom de S. M. l'empereur d'Allemagne, roi de Prusse, et M. Jules Favre, ministre des affaires étrangères du Gouvernement de la défense nationale, munis de pouvoirs réguliers. In: Journal officiel de la République française, No. 29, 29 janvier 1871.—109, 112, 113

Favre, J. [Circular to the diplomatic representatives of the French Republic.] Versailles, le 6 juin, 1871. In: Journal officiel de la République française, No. 159, 8 juin 1871.—164


Pius IX. Etsi multa luctuosa, 21 novembre 1873.—547

Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, embracing the account of its operations and inquiries from August 2, 1869 to March 1, 1870, inclusive, being the first seven months since its organization. Boston, 1870.—56, 60

[Reports on the trial of W. Liebknecht, A. Bebel and A. Hepner on 11-26 March 1872 in Leipzig.] In: Der Volksstaat, Nr. 21-34, 13. März-27. April 1872.—360

République Française. Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité! Elections à l'Assemblée nationale. Fait à Bordeaux, le 31 janvier 1871.—110, 113


Società Democratica Internazionale di Firenze ai Cittadini della Comune di Parigi. Firenze, 12 aprile 1871. In: Gazzettino Rosa, Num. 111, 22 aprile 1871.—170

Statuto della Società universale dei Razionalisti. In: Il Libero Pensiero, Num. 18, 2 novembre 1871.—319

Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages des Norddeutschen

To the People of France and of Germany. London, 1870.—9, 11, 23, 31-32, 34-36, 37, 40, 64


ANONYMOUS ARTICLES AND REPORTS PUBLISHED IN PERIODIC EDITIONS

Arbeiter Zeitung, Nr. 3, 22. Februar 1873: Fabrikantenspiegel.—485

L'Avenir libéral, No. 376, 5 septembre 1871: [Report on Karl Marx's death.] Paris, le 4 septembre 1871. 'Dernières Nouvelles'.—213

Braunschweiger Volksfreund, Nr. 139, 16. Juni 1872: Die anti-sozialistische Konferenz in Berlin.—402

Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs, No. 6, 10 mai 1872: La Liberté de Bruxelles du 5 mai publiée...—374, 375, 392, 393, 404
—No. 6, 10 mai 1872: Le vote du 12 mai.—395
—No. 17 et 18, 15 septembre 1872: Les deux Congrès de Saint-Imier.—436, 441

The Daily News, No. 7561, July 25, 1870: Karl Blind's Speech on the War.—16
—No. 7840, June 15, 1871: [Excerpt from The Civil War in France].—159-60
—No. 7899, August 23, 1871: Trial of the Communist Prisoners.—207
—No. 7900, August 24, 1871: Trial of the Communist Prisoners.—207
—No. 8096, April 9, 1872: News from Berlin.—362

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Nr. 300, 24. Dezember 1871: Die Internationale.—288

The Eastern Post, No. 168, December 16, 1871: Bradlaugh and the Communists—299, 567, 574

L'Égalité, No. 24, 24 décembre 1871: Déclaration de la rédaction.—284, 292
—No. 24, 24 décembre 1871: La politique de l'Internationale.—282
—No. 9 et 10, 7 mai 1872: Les péripétiers internationales 'Italie'.—356

La Emancipacion, Núm. 24, 27 de noviembre de 1871: La política de la Internacional—277, 282
—Núm. 30, 7 de enero de 1872: El Congreso semestral de la federación belga.—296
—Num. 31, 14 de enero de 1872: La internacional en Dinamarca.—340
—Núm. 31, 14 de enero de 1872: Sucesos de la semana.—297, 299, 302
—Núm. 52, 53; 8, 15 de junio de 1872: El proyecto belga de Estatutos generales.—393, 399, 401-02
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature

—Núm. 54, 22 de junio de 1872: La burguesía y la Internacional en los Estados-Unidos.—407

—Núm. 68, 5 de octubre de 1872: Proudhon y las huelgas.—442

—Núm. 71, 26 de octubre de 1872: Los medios de la Alianza.—449, 456

The Evening Standard, No. 14623, June 14, 1871 (leader).—159

The Examiner, No. 3318, September 2, 1871: A New Socialist Programme.—212

La Federación, No. 120, 3 de diciembre de 1871: La Política de la Internacional.—277

—No. 162, 21 de setiembre de 1872: El Congreso de la Haya.—277

—No. 163, 28 de setiembre de 1872: El Congreso de la Haya, Congreso de la Federación del Jura.—448

—No. 183, 15 de febrero de 1873: La verdad se va abriendo paso.—482

Gazzettino Rosa, Num. 360, 28 diciembre 1871: Movimento operajo.—294

The Graphic, No. 81, June 17, 1871. 'Chronicle'.—159

L'Illustration, No. 1498, 11 novembre 1871: Karl Marx*.—486

L'Internationale, No. 230, 8 juin 1873: Congrès jurassien des 27 et 28 avril 'Suisse'.—508

Il Libero Pensiero, Num. 1, 4; 4, 25 gennaio 1872: L'Internazionale e il Consiglio Supremo di Londra.—320, 577

La Liberté, Nos. 49, 51; 8, 22 décembre 1872: Karl Marx et son analyse de la valeur (Le Capital).—585

The Manchester Courier, No. 4272, July 22, 1870: Meeting of Germans in Manchester.—8

The Manchester Guardian, No. 7466, July 22, 1870: Meeting of Germans in Manchester.—8


Neuer Social-Demokrat, Nr. 68, 6. Dezember 1871: [Report from London.] 'Politische Uebersicht'.—280, 577

—Nr. 69, 8. Dezember 1871: [Report from London.] 'Politische Uebersicht'.—280, 577

—Nr. 69, 8. Dezember 1871: [Report from Denmark.] 'Politische Uebersicht.'—281

—Nr. 70, 10. Dezember 1871: [Federal Council of the British sections of the International] 'Politische Uebersicht.'—280-81, 577

—Nr. 49, 27. April 1873: Internationale Arbeiterassoziation.—492

a The biographical part of the article was apparently written by Engels.
The New-York Herald, No. 12765, August 3, 1871: The International.—205


The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 1707, August 3, 1870: 'Observations of the News'.—32
—No. 1712, August 9, 1870: England's Position. [Signed by pseudonym: Von Thunder-ten-Tronckh].—49
—No. 1713, August 10, 1870: Affair in Paris. Prospects of Revolution.—41
—No. 1717, August 15, 1870: [Report from The Daily News about Karl Blind's intention to issue a pamphlet].—44
—No. 1744, September 15, 1870: [Reprint from The Times] Mr. Beesly's Good Word for France.—85
—No. 1979, June 17, 1871: The International Working Men's Association (leader).—158, 159

Paris-Journal, No. 71, 14 mars 1871: Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale.—121, 123, 124, 130
—No. 76, 19 mars 1871: Lettre du Grand Chef de l'Internationale.—121, 123, 124, 130

O Pensamento Social, Núm. 1, 2; fevereiro, março 1872: [Rendering of the Danish Federal Council's report to the General Council and Pio's article from Socialisten].—340

Le Petit Journal, No. 3005, 25 mars 1871: Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale.—144, 146
—No. 3016, 5 avril 1871: [Note on Stieber].—129

La Plébe, Num. 112, 26 ottobre 1872: D'imminente publicazione.—444

La Province, No. 428, 5 avril 1871: Nouvelles d'hier.—131

The Public Opinion, No. 517, August 19, 1871: A German View of the Internationale.—200

La Révolution sociale, No. 5, 23 novembre 1871. 'Bulletin de l'Extérieur. Espagne.'—278

La Solidarité, No. 16, 23 juillet 1870: [Reprint of the General Council's resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland with editors' comments].—33

The Spectator, No. 2242, June 17, 1871: 'The English Communists on Paris'.—159

The Standard, No. 14627, June 19, 1871 (leader).—159

Die Tagwacht, Nr. 1, 6. Januar 1872: Die Internationale.—302-03
—Nr. 1, 6. Januar 1872: [Resolution of the Belgian Federation's Congress]. 'Belgien'.—296
—Nr. 23, 7. Juni 1873: Der Kongreß in Olten und die Gewerkschaftsbewegung der Schweiz.—509

The Times, No. 24535, April 17, 1863. 'The Budget'.—360
Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature

—No. 26811, July 25, 1870: Proposed Treaty between France and Prussia.—10
—No. 26820, August 3, 1870 (leader).—29
—No. 26857, September 16, 1870: The Emperor Napoleon (leader).—85
—No. 26859, September 19, 1870. 'Russia'.—87
—No. 26976, February 2, 1871: The German Terms of Peace.—109, 112
—No. 27017, March 22, 1871: The International Society.—122
—No. 27093, June 19, 1871 (leader).—159
—No. 27095, June 21, 1871 (leader).—159
—No. 27155, August 30, 1871: A New Socialist Programme.—212

Der Volksstaat, Nr. 57, 17. Juli 1870. 'Politische Uebersicht.'—5, 8
—Nr. 58, 20. Juli 1870. 'Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!'—3
—Nr. 4, 11. Januar 1871. 'Politische Uebersicht.'—97
—Nr. 10, 1. Februar 1871: Wahl-Angelegenheiten. Wahlbezirk Stuttgart.—113
—Nr. 31, 15. April 1871: Herr Vogt.—130, 131
—Nr. 63, 5. August 1871: [Report on the trial of Liebknecht, Bebel and Hepner].—198
—Nr. 73, 9. September 1871: Zur Notiz.—215
—Nr. 92, 15. November 1871: [List of Italian workers' and democratic newspapers].—238
—Nr. 104, 30. Dezember 1871. 'Politische Uebersicht.'—288
—Nr. 3, 10. Januar 1872: Die Landesversammlung der Sächsischen Social-Demokraten.—310
—Nr. 10, 3. Februar 1872: [Translation of the editorial Note from La Emancipacion].—302
—Nr. 40, 18. Mai 1872: Neustes Stückchen deutscher Cultur für die 'verkommenen' Französen. 'Politische Uebersicht'.—366
—Nr. 48, 14. Juni 1873; Zur Spaltung der Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich.—520

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly, No. 25/103, May 4, 1872: Remarks.—383
INDEX OF PERIODICALS

Allgemeine Zeitung—a German conservative daily founded in 1798; from 1810 to 1882 it was published in Augsburg.—19

L'Anticristo. Cronaca grigia settimanale—an Italian radical weekly published in Turin in January-May 1872.—362

Arbeiter-Zeitung—a workers' weekly, organ of the German Section No. 1 and the Federal Council of the International for North America, published in New York from February 1873 to March 1875; carried reports of the General Council's meetings and documents of the International as well as some works of Marx and Engels. In the summer of 1874 it began to deviate from the International's line.—485, 490, 507

Asmodée—a weekly published in Amsterdam from 1854 to 1877.—91

Augsburger—see Allgemeine Zeitung

L'Avenir libéral. Journal libéral hebdomadaire—a Bonapartist paper published from 21 June to 15 September 1870 in Paris, and from 22 March to 29 May and from 8 July to 18 November 1871 in Versailles; was banned during the Paris Commune.—213

The Bee-Hive Newspaper—a weekly trade-unionist newspaper published under various titles in London from 1861 to 1876; from November 1864 to April 1870 it printed documents of the International; in view of the growing influence of the bourgeois radicals on the newspaper's editorial board, the General Council of the International broke off relations with it in April 1870.—77, 150, 462

Braunschweiger Volksfreund—a German daily (a weekly up to No. 22), organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), published in Brunswick from 15 May 1871 to 29 October 1878; B. Becker, W. Bracke, W. Blos and S. Kokosky were on its editorial board.—402

Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs—an organ of the Swiss anarchists; published in French under the editorship of
James Guillaume in 1872-78, at first twice a month, and from July 1873 weekly.—374, 375, 395, 397, 404, 405, 408, 419, 436, 441, 454, 507

La Campana. Organo socialista—a weekly, organ of the Bakuninists, published in Naples in January-February 1872.—338, 357

La Capitale. Gazzetta di Roma—an Italian democratic daily published in 1870-72.—220

The Commonwealth—a weekly of the Central Council of the International published in London from February 1866 to July 1867; it was the successor of The Workman's Advocate; Eccarius was its editor from February to April 1866; Marx was on the Board of Directors till June 1866; because of the growing influence of the trade-unionists on the board, the newspaper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—363

Concordia. Zeitschrift für die Arbeiterfrage—an organ of the German industrialists and armchair socialists founded in 1871; published in Berlin till 1876.—360, 376, 377, 410, 415

Courrier de l'Europe. Echo du continent—a French paper, organ of the Orleanists, published in London in 1840-89.—121

Courrier de France—a French paper, organ of the Legitimists, published in Paris from 1872.—405

Courrier de la Gironde—a reactionary newspaper published in Bordeaux from 1792.—122

Le Courrier de Lyon—a bourgeois-republican daily published from 1834 to 1939.—122

Crîmmîtschauer Bürgcr- und Bauernfreund. Organ des gesamten Osterlandes—a German Social-Democratic daily published in Crîmmîtschau in 1870-79.—167


The Daily Telegraph—a liberal and, from the 1880s, conservative daily published in London from 1855 to 1937; after its merger with The Morning Post in 1937, it came out as The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post.—52, 159, 207

La Défense nationale. Journal quotidien—a Left Republican daily published in Bordeaux in 1870-71; members of the International were among its contributors.—86, 89

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—a newspaper published under this title in Leipzig from 1843 to 1879; until the summer of 1848 it was conservative but later adopted a liberal stance.—288

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher—a German-language yearbook published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, came out in February 1844. It carried several works by Marx and Engels.—135, 136, 375

Die Deutsche Post—see Londoner Deutsche Post

Dundee Advertiser—a Scottish liberal paper published in 1801-1926 (a daily from
1861), in 1926 merged with Dundee Courier and came out as Dundee Courier and Advertiser.—213


The Echo—a liberal daily published in London from 1868 to 1907.—77, 159

L'Égalité. Journal de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs de la Suisse romande—a French-language 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 controlled by the Bakuninists.—25-27, 78, 179, 256, 281, 282, 284, 290, 292, 294, 301, 310, 356, 375, 396, 399, 401, 408, 420, 447, 453, 458, 464, 489, 494

L'Eguaglianza. Foglio ebdomadario della Società Internazionale degli Operai—a weekly published in Sirgenti (Sicily) from July 1871 to March 1872, organ of the local section of the International.—306, 355, 359

Elberfelder Zeitung—a German daily published from 1834 to 1904; a liberal newspaper in the 1860s.—48, 228


The Evening Standard—a conservative evening daily founded in London in 1827; from 1857 it came out as a morning newspaper under the title The Standard, from 1860 to 1905 under the titles The Evening Standard and The Standard.—159, 213

The Examiner—a liberal weekly published in London from 1808 to 1881.—212


La Federación. Organo de la Federación de la Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores—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; was under the influence of the Bakuninists.—140, 271, 277, 359, 436, 448, 482

Felleisen. Organ der Deutschen Arbeiterbildungsvereine in der Schweiz—a Swiss magazine, organ of the educational societies of German workers in Switzerland, published in Zurich and Geneva from 1862 to 1874; in August 1868 joined the International.—98, 492

Ficcanaso. Giornale quotidiano politico amministrativo—an Italian satirical republican daily, organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Turin from 1868 to 1874.—510
Figaro—an English paper founded by the French Embassy; published in London from May 1870 to December 1898.—23

Le Figaro—a conservative daily published in Paris since 1854; from 1826 to 1833 it appeared under the title Figaro, journal non politique; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—195, 555, 564, 567

The Fortnightly Review—an English 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.—40, 86, 92, 107, 116, 212

Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt—a democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—28, 32

Freie Presse—see Neue Freie Presse

Le Gaulois—a conservative monarchist daily, organ of the big bourgeoisie and aristocracy. published in Paris from 1868 to 1929.—130, 583

Gazette des Tribunaux. Journal de jurisprudence et de débats judiciaires—a conservative daily founded in Paris in 1825.—193, 195, 210, 222, 276, 300

Il Gazzettino Rosa. Giornale monitor quotidiano—a daily, organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Milan from 1868 to 1873; in 1871-72 came out in defence of the Paris Commune, printed documents of the International; from 1872 was under the influence of the Bakuninists.—245, 294, 308, 356

The Graphic—an illustrated weekly magazine published in London from 1869 to 1932.—159

Herald—see The New-York Herald

The Illustrated London News—a weekly published since 1842.—32, 568

L’Illustration. Journal universel—an illustrated literary journal published in Paris since 1845.—486, 560, 576

Illustrierte Zeitung. Wöchentliche Nachrichten über alle Ereignisse. Zustände und Persönlichkeiten der Gegenwart—a weekly published in Leipzig from 1843 to 1944; in the mid-19th century was of a moderate liberal orientation.—568

La Ilustración española y americana—a magazine published in Madrid from 1857 to 1921 (until 1869 under the title El Museo universal); from 1869 it came out thrice a week.—568

L’Internationale. Organe des sections belges de l’Association Internationale des Travailleurs—a weekly published in Brussels with the active participation of De Paepe from 17 January 1869 to 28 December 1873; printed documents of the International; in 1873 it took the anarchist stand.—79, 289, 384, 385, 399, 401, 424, 441, 508

The International Herald—a republican weekly published in London from March 1872 to October 1873; from May 1872 to May 1873 (with intervals) organ of the British Federal Council of the International; printed reports of the meetings of the General Council and the British Council, documents of the International, articles by Marx and Engels; in June 1873, its publisher and editor W. Rily
dropped out of the working-class movement.—446-47, 449, 450, 453, 454, 458, 460, 461, 464, 468, 484, 487, 508, 519

*The Irishman*—a weekly published from July 1858 to February 1885 in Belfast and then in Dublin; came out in defence of Fenians.—274, 557, 564

*The Irish Republic*—a weekly published by the Fenian refugees in New York in 1871-98.—258, 343

*Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*—a fortnightly founded in 1863 in Jena; came out till 1943.—4

*Journal de Genève national, politique et littéraire*—a conservative daily published in Geneva from 1826.—212, 256, 270, 271, 538

*Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg politique, littéraire, commercial et industriel*—a newspaper of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs; published under this title in French from 1825 to 1914.—39, 87-88

*Journal des économistes. Revue mensuelle de l'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales*—a liberal monthly published in Paris from December 1841 to 1943.—438, 470

*Kölnische*—see *Kölnische Zeitung*

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a daily published under this title in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; during the 1848-49 revolution and in subsequent years it expressed the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie; in the 1870s Bismarck's mouthpiece.—85, 228, 393, 415

*Kolokol*—see *KojioKojib*

*Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a daily newspaper, official organ of the Prussian government, published under this title in Berlin from July 1851 to June 1871.—62, 84, 85, 116

*Kreuz-Zeitung*—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

*Il Libero Pensiero. Giornale dei Razionalisti*—a weekly, organ of the republican rationalists, published in Milan and Florence in 1866-76; attacked the International and its General Council.—319, 320, 365, 577

*La Libertà. Giornale Democratico*—an Italian democratic paper, organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Pavia twice a week from 1870 to 1872; carried material on the working-class movement, supported the Paris Commune.—355


*La Liberté*—a conservative evening daily, mouthpiece of the big bourgeoisie, published in Paris from 1865 to 1940; during the siege of Paris in 1870-71 was published in Tours, and then in Bordeaux; in 1866-70 it was owned by E. Girardin; supported the policy of the Second Empire.—122, 317

*Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*—a liberal weekly founded in 1842; published under this title in London from 1843 to 1918.—23
Londoner Deutsche Post—a German weekly published in London from January 1870 to July 1871.—16

Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser—a conservative daily published from January 1825 to January 1916.—8, 18

The Manchester Guardian—a daily founded in 1821; a newspaper of the Free Traders and, from the mid-19th century, of the Liberal Party.—7, 381

La Marseillaise—a daily newspaper, organ of the Left republicans, published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870; from 18 May to 20 July 1870 was banned by the Bonapartist Government. The paper carried material on the activity of the International and the working-class movement.—41, 68, 70, 342

Il Martello. Organo del Circolo Operaio di Milano. Giornale democratico socialista degli operai—an Italian weekly, organ of the Milan Section of the International; published in February-March 1872; under the influence of Theodor Cuno it printed a series of articles against the Bakuninists.—357

Moniteur—see Le Moniteur universel

Le Moniteur universel—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; came out under this title from 1811; official government organ from 1799 to 1869.—85

Morgenblatt—see Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser

Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser—a daily literary paper published in Stuttgart and Tübingen from 1807 to 1865; in 1840 and 1841 it printed several articles by Engels.—135

The Morning Post—a daily published in London from 1772 to 1937; in the mid-19th century organ of the Right-wing Whigs grouped round Palmerston.—360

National-Zeitung—a daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; voiced liberal views in the 1850s; in 1870-71 it called for the annexation of the French territories, and for the armed suppression of the Paris Commune.—200, 201

Neue Freie Presse—an Austrian liberal daily with morning and evening editions; was published in Vienna from 1864 to 1939.—16, 129

Neue Preußische Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles, also known as the Kreuz-Zeitung because the heading contained a cross bearing the device: 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland!'—11

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue—a theoretical journal of the Communist League; it was founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849; published from March to November 1850.—135

Die Neue Zeit—see Нове Время

Neuer Social-Demokrat—a daily published in Berlin from July 1871 to September 1876 three times a week, organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; adhered to sectarianism, waged a struggle against the leaders of the International and of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, supported Bakuninists and representatives of other anti-proletarian trends.—280, 281, 297, 299, 302, 311, 319, 320, 328, 374, 491, 493, 510, 525, 577
New-York Daily Tribune—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published till 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs till the mid-1850s, and later of the Republican Party; it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery in the 1840s and 1850s; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862; after its merger with The New-York Herald in 1824, it came out as New-York Herald Tribune.—89

The New-York Herald—a daily newspaper of the Republican Party published in New York from 1835 to 1924; after its merger with New-York Daily Tribune in 1924, it came out as New-York Herald Tribune.—205, 328

Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918; in the 1860-80s the official organ of the Bismarck Government.—11

The Observer—a conservative weekly published in London since 1791.—158

Oestliche Post—a democratic newspaper published by German refugees in New York in 1869-72.—458

The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review—a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920; in the 1860s and 1870s pursued a conservative line; Marx and Engels maintained contacts with it from July 1870 to June 1871; it was at this time that it printed a series of Engels' articles Notes on the War.—4, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25, 32, 41, 42, 44, 56, 58, 76, 84, 85, 95, 158-60, 167, 177, 202, 556

Paris-Journal—a daily published from 1868 to 1882 by Henri de Pêne; it supported the Second Empire, then the government of National Defence and Thiers; slandered the International and the Paris Commune.—122-24, 130, 564

La Patrie en danger. Journal politique quotidien—a daily published in Paris from 7 September to 8 December 1870, organ of the Blanquis.—268

O Pensamento Social—a Portuguese socialist weekly published from February 1872 to April 1875 in Lisbon; organ of the International's sections; the paper carried documents of the International and articles by Marx and Engels.—340, 343

Le Père Duchêne—a daily published in Paris by Eugène Vermersch from 6 March to 21 May 1871; was close in its trend to the Blanquist press.—235, 268, 297, 568

Le Petit Journal. Quotidien—a republican daily published in Paris from 1863 to 1944.—129, 144, 146

La Philosophie positive—a philosophical journal published in Paris from 1867 to 1883; it advocated the positivism of Auguste Comte.—576

La Plebe. Giornale repubblicano razionalista-socialista—an Italian paper published in Lodi from 1868 to 1875 and in Milan from 1875 to 1883 under the editorship of Enrico Bignami, until 1874 and from 1876—a weekly, in 1875—a daily; democratic before the early 1870s and later socialist; in 1872-73, organ of the International's sections; supported the General Council in its struggle against anarchists, printed the documents of the International and articles by Engels.—180, 245, 306, 359, 433, 444, 450, 451, 453, 458, 466, 467, 507, 538

Preußisches Staats-Anzeiger—see Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger

Der Proletarier—a German Social-Democratic weekly published from July 1869 to June 1871, first in Munich, then in Augsburg.—140

Il Proletario—sec Il Proletario Italiano. Giornale politico periodico dedicato ai figli del popolo
**Il Proletario Italiano. Giornale politico periodico dedicato ai figli del popolo**—an Italian weekly, organ of the Turin Section of the International, published in 1871 under the editorship of Terzaghi; until 1874 continued to come out under various titles as the mouthpiece of the Bakuninists.—245, 292, 294, 308, 353, 357

**La Province. Journal Girondin**—a monarchist daily published in Bordeaux in 1870-71.—130

**Public Opinion. A Weekly Review of Current Thought and Activity**—a liberal weekly founded in London in 1861.—200, 201, 204, 213

**Qui Vive! Organ de la démocratie universelle**—a French daily published from October to December 1871 in London; organ of the French Section of 1871.—250, 256, 267-69, 281, 297, 577

**Le Radical**—a republican paper published in Paris from October 1871 to June 1872.—405

**Le Rappel**—a Left-wing republican daily founded by Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort; was published in Paris from 1869 to 1928; it sharply criticised the Second Empire; in the period of the Paris Commune it came out in support of it.—28, 32, 76

**Le Réveil. Journal de la démocratie des deux mondes**—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; printed documents of the International and materials on the working-class movement.—3, 342

**La Révolution sociale. Organe de la Fédération jurassienne. Journal hebdomadaire**—a weekly published in Geneva from October 1871 to January 1872, organ of Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—256, 269, 270, 278, 281, 293, 295, 310, 567

**Revue Positive**—see **La Philosophie positive**

**Revue der Rheinischen Zeitung**—see **Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue**

**Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence**—a radical weekly published by George William Reynolds in London from 1850; it was connected with the labour movement.—23, 160, 462

**La Roma del popolo. Publicazione settimanale di filosofia, religiosa, politica, letteratura**—a daily published in Rome from February 1871 to March 1872; organ of the Left-wing Mazzinists; it opposed the Paris Commune and the International.—180, 185

**Il Romagnolo**—an Italian democratic weekly published with intervals in Ravenna from September 1868 to October 1871.—306

**The Scotsman**—a liberal paper published in Edinburgh from 1817; a daily from 1855; from 1860, it came out under this title.—225, 381

**Der Social-Demokrat**—an organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; under this title was published in Berlin from 15 December 1864 to
1871, then, from 1871, it was named *Neuer Social-Demokrat*; in 1864-67 it was edited by J. B. Schweitzer. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper for a short time but ceased to do so in February 1865, since they disagreed with the political line of the editors.—298, 328

*Le Socialiste. Journal hebdomadaire de l'Union républicaine de langue française*—an American weekly published in French in New York from October 1871 to May 1873; organ of the French sections of the International; supported bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements in the Federation of the International for North America; after the Hague Congress (1872) broke off with the International.—336-37, 343, 451

*Socialisten*—a workers' paper published in Copenhagen from July 1871 to May 1874; a daily from April 1872; organ of the Danish Section of the International.—242, 280, 330, 332, 340

*Le Soir*—a daily published in Paris from 1867 to 1932; in 1871 supported Thiers' policy.—150, 555

*La Solidarité. Organe des sections de la Fédération romande de l'Association internationale des travailleurs*—a Swiss weekly, organ of the Bakunists, was edited by James Guillaume from April to September 1870 in Neuchâtel and from March to May 1871 in Geneva.—33, 36, 80

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London from 1828; at first liberal, later conservative.—56, 84, 159

*Staats-Anzeiger*—see *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*

*The Standard*—a conservative daily published in London from 1827 to 1916.—159

*Swisse radicale. Journal national, politique, industriel et littéraire*—a Swiss paper published in Geneva from 1866.—322

*The Sun*—a progressive newspaper published in New York from 1833; from 1868, under the editorship of Charles Dana.—206, 328

*Die Tagwacht*—a Swiss Social-Democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; in 1869-73 organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, later, of the Swiss Workers' Union and of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—296, 303, 304, 336, 509

*Telegraph*—see *The Daily Telegraph*

*Le Temps*—a conservative daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1943; opposed the Second Empire and was against war with Prussia.—42, 55

*The Times*—a conservative daily founded in London in 1785 under the title *Daily Universal Register*; comes out as *The Times* since 1788.—9, 10, 18, 29, 32, 52, 85, 121, 124, 130, 158, 159, 164, 168, 169, 197, 212, 233, 271, 326, 360, 380, 474, 491

*De Toekomst*—a workers' paper, published in The Hague in 1870-71 three times a week; printed documents and materials of the International.—91, 161

*La Vérité. Journal politique quotidien*—a French radical daily published in Paris from October 1870 to September 1871; at first it supported the Commune but then opposed its social measures.—212
Index of Periodicals

Vermersch Journal—published in London by French refugees from December 1871 to March 1872.—297

Volksfreund—see Braunschweiger Volksfreund

Der Volksstaat. Organ der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei und Gewerkschaften—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876, first twice a week, from July 1873, three times a week under the general editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; August Bebel played an important role in its publishing; Marx and Engels were its regular contributors.—5, 8, 14, 16, 19, 25, 46, 66, 71, 82, 83, 87, 90, 96, 97, 123, 125, 127, 129, 130, 135, 136, 144, 145, 160-61, 198, 200, 216, 233, 237, 248, 289, 297, 302, 304, 310, 315, 320, 325, 334, 336, 356, 362, 366-68, 374, 405, 429, 432, 439, 442, 458, 462, 463, 477, 478-79, 492-93, 506, 508, 510, 513, 517, 538, 542, 562, 571

Volkswohle—a workers' paper published in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874; at first a weekly, from October 1872 came out twice a week; printed documents of the International.—87, 139, 439

Volks-Zeitung. Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke—a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1897 (under this title to 1889).—16, 410

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.—25, 27, 159

De Werker. Orgaan der Vlaamsche Afdeelingen van de Internationale Werkervereniging—a newspaper published in Flemish in Antwerp from 1868 to 1914; in 1868-71, a weekly of the Flemish Section of the International, printed its documents; later on a daily of the Flemish and then of the Belgian Socialist Workers' Party.—91, 126, 191

De Werkman—a newspaper published in Amsterdam from 1868 to 1874; weekly organ of the Dutch Central Section of the International from 1869.—91

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly—an American paper published in New York in 1870-76 by the bourgeois feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin; organ of the Section No. 12 of the International in the USA, which consisted of bourgeois reformists and was expelled from the International by the General Council in March 1872.—242, 343, 383, 384, 446, 451

The World—a daily of the Democrats published in New York from 1860 to 1931.—220, 381, 388, 468, 485

Die Zukunft. Demokratische Zeitung—a German democratic newspaper, organ of the People's Party, published in 1867 in Königsberg, and from 1868 to 1871 in Berlin.—27, 71, 87, 123

Aрхив Судебной Медицины и Общественной Гигиены (Arhiv Sudebnoi Mediciny i Obshchestvennoi Gigienny)—a quarterly, organ of the medical department of the Russian Ministry of the Interior, published in St. Petersburg in 1865-71.—102

Всемирные Европей. Журнал историко-политических наук (Vestnik Evropy. Zhurnal istoriko-politicheskikh nauk)—a Russian historical, political and literary magazine of
the liberal trend; published in St. Petersburg from 1866 to 1918; from 1868, a monthly.—422

Знание. Ежемесячный научный и критико-библиографический журнал (Znaniye. Yezhemesyachnyi nauchnyi i kritiko-bibliograficheskiy zhurnal)—a Russian progressive monthly containing scientific information; published in St. Petersburg in 1870-77.—469

Колоколь. Прибавочные листы к Ыолотой Звонь (The Bell)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper; it was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French (La Cloche) with supplements in Russian; it came out in London till 1865, then in Geneva.—27, 404

Московская ведомости (Moskovskiya vedomosti)—a paper published from 1756 to 1917, in the 1850s it became reactionary in character; a daily from 1859.—238

Новое время. Газета политическая, экономическая и литературная (Novoye Vremya)—a Russian moderate liberal daily published in St. Petersburg in 1868-1917; from the late 1870s, reactionary monarchist.—377
A

Agricultural labourers—165, 184
Agriculture—40, 165, 184
Agronomy—40
Anarchism, anarchists—87-90, 162-63, 387
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists
Anglo-French commercial treaty, 1860—11, 19
Annexation—47, 53, 92
See also Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71—annexation of Alsace and Lorraine by Germany
Anti-communism (criticism and exposure by Marx and Engels)—130
—of the ruling classes; persecution and slandering of communists—130, 343; see also Paris Commune of 1871—ruling classes’ slander campaign against the Commune and the First International
—of petty-bourgeois ideologists—186
Army
—French—12, 22, 42, 108
—Italian—42
—of the German states—20-21
—Prussian—12, 20-21
See also Navy
Atheism—163, 164, 185, 255, 281
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists—
—and atheism
Austria (until 1867)—120, 415, 491

See also Austro-Prussian war, 1866
Austria-Hungary (from 1867)—415, 491, 520
Austro-Prussian war, 1866—38, 40, 47, 57
Authority
—as a single, controlling will—286, 307
—and revolution—293, 295
—of the proletarian party and its leadership—311, 350; see also Party, proletarian—party discipline
—anarchist negation of any authority and authoritarian methods of anarchist leaders—285, 293-95, 307-08; see also Bakuninism, Bakuninists—negation of authority

B

Bakuninism, Bakuninists
—as a variety of petty-bourgeois socialism—26, 162, 306
—as an anarchist trend—162, 308-09, 394, 508, 520-21
—sectarian character of—162, 163, 172, 180, 181, 183, 255, 285, 300, 301, 312, 512
—theoretical views—162-64, 183-84, 255, 306-09
—dogmatism and doctrinairism—
164, 255, 301, 307, 320-21, 339, 369, 403-04
—idealistic character of Bakuninist views—163, 307, 397
—views on the State—88-89, 162-63, 307, 520
—abstention from political action by the proletariat—80, 162, 172, 255, 257, 270, 272, 282, 307, 309, 311, 313, 395, 567
—negation of authority—162, 269, 285, 286, 293-95, 307, 310, 394, 567
—anarchist view of autonomy—269, 293, 295, 307, 309, 338, 368, 394
—economic views of—162, 271, 286, 307
—demand for the abolition of the right of inheritance—162, 163, 255
—theory of social liquidation—306-07
—demand for the equality of classes—255
—on revolution and revolutionaries—293, 295, 312
—on future society—307
—attitude towards the working class and its movement—393, 408
—and atheism—163, 255, 281
—and science—255
—and Proudhonism—162, 255, 306, 309
—disorganising activities in the working-class movement—34, 162-66, 172, 181-82, 220, 255-57, 263-64, 269-71, 276, 284-86, 292-95, 300, 306-12, 331, 358, 368, 384, 397-99, 401-02, 407-08, 415-17, 428, 456, 475, 494, 507, 585; see also International Alliance of Socialist Democracy
—blocs with reformists—255-57, 309, 311, 407
—adventurism and voluntarism of Bakuninist tactics—88-89, 162, 387, 520
—in Belgium—255, 263, 264, 289, 309, 361, 384, 387, 393, 399, 401-03, 416, 475, 494, 567, 585
—in France—88-89, 162-64, 256, 257, 270, 308, 310-11
—and German working-class movement—309, 311
—and Nechayevism—256, 311, 422
—in Russia—256, 270, 300, 311-12, 347, 396
—in Switzerland—163, 164, 181, 183, 233, 255, 256, 264, 269, 278, 292-95, 308, 401, 494, 508, 512, 585; see also International Working Men's Association in Switzerland—Bakuninist Jura Federation, its splitting activities
—collapse of, in the international working-class movement—337
See also Anarchism, anarchists; International alliance of anarchists; International Working Men's Association—struggle against Bakuninists and Bakuninism

Belgium—171
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists; France—and Belgium; International Working Men's Association (First International); International Working Men's Association. Congresses and Conferences; International Working Men's Association in Belgium; Working-class and socialist movement in Belgium

Blinquism, Blanquists—443, 447, 458, 467, 509, 520, 583
Bonnepartism
—foreign policy of—46

Bourgeoisie, French—46
Bourgeoisie, German—47, 92, 118, 129
Bourgeois political economy—165, 469
Subject Index

C

Capital—239-40, 307, 504
'Capital' by Karl Marx—344, 541
'Capital', Volume One
—Engels on its contents and significance—375
—propaganda of—212
—distribution of, among workers—344, 375-76, 547
—comments on it in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles—4, 477
—English edition—212, 258, 385, 474, 541, 576
—Spanish translation—301
—Italian translation—457
Centralisation, political—294, 295
Chartism, Chartist movement—181
Chemistry—240, 503
Christianity—514
Church—397
Civil war—128, 132
Class(es)—123, 184, 258, 307, 414, 433
—abolition of classes and class distinctions in communist society—184, 414, 433; see also Communism (socio-economic formation)
See also Bourgeoisie; Class struggle; Revolution, proletarian, socialist; Working class
Class struggle
—various stages in the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie—137
—of the workers against the bourgeoisie in the period of developed capitalism—258, 414, 433
—Paris Commune as a point of departure of the new phase in the class struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie—197; see also Paris Commune of 1871—its historical significance
—economic struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie—258, 414, 433
—political struggle as a form of—258
—and revolution—258, 414, 433
See also Civil war; Class(es); Economic struggle of workers; Political struggle; Revolution, proletarian, socialist; Working-class movement
Communism (socio-economic formation)
—as the aim of the revolutionary working-class movement, of proletarian revolution—162, 258, 414, 433
—indispensability of the proletarian party for the triumph of proletarian revolution—131, 258, 414, 433
—period of transition from capitalism to communism (socialism)—337
—abolition of private property; public property in the means of production—184, 307, 342
—production—184, 307
—agriculture—184
—elimination of class antitheses and differences; classless society—184, 414, 433
—communist transformation of society and withering away of the State—162-63, 307
—criticism of utopian theories of a future society—307
Communism, utopian—477, 478
See also Blanquism, Blanquists
Communists, communist movement
—initial period of the movement, penetration of communist ideas into the working class—172-73
—and the First International—162-63, 172, 181, 184
Confederation of the Rhine—47
Courts of law, judicial system—360
Crimean war, 1853-56—74, 93-94
Customs Union (Germany, 1834-71)
—Customs Parliament—72

D

Danish war, 1864—67
Dialectics
— in nature — 503
— in politics — 51
— method of research — 344
— and political economy — 344
— in Marx’s Capital — 541
Dictatorship of the proletariat
— historical necessity of — 184, 258, 331, 414, 433
— conquest of political power as mission of the working class — 414, 433
— demand for, in the programme documents of the working-class movement — 414, 433
— destruction of the bourgeois state machinery — 131
— state property in the means of production — 184
— expropriation of landed estates — 184
— international character of — 131, 137
— role of the proletarian party in the conquest of political power, in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the implementation of its functions — 414, 433
— political domination of the proletariat as a means of building a classless society — 184, 381
See also Communism (socio-economic formation); Party, proletarian; Period of transition from capitalism to communism (socialism); Revolution, proletarian, socialist; Working class; Working-class movement — internationalism as its inherent feature
Diplomacy — 75
See also Foreign policy
Doctrinairism, doctrinaires
— in the socialist movement — 300, 307, 338, 346
Dogmatism — 255

See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists — dogmatism and doctrinairism

E

Economic crises — 504
Economic laws — 504, 536
Economic struggle of workers — 258, 414, 433
Economics and politics — 258
Emigration
— bourgeois-democratic, petty-bourgeois — 256-57, 582
— revolutionary — 173, 205, 357
— proletarian — 173, 205, 209, 265, 357
— of Paris Communards — 154, 176, 198, 204, 209, 224, 234, 241, 256, 261, 264, 265, 268-70, 274-75, 281, 342, 357, 563, 566, 572, 583
— French, prior to 1871 — 33, 65, 141, 342
— German in England, from the mid-1850s — 154
— Italian — 173, 185-86, 198
— Polish — 175, 224, 276
— Russian — 391; see also Bakuninism, Bakuninists; International Working Men’s Association in Russia
Engels, Frederick
— biographical data — 163, 228, 425-26
— in 1849-63 — 172-73
— study of languages — 311, 330, 467
See also Communists, Communist movement; Military science — Marx on Engels’ studies in military history; Natural science; Party, proletarian; Russia; Working-class movement
England (Great Britain) — 11, 75, 93
— in the 1850s (from 1849) — 172
— system of tenant farming or métayage — 165
—oligarchic character of government—14
—courts of law, judicial system, criminal legislation, lawyers—360
—press, bourgeoisie—23, 80, 86
—and the Paris Declaration of 1856—74, 94
—and the Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71—14, 74, 92-93, 114
—and France—14, 100
—and Russia—32-33

F

Factory legislation—102, 105, 258
Fenians, Fenianism—208, 453

Foreign policy
—attitude of the working class to the foreign policy of the ruling classes—9, 14, 17, 31, 72, 87
See also Diplomacy

France
—classes, class relations, class struggle—10-11
—coup d’etat of 2 December 1851 (the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte)—505
—trade—11; see also Anglo-French commercial treaty, 1860
—domestic situation, home policy—3, 8, 13, 499, 504-05
—monarchist groups—41, 49, 67-68, 499, 505
—bourgeoisie—46
—working class—3, 14, 46, 72, 93
—peasantry—165
—aggravation of class contradictions—10-11, 14
—growth of opposition sentiments in society—3, 38
—impending revolution—14, 41, 48, 49, 55
—collapse of the Second Empire, its causes—41, 48, 51
—revolution of 4 September 1870, proclamation of the republic—65, 67
—workers’ uprising in Lyons on 4 September 1870, proclamation of the Commune—88-89, 162
—proclamation by workers of Communes in Marseilles and Toulouse—88
—popular resistance to the Prussian intervention and occupation—68, 92-94
—Thiers government, preparation of a monarchist coup d’état and unleashing of a civil war—137, 149
—National Assembly—128, 505
—political parties of the ruling classes—499, 504-05, 547
—during the Second Empire—6, 38
—during the Third Republic—87-88, 505
—and Belgium—11
—and Germany (during the Second Empire)—46
—and the unification of Germany—46
—and Luxembourg—6
—and Prussia (during the Second Empire)—10, 38
See also French Revolution of the 18th century; International Working Men’s Association in France; Paris Commune of 1871; Revolution of 1848 in France; Working-class movement in France

Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71
—nature and peculiarities—3, 6, 12, 14, 17-18, 31, 37, 46-47, 51, 71-72, 196
—causes, diplomatic preparation for—196
—change in its character in the course of hostilities—41, 82, 196
—forces of the belligerents—6, 7, 20-22, 35, 42, 111
—course of hostilities—6, 7, 12, 13, 18, 19, 30, 35, 39, 41-42, 48, 53, 54, 62, 63, 67-68, 70, 73-74, 92, 93, 108, 109, 112
—major battles of the initial period of—54
—siege and surrender of Metz (August-October 1870)—53, 62, 68
—French army’s surrender at Sedan (1-2 September 1870), its political consequences—61, 109, 113
—siege of Paris (September 1870-January 1871)—16, 53, 58, 63, 69-70, 73-74, 80, 93, 108, 112
—prospects for the continuation of the war by France—18, 72, 74, 93, 110, 111, 113, 114
—francs-tireurs, popular resistance to the Prussian invaders—19, 58-59, 68, 93
—cruelty of the invaders—92, 93
—peace negotiations, truce and surrender of Paris on 28 January 1871—108, 109, 112, 113
—German demands and preliminary peace terms—109-10, 113
—and the Bonapartist regime—8, 9, 10, 12-14, 39-41, 47, 48, 51, 61, 85, 109, 113
—and the domestic situation in France—18, 39, 41, 49, 57, 76, 77
—and the French bourgeoisie—46, 68, 88, 112, 114, 122
—and the French working class—8, 14, 46, 47, 64, 67, 69-72, 74, 80, 88, 93, 122
—and the revolutionary and democratic movement in France—3, 14, 39, 41, 49, 65, 70
—and the domestic situation in Germany—9, 11, 13-14, 16, 46, 47, 75-79, 85-87, 113
—and the Prussian government’s policy—9, 18, 19, 23, 39, 41, 45, 51, 53, 66, 68, 75, 77, 85, 92-94, 102, 109-11, 113-14, 196
—and the attitude taken by the South-German states—6, 12
—and the German bourgeoisie—6, 10, 13, 19, 39, 41, 42, 46-47, 52, 59, 62, 66, 79, 87, 92, 102, 118
—and German working class—3, 10, 13, 46, 69-72, 75-77, 79, 87, 118, 196, 269
—and Great Britain—9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 22-23, 32, 34, 40, 44, 50, 52, 55, 66, 68, 70, 74, 77, 80, 82, 84-86, 92-94, 108, 110, 112, 114, 116, 120
—and the British working class—11, 13, 22, 70, 77, 82, 96, 102, 196
—and Russia—13, 18, 32, 38, 42, 47, 51, 59, 66, 68, 74, 87-88, 92-94, 102, 110, 111, 114, 120
—and other European states—16, 42, 66, 68, 71, 114, 120
—and European bourgeoisie democracy—9, 11, 16, 23, 25, 29-32, 35-37, 40, 53, 55, 59-60, 63, 73, 86, 87, 92, 102, 107, 116
—post-war alignment of forces in Europe, threat of a new military conflict—38, 42, 51, 57, 120, 568
See also International Working Men’s Association in France; Paris Commune of 1871; Revolution of 1848 in France; Working-class movement in France

Freedom—173, 332
French Revolution of the 18th century—41, 63
‘French Section of 1871’ (petty-bourgeois organisation of refugees in London)—241, 256, 267-70, 278, 280, 298, 302, 309, 331

G

General Association of German Workers—255, 309, 319, 328, 493, 511-12, 514, 520
See also German Social-Democracy—struggle against Lassalleanism (before 1875); Lassalleanism, Lassalleans

Geology
—Marx’s and Engels’ studies in geology—548

German Confederation
—Federal Diet—288

German Empire (after 1871)—38, 47, 128, 131
—Reichstag—166
—law, legislation, judicial system—159
—home policy, domestic situation—166
—policy towards the working-class movement in the 1870s (before the introduction of the Exceptional Law Against Socialists)—196, 216, 356-57, 360, 365, 389, 431
—prospects of revolution in the 1870s—415
—and Poland, participation in its oppression—415
—and Russia—38, 120
See also Bourgeoisie, German; Working class in Germany

German Social-Democracy—3
—Social-Democratic Workers’ Party, Eisenachers (1869-75)—362, 371, 495, 510-11, 514
—Eisenach Congress (1869), its programme—512
—and the International Working Men’s Association—52, 221, 237, 241, 247-48, 282, 288, 298, 303-04, 310, 325, 346, 347, 371-72, 376, 378, 390, 432, 483-84, 493; see also International Working Men’s Association in Germany
—and the Franco-Prussian war and the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine—3, 5, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 44-45, 47, 51, 65, 69-72, 75-79, 82, 85-86, 96, 116, 196, 197
—and the Paris Commune—160
—struggle against Lassalleanism (before 1875)—371, 477, 493, 511-12, 514
—parliamentary activity, group—14, 16, 51, 145, 166
—press and book publishing—138, 159, 511
—role in the international socialist movement of the 1870s

German Workers’ Educational Society in London (1840-1918)
—as a section of the International Working Men’s Association (1864-74)—96, 194, 279, 297, 319
—Marx’s and Engels’ part in its activities, their relations with it—471

Germany
—‘demagogues’—77, 85, 228, 350
—fragmentation, and the task of unification of—3, 10, 18, 38, 46-47, 77
—agriculture and agrarian relations—165
—social development—357
—classes—14
—nobility (aristocracy)—118
—youth, students, student movement—77, 85
—science—2, 154, 241, 256
—and France—38
—and Russia—38, 47, 120
See also Emigration—German in England; German Empire (after 1871); Prussia; Working-class movement in Germany

H

Hague Congress, the (1872)—398, 415, 513, 582
—preparation and tasks of—288, 366, 398, 401, 407-08, 413, 417-20, 425-26
—and the Paris Commune—430-32
—struggle against Bakuninists; victory of the revolutionary wing; expulsion of the Alliance leaders—513
—Marx’s speech against the reformists—430, 496
—and Blanquists—447-48
—resolutions of—430-33, 438
—opposition to its decisions on the part of Bakuninists—448, 475-76
—approval of its decisions by the International’s local organisations—448, 450
—results and significance of—398, 429, 475-76, 513, 582

Hegel, Hegelianism—136, 181, 500, 506, 514

History—61, 152, 137

Housing question
—in capitalist society—366, 374, 405

Hungary—38
Ideological struggle in the working-class movement—163-65, 180-81, 252-56, 512-14

International alliance of anarchists (1870s)—436, 475, 521, 525, 537
—Congress in St. Imier (1872), its decisions—436, 441, 448, 450, 453, 475
—Congress in Geneva (1873)—508, 521, 527
See also International Alliance of Socialist Democracy

—secret character, disorganising activities of, in the working-class movement—358, 365, 368-69, 374-75, 403, 408, 415-17, 419-20, 424-26, 431, 436, 449, 454, 456, 460, 489, 508, 521, 537
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists; International Working Men's Association—struggle against Bakuninists and Bakuninism; International Working Men's Association. Congresses and conferences

International, First—see International Working Men's Association (First International)

Internationalism, proletarian—see Working-class movement—internationalism as its inherent feature

International solidarity of workers
—as expression of common interests of the proletariat of different countries—301, 355
—its significance in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers—190
—workers' solidarity in strike struggle—125-27, 140, 190, 194, 350, 456; see also International Working Men's Association—and strikes
—and work for peace, against war—14, 47, 72
—international movement of solidarity with the Paris Commune—142, 149, 151, 160, 176, 204, 208, 268-69, 274, 357, 576
See also International Working Men's Association—struggle for international solidarity and united actions of the working class in all countries; Paris Commune of 1871—and the First International; Strikes, strike movement; Working-class movement

International Working Men's Association (First International)
—foundation of—185, 252, 354
—struggle for international solidarity and united actions of the working class in all countries—100, 162-63, 181, 183, 186, 190, 301, 346, 440
—emancipation of workers as its aim—162, 181, 183-84, 331
—programme demand for attainment of political power by the working class and creation of a classless society—184, 307, 331, 414, 433
—and political struggle of the working class—131-32, 184, 255, 258, 307, 330-32, 414, 433
—demand for creation of proletarian parties in individual countries—67, 258, 414, 433
—question of the connection between economic and political struggle of the proletariat—258, 307, 331, 414, 433
—and trade organisations—125-26, 191, 244, 350, 432, 483, 519-20
—and strikes—125-27, 139, 190-91, 194, 350, 466-67
—and factory legislation—258
—and agrarian question, peasantry and agricultural proletariat—165, 252, 350
—and struggle for Ireland’s independence—274-75
—struggle against Bonapartism—88, 116, 196
—struggle for proletariat’s independent stand in foreign policy, against wars of conquest—5, 9, 14, 17, 40, 70, 77, 102, 196
—and the Franco-Prussian war—5, 9, 14, 17-18, 40, 65-68, 70, 74, 77, 89, 98, 102, 116, 196-97
—and the Paris Commune—132, 140-41, 149-51, 156, 204, 379, 512, 561
—defence of Communards and assistance to Commune’s refugees—151, 173, 175, 194, 197-98, 200, 202, 204-05, 208, 209, 211, 224, 235, 241, 265, 274, 276, 357, 535, 564, 566, 573
—struggle against Mazzinists and Mazzinism—164, 185-87, 242, 245, 278, 304, 359
—struggle against Proudhonists and Proudhonism—163, 181, 184, 255, 264, 265, 282, 343, 589
—struggle against Lassalleans and Lassalleanism—255, 319, 371, 493
—struggle against reformism—102, 252, 303
—and Blanquists—447-48, 458, 467, 509, 583
—and Universal Federalist Council—428, 474
—and the League of Peace and Freedom—182
—and religion—63, 185, 255
—and bourgeois democracy—428
—Rules and Regulations—102, 162, 182, 221, 234, 236-37, 246, 250, 257, 263-64, 271, 296, 323, 345, 348-49, 400-01, 411, 414, 416, 432, 445, 475, 484, 509, 519
—Subcommittee—316, 383, 582
—local sections, federations, federal councils, national organisations—258, 294, 349-51, 415-16
—membership—348, 527-28
—funds—187, 292, 334, 431, 482, 507
—Marx as Corresponding Secretary pro tem for Belgium—91
—Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Germany—16, 79, 91, 117-18
—Marx as Corresponding Secretary for German-language sections in the USA—57, 59, 100-02, 106, 236, 241-42, 244, 251-58, 273-74, 334-35, 383
—Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Russia—27, 57, 178
—Engels as Corresponding Secretary for Belgium—125-26, 190-95, 407
—Engels as Corresponding Secretary for Denmark—329-32, 340, 343, 366, 521
—Engels as Corresponding Secretary for Italy—170, 173, 180-88, 191, 234, 245-46, 259-62, 282, 286,
Subject Index

International Working Men’s Association

- in Belgium—26, 125-26, 171, 289, 296, 361, 366-67, 387, 393, 413, 419, 433, 435
  - and Belgian Federal Council—263-64, 366-67, 401, 403
  - and strikes—125-26, 190-91
  - Association’s press in Belgium—365
  - Bakuninists’ splitting activities—26, 263-64, 289, 296, 361, 367, 387, 393, 413, 435, 465, 584-85
  - and police persecution—171
See also International Working Men's Association—Marx as Corresponding Secretary pro tem for Belgium,
  - Engels as Corresponding Secretary for Belgium

International Working Men’s Association in Denmark—242, 263, 330-32, 350, 346, 366, 425, 466, 467, 482, 493, 520
See also International Working Men’s Association—Engels as Corresponding Secretary for Denmark

  - functions and activities of the General Council in England (1864-72)—100, 147-48, 208, 234, 382-83
  - Association’s press in England—64, 141, 269, 279, 302, 465
  - refugee sections of the Association in England—64, 141, 269, 279, 302, 465
See also German Workers’ Educational Society in London (1840-1918); International Working Men’s Association—foundation of,—and trade organisations,—struggle against reformism; International Working Men’s Association in Ireland—Irish sections in England; Trade(s) unions in Britain—and the International Working Men’s Association

International Working Men’s Association in France—25, 64-68, 89, 101-02,
116, 131-32, 255, 278, 282, 303-04, 331, 346, 454-55, 466, 482
—participation of French workers and republicans in founding the International—255
—first Paris section of the Association (before April 1865)—255
—positivist group—255
—Paris Federation—64-65, 74, 123, 208
—and the Franco-Prussian war—14, 25, 64-65, 67-68, 70, 74, 89, 196-97; see also International Working Men's Association—and the Franco-Prussian war
—and the Paris Commune—132, 140-42, 149, 151, 561, 583; see also International Working Men's Association—and the Paris Commune,—defence of Communards and assistance to Commune's refugees
—organisations of, after Paris Commune—164, 246, 265, 278, 282, 302-03, 331, 346, 350, 454-55, 466, 482, 492, 507
—and agrarian question and peasantry—165
—and Proudhonists; struggle against Proudhonist influence in French sections—255, 282, 343; see also International Working Men's Association—struggle against Proudhonists and Proudhonism
—Bakuninists' splitting activities in France—164, 302-03, 454
—police persecution—116, 122, 130, 180, 195, 208, 260, 311, 350, 389, 466, 482, 492, 507, 579
See also International Working Men's Association—foundation of,—struggle against Bonapartism,—and Blanquists; International Working Men's Association in England—refugee sections of the Association in England
International Working Men's Association in Germany—221, 325, 350, 371-72
—local sections—118, 221, 237, 247-48, 325, 371, 402
—and the General Association of German Workers—319, 450, 493
—Social-Democratic Workers' Party as a branch of the International Working Men's Association—79, 221, 237, 248, 282, 288, 298, 304, 310, 325, 371-72, 376, 390, 493
—during the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune—13, 69-70, 79-80, 116, 117, 196
—and the Paris Commune—304, 346, 432, 450
See also General Association of German Workers; German Confederation; German Social-Democracy; International Working Men's Association—Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Germany
International Working Men's Association in Hungary—304, 347
International Working Men's Association in Ireland—234, 346, 347, 357
—Irish sections in England—208, 274-75, 449, 570
See also International Working Men's Association—and struggle for Ireland's independence
—Association's press in Italy—234, 292-93, 358-59, 444-45, 450, 458, 483, 598
—police persecution—171, 180, 216, 245, 260-61, 305, 356, 358, 389, 458, 466
See also International Working Men's Association—struggle against Mazzinists and Mazzinism,—Engels as Corresponding Secretary for Italy,—Engels as General Council's representative for Italy (from January 1873
International Working Men's Association in the Netherlands—126, 331, 433, 453
| **International Working Men’s Association**  
| in New Zealand — 346, 350 |
| **International Working Men’s Association**  
| in Portugal — 343, 346, 433, 434, 466, 467, 507, 533  
| See also **International Working Men’s Association** — Engels as Corresponding Secretary for Portugal  
| **International Working Men’s Association** in Russia  
| — Russian section of the International Working Men’s Association — 11, 19, 26-27, 347, 350  
| — exposure of Nechayevism — 11, 27  
| See also **International Working Men’s Association** — struggle against Bakuninists and Bakuninism — Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Russia  
| — strikes and trade unions — 140, 424-26  
| — congresses and conferences — 358, 361, 365, 368, 374  
| — the New Madrid Federation — 433, 449, 453-54  
| — and the 1873 uprising — 465, 538, 551  
| — police persecution — 171, 260, 322, 389  
| See also **International Working Men’s Association** — Engels as Corresponding Secretary for Spain  
| **International Working Men’s Association** in Switzerland — 5, 164, 269, 303-04, 331, 370-71, 395, 433, 493, 507, 526, 528, 535, 568  
| — before the Paris Commune — 5  
| — after the Paris Commune — 269, 303-04, 331, 395, 433, 507, 535, 568  
| — Central Committee of the German-language sections — 370  
| — Romance sections, Romance Federation, Federal Council of Romance Switzerland — 5, 303, 331, 401, 526, 534, 568  
| — congress in Olten (June 1873) — 508, 509, 526  
| — Association’s press in Switzerland — 293, 305-04, 401  
| — Bakuninist central Geneva section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy — 163, 179  
| — congress in Sonvillier, its circular (September 1871) — 289, 292, 331  
| — Slavonian section in Zurich — 227  
| See also **International Alliance of Socialist Democracy; International Working Men’s Association** — struggle against Bakuninists and Bakunism  
| **International Working Men’s Association** in the USA — 57, 236, 242, 244, 252, 257, 258, 351, 355, 383, 551  
| — Central Committee of the Association’s sections — 101, 106, 236, 242, 244, 255-56  
| See also **International Working Men’s Association** — General Council in New York, Marx as Corresponding Secretary for German-language sections in the USA  
| **Italy** — 38, 171, 187, 394  

**K**  
**Katheder-Socialism** (armchair socialism) — 123, 184, 258, 307, 414, 433

**L**  
**Landed property** — 138, 165, 184  
**Lassalleanism, Lassalleans** — 371, 405  
— dogmatic and sectarian nature of the trend — 255, 514
—attitude towards the Prussian state and feudal reaction—328
—in the 1870s—297, 309
See also General Association of German Workers; German Social-Democracy—struggle against Lassalleanism; International Working Men's Association—struggle against Lassalleans and Lassalleanism
Lease, tenants—165

Literature
—English—396, 540-41, 543
—French—76, 267, 543
—German—4, 158, 238, 548
—Russian—238, 469
—Scandinavian—330
See also Poetry

Lockout—169

London Conference (1871)
—preparation and convocation of—217, 260, 285-86
—tasks, character and composition of—179, 186, 191, 232, 260-62, 281, 284, 381, 563
—resolutions of—221, 231, 236, 256, 262, 265, 266, 563-64
—publication of the International Association's documents by decision of—221, 234, 236, 257, 270, 284-85, 381, 571
—approval of the Conference's resolutions by the General Council and the local organisations of the International—281, 296, 331
—Bakuninists' struggle against the Conference's resolutions—256, 259-62, 265-70, 331; see also International Working Men's Association in Switzerland—congress in Sonvilier, its circular

Luxembourg—6, 10

M

Marx, Karl
See also 'Capital' by Karl Marx; Communists, communist movement; German Workers' Educational Society in London; International Working Men's Association; Party, proletarian; Russia—Marx's and Engels' contacts with Russian revolutionaries in the 1870s, —Marx's and Engels' contacts with Russian personalities in science and culture in the 1870s; Working-class movement

Materialism—163

Mathematics—504

Mazzinism, Mazzinists—186, 187, 304

Military science
—study by Marx and Engels of the military history and military-theoretical problems—6, 7, 17, 29, 32-33, 35, 42, 45, 49, 61-62, 85-86, 193
—Marx on Engels' studies in military history—22, 32, 58, 65, 70, 555, 557

Mode of production—307

Monopolies—414, 433

Motion
—and matter—500
—life as a form of motion of matter—500, 503

N

Napoleonic wars—10, 59, 85, 93
See also Vienna Congress of 1814-15 and the Vienna treaties of 1815; Wars of the First French Republic

Nationalisation of land—138, 184

National Liberals (Germany, from 1866)—160

National Reform League (Great Britain, from 1849)—252

National question—31, 46, 89, 123, 329, 355
See also Working-class movement—internationalism as its inherent feature

Natural science—503
See also Chemistry; Geology; Mathematics; Science

Navy—74

North German Confederation (1867-71)—38
—North German Reichstag—16, 47, 51
Owenism, Owenists—181, 477

Paris Commune of 1871
—its historical significance—132, 137
—leading role of the working class—561
—collisions in the Commune—149, 490
—and French sections of the First International—130, 132, 140-42, 149, 208, 561
—fight against the Versailles government—149, 228, 561
—betrayal of national interests by counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie—89
—counter-revolutionary policy of the Thiers government—128, 132, 137
—counter-revolutionary terror—151, 228, 256, 561
—ruling classes' slander campaign against the Commune and the First International—128, 144, 151, 156, 176, 228, 229
—and European bourgeois democracy—139-40, 186, 564
—and international proletariat, movement of solidarity with the Commune—127, 137, 140-42, 149, 160, 204-05, 268-69
—defeat of the Commune, its causes—128, 132, 137, 149, 151, 293, 295

Parliament
—use of bourgeois parliament by working-class representatives—332

Party, proletarian
—nature, tasks, leading role of—135, 414, 433; see also Paris Commune of 1871
—constitution of proletariat into independent political party as a necessary condition of its emancipation—258, 414, 483
—agrarian programme—165
—policy and programme on the national question—47
—organisational principles—259-62, 346; see also International Working Men's Association—organisational principles of; International Working Men's Association. Congresses and conferences
—criticism and self-criticism—289
—party discipline—475
—significance of ideological and organisational unity—346, 512-14
—theoretical discussions—183-84
—struggle within the party—512-14
—tactics—511-14
—parliamentary policy, importance of parliamentary activity of its representatives—382
—combination of legal and illegal means of struggle—282
—and trade unions—244
—and peasantry—165, 340
—propaganda and agitation—258, 512
—significance of its press and publishing activity—477, 510-11
See also Communists, communist movement

Peasantry
—under capitalism—165

Period of transition from capitalism to communism (socialism)
—communist transformation of society as a long and complex process—337
—dictatorship of the proletariat—184, 331, 414, 483

Philosophy
—German—4, 156, 165
See also Dialectics—in nature

Poetry—55, 59, 63, 102, 400

Political economy—344, 504
See also Bourgeois political economy; Economic laws; Vulgar bourgeois
political economy

Political struggle—162, 258, 307-08, 414, 433

See also Anarchism, anarchists; Bakuninism, Bakunists

Positivism (Comtism)—150
—positivist group in the First International—150, 255

Press, the
—freedom of, as a democratic achievement—173
—anti-democratic character of the official press in the exploiter society—128, 228
—proletarian press, its status and tasks—126, 340, 358-59

Private property—184, 306, 337

Profit—4, 239-40

Propaganda—350, 511

Proudhonism, Proudhonists—4, 157, 162, 163, 181, 184, 255, 264, 309, 343, 366

Prussia—10, 32, 38, 41, 57, 120, 415

See also Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71

Revolution, proletarian, socialist
—essence, tasks, historical significance of—132, 294, 295
—indispensability of an independent proletarian party for the triumph of—132, 258, 414, 433; see also Political struggle
—necessity of discipline and centralisation of revolutionary forces—294, 295
—peaceful and violent ways of accomplishing it—294, 295
—proletariat as the ruling class, establishment of its dictatorship—184, 258, 331, 414, 433
—indispensable destruction of the old, bourgeois state machinery and creation of a new, proletarian one—132
—abolition of private property in the means of production and their socialisation—184, 307
—and the national question—46
—and abolition of classes—307, 414, 433

See also Civil war; Communism (socio-economic formation); Dictatorship of the proletariat; Paris Commune of 1871; Working-class movement—internationalism as its inherent feature

Revolution, social—see Revolution; Revolution, proletarian, socialist

Rhine Province—394

Russia (Russian Empire)
—revolutionary movement in the latter half of the 19th century—347, 386, 551
—revolutionary critical thought in the 19th century—105, 152, 258
—Marx and Engels on Chernyshevsky—27, 105, 152, 457, 469, 540
—beginning of dissemination of Marxism in—102, 105, 257, 283, 347, 377, 397, 399-400, 452, 457, 582
—persecution of revolutionary movement by tsarism, political trials—105, 540
—development of revolutionary situation (1870s-80s)—57, 105
—study of Russian by Marx and Engels—105, 311
—Marx and Engels on their study of Russian sources on economic and social relations in—27, 105, 152, 154, 457, 487
—communal property in—494
—serfdom—457, 551
—Marx's and Engels' contacts with Russian revolutionaries in the 1870s—27, 33, 152, 154, 168, 178-79, 192-93, 198, 210, 218, 220, 226-27, 276, 300, 386, 392, 397, 457, 469, 538, 539, 542, 579
—Marx's and Engels' contacts with Russian personalities in science and culture in the 1870s—152, 154, 174-75, 238-40, 386, 422, 456-57, 469, 487, 522-23, 576
—and Great Britain—74-75

S

Science—344
—classification of sciences—502-03
—in Germany—4, 154, 242, 256
See also Natural science; Philosophy; Political economy

Sectarianism
—as a feature inherent in the working-class movement at its earlier stages—251-52
—as an obstacle to the development of the mass working-class movement—163, 172, 183, 251-52
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists; Lassalleanism, Lassalleans

Socialist movement in France—3, 67, 256

Spain—139-40, 394, 465, 520

State, the
—as criticism of anarchist views of the State—131, 137
See also Dictatorship of the proletariat; Republic; State, bourgeois

State, bourgeois—137, 307

Strikes, strike movement—258
See also International Working Men's Association—and strikes; Lockout; Working-class movement; Working-class movement (in different countries)

Suffrage—332

Surplus value—4, 239-40

T

Thirty Years' War, 1618-48—93
Trade unionism—172, 302
Trade(s) unions, trade union movement—258
—their tasks and place in the class struggle of the workers—173
—and the proletarian party—244
—and necessity of an international trade association—428, 483
—criticism of reformist trade union leaders' views—429, 437, 462-63
See also Economic struggle of workers; International Working Men's Association—and trade organisations; Trade(s) unions in Britain

Trade(s) unions in Britain—172
—isolation of 'old trade unions' as organisations of labour aristocracy—172, 194
—graft of reformist trade union leaders by the bourgeoisie—383
—and the International Working Men's Association—100, 102, 350, 519
See also International Working Men's Association—struggle against reformism; Working-class movement in England (Great Britain)

U

Uprising, armed
—tactics of—297-99
See also Paris Commune of 1871; Revolution, proletarian, socialist

V

Vienna Congress of 1814-15 and the Vienna treaties of 1815—32

Vulgar bourgeois political economy—4, 47, 57

W

War(s)—74
—in capitalist society—92
—and revolution and revolutionary movement—102
—and the working-class movement—14, 46-47, 72
—revolutionary—102, 114
—people's—92-93
—defensive—51
See also Army; Austro-Prussian war, 1866; Civil war; Crimean war, 1853-56; Danish war, 1864; Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71; Military science; Napoleonic wars; Wars of the First French Republic

Wars of the First French Republic—41

Working class
—industrial (factory) proletariat—184
—consolidation of proletariat as a political force—258
—historical necessity of the proletariat becoming the ruling class—184, 331, 414, 433; see also Dictatorship of the proletariat
—material prerequisites (conditions) for the emancipation of the working class from social and economic oppression—184
—development of its class consciousness—183
—and peasantry—340
—its struggle for peace, against militarism, wars of conquest and annexations—9, 14, 18, 31, 47, 71-72, 87
—and the national question, national liberation movement—9, 31
See also Agricultural labourers; Class struggle; Dictatorship of the proletariat; Party, proletarian; Revolution, proletarian, socialist; Working class (in different countries); Working-class movement

Working class in England (Great Britain)
—labour aristocracy, graft of the upper stratum of the working class by the bourgeoisie—14, 147, 431, 437, 462
See also Working-class movement in England (Great Britain)

Working class in France
—during the Second Empire—3, 14, 46, 72, 93
—and the Franco-Prussian war—3, 14, 46, 65, 67-68, 70-72, 74, 79-80, 88, 122-23
See also Paris Commune of 1871

Working class in Germany—357

Working class in Spain—139-40, 309, 551
See also Working-class and socialist movement in Spain

Working-class movement
—general characteristics, tasks of—252, 258, 301-02, 514
—immediate and ultimate aims of—162, 258, 331, 414, 433
—struggle for the emancipation of the working class—162, 181, 183, 414, 433
—significance of its unity—190, 264, 348, 354-55, 513-14
—political organisation as a condition of its successful development—258
—trade unions as a school of the workers' class struggle—258
—necessity to combine workers' economic and political struggle—258, 414, 433
—and revolutionary theory—183
—necessity of working out a single theoretical programme—180, 181, 183
—internationalism as its inherent feature—301-02, 355
—combination of legal and illegal forms of struggle—282-83, 332
—struggle for democratic reforms—47, 173; see also Freedom
—struggle against wars, militarism and annexations—14, 46-47, 73
—before 1848—173, 370-71
—in the period of the First International—254-55
—and the Paris Commune—137, 140, 149, 268-69; see also Paris Commune of 1871—and international proletariat, movement of solidarity with the Commune
—leading role of the German working class in—3, 96
See also Class struggle; International solidarity of workers; International Working Men's Association; Party, proletarian; Strikes, strike movement;
Trade(s) unions, trade union movement; Working class; Working-class movement (in different countries)

Working-class movement in England
(Great Britain)—172
—in the 1830-40s—172
—in the 1870s—11, 14, 70, 100, 141, 172, 196, 462; see also Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71—and the British working class
—temporary victory of reformism, its causes—14, 147, 381-84, 431, 436, 462
See also International Working Men's Association in England; National Reform League; Trade(s) unions in Britain

Working-class movement in Germany—3, 118, 357, 370-72
—and the Franco-Prussian war—3, 10-11, 14, 46, 51, 72, 79, 96, 118, 195, 268-69
—and the Paris Commune—160, 268-69
—shift of the centre of gravity of the European working-class movement to Germany in the early-1870s—3, 69
—in the 1870s (before the Exceptional Law Against Socialists)—118, 511-12, 551
See also General Association of German Workers; German Social-Democracy; International Working Men's Association in Germany

Working-class movement in the USA
—after the Civil War of 1861-65—350
—trade unions—244
See also International Working Men's Association in the USA

Working-class and socialist movement in Austria—304

Working-class and socialist movement in Belgium—see Bakuninism, Bakuninists—in Belgium; International Working Men's Association in Belgium

Working-class and socialist movement in Denmark—340, 520

Working-class and socialist movement in Hungary—194, 304
See also International Working Men's Association in Hungary

See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists—in Italy; International Working Men's Association in Italy

Working-class and socialist movement in Spain—139-40, 255, 289, 309, 336-37, 368
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists—in Spain; International Working Men's Association in Spain

Working-class and socialist movement in Switzerland—173, 396, 508, 509, 526
See also Bakuninism, Bakuninists—in Switzerland; International Working Men's Association in Switzerland

Working day—239, 258