Dear Bracke,

Your news is bad but was readily predictable. I have already suggested on a number of occasions that you should kick out the gracious Isolde.\(^a\) However much corrected, her product remains an abortion.\(^254\) Add to that the waste of time, waste of money, etc. There can be no legal objection to that person's being 'kicked out' since she does not, and is unable to, perform what she contractually undertook to do. Blös had at one time proffered his services (unfortunately not until after Isolde).\(^194\)

The review, Zukunft, is by no means satisfactory, its main endeavour being to substitute ideological catch-phrases such as 'justice', etc., for materialist knowledge. Its programme is wretched! Promises, what's more, to peddle phantasm of the future structure of society. This, the first result of a bourgeois\(^b\) buying his way into the party, is not a happy one—as might have been predicted.

The Vorwärts, too, is publishing a mass of immature, stereotyped essays by aspiring and presumptuous striplings.\(^c\) I shouldn't have thought the proletariat's money was intended to provide a dumping-ground for such exercises.

I trust your health is improving. I myself have been suffering from influenza for several weeks,—most disruptive of work.

Yours,

K. M.

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\(^a\) Isolde Kurz  \(^b\) Karl Höchberg  \(^c\) See also previous letter.
Dear Mrs Hess,

Very many thanks from myself as well as from Engels for the two copies we have been sent of the ‘dynamic theory of matter’.a

We are both of the opinion that the work of our late friend has very considerable scientific merit and does credit to our party. So, quite apart from our personal relations with an ally of many years' standing, we would regard it as our duty to explain the significance of his work and to do all we could for its sales.

Are the two parts announced in Hess' foreword also available in manuscript?b

You will not take it amiss if I enclose herewith the price of the two copies, the point being, not so much your personal expense, as the cost of the undertaking.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

I shall write to Petersburg and New York on the subject of the work.


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a by Moses Hess
Dear Sir,

My best thanks for the packages.

Your offer to arrange for other material to be sent to me from France, Italy, Switzerland, etc. is exceedingly welcome, although I feel reluctant to make undue claims on you. I don't at all mind waiting, by the by, nor will this in any way hold up my work, for I am applying myself to various parts of the book in turn. In fact, *privatim*, I began by writing *Capital* in a sequence (starting with the 3rd, historical section) quite the reverse of that in which it was presented to the public, saving only that the first volume—the last I tackled—was got ready for the press straight away, whereas the two others remained in the rough form which all research originally assumes.

I enclose a photograph herewith, because the copy of the French edition that goes off to you at the same time as this letter only contains a very far from flattering likeness done from a London photograph by a Parisian artist.

Your most obedient Servant,

Karl Marx

MARX TO WILHELM BLOS

IN HAMBURG

London, 10 November 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Blos,

I was delighted to hear from you [Dir] again at last (that 'Dir' slipped naturally from my pen. So do drop the 'Sie' in future). I had long since proposed that the abominable Isolde be dismissed, and fulminated against her in vain.

Whenever, in 'la Place', the word place is written with a capital P, it always means the Place Vendôme, that being the seat of the commander of the National Guard; in Paris at the time he was the equivalent of what we call 'town-major'.

As regards the 'suppression de l'État', an expression which Lissagaray himself will be altering in the 2nd French edition, the sense is no different from that expounded in my pamphlet on the 'Civil War' in France. In short, you can translate it 'abolition (or suppression) of the class state'.

I 'bear no ill-will' (as Heine says) and nor for that matter does Engels. Neither of us cares a straw for popularity. Let me cite one proof of this: such was my aversion to the personality cult that at the time of the International, when plagued by numerous moves—originating from various countries—to accord me public honour, I never allowed one of these to enter the domain of publicity, nor did I ever reply to them, save with an occasional snub. When Engels and I first joined the secret communist society, we did so only on condition that anything conducive to a superstitious belief in authority be eliminated from the Rules (Lassalle subsequently operated in the reverse direction.)

But events such as occurred at the last party congress—they are being well and truly exploited by enemies of the party abroad—have in any case made it necessary for us to be circumspect in our relations with 'party members in Germany'.

Apart from that, my state of health compels me to devote to the

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a The familiar form of address in German: 'Dir'—‘Thee’. - b you (as opposed to 'Du') - c Isolde Kurz - d suppression of the state - e [P. O.] Lissagaray, Histoire de la Commune de 1871. - f K. Marx, The Civil War in France. - g H. Heine, Lyrisches Intermezzo, 'Ich grolle nicht...'. 
completion of my book the time allotted to me for work by my doctor; and Engels, who is working on several longer books, is still sending contributions to the Vorwärts.\textsuperscript{155}

It would amuse me to hear more from time to time about my ‘combinations with Father Beckx’.\textsuperscript{361}

Engels will be writing to you shortly.

With warm regards from my wife and my daughter Eleanor.

\textit{Totus tuus},\textsuperscript{b}  
Karl Marx

First published in \textit{Der wahre Jacob}, Nr. 565(6), Berlin, 17. März 1908

Published in English in full for the first time

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ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

IN WATERLOO

[Copy]

[London], 20 November [1877]

Unless I have the receipt by tomorrow morning, I shall feel compelled to go to the Central Office here and inform them of everything that has taken place.\textsuperscript{362}


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

\textsuperscript{a} Capital - \textsuperscript{b} Ever yours
MARX TO SIBYLLE HESS

IN PARIS

London, 29 November 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Hess,

Both I and Engels have been absent from London for some considerable time and, after returning, I necessarily had first to read our late friend's book, before being in a position to write to you.

Engels and I thank you very much for sending the same. In so far as we have any influence, we shall endeavour to disseminate it. It contains some brilliant notions but unfortunately—no doubt because Hess could not put the finishing touches to it—there are quite a number of dubious points that lend themselves to attack by professional natural scientists.

Wishing you the best of success, I remain

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

First published in Vorwärts, Nr. 67. Printed according to the original Basel, 9. Februar 1930, Beilage

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[London, end of 1877-beginning of 1878]
Saturday morning

Dear Moor,

I have gone and got me two swollen ankles and shall be unable to wear boots for a couple of days. I shall drive to the bank forthwith to collect some money and, if you care to come this evening, you will find what you require.
Tussy is quite right; Maskelyne should be read either after or at the same time as Wallace, for the details about people in Maskelyne, all of which cannot possibly be remembered, acquire interest only through the intimate knowledge of these various persons displayed by Wallace. So be so kind as to return it when you come so that I shall be able to appreciate Wallace in all his foolery.

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time
My dear Friend,

I hope one good thing the new year will do—act beneficently upon your health.

My best thanks for the Owen addresses and proclamations.\(^a\)

The Trafalgar Square meeting of Friday last was much more important than the newspaper reports would make it appear.\(^4\) There was a gathering of at least 15,000-20,000 people. The Russian party, as represented by the Honourable Bradlaugh, Hales, Mottershead, Osborne, etc., was forced, after a tremendous hand to hand fight, to evacuate the place with torn dresses, swollen eyes and broken noses. A dozen wounded were delivered to the next hospital. John Bull came out as a true bull and not as a lamb. The Turkish party was in overwhelming majority. \(\textit{Entre nous},\) I had somewhat my hand in getting up this demonstration, as, in point of fact, I have since many, many months acted through some British workmen and \(\textit{ci-devant}\) workmen upon the very diversified layers of the Pro-Turkishers. But, of course, if I had made the least public move, the whole thing would have been spoilt. In such \textit{national} affairs no foreigner must appear. If he thinks it his duty to do something, he must do so \textit{secretly}, behind the scenes, by a few natives upon whose discretion he can rely. One day I shall tell you [about] the very strange relations into which I have thus entered with British Grandees who would get into a white rage if they had the least suspicion under whose advice they were acting.

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 262-63. \(\text{—}\) \(^b\) former
I have received letters and prints from Russia. The misery now prevailing there is truly shocking. Save the governmental dependents and the by no means strong fraction of Pan-Slavists, discontent is universal. They had hoped peace would be at once concluded after the fall of Plevna.

As to Turkey, the great danger for her is Mahmud Damad who alone is responsible for the failure of the first campaign. This fact is known at Constantinople, and I wonder whether some fanatical Softas will not have the good sense to ‘extinguish’ that scoundrel. As Hobbes said: The equality of men is proved by this that the smallest man, the weakest man, can in one way or other kill the tallest, the biggest one.

Apart from all incidents of war, with the help of that model administration the Russians owe, the winter in Bulgaria will decimate their army. Already all their pontoon-bridges, save that of Zimnicea (which also will not stand the repeated attacks of the Danube ice), are swept away, and, by the by, they will be cut off from Wallachia.

In France the Dufaure cabinet will not last long. The discovery of the military conspiracy will kill it.

The whole family send you their new year wishes and you know that they come from the heart.

Yours most devotedly,

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in Japanese, in Kekisai Gakuronshu, Vol. 35, No. 1, Tokyo, 1969

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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, 11 January 1878

Dear Old Man,

Avant tout, a Happy New Year to you, and may it bring you less in the way of troubles and burdens than the previous one!

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a Marx is rendering a passage from Th. Hobbes, Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of the Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil.

b First of all
The package eventually arrived a few days ago. My best thanks. I have not quite finished looking through the *Bulletin jurassien*; I find it interesting to follow the decline of that gang and its ultimate relegation to the back of the stage as a result of our electoral victories of 10 January 1877. Let them now scheme and snarl to their heart's content; they've gone to pot and there they will remain.

You will be receiving from the post office a money order for 50 frs which you should regard as our contribution to the *Précurseur*. In accordance with the new regulations, I have to retain over here the receipt they gave me; the money order, or so they tell me, will be sent to you from Basle.

We are pretty well. Marx is notably better as compared with former years; his wife is not quite up to the mark, but the doctor promises a complete cure; I myself cannot complain.

Things seem to be going very well indeed for you people in Switzerland; the formation of a workers' party is a great step forward and, even if the programme isn't nearly radical enough for the taste of *Messieurs les Bakounistes*, it doesn't matter a damn. A party that has the political means to take a direct part in the struggle, and the prospect of soon being able to throw a not inconsiderable weight into the scales, as is the case in Switzerland, has better things to do than to force each individual collaborator to accept its ultimate aims as dogma. There is, of course, much room for improvement in the programme, but it was modelled on the garrulous programme concocted in Germany at the time of the unification.

In Germany, too, big mistakes were made, in particular as regards the attitude adopted—in a spirit altogether Bakuninist—towards the French crisis. And yet on this occasion we again saw how far ahead of us France has come in matters of practice. Lousy though the solution may have so far proved to be, it is nevertheless the first time that anything has been achieved there without a violent upheaval—and violence there, so soon after the bloodbath of 1871, could only lead to the revival of repression and of Bonapartism. But as it is, there is every prospect that the workers will very shortly gain freedom of the press, the right of association and assembly and whatever else is requisite for organisation and struggle, and that is all they need to begin with. They are in a position to discover where they stand theoretically, as is most necessary, and at last, when the opportunity presents

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\[a\] See this volume, p. 214. \[b\] George Allen
itself, to enter the revolution as a tightly knit party and with a
definite programme. And then again, the debonapartisation and
republicanisation of the peasants, which is now in full swing, is
another tremendous gain. And, lastly, the decisive point was
reached because the *common soldier declared he would not fight*—the
collapse of militarism has begun from within and may soon find a
sequel in Germany, especially if present policy should make it
necessary to lead the army into the field in support of the
Russians.

Another big mistake in Germany is to have allowed students and
other ignorant ‘scholars’, in the guise of scientific representatives
of the party, to flood the world at large with vast quantities of the
most arrant nonsense. However, this is a childish ailment which
has to be got over, and it is precisely in order to hasten it on that I
made such a thorough example of Dühring.\(^a\)

That apart, things are going quite splendidly there as well and,
if they now really get cracking with their anti-Russian agitation, it
might prove very effective.

Apropos, Buffenoir, whom the *Vorwärts* is presently making
such a fuss of,\(^{370}\) is a somewhat ambiguous individual; in the first
place, he’s a clericalist, in the second he has recently eulogised
Gambetta in effusive poetical verse and has no standing whatever
amongst the workers of Paris. Another instance of Liebknecht’s
going himself into a mess.

I hope the peace terms proposed by the Russians will be such
that the war will go on. Not having any bridges over the Danube,
their army is cut off and might starve miserably if the weather
stays bad. And an undecided war, or fresh defeats, would
undoubtedly give rise to revolution in Petersburg. Initially started
by the court and constitutional, in other words 1789 preceding
1793.\(^{371}\) Just let a national assembly convene in Petersburg, and
the whole of Europe will assume a different aspect.

Your old friend

F. E.

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\(^a\) F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring.*
... We are most decidedly espousing the Turkish cause and for 2 reasons:

1. because we have studied the Turkish peasant—i.e. the mass of the Turkish people—and in this way have come to see him as indubitably one of the ablest and most moral representatives of the peasantry in Europe;

2. because the defeat of the Russians would have greatly expedited social revolution in Russia, of which all the elements are present in abundant measure, and hence radical change throughout Europe.

Things took a different course. Why? In consequence of England's and Austria's treachery.

England—I mean the English government—came, for example, to the rescue of the Serbs when they had been beaten; by misrepresenting the facts, she caused the Turks to suspend hostilities in the erroneous belief that the Russians had proffered an armistice (through England) of which the first condition was the aforesaid suspension. It was this alone that enabled the Russians to win their final spate of victories. Otherwise their armies would have been decimated by hunger and cold; only the opening up of the way to Rumelia where supplies were to be had (i.e. taken) and where, furthermore, the climate was milder, permitted them to escape from the mousetrap in Bulgaria, cram-full with soldiers, and pour their hordes into the south. Disraeli was (and still is) hamstrung in his own cabinet by the Marquis of Salisbury, Russian agent and confidant of Ignatiyev, by the Grand Cophtha of Commonplace—Earl of Derby—and by the Earl of Carnarvon, who has since resigned.

Austria prevented the Turks from enjoying the fruits of their victories in Montenegro, etc.

Finally—and this is one of the main reasons for their ultimate defeat—the Turks failed to stir up revolution in Constantinople, thus allowing that incarnation of the old Seraglio régime—Mahmud Damad—brother-in-law to the Sultan, to remain the real power behind the war—exactly the same thing as actually

\[a\] Abdul Hamid II
entrusting the Russian cabinet with the conduct of the war against itself. The systematic paralysing and compromising of the Turkish army by this laddie can be demonstrated down to the smallest detail. Come to that, everyone in Constantinople is aware of it and this increases the historical guilt of the Turks. A people incapable of resolute revolutionary action at moments of intense crisis such as this is doomed. The Russian government knew what Damad was worth to them; it brought more strategy and tactics to bear on keeping Midhat Pasha away from Constantinople and Damad at the helm than on the capture of Plevna.350

The man behind the Russian victory was, of course, Bismarck. He was responsible for the Alliance of the Three Emperors143 whereby Austria was kept quiet. Even after the fall of Plevna all Austria would have had to do was marshal 100,000 men—and the Russians would have been compelled quietly to withdraw or to content themselves with the paltriest of spoils. From the start, Austria's abdication gave the Russian party in England the upper hand, France (as a result of the post-Sedan catastrophe—catastrophe after Sedan113—engineered by the then premier, Mr Gladstone) having ceased to exist in English eyes as a continental military power.

The consequence will simply be the dissolution of Austria, which is inevitable if the Russian peace terms be accepted577 and this means that Turkey (at least in Europe) will continue to exist in name only. Turkey was Austria's barrier against Russia and her retinue of Slavs. So presumably at the first appropriate moment there'll be a call for 'Bohemia'.

But Prussia qua Prussia—i.e. as specifically opposed to Germany—also has interests of a different kind: Prussia as such is her dynasty, she has come to be and is what she is on Russia's 'warranty'. The defeat of Russia, revolution in Russia, would ring Prussia's death-knell.

For otherwise, after the great victory over France, after Prussia had become the leading military power in Europe, we may presume that not even Mr von Bismarck would have assigned her the same position vis-à-vis Russia as she had occupied in 1815 as a supernumerary on the political stage of Europe.

Finally, to panjandrumns such as Bismarck, Moltke, etc., the prospect of personal eminence held out by the succession of European wars now beginning ... is by no means a matter of indifference.

It goes without saying that Prussia must, as occasion arises, demand 'compensation' for the Russian victories which she alone
made possible. This is already plainly evident from the behaviour of the Russians vis-à-vis the Romanian government which had gone to the rescue of those same Russians at Plevna before Muscovite reinforcements arrived. Karl von Hohenzollern is now to demonstrate his gratitude by handing back the part of Bessarabia ceded by the Russians after the Crimean War. That this will not be permitted out of hand by Berlin, Petersburg is aware, and is prepared to make handsome compensation.

But there are other aspects to all this. Turkey and Austria were the last bulwarks of the old European political order that was patched up again in 1815; with their downfall it will suffer total collapse. This debacle—which will take the form of a series of (‘localised’ and ultimately ‘general’) wars—will precipitate the social crisis—and with it the decline of all these sabre-rattling sham powers.

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Published in English in full for the first time

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MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LONDON

[Extract]

[London,] 4 February 1878

You are mistaken, if you believe that Disraeli is in my opinion a great man. He was always a self-seeker, and such people, whatever their natural gifts, are always deficient. But, dans le royaume des aveugles les borgnes, etc.\(^a\)

You are still more mistaken, if you consider Lord Commonplace\(^b\) as a small man or an adversary easily to be borne down! He is, on the contrary, the mightiest man in the British Empire. On the one hand, the oldest nobility man, on the other the intellectual incarnation of the great middle-class. Business is business—this is the only serious part of your bourgeois: everything else is

\(^a\) Dans le royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont rois—In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed is King.  
\(^b\) The Earl of Derby (see also this volume, p. 296).
show—and must, consequently, be got rid of by mild talk, conventional utterances, inane twaddle. What a power, therefore, the Lord of Commonplace! If an Earl of Derby did not exist, the decaying nobility and the upstart brokers ought to have invented him...  

Turkey and Austria were the last props of the old State System of Europe... It will go now altogether to the wall, expiring in a succession of wars, which will precipitate the Social Crisis and engulf all the so-called Powers, those sham-powers, victors and vanquished—to make room for a European Social Revolution.

One way or another our enemies are digging their own graves!

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Reproduced from the catalogue

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 11 February 1878

At least something worthwhile has been achieved by the Russians; they have exploded England's 'great Liberal Party' and rendered it incapable of governing for some time to come, while the Tory Party has gone to the trouble of officially bringing about its own demise through the medium of those traitors Derby and Salisbury (the latter being the real pro-Russian force within the Cabinet).^a

The English working class had gradually become ever more demoralised as a result of the period of corruption after 1848, and had finally reached the stage of being no more than an appendage of the great Liberal Party, i.e. of its oppressors, the capitalists. Its direction had passed completely into the hands of the venal Trades Union leaders and professional agitators. In the wake of the Gladstones, Brights, Mundellas, Morleys, and the whole gang of factory owners, etc., these laddies ranted and roared in majorem gloriam^b of that emancipator of the nations, the Tsar,^c while never

^a See this volume, p. 296.  
^b to the greater glory  
^c Alexander II
raising a finger on behalf of their own brethren in South Wales, condemned by the mine-owners to death by starvation.\(^{380}\) The wretches! And to crown it all in worthy fashion, during the recent divisions in the House of Commons (on 7 and 8 February, when most of the chief dignitaries of the ‘great Liberal Party’—Forster, Lowe, Harcourt, Goschen, Hartington and even (on 7 February) the great John Bright himself—left their army in the lurch and made off during the division so as not to compromise themselves unduly by voting\(^ {381}\)), the only labour representatives in the House of Commons and they, \textit{horrible dictu,}\(^a\) direct representatives of the miners, and themselves miners born and bred, namely Burt and the pitiful Macdonald, voted with those pro-Tsar enthusiasts, the rump of the ‘great Liberal Party’!

But the rapid unfolding of Russia’s plans suddenly broke the spell, disrupting the ‘mechanical agitation’ (of whose mechanism five pound notes were the mainspring); at this moment it would have been \textit{physically dangerous} for Mottershead, Howell, John Hales, Shipton, Osborne and all the rest of the crew to make their voices heard at a public workers’ meeting; even their ‘\textit{Corner and Ticket meetings}’ are forcibly disbanded and broken up by the populace.

But it will take your ponderous ‘Anglo-Saxon’ too long to wake up—in time, at any rate, for the next events...

Russian diplomacy is very far from sharing the fatuous ‘Christian’ prejudices against the ‘Crescent’. Turkey, reduced in Europe to Constantinople and a small part of Rumelia, but with a compact hinterland in Asia Minor, Arabia, etc., is to be shackled to Russia by means of an offensive and defensive alliance.

During the last campaign the 120,000 \textit{Poles} in the Russian army rendered sterling service\(^ {382}\); now the Poles are to be joined by \textit{Turks}—and the \textit{Russians} will have under their flag the two bravest races of Europe, who have to avenge themselves on Europe for their humiliation—not a bad idea!

\textit{In 1829 Prussia}—but at that time she was still no more than the biggest of Europe’s small states and the self-confessed protégée of Russia\(^ {383}\)—acted just as she is doing now.

The desperate situation in which the Russian army found itself after Diebitsch had led it over the Balkans (July 1829) has been well described by \textit{Moltke}.\(^b\) Only diplomacy could have saved it.

The second campaign was on the point of turning out as badly

\(^a\) horrible to say \(^b\) [H. K. B.] von Moltke. \textit{Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829.}
as the first—and then finis Russiae—it would be all up with Russia. That is why Nicholas, the Tsar, went to Berlin on 10 June 1829, allegedly in order to attend the wedding of Prince William of Prussia (the present German emperor). He asked Frederick William III (he ‘of the conqueror’s crown’) to prevail upon the Porte to send him plenipotentiaries so as to open peace negotiations. At that time Diebitsch had not yet crossed the Balkans, the greater part of his army being pinned down outside Silistria and Shumla.\(^a\) In concert with Nicholas, Frederick William III officially ordered Baron Müffling to Constantinople as envoy extraordinary, the intention being, however, that he should act as Russia’s agent there. Müffling was of pure Russian stock, as he himself relates in Aus meinem Leben: he had drafted the Russian campaign plan in 1827 and indeed insisted that Diebitsch should march over the Balkans coûte que coûte (whatever the cost), while he, as peace mediator, conducted intrigues in Constantinople. He himself says that the Sultan, \(^c\) alarmed by such a march, would appeal ‘to him as a friend’.\(^d\)

Under the pretext of assuring the peace of Europe, he succeeded in getting France and England to eat out of his hand—in particular the latter country, by exerting influence through the Russophil English ambassador, Robert Gordon, on the latter’s brother, the Earl of Aberdeen, and through him on Wellington—who was later bitterly to rue it.

After Diebitsch had crossed the Balkans, he was gratified to receive a letter from Reshid Pasha dated 25 July (1829) inviting him to open the peace negotiations. On that same day, Müffling had his first discussion with Reis Effendi (Turkish Minister of the Exterior)\(^e\) whom he intimidated by the vehemence of his address (à la Prince Reuss\(^f\)); he also invoked Gordon, etc. The Sultan gave way to the pressure of the Prussian ambassador (who was supported by Gordon, the English, and Guilleminot, the French ambassador, both of whom had been briefed by Müffling) and accepted the following 5 peace terms: 1. Integrity of the Ottoman Empire; 2. retention of the former treaties between the Porte and Russia; 3. adherence of the Porte to the Treaty of London (concluded 6 July 1827) between France, England and Russia for

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\(^a\) In the original ‘im Siegarkranz’. ‘Heil dir im Siegarkranz’—the initial words of the Prussian National Anthem written by Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher on the basis of Heinrich Harries’ poem Lied für den dänischen Unterthan. – \(^b\) Bulgarian names: Silistra and Shumen (now Kolarovgrad). – \(^c\) Mahmud II – \(^d\) F. C. F. Müffling, Aus meinem Leben, Berlin, 1851, p. 303. – \(^e\) Pertev Reis Effendi – \(^f\) Heinrich VII of Reuss
the regulation of Greek affairs; 4. firm undertakings as regards the freedom of shipping in the Black Sea; 5. further negotiations between Turkish and Russian chargés d'affaires relating to indemnification and any other claim either party might make.

On 28 August Sadek Effendi and Abdul Kader Bey, the two Turkish plenipotentiaries, accompanied by Küster (attaché at the Prussian Embassy in Constantinople), arrived at Adrianople where the Russians had set up their general headquarters about a week previously. Diebitsch opened negotiations on 1 September without waiting for the arrival of the Russian plenipotentiaries (Alexei Orlov and Pahlen), who had got no further than Burgas.

But while negotiations were in progress, Diebitsch's troops continued their advance on Constantinople. Insolent and overbearing (despite or rather because of the rottenness of his position), he gave the Turkish plenipotentiaries a week's deadline by which to assent to the following points:

The fortresses of Braila, Giurgevo and Calafat to be razed and the places themselves to be incorporated into Wallachia. Anapa and Poti, on the Black Sea, to be ceded to Russia; also the Pashalik of Akhaltsikhe; reparations amounting to 700,000 'purses' (some 120 million francs), payment to be guaranteed by handing over Silistria and the Danubian principalities as a pledge to Russia. Indemnification of Russian merchants to the tune of some 15 million francs for losses sustained, payable on three appointed dates after each of which the Russian army would withdraw, first to the foot of the Balkans, then to the north of those mountains and, finally, across the Danube.

The Porte objected to these terms which were so greatly at variance with the Tsar's assurances of moderation. The new Prussian ambassador Royer (Müffling had absconded on 5 September, after completing his fell assignment—he, the 'friend to the Porte' and the angel of peace), in company with General Guilleminot, Müffling's dupe, and Sir Robert Gordon, supported the protests of the Porte, for insolence such as this ran counter to the agreement and was even too much for him 'of the conqueror's crown'. Diebitsch knew that militarily speaking he was in a tight corner and made bogus concessions: in the public peace treaty, the article concerning the amount of war reparations would be withdrawn; the first instalment of the indemnification of Russian merchants was reduced for, as the Turkish envoys said: 'The most

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*a Mehmed Sadek - b Turkish name: Edirne. - c Romanian name: Giurgiu. - d Moldavia and Wallachia - e Nicholas I*
ignorant must know that the Porte could not pay.' Peace was finally concluded on 5 September. Great sensation in Europe, great indignation in England; Wellington fumed; even Aberdeen drew attention in a despatch to the danger lurking in every single clause of the treaty, and endeavoured to bring about a general alliance whereby all the great powers (including Russia) would guarantee peace in the Orient. Austria was willing; but Prussia frustrated the project, and saved Russia from the dangers a European congress would present to her. (France, where Charles X was preparing his coup d'etat, entered into a secret understanding with Russia; a secret treaty was also concluded, whereby France was to receive the Rhine Provinces.)

Under these circumstances there was no need for Nesselrode to beat about the bush; he sent an insolent and contemptuous despatch to the English Cabinet, i.e. a despatch addressed to Count Lieven (the Russian ambassador) in London.

This is what Prussia did at the time and has now done again on a grander scale. Fine Hohenstaufens—these Hohenzollerns! Statesmanship presented no difficulties to Bismarck in the Austrian and French affair; against Austria, he had Bonaparte's protection and the Italians, and against France, the whole of Europe. Moreover, the goal to which he aspired had been determined by the circumstances, which had paved the way to its attainment.

Now that circumstances have become more complex, he is a genius no longer.\textsuperscript{b}


Printed according to the pamphlet

Published in English in full for the first time

\textsuperscript{a} See present edition, Vol. 17, p. 146. - \textsuperscript{b} In Liebknecht's pamphlet, there follows a passage of which it has not been established whether it is part of Marx's letter or is by Liebknecht himself. It reads: 'Inside Russia the situation is confused. The gentle Alexander intends to build a penal establishment in Novaya Zemlya to which political offenders will be banished, and that means \textit{la mort sans phrase}—death, pure and simple. It would be a good thing if peace were to reign for the next year or two. In particular this would be conducive to internal decay in Russia. The government's first move there (following the example of Prussia after 1815) would be to persecute pan-Slav agitators.\textsuperscript{387} In so far as it was necessary, they have been exploited; the day of reckoning will come when the turmoil of war has ceased.'
Dear Sir,

I have, though somewhat belatedly, obtained Volume IV (Industriebegründungen) of the Salingen, to which you so kindly drew my attention. I did not wish to reply to your letter until I had at length had time to run through the thing, and have found it very useful.

I have tried, without success, to obtain via the booksellers the second volume of Glagau (it has probably been banned), and also Rudolph Meyer's book on account of which he has been prosecuted. Since the said Meyer has cited me in court as a competent witness to the 'scholarship' of his work he ought, if only for decency's sake, to have sent it me to look at.

Finally, I have one more thing to ask of you, namely to be so kind, provided it is not too time-consuming, as to let me have a list of the names of Perrot's published writings on the subject of joint-stock companies, etc.

From Petersburg Mr. Kaufman has sent me (Russian text) his bulky tome on the Theory and Practice of Banks, likewise his History of the Bank of England etc. So far I have only read the first-named. Written in a 'high-falutin' style, with considerable self-important pretensions to absolute 'scholarship', it is an enthusiastic apology for the economy of Gründung and swindling. Yet such writings are most beneficial, for the apology, in so far as it has any real content, and all unbeknown to its author, ends up by demonstrating for good or ill, and contrary to the moralising philistine, the correlation between the necessary product of the present system of production itself and what your philistine condemns as 'abuse', 'malpractice', etc.

I used to subscribe to the Frankfurter Zeitung, but do so no longer because of its 'Swiss' standpoint which alone can account

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a O. Glagau, Der Börsen- und Gründungs-Schwindel in Deutschland. b R. Meyer, Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland. c F. Perrot, Der Bank-, Börsen- und Actienschwindel. d [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, Теория и практика банковского дела. e И. И. Кауфманъ, История банкового дела в Великобритании и Ирландии.
for its lunatic flights of fancy on the subject of the oriental imbroglio. But now a friend of mine in Germany\(^a\) is persecuting me by occasionally sending me what he believes to be an interesting issue of the paper. From what little (but nevertheless still 'over-much') that has thus come my way, it seems to me that a *marked change* is occurring in the line taken by the paper. Is this the case, or is it not? Has Mr Sonnemann shifted further to the 'right'?

I trust that you are having better weather than we are. Since my return from Germany in mid-September\(^b\) I have suffered from a permanent cough, etc.

With kindest regards I am, Sir,

Yours sincerely,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO VALERIAN SMIRNOV\(^{389}\)

IN LONDON

[London,] 29 March 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Smirnov,

I take it that you are still editor of the *Вперёд!*\(^b\) and therefore that this note will find you at the address I have selected.

Party friends in Paris have asked me for information about two agitators within our societies in Paris, namely a ‘Prince Kropotkin’ and a lady, one ‘Kulishova’, a particular friend of Costa’s.

Do you, perhaps, know anything about these individuals from the political aspect?

Yours very faithfully,

Karl Marx

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\(^a\) Presumably Carl Hirsch.  \(^b\) *Vperyod!* (Forward!)
Dear Hirsch,

Would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed note\textsuperscript{a} to Lopatin? We don’t know whether the old address we have for him still holds good.\textsuperscript{b} It has to do with an article for Bracke’s Kalender on the condemned Russians.\textsuperscript{c}—The Égalité hasn’t been arriving for some time past; I hope nothing has happened to it. With the suspension of the Bulletin jurassien\textsuperscript{d} for want of money, the Bakuninists’ swaggering has come to an inglorious end. It’s encouraging to see the movement growing so powerful that it can sweep aside every one of these rubbishy factions without undue difficulty. As soon as I have a complete set of them here I shall send you some articles of mine on the movement in 1877,\textsuperscript{d} which have appeared in the New York Labor Standard. As regards Dühring, I’ve all but finished now. No doubt you will shortly see something more about his ‘socialism’ in the Vorwärts.\textsuperscript{e} This worthy man has cost me an atrocious amount of time, but unfortunately there was no [alternative], it being a case of all or nothing. Precious chaps, these anarchists! That great enemy of the state, Adhémar Schwitzguébel, Guillaume’s right-hand man, who would rather chop off his own hand than place a voting-paper in a ballot box, is an officer dans l’armée fédérale\textsuperscript{f} as the Bulletin jurassien itself declares. Kindest regards to all our friends, especially Kaub and Mesa.

Yours very sincerely,

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

\textsuperscript{a} See next letter. - \textsuperscript{b} From February 1878 Lopatin stayed in Montreux. - \textsuperscript{c} Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l’Association Internationale des Travailleurs. - \textsuperscript{d} F. Engels, The Workingmen of Europe in 1877. - \textsuperscript{e} F. Engels, Anti-Dühring, Part III. - \textsuperscript{f} in the federal army
... My warmest regards to Lavrov. I was glad to see that his excellent article in the last issue of Вперёд! had been translated for the Vorwärts; it will not be without effect. Unfortunately my eye is in rather a delicate condition, which prevents my reading Russian; Russian characters always hurt my eye; let's hope it doesn't persist...

First published, in Russian, in История СССР, No. 6, Moscow, 1959

Printed according to Lopatin's letter to Lavrov of 17 April 1878

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

My dear and honoured Friend,

Mrs Marx is continually changing, sometimes up, then again down. As soon as the weather becomes more congenial, she must, of course, leave London.

Meanwhile we all hope to enjoy soon the pleasure to see you here.

I have received a whole lot of latest 'Russian' publications from Petersburg. They bear witness to a great internal commotion.

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a Вперёд! (Forward!)
Bismarck seems to break rapidly down, bodily and otherwise.

Yours most devotedly,

K. M.


Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 30 April 1878

Dear Bracke,

Herewith Lissagaray's receipt for the 300 marks which he has changed into £15 at a loss of approx. 6 marks against gold at par, doubtless so that he should not have to acknowledge Bismarck's currency reform.393

I think that in taking the view you do of the Imperial railways and the tobacco monopoly394 you may be looking a bit too far ahead. Aside from the enormous increase of power that would accrue to Prussian dominion, on the one hand through total financial independence of any control, on the other through direct command of two new armies, that of railway officials and that of tobacco sellers, and the consequent power to confer appointments and engage in corruption—aside from all that, it must not be forgotten that nowadays any transfer of industrial and commercial functions to the state may, depending on the circumstances, have a twofold purport and a twofold effect: one reactionary, a step back into the Middle Ages, one progressive, a step forward towards communism.3 We in Germany, however, have only just crept out of the Middle Ages and are only this moment engaged in entering modern bourgeois society through the medium of large-scale industry and the crash.395 In our case, what needs to be developed to the highest possible degree is precisely that bourgeois economic régime which concentrates capitals and accentuates contradictions,

notably in the north-east. To my mind the economic dissolution of feudal conditions east of the Elbe is, for us, the most essential step forward, along with the dissolution throughout Germany of small businesses in industry and the crafts and their replacement with large-scale industry. And, after all, the only good thing about a tobacco monopoly is that, at one stroke, it would change one of the most infamous cottage industries into large-scale industry. On the other hand, the state tobacco workers would also at once become subject to exceptional laws and, still worse, deprived of the liberty to associate or strike. In our case the Imperial railways and the tobacco monopoly are not of necessity state industries—the railways not yet, at any rate, whereas in England they are only just coming to be so; posts and telegraphs, on the other hand, are. And by way of compensation for all the disadvantages those two new state monopolies would bring us, we'd simply get a handy new expression to use in agitation. For a state monopoly that is set up simply for reasons of money and power, not out of compelling and intrinsic necessity, wouldn't even provide us with a proper argument. And the process of setting up a tobacco monopoly and abolishing the cottage tobacco industry would, what's more, take at least as long as Bismarckism can possibly hope to survive. Again, you may be sure that the Prussian state would both debase the quality of tobacco and raise the price to such an extent that the adherents of free competition would gleefully point to this discrediting of state communism, and the people would be forced to agree with them. The whole thing is an ignorant fancy of Bismarck's altogether worthy of his plan of 1863 to annex Poland and Germanise her within three years.

Had I known that the Party of Progress had for years been proposing [the abolition of] tax exemption for the military, I should have advised you against bringing the motion in question. To my mind, our function is to support bourgeois demands only when the bourgeois parties fail to do what they damned well ought to; but judging by your own speech, this does not appear to have been quite the case. I merely mention this on account of Richter's reply. Naturally I don't dispute for one moment that our airing of the question may have great advantages as regards propaganda, though I can't, needless to say, give an unqualified verdict from here.

I've now finished Mr Dühring, fortunately, apart from the revision of the final articles, and trust I shall have no more of his

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a F. Engels, Anti-Dühring, Part III.
esteemed company while on this earth. What a conceited ignoramus! If the rest isn’t printed quickly, it won’t be my fault. Kind regards.

Yours,
F. Engels


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MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

[London,] 26 June 1878

Dear Hirsch,

I cannot lay hands here on Bucher’s reply in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*. The *Frankfurter* is said to have reprinted it.

Kindly send it to me by return.

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx


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*a Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* - *b Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*
MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT
IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London.] 13 July 1878

Dear Friend,

Having had no word whatsoever from Germany, I should particularly like to know whether you got the letter. I wrote you immediately on receipt of yours.

I don't even get newspapers if they are addressed to me in my name.

If you have not received my letter, perhaps you would be good enough to write in future (without further particulars as to the addressee) to Edwin Willis, Esq., 40 Maitland Park Crescent, London, N. W.

Yours truly,

K. M.


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MARX TO SIGMUND SCHOTT
IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London.] 15 July 1878

Dear Friend,

I got your letter on the very day I had already sent you a brief note by a roundabout route.

In your last letter but one (of 30 June), you asked me nothing save whether some of the comments in the German press on my first epistle to The Daily News had reached me. Answer: no.

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I would not dream of dedicating a 'book' to Mr Bucher. He owes me an answer to my '30' lines. I have neither the time nor any reason to supply the '3,000' lines he deems necessary in place of his own. This fable is the progeny of the London correspondent of the Vossische Zeitung, he, so far as I am aware, being Dr Elard Biscamp, a notorious blackguard. This time, however, his bad joke has come off.

The state of my health bids me go to Karlsbad. But Mr Bismarck, who was so urgently bidden to go to Kissingen, doesn't want me to. "Что делать? (que faire?)", as the Russians say. Look round for a makeshift in the shape of a British seaside resort not as yet under the aegis of the new Holy Alliance's savours of society. My wife is seriously ill and will probably have to go to Karlsbad; it seems unlikely that her ex-ladyship, the ex-Baroness von Westphalen, will be regarded as contraband.

I trust your trip will do you good. Should you spend any length of time in one place, you might write to me from there. I shall probably have an article of mine in English (not yet printed) to send you which, however, will have absolutely nothing to do with the good 'FATHERLAND', as the English call it.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
Karl Marx


ENGLISHTO VALERIAN SMIRNOV

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 July 1878
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Smirnov,

Yesterday I sent you a copy of my anti-Dühring pamphlet which I trust you have received.

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a K. Marx, 'Reply to Bucher's "Declaration"'. - b what is to be done? - c K. Marx, 'Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working Men's Association'.
I also wished to send copies both to Lopatin and to Lavrov, but I do not know whether Lopatin is still in Switzerland, nor the present address of either of them in Paris. If you could tell me to what addresses I should send the pamphlets, I should be most obliged to you.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO OSCAR SCHMIDT
IN STRASBOURG

[Draft]

[London, 19 July 1878]

Dear Sir,

In yesterday’s no. of *Nature* I see an announcement of a lecture to be given by you at the natural scientists' conference in Kassel ‘on the relation of Darwinism to Social Democracy’.  

That the advocates of Darwinism in Germany would not be able to evade the necessity of adopting a position vis-à-vis the socialist world outlook was something socialists had foreseen long before Mr Virchow so amiably tipped the wink. Whatever that position may turn out to be, it can only contribute to the clarification of the situation and of men's minds. On the other hand, it is desirable from both points of view that this should be done in full awareness of the facts.

By way of making a contribution of my own, I am taking the liberty of sending you by post a copy of my work *Herr Eugen Dühring's etc.*, which has just come out. In it, I have endeavoured to give, among other things, an outline of the relation of scientific socialism to the propositions of modern theoretical natural science in general, and to Darwin’s theory in particular. The passages relating to Darwinism are marked.
With your permission, I shall in due course and from my own standpoint subject your lecture to the kind of ruthless criticism which alone does justice to free science and which any man of science must welcome, even when applied to himself.404


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ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 30 July 1878

Dear Pauli,

Let us hope our people will today do their duty, as we are entitled to expect after all that has happened.405 Since Bismarck has perpetrated the colossal bloomer of trying to exploit all that shooting business to topple the liberals, and is now using the socialists simply as a pretext,406 it is with even greater pleasure that we can observe the champions of law and order squabbling amongst themselves. I cannot comprehend Bismarck; his ‘nerves’ must have gone completely to pieces, together with what little intelligence he still had. *Passe encore* that he should fail to see that what his Bonapartist game effectually boils down to is the alternate playing off of the workers against the bourgeois and of the bourgeois against the workers, thus doing both in the eye. But it’s plain madness for him to want to overthrow the liberals, those ‘we are but dogs’407 yes-men who will go on licking the boot that kicks them up the backside in return for a bare minimum of cajolery—those liberals who are his only protection against the out-and-out feudal-orthodox-reactionary court—and thus to deliver himself up irrevocably to the reactionaries, the very people he has betrayed and persecuted and by whom he is mortally detested. And he calls himself a ‘statesman’! And proposes to bring about the downfall of the socialists by means of a policy that

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a It’s not so bad
can benefit no one save the socialists! Were the worthy fellow in our pay, he could not work better on our behalf. What is more, he actually postpones the sitting of the Reichstag until the last moment, simply in order that the anti-socialist battue may have time to peter out, the bourgeois to become ashamed of his abject role of denouncer, and the parties of law and order to fall so thoroughly foul of each other as to lose all hope of sorting themselves out again. And while socialism is having its roots so lavishly manured at the base, it is supposedly being killed off by the pruning of a few of its topmost shoots in September! No, dear Bismarck, cactum non est pictum.a

Thanks for the newspaper. Three-quarters of all the hullaballoo is sheer fabrication on the part of the Londoner Journal (Dr Juch, an old good-for-nothing wastrel of the most disreputable kind, and Schweitzer, book-printer, who received a drubbing during the Crown Princeb demonstration but was too much of a coward to complain!); what is more, this paper is intent on being purchased by the reptile fund408 which, however, already possesses a paper here in the shape of the Hermann and takes the view non bis in idem.c The truth of the matter is that, in two associations over here, a few louts of German origin, likewise most disreputable, are kicking up a great row so that they may, apropos the business of the shootings in Berlin, cut a dash as representatives here of the workers of all countries. The seductive prospect of having a rôle to play has misled little Ehrhart of Mannheim into consorting with this gang. For the third time now in approximately four years they have proclaimed themselves the international central council of the proletariat.d Should this shouting and scribbling go beyond a certain point, we shall be obliged to unmask these gentry in public so that people shan't think we are at the back of this balderdash—something it is wholly in the interests of reaction to disseminate.

The prospect of a trip to Germany this year would seem to be poor, even if politics were not becoming ever more obstructive. I shall be glad if I can get my wife to the nearest seaside town for a couple of weeks; hitherto it wasn't even to be thought of. Last week she scarcely ever left her bed. The thing is exceedingly grave and might turn out very badly. Mrs Marx, too, is unwell with liver and stomach trouble, and has been told by the leading specialist here that, while there's no getting rid of it altogether, it might be made bearable. We don't yet know what spa he will prescribe.

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a Cackin' isn't painting. - b Frederick III - c not to pay twice for the same thing -

d See this volume, pp. 364-65.
Marx is comparatively well for this time of year. His eldest daughter has had another baby, a boy.\textsuperscript{409} Congratulations from us all on your 'No. 8'.\textsuperscript{410} So if Mrs Marx isn't sent to the Continent, you are unlikely to have any visitors from over here this year.

Pumps is as lazy about writing as ever, if not more so. But in other respects the school in Manchester has done her a lot of good.\textsuperscript{411}

Kindest regards from us all to you, your wife\textsuperscript{a} and the children.

Your

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 10 August 1878
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

I hope you have received the copy of my anti-Dühring\textsuperscript{401} which I sent off to you yesterday. I should have sent it earlier had I known your present address. I wrote to Smirnov,\textsuperscript{b} 4 Lower Charles St., and then to Lopatin,\textsuperscript{c} 6 rue Linné, to ask for it, but neither has replied. Could you let me know where I should send Lopatin's copy? We find his silence somewhat disturbing, for an earlier letter,\textsuperscript{c} sent to him at the same address, was forwarded to him to Switzerland where, or so he wrote and told me, he intended to stay only until the month of June; and since then Nachalo\textsuperscript{d} reports his having been arrested in Russia.\textsuperscript{412} Although the news is not without chronological snags, his silence makes us anxious.

As you will have seen, the German Darwinians have, in response to Virchow's appeal,\textsuperscript{403} come out unequivocally against socialism.

\textsuperscript{a} Ida Pauli \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, pp. 312-13. \textsuperscript{c} Ibid., p. 307. \textsuperscript{d} Nachalo (The Beginning)
Haeckel, whose pamphlet I have just received, limits himself to speaking in general terms about the 'crazy doctrines of socialism', but Mr Oscar Schmidt of Strasbourg is going to flatter us con amore at the natural scientists' conference in Kassel. It's a waste of effort. If reaction in Germany gets the bit between its teeth, its first victims, after the socialists, will be the Darwinians. Anyway, whatever happens to them, I shall take it upon myself to reply to these gentlemen. And in any case, we have every reason to be satisfied with that event as, indeed, with events in general. Mr Bismarck who, for 7 years, has been working for us as if he was in our pay, now appears incapable of moderating his offers to speed up the advent of socialism. Après moi le déluge does not suffice him; he insists upon having that deluge in his own lifetime—let his will be done. I am only afraid that he will do his work too well and that the deluge will arrive before its appointed time.

Yours sincerely,

F. Engels

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MARX TO GEORGE RIVERS

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 August 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

The London Correspondent of the Berlin Vossische Zeitung indulged in the bad joke that I had written a book Herr Bücher; thereupon the false rumour spread through Germany, and the

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a E. Haeckel, Freie Wissenschaft und freie Lehre, Stuttgart, 1878, pp. 3-4. Engels quotes from Haeckel in German. - b lovingly - c In the original: 'Naturforscherversammlung'. - d Elard Biscamp - e See this volume, p. 312.
Prussian Police did its utmost to confirm it by domiciliary visits at the shops of several booksellers intended to catch copies of *Herr Bucher*. Thus, you see, *Herr Bucher* is a hoax.

You will oblige me by sending me catalogues, if there be suit, of your American and secondhand books.

Yours truly,

Karl Marx

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**MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE**

**IN HOBOKEN**

[London,] 4 September 1878

Dear Sorge,

With a view to restoring my health I am leaving today for Malvern where I shall spend three weeks.\(^a\) *(Address: Dr K. Marx, Malvernbury, Great Malvern, Worcester.)* My wife has already been there some weeks and is seriously unwell; my little grandson\(^a\) has been through a bad illness—and all this trouble is the explanation for my not having written before.

As to Douai, I am entirely of your opinion; do not give him *Capital*.\(^b\)

My best thanks for your efforts over the Philadelphia papers\(^4\) and Weydemeyer's *Extract*.\(^4\)

The copies have safely reached Engels and myself; it's no go so far as England is concerned, if only on account of the host of printer's errors; also, the translation has certain shortcomings which render it unsuitable for this country. However, I intend (on my return) to arrange for a somewhat amended edition of it for London, but in such a way that I shall write a short foreword

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\(^a\) Jean Longuet - \(^b\) See this volume, pp. 276-77.
while the book itself will appear under Weydemeyer's name. I.e. if that meets with your approval.

Mr Bismarck is working nicely on our behalf.

Salut.

Your faithful friend,

Karl Marx

I hope I shall soon hear better news of your health. My wife asks me to send you her warm regards.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

[London.] 12 September 1878
Half past one in the morning

Dear Lessner,

My poor wife\textsuperscript{a} has just been released by death from her long sufferings.

I cannot send you the wine. However, you can have it fetched at any time.

Your

F. E.

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\textsuperscript{a} Lizzie Burns
Dear Rudolf,

At half past one this morning my wife,\(^a\) to whom I had been legally married the previous evening, died peacefully after a long illness.

I anticipate a number of additional expenses and, as my bank balance is somewhat low, you would oblige me by promptly sending me a remittance of about £200 at your earliest convenience.

Your
Friedrich

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My dear Child,

I hope that the better news of Johnny\(^b\) continues. You must let us have bulletins every day, and always the strict truth. The little chap is the apple of my eye. Above all, he must be spared undue exertion, hence not too much movement (passive or active) \textit{out of}

\(^{\text{a}}\) Lizzie Burns - \(^{\text{b}}\) Jean Longuet
his home. If he makes good progress, as I hope, it might be better not to leave until Saturday (instead of Friday\(^a\)). For one additional day’s rest and recuperation is of great importance in his case.

Today Engels took himself off to Hampton\(^419\) with Madame Renshaw and Pumps who has already put on quite the air, not to say behaviour, of a ‘princesse régnante’,\(^b\) along with the 5 guinea mourning gown; this last, however, has only served to increase her ill-conceived ‘glee’. Tussy will be sending you further details of these peculiar goings-on.

According to the news sent by Liebknecht, Bismarck’s Bill\(^420\) will be rejected out of hand or else passed with modifications that will draw its sting.

*My best love to you and your Mama. Puppy,\(^c\) the good little fellow, is much improved.*

Your
Moor

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First published, in the language of the original (German), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958
PANICS on the one hand and neglecting necessary precautions on the other; but she and above all Jennychen foolishly objected, not wishing, as they said, to add ‘needlessly’ to the already enormous doctors’ bills in Malvern. Now they realise that I was right. I had similarly prescribed a regular drive at the best time of day, whenever the child’s condition permitted. This, too, has now been endorsed by the doctor. These drives are Jennychen’s only recreation and, for my wife—whose cure has been seriously impaired by the continual troubles with the child—the only means of combatting these influences which are so detrimental to her health. So long as I remained there, I saw to it that this was done.

Mr Eulenburg (vide papers of to-day) will not, for his part, be carrying any coals to Newcastle. Anything more pitiful than the extract—quintessence—of his speech I have yet to see. Stolberg, too, is good. The purpose of the exceptional law is to deprive the Social-Democratic movement of every vestige of legality. Probatum est. Mettre hors la loi has, from time immemorial, been an infallible means of making anti-government movements ‘illegal’, and protecting the government from the law—la légalité nous tue. Reichensperger represents the Rhenish bourgeois of the Centre. Bamberger adheres faithfully to ‘We are but dogs!’

Bebel has clearly made an impression. (See Daily News of to-day.)

It’s a good beginning.

According to various English newspapers our friend Kovalevsky has been shot in Odessa; they spell his name thus—Kowalsky. The fat boy, who came to see me on Sunday, told me a very choice anecdote. Before his departure, sundry ‘diplomatic’ aspirants amongst his Moscow students had to sit an examination. They included a number of laddies much older than himself, notably Montenegrins, who were being given an academic training at the expense of the Russian Asiatic (diplomatic) Department. These laddies are distinguished by their denseness and advanced age, as once the country bumpkins at our grammar school in Trier, who were preparing to enter the seminary (Catholic) and most of them drawing stipends.

Although marks (for university examinations) in Russia run from 0 to 5, Kovalevsky awarded only two lots of marks—4 for

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*a* Jean Longuet’s - *b* A punning reference to the name Eulenburg, ‘Eulen’=owls, and ‘to take owls to Athens’, the equivalent of carrying coals to Newcastle. - *c* It has been proved. - *d* To put outside the law - *e* 15 September
those who knew nothing at all and 5 for those who knew something. During the last examinations he was approached by one of his students, a long, lanky Montenegrin of 32, who said: ‘You must award me a 5; I know that I don’t know anything, but on the other hand I know that, if I get “another” 4, the Asiatic Department will send me packing back to Montenegro; so that’s why you must award me a 5.’ Needless to say, he failed his examination with flying colours, since Kowalevsky—as, indeed, he had told him—could see no necessity for his continued residence in Moscow.

The oddest part of it is—or so Kowalevsky says—that all these laddies from Montenegro become imbued while in Moscow with a fanatical hatred of the Russians. They naively told him as much themselves, the alleged reason being that ‘the Russians in general, and Russian students in particular, tell us we’re barbarians and blockheads and treat us as such’. Hence the Russian government achieves precisely the opposite of what it intended with its ‘benefactions’.

What used to be a private joke of ours, namely that it’s the Russian socialists who commit the ‘atrocities’ for which the ‘law-abiding’ German Social-Democrats are to be put hors la loi, has been adduced in all seriousness by the fatuous Stolberg. Only he forgot to add that, alongside those ‘atrocities’, there exists in Russia a ‘state of law’ which is the ideal if unattainable goal aimed at by that squireen Bismarck’s bill.

The fact that the Russians, with the support of Prussia and Austria, are yet again seeking ‘European mediation’ is a highly significant symptom.

Adio. I trust that you are recovering in Littlehampton from your recent shock. Love from Tussy and Lenchén.

Your
Moor

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Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time
Dear Jenny,

As arranged on my departure, herewith Post Office Order for £3. If, in view of the change in circumstances, it shouldn't be enough, let me know immediately.

After my return I suffered from a very severe headache; however, that has got better since I received a reassuring letter about Johnny from dear Jennychen; and your good news today—still continuing, I trust—was balm to me.

I shall not say very much about the goings-on at No. 122 Regent's Park Road, since Tussy is your regular chronicler in that sphere and I mustn't skim off the cream. But I can't resist telling you about one episode which, in its originality, is reminiscent at one and the same time of Balzac and Paul de Kock. When Tussy, Mrs Renshaw and Pumps (she has now been knighted; Engels will be calling her Pumpsia from now on) were sorting out the dead woman's odds and ends, Mrs Renshaw found, amongst other things, a small packet of letters (about eight, six of which were from members of the Marx family, two from Williams—Ramsgate) and made as if to hand them to Mr Chitty, who was present at the operation. *'No,' said he, 'burn them! I need not see her letters. I know she was unable to deceive me.'*

Could Figaro (I mean the real one of Beaumarchais) have trouvé cela? As Mrs Renshaw remarked later to Tussy: *'Of course, as he had to write her letters, and to read to her the letters she received, he might feel quite sure that these letters contained no secrets for him—but they might do so, for her.'*

Together with this letter I am today sending you The Daily News and The Standard, on account of the telegrams about the German Reichstag. Bebel was evidently the only speaker imposing; the government spokesmen—Stolberg and Eulenburg—deplorable beyond words; Bamberger true to his motto 'We are but dogs!'  

\[\text{\[London,\] 17 September 1878}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize a thought that up (an allusion to Figaro's words from Beaumarchais' \textit{La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro}, Act V, Scene 8: \textquote{Ah, Figaro, pends-toi; tu n'as pas deviné celui-là!})}\]
Reichensperger—the Rhenish bourgeois under the thumb of the Catholic Party of the Centre. Even lickspittle Reuter doesn't think this first performance much of a success!

I hope that you and Jennychen will get a little better during this week; keep on going for drives, ensemble, \(^a\) wind, weather and the health of the child \(^b\) permitting; should this not be possible for once, you yourself should never miss a drive; but I hope the little lad will be able to participate and hence, too, his sorely tried mama. Best wishes to Jennychen and a kiss for Johnny.

Adio.

Your

Moor

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Littlehampton, \(^{419}\) 18 September 1878

Selborne Cottage

Dear Moor,

As usual I did not express myself clearly. Since I couldn't expect you to go over daily and forward me my letters, I sent the people at home a few addressed envelopes so that they might forward me the letters every two or three days. What I had meant to ask you to do was to make sure, during the first few days, that the letter concerning money I was expecting wasn't left lying around for a number of days, and that the general business of sending stuff became a regular routine; also to take an occasional look at the newspapers and other papers that had arrived (and were, according to my instructions, to remain there) in case they should include anything that called for attention. I hope we now understand one another.

\(^a\) together - \(^b\) Jean Longuet
This morning's *Standard* contains a good article full of well-merited contempt on the subject of the law and the debate.\textsuperscript{426} I am sending it to Leipzig.\textsuperscript{427} The debate is deplorable enough as far as the law-and-order men are concerned. Bismarck, totally incapable of refuting the facts adduced against him by Bebel,\textsuperscript{424} has recourse to the pitiful subterfuge of saying that he sympathised with the Social-Democrats until they began extolling the Commune—he, who himself patted the Commune on the back for copying Prussia's municipal statutes! And then he reviles as a band of robbers a party represented in the Reichstag, and the call to order is rejected!

I am sending you a *Költnische Zeitung*.\textsuperscript{a} First there is a demand for Russian laws for the Germans, and then the Petersburg correspondent says that since in Russia those same Russian laws have proved ineffective, the only remedy lies in a constitution, popular representation, freedom of the press, etc.! The stupid paper failed to notice this, as no doubt did our people too, alas. The last part of the piece from Moscow is also interesting. Mark the things and send them to Leipzig (Ramm—Hermann—Färberstraße 12\textsuperscript{1th}); they might notice it after all and make use of it.

Russia's numerous and forceful moves in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, etc., would seem to be intended on the one hand to fish in troubled waters, where something may be expected to turn up at any moment and, on the other, to deceive public opinion at home. But who knows what may yet come of it? Bismarck may soon be so placed that his only recourse will be to seek another war with France, thus sparking off a European war of East versus West, in the course of which no one is more likely to go under than he. At all events, the Turkish war has shown how rotten the whole of Europe is, and that the eruption is closer than we might have expected. No matter what happens, it will turn out to our advantage.

I was delighted to hear that the little boy\textsuperscript{c} is better, which means that with any luck the perpetual alarms are now a thing of the past.

Here it has been raining incessantly since yesterday evening. This little place consists of two parts—the village and harbour on the River Arne, and the beach 500 paces to the south-east, some 150 houses on a dune, where one might well imagine oneself in Holland. Sands as lovely and firm as at Ostend.

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\textsuperscript{a} No. 249 of 7 September 1878 - \textsuperscript{b} the address of the *Vorwärts* editorial board - \textsuperscript{c} Jean Longuet
I may spend a couple of hours in London at the end of this week; if so I shall, if possible, let you know.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN LITTLEHAMPTON

[London,] 18 September 1878

DEAR FRED,

ALL RIGHT.

Herewith a letter from Kaub, which please be good enough to return as I have not yet answered it. Hirsch has behaved like a fool during his stay in Paris and seems to be intent on achieving martyrdom. Incidentally, the goings-on in Paris patently show how right you were to warn me against making a pilgrimage to that city.

A fine republic, to let itself be ordered about by Messrs Bismarck and Stieber! Last night Barry came to see me. The Lausanne congress did not take place, as he learnt while still in Paris where he therefore remained. It was simply as REPORTERS that Hirsch and he went to the meeting, but the latter had already been dispersed, and those attending it taken into custody; Hirsch was not arrested until later that night, in his own house. The next day the IRREPRESSIBLE Barry presented himself at the police headquarters (with the moral support of documents showing him to be correspondent of The Standard and a contributor to The Whitehall Review). There he saw a subordinate official to whom he applied for permission to see 'his friends', Hirsch and Guesde. At this he was given the addresses of the two police officers who had arrested Hirsch and Guesde. Both were outraged by the cheek of this ENGLISH bifstek, and ended up by pushing him out of the office.
Barry, undismayed, returned to the police headquarters where he managed to penetrate as far as the great Gigot. After exchanging a few words with big Barry, this 'polite' policeman asserted that he didn't speak enough English or Barry sufficient French; so rang for an interpreter. Substance of the conversation: that what Barry said about Hirsch's non-participation should be told to the examining magistrate, not the Prefect of Police; that the arrest was 'legal', etc. At which Barry: It might be legal in France for ought he knew, but it would not be so in England. At which Gigot, with solemn pathos: Les étrangers qui viennent chez nous, etc., doivent se soumettre aux lois de la Ré-pu-bli-que frirançaise. Whereat the brazen Barry, shaking his hat, rejoined: 'Vive la République!' This last exclamation brought the blood to Gigot's face, and he gave Barry to understand that he had no wish to exchange political ideas with him, etc. This time, however, Barry was merely bowed politely out of the room.

He has—vis-à-vis myself—put the lid on what was, on that occasion, amusing effrontery on his part. For he told me that he was going to spend another week at Hastings with his family and now I would doubtless have the time to get together for him material for articles (in The Nineteenth Century). He might well, in making this fresh onslaught, have fared worse than in the dens of the two French police officers.

Once again, Levy's paper has shown itself to be the most shameless in London. In today's leading article he tells his readers that Reichensperger, speaking for the 'Centre', came out in favour of the Bill (for such was the interpretation put by Levy on the news sent him by his reptile correspondent in Berlin), and Bismarck's majority was assured. By the by, even Levy, whatever his admiration for the great Chancellor, must needs confess that the great man had rather the worse of it in his verbal encounter with the 'brilliant' Bebel.

The only one of Utin's pamphlets I have yet looked at is that by Adolph Samter (Die Reform des Geldwesens); the following is a sample of how he quotes (he often quotes me, but paraphrases more often still; all the pamphlet boils down to is the silly notion of introducing, in place of the bank note, a 'commodity note', something which had, to all intents and purposes, been introduced in 1848 with the Prussian government's loan bank notes). I say: 'Although gold and silver are not by Nature money, money is by Nature gold

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\(^a\) Foreigners who visit our country, etc., must submit to the laws of the French Republic.
\(^b\) The Daily Telegraph
and silver, etc."; he, citing the correct page number, gives as a quotation: 'Gold and silver is by its nature money. Marx, etc.' The art of reading would appear to be increasingly on the wane among the 'educated' estates in Germany. In the case of the said Samtler, the nonsensical and ungrammatical quotation doesn't even conceal an evil intent. Thus he gives as a quotation from Petty, 'Labour is the father, nature the mother of material wealth', because when speaking of 'material' wealth, I said that in this case Petty's words were appropriate, etc.429

Apropos. Our fat boy, Kovalevsky, came across Ralston again in Switzerland and was immediately asked whether he knew the Russian socialist who had described him (Ralston) in the feuilleton of the Frankfurter Zeitung as a humbug, coward, etc. (The article was written by my wife'). Kovalevsky, though he had some inkling of its provenance, answered truthfully that he knew of no such Russian. However, since that time Ralston (with whom he is again saddled over here) has become far less confiding. (The article in the above-mentioned feuilleton referred to a nasty piece of twaddle Ralston wrote on the subject of 'Russian Revolutionary Literature'.)

Yesterday Mr Montefiore jun. came to see me; is going to Berlin; and, in a manner altogether typical of a young English man of letters, especially in London, said to Tussy: 'If only the Prussians would do me the kindness of arresting me for a day or two! What splendid material it would provide for an article in a review or a letter to The Times!'

I went to your house and have sent off to you the letter I found there.

Adio.

Your
Moor

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Dear Moor,

Letter re money received. I immediately telegraphed and wrote to N. Cohen & Co., telling them to pay the money into my bank. But since it was made payable as of yesterday, it is quite possible that they delivered the cheque to my house yesterday, or sent it through the post. Would you be so kind as to go and ask about it at my house? If nothing has been handed in or arrived at 122 Regent’s Park Road,\(^a\) then all will be in order and the bank will probably send the advice to me here tomorrow, as I asked them to do.

In haste, TO CATCH FIRST POST.

Your
F. E.

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Dear Moor,

I return Kaub’s letter herewith. Hirsch would appear to have taken literally Mesa’s assurance that, as a German, he would be

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\(^a\) Engels’ London address
invulnerable in Paris. Now he’s likely to pay for it with a spell in jug, for they’ll remand him in custody for as long as they can.428

Barry’s adventures really are killing.429

I, too, saw Levy’s brilliant article6 at a pub where I went to shelter from the rain. The paperc is worthy of the man.

It is high time there was a change in Constantinople, otherwise the numerous provincial insurrections will bring about a state of affairs conducive to the collapse of European Turkey—i.e. exactly what Bismarck and the Russians want so as to fish in troubled waters and not implement the Treaty of Berlin.430 Midhat’s return to Crete and a bold coup on his part could give a different turn to things. If the present state of affairs continues, the Russians will stay there and the renewed prospects of plunder this will give them might also stem the natural course of things inside Russia itself.

We are just off to spend a couple of hours in Brighton.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS431
IN LITTLEHAMPTON419

[London,] 24 September 1878

DEAR FRED,

Herewith a scrawl from Liebknecht432; I opened the letter because I thought it might contain news of the party which would perhaps call for immediate action on our part.

I should be grateful if you would send back Lavrov’s letter by return; it arrived today and has not yet been answered. The only

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a See this volume, pp. 327-28. - b Ibid., p. 328. - c The Daily Telegraph
interesting thing about it is the passage relating to Wróblewski,—probably correct, as it is in keeping with his temperament as *homme d'action* and is, moreover, *plus ou moins* confirmed by his silence where we are concerned.

After the opening of the Reichstag, I received the Bill submitted to the same by the government, together with the preamble; yesterday, from the same quarter (Bracke) I likewise received the stenographic report of the Reichstag sittings of 16 and 17 September. One has little conception—even at this stage—either of the average Prussian minister’s stupidity and his master’s ‘ingenuity’, or of the nastiness of his hangers-on, the representatives of the true-blue German bourgeoisie—until one sees before one the stenographic report of this, its most recent manifestation. I am to some extent occupied in making extracts from it for the English press, but I’m not yet sure whether it’s quite what I want for *The Daily News*.

The Russians’ ploy in Afghanistan, like the incidents in Turkey—all this is of little interest to me now except in so far as it provides *argumentum ad hominem* in regard to European statecraft. I am, besides, convinced that nothing Russia, and Prussia into the bargain, can now do on the international stage can have other than pernicious consequences for their régime, nor can it delay the latter’s downfall, but only expedite its violent end.

My wife, Jennychen and Johnny arrived here safe and sound on Friday afternoon and the whole company took up quarters with us until yesterday evening when Jennychen removed, lock, stock and barrel, to Leighton Grove so as to be there to receive Longuet. But the big man won’t be arriving till this evening. The child is much better and, miraculously enough, Jennychen also recovered somewhat during the last few days of her stay in Malvern.

Yesterday old Petzler called in with a letter from a parson who edits a magazine, also dabbles in socialism and wants some information from me. Meanwhile Bismarck has again succeeded in placing socialism *à l'ordre du jour* so that even *la haute politique* is in consequence *plus ou moins* lost from view.

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* a man of action - b more or less - c *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*. 4. Legislaturperiode. I. Session 1878, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, pp. 29-91. - d Bismarck's - e argument based on facts - f 20 September - g the street in London where the Longuets lived - h Moritz Kaufmann - i high politics
Hoping that Mother Nature is assisting your recovery, and with love from Tussy, Jennychen and my wife.

Your

Moor

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MARX TO MORITZ KAUFMANN

IN BIRKENHEAD

[Draft]

[London, 3 October 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.]

Dear Sir,

Mr Petzler told me you had written an article on my book *The Capital* and my life, to be reprinted together with other articles of yours, and that you desired me or Engels to correct any errors on your part.\(^a\) I can of course not decide how far this is feasible before having got a copy of [the] said article.

The best history of the Commune is *Lissagaray's: Histoire de la Commune*. Its first edition, however, is exhausted and no second one yet published. The address of Lissagaray is: 35 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W.; he may perhaps be able to procure you a copy of his work.

*En attendant*,\(^b\) I forward you the ‘Address’ on the Commune written by me immediately after its downfall on behalf of the General Council of the International.\(^c\)

I shall also send you—if you do not yet possess it—by post a recent publication of my friend Engels: *Herrn Eugen Dühring's*...
Umwälzung der Wissenschaft, which is very important for a true appreciation of German Socialism.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

M. Kaufmann, Esq.


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MARX TO MORITZ KAUFMANN

IN BIRKENHEAD

[Draft]

London, 10 October 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I have confined myself to point out in the proof-sheets one or two mistakes. To enter on the more important mis-statements, I had neither the leisure, nor would it have suited your purpose.

Proof-sheet b.

I have struck out: ‘one of whom was the youthful Lassalle’. He was never a collaborator of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, though he first entered at that time into personal relations with me.

I have added ‘the Russian’ translation of the Capital, because it is exactly in Russia that the younger University Professors have openly adopted and defended my theory.

Proof-sheet d.

I have struck out ‘and formerly one of its members’. Mehring was never a member of the German Social-Democratic Party; the fact is that, by denouncing to Liebknecht some operations of the manager of the reptile funds, he tried to become a member. Soon after, having been publicly branded with infamy by a judgment of the Frankfurt tribunal, on the occasion of his action for defamation against Herr Sonnemann (the proprietor of the Frankfurter Zeitung), he boldly accepted his position as a literary
scamp. Even the most conservative amongst the honest adversaries of German Social Democracy would be rather startled to find such a man styled: 'the historian of Social Democracy'. Of course, he enjoys the esteem of Mr Bamberger who, as a refugee in Paris, after the downfall of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany (he had acted during that revolution the part of a spouting demagogue), got his practical training at the hands of the Second Empire financiers, enriched himself by his participation in the Mexico loan swindle, etc., returned to Germany after the Prussian victory and became one of the leading spirits of the German 'Börsen- und Gründungsschwindelperiode'. It is not exactly Mr Albert Grant at London (and he is of the Bamberger stamp, and, curiously to say, native of the same town—Mayence) one would address himself to for information and criticism of the Owenite movement f.i.

How far you were happy in considering Mr Howell's article (in The Nineteenth Century) as a 'historical source', you may see from the sheet I forward with these lines.

I shall forward you to-morrow Mr Engels' book.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ARNOLDT
IN KÖNIGSBERG

[Draft]

[London,] 21 October 1878

In reply to your esteemed letter of the 18th, I shall gladly take temporary charge of the documents concerned. Having no fire-proof safe, however, I cannot, of course, accept responsibility in the matter of fire or theft, and should be obliged if you would expressly acknowledge this fact in your accompanying letter. Other

\(^{a}\) 'stock-exchange speculation during the Gründerjahre' (a play on the title of Glagau's work Der Börsen- und Gründerjahre-Schwindel in Deutschland). \(^{b}\) F. Engels, Anti-Dühring.
aspects can be dealt with in our subsequent correspondence. I shall preserve the papers concerned as carefully as those of a similar nature belonging to myself.


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MARX TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT

London, 4 November 1878

Dear Friend,

You would greatly oblige me by seeing if you could safely convey the enclosed letter to Mrs Liebknecht's address, 11 Braustrasse, Leipzig. It concerns the 'stomach problem' for Liebknecht's family, but I don't trust the German post.\(^{441}\)

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx


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MARX TO ALFRED TALANDIER\(^{442}\)

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, about 10 November 1878]

I have undertaken to write to you regarding the letter attacking Mr Barry in the *Marseillaise* of 6 October.\(^{443}\)
When the Marseillaise of 6 October eventually and quite by chance—which I can prove—fell into Mr Barry's hands, he at once wrote a reply in English which he requested me to translate into French for him. For several days I postponed doing as he had asked—why, you will understand when you have read my letter. Mr Barry could not divulge all the facts

1) without compromising Hirsch, whose fate has not yet been decided a;
2) without compromising Hirsch's brother-in-law b who is still living in Paris;
3) without citing me and thus probably getting me involved in a public dispute with you;
4) without attacking certain individuals who figure in your letter;
5) without exposing the bad faith of the Marseillaise.

In my opinion, it is not an 'opportune' moment to arouse the mirth of the reactionaries by squabbling in this way. On the other hand, Mr Barry is fully entitled to defend himself. And there we have the dilemma. The only hope of diverting him from his purpose seemed to me to be Mr Hirsch's arrival in London (which he had given me to expect in the event of his being expelled from France). Then, by the publication of a few lines in the Marseillaise, compromising no one, he could have satisfied Mr Barry. Unfortunately, there has been no sign of life from him since his expulsion. At length Mr Barry lost all patience and, since he perfectly understood my objections to the publication of his reply (which would have appeared, if needs be, in a Swiss newspaper), we agreed

1) that he would leave his reply in my hands for the time being and
2) that I would endeavour to settle the matter by writing to you. I now come to the nub of the matter.

Facts

1) The Social-Democratic Club (which was a section of the International while that organisation existed), 6 Rose Street, Soho, consists of two sections, one German, the other English. The former elected Mr Ehrhart as [its] representative at the congress, the latter Mr Barry. It having been noised about London that the congress,

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a See this volume, p. 327. - b Karl Kaub
banned by the police, would be held in Lausanne, the mandates were sent to the office of the Lausanne congress.\footnote{428}

Here is a copy of Mr Barry's credential, the original of which has been entrusted to me:

\begin{quote}
*Social-Democratic Working Men's Club, 6 Rose Street, Soho Square.  \\
'English Section. London, August 31, 1878.  \\
'Citizens, The bearer of this Credential—Citizen Maltman Barry—is the representative of the English Section of the Social-Democratic Club of London.  \\
'To the Bureau Socialist Congress. Lausanne, Switzerland.  \\
'Fr. Kitz, Secretary, English Section, Social-Democratic Club.*
\end{quote}

Again, after Mr Barry's return, he was called on, in a letter from the secretary Kitz, to account to the club for the execution of his mandate. This letter is also in my possession.

It is thus completely proven that Mr Barry was the mandatory of a Social-Democratic (working-class) society and not, as you have disseminated, somewhat 'lightly', of the 'international police'.

2) You further say that, in his letter to the \textit{Marseillaise},\footnote{3} Barry complains 'of not having been arrested by the French police', to which you add: 'Citizen Hirsch does not, for his part, complain of not having been arrested, etc.', so giving the public to understand that you were speaking in Hirsch's name. But, in a letter to me dated 14 October, Citizen Hirsch describes your letter as 'infamous' and says he had not been told of it until after his release. You forget, by the way, that Barry was not the only English delegate to the congress, there having been at least a dozen, not one of whom was arrested by the French police. The \textit{Vorwärts}, the central organ of the German Socialist Party (now suppressed), evidently grasped the point of that passage in Barry's letter when it remarked that 'the French government was perfectly prepared to please Mr Bismarck by arresting Hirsch, etc., but did not dare take complaisance so far as to lay hands on Englishmen'.\footnote{b} For that matter, Mr Barry, still acting in concert with Hirsch's brother-in-law, expressed his opinion fairly and squarely to Mr Gigot and, since the latter had minutes taken of that discussion, you are in a position to inform yourself from official sources as to the close relationship between Mr Barry and the French police.

But I forget that, for the greater glory of 'those who govern us', you seem intent on suggesting that the French police is not a member, but the dupe of 'the international police'. The powers-that-be of the Republic thought otherwise, excusing themselves

\footnote{a M. Barry, 'Les socialistes et le gouvernement', \textit{La Marseillaise}, No. 198, 2 October 1878. \footnote{b} 'Die Verhaftungen in Paris', \textit{Vorwärts}, No. 109, 15 September 1878.}
vis-à-vis Hirsch's brother-in-law by insinuating that 'those who govern us' should show some consideration for 'neighbouring powers'.

3) Now, what are the grave facts which authorised you to become 'the disseminator of so terrible an accusation', namely that Mr Barry 'owed his appointment as delegate to those men' (the men, that is to say, of the international police)?

They are founded on nothing, i.e. on futile tittle-tattle which a highly suspect private individual by the name of Schumann retailed to you in secret, without Mr Barry's knowledge.\(^a\)

Let us revert for a moment to Schumann. After his return to London, he had nothing more urgent to do [than] announce the happy news of his release to The Standard, a 'Tory and Bonapartist newspaper'. Then this same individual, wholly unknown to me up till then, gained entry to my house on a false pretext. As I was hauling him over the coals for the tittle-tattle repeated in your letter, he replied: 'But Mr Talandier did wrong; I told him expressly that all I was retailing was mere hearsay, that I personally knew nothing about Barry, etc.'\(^b\)

Of his own accord he asked me for Barry's address, in order that he might be able to apologise to him. In fact he did nothing of the kind but, on the contrary, confided to a refugee, of whose connections with myself he knew nothing, that in an interview with him Marx had affirmed that he had also denounced Barry as a spy. This would seem to render superfluous any further discussion of the honourableness of your client and guarantee. Since then I have received some particulars about him which will find their way to Copenhagen.

In your letter you ask: 'How did Mr Maltman Barry ... come to write to the Marseillaise?' Very simply, if you please. Mr Barry, to whom I had given a letter of recommendation to Hirsch, was taken by the latter to the Marseillaise and presented to Mr Maret. After his return to London, Mr Barry sent a letter in English to Hirsch's brother-in-law, who was supposed to decide when the

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\(^a\) The following sentence is crossed out in the manuscript: 'And you find it strange that Mr Barry did not reply publicly to the accusations secretly directed against him?'

\(^b\) The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: 'As for me, I know very well whence all this tittle-tattle about Mr Barry comes. It is spread by some intrigurers from the so-called INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEAGUE which is actually neither "international" nor a "LABOUR LEAGUE". They have a grudge against Barry because at the International Congress at The Hague (1872) he shared the opinion of the vast majority of the General Council against these gentlemen, etc.'
time was ripe for its insertion in the *Marseillaise*. The said brother-in-law, thinking it might be of service to Hirsch, translated the letter into French and handed it *in person* to the editorial department of the *Marseillaise*. Hence, by publishing your denunciation without any comment whatsoever, that paper perpetrated a gross impropriety, which can only be explained by your letter to Mr Henri Maret, published in the same issue of the paper.\(^3\) This is especially improper when it is taken into consideration that you are a friend and correspondent of Mr Bradlaugh\(^4\) who is a personal enemy of Mr Barry and of the late *International*.

4) Another complaint weighing on Mr Schumann's tender conscience and mentioned by you, is Mr Barry's alleged activity in Paris as 'correspondent ... of *The Standard*, an English Tory and ... *Bonapartist* newspaper'.

To call *The Standard* a 'Bonapartist' newspaper is a joke. So long as Louis Bonaparte remained a useful ally, exploitable by England, he was cosseted by *The Standard*, but not in such a disgusting manner as by *The Times*, nor so naively as by Messrs Bright and Cobden, then the leaders of the English radicals, and *The Standard* never sold itself to him as did the liberal newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*. Today—and still in the English interest—*The Standard*, along with almost the whole of the English press, has changed, where French affairs are concerned, into a partisan of the 'moderate', if not 'opportunist' republic.\(^4\)

All that remains, then, is the epithet 'Tory'. Kindly note that the said Tory newspaper never ceases to attack the new Holy Alliance\(^1\) and its chief, Mr *Bismarck*, whereas *The Times* acts as his *semi-official* organ, as he himself declared in the German Reichstag. Well, now, Mr Eccarius—one of the delegates of the so-called *INTERNATIONAL LABOUR UNION*, to which Schumann and Mr Bradlaugh belong, acted as *Times* correspondent at the Paris Congress. So why should Mr Barry not have done likewise for *The Standard*? You have lived long enough in England to know that the English working class has no newspaper at its disposal and is therefore compelled, on the occasion of working men's congresses, etc., to look for publicity to the papers of its masters, whether Whig or Tory, and that in neither case is it expected to accept responsibility for the opinions of either. You have lived long enough in England not to seek to attach labels, borrowed from the vocabulary of the French parties, to English political relations. For

\(^3\) *La Marseillaise*, No. 202, 6 October 1878.
otherwise, I feel sure, you would never have accepted the post of English government official.

5) The circumstances being what they were, this would only have been considered reprehensible had you—like that great republican Karcher, correspondent of the République française—dedicated a book to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.\footnote{a} Finally, I come to the last item in your accusation against Mr Barry. In the first place, it seems that he committed an unpardonable offence in having acted in a manner contrary to the views of L’Homme libre and of Mr Bradlaugh on the Eastern Question. It has to be admitted that, if this places a man under suspicion of being affiliated to the international police, then the great majority of socialists in all the countries of Europe and in the United States would have to share the ill-fortune of Mr Barry.

7) \footnote{b} And now I come to the last item in your philippic. And very grave indeed it is—Mr Barry allowed a week to go by before deigning to reply to one of the scurrilous articles published by Mr Bradlaugh in The National Reformer\footnote{447}! ... But there are attenuating circumstances.\footnote{c}

8) Mr Barry was the less concerned about Mr Bradlaugh’s articles dated 22 and 29 August in that, as early as 13 July, he had published in The Spectator an article under his own name in which he explained at some length the line of conduct adopted by him during the dispute among the English parties provoked by the Eastern War. He took care to ‘disseminate’ that article by getting it reprinted in the form of a fysheet.

It was for the compatriots of Mr Barry to decide between the latter and Mr Bradlaugh for—be it noted—the articles in The

\footnote{a} T. Karcher, Les écrivains militaires de la France. - \footnote{b} There is no point 6 in Marx’s draft. - \footnote{c} The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: ‘First of all, rightly or wrongly, The National Reformer exercises no influence on English public opinion. Again, Mr Barry was a member of the General Council of the International when the latter publicly denounced Mr Bradlaugh as a “Bonapartist”: his connections (in London) with Plon-Plon earned him widespread notoriety; as to his intimacy with the “petty coat” diplomacy of the Bonapartist party (in London),\footnote{448} Citizen Leblanc can enlighten you; finally his interviews with Bonapartists in Paris were described by me at the time in a London paper,\footnote{449} a time when Longuet, Serraillier, etc., and other French refugees were publicly condemning the man who dared to reprint the infamous comments in the Bonapartist and gutter press upon the expatriate Communards; when he was publicly dressed down even by men such as Hales, Jung, etc., who now keep company with him in the so-called “International Labour League”, for his attacks on the International. Remembering all this, Mr Barry could well afford to ignore Bradlaugh’s scurrilous articles in The National Reformer.’
National Reformer of 22 and 29 August were nothing more than a 'rehash'. And decide his 'compatriots' did—on the 22nd of July. On that day there was a big public meeting (in London), convened by the Social-Democratic Club, to uphold the cause of the German Socialist Party vis-à-vis Bismarck; all the newspapers published verbatim accounts of it and did not conceal from the public that the chairman, elected chairman of that meeting was—Mr Maltman Barry.

9) I will not touch on the attitudes adopted by the various parties during the Eastern War. If all those who failed to follow the line set by Mr Bradlaugh, not to say L'Homme libre, have incurred the suspicion of being affiliated to one kind of police or another, I very much fear that the vast majority of socialists in Europe and the United States will find themselves tarred with the same brush as Mr Barry. But we should be perfectly capable of calling in question the competence of a tribunal which seems to us, at any rate, to be an abettor of the new Holy Alliance. On top of everything else, Mr Barry had one particular reason for overlooking Mr Bradlaugh's impertinence, namely the resolution passed in 1871 by the members of the majority on the former General Council of the International (to which Mr Barry belonged) to ignore Mr Bradlaugh until such time as he had refuted the public denunciations by that Council in respect of 1) the intimate relations between the editor of The National Reformer and Plon-Plon and other Bonapartists, both male and female; 2) the lies he published about the International; 3) the calumnies directed against the Communards in London, deriving from the muddied waters of the Bonapartist and gutter press.

At all events, you now know that there is no substance whatever in your letter attacking Mr Barry. All that is wanted of you is a declaration in the Marseillaise, stating in a few lines that, after having received the required information, you withdraw your denunciation.

Yours very faithfully,

Karl Marx


Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time
London, 15 November 1878
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I received this morning your letter, dated October, 28th.
I did not receive the letter you allude to; it may have been intercepted by the German post or been lost; the Prussian postmasters having so much been interfered with on the part of Government, that many letters 'vanished', nobody knows whither, even by mere blundering. In point of fact, the last letter I had the honour to get from you, is dated—7th May 1877.\(^a\)

The interruption of my own correspondence to you was simply the result of warnings I had received (since the latter date), on the part of friends residing in Russia, to suspend letter-writing to them, as it might, despite the innocent contents of the letters, bring them into trouble.

In regard to the second edition of Capital, I beg to remark\(^4\):

1) I wish that the divisions into chapters—and the same holds good for the subdivisions—be made according to the French edition.

2) That the translator compare always carefully the second German edition with the French one, since the latter contains many important changes and additions (though, it is true, I was also sometimes obliged—principally in the first chapter—to 'aplatis'\(^b\) the matter in its French version).

3) Some changes I consider useful—I shall try to get [them] ready for you at all events within 8 days, so that I may despatch them Saturday next (to-day is Friday).\(^c\)

So soon as the second volume of the Capital\(^6\) will go in print—but this will hardly be before the end of 1879—you shall get the manuscript in the way demanded.

I have received some publications from Petersburg, for which my best thanks.\(^3\) Of the polemics of Tschischerin and other people against me, I have seen nothing, save what you sent me in 1877 (one article of Sieber, and the other, I think, of Michailoff,\(^d\) both in the Fatherlandish Annals,\(^e\) in reply to that queer would-be

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\(^a\) Presumably a reference to Danielson's letter of 7 March 1877.  
\(^b\) simplify  
\(^c\) See this volume, p. 346.  
\(^d\) Nikolai Mikhailovsky  
\(^e\) Отечественные Записки.
Encyclopedist—Mr Joukowski). Prof. Kowalewskiy, who is here, told me that there had been a rather lively polemics on the Capital.452

[The]a English crisis which I predicted on p. 351 of the French edition, note—has at last come to a head during the past few weeks. Some of my friends— theoreticians and businessmen—had asked me to omit that note because they thought it unfounded. So convinced were they that the crises in the north and south of America and those in Germany and Austria were bound, as it were, to 'cancel out' the English crisis.

The first country in which business will describe an ascending line is the United States of North America. Only this improvement will there set in under conditions altogether altered—for the worse. The people will try in vain to get rid of the monopolising power and the (as far as the immediate happiness of the masses is concerned) baneful influence of the great compagnies swaying industry, commerce, property in land, railroads, finance—at an always accelerated rate since the outbreak of the Civil War.453 The best Yankee writers are loud in proclaiming the stubborn fact that, if the Anti-Slavery war has broken the chains of the black, it has on the other hand enslaved the white producers.454

The most interesting field for the economist is now certainly to be found in the United States, and, above all, during the period of 1873 (since the crash in September) until 1878—the period of chronic crisis. Transformations—which to be elaborated did require in England centuries—were here realised in a few years. But the observer must look not to the older States on the Atlantic, but to the newer ones (Ohio is a striking example) and the newest (California f.i.).

The imbeciles in Europe who fancy that theoreticians like myself and others are at the root of the evil, might learn a wholesome lesson by reading the official Yankee reports.

You would much oblige me by some information which you as a banker must possess—on the present state of Russian finance.

Yours very truly,

A. W. b

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

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

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a The passage from here to the words 'Only this improvement' was written in French in the English original. - b A. Williams (Marx' pseudonym).
My dear Dronke,

I wrote to you in the beginning of this month to inform you that I had been legally advised that the policy you deposited with me as security was no security whatever unless assigned to me by Mrs Dronke, and that therefore I had instructed my solicitors to draw up a form accordingly.

On the 10th I informed you that this form had been handed to Messrs Whitley and Maddock, solicitors, 6 Water St., Liverpool, and requested you to call and examine it.

I have not had a reply from you to either of these communications, and am now informed that up to the 17th at least you had not called at Messrs Whitley and Maddock.

As none of my letters have been returned to me by the post, I must conclude that they have reached you. However to make matters sure, I have requested Messrs Whitley and Maddock to have this letter delivered at your house. It is needless for me to repeat that unless the above documents are signed and in my hands on the morning of the 23th inst. at latest, I shall decline paying the payment then due.

Your truly

F. E.

London, 19 November 1878

To E. Dronke
The assignment of Policy


Reproduced from the original Published in English for the first time

a See this volume, pp. 165, 171.
London, 28 November 1878

*My dear Sir,

I have received the three books with best thanks. I was prepared, by some Russian friends, to expect, on the part of Mr Tshitscherin, a very feeble production, but my expectations have been surpassed. He is evidently unacquainted with the very elements of Political Economy and fancies that, by being edited under his name, the trivialities of the Bastiat school become transformed into original and self-evident truths.

Last week I was prevented from looking at the Capital. I have now done so, and find that—save the changes which the translator must make by comparing the second German edition with the French one—only a very few alterations are necessary, the which you will find later on in this letter.

The two first sections* ('Commodities and Money' and 'The Transformation of Money into Capital') are to be translated exclusively from the German text. There, p. 86,* line 5 from bottom read: 'And, as a matter of fact, the value of each single yard is but the materialised form of a part of the social labour expended on the whole number of yards.'

In Chapter XVI of the French edition (not contained in Chapter XIV of the German edition) the added passage on J. St. Mill, p. 222, column II, line 12 from bottom, should read: 'I always assume, he says, the actual state of affairs which predominates wherever workers and capitalists are distinct classes, etc.'

*The following two sentences, viz.:* 'It is a strange optical illusion to see everywhere a state of affairs which as yet exists as an exception in this world of ours! But to continue'—* are to be struck out, and the following sentence is to be read thus:*

'Mr Mill would like to think there is no absolute necessity that such should be the case—even in an economic system where workers and capitalists are distinct classes.'

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*a Сборник государственных знаний, vols V and VI, 1878, containing B. N. Chiche- tin's articles 'Немецкие социалисты: И. Лассаль' and 'Немецкие социалисты: II. Карль Маркс', and A. Chuprov's book Железнодорожное хозяйство, Vol. II. -

*b Here and below Marx quotes from the French edition of Capital in French.*
The crisis and ensuing work stoppages, the closure of factories and bankruptcies *proceed boisterously in the industrial counties, but here at London, in order not to frighten the general public, the newspapers do their best to hush these unpleasant but stubborn 'incidents'. One reading only the London money articles gets indeed but very scanty information.

Yours most sincerely,

A. Williams*

First published abridged, in Russian, in Minuvshiye gody, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908 and in full, in German, in Die Briefe von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels an Danielson, Leipzig, 1929

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

IN LIVERPOOL

[Draft]

London, 29 November 1878

My dear Dronke,

I hear from Messrs Whitley and Maddock that you informed them of your intention not to have the assignment of the Policy executed. Moreover I have not had a word of reply or explanation from yourself. Under these circumstances I can only again repeat, that the Policy belongs to Mrs Dronke and that you had no right whatever to dispose of it. It is therefore no security for me unless assigned by her in the form prescribed by law. Unless this is done, I shall know how to qualify the transaction, and of course shall not pay any premium to keep it in existence.

Yours truly


Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

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*a Marx's pseudonym - b See this volume, p. 345.
Dear Old Man,

We are all most sorry to hear that things are going so badly with you and, so that you may at least have some help straight away, I have taken out a money order for you for £2 sterling on which, according to the information here, you will be paid 50 frs 40 over there. I have been told to retain the order here, as an order will be sent you by the Swiss post office in Basle, so unless this is done at once, you must complain. I shall see if I can get hold of some more money for you very shortly.

It will, if my own experience is anything to go by, be virtually impossible to obtain any agencies for you here. Having been out of business for almost ten years, I have seen all my commercial connections gradually die a natural death; when a man no longer has anything to haggle over, you see, he's no longer of any interest to those gentlemen. However, I shall see if there's anyone I might be able to sound out, although I can't for the time being hold out any prospects for you.

As for the Précurseur, by the way, if the paper doesn't pay for itself I wouldn't, if I were you, expend a single sou on it. I cannot see why you should sacrifice yourself for the benefit of the Genevan workers and their local Genevan politics. If they want a paper, let them pay for it themselves. It's enough in all conscience that you should have to bear the brunt of the worry and the work. Considering all the sacrifices you have made, you really do have the right to call these people together and tell them that you can't go on paying, and that if they want to keep the paper going they must provide the resources themselves.

Today the news has reached us by telegraph that the Federal Council proposes to suppress the magnanimous Guillaume's Avant-garde. I don't know whether it will really happen, but if for one reason or another the last Bakuninist organ were to

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a 'From Our Own Correspondent. The Socialist Movement. Berne, Dec. 11', *The Times*, No. 29436, 12 December 1878.
disappear, and the Genevans proved unwilling to provide the resources, the *Précursor* could all the more readily succumb.

Borkheim is still at Hastings, on the coast, confined to bed with the left side of his body paralysed and will recover, if at all, only very slowly. In other respects he seems cheerful enough, and writes from time to time.

Luckily the Prussians have now also placed a ban on my *Dühring*.⁹ Henceforth nothing may be sold in Germany that is directed against bogus socialist rowdies. Thus *every* anti-Bakuninist publication by Greulich.⁹ himself, etc., has been banned. In Bismarck's estimation, anarchist and Dühringian cliquishness should lessen our people's cohesion and bring about what he most ardently desires—an attempted coup that would enable him to *shoot*. Despite all this, our workers in Germany are behaving altogether admirably, and I hope that they will bring the entire Prussian empire to rack and ruin. This much, however, Mr Bismarck will have achieved: When the set-to begins in Russia—and it won't belong now—things will also be pretty well *au point* in Germany.

With warmest regards from Marx and his wife, and hoping to hear better news of you soon,

from your old friend,

F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe* (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker), Berlin, 1920

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Published in English for the first time

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1879

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MARX TO HUGO HELLER

[IN OXFORD]

[Extract]

[London,] 29 January 1879

Dear Friend,

... You would oblige me by copying for me verbatim the passage in Busch [or Buret?] in which I am taxed with the bad taste of having preserved the life of the Champagne phiz...

First published, in the language of the original (German), in the catalogue Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co, London, 1963

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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 30 January 1879

Dear Old Man,

It hardly needed a postcard from you for me to bestir myself on your behalf. From a friend in Manchester I have received one pound to be used for victims of the Anti-Socialist Law. I could not put it to better use than by passing it on to you, and I have

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a The words in square brackets were added by the compiler of the catalogue presumably because the name was illegible in the original. - b Probably Carl Schorlemmer.
also added a second, for which you should get a remittance of 50 frs 40 from Basle and get it, probably, the day after you receive this letter. I have retained the receipt. Anything more that can be done later on, will be done.

As to agencies, there's nothing doing. Business here is absolutely rotten, and no one wants to take any chances.

So far as the Précurseur is concerned, I would, if I were you, tell the people in Geneva once and for all that I was not in a position to pay out anything whatever in respect of the paper. It is a crying shame. Not only do you take upon yourself all the worry and the work, getting nothing in return, but on top of that you are expected to cough up the expenses. But the Genevans have always been like that. Ever since Calvin and his predestination, they have regarded themselves as the chosen people and expected everything to fall into their laps. It was thus in the case of the Égalité, when Utin had to supply both the work and the cash. It was thus in the case of the great building workers' strike, when the International had to provide the cash, but knocked in vain at the Genevans' doors when there were strikes elsewhere.

We were much tickled by the news that, like Achilles, the great Guillaume has withdrawn sulking into his tent. This was bound to happen. The anarchists weren't worthy of the name until anarchy broke out in their own midst. Still, Guillaume was at least the great Bakunin's successor—but that an upstart like Brousse should propose to turn the world upside down—why, it's positively ludicrous.

Over here Most is publishing a little sheet, the Freiheit, for the communist Workers' Society; so far it has sold well. We wish it all prosperity but otherwise, of course, have nothing to do with it, nor are we in any way responsible for its contents.

In Germany, by the way, things are going rapidly downhill. A wallop for the Reichstag—such is the latest and best [piece of news]. Only let it carry on like this, with more and more taxes on top, and the good Bismarck will yet be surprised by his petty bourgeoisie, who are going to the devil fast enough as it is. Apart from the unavoidable suffering it will bring down upon individuals, nothing could be of greater advantage to us on the whole than what is now happening. Any harm Bismarck could do us, he has already done; what he is now doing affects our opponents, the petty bourgeois men of Progress, and, with time, will also affect the liberal big bourgeoisie.

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a See this volume, p. 348.
So let him keep it up! And aside from this, affairs in Russia are going ahead splendidly, and that's the main thing. If there's an explosion there, then William,\(^a\) too, might as well pack his bags.

Your

F. E.

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Dear Liebknecht,

We have again tried to come to an arrangement with *The Whitehall Review* through Barry, if only in regard to the Reichstag reports, but the jackass insisted on the articles being signed; so we had to give him a flat refusal and let him go. The negotiations lasted a pretty long time and, until matters had reached the stage of *oui ou non*,\(^b\) there was, of course, nothing we could tell you.

The election in Breslau\(^468\) has made a splendid impression here too. Still more, however, the speed with which Bismarck is ruining himself. He really is coming 'one cropper after another'\(^469\) —going *de chûte en chûte*. He has now lost virtually all of his apologists in the English press—even *The Times*, which was very deeply involved with him, is trying to extricate itself.\(^470\) Now that he's become a protectionist, the English, of course, are all the more reluctant to have anything further to do with him. Even in Germany, come to that, a reversion to the protectionist system would be downright reactionary. Still, it's excellent that Monsieur Bismarck should again be drifting towards dissolution.\(^467\) Only let him drive the German philistines really wild and even they will lose patience in the end, particularly if their pockets are affected.

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\(^a\) William 1 \(^b\) yes or no
And as for the muddle Bismarck is making in the field of foreign policy, that is altogether beyond compare.

Most's little paper a seems to be making good progress—he turns up from time to time, but not often, and we cannot, of course, accept any responsibility at all for its contents. But we wish it success, of course, as we do anything that is moving in the right direction, however imperfect its methods may be.

Your

F.

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

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MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON 471

IN ST PETERSBURG 450

London, 10 April 1879

My dear Sir,

When I received your letter of February (and at the same time the valuable prints, which have come to my hands like the others you mention 472) my wife had fallen so ill that the doctors doubted whether she was likely to survive the attack, and meanwhile my own state of health underwent some serious shocks. (In point of fact, since, consequent upon the state of things in Germany and Austria, I was precluded from paying my annual visit to Karlsbad, b I have never enjoyed a comparative state of ease.) Under these circumstances which have only improved a very short time since, I could not study the papers sent me. In the meantime I had sent you a letter 12 by a German on the way to St Petersburg, limiting myself to an acknowledgement of your letter and recommending the bearer, but, to my great astonishment, he reappeared yesterday here and told me that, consequent upon some incidents, he had not got farther than Berlin and renounced altogether visiting Petersburg.

a Freiheit - b See this volume, p. 312.
And now, primo, I am obliged to tell you (cela est tout à fait confidentiel\textsuperscript{a}) that I have been informed from Germany, my second volume\textsuperscript{b} could not be published so long as the present régime was maintained in its present severity. This news, considering the status quo, did not surprise me, and, I must confess, was far from annoying me—for these reasons\textsuperscript{473}:

Firstly: I should under no circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax. The phenomena are this time singular, in many respects different from what they were in the past, and this—quite apart from other modifying circumstances—is easily accounted for by the fact that never before the English crisis was preceded by tremendous and now already 5 years lasting crisis in the Unites States, South America, Germany, Austria, etc.

It is therefore necessary to watch the present course of things until their maturity before you can 'consume' them 'productively', I mean 'theoretically'.

One of the singular aspects of the present state is this: There have, as you know, been crashes of banks in Scotland and in some of the English counties, principally the Western (of Cornwall and Wales) ones. Still the real centre of the money-market—not only of the United Kingdom, but of the world—London has till now been little affected. On the contrary, save a few exceptions, the immense joint-stock bank companies, like the Bank of England, have as yet only profited of the general prostration. And what this prostration is, you may judge from the utter despair of the English commercial and industrial philistine of seeing ever better times again! I have not seen the like, I have never witnessed a similar moral dislocation although I was in London in 1857 and 1866\textsuperscript{474}!

There is no doubt, one of the circumstances favourable to the London money-market is the state of the Bank of France, which, since the recent development of the intercourse between the two countries, has become a succursale\textsuperscript{c} to the Bank of England. The Bank of France keeps an immense amount of bullion, the convertibility of its banknotes being not yet re-established, and at the signal of any perturbation of the London stock-exchange French money flows in to buy securities momentarily depreciated. If, during last autumn, the French money had been suddenly withdrawn, the Bank of England would certainly have had refuge

\textsuperscript{a} this is in strict confidence - \textsuperscript{b} of Capital - \textsuperscript{c} branch
to its last remedy in extremis, the suspension of the Bank Act,\textsuperscript{475} and in that case we would have had the monetary crash.

On the other hand, the quiet way in which the restauration of cash payments was effected in the United States, has removed all strain from that corner upon the resources of the Bank of England. But what till now mainly contributed to prevent an explosion within the London money-market, is the apparently quiet state of the banks of Lancashire and the other industrial districts (saving the mining districts of the West), though it is sure and ascertained, that these banks have not only invested great part of their resources in discounting of bills of, and advances upon, unprofitable transactions of the manufacturers, but have, as f.i. at Oldham, sunk a great part of their capital in the foundation of new fabrics. At the same time stocks, mainly of cotton produce, are daily accumulating not only in Asia (India principally) whither they are sent on consignment, but at Manchester, etc., etc. How this state of things could pass away without a general crash among the manufacturers, and, consequently, among the local banks, reacting directly upon the London money-market—is difficult to foresee.

Meanwhile strikes and disturbance are general.

I remark en passant that during the past year—so bad for all other business—the railways have been flourishing, but this was only due to extraordinary circumstances, like the Paris exhibition,\textsuperscript{476} etc. In truth, the railways keep up an appearance of prosperity, by accumulating debts, increasing from day to day their capital account.

However the course of this crisis may develop itself—although most important to observe in its details for the student of capitalistic production and the professional théoricien—it will pass over, like its predecessors, and initiate a new ‘industrial cycle’ with all its diversified phases of prosperity, etc.

But under the cover of this ‘apparently’ solid English society, there lurks another crisis—the agricultural one which will work great and serious changes in its social structure. I shall recur to this subject on another occasion.\textsuperscript{a} It would lead me too far at present.

Secondly: The bulk of materials I have received not only from Russia, but from the United States, etc., make it pleasant for me to have a ‘pretext’ of continuing my studies, instead of winding them up finally for the public.

\textsuperscript{a} See Marx’ letter to Danielson of 12 December 1880 (present edition, Vol. 46).
Thirdly: My medical adviser has warned me to shorten considerably my 'working-day' if I were not desirous to relapse into the state of 1874 and the following years where I got giddy and unable to proceed after a few hours of serious application.

In regard to your most remarkable letter I shall confine myself to a few observations.

The railways sprang first up as the 'couronnement de l'oeuvre' in those countries where modern industry was most developed, England, United States, Belgium, France, etc. I call them the 'couronnement de l'oeuvre' not only in the sense, that they were at last (together with steamships for oceanic intercourse and the telegraphs) the means of communication adequate to the modern means of production, but also in so far as they were the basis of immense joint-stock companies, forming at the same time a new starting point for all other sorts of joint-stock companies, to commence by banking companies. They gave in one word an impetus never before suspected to the concentration of capital and also to the accelerated and immensely enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital, thus embracing the whole world in a network of financial swindling and mutual indebtedness, the capitalistic form of 'international' brotherhood.

On the other hand, the appearance of the railway system in the leading states of capitalism allowed, and even forced, states where capitalism was confined to a few summits of society, to suddenly create and enlarge their capitalistic superstructure in dimensions altogether disproportionate to the bulk of the social body carrying on the great work of production in the traditional modes. There is, therefore, not the least doubt that in those states the railway creation has accelerated the social and political disintegration, as in the more advanced states it hastened the final development, and therefore the final change, of capitalistic production. In all states, except England, the governments enriched and fostered the railway companies at the expense of the public Exchequer. In the United States they received as a present a great part of the public land, not only the land necessary for the construction of the lines, but many miles of land along both sides [of] the lines, covered with forests, etc. They became so the greatest landlords, the small immigrating farmers preferring of course lands so situated as to ensure their produce ready means of transport.

The system inaugurated in France by Louis Philippe, of handing over the railways to a small band of financial aristocrats, endowing

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a George Allen - b consummation of business
them with long terms of possession, guaranteeing the interest out of the public pocket, etc., etc., was pushed to the utmost limit by Louis Bonaparte whose régime, in fact, was essentially based upon the traffic in railway concessions, to some of which he was so kind as to make presents of canals, etc.

But in Austria, and Italy above all, the railways were a new source of unbearable state indebtedness and grinding of the masses.

Generally, the railways gave of course an immense impulse to the development of Foreign Commerce, but this commerce in countries which export principally raw produce increased the misery of the masses. Not only that the new indebtedness, contracted by the governments on account of the railways, increased the bulk of imposts weighing upon them, but from the moment every local production could be converted into cosmopolitan gold, many articles formerly cheap, because invendible to a great degree, such as fruit, wine, fish, deer, etc., became dear and were withdrawn from the consumption of the people, while, on the other hand, the production itself, I mean the special sort of produce, was changed according to its greater or minor suitableness for exportation, while formerly it was principally adapted to its consumption in loco. Thus f.i. in Schleswig-Holstein agricultural land was converted into pasture, because the export of cattle was more profitable, but, at the same time, the agricultural population was driven away. All these changes [were] very useful indeed for the great landed proprietor, the usurer, the merchant, the railways, the bankers and so forth, but very dismal for the real producer!

It is, to conclude by this my letter (since the time for putting it to post draws nearer and nearer), impossible to find real analogies between the United States and Russia. In the former the expenses of the government diminish daily and its public debt is quickly and yearly reduced; in the latter public bankruptcy is a goal more and more appearing to become unavoidable. The former has freed itself (although in a most infamous way, for the advantage of the creditors and at the expense of the menu peuple*) of its paper-money, the latter has no more flourishing fabric than that of paper-money. In the former the concentration of capital and the gradual expropriation of the masses is not only the vehicle, but also the natural offspring (though artificially accelerated by the Civil War\(^{453}\)) of an unprecedented rapid industrial development,

\(^{a}\) common people
agricultural progress, etc.; the latter reminds you rather of the
times of Louis XIV and Louis XV, where the financial, commer-
cial, industrial superstructure, or rather the façade of the social
edifice, looked (although they had a much more solid foundation
than in Russia) like a satire upon the stagnant state of the bulk of
production (the agricultural one) and the famine of the producers.
The United States have at present much overtaken England in the
rapidity of economical progress, though they lag still behind in the
extent of acquired wealth, but at the same time the masses are
quicker, and have greater political means in their hands, to resent
the form of a progress accomplished at their expense. I need not
prolong the antitheses.

Apropos. Which do you consider the best Russian work on
credit and banking?

Mr Kaufman was so kind as to send me his book on 'theory and
practice of banking', but I was rather astonished that my former
intelligent critic in the Petersburger Messager de l'Europe had
converted himself into a sort of Pindar of modern Stock-Exchange
swindling. Besides, considered merely—and I expect generally
nothing else of books of this kind—from Fachstandpunkt, it is far
from original in its details. The best part in it is the polemics
against paper-money.

It is said that certain foreign bankers with whom a certain
government desired to contract new loans, have asked as a
 guarantee—a constitution. I am far from believing this, because
their modern method of doing the business was, till now at least,
and could be, very indifferent as to forms of government.

Yours truly,

A. Williams

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[a] [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, Теория и практика банкового дела.
[b] the point of view of an expert
[c] Marx’s pseudonym
MARX TO RUDOLPH MEYER
IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 May 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

I enclose the letter from Mr Reichenbach intended for yourself\(^{478}\); at the same time I am sending you issue 10\(^{a}\) per book-post.

I shall be pleased to make your personal acquaintance, having made sundry vain attempts to acquaint myself with your *Politische Gründer*.\(^{b}\) If you are not already otherwise engaged, you will find me at home tomorrow at any time between 10 o’clock in the morning and 3 o’clock in the afternoon.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant

Karl Marx

To R. Meyer, Esq.


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Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO J. GUGENHEIM
IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 16 June 1879

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed letter of 29 May and regret that under present circumstances I cannot comply with

\(^{a}\) Marx is presumably referring to the tenth instalment of the French edition of his *Capital*.

\(^{b}\) R. Meyer, *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*. 
the wish expressed in the same that I deliver a lecture to your Society.\footnote{479}

The organ of that Society, the \textit{Freiheit}, has thought fit publicly to attack the attitude of Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag.\footnote{480} Now even though statements have been made in the Reichstag by certain of our members which I, too, regard as inept (and about which I have not hesitated to express my views privately and in an appropriate place),\footnote{481} I can in no way declare myself in agreement with the kind of criticism chosen by the \textit{Freiheit} and still less with its having felt obliged to pursue \textit{this} kind of criticism \textit{in public}.

You will understand that if I were willing to deliver a lecture to the Society under these circumstances, this would inevitably give rise to the view in Germany and elsewhere that I condoned the attitude adopted by the \textit{Freiheit}.

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\textbf{ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN} \footnote{482}

\textit{IN ZURICH}

\[\text{[Draft]}\]

\[\text{[London,] 17 June [1879]}\]

In reply to your esteemed note of the 13th, which did not reach me until yesterday, I regret to inform you that I am not in a position to give you the name of a person capable of producing the articles you desire in a really competent manner.\footnote{483}

For a number of years the English workers' movement has been going round and round bootlessly in a confined circle of strikes for wages and the reduction of working hours—not, mark you, as an expedient and a means of propaganda and organisation, but as the ultimate aim. Both on principle and statutorily the \textit{Trades Unions} actually exclude any political action and hence participation in any general activity on the part of the working class as a class. Politically the workers are divided into Conservatives and Liberal-
Radicals, into supporters of a Disraeli (Beaconsfield) administration and supporters of a Gladstone administration. So one can speak of a workers' movement here only to the extent that strikes take place which, victorious or otherwise, do not advance the movement by one single step. In my view only harm can come of inflating strikes such as these into struggles of world-historical importance (as does e.g. the Freiheit here), strikes which were, moreover, as often as not deliberately engineered by the capitalists in the late years of depression so as to have an excuse for closing down their factories, strikes in which the working class makes no progress whatsoever. No attempt should be made to conceal the fact that at this moment a genuine workers' movement in the continental sense is non-existent here, and hence I don't believe you will miss much if, for the time being, you don't get any reports on the doings of the trades unions here.

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

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

[Draft]

London, 26 June 1879
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

I am sorry you didn't tell me from the start that in making your inquiry you had my reporting in mind; had you done so, you would have received a definite answer straight away.

When, after being much pressed to do so, I decided to tackle the tedious Mr Dühring, I told Liebknecht that this was positively the last time I would allow journalistic activities to interfere with my more substantial work unless political events made this absolutely imperative—something I alone must decide. During the nine years I have spent here in London, I have learnt that it's

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a See previous letter. - b Cf. this volume, pp. 257-58.
no good trying to complete more substantial works while simultaneously engaging in practical agitation. I grow no younger with the passage of time and must at long last restrict myself to definite tasks if I am to get anything done at all. I wrote and told Mr Wiede as much when he founded the *Neue Gesellschaft.*

As for Mr Höchberg, you are mistaken if you think that I feel any ‘antipathy’ towards him. When Mr Höchberg founded the *Zukunft,* we got invitations to contribute signed ‘the Editorial Board’. Unless I am much mistaken, Mr Höchberg was not even known to us by name at that time, and it goes without saying that we paid no attention to anonymous communications of this kind. Soon after, Mr Höchberg made known his programme of the *Zukunft,* according to which socialism was to arise out of the concept of ‘justice’. Such a programme directly excluded from the outset all those who ultimately regarded socialism, not as the logical outcome of any idea or principle such as justice, etc., but as the ideal product of a material-economic process, of the social process of production at a given stage. Thus Mr Höchberg had himself precluded all possibility of our collaborating with him. But aside from the above programme, nothing has come to my notice on the strength of which I could form any authentic idea of Mr Höchberg’s philosophical views. Not that all this is in any way a reason for feeling any ‘antipathy’ towards him, or prejudice against a literary venture for which he is responsible. On the contrary, I adopt the same attitude towards it as I do towards any other prospective socialist publication until I know what’s going to be in it—one of sympathy and expectation.

But that is all by the way—the fact of the matter is that I must restrain myself from contributing to journals if I mean to finish work that really ought to be of greater importance to the movement as a whole than an article or two in periodicals. And, as you can see, I have for several years observed this rule impartially vis-à-vis all-comers.

I am also interested to see from your letter that people over here have led you to believe that I, and presumably Marx as well, am ‘in complete agreement’ with the policy of the *Freiheit.* Precisely the reverse is true. We have not seen Mr Most since he began his attacks on the Social-Democratic deputies. Nor was he able to learn what we thought of this until the middle of the

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*See this volume, pp. 253-54.* - *Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue. Prospect.* See also Höchberg’s leading article, ‘Der Socialismus und die Wissenschaft’, published in 1877 in the first issue of the *Zukunft.*
month when I replied to an invitation from the secretary a of the Workers' Society b to go and lecture there. I refused outright because it could only lead people in Germany, etc., to conclude that I agreed with the kind of polemic the Freiheit is conducting, and publicly at that, against the Social-Democratic deputies; little though I may approve of certain statements in the Reichstag, this is by no means the case.

As we have heard much the same thing from another quarter, we would be glad to be in a position that would enable us to scotch these misrepresentations once and for all. The simplest way of doing this would be for you, if you would be so kind, to let us have a copy of the relevant passages from letters so that we may know precisely what has been said about us and conduct ourselves accordingly. Your allusions could, of course, be only of a general nature, but for that very reason it is all the more desirable that we should have some definite information so that we can act upon it direct. After almost forty years, revolutionary tattle-tattle is something that has ceased to surprise us.

Should Mr Most fall into the hands of the anarchists, or even of Russians of Tkachov's stamp, it would at most spell his own undoing. These chaps will fall victim to the anarchy they have themselves created. Which is not to say that it mightn't be quite a good thing to knock them on the head every now and again.

Unless one or two of the works you mention are still to be had at the booksellers, I would not be able to get hold of copies for you; I myself no longer possess a copy of some of them and have tried in vain to get them second-hand.

As regards the French movement, besides our contacts with party members over here, we also maintain direct relations with Paris nor, for that matter, were the links we established at the time of the International ever broken at all. Thus, for instance, only quite recently we received a new socialist paper appearing in Oporto, O operario.

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a J. Gugenheim  b See this volume, pp. 359-60.
Dear Old Man,

The new half year has brought me in some money and I therefore hasten to notify you that I have sent off a money order to you for £4 sterling=100 francs 80 centimes; you will doubtless get it straight after receipt of this letter. I hope it will be enough to relieve your chronic ill-luck, if only for a short spell. I wish we could do more than just offer you an occasional helping hand, but as you know, recent events have led to heavier demands from all sides.

Liebknecht's unseasonable mildness in the Reichstag has, understandably enough, created a most disagreeable impression in the Latin countries of Europe, as it has among Germans everywhere. Indeed, we immediately wrote and told him as much. Agitation of the old, easy-going, lackadaisical sort, interspersed with an occasional 6 weeks-6 months in quod, is a thing of the past where Germany is concerned. No matter how the present state of affairs comes to an end, the new movement is starting off on a more or less revolutionary basis and hence its character must be far more resolute than in the first period of the movement, now concluded. Either the maxim about the peaceable attainment of the goal will no longer be necessary, or else no one will continue to take it seriously. By making that maxim impossible and giving a revolutionary cast to the movement, Bismarck has done us a tremendous service which more than outweighs the bit of harm caused by interference with agitation.

On the other hand, the aforementioned tame speech in the Reichstag has meant that big-mouthed revolutionary charlatans have again begun to raise their heads, and are trying to disorganise by cliquism and intrigue. At the hub of these machinations is our local Workers' Society which still harbours braggarts of '49 vintage, à la Weber, Neustadt an der Hardt and family. After the revival of the movement in Germany, the people over here had lost such significance as they may still have possessed in the years 1840-62; now they see an opportunity of pushing their way to the top. Even in recent years young Weber,
one Kaufmann and others have constituted themselves the central committee of the European-American working men’s movement on at least six occasions, but have always been obstinately ignored by the irreverent world. Now they intend to force it through and have discovered an ally in Most. The Freiheit is shouting for revolution by fire and sword which, for the worthy Most, is, of course, a quite unprecedented pleasure in which he could never before have allowed himself to indulge. Moreover, it has grossly exaggerated the goings-on in the Reichstag and made them a pretext for disrupting the party and forming a new one. This is to exploit the present exigency and enforced silence in Germany for the benefit of a few nitwits whose ambition is notably disproportionate to their capabilities—and if, as we have heard, Most has let it be known that he has our support, then he is lying. Since he embarked on this role he’s kept well out of sight. Au fond, it’s as well that he should unmask himself like this, thus ruining any prospects he might subsequently have in Germany; he is not without talent, but horribly vain, undisciplined and ambitious, and so it’s better that he should go and put his foot in it. Come to that, the Freiheit won’t, presumably, survive much longer, and then all this will quietly relapse into oblivion.

With most cordial regards from Marx and

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO CARLO CAFIERO

IN NAPLES

London, 29 July 1879

41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

My sincerest thanks for the two copies of your work! Some time ago I received two similar works, one written in Serbian, the

\(^{a}\) Really
Engels to August Bebel. 4 August 1879

other in English (published in the United States), but both of them err in that, by seeking to provide a succinct and popular résumé of Capital, they also devote themselves in too pedantic a manner to the scientific form of the argument. Thus it seems to me that they more or less lose sight of their principal object, which is to make an impression on the public for whom these résumés are intended. And it is here that your work is vastly superior!

As to the concept of the thing, I believe I am not mistaken when I find an apparent gap in the views set out in your preface, which is that there is no proof that the material conditions indispensable to the emancipation of the proletariat are engendered in spontaneous fashion by the progress of capitalist production.

Moreover, I share your opinion—if I have interpreted your preface aright—that one ought not to overload the minds of the people one is proposing to educate. There is nothing to prevent your making, at the right moment, a further attempt aimed at placing greater emphasis on this materialist basis of Capital.

Once again many thanks.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN LEIPZIG

London, 4 August 1879

Dear Bebel,

Since I last wrote on 25 July, Hirsch has informed us of his correspondence with Bernstein and Liebknecht about the new

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a In the original, the following passage is deleted: 'and the class struggle which finally leads to a social revolution. What distinguishes critical and revolutionary socialism from its predecessors is, in my opinion, precisely this materialist basis. It shows that at a certain stage of historical development the animal inevitably transforms into a man'.

b In the manuscript of the draft: 'which I trust you received (it was registered)'.
paper.\textsuperscript{490} To judge by this, matters would appear to be materially different from what your letter had entitled us to assume.

Since Hirsch's altogether justifiable inquiries as to what arrangements had been made and who would be running the paper, on the one hand financially, on the other administratively, met with no other reply from Liebknecht save: 'the party plus Höchberg',\textsuperscript{491} and the reiterated assurance that everything was in order—we could only assume, even then, that the paper would be financed by Höchberg and that the 'we' to whom, according to E. Bernstein's letter, 'the production and supervision' would be entrusted,\textsuperscript{492} would, once again, be Höchberg and his secretary Bernstein.\textsuperscript{a}

From Bernstein's second letter to Hirsch just received, it transpires that such is indeed the case.\textsuperscript{493}

You will not, I presume, fail to perceive that the errors against which I warned in my last [letter] will now almost inevitably form an intrinsic part of the paper. Höchberg has shown himself to be exceedingly muddle-headed in matters of theory and, in practice, impelled by an irresistible urge to fraternise with all and sundry who profess to be, not merely socialist, but also and even simply social. He showed his true colours in the \textit{Zukunft}, discrediting the party both as regards theory and in practice.

What the party needs above all is a \textit{political} organ. And really Höchberg is at best a wholly unpolitical man, not even a social \textit{democrat}, but a social \textit{philanthropist}. Nor, according to Bernstein's letter, is the paper \textit{to be in the least political}, but socialist on principle, which, in such hands, necessarily means social-fantastic, a new edition of the \textit{Zukunft}. A paper of this kind would represent the party only if the latter were willing to degrade itself and become a mere appendage to Höchberg and his armchair socialist friends. If the party leaders were really to try and bring the proletariat under the leadership of Höchberg and his ambiguous friends, the workers would be unlikely to go along with them;

\textsuperscript{a} The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'That C. Hirsch cannot assume the editorship in these circumstances without quite \textit{specific} guarantees of his independence vis-à-vis his superior on the financial side, goes without saying. I doubt very much whether \textit{sufficient} guarantees of this kind could be given, and regard it as fairly certain that the negotiations with C. Hirsch will come to nothing. But even were they to succeed, it is virtually certain that Hirsch's position would ultimately become untenable through his being controlled by two superiors of whom one, who provides the finances, is not a social democrat but a social philanthropist, and the other, as Liebknecht admits, "would himself like to be editor".'
dissension and disorganisation would inevitably result; but Most and the ranters over here would experience their greatest triumph.

In these circumstances, which were quite unknown to us when I wrote my last letter, we believe that Hirsch is absolutely right in refusing to have anything to do with the matter. The same applies to Marx and myself. Our consent regarding contributions was given in respect of a genuine party organ and hence was applicable only to such—not, however, to a private organ of Mr Höchberg's masquerading as a party organ. To that we would in no circumstances contribute. Marx and I therefore specifically ask that you should kindly ensure we are not named as contributors.

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**MARX TO RUDOLPH MEYER**

**IN LONDON**

[London,] 7 August 1879

Dear Mr Meyer,

I am today sending you your *Gründer* per book-post.

My departure was held up as a result of Longuet's having fallen ill: he is feared to have gastric fever, and we shall probably hear today what the verdict is. If the thing's serious I shall have to abandon the trip to Jersey (which I wanted to visit because the place is new to my companion—my youngest daughter) and go to a seaside resort near London. I shall be going to one of these in

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[a] The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'We shall continue to correspond with C. Hirsch and shall see what can be done if he accepts the editorship. As circumstances are now, he is, of all possible editors, the only one in whom we would have sufficient confidence.'


[c] Eleanor Marx
any case, even after my return from Jersey, along with Madame Lafargue and my grandson, and look forward to your visiting me there.

Should anything unforeseen happen to precipitate your departure, perhaps you would be so kind as to return the volumes of periodicals (the Leipzig and Paris ones), at the same time letting me know (all letters will be forwarded to me from my house) whether the January issue (1879) of the Österreichische Monatsschrift für Gesellschaftswissenschaften was followed by a second.

With best wishes for your future, and cordial regards from my wife and my daughter, Eleanor,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

St Aubin's, 14 August 1879
Trafalgar Hotel

Dear Fred,

I am sending this note to your London address since—to go by your letter to my wife—that is no knowing that you will still belong to the population of Eastbourne after today.

Herewith letter from Hirsch to me, ditto letter from Louise Juta to Pumps.

Our crossing from Southampton to Jersey was made altogether too watery by a tremendous downpour of rain; we arrived dripping wet at St Hélier where it was also 'pouring' hard. Since then the weather, after occasional vacillations and transitions and set-backs, has been very good. The farmers in Jersey thought

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a Jean Longuet
the end of the world was at hand; they maintain that they’ve never had such a bad spring and summer. Tomorrow we are moving to the Hôtel de l’Europe, St Hélier. We are leaving our present lodgings in St Aubin’s because Tussy and I cannot stand the monotonous daily fare of lamb or mutton in consequence of which I have, during the past few days, become an involuntary vegetarian. We could find nowhere else to stay—we spent a great deal of time hunting round—in these parts. When we arrived in Jersey, it was still comparatively empty, but as time went on there was immigration on a massive scale, notably of Frenchies. When we made inquiries at the Hôtel de l’Europe this morning, it so happened, fortunately for us, that 60 French people were just getting ready to leave, whereas on the other hand the steamers laden with fresh human scum had not yet come in.

On leaving London from Waterloo Station, we met Harney, who was seeing his wife off to Jersey. Luckily she already had a first class ticket, whereas we were travelling second. On the boat we met again. Like us, she is not prone to sea sickness, but was in other respects unwell. On landing we again went our different ways, but she gave us the address of her brother with whom she is staying. Since then, we have paid a short visit of ‘condolence’. The woman is utterly impracticable. Although a native of Jersey, she can provide no information other than what may be found in the guide. A good woman, but not just the person for such as are travelling for recreation. I have been at long last sleeping properly here, only I have not quite shaken off a cold caught as a result of the abominable weather. But in this mild climate it will no doubt soon disappear of its own accord. Tussy all right.

Two Derbyshire farmers, father and son, were until recently our companions at table in the Trafalgar Hôtel. The day before yesterday they went on a sailing trip to St Malo and, having ‘been to France’ for the first time in their lives, returned with an immoderately inflated opinion of themselves. The father even felt half-inclined to go with his son on a trip to the Mediterranean, but thought it would be ‘too hot’ there. ‘By no means,’ said his son, who is the book-learned man of the two, ‘by no means, there it is now—winter!’ I was likewise informed by the old man (who is, by the by, in his prime and a sharp fellow, with the true business eye) that St Malo was situated on the south-west coast of France. On the other hand, both are well-versed in the sphere of agriculture and other farmers’ questions.

Tussy finds that bathing presents no difficulties worth mentioning, and has so far been bathing alternately in St Brelade’s Bay
and St Hélier's Bay, and now alternately in the latter and St Clement's Bay.

From my wife's letter, I see that Schorlemeyer was ill when he arrived; I hope to have better news of him soon.

Since my arrival here I haven't looked at any newspapers, have read nothing at all save Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, *First Volume*. It was hard enough work, getting through the first volume; the second I shall save up for better times. They are *unconnected tales* in which Irish peasant life is portrayed now from this angle now from that—hence not suitable for consumption all at once. For that very reason it's a book one ought to buy and own in order to regale oneself *à fur et mesure*, now with one dish, now with another. Carleton is neither a good stylist nor a good compiler, but his originality consists in the fidelity of his descriptions. As the son of an Irish peasant, he knows his subject better than any Levers or Lovers.

With kindest regards from Tussy and self to all of you

Your

Moor

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MARX TO JENNY LONGUET

IN RAMSGATE

St Hélier, 19 August 1879
Hôtel de l'Europe

My dear beloved Jennychen,

Long live the little citizen of the world! *Il faut peupler le monde de garçons d'autant plus que la statistique anglaise montre un excès de filles.* I'm glad that the catastrophe has proceeded auspiciously so far, though unfortunately under somewhat difficult circumstances. The arrangement made by Mamma strikes me as being *far from

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*a* by degrees - *b* It's as well to stock the world with boys, particularly since statistics in England show a surplus of girls.
the most convenient. At all events, Tussy and myself leave to-morrow for London and then I shall be very soon at your side\textsuperscript{500} and everything will be quietly settled. Here the rainy time—otherwise so unknown to this delicious island—has again set in, so that we had already commenced discussing our departure, the whole aspect of our sojourn here having changed with the climatic and meteorologic changes.

The Hôtel de l'Europe is excellent and one day we must go here together, toute la famille.

I can hardly expect to-morrow morning when the boat will start from here to Southampton. I feel so anxious with you and little Johnny.

In the meantime my best compliments to Mamma and Longuet.* Just don't fret or worry, my child, everything will turn out all right.

Your trusty

\textit{Old Nick}\textsuperscript{a}

You must excuse the brevity of this note, the reason being that the letter has to be posted at once.

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First published, in the languages of the original (German, French and English), in \textit{Annali}, an. 1, Milano, 1958

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN ST HÉLIER\textsuperscript{494}

Eastbourne,\textsuperscript{496} 20 August 1879

53 Grand Parade

Dear Moor,

I return herewith the letters from Hirsch,\textsuperscript{497} ditto one from Liebknecht which I have just answered.\textsuperscript{501} I've drawn his attention to his strange contradictions, viz.: 'you wrote to Hirsch saying that the paper was backed by "the party + Höchberg", which must

\textsuperscript{a} jocular name for Marx
surely mean, if Höchberg is in any way a plus, his purse, for in other respects he's a negative quantity. You now write and tell me that Höchberg hasn't contributed a penny. Maybe somebody can make sense of that, I give it up.' Also that it was absurd to say that Hirsch had 'misinterpreted' Bernstein's letter in an even sillier way, since that letter admitted of no misinterpretation at all. Bernstein having plainly made himself out therein to be the effective head of the editorial board. Naturally, I went on, Liebknecht believed that he had arranged everything for the best, but Hirsch was entitled to see for himself and Liebknecht was preventing him from doing so by withholding the relevant material; so if Hirsch were to refuse, it would be Liebknecht's fault. 'As for ourselves, this much is certain: If Hirsch does not accept, we shall have to consider very carefully what we should do; we certainly shan't take the bait without knowing who in fact "The Party" is that is backing the paper.' For it was precisely now, I told him, when all the rotten and conceited elements were able to push themselves to the fore without let or hindrance, that the time had at last come to abandon a policy of dissimulation and conciliation and even, if necessary, to be undeterred by a few rows and rumpuses. A party that would sooner let itself be hoodwinked by any and every blockhead, rather than summon up the courage to disavow him in public, might as well pack up. E.g. Kayser.

The Lafargues have been here since Monday and are staying until the day after tomorrow; we shall see if we can keep Laura here a few days longer. She brought us news that Jenny's catastrophe had gone off all right in Ramsgate, as probably everyone, apart from herself and Longuet, had predicted. Otherwise everything there seems to be going on as well as can be expected.

Since yesterday the weather has been very uncertain, which isn't particularly good for Jollymeier; he had pretty well recovered, fever gone, appetite restored, little pain, but there's now been some kind of check and his improvement is no longer so rapid, though so far he's not actually any worse. Today we had the regatta, on which occasion some rain is de rigueur. As you are further to the south-west and nearer the Atlantic, I'm afraid you are getting it worse and more at first hand.

Also enclosed an embarrassed letter from Bernstein which I have not yet answered. It would be best if you kept everything
until further notice; there’s no hurry about Bernstein and the noble *Jahrbuch* can remain quietly in London until I arrive.\(^503\)

From Schorlemmer’s point of view, it’s a good thing that we stayed here and, indeed, shall be staying here at any rate until the 28th; what happens then will depend on his condition and, of course, the weather. If possible, a few days in the Isle of Wight and places nearby.

Old Ruge, in the youthful guise of a *nigger*\(^a\) *serenader*, has been trotting round the pier today selling programmes for a fireworks’ display.

Lafargue and Laura send their love and join us in hoping that you are all still keeping well. Best wishes from Pumps and me to Tussy and you.

Your

F. E.


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Published in English for the first time

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**ENGELS TO MARX**

**IN RAMSGATE\(^500\)**

Eastbourne, 25 August 1879

53 Grand Parade

Dear Moor,

I hope you got my letter\(^b\) sent to the *Hôtel de l’Europe*, St Hélier, together with an enclosure from Liebknecht to me and a letter (returned) from Hirsch to you.

In the meantime Hirsch has been arrested in Paris and after two days in detention he was compelled to leave the country. He is in London, staying with Lessner.\(^504\) Yesterday I got from him a whole parcel of correspondence to do with the newspaper affair\(^490\); very interesting. In my view he has acted quite correctly. (He knew my

\(^a\) See p. XXVIII of the Preface. - \(^b\) See previous letter.
address, as I had sent him a few excerpts, omitting anything offensive, from the letter of Liebknecht's I passed on to you.)

I've just received 1. a letter from Höchberg in Scheveningen and 2. one from Bebel, the purpose of both being to induce us to contribute. There's no hurry about a reply as Vollmar, the editor taken on in place of Hirsch, won't be out of jug for another three weeks! A really excellent prelude, this.

I'd send you the whole bag of tricks if I was sure of your address. According to your wife it is 62 Plains of Waterloo, while Laura maintains it's 71. As soon as I know for certain where you are, I'll send you the lot. What an unholy muddle these people have again got themselves into. Liebknecht, Bebel, Viereck, Höchberg, Schramm, Bernstein, they all of them write something different and there's nothing but confusion and contradiction. So all we can do is wait, and at least there'll be no need for us to be disturbed by this business during our holiday.

I wrote at once to Hirsch and told him I'd be back in London next Thursday. You will in the meantime have heard from the Lafargues that they have been here. Unfortunately the weather wasn't up to much.

How's Jenny getting on? As well as could be expected, according to the last news I got from your wife. I hope this is still the case. Give her my love and congratulate her on her strapping boy. Your refound ability to sleep will, I trust, continue, thereby removing the chief obstacle that prevents you feeling really fit. Let's hope the Ramsgate weather will suit your wife too. Jollymeier is much better, but the changeable weather is a sharp reminder to him that something is still slightly amiss between muscles and joints. Pumps is all right; as usual sea-bathing is doing me a power of good; I think I'm getting properly fat.

If you don't write tomorrow, then better [write] to London. The postal facilities here are antediluvian; a letter posted on Wednesday would not arrive until after our departure.

Best wishes to all of you, and see to it that Jenny doesn't take it upon herself to return home too soon. How long are you staying there?

Your
F. E.

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a 28 August - b new-born son, Edgar Longuet
Do you have Kovalevsky's London address, or can I get it from Tussy?

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MARX TO ENGELS.507
IN EASTBOURNE.496

Ramsgate, 25 August 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear Fred,

My letter from Jersey12 and yours from Eastbournea have evidently crossed.

Last Wednesday,b the very day after we had heard by telegraph of the catastrophe at Ramsgate,499 we left for London first thing in the morning. For Tussy's sake I was sorry to cut short her stay in Jersey but knew that, for various reasons, my presence had become necessary in Ramsgate. I arrived there on Thursday amidst thunder, lightning and torrents of rain. On Friday it was fine, on Saturday it RAINED DOGS AND CATS from morn till night, fine again yesterday, outlook uncertain today. Place is full of Jews and fleas.

The main thing is that Jennychen has got safely through the 9 critical days and, CONSIDERING THE CIRCUMSTANCES, is reasonably well. For the time being she is feeding the baby herself; most desirable that she should go on being able to do so. My wife is making slow progress but is better nonetheless.

My head's not quite ALL RIGHT yet. Yesterday, by way of a test, I glanced at certain mathematical notebooks I had brought with me, but very soon had to abandon the premature job which was done only as a — TEST.

I have not taken and am not taking sea baths, but only warm sea baths; for in consequence of the frightful weather when we

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a See this volume, pp. 372-74. - b 20 August
arrived in Jersey, my throat trouble got worse and was compounded by a sudden toothache, neither being quite gone yet, although much alleviated, and only reminding me by an occasional twinge that they are still lurking in the background.

Hirsch is in London; he had left his visiting card at my house, but I had no time to look him up (he's staying with Lessner) because of my abrupt departure from London. The enclosed letter from Kaub will inform you of the very odd circumstances attending Hirsch's renewed expulsion from Paris.

I hope that there has been an improvement in Schollymeyer's condition. Kindest regards to him and Pumps to whom in addition Johnny asks to be specially recommended.

Have you read Allman's—or whatever he's called—inaugural speech? It's something I would have been capable of myself, although no man of science.

Adio, old boy.

Your

Moor

Wright, the head of the Massachusetts Labor Statistics Bureau, has sent me the complete set of reports from 1874 to 1879 (so doesn't know about Harney's earlier consignments), together with the compendium of the Massachusetts Census, and has, at the same time, written to say that 'he shall be pleased, in future, to send you our publications as soon as issued'.

Such 'polities' come to us only from Russia and the United States.

Dana, my old patron, called last Friday at Maitland Park, Tussy sent me his card.

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* See this volume, p. 374. - b 22 August
Engels to Marx.

In Ramsgate.

Eastbourne, 26 August 1879

Dear Moor,

Have at last got your letter and, with it, your exact address which I needed if I was to send you all the rubbish *ad vocem* party organ. Since, for Hirsch's sake, I couldn't put off replying to Höchberg, I wrote him the enclosed note, which is unlikely to gratify him.

As you will see from Bebel's letter it contains exactly the same arguments as Liebknecht used in his last letter. From this it may be deduced that Liebknecht has not shown him my last letter although *expressly instructed* by me to do so. I now intend, as soon as you have sent the stuff back to London, 1. to instruct Bebel to make sure that letter is shown to him, so that he may see that all this palaver has already been answered, 2. to set out side by side for his benefit all the contradictions contained in the various letters written to C. Hirsch, so that he may see what a beastly mess they've gone and made of things again with their free and easy ways. If this is put to him properly, Bebel is, I think, just the man to take advantage of it. I shall, of course, first submit the letter to you for approval, likewise to Hirsch, *cujus res agitur*.

We were all very glad to hear that Jenny is doing well. I altogether agree that, if at all possible, she should go on feeding the child herself, give up the School and thus at last rid herself of the bother with nurses and servants, the root of that trouble being after all her constant and enforced absence from home. As for you and your wife, you must stay at the seaside for just as long as you possibly can. You both have a lot of leeway to make up and ought not to come back until your head and her digestive organs have again condescended to function pretty well normally. It's not as though there's any hurry now and, besides, the weather is gradually becoming, if not brilliant and settled, at any rate more changeable in a nicer way than of late. It seems much the same where you are as it is here. Jollymeier would be all right if he could have a week of constant sunshine.

I hope, when I again see Tussy, to find her in an improved state

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*a* See previous letter. *b* *re* *c* See next letter. *d* who is the interested person
of health as a result of sea bathing. If you’d only written and told us, she could have come over here on Saturday and gone on bathing until the day after tomorrow! In the event, it wasn’t till Sunday morning that I learned from the Lafargues that you were in Ramsgate and not where she was at all.

By the way, my three weeks at the seaside have nothing like satisfied me, I’m chewing over all manner of plans for the time when Jollymeier, whom London will probably suit better than the sea, is once again fit to travel. Do you think it would be a good idea if, in about 14 to 18 days' time and weather permitting, we three were to shake off the Eternal-Feminine for once and go and play at being bachelors somewhere or other for a week or two?

Warmest regards from all of us to all of you.

Your
F. E.
appraisal of all the relevant correspondence conducted between Leipzig and Zurich on the one hand and C. Hirsch on the other. I must refrain from going into the whole comedy of errors these letters represent, and in which nobody has been more blameless than Hirsch. In my view his conduct in the whole affair has been perfectly rational, frank and honourable. Hence I must wholeheartedly approve of his decision to refuse the editorship on the terms mooted which have not yet even been settled between the interested parties in Leipzig and Zurich, and at this juncture my only concern is to deflect from him a reproach he does not deserve.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

Yours faithfully,

F. Engels

Back in London as from day after tomorrow.496

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN EASTBOURNE496

Ramsgate, 27 August 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

DEAR FRED,

Our letters keep crossing. No doubt you will have had mine (posted last Monday"); yours—of 25 August—^together with enclosures safely received.

I am only writing a line or two, as my wife is having to go somewhere near the post office, so you will get this acknowledgement of your letter before you leave.

I enclose for the amusement of yourself, Jollymeyer and Pumps, a letter from Tussy to my wife. PLEASE RETURN IT AT ONCE AFTER PERUSAL.

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1 See this volume, pp. 376-77. 2 Ibid., pp. 374-76.
Jennychen is doing well; is not allowed to leave her room until next Monday and will then have to spend at least another week with us, as Longuet is going back to London earlier.

The weather has been deteriorating from day to day, but it's always tolerable for an hour or two and the sea breeze is beneficial, showers notwithstanding. It is Liebknecht himself who deserves the 'jackass' label he is seeking, with his habitual loutish courtesy, to pin on Hirsch—something he always does when 'caught' in flagrante.

Best wishes to everyone.

Your
Moor

Kovalevsky's address: 42 Gower Street.

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 28 August 1879

DEAR FRED,

The enclosed letter from Master Most, forwarded by Tussy, has just arrived. You must let me know by return what sort of answer you consider suitable. What Most wants is obviously something which he for his part might 'misuse'; on the other hand what Mr Lübeck does is inspired by Mr Bernstein.

A beautiful morning today; whether the weather will hold for the rest of the day is another matter.

Salut.

Your
Moor

a See this volume, p. 411.
PLEASÉ RETURN THE MOST LETTER.

Yesterday evening, after the rain had stopped, we took Johnny* down to the beach. *Some people said: 'That little boy looks like a prince.' Johnny turned fiercely round and retorted: 'I look like a little Jolymeyer!'

From a letter received from the house Lafargue I see that the other Meyer— not the Jollymeyer — had another scene at Lafargues. Poor fellow!*

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 3 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear Engels,

Meyer (R.) wrote³ and announced his intention of visiting me, while at the same time saying, on the other hand, that I was to let him know, i.e. telegraph him, 'DO NOT COME', should I be otherwise engaged. FIRSTLY, therefore, I telegraphed him in the 'negative', secondly, however, proceeded to write him a letter¹² *to this effect, that in consequence of Mrs Marx's bad health my whole time is taken up 'presently'*. I am telling you this in order that you may know how things stand, should he raise the matter with you. In fact my wife is IMPROVING only very slowly and hence BY NO MEANS ANXIOUS TO SEE MEYER HERE.

Jennychen had her first outing today, a fifteen minute walk⁴⁹⁹; SHE PROGRESSES FAVOURABLY.

How is Jolly getting on?

Your
Moor

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a Jean Longuet - b Rudolph Meyer - c on 29 August 1879
Dear Old Man,

I am sorry to hear that you are still in the clutches of misfortune and it's not within my power to extricate you from them altogether. In the meantime I have been able to place two pounds at your disposal, and have also received a third from a friend, a who is both a chemist and a communist of the first water; I have just taken out a money order for you in respect of these three pounds, vulgo 75 fr. 60, and hope it will be paid you without delay. It goes without saying, of course, that you need feel absolutely no embarrassment where I am concerned; anything I can do for you will always be done without fail, and always with pleasure, and it's disgraceful we shouldn't have reached the stage of ensuring our veterans a carefree existence.

The Freiheit is unlikely to survive until the new year, unless it derives a new importance from the stupidities of its opponents. It is intended to set up an official party organ in Zurich a and to entrust its management—under the ultimate control of the Leipzigers—to Germans in Zurich of whom it cannot be said that they inspire me with confidence. At any rate, in the Jahrbuch for social science edited by Höchberg, one of their number, there are some rather extraordinary things: the party was wrong in making itself out to be a workers' party, brought the Anti-Socialist Law upon itself by otiose attacks on the bourgeoisie, what was wanted wasn't revolution, but slow, peaceful development, etc. This cowardly twaddle, needless to say, is all of it grist to Most's mill, and he is all agog to exploit it, as you will see from recent numbers of the Freiheit. We had been invited by Leipzig to contribute to the new organ and had, indeed, consented; but since learning who is to be immediately responsible, we have again cried off, nor, after this Jahrbuch, can there be any intercourse whatever with men who are trying surreptitiously to introduce such twaddle and such toadyism into the party—with Höchberg and Co. The Leipzigers will discover soon enough what

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a Carl Schorlemmer - b Der Sozialdemokrat - c See this volume, pp. 367-68.
kind of allies they have landed themselves with. All in all, it's just about time we took a stand against the philanthropic big and petty bourgeois, the students and professors who are forcing their way into the German party and seeking to water down the proletariat's class struggle against its oppressors till it becomes an institution for universal fraternisation, and this at a moment when the bourgeois, with whom we are supposed to fraternise, have outlawed us, destroyed our presses, disrupted our meetings and delivered us up sans phrase\textsuperscript{a} to the caprices of the police. The German workers are hardly likely to join in such a campaign.

Our people in Russia have scored a signal victory—they have disrupted the Russo-Prussian alliance.\textsuperscript{b} If they hadn't, by their ruthless action, put the fear of God into the Russian government, it would probably have succeeded in overcoming the internal discontent felt by the aristocracy and middle classes over the English ban on the entry of troops into the open city of Constantinople\textsuperscript{315} and the ensuing diplomatic defeat in Berlin.\textsuperscript{430}

But as it was, blame for those defeats had to be shifted onto another country, onto Prussia. Though uncle and nephew may have temporarily patched things up at Alexandrovo,\textsuperscript{516} the breach is now beyond repair. And, unless there's a catastrophe in Russia very soon, there will be war between Russia and Prussia, a war predicted by the General Council as the inevitable consequence of the French war while this last was still in progress, and which was avoided only with the utmost difficulty in 1873.\textsuperscript{517}

Well, keep your pecker up, and drop us a line again soon—a proper letter, since in a mere postcard you can't really get things off your chest.

Warmest regards from Marx and

Your old friend,

F. E.

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\textsuperscript{a} without more ado - \textsuperscript{b} See also this volume, p. 387.
MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 9 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear Fred,

Various incidents have meant that money is visibly running out, whereas I wish to spend another week here, despite the weather which, since Sunday evening, has been very uncertain.

You will hear more about our sojourn here, which has done me, in particular, a great deal of good, from the Lafargues.

Enclosed a letter from Sorge. Since I haven’t got Becker’s address with me, and you are corresponding with him anyhow, PLEASE write and tell him to send me the form for the power of attorney.²

How are things with Jollymeyer?

Your
K. M.

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

ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE

London, 9 September 1879

Dear Moor,

Herewith something from Liebknecht, together with enclosures, in which there would appear to be little that is new, which is why I have been in no hurry to send them. For obvious reasons I have

² See this volume, pp. 392-93.
Engels to Marx. 9 September 1879

told Hirsch nothing about all this stuff, it being better to avoid unnecessary rows.

Höchberg has written to Hirsch from Scheveningen, virtually asking him to invite him over here and assure him of a good reception, to which Hirsch hasn't deigned to reply. On receiving a further postcard from Höchberg, Hirsch sent him a ditto, saying you weren't back yet and he himself, Hirsch, was likewise about to leave for the coast. So we probablyshan't be bothered by the man.

Meanwhile it might be a good thing if you were to return the documents to me. I really ought to reply to Bebel at long last506

1. on account of Hirsch, who would like to see his personal business clarified vis-à-vis Bebel and is getting a bit impatient and
2. because by good fortune the Jahrbuch Kovalevsky brought you will enable us quite simply to give the chaps definite reasons why it's absolutely impossible for us to contribute to an organ in which Höchberg has any say at all. The articles concerned are:

1. 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland' by - - (Höchberg and, probably, Bernstein and Lübeck),
2. Critiques by C. L. (Lübeck), notably of Cohn's 'Was ist Sozialismus', concluding part,
3. Report from Germany No. 1 by M. Sch. (Max Schlesinger in Breslau).

Höchberg declares outright that the Germans made a mistake when they turned the socialist movement into a mere workers' movement and, by unnecessarily provoking the bourgeois, drew down upon themselves the Anti-Socialist Law462! The movement ought, he says, to be placed under the direction of bourgeois and educated elements, its character to be wholly that of peaceable reform, etc. You can imagine with what gusto Most embraces these lamentable propositions, and once again makes himself out to be the genuine representative of the German movement.514

Enfin, I believe—and no doubt you will share my opinion—that, after this business, we would be well-advised to establish our standpoint—vis-à-vis the Leipzigers, at least. If the new party

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506 See Lübeck's reviews of the following books: C. F. W. Walther, Kommunismus und Sozialismus, St. Louis, 1878; C. Cohn, Was ist Sozialismus?, Berlin, 1878; J. B. Meyer, Fichte, Lassalle und der Sozialismus, Berlin, 1878; C. Frantz, Der Föderalismus als leitendes Prinzip für die soziale, staatliche und internationale Organisation, Mainz, 1879. In: Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik. Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879. - b A. Schlesinger, 'Bericht über den Fortgang der sozialistischen Bewegung: Deutsches Reich, I'. In: Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879. - c In short
organ plays the same tune as Höchberg, we might be compelled to do so publicly as well.\(^{a}\)

If you will let me have the things (I've still got one copy of the *Jahrbuch* here), I will draft a letter to Bebel and send it to you; needless to say, there's no need for you to interrupt your holiday on account of this trifle. But something has got to be done soon, otherwise Hirsch will again start writing private letters to all and sundry, thus lending the affair much too exclusively a personal character.

Ever since Russian diplomacy has had to allow events inside Russia dictate its goals, everything’s been going wrong for it. At the very time when nihilists and pan-Slavs are so thoroughly demolishing its German alliance\(^{b}\) that any apparent patching-up can at most be short-lived, at this same time, its agents in Afghanistan are driving England—in the event of war with Germany—into the arms of Bismarck. Bismarck, I am sure, is doing everything he can to bring about war with Russia. In concert with Austria and England, he could risk it all right: England would ensure Denmark’s neutrality, probably Italy’s and maybe even that of France. But it would be better if things were to come rapidly to a head in Russia, and the prospect of war be eliminated by an internal upheaval. The position is beginning to favour Bismarck too much. A simultaneous war against Russia and France would become a struggle for national survival and the resulting outburst of chauvinism would put paid to our movement for years to come. And on top of that, the odds would be greatly in Bismarck’s favour the moment England acceded: a long, hard fight, but at 3:2 the eventual outcome would be much as in the Seven Years’ War.\(^{518}\)

Sam Moore writes to say that the sale of the estate has so far been going very well, most of it having been sold for 39-40 times the amount of the gross rent; nothing remains unsold but the moors and woods which they assess at £11,600, including stocks of timber, and think they can hang on to until business improves in Sheffield, when they might succeed in getting a better price.

What has become of the Lafargues? Since Pumps went to see them a week ago on Friday\(^{c}\) we’ve neither heard nor seen anything of Paul.

Jollymeier is still tinkering away at his rheumatism which refuses to budge. Gumpert advised him to go to Buxton and yesterday he said that, unless it gets better soon, he would go there at the end

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\(^{a}\) See this volume, pp. 394-408. \(^{b}\) Ibid., p. 384. \(^{c}\) 5 September
of the week. He, Pumps and I send you all our cordial regards and trust that life at the seaside is doing you good. What are your plans about coming back? Put it off as long as you possibly can; what with the changeable weather, I know what will happen once you’re back here—nowt as anyone could wish for.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 10 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

Dear Fred,

Yesterday I got a note from Kovalevsky saying he had had a letter from Russia which necessitated his immediate return to the land of his birth. He didn’t send me the *Jahrbuch*.

Laura spent a week with us, and Paul a few days every now and again; the day before yesterday he returned with her to London. Laura, by the by, had let Pumptia know she was leaving.

My wife is still making very slow progress; I have got much better. The air down here suits me extraordinarily well. Besides, I was kept in *mouvement perpétuel* by Laura.

Herewith the letters received from you today. (The others will go off at the same time, but under separate cover.) Liebknecht has no discernment. The letters prove what they are intended to refute, namely our original view that the business was bungled in Leipzig, whereas the men in Zurich proceeded in accordance with the terms prescribed for them. Incidentally, their horror at the attack made by the otherwise so innocuous *Laterne* on that scoundrel Kayser shows more clearly than anything else what is the calibre of these chaps. Schramm, though a sound man in other

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a Engels used a dialectal expression here: *es is nix zu wolle*.  
  
  b See this volume, p. 386.  
  
  c perpetual motion
respects, has always been a philistine. The Leipzigers for their part are already so 'parliamentarily minded' that they regard criticism of one member of their Reichstag coterie as a crime de lèse majesté. I altogether agree with your view that no further time should be lost in stating our views, forcibly and ruthlessly, as to the Jahrbuch bunkum, i.e. pro nunc 'presenting' it to the Leipzigers in black and white. Should they proceed to go ahead with their 'party organ' in this way, we shall have to disavow them publicly. In such matters, the line has to be drawn somewhere.

I haven't replied to Most, nor shall I do so; as soon as I'm in London I shall write, inviting him to turn up in person. You ought to be present at the meeting.

The most typical thing about Bismarck is the way in which he came to be at odds with Russia. He wanted Gorchakov removed and Shuvalov put in his place. Since this miscarried, the obvious conclusion was—voilà l'ennemi! And you may be pretty sure that Bucher did not fail to exacerbate his master's irritation. On retourne toujours à son premier amour. From the point of view of our movement and of Europe generally, nothing could be more injurious than the implementation of Bismarck's plan. So long as old William is alive, this won't be so easy; it might always happen that Bismarck himself falls victim to the reaction he sparked off with the Anti-Socialist Law. En attendant, the black cloud in the east is already doing him a service; once again he is the 'man they need' and the liberals now feel it to be their 'patriotic' duty to kiss his arse. Not only will the iron military budget be renewed at the next sitting of the Reichstag; it might be 'perpetuated', as William originally wished. The secret of Russian diplomacy's success abroad was the deathly silence of Russia at home, the spell being broken by the movement in that country. Its final victory was the Treaty of Paris of 1856. Since then, nothing but blunders.

I hope poor Schollymeyer's health will improve. My best wishes for him.

Your
Moor

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

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Published in English for the first time

\(a\) for the time being - \(b\) See this volume, p. 381. - \(c\) That's the enemy! - \(d\) One always returns to one's first love (somewhat paraphrased words of a romance from Isouard's opera—libretto by Ch. G. Étienne—Joconde, Act III, Scene 1). - \(e\) William I - \(f\) Meanwhile
Dear Moor,

Letters received.® Yesterday Hirsch called at my house where he also encountered the Lafargues and Henry Juta; he is going to bring me the stuff I had returned to him earlier on, and then I shall set to work forthwith.\(^b\)

Laura and Paul, i.e. notably the latter, said they would be coming again next Sunday evening.\(^c\) Much though we appreciate this, it is a matter that calls for careful consideration on account of Tussy. Since our return, she has been dining with us on Sundays and I shall, needless to say, invite her for next Sunday as well. As Paul had said the Longuets would be returning this week, I had thought of going to see Jenny tomorrow or the day after and asking her to help me out of this quandary by taking over Tussy for the \textit{evening}. But on leaving, Laura said that Jenny wouldn't be back till \textit{Saturday}, and so I have no other recourse than to contrive things in this way. If it's feasible, let me know at once; if not, some other way out must be found. The Lafargues never arrive \textit{before} 7 o'clock.

Kindest regards. For three days now Jollymeier has been much better—Buxton probably not necessary.\(^d\)

Your
F. E.

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\(^{a}\) See this volume, p. 388. \(^{b}\) Ibid., p. 389. \(^{c}\) 14 September \(^d\) See this volume, pp. 387-88.
MARX TO ENGELS
IN LONDON
[Ramsgate,] 11 September 1879
62 Plains of Waterloo

DEAR FRED,

Letter and enclosure\(^a\) received with many thanks.

The Longuet family will be ‘making’ for London, as Lessner puts it, on Saturday (next).\(^b\) So far all has gone well with Jennychen, although she still has a bit of asthma, but she proposes—obstinately, à la Lupus\(^c\)—to combine feeding her child\(^d\) with teaching.\(^e\)

Yesterday, to my intense surprise, Meyer\(^e\) suddenly materialised in front of me on the sands. To my relief, he immediately explained that he had taken lodgings for the day in Margate whither he would be returning in a few hours’ time, and that all he wanted was to inquire about ‘madame’s’\(^f\) health, etc. I did the honours of the place for a while and then handed him over to Longuet so that he might speed him on his way. He—Meyer—is going to Edinburgh for the Trades Union Congress.\(^522\) I’m glad this ‘crisis’ was so short-lived. The good fellow’s tendency towards Ramsgate has been irrepresible. He told Longuet, by the by, that his liver had got much worse so that he could no longer ‘take’ the accustomed amount of ‘spirits’ without their going to his head. An attempt, no doubt, to gloss over his recent accidents at Maitland Park, etc.

The weather here is partly good and partly bad, the latter having a tendency to predominate.

Your
Moor

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\(^a\) Marx is referring to a cheque (see next letter).  
\(^b\) 13 September  
\(^c\) Like Wilhelm Wolff  
\(^d\) Edgar Longuet  
\(^e\) Rudolph Meyer  
\(^f\) Jenny Marx
MARX TO ENGELS
IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 14 September 1879

Dear Fred,

Tell Tussy that she is invited to 2 o'clock dinner at Jenny's on Sunday and to a display of Edgar 'Marcel' Longuet who was today registered a British citizen at Ramsgate.

For Jennychen and suite leave for London tomorrow; ditto Helene to give her support.

Cheque encashable Monday.

I have discovered another letter from Hirsch to myself which belongs in the dossier of the case; I enclose it.

Salut.

Your
Moor

First published in MEGA, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931
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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, 15 September 1879

Dear Old Man,

I trust you got my last letter and the money order for 75 frs by post.

Sorge writes saying that he has written to you, too, about the necessity of renewing the power of attorney in respect of Lingenau's will, since Geib's death might otherwise put the lawyers

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a Helene Demuth - b Marx is referring to the correspondence over the publication of the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat. - c See this volume, pp. 383-84.
of the contending party into the position of being able to declare the old power of attorney invalid and thus bring about new delays.\(^{348}\)

Marx, who is still at the seaside\(^{500}\) and has apparently made a wonderful recovery, has just written telling me to ask you to send him the form for the power of attorney\(^a\) so that he can attend to the same. Would you therefore be so good as to do this as soon as possible. If it involves you in any expense, write and tell me at once what it amounts to and I will send you the money. The sooner this is done the better. The power of attorney should, of course, be exactly the same as before, only omitting Geib's name, or else mentioning him as deceased.

The business of the German party organ in Zurich\(^{490}\) is becoming more and more of a lark. The Zurich editorial committee which, under the general management of the Leipzigers, is to supervise and censor the paper, consists of Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein. But now, in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, published in Zurich by Höchberg, Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein have printed an article 'Rückblick auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland'\(^{513}\) in which all three are revealed to be common or garden bourgeois and pacific philanthropists; they accuse the party of having been too exclusively a 'workers' party', and of having provoked the hatred of the bourgeoisie, and claim that leadership of the movement should be entrusted to 'educated' bourgeois of their own stamp. That's really going a bit too far.

Luckily Höchberg dropped in on me unexpectedly the day before yesterday, whereupon I gave him a piece of my mind. The unfortunate lad—not a bad chap, *au fond*,\(^b\) but alarmingly naïve—came down to earth with a bang when I pointed out to him that we couldn't think of lowering the proletarian flag which we had held aloft for nigh on 40 years, still less join in the general petty-bourgeois fraternisation fantasies against which we had been fighting, again for nigh on 40 years. In short, now he at last knows where he stands with us and also why, whatever the Leipzigers may say or do, we can't march shoulder to shoulder with people of his ilk.

We shall likewise supply Bebel with a quite categorical statement as to our standpoint vis-à-vis these allies of the German party,\(^c\) and then wait and see what they will do. If the party organ adopts the standpoint of the said bourgeois article, we shall publicly declare

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\(^a\) Ibid., p. 385.\(^b\) at bottom \(^c\) See next letter.
our opposition to it. However, they're unlikely to let things go so far.

Write soon, then.

Warmest regards from Marx and

Your old friend,

F. Engels

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MARX and ENGELS

TO AUGUST BEBEL, WILHELM LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM BRACKE AND OTHERS

(CIRCULAR LETTER)

IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London, 17-18 September 1879]

Dear Bebel,

The delay in replying to your letter of 20 August has been due, on the one hand, to Marx's prolonged absence and, on the other, to a number of incidents: first, the arrival of the 'Richter' *Jahrbuch*, secondly that of Höchberg himself.

I can only conclude that Liebknecht did not show you the last letter I wrote him, although I specifically instructed him to do so. Otherwise you would certainly not have adduced the same reasons as had been put forward by Liebknecht, and to which I had already replied in the aforesaid letter.

Let us now run through the individual points with which we are concerned here.

I. THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH CARL HIRSCH

Liebknecht asked Hirsch whether he would undertake to edit the party organ that was about to be founded in Zurich. Hirsch sought information as to the financing of the paper: what funds

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a The original erroneously has: '29'. b See this volume, p. 393.
were available and who was providing them? Firstly, so as to know whether the paper might not peter out within a few months. Secondly, to ascertain who held the purse-strings, thus having the final say as to the paper’s stance. Liebknecht’s reply, telling Hirsch that ‘everything is in order; you will be getting further information from Zurich’ (Liebknecht to Hirsch, 28 July), didn’t arrive. But what did reach Hirsch from Zurich was a letter from Bernstein (24 July) in which Bernstein informed him that ‘We are being entrusted with the production and supervision (of the paper)’. A discussion had taken place ‘between Viereck, Singer and ourselves’ during which it was suggested

‘that your position might be rendered somewhat difficult by the differences of opinion which you, as a Laterne man, have had with individual comrades, though I myself do not consider this objection carries much weight’.

Not a word about the financing.

Hirsch answered by return on 26 July, enquiring about the paper’s material circumstances. Which comrades had undertaken to cover the deficit? Up to what amount and for how long?—The question of the editor’s salary didn’t enter into this at all; Hirsch merely wanted to know whether ‘means have been secured to ensure the paper’s continued existence for at least a year’.

On 31 July, Bernstein replied, saying that any deficit there might be would be covered by voluntary contributions of which some (!) had already been subscribed. Hirsch’s remarks about the stance he thought the paper should adopt, of which more below, elicited deprecating remarks and injunctions:

‘It is all the more necessary for the supervisory committee to insist on it in that it, in turn, is subject to control, i.e. is responsible. On these points, therefore, you must come to an understanding with the supervisory committee.’

They asked him to reply by return preferably by telegraph.

Hence, instead of getting a reply to his justified questions, Hirsch was informed that he was to be editor under a supervisory committee based in Zurich, with views differing very materially from his own and members of whose names he wasn’t even informed!

Hirsch, quite justifiably outraged by this treatment, chose rather to come to an understanding with the Leipzigers. His letter of 2 August to Liebknecht must be known to you, since Hirsch expressly demanded that it be shown to you and Viereck. Hirsch is even willing to submit to a supervisory committee in Zurich, inasmuch as the latter is to put its comments to the editor in writing and these may be referred for decision to the controlling committee in Leipzig.
In the meantime Liebknecht had written to Hirsch on 28 July:

‘Of course finance is available for the undertaking, seeing that it is backed by the entire party+(INCLUSIVE) Höchberg. But I’m not concerned with the details.’

Nor does Liebknecht’s next letter contain anything about the financing—only an assurance that the Zurich committee is not an editorial committee, but is only to be entrusted with administration and the financial side. As late as 14 August, Liebknecht wrote to me along the same lines, and asked that we persuade Hirsch to accept. You yourself, as late as 20 August were still so little acquainted with the actual circumstances that you wrote to me saying:

‘He’ (Höchberg) ‘has no more say in the editing of the paper than any other well-known member of the party.’

Finally, Hirsch received a letter from Viereck, dated 11 August, containing the admission that

‘the 3 men domiciled in Zurich are to, qua editorial committee, apply themselves to founding the paper and, subject to the agreement of the three Leipzigers, select an editor ... so far as I recall, the resolutions that were sent them also asserted that the (Zurich) founding committee mentioned under 2., was to assume both political and financial responsibility towards the party.... From this state of affairs it follows, or so it seems to me, that ... there can be no question of anyone assuming the editorship without the concurrence of the 3 men domiciled in Zurich and entrusted with the founding by the party’.

Here as last was something definite, at least, for Hirsch to go on, if only in regard to the position of the editor vis-à-vis the Zurichers. They were an editorial committee; they were also politically responsible; without their concurrence no one could assume the editorship. In short, Hirsch was simply instructed to come to an understanding with 3 men in Zurich whose names had still not been disclosed to him.

But to make the confusion worse, Liebknecht added a postscript to Viereck’s letter:

‘Singer from Berlin was here just now and informed us that the supervisory committee in Zurich is not, as Viereck imagines, an editorial committee, but essentially an administrative committee which is financially responsible to the party, i.e. to ourselves, for the paper; of course, its members also have the right and the duty to discuss the editing with you (a right and a duty of which, by the way, every member is possessed); they are not empowered to place you under their guardianship.’

The Zurich trio and one member of the Leipzig committee—the only one present at the discussions—insist that Hirsch is to be

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a Louis Viereck
subject to official direction by Zurich, while another Leipzig member\textsuperscript{a} contests this outright. And yet Hirsch is to make up his mind before these gentlemen are agreed amongst themselves! The fact that Hirsch was entitled to acquaint himself with the resolutions they had adopted and which embodied the conditions with which he was expected to comply, was entirely overlooked, the more so since it never seems to have occurred to the Leipzigers that they \textit{themselves} should become properly acquainted with those resolutions. How, otherwise, can the above-mentioned inconsistency be accounted for?

If the Leipzigers were unable to agree upon the powers vested in the Zurich people, the latter harboured no doubts on this score.

Schramm to Hirsch, 14 August:

‘Had you not written at one time that in a similar case’ (as that of Kayser),\textsuperscript{b} ‘you would do just as you had done before, thus holding out the prospect of a similar \textit{modus operandi},\textsuperscript{519} we would not be wasting words on the subject. As it is, however, and in view of that statement of yours, we must reserve the right to have the casting vote as to what articles the new paper should take.’

The letter to Bernstein in which Hirsch was alleged to have said this was dated 26 July, \textit{long} after the conference in Zurich at which the Zurich trio’s powers were laid down. But so much were those in Zurich already revelling in the sense of their own bureaucratic authority that, in reply to this subsequent letter of Hirsch’s, they were already laying claim to new powers, namely the \textit{decision} as to what articles should be included. The editorial committee was already a \textit{censorship} committee.

Not until Höchberg arrived in Paris did Hirsch learn from him the \textit{names} of the members of the two committees.\textsuperscript{528}

If, then, discussions with Hirsch broke down, what was the cause?

1. The obstinate refusal, on the part of both Leipzig and Zurich, to give him any hard and fast information about the paper’s financial basis and hence the likelihood of keeping it afloat, if only for a year. Not until he was over here did he learn from me (following your communication to me\textsuperscript{506}) how much had been subscribed. Hence, the only conclusion it was really possible to draw from previous communications (the party+Höchberg) was either that the paper was already being largely financed by Höchberg or that it would soon be entirely dependent on his subsidies. And this latter eventuality is still far from being excluded. The sum of—if I read it right—800 marks is \textit{precisely}

\textsuperscript{a} Wilhelm Liebknecht - \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, pp. 398-400.
the same (40 pounds sterling) as had to be contributed by the local association, Freiheit, during the first half year.

2. Liebknecht's repeated assurances, which have since proved totally erroneous, that Zurich was to have no official control whatever over the editorship, and the resulting comedy of errors;

3. The certainty finally established that not only were the Zurich people to control the editing, they were actually to censor it, and that the only role that would redound upon him, Hirsch, would be that of the man of straw.

His refusal at that juncture is something we cannot but approve. The Leipzig committee, or so we hear from Höchberg, has received reinforcements in the shape of two more who do not live in the place and hence that committee can intervene quickly only if the three Leipzigers are agreed. As a result, the real centre of gravity has altogether shifted to Zurich, and Hirsch or, for that matter, any true revolutionary and proletarian-minded editor, would not have been able to work with the people there for any length of time. More about this later.

II. THE PROPOSED STANCE OF THE PAPER

As early as 24 July Bernstein had informed Hirsch that the differences he, as a Laterne man, had had with individual comrades would render his position more difficult.

Hirsch replied that in his view the paper's stance would in general have to be the same as that of the Laterne, i.e. such as to avoid prosecution in Switzerland and not cause undue alarm in Germany. He inquired who those comrades might be and continued:

'I know of only one and can promise you that in a similar case of undisciplined conduct I should deal with him in exactly the same way.'

Whereupon Bernstein, conscious of his newly acquired dignity as official censor, replied:

'Now as regards the paper's stance, it is the view of the supervisory committee that the Laterne should not serve as a model; in our view the paper should be less taken up with political radicalism, but rather adopt a line that is socialist on principle. Instances such as the attack upon Kayser, which was frowned on by all comrades without exception' (!), 'must under all circumstances be avoided.'

And so on and so forth. Liebknecht called the attack on Kayser 'a bloomer', and so dangerous did it seem to Schramm that he immediately imposed censorship on Hirsch.

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Hirsch again wrote to Höchberg, saying that a case such as that of Kayser

'could not occur should an official party organ exist, whose lucid expositions and friendly hints could not be so presumptuously brushed aside by a deputy'.

Viereck also wrote, saying that what was required of the new paper was that it adopt a

'dispassionate attitude and, in so far as possible, bury the hatchet'; it ought not to be an 'enlarged version of the Laterne' and 'the most Bernstein can be reproached with is that he holds views that are too moderate, if reproach it be at a time when we cannot, after all, crowd on sail'.

Well, now, what is this Kayser case, this unpardonable crime Hirsch is supposed to have committed? In the Reichstag, Kayser spoke in favour of and voted for protective tariffs, the only one of the Social-Democratic deputies to do so. Hirsch accused him of having infringed party discipline, in that Kayser

1. voted for indirect taxation, the abolition of which is expressly demanded by the party programme; 

2. voted Bismarck funds, thus infringing the first and fundamental rule of our party tactics: not a farthing for this government.

Hirsch is undeniably right on both counts. And, after Kayser had spurned, on the one hand, the party programme to which the deputies, by their resolution in congress, had in effect been solemnly pledged and, on the other hand, the most imperative and all-important rule of party tactics, after he had voted Bismarck funds, out of gratitude for the Anti-Socialist Law, Hirsch was again perfectly justified in our opinion in handling him as roughly as he did.

We have never understood how it was that this attack upon Kayser could have aroused such a furore in Germany. I am now told by Höchberg that it was the 'faction' which gave Kayser permission to act as he did, and Kayser is held to be covered by that permission.

If such is the case, then it is really too bad. In the first place, Hirsch could have known no more than the rest of the world about this secret resolution. Then, again, the discredit incurred by

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a See 'Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands', Der Volksstaat, No. 59, 28 May 1875. b Deleted in the manuscript: 'Even admitting that two or three other Social-Democratic deputies (for it is unlikely that any more were there) had allowed themselves to be misled into permitting Kayser to recite his inanities in front of all and sundry, and vote Bismarck funds, it was their duty publicly to assume responsibility for this and then wait and see what Hirsch would say.'
the party, for which previously Kayser alone could have been blamed, is all the greater for this affair, as is Hirsch’s merit in having brought to light in public and for all the world to see Kayser’s preposterous phraseology and his even more preposterous vote, thus saving the honour of the party. Or has German Social-Democracy indeed been infected with the parliamentary disease, believing that, with the popular vote, the Holy Ghost is poured upon those elected, that meetings of the faction are transformed into infallible councils and factional resolutions into sacrosanct dogma?

Admittedly, a bloomer has been made— not by Hirsch, however, but by the deputies who gave Kayser the protection of their resolution. And if those upon whom, above all others, it is incumbent to see that party discipline is maintained, themselves so glaringly infringe that party discipline by a resolution of this kind, then so much the worse. But it is even worse still if they have the audacity to believe that it was not Kayser, by his speech and vote, or the other deputies by their resolution, who infringed party discipline, but Hirsch, inasmuch as he attacked Kayser despite that resolution about which, moreover, he knew nothing.

For the rest, there can be no doubt that the policy the party had adopted towards the question of protective tariffs was as muddled and vacillating as it has always been in regard to virtually all economic questions— e.g. imperial railways— when they have become a practical issue. The reason for this is that the party organs, notably the Vorwärts, rather than subject such questions to a thorough discussion, have preferred to apply themselves to the construction of the future social order. When, subsequent to the Anti-Socialist Law, the question of protective tariffs suddenly became a live issue, views on the subject diverged, assuming a wide variety of nuances, and there was absolutely no one to hand possessing the qualification that would have enabled him to form a lucid and accurate opinion, namely a knowledge of conditions in German industry and the latter’s position in the world market. Again, as was bound to happen, protectionist tendencies cropped up here and there amongst the electorate; tendencies which, it was felt, ought also to be taken into consideration. The only possible way out of the confusion would have been to take a purely political view of the question (as was done in the Laterne), but this was not pursued with any determination. Thus it was inevitable that in this debate, the party acted for the first time in a hesitant, uncertain and muddled way and ended up by thoroughly discrediting itself through the person of and in company with Kayser.
The attack on Kayser is now being used as a pretext to admonish Hirsch, in tones ranging through the whole gamut, to the effect that the new paper must on no account repeat the excesses of the Laterne, must be less taken up with political radicalism and rather adopt a line that is socialist on principle and dispassionate. And this from Viereck no less than from Bernstein who, precisely because he is too moderate, appears to the former to be the right man, seeing that just now we cannot, after all, crowd on sail.

But why go abroad at all, unless one intends to crowd on sail? Abroad, there's nothing to prevent this being done. In Switzerland there are no German press, combination and penal laws. Hence, not only can one say things there, which could not, even before the Anti-Socialist Law, be said at home because of the ordinary German laws, but one is actually duty-bound to do so. For here one is under the eyes, not of Germany alone, but of Europe and it is one's duty, insofar as the Swiss laws allow, openly to proclaim for Europe's benefit the methods and aims of the German party. Anyone in Switzerland seeking to abide by the German laws would only prove that he is deserving of those German laws and that he has, in effect, nothing to say save what he was allowed to say in Germany before the Exceptional Law. Nor should any account be taken of the possibility that the editors might be temporarily deprived of the chance to return to Germany. Anyone who is not prepared to run that risk is not fit to occupy so exposed and honourable a post.

More. If the German party was ostracised by the Exceptional Law, this was precisely because it was the only serious opposition party in Germany. If, in an organ published abroad, it renders thanks to Bismarck by abandoning its role as the only serious opposition party, by behaving in a nice, docile manner and adopting a dispassionate stance when kicked, it only proves that it deserved to be kicked. Of all the German émigré papers that have appeared abroad since 1830, the Laterne is undoubtedly one of the most moderate. If, however, even the Laterne was too insolent—then the new organ could not but compromise the party in the eyes of sympathisers in non-German countries.

III. THE MANIFESTO OF THE ZURICH TRIO

In the meantime we have received Höchberg's Jahrbuch, containing an article, 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung
in Deutschland', a which, as Höchberg himself informed me, was actually written by the three members of the Zurich committee. b Here we have their authentic critique of the movement up till now, and hence their authentic programme for the new paper's stance insofar as this is dependent on them.

At the very start we read:

'The movement, regarded by Lassalle as an eminently political one, to which he sought to rally not only the workers but all honest democrats, and in the van of which were to march the independent representatives of science and all men imbued with a true love of mankind, was trivialised under the chairmanship of J. B. von Schweitzer into a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests.'

I shall not inquire whether and to what extent this is historically true. The specific charge against Schweitzer is that Schweitzer trivialised Lassalleanism, here regarded as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, into a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests—trivialised it by emphasising its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie. d He is further charged with having 'repudiated bourgeois democracy'. e But has bourgeois democracy any business to be in the Social-Democratic Party at all? If it consists of 'honest men', it surely cannot wish to join, and if it

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a See this volume, p. 394. - b Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm - c Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, p. 84. - d These two sentences were substituted by the authors for the following passage deleted in the manuscript: 'Schweitzer was a great blackguard, but very talented intellectually. His particular merit consisted in his having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism with its limited panacea of state aid... Whatever wrong he may have done out of corrupt motives and however much, too, he may have clung to the Lassallean panacea of state aid in order to preserve his domination, he nevertheless had the merit of having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism, of having broadened the party's economic horizons and thus paved the way for its subsequent merger with the German party as a whole. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, that pivot of all revolutionary socialism, had already been advocated by Lassalle. If Schweitzer stressed this point even more strongly it was, at any rate, a step forward so far as the cause was concerned, however much of a pretext he may thus have afforded dangerous individuals for calling his dictatorship in question. It may rightly be said that he turned Lassalleanism into a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests. But one-sided only in the sense that, for reasons that were politically corrupt, he wished to have nothing to do with the farm workers’ struggle to promote their own interests vis-à-vis the big landowners. It is not that with which he is reproached here; rather the 'trivialisation' consists in his emphasising its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie.' - e Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, p. 84.
nevertheless wishes to join, this can only be for the purpose of stirring up trouble.

The Lassallean party 'chose to present itself in a most one-sided manner as a workers' party'. The gentlemen who wrote those words are themselves members of a party which presents itself in the most one-sided manner as a workers' party, and now hold office in the same. Here we have a complete incompatibility. If they think as they write, they ought to leave the party or at least resign from office. If they don't, it is tantamount to admitting that they intend to use their official position to combat the party's proletarian character. Hence the party is betraying itself if it allows them to remain in office.

Thus, in the view of these gentlemen the Social-Democratic Party ought not to be a one-sided workers' party but a many-sided party of 'all men imbued with a true love of mankind'. This it is to prove, above all, by divesting itself of crude proletarian passions and applying itself, under the direction of educated philanthropic bourgeois, 'to the formation of good taste' and 'the acquisition of good manners' (p. 85). After which the 'seedy appearance' of some of the leaders would give way to a respectable 'bourgeois appearance'.

(As though the outwardly seedy appearance of those referred to here were not the least that could be held against them!) After which, too,

'there will be an influx of supporters from the ranks of the educated and propertied classes. These, however, must first be won over if the ... agitation engaged in is to have perceptible results...'. German socialism has laid 'too much stress on winning over the masses, thus omitting to prosecute vigorous' (!) 'propaganda amongst the so-called upper strata of society'. For 'the party still lacks men who are fit to represent it in the Reichstag'. It is, however, 'desirable and necessary to entrust the mandates to men who have had the time and the opportunity to become thoroughly conversant with the relevant material. Only rarely and in exceptional cases do ... the simple working man and small master craftsman have sufficient leisure for the purpose'.

Therefore elect bourgeois!

In short, the working class is incapable of emancipating itself by its own efforts. In order to do so it must place itself under the direction of 'educated and propertied' bourgeois who alone have 'the time and the opportunity' to become conversant with what is good for the workers. And, secondly, the bourgeois are not to be combatted—not on your life—but won over by vigorous propaganda.

If, however, you wish to win over the upper strata of society, or

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1 Ibid., p. 85. - b Ibid., p. 86. - c Ibid., pp. 87-89.
at least their well-intentioned elements, you mustn’t frighten them—not on your life. And here the Zurich trio believe they have made a reassuring discovery:

‘Now, at the very time it is oppressed by the Anti-Socialist Law, the party is showing that it does not wish to pursue the path of forcible, bloody revolution, but rather is determined ... to tread the path of legality, i.e. of reform.’

If, therefore, the 5-600,000 Social-Democratic voters, \( \frac{1}{10} \) to \( \frac{1}{8} \) of the total electorate—and dispersed, what is more, over the length and breadth of the country—have sense enough not to beat their heads against a wall and attempt a ‘bloody revolution’ with the odds at one to ten, this is supposed to prove that they will, for all time, continue to deny themselves all chance of exploiting some violent upheaval abroad, a sudden wave of revolutionary fervour engendered thereby, or even a people’s victory won in a clash arising therefrom! Should Berlin ever be so uneducated as to stage another 18 March, it would behove the Social-Democrats not to take part in the fighting as ‘louts besotted with barricades’ (p. 88) but rather to ‘tread the path of legality’, to placate, to clear away the barricades and, if necessary, march with the glorious army against the one-sided, crude, uneducated masses. Or if the gentlemen insist that that’s not what they meant, then what did they mean?

But there’s better in store.

‘Hence, the more calm, sober and considered it’ (the Party) ‘shows itself to be in its criticism of existing circumstances and its proposals to change the same, the less likelihood is there of a repetition of the present successful move’ (introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law) ‘by means of which conscious reaction has scared the bourgeoisie out of their wits by holding up the red spectre’ (p. 88).

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety, it is to be shown clearly and convincingly that the red spectre really is just a spectre and doesn’t exist. But what is the secret of the red spectre, if not the bourgeoisie’s fear of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between itself and the proletariat, fear of the unavoidable outcome of the modern class struggle? Just abolish the class struggle, and the bourgeoisie and ‘all independent persons’ will ‘not hesitate to go hand in hand with the proletarians’! In which case the ones to be hoodwinked would be those self-same proletarians.

Let the party, therefore, prove, by its humble and subdued demeanour, that it has renounced once and for all the ‘impro-

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\[a \text{ Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, pp. 87-88.} \quad b \text{ Ibid., p. 88.} \]
prieties and excesses' which gave rise to the Anti-Socialist Law. If it voluntarily undertakes to remain wholly within the bounds of the Anti-Socialist Law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will, no doubt, oblige by rescinding what would then be a redundant law!

'Let no one misunderstand us'; we don't want 'to relinquish our party and our programme,' but in our opinion we shall have enough to do for years to come if we concentrate our whole strength, our entire energies, on the attainment of certain immediate objectives which must in any case be won before there can be any thought of realising more ambitious aspirations.'

Then, too, the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and workers, who 'are now scared off ... by ambitious demands', will join us en masse.

The programme is not to be relinquished, but merely postponed—for some unspecified period. They accept it—not for themselves in their own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom for their children and their children's children. Meanwhile they devote their 'whole strength and energies' to all sorts of trifles, tinkering away at the capitalist social order so that at least something should appear to be done without at the same time alarming the bourgeoisie. Here I can only commend that communist, Miquel, who gives proof of his unshakable belief in the inevitable downfall of capitalist society within the next few hundred years by swindling it for all he's worth, contributing manfully to the crash of 1873, and thus really doing something towards the collapse of the existing order.

Another offence against good manners was the 'exaggerated attacks on the Gründer', who, after all, were 'only children of their time'; hence 'the vilification of Strousberg and suchlike men ... would have been better omitted'. Sadly we are all 'children of our time', and if this be sufficient grounds for excuse, it is no longer permissible to attack anyone, and we for our part would have to desist from all polemic, all struggle; we would calmly submit whenever kicked by our opponents, because we would know in our wisdom that they are 'only children of their time' and cannot act otherwise than they do. Instead of repaying them their kicks with interest, we should rather, it seems, feel sorry for the poor fellows.

Similarly, our support for the Commune had one drawback, at any rate, namely

'that it put off people otherwise well-disposed towards us, and generally increased the hatred felt for us by the bourgeoisie'. Moreover, the party 'cannot be

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1 Ibid., p. 87.  
2 'Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands'.  
3 Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, p. 88.  
4 Ibid.  
5 Ibid., p. 95.
wholly exonerated from having brought about the October Law, for it had needlessly exacerbated the *hatred of the bourgeoisie*.3

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zurich. As regards clarity, it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all so far as we’re concerned, since we are still only too familiar with all these catch-phrases of 1848. There are the voices of the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, terrified lest the proletariat, impelled by its revolutionary situation, should ‘go too far’. Instead of resolute political opposition—general conciliation; instead of a struggle against government and bourgeoisie—an attempt to win them over and talk them round; instead of defiant resistance to maltreatment from above—humble subjection and the admission that the punishment was deserved. Every historically necessary conflict is reinterpreted as a misunderstanding and every discussion wound up with the assurance: we are, of course, all agreed on the main issue. The men who in 1848 entered the arena as bourgeois democrats might now just as well call themselves Social-Democrats. To the former, the democratic republic was as unattainably remote as the overthrow of the capitalist order is to the latter, and therefore utterly irrelevant to present political practice; one can conciliate, compromise, philanthropise to one’s heart’s content. The same thing applies to the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. On paper it is recognised because there is no denying it any longer, but in practice it is glossed over, suppressed, emasculated. The Social-Democratic Party *should not* be a workers’ party, it should not bring upon itself the hatred of the bourgeoisie or, for that matter, of anyone else; above all, it should prosecute vigorous propaganda amongst the bourgeoisie; instead of laying stress on ambitious goals which are calculated to frighten off the bourgeoisie, and unattainable anyway in our own generation, it should rather devote all its strength and energies to those petty-bourgeois stop-gap reforms which provide new props for the old social order and which might, perhaps, transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piecemeal and, as far as possible, peaceable process of dissolution. These are the same people who keep up an appearance of ceaseless activity, yet not only do nothing themselves but also try to ensure that nothing at all is done save—chin-wagging; the same people whose fear of any kind of action in 1848 and ’49 held back the movement at every step and finally brought about its downfall; the same people who never see...

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3 *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, pp. 95, 96.
reaction and then are utterly dumbfounded to find themselves at last in a blind alley in which neither resistance nor flight is possible; the same people who want to confine history within their narrow philistine horizons, and over whose heads history invariably proceeds to the order of the day.

As for their socialist import, this has already been adequately criticised in the *Manifesto*, Chapter: ‘German, or "True" Socialism’. Wherever the class struggle is thrust aside as a distasteful, ‘crude’ manifestation, the only basis still left to socialism will be a ‘true love of mankind’ and empty phrases about ‘justice’.

It is an inevitable manifestation, and one rooted in the process of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling class also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements. We have already said so clearly in the *Manifesto*. But in this context there are two observations to be made: 

Firstly, if these people are to be of use to the proletarian movement, they must introduce genuinely educative elements. However, in the case of the vast majority of German bourgeois converts, this is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft* nor the *Neue Gesellschaft* has contributed anything that might have advanced the movement by a single step. Here we find a complete lack of genuinely educative matter, either factual or theoretical. In place of it, attempts to reconcile superficially assimilated socialist ideas with the most diverse theoretical viewpoints which these gentlemen have introduced from the university or elsewhere, and of which each is more muddled than the last thanks to the process of decay taking place in what remains of German philosophy today. Instead of first making a thorough study of the new science, each man chose to adapt it to the viewpoint he had brought with him, not hesitating to produce his own brand of science and straightaway assert his right to teach it. Hence there are, amongst these gentlemen, almost as many viewpoints as there are heads; instead of elucidating anything, they have only made confusion worse—by good fortune, almost exclusively amongst themselves. The party can well dispense with educative elements such as these for whom it is axiomatic to teach what they have not learnt.

Secondly, when people of this kind, from different classes, join the proletarian movement, the first requirement is that they should not bring with them the least remnant of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices, but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook. These gentlemen, however, as already shown, are chock-full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. In a country as petty-bourgeois as Germany, there is certainly some
justification for such ideas. But only outside the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party. If the gentlemen constitute themselves a Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party, they are fully within their rights: in that case we could negotiate with them and, according to circumstances, form an alliance with them, etc. But within a workers' party they are an adulterating element. Should there be any reason to tolerate their presence there for a while, it should be our duty only to tolerate them, to allow them no say in the party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, would appear to have come.

How the party can suffer the authors of this article to remain any longer in their midst seems to us incomprehensible. But should the party leadership actually pass, to a greater or lesser extent, into the hands of such men, then the party will be emasculated no less, and that will put paid to its proletarian grit.

As for ourselves, there is, considering all our antecedents, only one course open to us. For almost 40 years we have emphasised that the class struggle is the immediate motive force of history and, in particular, that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of modern social revolution; hence we cannot possibly co-operate with men who seek to eliminate that class struggle from the movement. At the founding of the International we expressly formulated the battle cry: The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself. Hence we cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be emancipated from above by philanthropic members of the upper and lower middle classes. If the new party organ is to adopt a policy that corresponds to the opinions of these gentlemen, if it is bourgeois and not proletarian, then all we could do—much though we might regret it—would be publicly to declare ourselves opposed to it and abandon the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German party abroad. But we hope it won't come to that.

It is intended that this letter should be communicated to all five members of the committee in Germany, and also to Bracke....

Nor have we any objection to its being communicated to the people in Zurich.


Printed according to Engels' manuscript

MARX TO CARL HIRSCH
IN LONDON

[London,] 18 September 1879

Dear Hirsch,
Arrived in London! Greetings,

Yours
K. M.

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

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON
IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 19 September 1879
41 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

My dear Sir,

I have just returned to London after almost two months rustication in the isle of Jersey and at other sea-side places. I was forced to do so and suspend all work during that time on medical advice because of nervous derangement. For this reason I was also unable to do justice to the mental food you were so kind as to forward me, but now I feel much reinvigorated and shall set at work with a will.

The book of Kowalewsky I got from himself. He is one of my 'scientific' friends who every year comes to London in order to explore the treasures of the British Museum.
You will receive a longer letter so soon as I have disposed of some urgent work accumulated during my absence. In the meantime, with my best wishes

Yours sincerely

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

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 19 September 1879
41 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Friend,

It was not till the day before yesterday that I got back to London after a seven-week stay, first in Jersey and after that in Ramsgate. But I had at least made provision that business matters and commissions contained in your letters be immediately attended to by Engels. However, I have not yet had from old Becker the form for the power of attorney which you want me to sign, and which Engels asked him to send me. As soon as the thing arrives I'll fill it in. My long rustication was due to my nervous condition—(complicated by the fact that, because of Bismarck, Karlsbad has been inaccessible to me for the past two years)—which has latterly made all brain work virtually 'unfeasible'. But I'm much better now.

The new edition of Weitling hasn't reached me. The only American journal I am sent is the by no means very substantial Paterson Labor Standard. The things you sent last, Labor Bureau

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Statistics of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts, received with thanks (likewise Steward's speech). I am delighted that the chief of the Massachusetts Bureau, as he tells me in a letter, should from now on be sending me the publications direct (also the census) immediately they come out.

As for Most and Co., our attitude towards them is a 'passive' one, i.e. we maintain no sort of relations with them, although I do see Most himself from time to time at my own house. To say that Engels and I had made any kind of 'statement' condemning Most or the Freiheit is a lie on Mr Lübeck's part. According to a letter Engels received from little Jew Bernstein in Zurich, Most had written to Switzerland and Germany claiming he had our support. To this Engels replied that if Bernstein could adduce any proof of this, he would make a public statement refuting these untruths. But Bernstein (nephew of the Berlin rabbi Rebenstein, of the Berlin Volks-Zeitung) was in fact unable to adduce an atom of proof. Instead he confided the bogus secret to that jackass Lübeck who, with the usual discretion of such penny-a-liners, sold it forthwith to the United States.

The issues upon which we differ from Most in no way tally with those of the gentlemen in Zurich, the trio 'Dr Höchberg-Bernstein (his secretary)-and C. A. Schramm'. Our complaint against Most is not that his Freiheit is too revolutionary; our complaint is that it has no revolutionary content, but merely indulges in revolutionary jargon. Again, our complaint is not that he criticises the party leaders in Germany, but, in the first place, that he kicks up a row in public instead of telling these men what he thinks in writing, as we do, i.e. by letter; in the second, however, that he merely used this as a pretext to make himself look important and to disseminate the silly secret conspiracy-mongering of Messrs Weber Junior and Kaufmann. Long before his arrival these laddies had felt it was their vocation to take the 'general working men's movement' under their august wing and, in their numerous attempts to realise this 'gracious' venture, had gone plotting and scheming all over the place. The good John Most, a man of the most childish vanity, actually believes that, because the self-same Most is no longer domiciled in Germany but in London, the whole world has been turned upside down. The man's not without talent, but he kills what he has by writing so profusely. Moreover, he has no

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esprit de suite. With every change of wind he turns now this way, now that, like a weathercock.

However, things might well come to such a pass that Engels and I would feel compelled to issue a ‘public statement’ against the Leipzigers and their allies in Zurich.

This is how matters stand. Bebel wrote telling us that they intended to found a party organ in Zurich and asked that we lend our names to it as contributors. Hirsch was named as putative editor. Whereupon we accepted and I wrote to Hirsch (then in Paris, from which he has since been expelled for the second time), telling him to accept the editorship since he alone could give us the guarantee that the kind of graduate, undergraduate, etc., rabble and armchair socialist riff-raff who had filled the columns of the Zukunft, etc., and were already invading those of the Vorwärts, were fended off and the party line rigorously adhered to. But now it transpired that Hirsch had unearthed a horns' nest in Zurich. The five men, Dr Höchberg (who used his money to buy his way into the party, a cousin of Sonnemann's, the sentimental drooler), little Jew Bernstein, his secretary, C. A. Schramm, philistine, if a well-meaning one, and Leipzig's emissary, Viereck (also a philistine lout, natural son of the German Emperor) and a Berlin businessman, Singer (petty bourgeois, paunch, called on me a few months ago); these five men constituted themselves—by supreme authority of the Leipzigers—a constituent committee and appointed an administrative committee in Zurich, also responsible for supersizing the editorial side and consisting of the trio Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm) which was to decide in the first instance, but must defer to a court of the last instance composed of Bebel, Liebknecht and a few other German leaders. Well, what Hirsch wanted to know first was whom the money was coming from; Liebknecht wrote, saying from the ‘party+Dr Höchberg’; Hirsch deducted the rhetorical flourish and reduced this quite correctly to ‘Höchberg’. Secondly, Hirsch did not wish to subordinate himself to the trifolium Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm, in which he was the more justified for having received from Bernstein, in reply to a letter asking for information, a bureaucratic dressing down, condemning his Laterne for—mirabile dictum—being ultrarevolutionary, etc. After protracted correspondence, in which Liebknecht played a by no means brilliant role, Hirsch withdrew; Engels wrote

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a sense of logic. b Der Sozialdemokrat c William I. d wonderful to relate
to Bebel saying that we, too, would withdraw, just as, from the very start, we had refused to contribute to the *Zukunft* (Höchberg) and the *Neue Gesellschaft* (Wiede). These laddies, nonentities in theory and nincompoops in practice, are seeking to draw the teeth of socialism (which they have rehashed in accordance with academic formulae) and of the Social-Democratic *Party* in particular, to enlighten the workers or, as they put it, to provide them, out of their confused and superficial knowledge, with 'educative elements' and, above all, to make the party 'respectable' in the eyes of the philistines. They are poor *counter-revolutionary* windbags. Well. The weekly organ is now appearing (or is to appear) in Zurich, under their supervision and the general supervision of the Leipzigers. (Editor, Vollmar.)

In the meantime Höchberg came over here to rope us in. He found only Engels who, in a critical discussion of the *Jahrbuch* Höchberg had brought out (under the pseudonym Dr. L. Rich-
ter), showed him how deep was the gulf between him and us. (Have a look at the *lamentable* concoction: the article signed with 3 * is the triumvirate Höchberg-Bernstein-C. A. Schramm.) (But the good John Most also figures therein, in the sycophantic article about that quill-pusher Schäffle.) Never has anything more discreditable to the party appeared in print. What a lot of good Bismarck did, *not to himself but us*, by imposing silence on Germany and thus giving these laddies a chance of making themselves plainly heard. Höchberg came down to earth with a bang after Engels had given him a piece of his mind; he's a partisan of 'peaceable' development and, in point of fact, expects proletarian emancipation to be achieved solely by 'educated bourgeois', i.e. people like himself. After all, hadn't he been told by Liebknecht that *au fond* we were all of us agreed, that everyone in Germany—i.e. all the leaders—shared his view, etc.?

In fact Liebknecht, having made the tremendous blunder of treating with the Lassalleans, flung wide the door to all these demi-men and thus, *malgré lui*, paved the way for demoralisation within the party which could be eliminated only by the Anti-Socialist Law.

Now should the 'weekly'—the party organ—in fact go ahead along the lines laid down in Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, we shall be compelled to make a public protest against this debauching of party and theory! Engels has written a circular (letter) to Bebel,
etc. (just for private circulation among the German leaders, of course), in which our point of view is plainly set forth. So the gentlemen are forewarned and, moreover, are well enough acquainted with us to know that this means bend or break! If they wish to compromise themselves, tant pis! In no circumstances shall we allow them to compromise us. To what depths they have already been brought by parliamentarianism will be evident to you from the fact that they impute it a dire crime in Hirsch to have—what?—handled that scoundrel Kayser somewhat roughly in the Laterne, on account of his disgraceful speech regarding Bismarck’s customs legislation. But, or so they now maintain, the party, i.e. the handful of the party’s parliamentary representatives, had authorised Kayser to speak as he did. More shame to that handful! But even this is a pitiful evasion. In fact they had been silly enough to allow Kayser to speak for himself and in the name of his constituents; he, however, spoke in the party’s name. Be that as it may; they are already so far infected with parliamentary cretinism as to believe themselves above criticism and to denounce criticism as a crime de lèse majesté!

As regards the Communist Manifesto, nothing has so far been done because now Engels, now I, had not enough time. But it must at long last be proceeded with.

I hope that your next letter will bring reassuring news as to the health and prosperity of you and yours. Meanwhile—my wife sends her most cordial regards—I remain,

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

John Most wrote and told me about Lübeck’s tittle-tattle in the Chicago paper. I didn’t reply; but now that I’m in London, I shall ask him to come and see me in person, and shall tell him what I think by word of mouth.

Hirsch has been here since his expulsion from Paris. I haven’t seen him yet since he could not, of course, have found me at home while I was away.

I am using a ‘registered’ envelope only because I could find no other and yet wanted to avoid any further delay.

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

a See this volume, pp. 394-408. 

b so much the worse
ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, 24 September 1879

Dear Old Man,

Your postcard\(^a\) received. I have taken out a money order for £1 12s. which should come to 40.20 francs, so that you won't be in a hole if the cost of the power of attorney\(^b\) amounts to a bit more. Marx is back,\(^500\) apparently in the very best of health, so no doubt work on the 2nd volume of *Capital*\(^62\) can now go briskly ahead.

As regards the progress of negotiations with our people in the land of the philistines, I shall let you have further news in due course.\(^490\)

In haste.

Your old friend,

F. E.

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First published in: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO MARX\(^536\)
IN LONDON

[London, after 8 October 1879]

Didn't you send the noble Barry the notes I put into *Fraser*\(^c\)? I put them there under Pumps' own eyes and in such a way that they were visible from outside. If not, send them off to him.

Your

F. E.

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

Published in English for the first time

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\(^a\) of 19 September 1879 - \(^b\) See this volume, pp. 392-93. - \(^c\) *Fraser's Magazine*
MARX TO BERTHA AUGUSTI

IN KOBLENZ

[London,] 25 October 1879

Dear Mrs Bertha,

I have a (tiresome) visitor sitting next to me, but do not wish to miss the opportunity of telling you in all haste how grateful I am to you for the pleasure afforded me by reading your novel in the Kölnische. Great talent is discernible by all, but the achievement is particularly surprising to one who is aware of the confined and cloistered conditions in which you work. Moreover I would take the liberty of adding that I am a great heretic as far as German novels are concerned, think nothing of them and have been greatly spoiled by the best French, English and Russian novelists. Hence it was also with my habitual mistrust that I embarked on the reading of your Verhängnisvolles Jahr.

Wishing you all prosperity,

Most cordially yours,

Karl Marx

First published in Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, Nr. 5, Berlin, 1966

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN LEIPZIG

London, 14 November 1879

Dear Bebel,

Many thanks for your communications, as also those of Fritzsch and Liebknecht, which have at last enabled us to get a clear idea of the facts.

That things have not, from the start, been exactly straightforward, however, is evident from earlier letters from Leipzig and the muddles and misunderstandings with Hirsch generally. The latter could not have happened if, from the start, the Leipzigers had put paid to Zurich's pretensions to censorship. Had they done so and informed Hirsch of the fact, everything would have been all right. But since they didn't, I can only conclude, after again comparing commissions with omissions, present communications with previous letters from all concerned, that Höchberg wasn't altogether wrong when he told me that Zurich had imposed censorship solely on Hirsch's account, it being unnecessary in the case of Vollmar.

As regards the financing, I'm not particularly surprised that you should take matters so lightly. For this is the first time you've had a go at the thing. But Hirsch had already been through this particular mill with the Laterne and, as for us, who have so often witnessed such things and even experienced them in person, we can only endorse his request that careful consideration be given to this point. Freiheit, despite all subsidies, is left at the end of its third quarter with a deficit of £100=2,000 marks. I have never known a German paper, banned at home, that could have survived without substantial subsidies. Do not allow yourselves to be dazzled by initial successes. The real difficulties involved in smuggling become manifest only with time, and multiply constantly.

What you say about the attitude of the deputies and of the party leaders generally to the protective tariffs question corroborates every word of my letter. It was bad enough, in all conscience, that a party which prides itself on being so superior to the bourgeois in the sphere of economics should, when first put to the test in that sphere, prove just as divided, just as ignorant, as the National Liberals who could at least plead a genuine clash of bourgeois interests in extenuation of their inglorious collapse. But it was even worse that that split should have been seen to happen, that your attitude should have been wavering and uncertain. Once you

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a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'If the Zurich trio had no pretensions to censorship, why were those pretensions, which were so loudly and insistently voiced by them, not immediately quashed by Leipzig? Only two things were needed to induce Hirsch to go to Zurich: 1. Information about the true facts of the case, such as we have now had, 2. Notification to the effect that we, the Leipzigers, have written to the Zürichers telling them that they are not to intervene officially in the editorship, and, if they nevertheless do so, you must take no notice; you are responsible to us and to us alone'. b of the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat. c See this volume, pp. 400-01.
knew that unity was unattainable, there was only one thing to do—declare the question to be a purely bourgeois question, which indeed it is, and abstain from voting. But the worst thing of all was permitting Kayser to make his lamentable speeches and to vote for the Bill at its first reading. It was not until after that division that Hirsch attacked him; and if Kayser later, at the third reading, voted against the Bill, he only made matters worse, not better.

The resolution in congress is no excuse. If the party proposes to regard as binding all the earlier resolutions made by congress in the easy-going days of peace, it will be placing itself in fetters. The constitutional basis upon which a living party functions must not only be self-created, it must also and at all times be susceptible to change. Inasmuch as the Anti-Socialist Law makes congresses and hence the amendment of earlier congressional resolutions impossible, it also abolishes the binding force of those resolutions. A party that is deprived of the opportunity of passing binding resolutions can only look for its laws to its living and ever changing needs. But if it seeks to subordinate those needs to earlier resolutions that are now dead as a doornail, it will be digging its own grave.

So much for the formal aspect. However, it is the content of that resolution that really invalidates it. In the first place it is incompatible with the programme in that it admits of voting indirect taxation. Secondly it is incompatible with essential party tactics inasmuch as it permits taxation to be voted for the present-day state. Thirdly, however, it implies, translated into plain language:

The congress admits to not being well enough informed about the question of protective tariffs to pass a definite resolution, for or against. Hence it declares itself incompetent in this matter, inasmuch as it restricts itself, for the benefit of the dear public, to the enunciation of a few commonplaces, some of them meaningless, some incompatible either with each other or with the party programme, and then proceeds gladly to wash its hands of the whole affair.

And is this declaration of incompetence whereby what was, in peace-time, a purely academic question was swept under the carpet,—is this declaration, now that, in time of war, the question

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a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: ‘to invoke the point in the programme that rejects all indirect taxation and the tactics which prohibit voting this government any taxes, and to adopt as the sole precept abstention from voting’.  
b In the manuscript of the draft: ‘this wretched piece of trash’.
has become a burning one, to be considered as binding upon an entire party until legally invalidated by a new resolution which present circumstances preclude?

This much is certain: whatever the impression made on the deputies by Hirsch's attacks upon Kayser, those attacks reflect the impression made by Kayser's irresponsible action upon Social-Democrats abroad, whether German or non-German. And it is high time it was realised that the reputation of the party has to be kept up, not only within its own confines, but also in the eyes of Europe and America.

And this brings me to the report.542 However good it may be at the start and however skilful—in the circumstances—the treatment of the protective tariffs debate, this does not atone for the concessions made to the German philistines in the third part. Why the altogether superfluous passage about 'civil war', why such deference to 'public opinion' which, in Germany, will always be that of the beer-swilling philistine; why, at this point, the total obliteration of the movement's class character? Why give the anarchists that pleasure? And, what is more, all these concessions are utterly useless. The German philistine is cowardice incarnate; he has no respect for anyone who does not inspire fear in him. But anyone who tries to curry favour with him he regards as one of his own kind and accords him no more respect than he accords to his own kind, which is to say none at all. And now that the storm of beer-swilling philistine indignation known as public opinion has, as is generally admitted, died down and the burden of taxation has in any case reduced these people to pulp, why go on with this billing and cooing? If only you knew what it sounded like abroad! It's a good thing for a party organ to be managed by men immediately involved in the party and the struggle. But were you to spend only six months abroad, you would feel quite differently about this quite uncalled-for self-abasement of the party deputies before the philistines. The storm that broke over the French socialists after the Commune was, after all, a very different kind of thing from the uproar about Nobiling406 in Germany. And how much prouder and more self-confident was the bearing of the French! Where, in their case, may such weaknesses, such kow-towing to opponents, be discerned? They remained silent when they could not speak freely, they let the

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406 The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'Bismarck treats him as he deserves, i.e. spurns him, and he therefore idolises Bismarck.'
philistines shout till they could shout no more, they knew their
time would surely come, and now it is here.

I can well believe what you say about Höchberg. Indeed, I
have absolutely no objection to him as a private individual. I also
believe that it was only the anti-socialist campaign that made him
realise what, in his heart of hearts, he wanted. That what he
wanted was bourgeois and not proletarian was something I
tried—probably in vain—to make him see. But once he had
formulated a programme, I must have credited him with more
than German philistine weakness had I assumed that he would not
try to gain recognition for it. Höchberg before and Höchberg
after that article are, indeed, two different persons.

But now, in No. 5 of the Sozialdemokrat, I find a contri-
bution from the Lower Elbe in which Auer uses my letter as a
pretext to accuse me—without mentioning my name but
leaving small room for doubt—of 'sowing the seeds of suspicion in
regard to the trustiest comrades', i.e. of calumniating them (for
otherwise I should be perfectly justified in so doing). Not content
with that, he falsely attributes to me things as stupid as they are
infamous, and which were not contained in my letter at all. Auer,
or so it would seem, supposes that I want something or other of
the party. But as you know, it is not I who want anything of the
party; on the contrary, it is the party that wants something of me.
As you and Liebknecht know, all I have ever asked of the party is
that it should leave me in peace so that I can complete my
theoretical works. You know that, for the past sixteen years, I
have nevertheless been approached over and over again with the
request that I write for party organs, and that I have actually done
so, that I have written whole series of articles, entire pamphlets at
Liebknecht's express behest—such as The Housing Question and
Anti-Dühring. I won't go into details about the kindnesses the
party has bestowed on me in return—e.g. the agreeable transac-
tions in congress on the subject of Dühring. Again, you know
that Marx and I have voluntarily conducted the defence of the
party against its opponents abroad throughout the party's exist-
ence, and that we have never asked anything of the party in
return, save that it should not be untrue to itself.

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\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 393, 413. \textsuperscript{b} The following is deleted in the manuscript of the
draft: 'at least so far as the party is concerned'. \textsuperscript{c} Auer,] 'Von der Niederelbe,
23. Oktober', Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 5, 2 November 1879. \textsuperscript{d} See this volume,
pp. 394-408. \textsuperscript{e} The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'I have no
intention of discussing Auer's attack, as stupid as it is infamous and provoked. I
should, however, remark that Auer appears to imagine...'}
But if the party asks of me that I should contribute to its new organ,\(^a\) it is only to be expected that it should at least ensure that, while negotiations are still in progress, I should not be calumniated as a calumniator in the self-same organ and, what is more, by one\(^b\) of its nominal co-proprietors. There is, so far as I am aware, no literary or other code of honour to which this would conform, and I believe that even a reptile\(^4^{08}\) would not stand for such treatment. Hence I must ask you:

1. What satisfaction can you proffer me for this unprovoked and rotten insult?

2. What guarantees can you offer that nothing of the kind will ever happen again?

For the rest, all I want to say about Auer's insinuations is that we over here underestimate neither the difficulties the party has to contend with in Germany, nor the significance of the victories won in the face of them and the hitherto exemplary conduct of the party masses. It goes without saying that every victory gained in Germany gladdens our hearts as much as any gained elsewhere—more so, indeed, seeing that from the very start the German party developed in accordance with our theoretical propositions. But for that very reason we cannot but be particularly concerned that the practical conduct of the German party, and notably the public utterances of the party leadership, should continue to accord with the general theory. Undoubtedly our criticism will be displeasing to some; yet no amount of uncritical praise could, after all, be of such value to the party\(^c\) as the presence abroad of a couple of men who, uninfluenced by confusing local conditions and the minutiae of the\(^d\) struggle, compare from time to time what has been said and what has been done with the theoretical tenets valid for any modern proletarian movement, and in whom that party may see reflected the impression its actions have made outside Germany.

Most cordially yours,

F. Engels

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\(^a\) Der Sozialdemokrat  
\(^b\) Ignaz Auer  
\(^c\) In the manuscript of the draft: 'and to the party leadership'.  
\(^d\) Ibid.: 'practical'.
MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 November 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sorge,

I am at last able to send you all the powers of attorney.\(^3\) I didn’t get the others until the end of the week before last; they arrived when I was confined to the house by a most infamous cold and then, after that, my worthy solicitor contrived to spin out the affair for another week, and only today did I finally receive my power of attorney. The account both for these and the first one will be sent to you later. The other 3 (or rather 4) powers of attorney will go off to you at the same time as this letter—but under separate cover.

You will doubtless have got my letter\(^b\) in which I told you about the latest goings-on in the bosom of the party. Since then Höchberg and his associates\(^c\) in Zurich have been removed, at least nominally, from the editorial committee which now sits in Leipzig, while Vollmar functions as editor in Zurich. His paper, Der Sozialdemokrat, isn’t worth much. But at any rate all our associates worth mentioning, Liebknecht, Bebel, Bracke, etc., have disowned Dr Höchberg’s, alias Richter’s, Jahrbuch,\(^5\) though as yet only—in private.

You will have seen in the papers that the anti-communist gang, composed of very heterogeneous elements, was finally defeated at the Marseilles Congress.\(^5\)\(^4\)

My wife is still dangerously ill and I myself am not yet completely fit.

With kindest regards from my family.

Your
Karl Marx


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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 392-93.  \(^b\) Ibid., pp. 410-14.  \(^c\) Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm
Dear Bebel,

I had good reasons for assuming that Auer was alluding to myself. The date proves nothing. He expressly excludes Most. So go and ask him yourself whom he meant; then we shall see what he says. I'm positive that the misunderstanding was not on my side.\(^a\)

Höchberg did, to be sure, make the statement in question.\(^b\)

I know that you were mostly away while the negotiations with Hirsch were going on and it never occurred to me to hold you personally responsible for what happened.

As regards the question of tariffs, your letter wholly corroborates what I have said.\(^c\) If feelings were divided, as was indeed the case, and if it was thought desirable to take those divided feelings into consideration, what was called for was, of course, abstention, no less. Otherwise it would have meant taking one side only into consideration. But why the protectionist section was more deserving of consideration than the free trade one is difficult to see. You say you cannot adopt a purely negative attitude in Parliament. But since everyone ultimately voted against the Bill, their attitude was, after all, purely negative. All I'm saying is, they ought to have known from the start how they intended to conduct themselves; they ought to have acted in conformity with the final vote.

Questions which enable Social-Democratic deputies to abandon a purely negative attitude are very narrowly circumscribed. All are questions which immediately involve the relation of workers to capitalists: factory legislation, the normal working-day, employer's liability, payment in goods, etc. Perhaps also improvements in the purely bourgeois sense such as constitute a positive step forward: standardisation of coins and weights, freedom of movement, extension of personal freedom, etc. You're unlikely to be troubled with these for the time being. In the case of all other economic questions, such as protective tariffs, nationalisation of the railways, assurance companies, etc., Social-Democratic deputies must always uphold the vital principle of consenting to nothing that increases

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 420.  
\(^b\) Ibid., p. 417.  
\(^c\) Ibid., pp. 417-18.
the power of the government vis-à-vis the people. And this is made all the easier in that feelings within the party itself will, of course, invariably be divided in such cases and hence abstention, a negative attitude, is automatically called for.

What you say about Kayser makes the matter even worse. If he speaks in favour of protective tariffs in general, why does he vote against them? If he intends voting against them why does he speak in favour of them? If, however, he has studied the subject with great diligence, how can he vote for tariffs on iron? Had his studies been worth a penny, he couldn't fail to have discovered that there are two ironworks in Germany, the Dortmunder Union and the Königs- und Laurahütte, either of which is capable of meeting the entire domestic demand; besides these there are many smaller ones; hence that a protective tariff is utter nonsense in this case; that the only remedy in this case is the capture of the foreign market, hence unadulterated free trade or bankruptcy; also that the iron-masters themselves can only want a protective tariff if they have formed a ring, a conspiracy which imposes monopoly prices on the domestic market, so that they are better able to sell off their surplus products abroad at cut prices, which they are in fact already doing at this moment. It was in the interests of this ring, this conspiracy of monopolists that Kayser was speaking and, insofar as he voted in favour of tariffs on iron, was also voting, and Hansemann of the Dortmunder Union and Bleichröder of the Königs- und Laurahütte will be laughing in their sleeves at the stupid Social-Democrat who has, for good measure, studied the subject with diligence!

You must at all costs get hold of Rudolph Meyer's Politische Gründer in Deutschland. Without a knowledge of the material assembled here on the swindles, the crash and the political corruption of recent years, it is impossible to form an opinion on present conditions in Germany. How is it that this store of riches was not exploited at the time for the benefit of our press? The book is banned, of course.

The passages in the report I particularly have in mind are 1. those in which so much emphasis is laid on winning over public opinion—to have this factor against you was to be hamstrung; it was a matter of life and death that 'this hatred be turned into sympathy', etc.—sympathy! from people who just before, during the Terror, had shown themselves to be dirty blackguards. There was no need to go to such lengths, especially as the Terror

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*a* See this volume, p. 419.
had long since ended; — 2. those to the effect that the party, which condemns war in any shape or form (hence also the one which it is forced to wage, which it wages notwithstanding) and whose goal is the universal fraternisation of all men (in terms of a slogan the goal of every party, in terms of immediate reality that of none, for not even we wish to fraternise with the bourgeois so long as they wish to remain bourgeois), cannot envisage civil war (hence not even in a case where civil war is the only means to the end). This proposition may also be construed as follows: that a party which condemns bloodshed in any shape or form cannot envisage either blood-letting or the amputation of gangrenous limbs, or scientific vivisection. Why all these empty phrases? I'm not asking that all your language should be 'vigorous', I am not reproaching the Report for saying too little—on the contrary, there is much that would have been better left unsaid. The next part is much better and so Hans Most⁴ has fortunately overlooked the few passages out of which he could have made capital.

But it was a blunder to insert a solemn announcement in the Sozialdemokrat to the effect that Liebknecht had taken the Saxon oath of allegiance. Hans won't let that one pass by,⁵⁴⁸ and his anarchist friends will be sure to embroider on it. Marx and I don't consider the matter itself to be as dangerous as, e.g., Hirsch took it to be in the heat of the moment. You people must know whether 'Paris vaut bien une messe',⁵⁴⁹ as Henri IV said when he became a Catholic, thus sparing France a thirty years' war, and whether the advantages are of a kind to justify such inconsistency and the taking of an oath which, moreover, is the only one which cannot entail a prosecution for perjury. But once it had been taken, nothing ought to have been said about it until others had kicked up a fuss; that would have been time enough to go on to the defensive. But for the Sozialdemokrat, Hans wouldn't have heard a word about it.

I was delighted at the lambasting you gave the notorious drunkard and wastrel.⁵⁵⁰ We shall see that this is spread about in Paris, though we are stumped for the French words that would convey the foregoing pithy expressions.

We are, by the way, fully aware that it is all very well, as they say, for us here to talk, and that your position is much more difficult than ours.

That the petty bourgeois and peasants should be joining us is, I grant you, a sign of the movement's rapid progress, but it also

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⁴ Johann Most ⁵⁴⁸ Paris is really worth a Mass.
constitutes a danger to the movement, once one forgets not only that these people have got to come, but also that they are coming simply because they have got to. Their joining us proves that the proletariat really has become the leading class. But since the ideas and ambitions they bring with them are those of the petty bourgeois and the peasant, it must not be forgotten that the proletariat would forfeit its leading historical role were it to make concessions to those ideas and ambitions.

Most cordially yours,

F. Engels

Herewith another loose postscript.\textsuperscript{a}


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MARX TO ACHILLE LORIA

IN MANTUA

London, 3 December 1879
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

For reasons of health I was compelled to absent myself from London for a time. On my return today I found awaiting me your letter of 23 November and your work.\textsuperscript{b} I hasten to acknowledge receipt and at the same time express my thanks to you.

Yours very truly,

Karl Marx


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\textsuperscript{a} The postscript is missing in the manuscript. - \textsuperscript{b} A. Loria, \textit{La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale}. 
MARX TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT

IN LONDON

[London,] 11 December 1879

My dear Sir,

Will you come to dinner next Sunday at 2 o'clock?

Yours truly

Karl Marx

First published (facsimile) in:

T. n. B p o m e, H. C . PeMe30B,
A. / J e K a B,
TJucbMo r.
7 7 .
Epouie. TIocneàmiR KOM-
KUH. Tl. Aaepoe,
P a r i s , 1 9 2 4

MARX TO CHARLES WALSTONE (WALDSTEIN)

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 December 1879

Liebes Waldhörnlein,

You will—1 hope—be so good as to come and dine with us tomorrow (Sunday) at 2 o'clock. There will be a young Russian who is worth studying, being a 'type'. Don't be frightened! He carries neither daggers nor revolvers nor explosive 'chemicals' about himself. Besides, your name does not yet figure on the 'black' list.

And now vale saveque

Karl Marx


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\[a\] 14 December - \[b\] Dear - \[c\] Walstone's jocular name derived from the German word Waldhorn meaning French horn. - \[d\] Presumably N. Vasiliyev. - \[e\] good-bye and farewell
My dear Friend,

I am very sorry indeed to learn that you have been ill and are not yet completely restored to health. I hope your legs will soon be all right again so as to allow you to stir about—I know how you will miss your usual exercise.

We are all pretty well here so far, our patients and half-patients seem to come round gradually.

The man in *The P.M.G.* does indeed to some extent divine that there are breakers ahead, but as a true Philistine, he seems unable to distinguish appearances from reality. No doubt the crash in Russia is impending and may break out any time. And no doubt, the collapse of Russian despotism must re-act with immense force upon Germany and Austria. But whether an immediate outbreak there be probable or whether it even have chances of success, is more than I pretend to know. The man is quite right, too, in saying that the system of drilling the whole male population, as is now the rule all over the continent, will end in revolutionising these monster armies *from within*. But this is a process requiring some little time, and as far as Germany goes, it is only lately showing itself. This constant penetration of fresh revolutionary elements into the army, noticed with every new yearly batch of recruits, has been the principal motive for introducing the [*Anti-]Socialist law.* And how little this Socialist Law, with all its terrorism, has effected, has again been shown last Thursday. At the last election in 1878, at Magdeburg, our candidate only got $\frac{1}{3}$ of the votes given; now there was a fresh election there, and he very near got the full half of the votes, and stands a chance of passing at the second ballot. The joke of the thing is, that this candidate of ours is a natural son of old William, the emperor, by an actress, Miss Viereck, whilom the old fellow's mistress.

Anyhow, the outbreak in Russia must hasten the movement in Central and Western Europe. The governments of Vienna and Berlin will lose heart when they have no longer that unfailing

\[a\] *The Pall Mall Gazette* - \[b\] Wilhelm Bracke - \[c\] Louis Viereck
mainstay of all reaction—the absolute Russian government. And the moral effect of a revolutionary successful movement in Russia upon the masses in Central Europe must be immense.

The worst would be, to us, if Russia, to avoid revolution, launched into foreign war. But so long as they have not the French Alliance, they scarcely venture.

Anyhow, by next spring this Russian crisis, which we think here is the most important one since 1848, must come to a head either one way or another, and I hope you will recover your full strength so as to enjoy the stirring times which are, it appears, still in store for you.

Very faithfully yours

F. Engels

First published in the language of the original (English, facsimile) and in German, in Neues Deutschland, Nr. 107, Berlin 19. April 1970

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN LEIPZIG

London, 16 December 1879

Dear Bebel,

I find it incomprehensible that Auer should now say he had meant Most amongst others, since in the article he all but specifically excepted him. But let it rest at that.

In No. 10 of the Sozialdemokrat there are 'Preßgeschichtliche Rückblicke' which unmistakably stem from one or other of the three asterisks. Here we read that it can only be an honour for Social-Democrats to be compared with belletrists such as Gutzkow and Laube, i.e. with men who, long before '48, had already laid to rest such political character as they still had left, if indeed they ever had any. Again:

'The events of 1848 were bound to come, either accompanied by all the blessings of peace, if governments had responded to the demands of the time, or, alas—since they did not do so—the only recourse that remained was violent revolution.'

a Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm
In a paper in which it is possible actually to deplore the revolution of 1848 which, for the first time, opened wide the door to Social-Democracy, in such a paper there is no room for us. From this article and from Höchberg's letter, it is plainly evident that the three asterisks claim the right to advocate in the Sozialdemokrat—and this on an equal footing with proletarian views—their own petty-bourgeois socialist opinions first clearly enunciated in their Jahrbuch. And, now that things have gone so badly off the rails, I fail to see how you people in Leipzig propose to prevent this without an actual breach. Now as before, you regard these men as party members. We cannot do so. The dividing line created between us and them by the Jahrbuch article is distinct and absolute. We cannot even negotiate with these people so long as they claim to belong to the same party as ourselves. The points that have arisen in this case are ones which no longer admit of being discussed in any proletarian party. To subject them to discussion within the party would mean jeopardising the whole of proletarian socialism.

In these circumstances it might, in fact, be better if we did not contribute. We would be constantly protesting and would, after a few weeks, have to give public notice of our resignation, which would do nothing to promote the cause.

We regret very much being unable, at this time of repression, to give you our unqualified support. So long as the party in Germany remained true to its proletarian character, we were prepared to set aside all other considerations. But now that the petty-bourgeois elements you have admitted have come out in their true colours, it's a different matter. The moment they are permitted to insinuate their petty-bourgeois ideas piecemeal into the organ of the German party, that organ, by the same token, is closed to us, no more nor less.

The matter of the oath is of very little concern to us. It might have been possible, as you yourself wished, to find some other procedure that would to some extent have eliminated the

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a The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'and claim the right within the party to advocate as socialism their petty-bourgeois hesitations and limitations, it's a different matter. A party to which they belong is no place for us, nor can we even treat with such people so long as they do not constitute themselves an independent petty-bourgeois-Socialist faction of the party, or so long as they insist that they belong to the same party as ourselves, we cannot even treat with them.'

b The following is deleted in the manuscript of the draft: 'We cannot, and never shall be, able to work hand in hand with petty-bourgeois socialism.'
disagreeable impression, but it's of no great moment. Discretion shall be observed, as you request.

Malon's journal might have a salutary effect, for 1. Malon is not the kind of man to do much damage and 2. his collaborators among the French will see to it that the thing is kept on its proper course. If Höchberg imagines it will provide an arena for his petty bourgeoiserie, he'll find that he's thrown his money down the drain.

We were very pleased about the Magdeburg election. The staunchness of the working-class masses in Germany is admirable. The letters from working men in the *Sozialdemokrat* are the only good things in it.

I return herewith Höchberg's letter. The man's completely hopeless. If we refused to do anything in company with the *Zukunft* people, this was, it seems, out of personal vanity. But a third of these people's names were, and still are, *completely unknown* to us, and approximately another third are notorious petty-bourgeois socialists. And a thing like that called itself a 'scientific' journal! And Höchberg still believes it had an 'enlightening' effect. Testifies to the much vaunted lucidity of his own intellect which, right up to this very day, and despite my every endeavour, has been unable to grasp the difference between petty-bourgeois and proletarian socialism. All differences of opinion are 'misunderstandings'. Exactly as in the case of the democratic wailers of '48. Or else 'over-hasty' deductions. Of course, since any deduction is over-hasty which deduces a specific meaning from the chatter of these gentry. For they aren't just trying to say *such and such*, but also, as likely as not, the opposite.

Apart from this, world history proceeds on its course untroubled by these philistine advocates of prudence and moderation. In Russia things will surely come to a head within a few months. Either absolutism will be overthrown and then, immediately after the overthrow of that great storehouse of reaction, a new wind will blow across Europe. Or else there will be a European war, and the *present* German party, too, will be submerged in the inevitable struggle of each individual people for its national existence. A war such as that would, for us, be the greatest of misfortunes; it might set the movement back by twenty years. But the new party that must surely emerge from it at last would, in all European

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a *La Revue socialiste*
countries, be freed of a host of hesitations and pettinesses such as presently hamper the movement everywhere.

Most cordially yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP·BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, 19 December 1879

Dear Old Man,

I was supposed to be getting some money yesterday and it had long been understood that you would thereupon at once be sent a remittance. But it came too late for me to draw a money order that same day, and all through the afternoon I kept thinking: A letter's bound to arrive from Philipp this evening! And sure enough, it did arrive. So you've deprived me of the pleasure of giving you an unexpected Christmas treat. Well then, I have drawn a money order for five pounds sterling, against which, according to the rate here, 126 frs should be paid to you over there—as will, no doubt, be done without delay.

Over here we are all so-so; I can't complain, Marx is fitter than last year, although he still isn't really up to the mark. Mrs Marx has long been subject to bouts of indigestion and is seldom entirely well. The second volume\(^a\) is making slow progress, nor is it likely to progress any faster until a summer better than the last one enables Marx to recover properly for once.\(^b\)

Yesterday I wrote and told Bebel\(^b\) that we couldn't contribute to the Sozialdemokrat. From Höchberg's subsequent letters it emerges that he intends, as a matter of course, to continue advocating in the Sozialdemokrat the views expressed in the Jahrbuch.\(^{315}\) And as

\(^a\) of Capital · \(^b\) See previous letter.
long as the Leipzigers remain on their present footing with him and his philistine colleagues, I cannot see how they can refuse to allow this. But it also means that we are excluded. Having combatted this same petty-bourgeois socialism ever since the *Manifesto* (indeed, since Marx’s anti-Proudhon piece), we cannot go hand in hand with it at a moment when it is using the Anti-Socialist Law as a pretext for raising its banner again. And it is better so. We would involve ourselves in an endless debate with these gentry, the *Sozialdemokrat* would become a battleground, and in the end we should after all be forced publicly to announce our resignation. Not that all this would be of use to anyone save the Prussians and the bourgeois, and so we would rather avoid it. But this should not be regarded as a model by other people—those who, unlike us, have not themselves been forced by these particular negotiations to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Höchberg and Co. I see no reason at all why you, for example, should not contribute to the paper. The articles from German working men are the only things in it that give one any pleasure, and things of yours could only enhance the paper; and since it does exist, a paper that’s as good as it’s possible to make it is, after all, preferable to one that is merely bad. I say this on the assumption that these people pay you properly, for it would be asking altogether too much of a man in your position that he should, into the bargain, work for nothing. In fact, we’re not particularly incensed against the Leipzigers over this business. We saw it coming for years. For Liebknecht cannot resist mediating and making friends left and right, nor is he exactly fussy about what elements have been imported so long as the party gives the appearance of being really strong and having plenty of members and, if possible, funds. And so he’ll go on until one day he burns his fingers. When that happens the better men will no doubt revert to the right course.

The *Freiheit* is all sound and fury, quite devoid of content or meaning, and Most, who in other respects is not without talent, has here shown himself incapable of producing a single idea since he uprooted himself from the bedrock of the party. If I’ve got to have undiluted abuse, then give me the late Karl Heinzen any day; he succeeded in being even more ham-handed.

The powers of attorney have all gone off to New York, since when nothing more has been heard. There’s no relying on

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Liebknecht's expectations, of which he always has more than is good for him.

For years Lessner has had nothing much to do with the Society here; he seldom turns up, and then doesn't do anything much except grumble and grouse about the course of things generally.

In Russia matters are going splendidly! They'll soon come to blows there. And when that happens, the bowels of the great men of the German Empire will instantly turn to water—a veritable flux! That will be the next turning point of world history.

You shouldn't allow the poor anarchists to irritate you so. They, too, are in a truly forlorn state. In the West they have nothing left to do save be anarchical amongst themselves and tear one another's hair out, and in Russia all their murderous deeds achieve—as they have just discovered to their dismay—is pulling the Constitutionals' chestnuts out of the fire for them!

Regards from Marx and

Your
F. E.

First published in: F. Engels, Vergessene Briefe (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker), Berlin, 1920

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO AMÉLIE ENGEL

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, around 1879-1880]

Madame,

Many years of experience have impressed upon me the principle that under no circumstances should one give financial aid to strangers.

Moreover I cannot at this moment raise the sum you want. Were I able to do so, I should be under an obligation to use it, as I do every penny I can spare, for the relief of our German party comrades who are being persecuted by Bismarck.
Besides, since you have connections that will procure you audiences with princesses, you are unlikely to experience difficulty in extricating yourself from this momentary embarrassment.

Finally, I cannot refrain from mentioning that, while your visit came as a surprise to me, I have since then been equally certain of receiving a request of the kind contained in your letter.

Yours very truly


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
APPENDICES
On 31 January 1875 K. Marx sends Hirsch a letter relating to the work *Misère de la Philosophie* printed at his expense (1,500 copies) by a Mr Vogler, a publisher in Brussels. In this letter he says also that Vernouillet, who sends him letters, is a very sensible man; finally he asks him how long it is since he saw Freund and Mesa; the last address which he had for Freund was: 53, route de Versailles (Auteuil).

On 10 December 1875 Karl Marx, 41 Maitland Park Road, London, N. W., writes to Hirsch concerning his book *Le Capital*, speaks of Lachâtre in Vevey (Switzerland) and of Kaub.

On 16 February 1876 Karl Marx invites Hirsch to pay a visit to his good friend Lopatin, 25, rue Gay Lussac, and advises him to make his acquaintance.

On 4 May 1876 Karl Marx informs C. Hirsch that a certain Henri Oriol, 177, rue St Denis, an employee at the Lachâtre bookshop, has written to him that the *Rappel* asked him for a review of the work *Le Capital*, and Mr Oriol is asking me, Marx says, for an article about this work, a kind of key which could also serve as an introduction. K. Marx also asks for news of Kaub.

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1

BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF MARX’S LETTERS TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

On 31 January 1875 K. Marx sends Hirsch a letter relating to the work *Misère de la Philosophie* printed at his expense (1,500 copies) by a Mr Vogler, a publisher in Brussels. In this letter he says also that Vernouillet, who sends him letters, is a very sensible man; finally he asks him how long it is since he saw Freund and Mesa; the last address which he had for Freund was: 53, route de Versailles (Auteuil).

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a K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. 
On 23 September 1876 K. Marx writes to Hirsch: The day before yesterday I came back from Karlsbad. On my arrival I found a letter from Lavrov relating to the book *Le Capital*, the publication of which is to be banned in France, as he was told by his agent in Paris, Guyot of the Palais Royal. He sends greetings from the Kaub family.

On 10 April 1877 Karl Marx asks Hirsch for information about the Galliffet and Madame de Beaumont affair. He adds that the *Vorwärts* called Galliffet a ‘dog’. He also asks him for the result of the scandalous trial of the ‘simpleton’ Louis Blanc (sic) against the Russian Panayev.


On 1 August 1877 K. Marx writes a socialist letter to Hirsch in which the names of Höchberg, Engels, Elisée Reclus and Arnould figure, and against the Protestant pastors of Germany.

On 20 February 1878 Karl Marx informs Hirsch that he has learnt from Lissagaray that a large number of people, supporters of the F. Pyat Commune, are working again to restore that harlequin Thiers who has done so much harm to the Commune; further on he says: Louis Blanc at least had the courage not to lick the boots of Mr Thiers as J. Favre, Simon, etc., did.


Printed according to C. Hirsch's file from the archives of the Paris Prefecture of Police

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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See this volume, p. 153. - *here: the family of - * thus in the police statement
ELEANOR MARX TO CARL HIRSCH
IN PARIS

London, 25 October 1875
41 Maitland Park Road

Dear Mr Hirsch,

I enclose herewith a short appreciation, written by my mother, of an English actor Mr Irving. Mama would be pleased if you could arrange for its insertion in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

If he had enough time, Papa would himself have written an appreciation of Mr Irving in whom we are greatly interested (although we do not know him personally). First, because he is a man of exceptional talent and, secondly, because the entire English press, in consequence of the most wretched intrigues, has set about him, and engineered what can only be described as a plot against him. By getting the *Frankfurter* to print Mama's appreciation, you would be doing us a great service.

I should also like to ask you on behalf of a friend, a Russian lady, if you think it might be possible to have an appreciation of Mr Irving published in the *Journal des Débats*, or else in the *Temps* or *Le Siècle*.

I very much hope you will forgive me for bothering you like this, but you have so many contacts with the French and German press, and your influence is so great that you are the only person to whom we could turn. I hope that you will excuse me, and not hold it too much against me.

Papa asks me to say how grateful he is to you for the newspapers you were good enough to send him. He also sends his warm regards, as do we all, to our friend Kaub. Mama thanks you in advance and, as for myself, I remain

Yours ever,

Eleanor Marx

Mama asks me to say that she does not wish her name to appear in the *Frankfurter*, but that if you want to say who wrote the appreciation, you may do so 'as between friends'.

First published in the language of the original (French) in *Society for the Study of Labour History*, Bulletin No. 8, Leeds, 1964

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*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*
My dear and esteemed Friend,

You really have heaped coals of fire on my head, and having just looked at the date of your first dear letter and even that of the second I must needs cover myself with sackcloth and ashes. I come to you with a sincere Pater peccavi. As soon as I got your first letter I meant to write straight away; then something intervened and I put it off, and to put off letter-writing is the surest way of killing it dead. One only has to start putting it off and a day turns into a week and a week into a month, and as for the speed with which the moons mount up to a year, that is something the gods and we old people are best qualified to know. The older one gets and the worse the times become, the quicker they pass and the faster the hours fly by. That's how it is with me, at any rate. And there must surely be something to be said in favour of old age. After all it's utterly wretched and miserable to be no longer young, and lively and 'sound'; one senses this particularly when, on top of old age, ill-health supervenes, as has recently happened to me, and this is probably the best plea in my favour for having neglected my duty of writing to so old and well-tried a friend. For months I have suffered from such severe headaches, etc., etc., that I often felt dazed and giddy and if only for that reason could not write. A three weeks' stay in Brighton has more or less set me up again. Last Friday my husband and my youngest daughter left for Karlsbad, both of them unfortunately for reasons of health—or rather ill-health. This exceedingly expensive trip means there can be no question of other excursions or visits to loyal friends near and far, and, greatly though my husband would welcome an opportunity of paying his respects to Mont Blanc and old Becker, he must perforce adhere scrupulously to his cure and eschew any extra trips. Nor shall I myself be able to pack my knapsack this year; and I puff and I blow hot and cold in the diabolical heat. I got a letter from Karlsbad yesterday. After many tribulations they finally arrived at the institute for afflictions of the liver. In

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a Father, I have sinned (Luke 15:21) - b 11 August - c Eleanor Marx
Nuremberg they spent hours trotting about in search of a bed.\textsuperscript{a}
Nothing to be had, not even in the meanest pothouse. The bakers were holding a convention, while from all directions the trombones and trumpets of the future,\textsuperscript{185} the Siegfrieds, Valkyries and Götterdämmerung\textsuperscript{b} heroes were pouring into Nuremberg which they had to leave without having sampled its wares. Then they got on the wrong train and it was only after a truly Don Quixote-like series of to-ings and fro-ings, which continued for 28 hours, that they arrived in the country of springs.

Your news was all of it most interesting, and if I don't reply \textit{en détail} you should put it down to this cruel heat, which must be the scapegoat for a great deal just now. I can't tell you how sorry I am for not having provided you with any material so far.\textsuperscript{c} It would seem that there's nothing to be done with the manager. I've written to him so often. My husband had a letter from Borkheim not long ago\textsuperscript{d} in which he says he is in fact a bit better. I think the best and safest course would be for you to approach him personally. He knows best where the things are kept and so can give orders for them to be looked out and sent to you. As for the other books, papers, etc., you want, I shall approach our old friend Lessner about them. Engels and my husband no longer have any connection whatsoever with the old Workers' Society\textsuperscript{55} which is now very very much \textit{run down} and has become a rowdy \textit{society of louts}.

Whatever ingenuity Lessner may have expended hitherto on keeping it together, he is now heartily sick of the thing. But he can be more helpful to you than anyone else, and is an honest, reliable man who in politics has always behaved exceptionally well and honestly. One of the old guard \textit{`qui meurt mais ne se rend pas'}.\textsuperscript{507} I shall be visiting our friend Engels in Ramsgate next week\textsuperscript{f} and therefore want to settle everything with Lessner beforehand so far as I can. I'm positive you had best deal with Borkheim direct. His address is:

\begin{center}
S. Borkheim, Esq.  
1 Denmark Place,  
\textit{Hastings}
\end{center}

And now, my esteemed friend, goodbye for the present.  
This time next year, I trust, we shall all be 'over there', i.e. in

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 135. - \textsuperscript{b} Wagner's opera - \textsuperscript{c} See Engels' letter to Becker of 17 August 1880 (present edition, Vol. 46). - \textsuperscript{d} on 1 August 1876 - \textsuperscript{e} 'who will die rather than surrender'. - \textsuperscript{f} See this volume, p. 141.
our 'beloved fatherland' so that we may see all our old comrades again at last. In which case we shall also make a bee-line for Papa Becker. With warmest regards,

Your old friend,

Jenny Marx


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ELEANOR MARX TO CARL HIRSCH

IN PARIS

[London,] 25 November 1876
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

For several weeks past I have been on the point of writing to you—I have actually started a letter on several occasions, but one thing and another always prevents my finishing it.

Just now in particular I have little time, since I am very busy with the election for the 'SCHOOL BOARD'. This committee, which is entrusted with the management of the public schools and with compulsory instruction, is a pretty important one and is chiefly concerned with combatting the so-called 'CHURCH PARTY' which seeks the outright abolition of compulsory instruction. I am working to promote the candidature of a woman—a Mrs Westlake—who, though essentially bourgeois like almost all Englishwomen, is at any rate very much a free thinker and worth more than any of the men who are offering themselves as candidates. I go from house to house canvassing votes and you would never believe the comical things I see and hear. At one house they demanded that we teach 'religion above all'—at another I was informed that 'instruction is the curse of the country, that education will be the ruin of us', etc., etc. All in all it is amusing, but also sad at times, when you call on a workman who tells you that he would like to 'consult his employer' first.

a Quotation from Max Schneckenburger's poem Wacht am Rhein.
We receive the *Révolution* every day. What do you make of it? Can it long survive? I have my doubts about it. Tell us what you think.

Next week you will have a visit from Mr Kistemaeckers—the publisher of Lissagaray’s book—a very good, very honest man. He is going to Paris to introduce the book in Paris and nothing should be said about his visit for fear of alerting the police.

Papa (who for the past few weeks has been very unwell on account of a heavy cold and bronchitis) is very vexed at not having had any news from Paris. As you know, he sent a case of instalments to Paris, hoping to receive in exchange sewn copies of the book—and not only has he received nothing, he hasn’t even had any news. If you know anything about this, please let him know, I beg you, dear Sir.

But I see I have come to the end of my paper. So I shall bid you adieu for today. I told you in my last letter how well my pince-nez suits me—I grow more delighted with it every day.

Many good wishes from everyone here to Kaub, as also to yourself

and

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Eleanor Marx

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JENNY MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London, 20 or 21 January 1877]
41 Maitland Park Road, Haverstock Hill

My dear Friend,

It’s a long, long time since you had news of me or so much as a reminder of my existence; I did not even break my silence when fate struck you yet another terrible blow and you might, with perfect justification, have expected a few words of commiseration

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*La Révolution française* - [P.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. 
from your friends.\textsuperscript{569} Let me assure you that it was not lack of sympathy that caused me to remain silent. If I failed to write, it was because the tragic news literally bereft me of speech, nor did I wish to impinge on your great sorrow with all the commonplaces of sympathy and condolence. I know only too well how difficult it is and how long it takes to regain one’s own balance after losses of this sort; it is then that life comes to our aid, with its little joys and big worries, with all its little, day-to-day drudgeries and petty vexations, and the greater sorrow is deadened by lesser, hourly ills and, without our noticing it, the violence of the pain abates; not that the wound has ever healed, and this is specially so of the mother’s heart, but little by little there awakens in one’s breast a fresh sensibility, a fresh sensitivity even, to new sorrows and new joys, and thus one goes on and on living, with a sore if ever hopeful heart, until at last it ceases to beat and gives way to eternal peace.

On the whole (though always and everywhere there are clouds) things have gone quite well with us. This year my husband and Tussy (our youngest) were again compelled to visit Karlsbad which had done them so much good on a previous occasion. This time, too, my husband found the treatment most beneficial. But alas, immediately on his return to this damp, foggy country of ours he caught so bad a cold that he has not hitherto been able to rid himself of the really frightful sneezing and coughing which have become almost chronic. Even a minor operation to shorten what is known as the uvula in his throat—it had become relaxed and elongated and was causing a constant excess of phlegm—does not so far seem to have done very much good. Tussy fell seriously ill in Karlsbad and came home pale and emaciated. She is better again now and busy doing various translations from German or French into English. As a member of the Shakespeare Society, she translated a pamphlet by Professor Delius of Bonn on the epic element in Shakespeare,\textsuperscript{241} to the complete satisfaction of all concerned, and Professor Delius wrote her the most flattering letter in which he congratulated himself and the Society on the acquisition of such a ‘FELLOW WORKER’. This success will give her the entrée to literary circles and magazines where she might be able to find paid work and thus be released from her teaching, which is onerous and takes an undue toll of her health. Lissagaray, to whom she is engaged, has brought out his book on the Commune\textsuperscript{a} in Brussels. It has turned out really well, seems to be selling well,

\textsuperscript{a} [P.] Lissagaray, \textit{Histoire de la Commune de 1871}. 
and is presently being translated into German\(^a\) and English.\(^b\)

As for my husband, he is at this moment deeply in the Eastern Question and highly elated by the firm, honest bearing of the sons of Mohammed vis-à-vis all the Christian humbugs and hypocritical atrocity mongers.\(^c\) (As may be gathered from today’s telegrams, the Russians—the civilisers according to Gladstone, Bright and all the freemen and stillmen and merrymen—would seem to be pulling out in real earnest.)

Preoccupied though he is with this great political question, he is no less interested in the victory of the socialists in Germany\(^d\); not that they will be sending so very many more ‘men’ into parliament, but the number of votes they got everywhere, even in the bureaucratic bigwigs’ districts of Berlin, is truly overwhelming and seems to have infuriated the climbers and speculators [Gründer]\(^e\) and slave-drivers.

Longuet fell ill this spring of a nervous fever from which he is recovering only very gradually and which has left him still very much on edge and irritable. He is as excitable, vociferous and argumentative as ever, but in his favour be it said that he has given his lessons at King’s College regularly and to the satisfaction of his superiors.\(^f\) On 10th May Jenny gave birth to another little boy\(^g\) who at first looked very weak, small and ailing. Now he has one little tooth and eats so well that he has become a fine, fat, sturdy lad who is the pride of the whole family. When he drives up in his carriage and four, i.e. in the parental perambulator, everyone rushes out joyously to meet him in the hope of being the first to pick him up, old granny at their head. Jenny continues to suffer from asthma and a persistent cough, but that doesn’t prevent her from carrying out her onerous duties at school and at home, nor does it diminish her embonpoint\(^h\) or the fresh bloom of her rosy cheeks. Lafargue and Laura also live quite close by. Unfortunately their business, printing by the procédé Gillot\(^i\), hasn’t been doing very well.\(^j\) Always and everywhere, the competition of big capital stands in their way. In an attempt to overcome it, Lafargue has thrown himself into the breach and works like a nigger. Laura has likewise given proof of wondrous energy, courage and extreme application in all spheres, whether at home or elsewhere. Indeed, one might apostrophise Lafargue with ‘cobbler stick to your last’. It is a shame he should have deserted old Father Aesculapius.\(^k\) But all the same, prospects of success would seem to have improved somewhat of late. Larger orders are

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\(^{a}\) See this volume, p. 189.  \(^{b}\) Jean Longuet.  \(^{c}\) girth.  \(^{d}\) Gillot process.  \(^{e}\) See p. XXIX of the Preface.
coming in and Lafargue, who always sees everything through rose-tinted spectacles, is now hoping for a big ‘job’. Laura has completely recovered her health and looks fresh and blooming and so youthful that she’s addressed as ‘Miss’ by everyone who doesn’t know her to be a married woman of nine years’ standing.

Our friend Engels is as flourishing as ever. He is always healthy, vigorous, cheerful and in good spirits, and he thoroughly relishes his beer (especially when it’s the Viennese variety). I cannot tell you much about our other acquaintances because we see only very few of them now, particularly the French—no Le Moussus, no Serrailliers, above all no Blanquists. We had enough of them. Wróblewski keeps in touch with the Turkish minister so that he can go to Turkey as soon as war breaks out. He’d have been far better advised to have gone there long since, for poverty and wounds have made his life a very hard one. Should there not be a war he will go under completely here, particularly after the terrible state of excitation he’s been in. It will be a pity if he doesn’t find something suitable to do. He has a really excellent brain and is a sterling fellow. Of the English working men à la Mottershead, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, etc., I would rather say nothing. They are all of them arch-blackguards, corrupt and corruptible, and chasing by hook and by crook after the honest shilling. A truly abject lot!a

But enough for today. My husband has been awaiting—so far in vain—the promised Tribuneb articles got together by Weydemeyer. You would greatly oblige him if you would look into the matter and send them to him.c He needs them urgently.

And now there’s only a small corner left in which to say goodbye and to convey the most cordial wishes, both for your own prosperity and for that of your family, from my husband, my children and, above all, from your old friend

Jenny Marx

[Postscript, written at the head of the first page of the letter]

Lessner is doing fairly well with his LODGING HOUSE; a baby every year—breeding like a rabbit.


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

a Cf. this volume, pp. 155-56.  
b New-York Daily Tribune  
c See this volume, p. 115.
Dear Mr Hirsch,

I owe you my excuses for having neglected to reply to your kind letter and trust that you won't take it too much amiss. To begin with, I have been suffering from neuralgia for the past few weeks, as well as from bouts of atrocious toothache—and, if you have ever had toothache, you will understand my lack of inclination to write. Next, I am working just now for several literary societies (CHAUCER SOCIETY, SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY, PHILOGICAL SOCIETY etc.) at the BRITISH MUSEUM and this work leaves me very little time.\(^b\) Finally, I was so ashamed of my idleness that I no longer dared write. Today, however, I have taken my courage in both hands, for Papa has instructed me to drop you a line on his behalf. He is very unwell at the moment and in his present state of health it is \textit{impossible} for him to let you have anything for your journal.\(^c\) He has, I think, been working too hard latterly and will be absolutely forced to do nothing for some time. I feel sure you will excuse him and that you will tell this to your colleagues on the Égalité.

I must thank you for asking me to collaborate on your journal, but at the moment I cannot—every bit of my day is taken up with work at the MUSEUM.

What do you make of Nobiling?\(^d\) Do you know anything about the man? The English press is indignant—more so, perhaps, than the German. One can see how delighted they would be to lay everything at the door of socialists of all countries, so as to resume their persecution. They are delighted that Germany is about to have a bit of reaction and terrorism—if only they could treat themselves to a bit of that over here! I fear it will be a bad business for our friends Liebknecht and the others. A little persecution can be beneficial, but not reaction, which suppresses newspapers, MEETINGS—in other words every means of propaganda. As yet we know nothing definite about Nobiling, for one cannot believe the reactionary press. The effect here was overwhelming when news of the second attempt at assassination came through—

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\(^{a}\) 1879 in the original - \(^{b}\) See this volume, p. 446. - \(^{c}\) L'Égalité
nothing but cries of indignation on all sides, cries made more
indignant by the fact that the bourgeois are terribly afraid. So if
you know anything about Nobiling, write and tell us.

We have seen Mr Zanardelli once or twice. Is he not a little bit
of a hothead? I didn’t see him long enough to judge, but that is
how he struck me.

Lissa[garay] has left for Jersey—before his departure he asked
me to send you his best compliments. Papa also sends you a
cordial handshake, likewise to Kaub.

Shall we see you soon in London? You really ought to come and
spend a few days here.

Yours sincerely,
Eleanor Marx

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JULES GUESDE TO KARL MARX

IN LONDON

[Excerpt]  
Paris, [March-April 1879]
Hôpital Necker, Rue de Sèvre

Very dear Citizen,

I could not be more grateful to you for the sympathy and
esteem which you have been kind enough to show me, and I ask
you to believe that, for my part, although I find myself in
disagreement with you on the subject of the International, I
have always professed the deepest admiration for the author of
the Communist Manifesto* and Capital.

In fact this disagreement, I can say it now, would never have
arisen—on my part at least—had I known you better.

For everything that you express in your letter coincides with
what I think—and have always thought.

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* K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party.
If I am a revolutionary, if I believe like you in the need for force to solve the social question in a collectivist or communist way, I am also like you the convinced opponent of movements à la Cafiero which—useful though they may be in Russia—do not correspond in France, or in Germany, or in Italy, to any of the demands of the situation. You were able to see this from my campaign in the Radical against the Comic Opera insurgents in Benevento.\textsuperscript{574}

Like you I am convinced that before thinking of action, one must set up a party, a conscious army, by means of active, continuous propaganda.

Finally, like you I do not believe that the simple destruction of what exists will be enough to build what we want, and I think that for a more or less considerable period the impulse, the direction should come from above, from those who are ‘better informed’.

It is in these conditions that, since my return, I have been busy setting up this ‘independent and militant workers’ party’ which you so rightly declare to be ‘of the highest importance’ in view of the events which are being prepared.

But for this party to be both ‘independent’ and ‘militant’, it is essential that the French proletariat which is to constitute it should be delivered from the dupery of bourgeois Radicalism and that, on the other hand, it should be persuaded that its emancipation can only be achieved through struggle...

If I were not so ill—and so poor—I would announce my next visit to you,\textsuperscript{575} so much would I like to have a long talk with you. But I do not dispose of myself either physically—or pecuniarily. And I must limit myself to sending you all my thanks and assuring you of my complete devotion

To you and to the Revolution
Jules Guesde

\textsuperscript{a} Here and below Jules Guesde quotes Marx.
Mr Kareyev’s work\textsuperscript{577} is excellent. However, I do not quite share his view of the Physiocrats.\textsuperscript{260} I take the theory of capital, i.e., of the contemporary structure of society. From Petty to Hume, this theory was developed only piecemeal—a bit here, a bit there—according to the requirements of the period when the author lived. Quesnay was the first to put political economy on its real, i.e., capitalist, basis, and the curious thing is that he did so apparently as a landowner’s tenant. Mr Kareyev is definitely wrong in saying that the Physiocrats opposed only one social occupation, namely agriculture, to others, i.e., industry and commerce, but never went, unlike Smith, so far as to oppose social classes to each other. If Mr Kareyev had recalled the main idea of Ricardo’s Preface to his famous creation,\textsuperscript{a} in which he examines three classes of the state (landowners, capitalists, and workers, the latter tilling the soil by their labour), he would have seen that the first invention of the three classes in the economic sphere and their mutual relations could find a place only in the system of agriculture, where Quesnay put it. In addition, a writer should distinguish between what an author really gives and what he gives only in his own imagination. This is true even of philosophical systems; thus, what Spinoza considered the cornerstone of his system and what actually constitutes that cornerstone are two entirely different things. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of Quesnay’s adherents, such as Mercier de la Rivière, saw the essence of the whole system in its paraphernalia while the English Physiocrats writing in 1798 were the first to demonstrate—on the basis of Quesnay’s concepts and contrary to Adam Smith’s—the need to abolish private ownership of land.\textsuperscript{378}

\textsuperscript{a} D. Ricardo, \textit{On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation}. 

First published, in Russian, in the magazine \textit{Byloye}, No. 20, Leningrad, 1922  

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Translated from the Russian
NOTES
AND
INDEXES
NOTES

1 This letter was published in English for the first time in *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann by Karl Marx*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934.—3, 17, 21, 31, 32

2 Worried by the report of Marx’s illness in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Ludwig Kugelmann wrote to Engels on 13 January 1874 asking him for more information concerning the state of Marx’s health.—3

3 Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor, took a rest cure at Harrogate between 24 November and 15 December 1873.—3, 17

4 In the Reichstag elections of 10 January 1874, the German Social Democrats scored a significant victory. The number of votes cast for them rose from 41,461 in 1871 to 171,351; six deputies (including Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, who were serving a prison sentence at the time) were elected, as against two at the 1871 elections. For the first time, three seats went to the General Association of German Workers which polled 180,319 votes.

   Alongside the left-wingers, the clerical Party of the Centre (see Note 423) also managed to strengthen its position. Marx referred to its members as the ‘ultramontanes’. The latter advocated unlimited authority for the Catholic Church and opposed the *Kulturkampf* (see Note 35) pursued by Bismarck.

   Engels learned about the results of the elections from Kugelmann’s letter of 13 January 1874.—3, 6, 43

5 The *Geneva Congress* of the International Working Men’s Association took place between 8 and 13 September 1873. Marx and Engels reversed their original intention to take part in its work, since the mounting reprisals against the working-class movement and financial difficulties precluded its being a truly international assembly. Unable to send their own delegations, nearly all the International’s organisations handed over their mandates to the delegates of Romance Switzerland.

   When debating the Rules, the majority led by Johann Philipp Becker confirmed the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) to extend the sphere of competence of the General Council, notwithstanding the opposition of the Swiss delegates Henri Perret and Theodore Duval. The congress emphasised the need for the working class to wage a political struggle. New York remained the seat of the General Council.
The Geneva Congress of 1873 was the last congress of the International Working Men's Association.—4

6 The reference is to the address 'Compagnons, notre Association traverse...' issued in Geneva in August 1873 and signed by H. Perret, C. Bernard, T. Duval, M. Josseron, P. Detallancourt, H. Renaud and Laplace. Timed to coincide with the Geneva Congress (see Note 5), it was directed against some of the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) on organisational issues.—4

7 The Ligue universelle des Corporations ouvrières was set up in late 1873-early 1874 by Perret and other members of the Swiss working-class movement. The attempts by the League's founders to involve German and British trade unions in its work having failed, the League ceased to exist.—5

8 On 14 January 1874, the Sheffield trade union congress refused to declare its solidarity with the Ligue universelle des Corporations ouvrières (see Note 7).—6

9 In the Reichstag elections of 10 January 1874, Johann Jacoby failed to obtain a majority vote in any of the constituencies where he had been nominated. At the second ballot held on 27 January, he was elected in the Leipzig Constituency, but refused to take up his seat in protest at the Imperial Constitution. As a result, the Social-Democrats lost one seat in the Reichstag. Jacoby's conduct was criticised by Der Volksstaat, 20 February 1874.—7, 9

10 In 1873-74, Engels concentrated on research into German history as he was planning a treatise on the subject. His intention, however, failed to materialise. Judging by the preparatory materials, Engels planned to cover the period right up to 1873 with particular emphasis on the time since the French Revolution. Part of Engels' manuscript, entitled Varia on Germany, is to be found in Vol. 23 of the present edition, and a more detailed version, in Marx-Engels Archives, Russian Edition, Vol. X, Moscow, 1948.—7

11 This letter from Marx to George Moore, like that of 28 March, dealt with the business of the firm holding a patent for engraving work; the partners were Paul Lafargue, Benjamin Le Moussu and George Moore. In late summer 1873, Lafargue withdrew from the firm and Marx took his place. The firm fell apart in the spring of 1874.—10

12 Marx's letter has not been found.—10, 31, 33, 34, 75, 176, 189, 193, 222, 270, 276, 311, 353, 376, 382, 412


14 Tennyson's poem, written on the occasion of the arrival in Britain of Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna, fiancée of Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, was entitled 'A Welcome to Her Royal Highness Maria Alexandrovna, Duchess of Edinburgh, 7 March 1874'; each stanza ended with the word 'Alexandrovna'.—14

15 Engels' letter has not been found.—14, 15, 24, 38, 66, 130, 132, 134, 159, 180, 184, 195, 201, 219, 243, 257, 271, 316, 345, 369, 375

16 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
A reference to the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*. An attempt to translate Marx's principal work into French was first made by Charles Keller, a member of the Paris Section of the International. Between October 1869 and April 1870, he translated about 400 pages which he sent to Marx for editing. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, however, Keller was forced to emigrate to Switzerland, where he embraced Bakuninist views, after which Marx terminated co-operation with him.

In December 1871, Paul Lafargue assisted Marx in concluding a contract for the publication of *Capital* with the progressive French journalist and publisher Maurice Lachâtre. The contract was signed on 15 February 1872. Under it, *Capital* was to appear in 44 instalments, one printer's sheet each. The work appeared between 1872 and 1875 in two instalments at a time, but was sold in series of five instalments each, making nine series in all.

The last instalments having come out, the series were stitched together and sold as separate books.

The first volume of *Capital* was translated into French by Joseph Roy. Marx did not think much of the effort and made a vast number of alterations, in fact, revised the book. As he himself said, the authorised French translation had an independent scientific value alongside the German original.

In this edition, the first volume of *Capital* is published in Engels' authorised English translation with the interpolations from the French edition given in the Appendix (see present edition, Vol. 35).—15, 16, 17, 26, 56, 57, 58, 70, 75, 80, 93, 113, 166, 276, 282, 287

Marx is referring to Rudolph Meyer's book *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, which appeared in Berlin in 1874 in instalments. The second instalment was sent to Marx by Kugelmann on 15 April 1874.—17

The agricultural labourers' movement for shorter working hours and higher wages in the central and eastern counties of England began in March 1872 with a strike in Warwickshire, where the Agricultural Labourers' Union was set up. In May 1872, the National Agricultural Labourers' Union was formed under Joseph Arch's leadership and by late 1873 its membership had reached about 100,000. By April 1874, the strikers managed to win a pay rise.—18, 29

The *Hague Congress* (2-7 September 1872) of the International Working Men's Association was the most representative in its history. Present at the congress were 65 delegates from 15 countries. It took stock of the campaign against Bakuninism within the International and mapped out a programme of action suited to the new conditions that had emerged after the Paris Commune. Its main decision was to endorse the London Conference (1871) resolution on the political action of the working class concisely formulated as Art. 7 of the International's Rules. The congress also reached a number of decisions aimed at consolidating the Association's organisational structure.

After the congress, the Bakuninists declared their disagreement with its resolutions, causing what amounted to a split in the International. The Hague Congress laid the foundation for future political parties of the working class in various countries.—18, 42, 114, 156, 157, 184, 214, 258, 359

In May 1874, Alexander II arrived in England to strengthen Russia's contacts with the British government. The stated purpose of the Tsar's visit was to see his daughter Maria Alexandrovna, the Duke of Edinburgh's wife.—18
The Crimean War (1853-56), or the Eastern war, was waged by Russia against the allied forces of Britain, France, the Kingdom of Piedmont and Turkey for supremacy in the Levant. It ended in Russia's defeat and the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1856. In accordance with this treaty, Russia renounced its claims to the 'protection' of the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire, agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea and was forbidden to have military bases and warships there, and recognised the collective protectorate of the great powers over Serbia, Moldavia and Wallachia, which remained under the Sultan's sovereignty. Russia also pledged not to erect fortifications on the Åland Islands.—18, 272

The international conference involving Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Italy and Turkey, held in London in January-March 1871, produced a convention that revoked articles XI, XIII and XIV of the 1856 Paris Treaty. The ban on the presence of Russian and Turkish warships and strongholds in the Black Sea area was lifted.—18

The Ermen-Engels partnership contract signed on 30 June 1864 for a term of five years, which had made Engels a co-owner of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels, expired in the summer of 1869.

The terms of Engels' withdrawal from the business were set forth in the draft agreement drawn up by him on 2 December 1868: '1) Mr Engels retires from business on the 30th June 1869 and engages not to be interested, either directly or indirectly, as principal or assistant, in any similar or competing business either in England or on the Continent for the term of five years after that date. 2) Mr Engels consents that Mr G. Ermen, if he should think proper to do so, continues the firm of Ermen and Engels as long as he is a partner in the concern. 3) Mr G. Ermen pays Mr Engels on 30th June 1869 the sum of £1750, seventeen hundred and fifty Pounds St. 4) Mr Engels to have the right of keeping £5000 in the concern at 5% Interest between 30th June 69 to 30th June 1870. Manchester, December 2nd 1868.'

On 1 July 1869, Engels left the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels and wholly devoted himself to party, scientific and journalistic pursuits.—19

The Court of Chancery or Court of Equity—one of the high courts of England, which after the judicial reform of 1873 became a division of the High Court of Justice. The jurisdiction of the court, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, covered matters concerning inheritance, contractual obligations, joint-stock companies, etc. In a number of cases the powers of this court overlapped those of other high courts. In contrast to the English common law accepted in other courts, the legal proceedings in the Court of Chancery were conducted on the basis of the so-called law of equity.—20

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in The Letters of Karl Marx, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—21, 82, 222, 324

In the second half of July 1874, Marx took a rest cure in Ryde on the Isle of Wight. Engels was in Ramsgate (Eastbourne) between mid-July and mid-August 1874.—21, 43

In late July 1874, Brussels was the venue for a conference of European states convened on the initiative of Russia to discuss new rules of warfare. Being unwilling to discuss maritime rights, an issue that Russia intended to raise again, Britain refused to take part.—22
Bismarck spent July and August 1874 at Bad Kissingen where an assassination attempt was made on him on 13 July. It was organised by the Catholic clergy enraged by the Kulturkampf policy he was pursuing (see Note 35). Bismarck was wounded by a shot fired by the artisan Kullmann.—23, 24, 312

On 20 November 1873, the French National Assembly passed a law on the septennium, which allowed Mac-Mahon to hold the post of president of the republic for seven years (up to 20 November 1880). This signified consolidation of the President’s individual power and bolstered the monarchists’ position.

The monarchist parties’ attempts to have the National Assembly dissolved and the monarchy restored made in the summer of 1874 provoked indignation in republican quarters. Fearing an outburst on the part of the republican-minded masses, on 9 July Mac-Mahon issued an address to the Assembly stating that he would use all available means to retain the power granted him for the term of seven years. At the same time, he demanded an early introduction of new laws that would, to all intents and purposes, secure his dictatorship. Specifically, he demanded that the President be given a right to dissolve the Assembly, announce new elections and form the majority in parliament.—23, 24

The Rurals (the Assembly of the Rurals, the French Rural Assembly)—a derogatory nickname of the French National Assembly convened in February 1871 in Bordeaux and made up mostly of provincial landowners, officials, rentiers and tradesmen elected in the rural constituencies. The majority of the deputies (430 out of 630) were monarchists.—23, 57

In 1870, the Gladstone government introduced a reform of public education which provided for the opening of secular schools controlled by locally elected school boards (alongside parish schools) at which religious instruction was no longer compulsory. The reform was attacked by the Conservatives. In mid-July 1874, one of them, Lord Sandon, proposed an amendment to the law of 1869 which had established the Endowed Schools Commission. He suggested that the money be henceforth distributed by the Charity Commission, which would have allowed the church to regain the ground it had lost in school education. Sandon’s Bill was strongly opposed by the Liberals.—24, 67

Pierre Magne, the finance minister in the Mac-Mahon government, tried to eliminate the enormous budget deficit of 1873 (149 million francs), among other things by greatly increasing indirect taxes on all everyday necessities. In July 1874, his proposals were discussed in the French National Assembly. They were opposed by the left-wing deputies, who feared discontent and possible mass protests. After a stormy debate, some of Magne’s proposals were rejected, and he was forced to resign.—24

In July 1874, Padua and Arqua (Italy), Avignon and Vaucluse (France) hosted a festival to mark the quincentenary of the death of Petrarch, the great Italian lyric poet. The choice of venues was not accidental. The ‘new man’, as Petrarch has been called, spent his last years in Arqua near Padua. In Avignon, the Popes’ residence from 1309, he was ordained, which gave him access to the papal court. In Vaucluse near Avignon, Petrarch spent four years (1337-41) in total seclusion, and later repeatedly returned there to work and rest. It was here that he wrote or conceived most of his works.—25

Kulturkampf (struggle for culture)—the name given to a system of measures implemented by the Bismarck government in the 1870s against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre which was closely associated with it (see Note 423). Using the pretext of a campaign for ‘secular culture’, the Bismarck
government sought to subjugate the clergy and cripple the Party of the Centre. With this end in view, it passed laws (1871-75) curtailing the rights of the Catholic clergy and abolishing the Catholic Church's right of supervision over the schools. Bismarck used the anti-Catholic campaign to bolster Prussian influence in the Polish lands under Prussian jurisdiction. In the second half of the 1870s and the early 1880s, as the working-class movement began to grow, Bismarck effected a reconciliation with the Catholic Church in an effort to consolidate the forces of reaction, and most of these laws were repealed.—25, 84

36 In his letter of 24 June 1874 Lachâtre requested Marx to pass on his proposal to start a joint magazine or newspaper in London to the French émigré journalist Rochefort.—25

37 Marx (accompanied by his daughter Eleanor) took a cure at Karlsbad from 19 August to 21 September 1874. Having returned to London on 3 October, he resumed work on the French translation of the first volume of Capital and finished editing the last instalments in late January 1875 (see this volume, pp. 55-56).—26

38 Under the contract signed by Marx and Maurice Lachâtre in February 1872 (see Note 17), the French edition of the first volume of Capital was to appear in instalments. The delay in the publication, which took four years (1872-75), was caused, alongside the circumstances mentioned in this letter, by the growth of political reaction following the Paris Commune. In mid-1875, the French government transferred legal rights over Lachâtre's publishing house in Paris to Adolph Quëst, an official who procrastinated with the printing of the last instalments of Capital and did his best to obstruct its dissemination.—26, 153, 227

39 Jenny Longuet's health was shaken by the death of her first son, Charles, in late July 1874. On 6 August, Marx took her to Ramsgate, where Engels was on holiday at the time. Marx stayed with them until 9 August. In the second half of August, Engels with his family and Jenny Longuet took a trip to Jersey and returned to London on 5 September.—27, 38

40 Before leaving for Karlsbad for medical treatment in August 1874, Marx applied for British naturalisation to the Home Office as a precaution against possible reprisals by the Austrian authorities. The application was, however, turned down, ostensibly because Marx had failed to be 'loyal to his own King and Country' (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 564).—28, 29, 35


42 Marx is referring to the inaugural congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Workers' Party illegally held in Neudörf on 5 and 6 April 1874. Present at it were 74 delegates, 10 of them representing Czech workers' organisations that favoured a single Austrian Social-Democratic Party incorporating workers' organisations in the Slav territories. The congress founded the party and elected its leading bodies. The Dělnické listy (Workers' Paper) published in Prague in Czech was to become the party's central printed organ alongside the Gleichheit.—30

43 On 15 August 1874 Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor, left for Karlsbad (Karlov Vary) on doctors' recommendations, where he stayed from 19 August to 21 September. On the way back to London, Marx stopped off in
Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg. In Leipzig, where he stayed approximately from 25 to 28 September, he had talks about the state of the German working-class movement with Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Bloß, as well as with members of the Leipzig party branch. While in Hamburg on 29 September-1 October, Marx met Social-Democratic leaders.—32, 33, 35, 43, 45, 48, 53, 58, 119


45 In November 1873-March 1874, Russia witnessed mass arrests among the revolutionary-minded intellectuals and students in St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and some other cities. The arrests broke up the Narodnik (Populist) group of the so-called Chaikovists (after the name of N. V. Chaikovsky, one of its founders). The members of the group conducted propaganda among the workers, in particular they read extracts from the first volume of Capital and published revolutionary literature. They were the first to issue Marx's work The Civil War in France in Russian. The majority of those arrested were involved in the 'trial of the 193' in 1877-78, the biggest political trial of the Narodniks in Tsarist Russia.—33

46 A reference to the abortive attempts by Italian anarchists to launch an uprising in Bologna and Apulia early in the morning of 8 August 1874.—35

47 The French Marshal Bazaine, who had surrendered the Metz fortress in October 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war, was charged with high treason and sentenced to death in December 1873. Two days later, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In August 1874, after eight months in prison, Bazaine fled to Spain.—35, 251

48 On 30 August 1874, the Viennese newspaper Der Sprudel reported: 'The long-standing leader of the International, Marx, and the head of the Russian Nihilists, the Polish Count Plater, have arrived at Karlsbad for a cure.' The next issue (No. 19, 6 September 1874) stated that Count Plater was associated neither with the Russian Nihilists nor with the International.—37

49 This letter was published in English for the first time, in an abridged form, in: K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Letters. The Personal Correspondence, 1844-1877. Edited by Fr. J. Raddatz, Boston, Toronto, [1981].—38, 243

50 Engels is probably referring to José Mesa’s letter of 24 August 1874. The latter wrote that despite his enforced move to Paris he still kept in touch with members of the Spanish section of the International Working Men’s Association in Madrid, on which Engels could rely, and supplied a number of addresses.—39, 43

51 Engels spent the time between 28 July and 8 November 1857 at seaside resorts, including St Hélier in Jersey, where Marx visited him in early October.—39

52 An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934.—40, 122, 258, 275, 282, 299

53 Sorge withdrew from the General Council on 12 August 1874 and informed Engels about this on 14 August; his official resignation followed on 25 September.—41
On 7-13 September 1874, a number of organisations that had found themselves outside the International due to their refusal to recognise the Hague Congress resolutions (see Note 20) held a congress in Brussels that declared itself the seventh congress of the International Working Men's Association. It was attended by members of anarchist groups from Switzerland, Spain and Belgium, two Lassalleans—members of German workers' organisations in Belgium—and Eccarius, who had been delegated by the breakaway faction of the British Federation. The congress revealed disagreement among the participants, including the anarchists themselves, on the issue of the working class' attitude to the state.—42, 49

The reference is to the German Workers' Educational Society in London founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just. After the establishment of the Communist League in 1847, the leading role in the Society was assumed by the League's local communities. Marx and Engels were actively involved in its work in 1847 and 1849-50. On 17 September 1850, Marx, Engels and some of their followers left the Society in protest at the domination of the Willich-Schapper group, and rejoined it only in the late 1850s. After the foundation of the International Working Men's Association, the Society with Lessner among its leaders, became its German section in London. The London Educational Society existed until 1918, when it was closed down by the British government.—49, 351, 363, 364, 434, 443

The plan to start a workers' newspaper called the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in Cologne failed to materialise at that time.—50

Engels is referring to John Tyndall's inaugural address to the 44th congress of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which opened in Belfast on 19 August 1874 (the address was published in Nature, No. 251, 20 August 1874), and to Henry Huxley's speech 'On the Hypothesis that Animals Are Automats, and Its History' made at the Association's meeting of 24 August (Nature, No. 253, 3 September 1874).

Engels used Tyndall's speech in his Dialectics of Nature (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 481).—50

The only passage of this letter by Engels to have survived is the one quoted by Hermann Lopatin in his letter to Pyotr Lavrov of 27 October 1874. Engels wrote this letter in reply to Lopatin's letter of 15 October dealing with Engels' articles Refugee Literature. Lavrov was sharply criticised in one of them for his conciliatory attitude towards the Bakuninists (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 19-21). Lopatin quotes the passage in English and introduces it in the following way: 'Engels himself sent me his short article. In the letters that we exchanged in this connection he assures that he has tried to show restraint and did not wish exploiter à fond this issue.'—53

The reference is to the reprint of Marx's Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (see present edition, Vol. 11) in Der Volksstaat (28 October-18 December 1874) (see also Note 137). It was the first time that Marx was named the author of this work.

The epilogue, written for the Revelations and dated 'London, 8 January 1875', was printed in Der Volksstaat, No. 10, 27 January 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24). In the first half of 1875, a separate edition of the work (based on the publication in Der Volksstaat) appeared in Leipzig.—54, 73

An incorrect explanation of the French term (Fleurs de lys, Lilies—the symbol of legitimist monarchy) was given in an editorial footnote to Chapter IV of...
Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne printed by Der Volksstaat, No. 140, 2 December 1874. After Marx's intervention, the error was set right in the supplement to Revelations published in Der Volksstaat, No. 7, 20 January 1875 (see also present edition, Vol. 11, p. 442).—54

61 In his letter to Marx of 29 December 1874, Max Oppenheim wrote that he was regularly receiving The International Gazette from Berlin. He believed that Marx was the paper's London correspondent.—56

62 Following the publication of Part One of A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy in 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 29), Marx wrote a lengthy economic manuscript in 1861-63. It was a second rough draft of Capital (the first being the 1857-58 manuscript). In 1863, he definitively decided that the work was to have four books, the first three being theoretical, and the fourth, presenting a historical and critical survey. In August 1863, having completed work on the manuscript of 1861-63, Marx began preparing Capital for the press.

This work resulted in a third rough draft of Capital—the Economic Manuscript of 1863-65, consisting of three theoretical books. The draft for the fourth book (Theories of Surplus Value) formed part of the 1861-63 manuscript. Subsequently, Marx returned to the first book. On Engels' advice, Marx decided it would be the first to be published, and was preparing it for the press throughout 1866 and the first half of 1867. The first German edition of the book appeared in September 1867 as Volume One of Capital. Under the plan agreed with the publisher Otto Meissner, the second and third books, analysing the process of circulation of capital and the forms of capitalist process as a whole, were to appear as Volume Two, and the fourth book, dealing with 'the history of economic theories', as the third and final volume of Capital.

Marx, however, did not manage to prepare the second and third volumes of Capital for the press. After his death, Engels completed the work and published Marx's manuscripts of the second and third books as Volume Two (1885) and Volume Three (1894). Engels also intended to prepare for the press and publish the above-mentioned manuscript of the fourth book as Volume Four of Capital but died before this plan had been carried out. In the present edition of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels, this book of Capital has been included in the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (vols 30-34), while the first three volumes of Capital make up vols 35-37 respectively.—57, 115, 343, 415, 432

63 This excerpt from Marx's letter to Juste Vernouillet is the passage from Marx's original letter quoted by the Munich antique dealer Emil Hirsch in his letter to Dr Pappenheim of 9 September 1899. Marx's letter, according to Hirsch, was dated 'London, 3 February 1875', took up two pages and dealt with the publication of Marx's manuscript by Louis Lahure (probably a reference to the French translation of the first volume of Capital; see this volume, Marx's letter to Maurice Lachâtre of 30 January 1875). According to Hirsch the quoted passage was to be found in the concluding part of the letter. Marx's addressee was not mentioned.—57

64 On 21 January 1875, the French National Assembly began debating the draft 'law on the organisation of public authority' which formed part of the 1875 Constitution. The fundamental issue—the nature of the state system in France—was to be solved in the debate on the amendments to the Bill held on 29 and 30 January. By the final vote on 30 January the Constitution indirectly recognised the state system as a republic.—57

66 ‘What’s Going on at Home?’—a section in the *Vperyod*! (Forward!) magazine published by Pyotr Lavrov. It carried reports from Russia.—58

67 The section ‘What’s Going on at Home?’ in *Vperyod*! (Vol. III, London, 1874) carried an anonymous article from Irkutsk dated February 1874; its actual author was Hermann Lopatin, who described a group of religious dissenters he met in Siberia called ‘Not Ours’. They denied the existence of God and opposed government authority, property, family and all existing laws and customs in protest against the existing system in Russia.—58

68 Marx finally received both books mentioned here. The name of the first appears on his list ‘Russisches in my bookstall’.

Marx intended to use the results of his research into the agrarian relations in Russia when putting the finishing touches to the section on ground rent in the second volume of his *Capital* (see Note 62). However, this intention was not fulfilled. After the Russian translation of the first volume of *Capital* appeared in print in 1872, Marx continued his study of Russian economic writings, making copious notes as he went along.—58

69 Marx wrote this letter on the cover of Tkachov’s pamphlet *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels*, Zurich, 1874. Tkachov’s work was written in reply to Engels’ third article in the *Refugee Literature* series carried by *Der Volksstaat* on 6 and 8 October 1874 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 19-28). In his letter to Engels of 1 February 1875 Wilhelm Liebknecht proposed that Engels write a refutation to the pamphlet. Marx may have read the pamphlet in February or March and passed it on to Engels with his comments. A short while later, Engels wrote articles IV and V in the *Refugee Literature* series, which were printed by *Der Volksstaat* on 28 March and 2, 16, 18 and 21 April 1875.

This letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* (present edition, Vol. 24, Note 44).—59

70 This is a short record of a reply to Hermann Ramm’s letter to Engels of 7 February 1875. Ramm wrote that the *Volksstaat* publishers planned to purchase a plot of land to build new premises for the party printing office in Leipzig and requested Engels to help collect the necessary funds. This plan is also mentioned in Engels’ letter to August Bebel of 15 October 1875 (see this volume, pp. 123-25).—59

71 At the *Gotha Congress*, which met between 22 and 27 May 1875, the two trends in the German working-class movement—the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (the Eisenachers) led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers—united to form the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany. This put an end to the split in the German working class. The draft programme of the united party, which Marx and Engels subjected to fierce criticism, was adopted by the congress with only insignificant amendments.—59, 69, 97, 257

72 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lawrence, London, [1933].—60, 94, 97

73 This letter is closely connected with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 24). It sets out Marx’s and Engels’ shared opinion on the merger of the two German workers’ parties, the Eisenachers (see Note 75) and the Lassalleans, which was likely to take place in early 1875. The letter was
occasioned by the publication on 7 March 1875 of the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Party of Germany in Der Volksstaat (the organ of the Eisenachers) and the Neuer Social-Demokrat (the organ of the Lassalleans). This draft was approved with only minor amendments by the unity congress at Gotha held on 22-27 May 1875 and came to be known as the Gotha Programme.

Marx and Engels welcomed the merger of the two parties, but believed that the Eisenachers should have shown greater dedication to principle and refused to make theoretical and political concessions to the Lassalleans.

Engels' letter was first published by Bebel, only 36 years later, in his book Aus meinem Leben, Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911.

74 A reference to one of Ferdinand Lassalle's programme theses providing for the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state. Lassalle and his followers repeatedly stressed that what they had in mind was a state in which power would pass into the hands of the working people through universal suffrage.

75 This refers to the Programm und Statuten der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiter-Partei, adopted at the general German workers' congress in Eisenach in August 1869 and published in the Demokritisches Wochenblatt on 14 August 1869. The congress founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, subsequently known as the Eisenachers. For the most part the programme complied with the principles of the International Working Men's Association.

76 The German People's Party, founded in September 1868, embraced the democratic section of the bourgeoisie, mostly in the South-German states, which campaigned against Prussian hegemony in Germany and called for a federative German state.

77 A reference to the following articles of the draft Gotha Programme:

'The German workers' party demands as the free basis of the state:

1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for all males who have reached the age of 21, for all elections in the state and in the community.
2. Direct legislation by the people with the right to initiate and to reject bills.
3. Universal military training. A people's militia in place of the standing army. Decisions regarding war and peace to be taken by a representative assembly of the people.
4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, in particular the laws on the press, associations and assembly.
5. Jurisdiction by the people. Administration of justice without fees.

'The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and moral basis of the state:

1. Universal and equal education of the people by the state. Compulsory school attendance. Free instruction.
2. Freedom of science. Freedom of conscience.'

78 The League of Peace and Freedom was a pacifist organisation set up in Switzerland in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. The League asserted that it was possible to prevent wars by creating the 'United States of Europe'. Its leaders failed to expose the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations. At the General Council meeting of 13 August 1867 Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's inaugural congress, since this would have meant solidarity with its bourgeois programme, but recommended that some members of the International should attend the
congress in their own right in order to make it adopt revolutionary-democratic decisions (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 426-27, and Marx's letter to Engels of 4 September 1867, present edition, Vol. 42).—61

79 The so-called iron law of wages was formulated by Ferdinand Lassalle in his *Offenes Antwortwriten an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig, Zurich*, 1863, pp. 15-16.—62

80 Philippe Joseph Bûchez, one of the first ideologists of the so-called Christian socialism, put forward a plan to set up workers' producer associations with the aid of the state.—62

81 Engels is referring to Wilhelm Bracke's work *Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag. Ein Wort an den 4. Congreß der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei* (1873), which criticised Article 10 of the Eisenach programme. As an immediate target it demanded that the party campaign for 'state promotion of co-operatives and state credit for the free producer associations with democratic guarantees'. Bracke proposed that this provision be replaced by a statement of the need to set up an all-embracing trade union organisations, 'to abolish private ownership of what at present constitutes capital', and to 'attain the international unity of the proletariat'.—62, 97

82 In March 1872, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were sentenced to two years' imprisonment for their membership of the International Working Men's Association, their socialist convictions and democratic politics. At another trial, on 6 July 1872, Bebel was sentenced to additional nine months' imprisonment and deprived of his seat in the Reichstag for 'insulting His Imperial Highness William I.'

Liebknecht was released on 15 April 1874, while Bebel was freed only on 1 April 1875.—65

83 In his letter to Engels of 25 March 1875, Bracke wrote: 'The programme, submitted for the "unity congress" and signed by Liebknecht and Geib, forces me to write these lines. The adoption of this programme is impossible as far as I am concerned, and Bebel is of the same opinion for his part.' Bracke particularly drew attention to the points of the programme which proclaimed the introduction of producers' co-operative societies with state aid. 'The Lassalleans have evidently made this point a *conditio sine qua non* for unification, and our representatives, Liebknecht and Geib included, have endorsed the same for the sake of unification. In order to "bring about" unification, they have discarded their convictions and given their consent to something of whose wrongness they are convinced... However, since Bebel seems determined to take up the struggle, I would at least feel moved to support him to the best of my abilities. But before that I should like to know what you and Marx think of the affair. Your experience is greater, and your understanding better, than mine.'—66

84 In a letter to August Bebel (which has not come to light), Engels invited him and Liebknecht to visit London. In his reply of 23 February 1875 Bebel wrote that he was too busy with party matters to make a trip in 1875. He did not visit Marx and Engels in London until 1880.—66

85 The original of this letter is kept at the Engels family archive in Engelskirchen.—66

86 This is a covering letter to Marx's *Marginal Notes on the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, which went down in history as *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see present edition, Vol. 24). Marx's letter to Bracke was first published by

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Socialist Series*, number one, under the title 'The Socialist Programme. By Karl Marx', The Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow [1918]. It appeared in English in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*. In two volumes, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936.—69

87 A reference to Marx’s *Critique of the Gotha Programme* which analyses the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Party of Germany formed as a result of the merger of the Eisenachers and the General Association of German Workers. The work significantly promoted the fundamental theoretical issues of scientific socialism and set an example of uncompromising struggle against opportunism. The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was written in April-early May 1875, and was intended for the Eisenachers’ leaders (see Note 75). Marx’s letter to Bracke of 5 May 1875 was in fact an integral part of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see Note 86).

Despite opposition from the opportunist Social-Democratic leaders, Engels had the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* published in 1891, together with his foreword and Marx’s letter to Bracke, in the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 18. As his letter to Kautsky of 23 February 1891 makes clear, he was forced to tone down some of the more outspoken passages and appraisals and to make a number of deletions in Marx’s manuscript (see present edition, Vol. 49).—69, 75

88 Later, Marx and Engels decided against publicly opposing the Gotha Programme, considering such action inexpedient when the merger of the two German working-class organisations was already a *fait accompli*. Their attitude to the united party formed in Gotha was based on the belief that, in the long run, the elimination of the organisational rift in the German working-class movement would be conducive to the struggle of the German proletariat for its emancipation.—69

89 The original plan was to hold the unity congress in Gotha on 23-25 May 1875, the Lassalleans’ congress prior to it, and the Eisenachers’ congress on 25-27 May. In reality, the unity congress took place on 22-27 May, and the Eisenachers’ and the Lassalleans’ congresses were held during it.—70, 94.

90 Marx is most probably referring to Schramm’s letter of 31 March 1875, in which the latter wrote of his intention to contribute a series of popular articles about *Capital* to *Der Volksstaat*. Schramm requested Marx to explain to him some points on the theory of ground rent. Judging from Schramm’s letter to Marx of 14 May (see Note 91), Marx actually did so, but his letter, written between 8 and 14 May, has not been found. The following year, Schramm published a book, *Grundzüge der National Oekonomie*. Abth. 1, Leipzig, 1876, a copy of which he probably sent to Marx. This book has been found in Marx’s library.—73

91 Replying to Marx, Schramm wrote on 14 May 1875: ‘Many thanks for your kind and detailed letter which is particularly valuable to me in view of its explanations of ground rent. As you requested, I am sending you the desired addresses below: the owners, Bamberger and Bernstein, are both known to me personally, and I think I can vouch for their reliability.’
Probably a reference to the Berlin wholesale firm of Bamberger & Co., Leinen- und Baumwollwaren engros, Breitestraße 22. It was owned jointly by Jacob Bamberger and Ad. Bernstein.—73

92 Annolied (The Song of Anno)—a poem written by an unknown author in the late 11th century in Middle High German in praise of Anno, Archbishop of Cologne.—74

93 In his letters of 29 March and 25 April 1875, E. Glaser de Willebrord asked Marx to contribute to the socialist weekly La Réforme sociale he was planning to start in Brussels.—75

94 After his withdrawal from the engravers' firm in the summer of 1873 (see Note 11), Lafargue bought a photolithographic and etching workshop in the hope of solving his financial problems.—75, 132, 447

95 This is a draft of Engels' reply to Patrick John Coleman's letter of 19 May 1875. It was written down on the last page of Coleman's letter informing Engels about his intention to go into trading business and requesting him to become security for him.—76


97 Traube's artificial cells—inorganic formations representing a model of living cells; they were created by the German chemist and physiologist Moritz Traube by mixing colloidal solutions. He read a paper on his experiments to the 47th Congress of German Naturalists and Physicians in Breslau on 23 September 1874. Marx and Engels thought highly of Traube's discovery.—78

98 Marx elaborated these ideas in Chapter XXV of the French edition of the first volume of Capital (see Note 17). Engels did not include this passage in the English translation of the volume which is to be found in Vol. 35 of the present edition.—78

99 This is Marx's reply to Juste Vernouillet's letter of 11 July 1875.—79

100 Marx is referring to the delay in the printing and distribution of the French edition of the first volume of Capital (see notes 17 and 38). The obstacles put up by the French government in the way of Capital are described in Marx’s letter to Peter Imandt of 27 September 1875 (this volume, p. 92).—79

101 The copyright treaty was signed by the free city of Hamburg and Great Britain on 16 August 1853. Article 2 of the treaty covered translations.—80

102 The Basle Congress of the International Working Men's Association was held between 6 and 11 September 1869. Present at it were 78 delegates from eight major European countries. For the first time the International's congress was attended by an American, the delegate of the National Labor Union of the United States, Andrew Carr Cameron.

The congress heard a report written by Marx on the instructions of the General Council and stressing the International's role in leading the strike movement.

The issues of landed property and the right of inheritance figured prominently at the congress. To all intents and purposes the Basle Congress
resolution confirmed that of the Brussels Congress on the abolition of private ownership of land. No decision was taken on the question of abolishing the right of inheritance as the resolution submitted for consideration by the congress failed to win the required number of votes.

There was almost no disagreement on the resolution recommending the workers to set up trade unions in all industries and to form associations on a nationwide scale. Defence of the workers' interests and a campaign to replace the wage labour system by 'associated free labour' were proclaimed the trade unions' main tasks.

The Basle Congress also took a number of decisions directed at consolidating the International's organisation, extending the functions of the General Council and enhancing its role as the leading body of the International Working Men's Association. Paris was chosen as the venue for the next congress, scheduled for 1870.—81

103 Engels was on holiday in Ramsgate between mid-August and 22 September 1875.—82, 91, 94

104 Between 15 August and 11 September 1875, Marx was in Karlsbad for a second time taking treatment. On his way there, he stopped over in Frankfurt am Main (see Note 109). On his way back to London, he spent several days in Prague visiting Max Oppenheim.—82, 86, 89, 90, 92, 94

105 The notion of the 'average man' was elaborated in the works of the Belgian statistician Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quetelet. According to him, the 'average man' was the perfect, 'true type', while individuals were merely its distorted representatives. Marx used the English translation of Quetelet's main work, A Treatise on Man and the Development of His Faculties, Edinburgh, 1842.—82

106 Referendar — a junior official in Germany, usually a lawyer, doing a training course at a court of law or in the civil service.—83

107 6 August 1875 was a birth centenary of David O'Connell, leader of the Irish national liberation movement.—84

108 The red International — a name for the International Working Men's Association that came into use in the 1860s.

The black International — a name for the Order of Jesus that became current after the publication in 1873 of N. Steffen's article 'Brief eines Luxemburgers an einem Landsmann. Dritter Brief' in Die Grenzboten, No. 42, p. 119.—85

109 The 'Frankfurter Angelegenheiten' column of the Frankfurter Zeitung (No. 229, 17 August 1875) featured the following note: 'Frankfurt, 17 August. Late last week Mr Karl Marx arrived here from London. His friends were pleasantly struck by his healthy looks and high spirits. He was on his way to Karlsbad, where he intended to stay for about four weeks.'

Marx passed through Frankfurt am Main around 13-14 August 1875.—85

110 A reference to one of the trials against the Frankfurter Zeitung. The immediate cause of the reprisals against the newspaper was the publication on 25 March 1875 of an article on Kulturkampf and of an article on the reptile fund on 30 March (see notes 35 and 408). The editors were sentenced to imprisonment for their refusal to name the authors of those articles. Leopold Sonnemann, editor-in-chief and publisher, was arrested on 28 August and remained in prison until late September 1875.—85

32*
111 In line with the decision of the Gotha unity congress of 1875 (see Note 71), the leading bodies of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany were the Executive Committee (Vorstand), Control Commission (Controlkommission) and Committee (Ausschuss). The Executive Committee elected at the Gotha Congress had five members: Hasenclever and Hartmann, the chairmen; Auer and Derossi, the secretaries, and Geib, the treasurer. Thus the Executive came to comprise three Lassalleans (Hasenclever, Hartmann and Derossi) and two Eisenachers (Auer and Geib). The Executive Committee was to be based in Hamburg.—85, 96, 98, 246

112 Marx's letters from Karlsbad to his daughter Eleanor (Tussy) have not been found.—87

113 The reference is to the battle of 1 September 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, in which the French army was smashed. The crushing defeat at Sedan speeded up the collapse of the Second Empire and led to the proclamation of a republic in France on 4 September 1870.—88, 155, 251, 297

114 On Marx's and Engels' attitude to the German socialist Gustav Adolph Köttgen, see their 'Letter from the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to G. A. Köttgen' (present edition. Vol. 6, pp. 54-56).—88

115 The introduction to Grün's book was published under the heading 'Ueber Weltanschauungen. Präludium zur Philosophie in der Gegenwart' in Die Wage, Nos. 33-38, 20 August-17 September 1875. The book itself was completed in March 1876 and issued by Otto Wiegand's publishing house (K. Grün, Die Philosophie in der Gegenwart. Realismus und Idealismus, Leipzig, 1876). In May 1873, Engels had made a start on one of his principal works, Dialectics of Nature.—88

116 A reference to the anonymous and undated pamphlet published in Brussels under the title Quelques mots d'un groupe socialiste révolutionnaire russe à propos de la brochure: Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. The pamphlet was presumably written by Michal Kasper Turski. It was spearheaded against Marx's and Engels' work The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 23).

Lavrov wrote to Engels on 20 September 1875: 'You have probably seen a small pamphlet that Nechayev's anonymous followers have published in Brussels as a response to the pamphlet about the "Alliance". But, of course, neither the group nor its writings are of any value whatsoever.' In late September-early October 1875 Lavrov sent a copy of the pamphlet to Engels.—91

117 In a letter to Marx of 25 September 1875, Peter Imandt enclosed an article, 'The International Working Men's Association. By an Internationalist', carried by The Dundee Advertiser on that day. 'The enclosure will show you that The Dundee Advertiser has a very good friend of yours among its correspondents. I was surprised to see the article this morning, and have no idea where it originates,' he wrote.—92

118 Under the terms of the peace treaty signed after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, France paid 5,000-million-franc reparations to Germany, which contributed to the rapid growth of German economy. The period of feverish business activity, which witnessed the mushrooming of
railway, industrial, construction and commercial joint-stock companies, banks and credit and social security companies and was accompanied by large-scale speculation, stock-exchange swindles and machinations, has come to be known as Gründerjahre (or the period of Gründertum). By 1873 it had resulted in a crash followed by an economic crisis, which lasted well into 1877.—92, 131, 218, 304, 335, 405, 447

Marx wrote this letter on a postcard. On the side reserved for the address he wrote: 'Mons. P. Lawroff, 3, Evershot Road, Tollington Park, Holloway.'—93, 113

Engels is referring to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany formed at the unity congress in Gotha in May 1875 (see Note 71), whose Executive Committee consisted of three Lassalleans and two Eisenachers (see Note 111).—94

The reference is to the programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany adopted by the unity congress in Gotha (see Note 71) in May 1875. Marx described it and gave a critical analysis of it in his Critique of the Gotha Programme (see present edition, Vol. 24), as well as in his letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 (see this volume, pp. 69-73). Engels dealt with it in his letter to August Bebel of 18-28 March 1875 (ibid., pp. 60-66).

The programme adopted at the congress ignored Marx's and Engels' comments on some of fundamental points. The point on proletarian internationalism was included at Liebknecht's suggestion.—95, 97, 294

In 321 B.C., during the second Samnite war, the Samnites surrounded the Roman legions in the Caudine Forks near the Roman town of Caucidium and drove them under a yoke, which signified the worst possible disgrace for a defeated army. Hence the phrase 'to pass under the Caudine yoke': to be submitted to extreme humiliation.—95, 97

As is clear from Jose Mesa's letter to Engels of 4 July 1875, Engels had read the text of the Gotha Programme to him during Mesa's stay in London, which he left for Paris in late June. In his letter, Mesa asked Engels for the latest news of his friends in Germany, their merger with the Lassalleans and the Gotha Programme. Mesa intended to pass on the information to his friends in Madrid.—95

In his letter to Engels of 28 June-7 July 1875, Wilhelm Bracke wrote that the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany decided, by the Lassalleans' three votes to the Eisenachers' two, to delete from the list of Party literature printed in its central organs, Der Volksstaat and the Neuer Social-Demokrat, two anti-Lassallean works, namely Wilhelm Bracke's 'Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag' (Brunswick, 1873) and Bernhard Becker's 'Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's' (Brunswick, 1874). Both books had been issued by Wilhelm Bracke's publishing house. On Bracke's resolute demand, this decision by the Executive Committee was revoked.—95, 98

The national German co-operative printing office in Berlin was founded in August 1875. Its board comprised the Lassalleans Wilhelm Hasselmann, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Heinrich Rackow. The Leipzig co-operative printing office had been set up by the Eisenachers in July 1872. After the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462) the Social-Democratic co-operative printing offices were closed down.—96
The next Reichstag elections were held on 10 January 1877 (see Note 237).—96, 97

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—99, 429

The opening part of the letter is missing. At the top of the first extant page there is a note in Bebel's hand: 'Zu Engels' Brief vom 12. Okt. 1875.' This note, as well as the fact that Engels' letter to Bebel of 12 October 1875 was published by the latter in his book Aus meinem Leben without the concluding part, suggests that what Engels wrote to Bebel on 12 and 15 October belongs to the same letter. Since, however, there is no direct proof of this, and the middle part of the letter is missing, the two parts bearing different dates are published as independent letters in the present edition.—99

This is probably a reference to the Leipzig co-operative printing office set up by the Eisenachers in 1872. From June 1875, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, in which the majority were the former members of the General Association of German Workers, acted as a supervisory council over the printing office. Cf. this volume, pp. 74 and 118-19.—99

*Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 103, 104 and 106, of 8, 10 and 15 September 1875, reprinted the article 'Karl Marx über Strikes und Arbeiter-Koalitionen' from the Viennese Gleichheit, the central organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats. This unsigned article was a translation into German of § 5 ('Strikes and Combinations of Workers') from Chapter II of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*, with the introduction and conclusion by the author of the article.

In the 1885 edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Engels supplied the passage from Marx's book mentioned in this letter with the following note: 'That is, the socialists of that time: the Fourierists in France, the Owenites in England' (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 209).—99

*Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 55, 68, 82, 91 and 92 (1875) carried articles signed 'K-Z' (see also this volume, p. 54).—100

Engels draws a parallel between the period of reforms in Russia following the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and the 'New Era' in Prussia.

The 'New Era'—the reference is to the 'liberal' course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia from 1861) when he became regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel Ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the 'New Era'. It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and the Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform. The constitutional conflict that ensued and Bismarck's advance to power in September 1862 (see Note 311) put an end to the 'New Era'.—100

This letter of Marx's was written on the back of Eleanor Marx's letter to Bernhard Kraus of 20 October 1875.—103

The letters mentioned by Marx and despatched from Karlsbad where he stayed taking a cure from 15 August to 11 September have not been found.—103

In late October-early November 1875, Engels and his wife Lizzie Burns took Lizzie's niece Mary Ellen Burns to a boarding house in Heidelberg, where she
stayed from November 1875 to March 1877. Engels and his wife returned to London on 6 November 1875.—104, 106

136 Engels' pamphlet *On Social Relations in Russia* (F. Engels, *Soziales aus Russland*, Leipzig, 1875) comprised an introduction and the fifth article from the *Refugee Literature* series (see present edition, Vol. 24). By 'the first article' Engels means the fourth article in the series, directed, like the fifth one, against Pyotr Tkachov's *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels*. This fourth article was printed in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 36 and 37, 28 March and 2 April 1875.—105

137 The Cologne Communist Trial was held in 1852. It was preceded by arrests of many Communist League leaders and activists in the summer of 1851 and their detention for a period of eighteen months. Marx's work *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* was written between late October and early December 1852. In 1853, two separate editions of the work appeared, one in Basle and the other in Boston. They were not, however, distributed in Germany. In the first half of 1875, a new separate edition appeared in Leipzig, a copy of which Engels probably sent to Pauli.—105

138 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels. *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—106

139 In places this letter coincides almost word for word with the item 'Struggle for Life' in Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 583-85).—106

140 In his note dated 24 November 1875, Paul Kersten asked Engels to arrange a meeting with Marx and Engels for himself and his friend.—110

141 An extract from this letter pertaining to the liberation of Poland was read by Walery Wróblewski at a meeting held in London on 4 December 1875 to mark the anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1830 and published on 31 December 1875 by the newspaper *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 24, as part of the article 'Anniversary of the 1830 Polish Uprising'.—111

142 Marx's and Engels' first public speeches on the Polish question were made at the international meeting held in London on 29 November 1847 to commemorate the 17th anniversary of the 1830 Polish uprising (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 545-52).—111

143 Marx is referring to the so-called alliance of three emperors which came into being at the conference of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian emperors in Berlin in September 1872. It was an attempt to resurrect the reactionary Holy Alliance founded by Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1815.—111, 297, 312, 340

144 This is Engels' reply to Lessner's letter of 15 December 1875. The latter wrote that he was told *The Daily News* of 13 December had carried a telegraph communication about Leo Frankel's arrest.

Frankel was arrested in Vienna on 9 December 1875. As a member of the Paris Commune, he was charged with arson in the city and with shooting hostages, including the Archbishop of Paris, Georges Darboy. After two months' imprisonment in Vienna Frankel was transferred to Budapest. Since, for reasons of domestic policy, the French government did not dare to publicly demand Frankel's extradition, he was released on 27 March 1876. He informed Marx of this on 28 March.—112
An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On America and the Civil War*. Edited and translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1972.—114, 250

Marx is expressing a familiar idea voiced in Nikolai Chernyshevsky's review of the Russian edition of Henry Charles Carey's *Letters to the President on the Foreign and Domestic Policy of the Union and Its Effects, as exhibited in the condition of the People and the State*: "The course of history is not the pavement of Nevsky Prospekt... Those who are afraid of getting dirty and spoiling their boots, should not take up public work" (*Sovremennik*, Vol. 85, Part II: 'Contemporary Review', January 1861, p. 51. In Russian).—114

In his letter to Marx of 17 March 1876, Sorge asked whether Marx and Engels would be able to come to Philadelphia to take part in the centenary of the USA's foundation.—114

The reference is to the publication of the English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in the United States of America. As a delegate to the Hague Congress of the International in 1872 Sorge had brought with him the English translation of the *Manifesto* made by Hermann Meyer and asked Marx and Engels to look it through. They promised to make the necessary additions and corrections, but an excessive workload prevented them from doing so.—115, 276, 283, 414

Marx is referring to mounting corruption and large-scale swindles in the USA under President Grant, especially in railway construction.—115

There is no reliable information on whether Engels visited his wife's niece Mary Ellen Burns (Pumps) at Whitsuntide on 4 June 1876.—116

Between 20 May and 2 June 1876, Engels and his wife Lizzie Burns were on holiday in Ramsgate.—117, 124

Engels received Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter of 16 May 1876 and Johann Most's letter. Liebknecht wrote: 'A manuscript by Most enclosed, which will show you that the Dühring epidemic has hit even people who are otherwise quite sensible; it needs to be dealt with. Send the manuscript back.' On Most's manuscript, see Note 159.—117

This is probably a reference to Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung*, Leipzig, 1875. Engels criticised the book in his *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, Part I, 'Philosophy').—118, 162, 180, 195

Johann Most's pamphlet *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx* was originally published in Chemnitz in 1873. At Wilhelm Liebknecht's request, in early August 1875 Marx and Engels edited it for the second edition, which appeared in Chemnitz in April 1876. However, Marx and Engels did not consider it an adequate exposition of *Capital* and were able to correct only the major errors. For this reason, Marx demanded that his name should not figure on the title-page of the second edition.—118, 125

The publication of Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung* and the second edition of his *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* (1875) made his views very popular in Germany. Among the German Social-Democrats, he acquired such followers as Johann Most, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, and
Eduard Bernstein. Even August Bebel came under his influence for a short time. In view of this, in his letters to Engels of 1 February and 21 April 1875, Liebknecht proposed that the latter use *Der Volksstaat* to criticize Dühring's views.

Engels did so for the first time in the essay 'Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag' carried by *Der Volksstaat* in February 1876 (see present edition, Vol. 24).

Marx agreed with Engels that Dühring's views had to be exposed to serious criticism. Engels interrupted the work on *Dialectics of Nature* which he had begun in May 1873 and made a start on *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25). It took him over two years, from May 1876 to July 1878, to complete it. Part I of the book was mainly written between September 1876 and January 1877 and was printed in the *Vorwärts* as a series of articles under the heading Herrn Eugen Dühring's *Umwälzung der Philosophie* in January-May 1877.

Part II was written in July-August 1877. Marx contributed Chapter X. This part was published under the heading Herrn Eugen Dühring's *Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie* in the *Wissenschaftliche Beilage* and the supplement to the *Vorwärts* in July-December 1877.

Part III was written mostly between August 1877 and April 1878 and appeared in the *Vorwärts* in May-July 1878 under the title Herrn Eugen Dühring's *Umwälzung des Sozialismus*.

The book aroused strong resistance on the part of Dühring's followers. At a regular party congress held in Gotha from 27 to 29 May 1877, they tried to prevent the publication of Engels' work in the party's central organ. *Anti-Dühring* appeared in the newspaper with lengthy intervals.

In July 1877, Part I of the book was published in Leipzig as a separate pamphlet. In July 1878, Parts II and III were also published there as a separate pamphlet. The first complete edition of *Anti-Dühring*, with Engels' preface, appeared at the same time.

In late October 1878, following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany, *Anti-Dühring* was banned along with Engels' other works.—118, 120, 122, 175, 201, 207, 218, 220, 227, 236, 249, 254, 258, 283, 289

On 22 (10) May 1876, Constantinople witnessed a mass demonstration of the softas, Moslem students of theology and constitutional law. One of their basic demands was the convocation of a representative body to approve the state budget. The Sultan was forced to meet some of the softas' demands. Specifically, he dismissed the Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) and the Sheikh ul Islam (head of the Moslem clergy).—118, 123, 293

In July 1875, a national liberation uprising against Turkish rule flared up in Herzegovina. In August, it spread to Bosnia. It was the starting-point of the Eastern crisis of the 1870s which ultimately led to the war between Serbia and Montenegro on the one hand, and Turkey on the other (see Note 176) and eventually to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 (see Note 207). The war over, Austro-Hungarian troops entered Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Berlin Treaty (see Note 430); the uprising was suppressed.—118

On 10 May 1876, Jenny, Marx's daughter, gave birth to a son, Jean Laurent Frédéric Longuet, who was called Johnny in the family.—118

Johann Most's manuscript was a panegyric on Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie*, which appeared in 1875. Most's article about Dühring was printed in September-October 1876 in the *Berliner Freie Presse* under the heading 'Ein Philosoph'.—119, 122, 218
Marx is probably referring to Dühring's opinion of Most's pamphlet Kapital und Arbeit (see Note 154) made in the second edition of his Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Socialismus, Berlin, 1875, p. 570.— 120

Marx is referring to Engels' work The Housing Question; its first and third parts contain criticism of Arthur Mülberger's articles which were reprinted under the general heading 'Die Wohnungsfrage' by Der Volksstaat in February-March 1872 from the Austrian workers' paper Volkswille (see present edition, Vol. 23).— 120

On 30 May 1876, a palace revolution overthrew Sultan Abdul Aziz and enthroned his nephew Prince Murad (Murad V) who had a reputation as reformer. On 4 June Abdul Aziz was assassinated.— 120

On 6 June 1876, the congress held in Copenhagen re-established the Danish Social-Democratic Workers' Party which had been originally founded in 1871 as a section of the International and dissolved by the government in 1872. Up to 1884, it was called the Social-Democratic League. The congress approved rules and a programme based on the principles of the Gotha Programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 121). Louis Pio was elected chairman, and Paul Geleff the second chairman of the Executive.— 121

At the House of Commons sitting on 22 May 1876, one of the Irish M.P.s inquired of Prime Minister Disraeli whether the government intended to amnesty the Fenians who were still in prison. Disraeli stated that 15 Fenians remained imprisoned, and that the government had no intention of pardoning them since it regarded them as 'criminals and deserters'. The statement provoked a storm of indignation among the Irish M.P.s.

The Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who had taken their name from the 'Féne', the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s among the Irish immigrants in the USA, and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and believed in conspiratorial tactics. The British government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. In September 1865 it arrested a number of Fenian leaders, who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment (O'Donovan Rossa received a life sentence). In 1867, following the abortive attempt at an uprising, hundreds of Irishmen were thrown into prison.

Marx and Engels, who repeatedly pointed to the weak sides of the Fenian movement, their reliance on conspiracy and sectarian errors, nevertheless had a high regard for its revolutionary character and did their best to encourage it to embark on mass struggle and joint action with the English working class.

In the 1870s, the Fenian movement declined.— 121

In his letter of 16 May 1876, Wilhelm Liebknecht warned Engels that he and his friends had reason to suspect Dmitry Richter of espionage. Later the suspicions were proved to be unfounded (see this volume, pp. 155-59).— 121, 126, 127

The German diplomat Count Harry von Arnim, who had been ambassador to France since 1872, was recalled from Paris in April 1874 for obstructing Bismarck's policies. On his departure, he took with him important documents from the embassy archives. This caused his arrest in Germany in October 1874.
and in December he was sentenced to three months in prison by a Berlin court. On 24 June 1875, the Supreme Court (Kammergericht) prolonged his term to nine months, but in the meantime Arnim had departed for Switzerland for medical treatment. Since he refused to return to Prussia, a warrant for his arrest was issued on 16 May 1876, no matter what his whereabouts. On 21 May the warrant was carried by the Berlin press and reprinted by other German newspapers in the course of the next few days. — 121

This is probably a reference to Eugen Dühring's *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie einschließlich der Hauptpunkte der Finanzpolitik*. Engels made a thorough critical analysis of this work in *Anti-Dühring*, notably in Part II entitled 'Political Economy' (see present edition, Vol. 25). — 122

A reference to the *Berlin Memorandum* of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany, to which France and Italy also acceded. It was drawn up on 13 May 1876 by the representatives of the three states: Gorchakov, Andrâssy and Bismarck. The Berlin Memorandum, which was addressed to the Turkish government on the occasion of the uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina (see Note 157), demanded that a two-month truce be concluded with the insurgents. The Memorandum was to be handed to the Turkish government on 30 May, but the plan was not carried through due to the palace revolution in Constantinople on that same day (see Note 162). — 123

Engels is referring to *Dialectics of Nature*, which he began in May 1873 and, having written the 'Introduction' and drafted about a hundred notes and fragments, had to interrupt work on it in May 1876 to write *Anti-Dühring* (see Note 155). After *Anti-Dühring* had been completed and published, Engels returned to *Dialectics of Nature* in mid-1878 but had to interrupt it again in order to prepare for the press the manuscripts of the second and third volumes of *Capital* following the death of Marx. *Dialectics of Nature* remained unfinished (see present edition, Vol. 25). — 124, 254, 420

Darwin's main work, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, appeared in 1859. — 124

Marx wrote on the envelope of this letter: 'Mr. F. A. Sorge, Bez. 101, Hoboken, N. J., via New York (U. States), per next steamer.' The date has been established by the postmark. — 124

In a letter of 4 April 1876 (see this volume, p. 115), Marx requested Sorge to send him the articles published by the New-York *Tribune* of which he was the author. In his reply of 2 June 1876, Sorge wrote that Kugelmann had asked several months earlier for these articles to be included in Marx's complete works planned by the Hamburg publisher Otto Meissner. Sorge had received this information from Livingstone, who kept the articles from the *Tribune* after Hermann Meyer's death. Livingstone refused to send them to Kugelmann without Marx's knowledge. — 125

This letter was written on a postcard (the original is kept at the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier). The date has been established by the postmark. — 125

Engels is probably referring to his trip to Heidelberg with his wife Lizzie on 24 June 1876 to fetch Mary Ellen Burns, his wife's niece, from her boarding house for a holiday (see also this volume, pp. 115-16). — 129

Engels was on holiday in Ramsgate between 24 July and 1 September 1876. In early August, he and his wife took Mary Ellen Burns back to her boarding
house as her holidays were over. On 5 August, he returned to Ramsgate.—130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 140

176 In late June 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey in support of the popular uprising which had flared up in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the summer of 1875 (see Note 157). However, the ill-prepared offensive of the Serbian army was halted as soon as early July and, after its defeat had opened up the road to Belgrade for the Turkish troops, Russia categorically demanded the immediate cessation of hostilities against Serbia and Montenegro and an armistice. After a ceasefire lasting six weeks, in February 1877 Turkey and Serbia signed a peace treaty on the terms of *status quo ante.*

On 31 March 1877, a conference of European powers in London issued a protocol that enjoined Turkey to conclude a peace treaty with Montenegro, cease its arms build-up, etc. Turkey having rejected the Russian ultimatum to comply with the London Protocol, Russia declared war on it on 24 (12) April 1877, and Montenegro became a Russian ally.—130, 140, 177, 237, 255, 296

177 From 1874, Charles Longuet taught French at the King’s College in London, and Jenny Longuet—German at Clement Dun’s school. In 1880, after the Paris Commune members had been amnestied, Longuet returned to Paris.—132, 378, 391, 447

178 Between 15 August and 15 September 1876, Marx, accompanied by his daughter Eleanor (Tussy), was in Karlsbad taking a cure for the third time. Having completed it, he spent a few days with Max Oppenheim in Prague, and then, after brief visits to Kreuznach and Liège, returned to London on 22 September 1876.—132, 135, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 148, 154, 440, 442

179 Marx gives an account of the resolution passed at the meeting held after Bakunin’s funeral on 3 July 1876.

The anarchist congress (the so-called sixth general congress of the International Working Men’s Association) held in Geneva from 1 to 6 September 1873 approved new Rules for the Bakuninist International. Article 3 declared complete autonomy of the federations and sections of the Association.—132

180 Marx and his daughter Eleanor spent a few days in Brighton in March 1873.—132


182 Engels probably means, above all, the poem ‘Herr Christopf Hachstrumpf...” in Nadler’s book (see Note 181).—133

183 In his letter to Engels of 7 August 1876, Lavrov stated that a young man, a Russian socialist residing in Berlin and corresponding with German Social-Democrats and Russian socialists (Grigory Gurevich), had carelessly allowed some letters addressed to him, including letters from Liebknecht, to be opened at the post office, after which they had fallen into the hands of the police. On 6 August, Lavrov received a letter from one Dekhterev in Leipzig, who informed him, allegedly on behalf of the German Social-Democrats, that a
certain Chernyshev had been despatched to Berlin to investigate this matter (see this volume, p. 147).—134

The Wagner Festival Opera House opened at Bayreuth with a performance of Wagner's tetralogy *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (see Note 190) on 13-17 August 1876.—135

185 'The music of the future'—Richard Wagner's music, whose principles he expounded in his *Zukunftsmusik. Brief an einem französischen Freund* (1861) addressed to Frédéric Villot, keeper of the French museums, and in his book *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft.*—137, 192, 443

This law also known as Prussian Law (*Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*) was promulgated in 1794. It included criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and bore the distinct imprint of obsolete feudal legal standards.

After the annexation of the Rhine Province to Prussia in 1815, the Prussian government tried to introduce Prussian Law into various legal spheres there to replace the French bourgeois codes in force in the province. This was done by introducing a series of laws; edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (primogeniture), Prussian criminal and marriage law, etc. These measures were resolutely opposed in the province and were repealed after the March revolution by special decrees issued on 15 April 1848.—140

187 In April 1876, a national liberation uprising began in Bulgaria. It was brutally suppressed by Turkish troops in May. The press in many countries expressed its indignation at the 'Turkish atrocities'.—140, 158, 168, 183, 447

188 On 12 August 1876, Disraeli was made Earl of Beaconsfield, and from that moment on became leader of the Tories in the House of Lords.—140

189 Probably a slip of the pen: Jenny Marx arrived in Ramsgate on Wednesday, 23 August (see this volume, p. 139).—141

190 *Der Ring des Nibelungen*—a cycle of four operas by Richard Wagner: *Das Rheingold, Die Walküre, Siegfried* and *Die Götterdämmerung.*—143

191 Marx is referring to the report of the second congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held in Gotha from 19 to 23 August 1876. It was printed in *Der Volksstaat,* Nos 98-102, from 23 August to 1 September in the section 'Kongress der Sozialisten Deutschlands'. This particular reference is to the part of the report featured by *Der Volksstaat,* No. 102 on 1 September. Reporting on the debate with Dühring, its author, Julius Motteler, mistakenly mentioned Marx instead of Engels. Wilhelm Liebknecht rectified the misunderstanding in his letter to Marx of 9 October 1876.—154

192 The Berne anarchists sent an invitation to the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany held in August 1876 to take part in their congress to be convened that October. The anarchists expressed their hope for a 'reconciliation' and co-operation with the German Social-Democrats. However, as Liebknecht wrote to Marx on 9 October, the Gotha Congress turned down the proposal that official representatives be sent to Berne. Julius Vahlteich was present at the anarchist congress as a guest from Germany (see Note 200).—154, 157, 184

193 From 1869 onwards, Bakunin and his followers, who had set up their own secret organisation, the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 201), within
the International, sought to take over the leadership of the IWMA and to replace its programme with their own. Following the Hague Congress of 1872 (see Note 20), the anarchists openly advocated a split in the International. Beginning in 1873, they endeavoured to unite the socialist organisations of various countries under their supremacy with a view to 'restoring' the International. These attempts suffered a fiasco at the international socialist congress in Ghent in 1877 (see Note 324).— 155, 247

194 Considering it very important to familiarise workers with the true history of the Paris Commune, Marx became actively involved in the commissioning of a German translation of a book written by one of its members, Prosper Olivier Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. He requested Wilhelm Bracke, and Engels asked Wilhelm Blos to find somebody to do the job. The sample translation done by Julius Grunzig failed to satisfy Marx, as did that by Isolde Kurz. Although Marx was already overburdened with work, he had to spend a great deal of time and effort editing the translation. In the autumn of 1877, on Marx's and Engels' proposal, Wilhelm Blos was recruited as another editor. Lissagaray's book appeared in German in Brunswick late in 1877.— 155, 172, 189, 196, 222, 230, 262, 266, 285

195 The general socialist congress held in Gotha from 19 to 23 August 1876 decided, at its meeting of 23 August, to publish a single organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, *Vorwärts*, that was to replace *Der Volksstaat* and *Der Neue Social-Demokrat*. The congress elected Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Hasse clever editors of the new paper, which was to appear from 1 October.— 155

196 Complying with Marx's request, Liebknecht wrote a long article, 'Die Schande Europas', which was carried by the *Vorwärts*, No. 6, 13 October 1876.— 155

197 The reference is to the mass electoral reform movement in England in 1865-67. The programme of the movement, led by the Reform League (its leading bodies included members of the General Council of the International), bore the direct influence of Marx's ideas. He favoured an independent position of the English working class in the reform campaign. Unlike the bourgeois parties, which confined their demands to voting rights for householders and tenants, the Reform League, on the insistence of the General Council, demanded manhood suffrage. However, the vacillations of bourgeois radicals and the conciliatory policies of trade union leaders allowed the English bourgeoisie to split the movement and prevent implementation of the measures proposed by the General Council. In the end, in 1867 a reform was introduced that granted suffrage only to the petty bourgeoisie and the top strata of workers.— 156, 158

198 The German original of the letter has not been found.— 157

199 Marx's apprehension had been aroused by the fact that Leo Frankel was not released from Budapest prison until 27 March 1876 (see Note 144), and the Hungarian authorities had a chance to keep him under secret surveillance and intercept his correspondence.— 157

200 On the proposal of the anarchist Jura Federation, which withdrew from the International since it refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20), a congress of representatives of some workers' and socialist organisations (mostly anarchist and Proudhonist) took place in Berne from 26 to 30 October 1876. Since the International Working Men's Association had officially ceased to exist by decision of the conference held in Philadelphia in
the summer of 1876, one of the issues discussed in Berne was the so-called solidarity pact that, or so the congress organisers hoped, would resurrect the International on the basis of their programme. In this connection, the participants in the Berne congress made an attempt to involve representatives of the German Social-Democrats in its work (see Note 192). A decision on this question was postponed until the next congress. However, the international socialist congress convened in Ghent in 1877 (see Note 324) turned down the anarchists' proposals and confirmed the resolutions of the Hague Congress.—157, 166, 173, 184

The Alliance of Socialist Democracy was founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868 as an international anarchist organisation which incorporated the secret conspiratorial organisation he had set up earlier in Italy (see Note 266). The Alliance had sections in Italy, Spain, Switzerland and in the south of France. In 1869, it applied to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association for admission. The General Council agreed to admit the sections to the International on condition that the Alliance was disbanded as an independent organisation. Having joined the International, Bakunin to all intents and purposes ignored this decision and incorporated the Alliance into the International under the guise of a Geneva Section (called the 'Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section'). Marx, Engels and the General Council resolutely opposed the Alliance, exposing it as a sect hostile to the working-class movement which sought to split it and obstruct its independent development. At the Hague Congress of the International (1872), the Bakuninists sustained a shattering blow. Bakunin and Guillaume, the leaders of the Alliance, were expelled from the International.—157, 172, 200, 210, 257

In his letter to Marx of 9 October 1876, Leo Frankel wrote that he had heard rumours about the forthcoming unity congress in Switzerland (see Note 200) at which Marx's and Lassalle's followers were to be present, and asked what his attitude to the congress should be.—157

This note was written by Engels on Dronke's letter of 13 October 1876, in which Dronke requested Engels to help him obtain a loan of £150 to ease his precarious financial position.—159, 160, 161

Also extant are a few lines of the letter's rough draft: "... her warm glowing heart was always open for the wrongs and woes of humankind; she felt for the oppressed, the struggling, the lowly. How deep, how bitter must be your sorrow, your solitude and loneliness..."—159

In connection with the Vogt affair Marx had four statements printed in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung: 1) 'Letter to the Editor of the Allgemeine Zeitung' (No. 300, 27 October 1859); 2) 'Declaration' to the Editorial Board of the Allgemeine Zeitung (supplement to No. 325, 21 November 1859); 3) 'To the Editors of the Volks-Zeitung' (supplement to No. 48, 17 February 1860); and 4) 'Declaration' to the Editorial Boards of the Allgemeine Zeitung and other German Newspapers (supplement to No. 336, 1 December 1860). See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 3, 8-9, 12-13 and 19-20).—162

Eugen Dühring's review of the first volume of Capital was printed in December 1867 by the Hildburghausen monthly Ergänzungblätter zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart, Vol. III, 3rd issue, pp. 182-86. In early January 1868, Kugelmann sent Dühring's review to Marx. Engels used it when working on Anti-Dühring (see present edition, Vol. 25).—162
207 Engels’ forecast based on an in-depth analysis of European policy in the Levant proved correct. The Russo-Turkish war began on 24 April 1877 and ended in defeat for Turkey. On 3 March 1878, the preliminary San Stefano Treaty (see Note 430) was signed, which granted complete sovereignty to Serbia, Montenegro and Romania. — 163, 182, 191, 192, 216, 222

208 Part of this letter was published by Lavrov in Vperyod! (Forward!), No. 44 on 1 November 1876. — 163

209 Engels drafted this letter on the back of Ernst Dronke’s letter to him of 31 October 1876, in which Dronke requested him to be his guarantor for the receipt of a £200 loan (see also Note 203). — 164

210 Engels left the Ermen & Engels firm on 30 June 1869. — 165

211 Marx is referring to the talks with Wilhelm Blos. On 16 November 1876 Blos accepted Engels’ proposal that he translate Lissagaray’s Histoire de la Commune de 1871 (Engels’ letter has not been found). However, on 14 November Wilhelm Bracke wrote to Engels that he had already found a translator (Isolde Kurz) (see Note 194). — 166

212 A reference to the Khiva military expedition undertaken by K. P. Kaufmann, Turkestan’s Governor-General. In the course of the campaign against the Khiva Khanate launched in March 1873, it was conquered by the Russian army, which ruthlessly exterminated the nomadic Turkmen tribes that put up resistance. — 168

213 On 18 July 1873, K. P. Kaufmann, Governor-General of Turkestan, gave the order to General Golovachev to exterminate the Turkmen tribe of Jonuds who refused to submit to the conquerors of the Khiva Khanate. The English translation of the order was published by Eugene Schuyler, American Consul in Constantinople, in the book Turkistan. Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja, London, 1876. — 168

214 Following the Daily News publication of letters that cast doubt on the authenticity of Kaufmann’s order to Golovachev, Eugene Schuyler had a letter published in The Times on 16 November 1876. The author stated that he had seen the original document and reminded readers that the extracts quoted by the Russky mir magazine (2-14 February 1875) and by The Times (6 April 1875) in the report marked ‘Hamburg, 25. März’ had not been disputed at the time. — 169

215 The reference is to the national insurrection which began in January 1863 in the Polish lands belonging to Tsarist Russia. The insurrection of 1863-64 stemmed from the Poles’ efforts to gain national independence and was provoked by oppression on the part of the Tsarist government. The National Committee which led the insurrection advanced a programme of action for Polish independence and put forward demands of an agrarian-democratic character. But the insurgent government showed insufficient resolve and a lack of consistency, not daring to infringe on the privileges of big landowners. This repelled the bulk of the peasantry and was one reason why the insurrection failed.

Grave damage was also done by the hopes of the national movement’s Right wing for assistance from the ruling circles of Bonapartist France and from bourgeois-aristocratic Britain, both of which were pursuing self-seeking ends that were entirely alien to Poland’s national interests.

The Polish insurrection had been suppressed by the Russian government by the autumn of 1863, but isolated insurgent units fought on until the end of 1864.
The Polish insurrection was vigorously supported by democrats in Russia and Western Europe.—169

216 Engels wrote this draft letter on the back of Ernst Dronke's letter to him of 12 November 1876. Dronke proposed that he himself should make the payments on the policy he had given Engels as security for the money he had been advanced (see Engels' letter to Dronke of 1 November 1876, this volume, p. 165). Dronke also promised that the annual payments on the policy would be made on 22 November.—171

217 Marx is referring to James Guillaume's letter which Bracke had forwarded to him enclosed in his own letter to Marx of 14 November 1876.—172

218 Wilhelm Bracke, who believed that the working class can succeed only through an alliance with the peasantry, was actively engaged in agitation among the latter in the 1870s. At the German Reichstag elections of 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), he was nominated at the Brunswick 1st electoral district and was supported by a large number of rural voters. He lost the main elections but won the by-elections in the Glauchau-Meerane district on 22 February.—172

219 The circular of the Central Committee of the German-language sections to the Zurich section, drawn up by Johann Philipp Becker, was published as pamphlets in German and French in Zurich in October 1876 (see Note 231). It criticised the proposal advanced by the Zurich section of the International to take part in the anarchist congress in Berne scheduled for October of that year (see Note 200).—173, 200

220 The first congress of the Portuguese workers was held in Lisbon from 1 to 4 February 1877. It gave the final shape to the Portuguese Socialist Party founded in 1875, adopted party rules and a programme drawn up along the lines of the Gotha Programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 73), and elected a Central Committee. At the request of Azevedo Gnecco, made in his letter to Engels of 21 January 1877, in late January Marx and Engels sent a letter of greetings to the congress also signed by Friedrich Lessner, Paul Lafargue and Maltman Barry. The congress received another such letter from the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. Engels appraised the work of the congress in his essay 'The Workingmen of Europe in 1877' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 216-17).

Johann Philipp Becker had a note on the forthcoming congress of the Portuguese socialists published in Die Tagwacht, No. 96, 2 December 1876. The letter of greetings to the congress signed by Marx, Engels, Lessner, Lafargue and Barry has not been found.—174

221 The rough draft was written on the back of Rasch's letter to Engels of 15 November 1876.—175

222 In 1876, a polemic between Gustav Rasch and Karl Heinrich Schaible began in the Vorwärts. It was triggered off by Rasch's article 'Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London', carried by Der Volksstaat, No. 88, 30 July 1876, and Schaible's 'Antwort eines Deutschen auf Gustav Rasch's "Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London"', which appeared in the Vorwärts, No. 19, 12 November of the same year. On 13 November Rasch wrote to Engels requesting information about relations between Schaible and Blind and the former's behaviour during Marx's campaign against Vogt. Rasch wrote that the notes he wanted from Engels would be used in his reply to Schaible's article.

Rasch used Engels' reply in the article 'Antwort eines Deutschen auf Gustav
Rasch's "Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London" printed by the Vorwärts, No. 5, 12 January 1877. Without mentioning the source, Rasch quoted in full the part of Engels' letter dealing with Blind and Schaible.—175

Engels is suggesting that in his article 'Deutsche Flüchtlinge in London', printed by Der Volksstaat on 30 July 1876, Gustav Rasch was prevaricating when he wrote that during his encounter with Marx and Engels in London they discussed 'human rights, the autonomy of nations, the social republic and those executed in Baden'.—177

The address on the envelope is in Marx's hand: 'C. D. Collet, Esq., Sunny Bank Highgate'.—178

On 8 December 1876, St James' Hall in London was the venue for the national conference on the Eastern Question. Its chief organisers came from the Liberal Party.—178, 179


Probably a reference to Georg Hanssen's work Die Gehöferschaften (Erbgenossenschaften) im Regierungsbezirk Trier published in Berlin in 1863 as a separate pamphlet. Engels used this work in Anti-Dühring (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 150 and 296).—179

Engels then goes on to retell and quote a letter from one of the editors of the Frankfurter Zeitung, Eduard Sarny, of 5 September 1876, which was a reply to Engels' inquiry, most probably to Leopold Sonnemann, made on 2 September 1876.—180

Devanagari—the character in which Sanskrit is usually written and printed.—181

Engels is referring to the Constantinople Conference of Ambassadors of European States that took place between 11 and 23 December 1876. Its participants agreed to demand that Turkey grant autonomy to Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria.—182

Johann Philipp Becker evidently sent Engels two copies of the circular Association Internationale des travailleurs. Réponse du Comité central des sections de langue allemande in Suisse à une lettre de la section de Zurich, concernant le congrès international de la secte des antiautoritaires, du 26 Octobre 1876 à Berne. Engels received the German edition of the pamphlet containing this circular in October or November 1876 (see Note 219).—183

On 25 and 26 December 1872, Brussels was the venue for the congress of the International's Belgian Federation, at which the Bakuninists and Proudhonists had the majority. The congress rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20) and declared its refusal to maintain relations with the General Council in New York. It further decided to accede to the resolutions passed by the international anarchist congress in St Imier (15 September 1872), which had openly declared a split in the International. In a resolution passed on 30 May 1873, the General Council stated that the Belgian Federation had thus placed itself outside the International Working Men's Association.—184

The resolution to dissolve the General Council and the International Working Men's Association was adopted at the latter's conference held in Philadelphia.

234 This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *The Communist View on Morality*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1974.—185

235 This letter was written at Nikolai Utin’s request and based on information received from him. Referring to the important services rendered to the party by Tomanovskaya, Marx meant her activities as a member of the Russian section of the International and her participation in the Paris Commune.—185

236 The second page of the original letter is missing. The penultimate paragraph of this letter is published according to the text quoted by Wilhelm Liebknecht in an item printed by the *Vorwärts*, No. 8, 19 January 1877, in the section ‘Sozialpolitische Uebersicht’. He introduced the quotation with the following note: ‘A competent person writes to us in a private letter about the present state of the Eastern Question.’—186

237 Regular elections to the German Reichstag were held on 10 January 1877. About half a million votes were cast for the socialist candidates of whom 12 were actually elected (see also Note 248).—186, 188, 190, 192, 197, 294, 447

238 General conscription was introduced in Russia on 1 January 1874.—186, 187

239 A ‘sick man’—an expression used by Nicholas I with reference to Turkey in the talks of 9 January 1853 and in subsequent negotiations with George Hamilton Seymour, the British envoy.—191, 272

240 In one of his toasts (*Tischreden*) Martin Luther likened the world to a drunken peasant unable to mount a horse (*D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden*, Weimar, 1912, Bd. I. S. 298).—191

241 Nikolaus Delius’ article ‘Die epischen Elemente in Shakespeare’s Dramen’ appeared in 1877 in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*. Translated into English by Eleanor Marx, it was included in the transactions of the New Shakespeare Society.—191, 273, 446


243 Marx is referring to M. Traube’s principal achievement, the creation of ‘artificial cells’ (see Note 97).—192

244 The *Inner Temple*—one of the Inns of Court in London, four legal societies having exclusive right of admitting persons to practise at bar.—192

245 Gabriel Deville intended to prepare for the press and publish in France an exposition of the first volume of *Capital*. But he was able to accomplish this only in 1883, after Marx’s death. Deville’s book *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d’un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique* appeared in several editions in Paris in ‘La bibliothèque socialiste’ series.—193

246 In January 1877, Wilhelm Liebknecht was in Offenbach where he was nominated for the second ballot to the German Reichstag (see also Note 237).—194

247 Engels’ work *Wilhelm Wolff* was printed in June-November 1876 in *Die Neue Welt* of which Wilhelm Liebknecht was the editor (see present edition, Vol. 24).—195
After the elections to the German Reichstag held on 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), a second ballot took place in a number of constituencies. As a result, three more Social-Democratic deputies were elected (in addition to the nine who had been successful at the first ballot): August Bebel (later replaced by Wilhelm Bracke), August Kapell and Moritz Rittinghausen.—195

From about 20 February to 17 March and in the second half of May 1877, Engels stayed in Brighton with his sick wife.—197, 198, 204, 207, 215, 232

Engels’ letter to Enrico Bignami of 13 February dealing with the results of the elections to the German Reichstag of 10 January 1877 (see Note 237), was read out at the congress of the Federation of Northern Italy (see Note 252) and then published in La Plebe, No. 7, 26 February 1877. See Engels’ ‘Letter to Enrico Bignami on the German Elections of 1877’ (present edition, Vol. 24).—198

On 20 February Engels received La Plebe of 7 and 21 January and 16 February 1877.—198

The second congress of the International’s Federation of Northern Italy was held in Milan on 17 and 18 February 1877. On the significance of the congress, see Engels’ article ‘From Italy’ (present edition, Vol. 24).—200

Neuchâtel (Switzerland) was the place of residence of James Guillaume who, after Mikhail Bakunin’s death in 1876 headed the international anarchist alliance (see also Note 193).—200

Marx means the editing of the German translation of Prosper Olivier Lissagaray’s Histoire de la Commune de 1871, which occupied him between October 1876 and August 1877 (for details, see Note 194).—201, 269, 270, 285

The International’s Rules were adopted by the Central (General) Council on 1 November 1864 and finally approved by the Geneva Congress on 5 September 1866 (see present edition, Vol. 20).—203

On 26 February 1877, La Plebe published three resolutions passed by the second congress of the Federation of Northern Italy under the heading of ‘Congresso Socialista di Milano’. Marx is referring to Resolution III.—203

Engels used the article ‘Congresso Socialista di Milano’ carried by La Plebe when working on his article ‘From Italy’ published by the Vorwärts, No. 32, 16 March 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24).—203, 207

Enclosed in Marx’s letter to Engels of 5 March 1877 were Marx’s ‘Randnoten zu Dührings Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie’. The manuscript, which contains a critical analysis of the first three sections of the second edition of Dühring’s book, was used by Engels as the basis for Chapter X, ‘From Kritische Geschichte’, of Part II of his Anti-Dühring (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 211-43).—203, 205, 206, 207, 264

In February and March 1877, Marx provided the English journalist Maltman Barry with advice and materials. Barry was working on essays dealing with Gladstone’s foreign policy that were published by several conservative papers. The Vanity Fair of 3 March 1877, for example, carried Barry’s article ‘Mr. Gladstone’, and of 10 March its sequel, ‘The Great Agitator Unmasked’.—206, 209

The Physiocrats—followers of a trend in the classical bourgeois political economy that arose in France in the mid-18th century. The Physiocrats held Nature to be the only source of wealth, and agriculture the only sphere of the
economy where value was created. Although they underestimated the role of industry and commerce, the Physiocrats made an important contribution to economic science by shifting the search for the origins of surplus value from circulation to production, thereby laying the basis for the analysis of capitalist production. Advocates of large-scale capitalist farming, they exposed the moribund nature of the feudal economy, thus paving the way ideologically for the bourgeois revolution in France. Marx gave a critical analysis of the Physiocrats' views in the *Theories of Surplus Value*, the central section of the Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see present edition, Vol. 30, pp. 352-76).— 208, 452

The *Tableau économique*—François Quesnay's chart of the reproduction and circulation of the total social product—was first published as a short pamphlet in Versailles in 1758. Marx used Quesnay's *Analyse du Tableau économique* (first printed in 1766) contained in Eugène Daire's edition of *Physiocrates. Première partie*, Paris, 1846. Marx made an in-depth study of the Tableau économique in the *Economic Manuscript of 1861-63* (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 204-40), in Chapter X of Part II of *Anti-Dühring* (ibid., Vol. 25, pp. 211-43), and in *Capital*, Volume Two, Chapter XIX (ibid., Vol. 36).—208, 262

In his article 'Russian Policy and Deeds in Turkestan', published in *The Contemporary Review* (Vol. XXVIII) in November 1876, Gladstone described the political line pursued by the Russian government as one 'of marked moderation and prudence'. In his opinion, it presented no threat to British rule in India. Maltman Barry's article 'Mr. Gladstone and Russian Intrigue', written with Marx's assistance and printed by the *Whitehall Review* on 3 February 1877, subjected Gladstone's views to a critical analysis.—209

On 4 September 1870, the people of Paris launched an uprising that overthrew the Second Empire and established a republic headed by the bourgeois Government of National Defence. On 12 September 1870, Thiers, its head, left for London whence he intended to travel to St Petersburg and Vienna. The purpose of the tour was to convince the governments of the three countries of the 'loyalty' of the French republican government (see K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*, present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 311-12).—210

At Marx's request, Pyotr Lavrov compiled a résumé of judicial and police persecution in Russia, which Marx passed on to the Irish M. P. Keyes O'Clery. The latter used the information in his speeches delivered in the House of Commons on 3 and 14 May 1877 (see *MEGA*₂, Erste Abteilung, Band 25, S. 462).

Pyotr Lavrov also wrote an article in French entitled 'La justice en Russie', which Marx helped to get printed in the British weekly *Vanity Fair* on 14 April 1877.—211, 213, 217, 221

As is seen from Danielson's letter of 7(19) March 1877, he sent Marx the following books: A. Vasilchikov, *Landownership and Agriculture in Russia and Other European States*, vols I-II, St. Petersburg, 1876; P. A. Sokolovsky, *Essays in the History of the Village Commune in the North of Russia*, St Petersburg, 1877; V. Ya. Bunyakovskoy, *Anthropobiological Researches as They Apply to Russia's Male Population*, St Petersburg, 1874; *Statistical Chronicle of the Russian Empire and A Collection of Materials Concerning the Artels in Russia*, issues I-III (all in Russian). See also Note 68.—213
In 1864, Mikhail Bakunin set up the secret anarchist *Alliance de la démocratie sociale* in Florence. Later, Frenchmen, Poles and others also became its members. The International Brethren formed the kernel of the Alliance, its 'élite'. In 1868, this secret organisation founded the semi-legal Bakuninist *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste* (see Note 201).—214

Marx wrote this on a postcard. The address on the back is also in his hand: 'M. P. Lawroff, 21, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road. W.'—216, 217, 225

In his letter to Marx of 9 April 1877 Wilhelm Bracke wrote the following concerning the publication of the German translation of Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (see notes 194 and 211) that was being prepared at the time: 'I have, as you will see, thought up the title myself, but must admit that I don't like it. What I find particularly displeasing is the note that Lissagaray corrected the text beforehand.'—217

A reference to the campaign that preceded the elections to the German Reichstag held on 10 January 1877 (see also notes 237, 246 and 248).—218

Having squandered the money collected for party purposes, Louis Pio and Paul Geleff, leaders of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, secretly left Denmark on 23 March 1877 and settled in the USA (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 219).—221

A reference to the portrait of Marx in the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, p. 287).—223, 227

In March 1877, the Romanian government agreed to let Russian troops pass through its territory. On 24 April Russia declared war on Turkey.—223, 228, 237

*Cordeliers*—members of a political club founded at the time of the French Revolution in Paris in 1790. Officially known as the Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, this club got its other name from the old convent of the Franciscan friars called Cordeliers (from the knotted cord worn as a girdle) in which it held its meetings. Among its members were such prominent revolutionaries as Georges Danton and Camille Desmoulins. Initially, the Cordeliers supported Robespierre and later the left-wing revolutionaries, the Hébertists. In 1794 the latter tried to instigate an uprising against Robespierre's followers. The attempt failed, and the club ceased to exist.—224

The *Lyceum Theatre*—a drama theatre in London.—226

In Mid-June 1877, Engels wrote a short biography of Marx which was published in the *Volks-Kalender* for 1878 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 183-95).—227

Bracke sent Engels the stenographic reports of the German Reichstag sessions of 16, 17 and 18 April 1877 (*Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags. 3. Legislaturperiode, 1. Session 1877, Bd. I, Berlin, 1877, S. 489-594*), at which the changes in the trade regulations were discussed.—227

The Reichstag session of 18 April 1877 discussed Bracke's proposal to reconsider the election of the National Liberal Dr. Weigel from Kassel on the grounds that pressure had been put on the voters. He said, in part: 'The credentials commission stated first of all that rejection had been proposed without any evidence and without supplying the names of the individuals
concerned... I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the persons involved are essentially dependent people, workers, for whom the mere mention of their names in the protest is often sufficient for them to lose their jobs or bring about other unpleasant experiences.'—227

In the discussion of the Bill on the trade regulations proposed by the Catholic Party of the Centre (see Note 423), Bebel spoke at the Reichstag session of 18 April 1877 in defence of the alternative Social-Democratic Bill which provided for a set of measures aimed to shorten working hours, introduce labour protection, etc. He embarked on a sharp polemic with representatives of the bourgeois parties.—227

In 1877, the British Home Secretary Richard Assheton Cross introduced a Bill providing for measures to regulate working hours, specifically in the domestic industry and workshops. The Bill limited the working day of adolescents to $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours and supplemented the law of 1874 on restricting child labour. The Bill became law in 1878.—228

The original of Engels’ letter to B. Lindheimer has not been found. The rough draft was written on Lindheimer’s letter to Engels of 25 April 1877.—229

Russia declared war on Turkey on 24 April 1877 (see Notes 207 and 272) and conducted successful operations in the Caucasus.—232, 234

At that time Engels obviously did not yet know about the softas’ demonstration held in front of the premises of the Chamber of Deputies in Constantinople on 24 May 1877 (for the softas see Note 156). At the Chamber’s session, the softas’ delegates voiced their indignation at the surrender of Ardagan by Turkish troops and demanded the immediate resignation of the War Minister Redif-Pasha and a War Council member, Damad Mahmud-Pasha. The Chamber decided to invite all ministers to discuss the necessary military steps. A state of siege was proclaimed in the capital and its environs the next day and numerous arrests were made. There was no change in the nature of hostilities.—232

The President of the Third Republic Mac-Mahon, who had the support of the Catholic reactionaries, tried to stage a coup d’état in May 1877. In violation of the Constitution, on 17 May he appointed a new administration headed by the monarchist Broglie and disbanded the bourgeois-republican government. On 18 May, the sessions of both chambers of the National Assembly were postponed for a month, and on 25 June the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. New elections were scheduled for 14 October 1877.—233, 235, 246

A reference to the Adzhars’ guerrilla warfare in the rear of the Russian army in the Caucasus, which held back its advance in that theatre of war.—234

Engels was entitled to a fee for his article ‘Karl Marx’ written for Bracke’s Volks-Kalender for 1878 (see Note 275).—236

At the 29 May sitting of the Gotha Congress of the German Socialist Workers’ Party (27-29 May 1877), Dühring’s followers demanded that the publication of Engels’ Anti-Dühring be stopped in the party’s central organ. The proposal was made by Johann Most and Julius Vahlteich. August Bebel proposed that Engels’ work appear as a separate edition rather than in the Vorwärts. Referring to the resolution of the 1876 congress concerning the publication of Engels’ articles, Wilhelm Liebknecht suggested that they should be carried either by the scientific supplement to the Vorwärts or in the Zukunft magazine, or as separate pamphlets. Parts II and III of Anti-Dühring appeared in the supplement to the Vorwärts.—236, 238, 243, 258, 288, 420
From 1872, Dühring, a lecturer at the University of Berlin, fiercely attacked university professors including Prof. Helmholtz, and also some aspects of university life. For this, he suffered reprisals at the hands of the reactionary professors and, in July 1877, on the insistence of the faculty of philosophy was deprived of the right to lecture. His followers launched a vigorous protest campaign, and the democratic quarters at large denounced his expulsion.—236, 249, 257

On 22 (10) June 1877, Russian troops crossed the Lower Danube. On the Russian army's crossing of the Middle Danube, see Note 294.—237

Engels and his sick wife stayed in Ramsgate between 11 July and 28 August 1877.—238, 240, 244, 271, 274, 280

In a letter of 14 June 1877, Liebknecht asked Engels for a photograph of Urquhart, who had just died, and requested him to write a short biography of the deceased.—238

From 15 June to 15 August 1877 Liebknecht was serving a sentence of two months. In a letter to Engels despatched on 27 June from Leipzig prison, he wrote that as the editor of the Vorwärts and an organiser of the Social-Democrats' election campaign in the winter of 1876-77 he had had a multitude of charges brought against him, and this would entail several court trials.—239, 243, 247, 275

From 10 June 1877 the Vorwärts carried a series of articles covering the conflict between the monarchists and the republican majority in the French Chamber of Deputies and Mac-Mahon's attempt to effect a coup d'état (see Note 283). The first of them was an editorial 'Zum jüngsten Staatsstreif des Herrn Mac-Mahon'. The editorial board took a nihilist stand on these events, implying that it was immaterial to the proletariat whether it was campaigning under a bourgeois republic or a monarchy. These views were stated most directly in the editorial 'Nieder mit der Republik!' (Down with the Republic!) featured by the Vorwärts on 1 July 1877 and written, most probably, by Wilhelm Hasenclever.—239, 246, 294

For the most part, this paragraph coincides with the note printed by the Vorwärts on 11 July 1877 in the 'Sozialpolitische Uebersicht' column, which opened with the words 'We have received a letter from Paris' and was supplied with editorial comments.

The note may have been written by Carl Hirsch, who used a passage from Engels' letter to him (which has not been found). The comment on the note was probably written by Hasenclever.—239

On 27 (15) June 1877, Russian troops crossed the Middle Danube in the vicinity of Sistovo (Svišťov in Bulgarian).—239

When staying in London in 1876, the German Social-Democrat Gustav Rasch maintained friendly relations with Prince Nicholas of Montenegro.—239

In his letters to Marx of 9 July and to Engels of 10 July 1877, Franz Wiede proposed that they contribute to the Neue Gesellschaft magazine he was planning to start (the first issue appeared in Zurich in October 1877). In a letter to Engels of 20 July 1877, Wiede asked for a speedy reply to his proposal.—240, 241, 247, 413

Engels is referring to the proofs of Part II of Anti-Dühring (see Note 155), which appeared in the Vorwärts between 27 July and 30 December 1877 as a
series of articles under the general heading 'Herrn Eugen Dühring’s Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie'.—240

In July 1877 the first part of Anti-Dühring was published in Leipzig as a separate pamphlet headed 'Herrn Eugen Dühring’s Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. I. Philosophie'.—240

A Turkish landing force disembarked in Sukhumi in May 1877 to launch guerrilla operations in the rear of the Russian Caucasian army, but was pushed back in early September 1877.—240

A reference to the Russian army’s siege of Silistria, a Turkish fortress (Bulgarian name: Silistra), in May-June 1854, during the Crimean War of 1853-56.—241

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. The full English translation of the letter was published 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.—241

Marx is most probably referring to Johann Most and Julius Vahlteich who tried to secure a ban on the continued publication of Anti-Dühring at the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany (see Note 286).—242

After the leaders of the Eisenach party had read the Critique of the Gotha Programme, the manuscript was returned to Marx. Planning a pamphlet devoted to the Gotha Programme, Liebknecht asked Engels in a letter of 13 July 1877 for a copy of Marx’s manuscript as he did not have one.—243

‘True socialism’—an ideological trend widespread in Germany in the mid-1840s. The ‘true socialists’—Karl Grün, Moses Hess, Hermann Kriege and others—indulged in the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood and of pseudo-socialist ideas, and denied the need for political action and a revolution. Marx and Engels criticised this trend of the reactionary German petty bourgeoisie particularly in The German Ideology (see present edition, Vol. 5), in the Circular Against Kriege, German Socialism in Verse and Prose, and also in the Manifesto of the Communist Party (Vol. 6).—243

Engels is referring to the establishment of a quadrilateral of Russian fortresses to counterbalance the Turkish one on Bulgarian territory. Rustchuk, Shumla, Silistria and Varna were a stronghold where the main Turkish forces were concentrated at the outset of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—244, 250

On 15-16 (3-4) July 1877, after a fairly brief storming of the besieged Turkish fortress of Nikopol (southern bank of the Danube), its garrison headed by the commandant surrendered, and the Russian troops had no difficulty seizing the town. Varna had been captured by the Russian army on 11 October (29 September) 1828 during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29.—244

Marx, accompanied by his wife and daughter Eleanor, took a course of treatment in Neuenahr (Germany) from 8 August 1877 and returned to London about 27 September.—245, 248, 250, 262, 265, 267, 273, 274, 275, 281, 305

A reference to the scandal involving General Galliffet and Madame de Beaumont. In all probability, Marx first learned about it from the Vorwärts, which on 6 April 1877 carried an item beginning with the words ‘The Nemesis
has grabbed another one by the hair!' in the 'Sozialpolitische Uebersicht' column. The author went on to say that about two weeks previously, at a ball in Paris, in a fit of jealousy Gallifet had seriously wounded his mistress Mme de Beaumont, President Mac-Mahon's sister-in-law, and had consequently been imprisoned. The Paris papers hushed up the scandal. The Vorwärts viewed this unsavoury story, with a hangman of the Paris Commune as its protagonist, as striking proof of the degeneration of bourgeois society. Marx learned the details of the scandal from Carl Hirsch, who arrived in London from Paris about 20 July.—246, 440

309 Palais de l'Elysée—the residence of the President of the French Republic in Paris.—246, 251

310 The words 'Here I am, here I remain' are ascribed to Mac-Mahon, who was supposed to have uttered them during the Crimean War, on 8 September 1855, in response to the suggestion that he retreat from the Malakhov Hill which he had seized and which was to be blown up by the Russians on 9 September.—246

311 A reference to the constitutional conflict in Prussia that arose in February 1860 over the refusal of the bourgeois majority in the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet to endorse the army reorganisation project proposed by War Minister von Roon. However, the government soon managed to secure allocations from the Provincial Diet to 'maintain the army ready for action', which in fact meant the beginning of the planned reorganisation. When, in March 1862, the liberal majority of the Chamber refused to approve military spending and demanded a ministry accountable to the Provincial Diet, the government dissolved the Diet and announced new elections. The Bismarck Ministry was formed at the end of September 1862. In October, it again dissolved the Provincial Diet and began to carry out the military reform without the sanction of the Diet. The conflict was settled only in 1866 when, after Prussia's victory over Austria, the Prussian bourgeoisie gave in to Bismarck.—247

312 A reference to the Party of Progress formed in June 1861 (its most eminent members were Waldeck, Virchow, Schulze-Delitsch, Forchenbeck and Hoverbeck). The party's programme included the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German Parliament, and the formation of a strong liberal ministry accountable to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, the Party of Progress gave no support to the basic democratic demands—universal suffrage and freedoms of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the party split, and its Right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck government.—247, 309, 351

313 On 20 July 1877 the Zukunft editors wrote to Marx and Engels inviting them to contribute to the magazine and referring to the relevant decision of the Gotha Congress to start a scientific review (see Note 314). The letters were signed 'The Zukunft editorial board' and gave the forwarding office of the Berliner Freie Presse, edited by Johann Most, as its address.—247, 249, 259, 362, 413

314 At its sitting on 29 May 1877 the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 286) approved August Geib's proposal to have a scientific review published twice monthly in Berlin starting on 1 October. It was decided that a fortnightly theoretical supplement to the Vorwärts was to appear up to that date. The first issue of Die Zukunft. Socialistiche Revue came out in Berlin in October; its editor was Karl Höchberg, who worked under the
Engels is referring, above all, to the series of articles by Wilhelm Liebknecht 'Die Rothen wider die Blauen.' I-11, in which he sought to play down the impact made by the article 'Nieder mit der Republik!' that Hasenclever had published in the Vorwärts on 1 July 1877 (see Note 292).—249

In 1877, the United States witnessed large-scale workers' action against the industrialists. One of the major events was the railway workers' strike in July 1877 provoked by a 10 per cent wage cut on the three main west-bound railway lines. The strike was suppressed by force.—251, 255

The decision to transfer the seat of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association from London to New York was taken at the Hague Congress of the International in September 1872.—251

A reference to Broglie's first term of office as Chairman of the Council of Ministers from May 1873 to May 1874. Broglie's reactionary ministry declared the establishment of 'moral order' as its goal.—251

The Crystal Palace—a structure of metal and glass in London's Hyde Park built for the 1851 Great Exhibition and later used for various displays and shows.—252

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, On the United States, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—254, 343

On 28 July 1877, Wilhelm Liebknecht asked Engels and Marx to become contributors to the Zukunft (see Note 313). He wrote that the magazine was to be edited by 'bright young men', Höchberg and Wiede, and stressed that the editorial board would work under strict control from the party leadership.—254, 257

At that time Wilhelm Liebknecht was serving a sentence in Leipzig prison (see Note 291).—256

A reference to Vahlteich's speech at the anarchist congress in Berne on 27 October 1876. Present at the congress as a guest, he stated: 'We have neither Marxians nor Dühringians among us.' In an attempt to defend him, Liebknecht wrote to Engels on 21 July 1877: 'Vahlteich, certainly, made no such statement.'—257

The reference is to the international socialist congress in Ghent convened by the Belgian Proudhonists and the Swiss anarchists. They made a fresh attempt to unite all the socialist organisations in Europe on their platform. Present at the congress, which took place between 9 and 16 September 1877, was a group of Marxist delegates, including Wilhelm Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker and Leo Frankel, who opposed the anarchists. The majority confirmed the resolutions of the Hague Congress of the International (1872) on the need to set up national political parties in their own right in line with the principles of the International Working Men's Association.—258, 270, 274, 277

Neue Rheinische Zeitung, a newspaper of the German revolutionary proletariat, was published in Cologne during the 1848-49 revolution under the direct guidance of Marx and Engels. Its prospectus was drawn up by Heinrich Bürgers, but his participation in the work of the editorial board was limited: he contributed only one article, and even that was revised by Marx.
In late 1876, Bürgers had his ‘Erinnerungen an Ferdinand Freiligrath’ published in the *Vossische Zeitung* where he stated that a democratic newspaper in Cologne was initiated by him and Georg Weerth. In the final, fifth, chapter of his ‘Erinnerungen’ published in the *Vossische Zeitung* (No. 302) he wrote that Marx was the soul of the Communist League’s Central Authority (Sunday Supplement, No. 52, 24 December 1876).—259

326 The original mentions an anarchist weekly, *Le Travail*, published in 1873 under the editorship of James Guillaume, its contributors also being the persons named in the letter.—259

327 By the ‘Irish skirmishing’ in the House of Commons Marx means the speeches of the Irish M.P.s who advocated Home Rule. The Irish national party—the *Irish Home Rule League* led by Isaac Butt—was founded in the early 1870s and, after the 1874 elections, was represented by 60 deputies in the House of Commons. The main point on its programme was Irish self-government to be secured strictly by parliamentary means. In their campaign, the League’s deputies made a wide use of obstruction: introduction of numerous amendments, and highly protracted speeches on all kind of subjects. This hampered the settlement of the questions under discussion and delayed debate on the next items on the agenda. An expert in these tactics was Charles Parnell, who turned them into an effective weapon in the struggle for a law on Home Rule.

At the General Council meeting of 4 January 1870 a letter was read from Isaac Butt who offered his assistance in establishing a union between the English and the Irish workers (see *The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 197).—261

328 In a somewhat revised form, Engels included Quesnay’s *Tableau économique* and comments on it in *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 229-39).—262

329 Engels used the above-mentioned works by W. L. Sargent, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and N. G. Hubbard when working on Chapter I, Part III of *Anti-Dühring* (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 244-54).—263

330 *Sheikh-al-Islam*—title of the head of the Moslem clergy in Turkey (the Ottoman Empire).—263

331 In the original here follows Quesnay’s *Tableau économique*.—263

332 Bracke wrote to Marx on 5 August 1877: ‘*After* Miss Kurz I shall now compare the translation of the sheets to follow with the French original and, in cases of doubt, consult Liebknecht, Engels or B. Becker.’ See also Note 194.—266

333 Engels was in Ramsgate at the time (see Note 289), and between 5 and 21 September 1877, he and his wife were on holiday in Scotland.—266, 271, 274, 280, 282

334 In ‘The War in the East’ column, *The Times*, No. 29018 of 11 August 1877, carried an advertisement signed by Maltman Barry and dated 10 August. It related to the meeting scheduled for 13 August and a demonstration in support of Turkey and in protest against Russia’s Eastern policies.—267

335 The reference is to Engels’ participation in the uprising in South-Western Germany in May-July 1849 during which he fought in the ranks of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army.—271
In late July 1877, an advance unit of the Russian army led by General Gurko moved through the Balkans towards Adrianople, but was later forced to retreat.—272

On 21-26 (9-14) August 1877, bloody battles were fought for the Shipka Pass. The Turkish army's attempt to capture it failed completely. Having sustained enormous losses, Suleiman-Pasha's army was forced to retreat.—272

On 30 (18) July 1877, Russian troops made a second unsuccessful attempt to capture Plevna.—272

The Russo-Turkish war began on 24 (12) April 1877, and the Russians were preparing to cross the Danube in May. On 11 May (29 April) and the early morning of 26 (14) May, they sank the two largest Turkish vessels and crossed the Danube in late June.—275

Wilhelm Liebknecht was unable to come to London after the Ghent Congress.—274

A reference to the English translation of Johann Most's pamphlet Kapital und Arbeit (see Note 154) done by Otto Weydemeyer from the second German edition of the work. It was originally published in the form of eleven extracts from Marx's Capital in the American weekly, The Labor Standard, between 30 December 1877 and 10 March 1878. In August 1878, the work appeared anonymously as a separate pamphlet.—276, 366

The planned US edition of the English translation of the first volume of Capital did not materialise. The first volume of Capital appeared in English in London only in 1887. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling with Engels' assistance.—276, 283

Uriele Cavagnari failed to complete an Italian edition of the first volume of Capital. A concise exposition of the work in Italian was published by Carlo Cafiero in Milan in 1879. The work appeared in full in Turin in 1886.—277

The tenth annual British Trades' Union Congress took place in Leicester between 18 and 22 September 1877.—277

On 11, 13, 17 and 18 September 1877, the Standard, under the general heading 'The International Working Men's Association', carried detailed accounts (from our own correspondent) of the Ghent Congress. Their author was most probably Maltman Barry.—277

Marx is referring to the joint invasion of Mexico by France, Britain and Spain in December 1861 with the aim of overthrowing the progressive government of Benito Juárez. However, the heroic resistance put up by the Mexican people forced the invaders to leave the country.—278

Marx is referring to the conflict between the monarchists and the republican majority in the Chamber of Deputies (see notes 30 and 283).—278

On 18 March 1876, Ferdinand Lingenau, a German socialist who had emigrated to the United States, bequeathed about $7,000 to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, naming August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Bracke, August Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Marx as executors. After his death on 4 August 1877, they tried to have his estate passed on to the party, but Bismarck managed to prevent this by applying diplomatic pressure.—279, 393, 410
In a letter to Engels of 8 October 1877, Ludwig Kugelmann wrote about Karl Ecker, 'the royal Prussian factory inspector' who wished to study the living conditions of British workers. Kugelmann advised Ecker to read the first volume of Marx's *Capital* and Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and suggested he get in touch with Engels personally.—281

Engels' information about the losses sustained by the Russian army at Plevna and its 'collapse' and 'disintegration' was grossly exaggerated. There was prolonged fighting for this strategically located fortress from July to November 1877. After three abortive attempts to take Plevna by storm, in which the Russian army lost about 25,000 men, it was decided to resort to a siege, which began in September. On 28 November (10 December) 1877, the totally isolated 50,000-strong garrison tried to break through but, having lost about 6,000 men, surrendered. The fall of Plevna allowed the Russian command to release over 100,000 men for an advance beyond the Balkans.—282, 293, 297

Marx is referring to the article 'Die Folgen des großen Krachs' printed anonymously by the *Vorwärts*, Nos 117 and 118 on 5 and 7 October 1877. On 19 July 1878, Sorge informed Marx in writing that its author was Adolph Douai.—284

On 15 and 17 June and 10, 12, 14 and 17 October 1877, the *Vorwärts* (Nos 69, 70 and 119-22) carried a series of anonymous articles under the general heading 'Aus Heuchelland. Stille Beobachtungen eines Berliners in London'.—284

*Blue Books*—Parliament and Foreign Office documents and materials published in Britain since the 17th century.

On the American edition to which Marx is referring, see Note 416.—284

A reference to the Pennsylvanian miners' strike of 1874-75 which was shot down by troops.—284


Marx received the first part of Moses Hess' work *Dynamische Stofflehre. I. Kosmischer Theil*, Paris, 1877. The work was to have two more parts: the organic (*Organischer Teil*) and the social (*Sozialer Teil*). Nothing is known about the publication of the last two parts.—286, 290

Marx is referring to the *Theories of Surplus Value* which make up the bulk of his Economic Manuscript of 1861-63 (see Note 62).—287

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Communist Morality*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964.—288

Referring to the Dühringians' speeches at the Gotha Congress of 1877 (see Note 286) in his letter to Marx of 30 October-6 November 1877, Blos inquired whether Marx and Engels were really angry with the party members in Germany. German workers, he wrote, were more interested in Marx's and Engels' articles in the press than ever. According to him, Marx and Engels were more popular than they could have imagined thanks to the activities of the Social-Democrats.—288

By the 'secret communist society' Marx means the League of the Just, a secret organisation of German political refugees set up in Paris in 1836-37. In
January-February 1847 its members had talks with Marx and Engels, as a result of which they consented to join the League on the condition that it would be reorganised and an end be put to any personality cult.

At the congress held in London between 2 and 9 June 1847 the League of the Just was renamed the Communist League. New Rules were drafted at this congress with the active participation of Marx and Engels. After the discussion by the Communist League's communities the Rules were considered by the second congress and finally approved on 8 December 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 585-88).—288

361 In his letter to Marx (see Note 359) Bios wrote that the _Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung_ had discussed 'Dr Marx's mutual combinations with Father Beckx'. Bios meant the newspaper's leading article, which had likened the activities of the international association of socialists, i.e., the International, to that of the Order of Jesuits, and Marx to its leader Beckx.—289

362 A reference to Ernst Dronke's infringement of the contract under which Engels rendered him financial assistance (see Engels' letters to Emil Blank of 16 October and to Ernst Dronke of 20 October and 1 and 13 November 1876 in this volume, pp. 160, 161, 164-65, 171).—289

363 Engels wrote this letter when working on the article 'Natural Science in the Spirit World', which he most probably finished in early 1878. Here the reference is to the books: J. N. Maskelyne, _Modern Spiritualism_, London, 1876, and A. R. Wallace, _On Miracles and Modern Spiritualism_, London, 1875, Engels' principal sources of information on spiritualists and spiritualism attacked in his article.


364 Presumably an error in Marx's letter: the meeting in Trafalgar Square took place not on Friday, but on Saturday, 29 December 1877. It was called by the supporters of Turkey in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.—292

365 In 1876-78, Marx received a considerable number of works on Russia's social, economic and political development from Nikolai Danielson in St Petersburg. The Russian section of Marx's library grew rapidly in this period (see Note 265).—293, 307, 343

366 _Zimnicea_ (_Zimniza_), a village in Romania near which the Russian army crossed the Danube in the early morning of 27 (15) June 1877.—293

367 Following the republicans' overwhelming victory at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies on 14 October 1877 (see Note 283) the Broglie ministry was forced to resign on November 19. The attempt by Mac-Mahon and his followers to effect a coup d'état on 13 December fell through due to the resistance of the junior officer corps and especially the body of privates, who shared the republican leanings of the French peasantry. On 14 December, Jules Dufaure's government was formed. In January 1879, Mac-Mahon was obliged to resign before his term of office had expired. Jules Grévy, a moderate republican, was elected president of the Republic. The bourgeois-republican system was definitively established in France.—293, 294

368 Engels is referring to the anarchists. Inability to agree about the final goals of the campaign, failures in practical work (the abortive anarchist putsches in Italy in 1874 and 1877) gave rise to substantial theoretical differences among them.
At the congress of the so-called anarchist International in Verviers in 1877, the Bakuninists' statement that all political parties, including the socialists, were essentially reactionary, aroused vigorous protests from the Belgian, the French and some of the Italian delegates.—294

In May 1877, a congress of the Swiss Workers' Union in Neuenburg accepted Johann Philipp Becker's proposal for a merger with the Grütli-Verein, a petty-bourgeois organisation, to form a single Social-Democratic party. A commission established for the purpose and including members of the two organisations drafted a joint contract and a programme for the Social-Democratic party in Switzerland, which in fact coincided with the Gotha Programme adopted by the German Social-Democrats in 1875. In June 1878, a meeting of the Grütli-Verein deputies in Lucerne rejected the contract and adopted the programme subject to further revision. The planned merger did not take place (see also present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 218-19).—294

A reference to Hippolyte Buffenoir's articles printed under the heading 'Aus Frankreich' in the Vorwärts, Nos 124, 128, 129, 132, 133, 140 and 145, on 21 and 31 October, 2, 9, 11 and 30 November and 12 December 1877. In connection with the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies on 14 October 1877, Buffenoir acted as co-author of the manifesto issued by a group of the so-called autonomous socialists of Paris on 9 October 1877.—295

Comparing the different stages of the French Revolution, Engels believed that a Russian revolution would end in the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, as had happened in France in 1793 when the Jacobins came to power.—295

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, *On Colonialism and Modernization*, Anchor Books, New York, 1969.—296

The letters to Liebknecht of 4 and 11 February 1878 were despatched following a request contained in his letter to Marx of 22 January 1878. Liebknecht asked for one or several articles as preparatory material for a speech on the Eastern Question in the German Reichstag. Both of Marx's letters were published anonymously in the second edition of Liebknecht's pamphlet *Zur orientalischen Frage oder Soll Europa kosakisch werden? Ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk*. The afterword to this edition which appeared in Leipzig a month after the first edition, on 27 February 1878, ended as follows: 'By way of conclusion, I am supplying two letters from a friend who has made a more thorough study of the Eastern Question than anyone else. The clarity of judgment, sharp insight, all-embracing knowledge—all point to an expert. Ex ungue leonem' (Judge the lion from his claws).—296, 299

On 25 (13) December 1877 the Russian army embarked on the decisive offensive on the Balkan theatre of war. Having crossed the Balkans, Russian troops entered Sofia on 4 January 1878 (23 December 1877), smashed the last Turkish army in the battle of Philippopol (Plovdiv) on 15-17 (3-5) January 1878, and entered Adrianople (Edirne) on 20 (8) January and continued their advance towards Constantinople (Istanbul). On 31 (19) January, Turkey was compelled to sign an armistice in Adrianople.—296

The *Grand Cophta*—the name of an omnipotent and omniscient priest who headed the non-existent Masonic 'Egyptian Lodge' which the famous eighteenth-century impostor 'Count' Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo) claimed to have founded.—296
In the summer of 1876, Russia and Austria-Hungary signed an agreement in Rheinstadt on Austro-Hungarian neutrality in the event of a Russo-Turkish war. They also concluded a secret convention in Budapest in March 1877, under which Russia agreed to Austria-Hungary's occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in exchange for its neutrality.—296

The terms of the peace with Turkey, which bolstered Russia's position in the Balkans, were agreed on when signing the San Stefano preliminary peace treaty in March 1878 (see Note 430). They were revised to the advantage of Austria-Hungary and Britain at the Berlin congress in June 1878.—297

Under the Paris Peace Treaty concluded in 1856 at the end of the Crimean War (see Note 22), Russia lost the Danube delta and the part of Southern Bessarabia adjacent to it.—298

Marx is playing on the well-known saying ascribed to Voltaire: 'If God did not exist, He ought to have been invented.'—299

The economic crisis of the 1870s heavily afflicted the miners in South Wales, where many pits were closed down and unemployment assumed massive proportions. In January 1878, only 20 mines out of 500 were working in Monmouth and Glamorganshire.—300

On 7 and 8 February 1878, the House of Commons debated additional allocations to the Conservative government in the event of Britain's involvement in the Russo-Turkish war. The Liberal leaders, especially Forster and Bright, who had previously opposed such allocations and any anti-Russian action, changed their tactics and did not take part in the final voting; as a result the Conservatives managed to get their demand approved, by a significant majority of 328 to 124.—300

As from 1 January 1874, when universal conscription was introduced in Russia, Poles were also subject to the draft.—300

At the time of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, Prussia's stand towards Russia was one of benevolent neutrality.—300

The first campaign of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 took place in May-October 1828. It revealed that the Russian troops were confronted by a numerically superior Turkish army, its strategy being that of temporising and wearing out the enemy. The second campaign was waged between May and August 1829.—301

This treaty confirmed the St Petersburg Russo-British protocol of 4 April 1826 recognising Greek autonomy. Like the protocol, it included an agreement on the diplomatic recognition of Greece and on armed mediation in the Greco-Turkish conflict. The contracting parties confirmed the commitment recorded in the protocol to seek no territorial or commercial benefits for themselves in pacifying Greece except such as were common to all European states.—302

In September 1829 Turkey and Russia concluded a treaty in Adrianople which ended the war of 1828-29. Under the treaty Russia obtained the Danube delta, including the islands, and a considerable part of the eastern Black Sea coast south of the Kuman estuary. Turkey was to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, granting them the right to elect their own hospodars (rulers). Their autonomy was guaranteed by Russia. The Turkish government also undertook to recognise the independence of Greece, whose only obligation
to Turkey was to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan and abide by all the previous treaties relating to the autonomy of Serbia, which was to be formalised by a special firman.—303

Marx is drawing a parallel here with the persecution of the so-called Demagogues, participants in the intellectuals' opposition movement in Germany following the Napoleonic wars. The term became current after the Karlsbad conference of ministers of German states in August 1819, which agreed on measures for the suppression of the Demagogues.—303

The original is kept at the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier. The Editors are not in possession of Sigmund Schott's letter, to which Marx is replying.—304

Marx wrote on the envelope of the letter: 'To the Publisher of "Forward", Hornsey Road, Post Office, London, N.'—305

Engels had requested Lopatin to write for the Volks-Kalender for 1879 an article on the trials of the Russian Narodniks (Populists) brought before the court for revolutionary agitation and propaganda in St Petersburg in 1877-early 1878 (see Note 391). However, the article was not needed, since, after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), the Volks-Kalender was closed down.—306

This letter has come down to us as an extract quoted by Lopatin in French in his letter to Lavrov of 17 April 1878. He also rendered in Russian the substance of the other two parts of Engels' letter:

'He wrote to me to ask for a photograph of the women condemned in the trial of the 50 for Bracke's almanach for 1879. He also wants me to write an article about this trial or about the recent Russian movement, about 16 large-sized pages, for 160 marks=200 francs;

'Engels writes that England shows all signs of an approaching industrial and commercial crisis, which will be a worthy consummation of all separate European crashes: Austrian, Prussian, Russian, etc. So far, two main industries have been severely affected: the cotton industry and the production of iron. The general crash will possibly be delayed until August or September.'—307

Vperyod! (Vol. V, 1877, pp. 1-120) featured the article 'The Outcome of the Reforms. Surveys of the Successes of Economic Exploitation in Russia over Recent Years'. As is clear from Lopatin's letter to Engels of 23 April 1878, its author was Nikolai Kulyabko-Koretsky (pen-name Dahl). The Vorwärts published its German translation under the heading 'Die Folgen der czaristischen Reformen' between 15 February and 15 March 1878.—307

In 1871-73, a single gold coin was introduced in Germany to replace the different currencies of the kingdoms, principalities and duchies.—308

In a letter to Engels of 26 April 1878, Bracke praised the railway project and the tobacco monopoly introduced by Bismarck. But he still regarded as wrong 'any participation by the party in implementing these measures'.—308

A reference to the economic crisis of 1873, which in Germany lasted into the late 1870s (see also Note 118).—308, 405

Eugen Richter, the leader of the Party of Progress, said in the Reichstag on 10 April 1878 with respect to the Bill introduced by Wilhelm Bracke on the repeal of the law exempting the military from communal taxes (passed on 22 December 1868): 'We consider it important enough to note a change at
present in the tactics of the socialist gentlemen.... You, Sirs, obviously do not consider the modern state and its organisation so bad as to make them unworthy of the effort, made by the previous speaker [Bracke] in his speech, to partially improve them.... We will be far from displeased if you follow in our footsteps and bring up our old proposals.'—309

397 Lothar Bucher had a ‘Declaration’ printed in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung and the Frankfurter Zeitung on 21 June 1878 concerning Marx’s and Engels’ letter to the editor of The Daily News (see present edition, Vol. 24 pp. 230-31), which many German newspapers had reprinted with the mistake made in the translation. On 27 June, Marx sent his reply to Bucher’s ‘Declaration’ to a number of German newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 222-33).—310

398 In his ‘Declaration’ concerning Marx’s and Engels’ letter to the editor of The Daily News (see Note 397), Lothar Bucher stated that it would take 3,000 lines to refute Marx’s 30.—312

399 On 9 July 1878, the London correspondent of the Vossische Zeitung had a statement printed in which, referring to allegedly ‘verified sources’, he asserted that Marx had intended to answer Bucher’s ‘Declaration’ in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (see Note 397) with a whole book entitled Herr Bucher.—312

400 An allusion to the novel by Nikolai Chernyshevsky (What Is to Be Done?), which appeared in French in Lodi, Italy, in 1875.—312

401 The first complete edition of Engels’ Herr Eugen Dühring’s Umwälzung der Wissenschaft. Philosophie. Politische Oekonomie. Socialismus, with the author’s preface, was published in Leipzig in early July 1878.—312, 313, 316

402 On 18 July 1878, the London journal Nature (Vol. XVIII, No. 455, p. 316) printed the programme of the 51st congress of natural scientists and physicians scheduled for 18-24 September in Kassel. Among the reports to be read was Oscar Schmidt’s ‘On the Relation of Darwinism to Social Democracy’. On 23 July, Oscar Schmidt stated his willingness to send Engels a copy of his report, which was to appear in the November issue of the Deutsche Rundschau. It also came out as a pamphlet: O. Schmidt, Darwinismus und Socialdemocratie, Bonn, 1878.—313, 317

403 Engels is referring to Rudolf Virchow’s speech at the 50th congress of German natural scientists and physicians in Munich on 22 September 1877. Virchow associated Darwinism with the socialist movement and declared it dangerous to the existing social system (see R. Virchow, Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat, Berlin, 1877, S. 12). Engels ironically wrote that Virchow had ‘amiably tipped the wink’.—313, 316

404 Engels intended to subject to criticism the Darwinians’, including Oscar Schmidt’s, writings against socialism in his Dialectics of Nature (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 314), but did not carry out this plan.—314, 317

405 On 24 May 1878, the majority in the German Reichstag (251 to 57) voted down the government bill directed against socialists, after which the Reichstag was dissolved on 11 June, and new elections were scheduled for 30 July. The Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany polled 437,158 votes this time.—314

406 On 11 May and 2 June 1878, assassination attempts were made on William I, the first by unemployed tinner Max Hödel and the second by anarchist Karl Eduard Nobiling, who had never belonged to the Socialist Workers’ Party of
Germany. These events provoked a vicious campaign against the socialists and provided a pretext for the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878 (see Note 462).

In his turn, Bismarck used the assassination attempts to break down the resistance of the National Liberals (see Note 540), who had a short while before voted down the government proposal to introduce protective tariffs on iron. As a result of Bismarck's policies, the National Liberal Party lost about a quarter of its seats in the 1878 Reichstag elections.—314, 419, 424, 449

407 'We are but dogs!' ('Hunde sind wir ja doch!'). This is how, according to August Bebel, the German democratic political writer Luis Bamberger described the treatment which the National Liberals received from Bismarck.—314, 322, 324

408 The reptile fund—the special fund at Bismarck's disposal for bribing the press and individual journalists. Reptiles was the name used by the left-wing press to designate periodicals which defended the interests of the government and had been bribed by it.—315, 328, 334, 421

409 On 4 July 1878, Jenny Longuet, Marx's eldest daughter, gave birth to a baby boy, Henri Longuet, whom the family called Harry.—316

410 Engels is referring to the birth of the eighth child in Philipp Pauli's family, of which the latter informed him on 17 July 1878.—316

411 In 1877-78, Mary Ellen Burns (Pumps) lived with her relatives in Manchester.—316

412 Nachalo (No. 2, April 1878) wrote: 'Arrested in St Petersburg the other day were: 1) Pyankov, detained by the police in Furshtadtskaya St. and beaten within an inch of his life without the slightest provocation; exiled (!!) to Archangel; 2) Goloushev, chief witness in the Zasulich case; 3) Pavlovsky and 4) Lopatin.'

Lavrov wrote on 11 August in reply to Engels' letter: 'The news reported by Nachalo relates either to the brother of our Lopatin, a participant in the "trial of the 193", or to his cousin, who has just been deported to Vologda Gubernia, having been involved in the Kiev students' case. Our Lopatin had come over from Switzerland but then left again for a while; I think he will be back in about a month, if not earlier. He has not left an address, but I had a letter from him about a fortnight ago.'—316

413 Après moi (or nous) le deluge!—a phrase attributed to Mme Pompadour or to Mme Du Barry, who addressed it to Louis XV.—317

414 This letter was published in English for the first time in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Berlin, 1959, No. 3.—317

415 Between 4 and 14 September 1878 Marx stayed with his wife, his daughter Jenny and his grandson Jean in Malvern.—318, 322, 324


417 Sorge sent Marx the English translation of Johann Most's pamphlet Kapital und Arbeit done by Weydemeyer (see Note 341), which appeared anonymously in August 1878 under the heading Extracts from the 'Capital' of Karl Marx.
Marx's intention to have a new edition of the pamphlet published with his preface was not carried through.—318


419 After Lizzy Burns' death on 12 September 1878, Engels left for Littlehampton (on 16 September).—321, 325, 327, 330, 331

420 A reference to the Anti-Socialist Law. The discussion of the bill began in the Reichstag on 16 September 1878 (see Note 462).—321, 322, 328, 332

421 On 17 September 1878, *The Daily News* and *The Standard* carried reports from Reuters and their own correspondents covering the 16 September session of the German Reichstag, at which Stolberg-Wernigerode, Reichensperger, Hell-dorf-Bedroe, Bebel, Eulenburg and Bamberger took the floor.—322, 324

422 *La légalité nous tue* (legality is killing us): Marx repeats what Jean Pons Vienne, a right-wing representative in the French Chamber of Deputies, said in his speech on 23 March 1833. This was also quoted by the conservative politician Odillon Barrot in his speech to the Constituent Assembly of the French Republic early in 1849.—322

423 The *Party of the Centre*, a political party of German Catholics, was formed in 1870-71 following the merger of the Catholic groups in the Prussian Landtag and the German Reichstag (the deputies of these parties sat in the centre of the assembly hall). The Party of the Centre normally took a non-committal approach, manoeuvring between the pro-government parties and the left opposition in the Reichstag. It united different social sections among the Catholic clergy, landowners, bourgeois and part of the peasantry (mostly in small and medium states in Western and South-Western Germany), and supported their separatist and anti-Prussian leanings. Although in opposition to the Bismarck government, the Party of the Centre nevertheless voted for its repressive measures against the working-class and socialist movement. Engels described it in detail in his essays 'The Role of Force in History' (see present edition, Vol. 26) and 'What Now?' (Vol. 27).—322, 325, 328

424 In his speech to the Reichstag on 16 September 1878, August Bebel refuted the groundless accusations against the Social-Democrats which had given Bismarck a pretext to introduce the Anti-Socialist Bill. He noted that time would show its pointlessness, since the Social-Democrats would be able to disseminate their ideas even working underground.—322, 324, 326, 328

425 Opening the Reichstag session on 16 September 1878, Count Stolberg-Wernigerode stated the allied governments' conviction that ideas repudiating all norms of law and morality and seriously threatening the state and society had become prevalent among the general public. This, he said, was sufficient grounds for introducing an anti-socialist law.—323

426 On 18 September 1878, *The Standard*, No. 16897, carried an article covering the debate on the Anti-Socialist Bill that had begun in the Reichstag on 16 September.

Further on, Engels is referring to the telegraphic communication in the
same issue of the newspaper: 'The German Parliament. The Anti-Socialist Bill. Speech of Prince Bismarck' dealing with the Reichstag sitting of 17 September.—326

On 27 September 1878, the Vorwärts, No. 114 (the 'Aus England, London, 20. September' section) featured extracts from a number of British newspapers dealing with the Anti-Socialist Bill. The Standard was not mentioned in the review.—326

The second French workers' congress held in Lyons on 28 January-8 February 1878 decided that an international socialist congress would be held in Paris in September, during the world industrial exhibition. Its convocation was initiated first and foremost by Jules Guesde. The French government banned the congress, but on 4 September the delegates assembled in Paris met unofficially, since it was already too late to try and convene a congress in Lausanne. The police dispersed the participants and arrested 38 people, Guesde among them. They appeared in court on 24 October.

Carl Hirsch, who was present at the meeting as a reporter, was arrested on 6 September, kept in custody until 9 October, and then deported.—327, 331, 338


On 3 March (19 February) 1878, Russia and Turkey signed a preliminary peace treaty in San Stefano (near Constantinople). The treaty's provisions included the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian principality which would be nominally dependent on Turkey, state sovereignty for Serbia, Montenegro and Romania and their territorial expansion. It consolidated Russia's position in the Balkans, which brought counteraction on the part of Britain and Austria-Hungary, who even resorted to a show of strength (a British squadron entered the Sea of Marmara, etc.). Russia was thus forced to agree to the convocation of an international congress to revise those sections of the treaty that involved 'common European interests'. The congress, in which Russia, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Germany, France and Italy took part, was held in Berlin between 13 (1) June and 13 (1) July 1878. It resulted in the Treaty of Berlin which significantly amended the provisions of the San Stefano Treaty. The territory of self-governing Bulgaria was cut by more than half, and the Bulgarian territories south of the Balkan Ridge were to form Eastern Rumelia, an autonomous province that remained under the Sultan; the territory of Montenegro was also to be substantially curtailed. The Treaty of Berlin confirmed the provision of the San Stefano Treaty that Russia was to receive back the part of Bessarabia severed from it in 1856 and sanctioned the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. After the Berlin congress the Balkans remained a focus of conflict, which led to the First World War.—331, 384

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, On Revolution. Translated by Saul K. Padover, New York, 1971.—331

In his letter to Engels of 22 September 1878, Liebknecht expressed his condolences on the death of Lizzie Burns.—331.

Having analysed the stenographic report, sent by Wilhelm Bracke, of the first debate of the Anti-Socialist Bill in the Reichstag, Marx outlined an article on
the subject (see ‘The Parliamentary Debate on the Anti-Socialist Law’, present edition, Vol. 24). He did not carry out his plan to use this material for the British press.—332

As a threat of an armed conflict with Britain emerged in the course of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the tsarist government agreed on an alliance with Afghanistan. The Russian envoy Stoletov, who arrived in Kabul on 22 June 1878, made arrangements with the country’s rulers for a Russo-Afghan treaty. However, having settled the Anglo-Russian differences, the tsarist government decided against such an alliance.—332

Marx’s letters to the British clergyman Moritz Kaufmann of 3 and 10 October 1878 are replies to the latter’s request that he look through Kaufmann’s article about himself, which was to appear in the Leisure Hour magazine in December 1878 and to be included in a book on the history of socialism he was preparing for publication. Kaufmann’s book Utopias; or, Schemes of Social Improvement. From Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx came out in London in 1879. Marx read through the last two chapters.—332, 333, 334

Marx may have had in mind the professor of political economy at Kiev University Nikolai Sieber, one of the first to popularise Marx’s economic theory in Russia. In 1876-78, Sieber published a series of articles entitled Marx’s Economic Theory and some polemic articles against the Russian critics of Marx, Yuli Zhukovsky and Boris Chicherin.—334

In May 1876, Franz Mehring publicly accused Leopold Sonnemann of using his public position as editor of the Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt to engage in speculation during the Gründerjahre (see Note 118) and extract considerable profits. Sonnemann having denounced this accusation as slander, Franz Mehring had legal proceedings instituted against him. The court of the first instance found Sonnemann not guilty. In June 1877, the court of appeal found that Mehring’s accusations were justified but still left Sonnemann unpunished.—334

In the late 1850s, the Mexican government of Zuloaga and Miramón issued state bonds that became an object of large-scale speculation in France (see present edition, Vol. 19, p. 197).—335

Marx most probably sent Moritz Kaufmann his article ‘Mr. George Howell’s History of the International Working-Men’s Association’ (see present edition, Vol. 24), a reply to Howell’s ‘The History of the International Association’ (The Nineteenth Century, July 1878) presenting the International’s history in a distorted way.—335

Hermann Arnoldt, a Königsberg Social-Democrat and member of the local Johann Jacoby Fund committee (a fund for assisting the Social-Democratic press), requested Engels to accept for safekeeping the Fund’s securities to the amount of about 3,000 marks, fearing confiscation by the Prussian government after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462).—335

This letter was occasioned by Marx’s and Engels’ attempts to get Liebknecht a job on the London Whitehall Review, since the Vorwärts, where he had been a member of staff, had been banned with the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany on 21 October 1878.

On 4 November, Marx sent a letter through a third party to Natalie Liebknecht, which she received on 14 November. Its contents are not known, but Liebknecht must have read it, since on 18 November he thanked Engels
and Marx for their efforts to find him a job (see also this volume, p. 352).—336

As can be seen from the rough draft of this letter Marx had intended to alter the original arrangement of the text. The alterations have been taken into account in the present edition.—336

Alfred Talandier's letter to the editor of La Marseillaise of 2 October 1878, which calumniated Maltman Barry, was printed by that newspaper on 6 October (No. 202) in the section 'Congrès ouvrier'.—336

The International Labour Union (or League) was founded in London early in 1878 by several former members of the General Council of the IWMA, who had refused to recognise the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see Note 20). Acting jointly with the bourgeois radicals, including Charles Bradlaugh and Pratt, they unsuccessfully tried to reinstate the International on their own platform.—339

Alfred Talandier was the permanent Paris correspondent of The National Reformer edited by Charles Bradlaugh.—340

The name partisans of the 'opportunist' republic in France was applied to moderate republicans (Gembetta, Grévy et al.), who fought against Mac-Mahon's attempts to restore the monarchy (see notes 283 and 367).—340

On 22 September 1878, The National Reformer, Vol. XXXII, No. 12, carried a short note alleging close relationship between Mr Maltman Barry and the Paris police.—341

A reference to Napoleon III's wife Eugénie de Montijo de Guzmán who lived in England after the fall of the Second Empire; following her husband's death in 1873, she assumed leadership of the Bonapartist party.—341


The same issue featured a report of the meeting of the International's General Council held on 19 December 1871 at which Marx had exposed Bradlaugh's activities.—341

The address on the envelope is in Eleanor Marx's hand: 'N. Danielson, Esq., Société du Crédit Mutuel, Pont de Kazan, Maison Lessnikoff, St Petersburgh, Russia.'—343, 346, 353

On 28 October (9 November) 1878, Danielson informed Marx that six or seven months before he had written to him that the first volume of Capital had sold out and that the prospects for a second Russian edition were discussed. He requested Marx to let him know whether he was planning any changes to the text and asked for the proof-sheets of the second volume to be sent on to him as soon as they go in print.—343

The polemics in the Russian press on the first volume of Marx's Capital in 1877-79 involved scholars and political writers and were opened by Yuli Zhukovsky's article 'Karl Marx and His Book on Capital' (Vestnik Evropy, September 1877). The article provoked a number of replies, two of which Danielson had sent to Marx: N. Sieber's essay 'A Few Notes Apropos Yu. Zhukovsky's Article "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital"' (Otechestvennie Zapiski, No. 11, November 1877) and N. Mikhailovsky's article 'Karl Marx
Before the Tribunal of Mr Zhukovsky (Otechestvenniye Zapiski, No. 10, October 1877), which prompted Marx to write to Otechestvenniye Zapiski (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 196-201). In 1878, sharp criticism of Marx was levelled in B. N. Chicherin’s article ‘The German Socialists: 2. Karl Marx’ (Shornik Gosudarstvennih Znanii, Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1878). Sieber’s article ‘B. Chicherin contra K. Marx’ (Slovo, February 1879) was a reply to it.—344

The Civil War in America broke out in April 1861. The Southern slaveholders rose against the Union and formed the Confederacy of the Southern States. The war was caused mainly by the conflict between the two social systems: the capitalist system of wage labour established in the North and the slave system dominant in the South. The Civil War, which had the nature of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, passed two stages in its development: the period of a constitutional war for the maintenance of the Union and that of a revolutionary war for the abolition of slavery. The decisive role in the defeat of the Southern slaveholders and the victory of the North in April 1865 was played by the workers and farmers. Marx analysed the causes and the nature of the war in his articles published in the Viennese newspaper Die Presse (see present edition, Vol. 19).—344, 357

The next two passages were quoted by Nikolai Danielson, in a somewhat modified form, in the preface to the first Russian edition of Volume Two of Capital, St Petersburg, 1885, p. XII.—344

A reference to the following passage in the second German edition of Volume One of Capital: ‘And, as a matter of fact, the value also of each single yard is but the materialised form of the same definite and socially fixed quantity of homogeneous human labour’ (see also K. Marx, Capital, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, Section 2, present edition. Vol. 35).—346

Cf. the French edition of Volume One of Capital, Part V, Ch. XVI: ‘I always assume the actual state of affairs, which, with a few exceptions, prevails everywhere, i.e., that the capitalist pays all preliminary expenses, including the worker’s wages.’—346


From 1877 Johann Philipp Becker was editor and publisher of the Swiss socialist journal Le Précurseur.—348

This extract was first published, in German, in the catalogue Sotheby Parke Bernet and C°, London, 1963, as item No. 247. The letter was said to take up half a page and was rendered in English, up to the passage published in this volume, as follows: Marx ‘informing his correspondent that he sent off three copies of Das Kapital and received payment for them’. The letter was purchased by an agent of the Maggs Brothers auctioneers; its subsequent fate is unknown.—350

Marx is replying to Hugo Heller’s letter of 9 January 1879, which stated that in his work Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Krieges mit Frankreich (Bd. II, Leipzig, 1878, S. 159) ‘court flatterer’ Moritz Busch represented Marx as preserver of the late King’s life (probably Frederick William IV). Hugo Heller added that ‘Champagne was still the King’s undoing’.

In his next letter, that of 10 February 1879, Heller apologised to Marx for misinterpreting this passage in Busch’s book; in actual fact, the reference was not to Marx but to Mr Wiehr. Later, Heller copied out the pertinent passage and sent it on to Marx.—350
On 26 January 1879, Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels about the financial predicament his family was in now that he had lost his job as a correspondent following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law banning the entire socialist press.—350

The Anti-Socialist Law (The Exceptional Law Against the Socialists) was introduced by the Bismarck government on a majority vote in the Reichstag on 21 October 1878 to combat the socialist and working-class movement. It banned all party and mass workers' organisations and the socialist and workers' press, and sanctioned confiscation of socialist literature and persecution of Social-Democrats. But the Social-Democratic Party, in accordance with the Constitution, preserved its group in the Reichstag. By skilfully combining illegal and legal methods of work and suppressing reformist and anarchist tendencies within its ranks, the party managed substantially to strengthen and extend its influence among the masses. Marx and Engels actively assisted the party's leaders.

Under pressure from the working-class movement, the law was repealed on 1 October 1890. Engels examined it in his essay 'Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09).—350, 383, 386, 389, 399, 413, 418, 428, 433

The theological system of John Calvin, a Protestant reformer of the 16th century, emphasised the doctrine of predestination and salvation solely by God’s grace.—351

During the strike and lockout of Geneva building workers in March-April 1868, the General Council of the International arranged for financial assistance to the strikers. Money was received from France, Germany, the United States, Britain, Austria and Belgium.—351

A reference to Guillaume's resignation from the Jura Federation (it fell apart in 1878) of the so-called anarchist International and his departure from Switzerland to Paris in May 1878.—351

The first issue of the Freiheit appeared in London on 4 January 1879.—351

On 31 December 1878, the government submitted for the Reichstag's consideration a bill on its deputies' disciplinary responsibility (the so-called muzzle bill). It was spearheaded against the Social-Democratic deputies and the democratic opposition in the Reichstag and came up for debate on 4-7 March 1879. The bill granted a specially appointed commission the right to punish a deputy if 'he failed to show restraint in his attacks on speakers from among the opposition', and even expel him from the Reichstag. On 7 March, the deputies turned down the bill by a majority vote as infringing their democratic rights.—351, 352

On 5 February 1879, the western constituency of Breslau (Wrocław) held by-election occasioned by the death of the deputy Heinrich Bürgers. The ballot, conducted against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), demonstrated the strength and unity of the working class. The workers' deputy Julius Kräcker failed to win a majority, but did poll over 7,500 votes.—352

In the original 'von Fall zu Fall'—a phrase that came to designate unpredictable and indefinite policies. In connection with the Berlin Conference (1876) of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary (see Note 430), the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Andrassy stated that the three great powers had not reached a definite decision on the Eastern Question but had agreed to
coordinate their positions 'von Fall zu Fall'. Applying the phrase to Bismarck's policies, Engels puns on the word 'Fall', 'failure', changing the meaning of the expression to 'one cropper after another'.—352

In February 1879, *The Times* printed a number of articles dealing with Bismarck's finance policies. Some of them, e.g., the leader of 13 February 1879 devoted to the opening of the German Reichstag, questioned the purposes of Bismarck's protectionist policy.—352


Marx is referring to Danielson's letter of 5 (17) February 1879, which contained a review of Russia's finance policies 'over the past 15 years'; the same day he sent Marx a large number of books on which the review was based.—353

The text below (including the paragraph beginning: 'Thirdly: My medical adviser...') was quoted almost in full by Danielson in the preface to the first Russian edition of Volume Two of *Capital*, St Petersburg, 1885, pp. XIII-XIV.—354

A reference to the world economic crises of 1857 and 1866 which seriously affected the British economy.—354

The *Bank Act* of 1844 (An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank-Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period) was introduced by Robert Peel on 19 July 1844. It provided for the division of the Bank of England into two separate departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department, dealing exclusively with credit operations, and the Issue Department, issuing banknotes. The Act limited the number of banknotes in circulation and guaranteed them with definite gold and silver reserves that could not be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Further issues of banknotes were allowed only in the event of a corresponding increase in precious metal reserves.

A detailed description of the Act was given by Marx in *Capital*, Vol. III, Chapter XXXIV (see present edition, Vol. 37).—355

A reference to the world industrial exhibition which opened in Paris on 1 May 1878.—355

The Russian economist Illarion Kaufman had an article devoted to Volume One of *Capital* and entitled 'A Point of View of Politico-Economic Criticism in Karl Marx's Work' published anonymously in *Vestnik Yevropy*, St Petersburg (May 1872). Marx quoted it in the 'Afterword to the Second German Edition of Capital' (see present edition, Vol. 35).—358

Reichenbach, an aspiring writer living in Paris, sent a letter and several books to Marx's address to be passed on to Rudolph Meyer. In a letter to Marx of 27 May 1879 Meyer apologised for the inconvenience caused and expressed a wish to meet him.—359

J. Gugenheim, the secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 55), had asked Engels to deliver 'a scientific lecture' there.—360
On 24 May 1879, the 'Socialpolitische Rundschau' column of the Freiheit criticised the Social-Democratic deputies' stand in the Reichstag on protective tariffs (see Note 502).—360, 362

On 16 May, 1879 Engels sent a letter to Wilhelm Bracke (not extant) with the request that he forward it to August Bebel. As follows from Bebel's reply to Bracke of 24 May, Engels criticised Wilhelm Liebknecht's Reichstag speech on the introduction of the state of siege in Berlin (see Note 486) as evidence of the Social-Democrats' submission to the Anti-Socialist Law.—360, 364


The letter is written on the back of Bernstein's letter to Engels.—360

A reference to the author of the articles on the British labour movement for the Zurich Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik. When making this request, Eduard Bernstein believed the author could be Engels himself (see this volume, p. 361).—360

The writing of Anti-Dühring, which Engels began in late May 1876, caused him to postpone a number of scientific works he was planning or had already started, notably the Dialectics of Nature (see also Note 169).—361

An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, Selected Works, in two volumes, Vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, [1936].—364, 416

A reference to Liebknecht's speech in the Reichstag on 17 March 1879 on the introduction of the so-called local siege in Berlin and its environs. Liebknecht stated that the Social-Democratic Party would abide by the Anti-Socialist Law, being 'a party of reform in the strictest sense of the word'. His speech showed that some Social-Democratic leaders were undecided about the tactics to be adopted in the initial months following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law.—364


Marx is referring to Carlo Caffiero's pamphlet Il Capitale di Carlo Marx, which was a popular exposition of the first volume of Capital. It appeared in Italian in Milan in 1879.—365

Nothing is known about what has happened to the original letter. There is a copy and a rough draft which largely coincide. Engels may have made the copy for Carl Hirsch (see Note 497).—366

This refers to the preparations for the publication of the illegal newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat in Zurich, the new central printed organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. The need for such a newspaper emerged after a ban on the entire party press, above all the Vorwärts, following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878 (see Note 462). In July-September 1879, extensive correspondence on the political line of the new paper and its editors was maintained between August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Louis Viereck (in

The campaign Marx and Engels conducted for a sound political line of the party's future central printed organ is fully expounded in their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others of 17-18 September 1879 (see this volume, pp. 394-408).—367, 373, 374, 378, 383, 388, 393, 415

491 A phrase from Wilhelm Liebknecht’s letter to Carl Hirsch of 28 July 1879 (see also this volume, p. 396), which Hirsch sent on to Marx and Engels.—367

492 Bernstein’s letter to Hirsch of 24 July 1879 is also quoted and mentioned by Marx and Engels in the Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 395).—367, 373

493 Mentioned here is Eduard Bernstein’s letter to Carl Hirsch of 31 July 1879. Marx and Engels quote it in their Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 395).—367, 412

494 Marx and his daughter Eleanor (Tussy) left for Jersey on 8 August and stayed there until 20 August 1879.—368, 369, 372, 409


496 Between 5 and 7 August 1879, Engels, accompanied by Carl Schorlemmer, left for a holiday in Eastbourne. He returned to London on 28 August.—369, 372, 376, 378, 380

497 Enclosed in Carl Hirsch’s letter to Marx of 7 August 1879 was a copy of Engels’ letter to August Bebel of 4 August (see this volume, pp. 366-68). Hirsch quoted the letter he had received from Liebknecht that day concerning the planned illegal party printed organ (see Note 490). Marx and Engels used this information for their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others (see this volume, p. 395).—369, 372


499 On 18 August 1879, Marx’s daughter Jenny Longuet gave birth to a son, Edgar, in Ramsgate.—371, 373, 376, 378, 381, 382

500 On 21 August 1879, Marx interrupted his stay in Jersey (see Note 494) and arrived in Ramsgate to join his daughter Jenny and her newborn son Edgar. He returned to London on 17 September.—372, 374, 378, 381, 385, 388, 390, 393, 394, 409, 415

501 Marx and Engels included a concise exposition of Liebknecht’s letter to Engels of 14 August 1879 in the Circular Letter (see this volume, p. 396). Engels’ reply is not extant.—372, 378

502 A reference to the speech made by the socialist deputy Max Kayser with the consent of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on 17 May 1879 in defence of the government plan to introduce protective tariffs. Marx and Engels sharply criticised Kayser, who supported a proposal made in the interests of big industrialists and landowners and prejudicial to the mass of the
population. They also condemned the lenient attitude displayed towards it by some of the German Social-Democratic leaders (see this volume, pp. 396-401).—373, 424

503 The first volume of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* edited by Karl Höchberg under the assumed name of Dr Ludwig Richter, appeared in Zurich in August 1879; Engels received this issue on 28 August, immediately after his return from Eastbourne.—374

504 Carl Hirsch described the circumstances of his arrest and deportation from France in August 1879 in a letter to Engels of 23 August 1879.—374, 412

505 Engels’ letter to Carl Hirsch, which contained excerpts from Wilhelm Liebknecht’s letter to Engels of 14 August 1879 (see Note 501), has not been found.—375

506 Engels answered Karl Höchberg’s letter of 24 August 1879 on 26 August (see this volume, pp. 379-80).

A reply to Bebel’s letter to Engels of 20 August 1879 was the Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others (see this volume, pp. 394-408).—375, 386, 397


508 The inaugural speech made by George James Allman, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in Sheffield on 20 August 1879 at the opening of the Association’s 49th annual congress, was printed in the London journal *Nature* on 21 August.—377

509 Engels’ letter to Liebknecht of 20 August 1879 mentioned here has not been found (see this volume, p. 372).

August Bebel, who wrote to Engels on the same day, could not possibly have known what it was about.—378, 394

510 The address on the envelope in Engels’ hand is: ‘Den Heer Karl Höchberg, Dr. phil. Hôtel Ealeries, Scheveningen, Holland.’—379

511 In his letter of 24 August Karl Höchberg wrote that, as far as he was informed, Engels had refused to contribute to *Der Sozialdemokrat* because of Carl Hirsch’s unfavourable reports.

On the real reasons why Marx and Engels refused to contribute to the paper, see this volume, pp. 412-13.—379

512 On 24 August 1879, Johann Most wrote to Marx that the *Chicagoper Arbeiter Zeitung* had published Carl Lübeck’s report alleging Marx and Engels had made an official statement against the *Freiheit*. Johann Most asked Marx to let him know whether or not this was true.—381, 414

513 A reference to the programmatic article ‘Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland’ which appeared anonymously in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Jg. 1, 1. Hälfte, Zürich-Oberstrass, 1879, S. 75-96. Its authors were Karl Höchberg (pen-name Ludwig Richter), Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm. Marx and Engels examined it in detail in the Circular Letter (this volume, pp. 401-08).—383, 386, 389, 393, 394, 413, 420, 430, 432
The Freiheit of 30 August 1879, and its sample issue called 'Was nun?' of 6 September carried two articles criticising the first volume of the Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik from an anarchist viewpoint. The first article, printed in the 'Socialpolitische Rundschau' column, reviewed the materials featured by the Jahrbuch and the second, 'Auch eine Denkschrift', analysed the article 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland'.—383, 386

At the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, Britain, which feared a partition of Turkey, decided to prevent the Russian troops from entering Constantinople by threatening to break off diplomatic relations. To avoid a conflict, the tsarist government agreed to the San Stefano Peace Treaty (see Note 430).—384

A reference to the meeting between Alexander II and William I, which took place on 3 and 4 September 1879 in Alexandrovo, not far from the Russian-German border.—384


The attempt by Bismarck's government to provoke a new war with France in 1873-74 failed due to the negative attitude taken by the governments of Austria, Britain and Russia.—384

The Seven Years' War (1756-63)—a war by Britain and Prussia against Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden. It led to France ceding many of its colonies (including Canada and almost all its possessions in the East Indies) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony were obliged to recognise, in the main, its pre-war frontiers.—387

In his articles 'Die Zolldebatte' and 'Zur Kaiser'schen Rede und Abstimmung' in Die Laterne, a weekly he was publishing (Nos 21 and 23, 25 May and 8 June 1879), Carl Hirsch scathingly criticised the speech made in the Reichstag by Max Kaysers, who supported the government plan to introduce protective customs tariffs (see Note 502).—388, 397, 414, 418

An ironic allusion to what Napoleon III said on 26 August 1867 in Lille: 'For 14 years many of my hopes have been fulfilled and great success has been attained, but our horizon has also been darkened by black clouds.'—389

The Treaty of Paris concluded the Crimean War (1853-56). It was signed by representatives of Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey, on the one hand, and of Russia, on the other, at the Congress of Paris on 30 March 1856. Under the treaty, Russia, which lost the war, ceded the Danube delta and part of southern Bessarabia, renounced its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities and agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea (involving the closure of the Straits to foreign warships and a ban on Russia and Turkey maintaining navies and naval arsenals on the Black Sea). By skilfully exploiting the differences between Britain and France, the Russian diplomats at the congress succeeded in obtaining peace on mitigated terms.—389

The 12th annual British Trades Union Congress took place in Edinburgh between 15 and 20 September 1879.—391

This letter was probably written on 12 September, Friday, as a reply to Engels' letter of 11 September 1879 (14 September was a Sunday).—392
An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in the
magazine *International Press Correspondence*, No. 39, Berlin, 1931; minus the
introduction (address to August Bebel), the letter was published in English in:
Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895. A Selection with
Commentary and Notes*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London, 1934. It appears in
full in the present edition, Vol. 24.—394

This letter, intended by Marx and Engels for ‘private circulation’ among the
German leaders’ (see this volume, p. 414), is a major document of their
struggle against reformism and for the revolutionary programme of the
Social-Democratic party.
The draft was written by Engels in mid-September 1879, discussed with
Marx on 17 September, and despatched with their signatures.
The italics in the letters of the third parties quoted by Engels are his
own.—394

Carl Hirsch received Wilhelm Liebknecht’s letter of 28 July 1879, of which he
informed Marx on 2 August.—395

The Leipzig controlling committee comprised August Bebel, Wilhelm Lieb-
knecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzschke, Karl Grillenberger and Ignaz Auer. Misled
by Carl Hirsch’s information, Marx and Engels believed that one of the
members was Louis Viereck, not Fritzschke.—395

Hirsch and Höchberg met in Paris on 15 and 16 August 1879.—397

An ironic reference to the German Workers’ Educational Society in London
(see Note 55). The *Freiheit* was the Society’s printed organ (see also
p. 360).—398

Hirsch received the information from Höchberg when they met in Paris in
August 1879, and passed it on to Engels in a letter of 23 August.—398

Bismarck’s plan to introduce Imperial administration over all German railways
was discussed at the Gotha Congress of the Social-Democrats in August 1876.
The congress approved the transfer of private railways to the state but noted
that their takeover by the Imperial government would promote the interests of
the bourgeoisie and militarist quarters (see *Protokoll des Socialisten-Congresses zu
Gotha vom 19. bis 23. August 1876*, Berlin, 1876, S. 89).—400

Barricade fighting in Berlin on 18 March 1848 marked the beginning of the
1848-49 revolution in Germany.—404

An ironic allusion to the fact that Johann Miquel, a right-wing National Liberal
leader (see Note 540), was founder and member of various joint-stock
companies. As a young man, he was a member of the Communist
League.—405

This note is written on a postcard addressed to: ‘Carl Hirsch, Esq., 12 Fitzroy
Street, Fitzroy Square, W.’—409

In his letter to Marx of 30 August (11 September) 1879, Danielson wrote
about the publication of the first part of Maxim Kovalevsky’s ‘very interesting
work’ *Communal Landownership and the Causes, Course and Consequences of Its
Disintegration* and offered to send a copy to Marx if he had not yet received
one from the author. Marx began a study of the work in October, making
detailed notes on the nature of the commune and its place and socio-economic
role in different epochs and among different nations.—409
This letter was written on the back of Maltman Barry's letter to Engels of 8 October 1879. On Marx's advice, Barry requested Engels to give his comments on Carl Blind's article 'Prince Napoleon and European Democracy' printed by Fraser's Magazine, No. 118, October 1879. Nothing further is known about this matter.—415

A rough draft of this letter is extant which essentially coincides with the letter published in this volume. The passages crossed out in the draft, as well as additions contained in it, are given in the footnotes.—416

August Bebel's letter to Engels of 23 October 1879 (see notes 541, 543 and 544) and that of Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Wilhelm Liebknecht of 21 October enclosed with it, were a reply to Marx's and Engels' Circular Letter to the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party (see this volume, pp. 394-408).

Fritzsche and Liebknecht considered Marx's and Engels' criticism of their conciliatory attitude to the reformist policies advocated by Karl Höchberg, Carl August Schramm and Eduard Bernstein to be unwarranted.—416

Engels is referring to the smuggling into Germany of the Social-Democratic newspapers Die Laterne and Der Sozialdemokrat printed abroad after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462).—417

National Liberals—the party of German (mostly Prussian) bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1866 after the split in the Party of Progress (see Note 312). The policies it pursued showed that a significant part of the liberal bourgeoisie had given up the claim to expanding its sphere of influence and capitulated to the Bismarck government. After the unification of Germany in 1871 the National Liberal Party acquired its final shape as a party of the big bourgeoisie, above all industrial tycoons.—417

August Bebel tried to justify the tactics of the Social-Democratic deputies in the debate of protective tariffs in the Reichstag (see Note 502) by referring to the resolution passed by the party congresses in 1876 and 1877. It stated that the issue had no major significance for the party and that, this being so, party members are allowed to act as they saw fit.—418

A reference to the 'Rechenschaftsbericht der sozialdemokratischen Mitglieder des deutschen Reichstages' signed by Bebel, Bracke, Fritzsche, Kayser, Liebknecht, and other deputies and carried by Der Sozialdemokrat, Nos. 2-4, 12, 19 and 26 October 1879.—419, 424

August Bebel wrote to Engels about Karl Höchberg's selfless financial assistance to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—420

August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and other Social-Democratic leaders insisted that they had nothing to do with the article by Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Carl August Schramm, 'Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland' (see Note 513).—422

After a fierce clash between the revolutionary delegates headed by Jules Guesde and the reformist wing, the third French workers' congress (Marseilles, October 1879) resolved to form an independent workers' party in France.—422

On 18 November 1879, August Bebel wrote to Engels that the reference in Ignaz Auer's article, marked 'Von der Niederelbe, 23. Oktober' and printed anonymously by Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 5, 2 November 1879 (see also this
volume, pp. 420-21), was to Most, not to Engels. The explanation was that, at the time, Auer had not yet familiarised himself with Marx's and Engels' Circular Letter to the German Social-Democratic leaders.

On 11 December, Bebel informed Engels that he had received a letter from Auer who assured him that he had meant Most and Erhardt, not Engels.—423, 429

Engels probably did not read the review of Rudolph Meyer's *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland* published by the Vorwärts, No. 27, 4 March 1877.—424

The editorial 'Zur Eröffnung des sächsischen Landtages', printed in Der Sozialdemokrat on 16 November 1879, stated that the three Social-Democrats elected to the Saxon Landtag (Wilhelm Liebknecht, Otto Freytag and Ludwig Puttrich) had taken the oath of allegiance to King William I. This legal procedure enabled them to perform their duties as deputies.

Reporting this on 22 November 1879 in the 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' column, the Freiheit edited by Most sharply criticised the behaviour of the Social-Democratic deputies.—425, 430

The Thirty Years' War (1618-48)—a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs and the German Catholic princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism against the Protestant countries. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp.—425

On 23 November, Der Sozialdemokrat carried August Bebel's review of Bernhard Becker's *Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871*. The book, written by 'a drunkard and wastrel', as he put it, was 'libel against socialists and the Commune'.—425

The addressee of this note is not quite certain. The note is to be found in the autograph album belonging to the French revolutionary Gustave Brocher who resided in London from 1876. A facsimile of the note is included in the book *Letter to G. P. Brocher. The Last Communard of 1871. Les Anciennes. P. Kropotkin, P. L. Lavrov* (published in Russian in Paris in 1924) and is supplied with a caption that reads: 'A genuine letter by Karl Marx addressed to Professor Brocher in 1879 in English. The author of the letter asks Brocher to dinner.' These facts give reasons to believe that Marx's unknown correspondent was Gustave Brocher.

There is, however, another hypothesis. In April 1883, Brocher requested Engels to send him Marx's autograph and wrote again on 2 July to thank him for it. Marx's note to the unknown correspondent could have been this autograph.—427

The original of this letter as well as Marx's letter to Charles Walstone of 26 January 1880 (see present edition, Vol. 46) are kept in Lord Walstone's family archive. In 1968 he passed on their photocopies to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU, Moscow. According to Lord Walstone, the addressee was his father, the British archaeologist Charles Walstone, who at that time had his father's family name, Waldstein.

Marx must have met Lord Walstone's father during a lecture at the British Museum.—427

Engels is answering Thomas Allsop's letter of 12 December 1879, in which the latter asked for Engels' opinion of the article from The Pall Mall Gazette enclosed in the letter. Allsop did not mention the title of the article or the date of the
Notes 517

paper, so it can only be conjectured that this was one of the four articles dealing with the crisis of the autocracy in Russia printed on 4, 9, 10 and 12 December by The Pall Mall Gazette: 'The Czar and His People', 'Kill or Cure for Russian Despotism', 'What Next in Russia' and 'The Collapse of Authority in Russia'.—428

554 At the Reichstag elections of 30 July 1878, 437,158 votes were cast for the Social-Democrats throughout the country, including 6,253 in Magdeburg. Wilhelm Bracke became a Social-Democratic deputy.

An additional election to the Reichstag was held in Magdeburg not on Thursday, as Engels states, but on Wednesday, 10 December 1879. It was conducted against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 462), but the Social-Democrats managed to get their deputy Louis Viereck, who had won over 4,000 votes out of the total of more than 14,000, take part in the second ballot. The Social-Democrats' influence was clearly growing.—428, 431

555 Engels quotes from 'Presßgeschichtliche Rückblicke' published in Der Sozialdemokrat on 7 December 1879 with minor changes.—429

556 August Bebel wrote to Engels on 11 December 1879: 'Specifically on the issue of the oath, I hold a different opinion. I, too, believed that the oath had to be taken; if one refused to take it, then one needn't have participated in the elections. But I should like it ... to be stated that we regard the oath only as a formality that has to be observed because without it no access to the chamber and no use of the mandate are possible. The oath does not shake our socialist republican convictions'.—431

557 Waiters (Heuler)—the name which the republican democrats in Germany applied in 1848-49 to the moderate constitutionals, who, in turn, called their opponents 'agitators' (Wühler).—431

558 In his letter of 16 December 1879, Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels that he had been invited by Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Wilhelm Liebknecht to contribute to the Sozialdemokrat.—433

559 In a letter to Engels of 16 December 1879, Johann Philipp Becker raved against the activities of the anarchists in Geneva.—434

560 Constitutionals—representatives of the liberal opposition movement advocating moderate constitutional reform in Russia.—434

561 The rough draft of this letter was written on the spare page of one Amelie Engels' letter to Engels, in which she asked for financial assistance. Nothing further is known about Engels' letter.—434

562 These summaries of Marx's letters to Hirsch were made by the French police and kept in Hirsch's file in the Paris Police Prefecture's archive.

Marx's original letters were confiscated during Hirsch's arrest on 6 September 1878. The Vorwärts, No. 111 of 20 September (Supplement), reported this in the correspondence from Paris of 9 September.—439

563 In his letter of 13 April 1876, Henri Oriol wrote that his request for a review of the French edition of the first volume of Capital 'was purely personal' and connected with his wish to help with republican propaganda.—439

564 Marx labels Alexander II a child murderer because of the harsh sentence given in St Petersburg in March 1877 to 47 young people aged between 18 and 23, members of one of the Narodnik (Populist) organisations ('the trial of 50').
They were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, deportation to Siberia and hard labour. The trial attracted close public attention both in Russia and abroad.—440

Jenny Marx’s article was published anonymously in the morning issue of the Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt on 21 November 1875 under the heading ‘Aus der Londoner Theaterwelt’. It was the first in the series of her articles dealing with English theatre and cultural life, and was devoted to Henry Irving, the best Shakespearian actor of the time. Until May 1877, Jenny Marx wrote four more articles for the Frankfurter Zeitung.—441

Carl Hirsch was the Paris correspondent of the Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt.—441

The phrase ‘La garde meurt et ne se rend pas!’ (The guard dies, it does not surrender) is ascribed to the French general Cambronne, Brigade Commander of the Old Guard in the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. It was a reply to the British envoy’s demand to surrender. After Cambronne’s death, these words were engraved on a monument to him in Nantes.—443

A reference to the first French edition of Volume One of Capital which appeared in instalments between 1872 and 1875. The last instalments published, they were sewn and sold as a book.

The exchange of separate instalments for the sewn copies was done for Marx by Henri Oriol. Having failed to obtain permission for the exchange from Adolphe Quëst (see Note 38), he purchased the missing instalments, sew them and sent over 40 copies of Capital to Marx after December 1876.—445

Jenny Marx expresses her commiseration to Sorge upon the death of his daughter Clothilde in February 1873 and his 14-year-old son Max in October 1874.—446

Prosper Lissagaray’s Histoire de la Commune de 1871 was published in 1886 in Eleanor Marx’s translation.—447

Having taken permanent residence in France in 1868, Lafargue gave up his medical career and devoted himself to journalism and politics.—448

This is Jules Guesde’s reply to Marx’s non-extant letter of early 1879.

An extract from this letter was published in English for the first time in Science & Society. A Marxian Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1, New York, 1940.

This is the first time the letter has been published at such length in English.—450

Having emigrated to Switzerland in the summer of 1871, Jules Guesde sided with the anarchists and supported their campaign against the General Council of the International.—450

In April 1877, a small group of anarchists led by Carlo Cafiero and Enrice Malatesta tried to stage a revolt in the Italian province of Benevento, which ended in a fiasco. In June 1877, Jules Guesde sharply denounced the adventurist actions of Cafiero and other Bakuninists.—451

Jules Guesde arrived in London in May 1880 to discuss the programme of the French Workers’ Party with Marx, Engels and Lafargue. They met at Engels’ flat, where Marx dictated the preamble to the programme (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340).
The practical part of the programme was drafted by Guesde with Lafargue’s assistance, and Marx and Engels introduced a number of more precise definitions.—451

576 The present extract was written down by the Russian historian Nikolai Kareyev on the basis of Maxim Kovalevsky’s oral translation from English into Russian and published by Kareyev in the *Byloye* (The Past) magazine, No. 20, 1922 in the article ‘Karl Marx’s Letter to M. M. Kovalevsky on the Physiocrats’.

The letter was published in English for the first time in *The Letters of Karl Marx*, selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood, Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979.—452

577 A reference to Nikolai Kareyev’s book *The Peasants and the Peasant Question in France in the Last Quarter of the 18th Century*, a copy of which was sent to Marx by Maxim Kovalevsky with the author’s permission. As follows from Kareyev’s article (see Note 576), Marx thanked Kovalevsky for the book in the opening (non-extant) part of the letter.—452

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Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918)—Sultan of Turkey (1876-1909).—250, 280, 296

Abdul Kader Bey—Turkish statesman, supreme judge of Constantinople and Anatolia; representative at the Russo-Turkish peace negotiations in Adrianople (1829).—302

Abdul Kerim Pasha (1807-1885)—Turkish military leader, Generalissimo (from 1876); commander-in-chief of the Turkish army at the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, was removed in 1877.—228, 250, 255, 260

Abbele, Henri van den (b. 1847)—Belgian merchant, anarchist; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—156

Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of (1784-1860)—British Tory statesman; leader of the Peelites from 1850; Foreign Secretary (1828-30, 1841-46) and Prime Minister of the Coalition Ministry (1852-55).—301, 303

Acollas, Émile (1826-1891)—French lawyer and politician, socialist radical.—259

Acton—lawyer in Manchester.—20

Adcock—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28

Agoul, Marie Catherine Sophie de Flavi-ny, comtesse d’ (pseudonym Daniel Stern) (1805-1876)—French writer.—143

Alexander II (1818-1881)—Emperor of Russia (1855-81).—18, 22, 140, 156, 169-70, 191, 233, 234, 278, 299, 303, 384, 440

Alexander Alexandrovich (1845-1894)—heir to the throne, later Emperor Alexander III of Russia (1881-94).—278

Allen, George—English physician, Marx's family doctor.—294, 356

Allman, George James (1812-1898)—English biologist.—116, 377

Allsop—Thomas Allsop's wife.—159, 160

Allsop, Thomas (1795-1880)—English democrat, former Chartist; collaborated with Marx in helping the refugees of the Paris Commune; friend of Marx's family and Engels.—159, 160, 213, 221-22, 263, 292-93, 298-99, 307-08, 428-29
Anderson, Elisabeth (née Garrett) (1836-1917)—an English author, the first woman to qualify as a medical doctor in England.—29, 31

Andrássy, Julius (Gyula), Count (1823-1890)—Hungarian statesman, championed the interests of the nobility; Prime Minister of Hungary (from 1867), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary (1871-79).—155

Arnim, Harry, Count von (1824-1881)—German diplomat, envoy (1871) and Ambassador (1872-74) to Paris; opposed Bismarck; condemned for appropriating diplomatic papers (1874); emigrated to Nice to evade punishment.—16, 121

Arnoldt, Hermann—German merchant in Königsberg, Social-Democrat.—335

Arnould, Arthur (1833-1895)—French novelist and journalist, follower of Proudhon; member of the Paris Commune; after the Commune was suppressed emigrated to Switzerland where contributed to anarchist newspapers.—157, 440

Auer, Ignaz (1846-1907)—German saddler, Social-Democrat, a leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; deputy to the Reichstag several times.—69, 96, 98, 398, 420, 421, 423, 429

Auerbach, Berthold (1812-1882)—German writer of stories idealising the small peasantry; later an apologist of Bismarck.—137

Augusti, Berta (née Schoeler) (1827-1886)—German authoress, Marx's acquaintance.—416

Avrial, Augustin Germain (1840-1904)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; mechanical engineer; Left Proudhonist; member of the Federal Council of the Paris sections of the International (1870); member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England.—42

Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—41, 59, 64, 69, 85, 132, 207, 351

Balzac, Honoré de (1799-1850)—French realist novelist.—324

Bamberger, Ludwig (1823-1899)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; later emigrated to Switzerland, England, Holland, in the 1850s—to France; later National Liberal, deputy to the Reichstag (1871-93).—322, 324, 335

Bancroft, Hubert Howe (1832-1918)—American historian.—261

Barry, Maltman (1842-1909)—English journalist, 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 Bakuninists and reformist leaders; after the International continued to take part in the English socialist movement; contributed to The Standard as well as to other newspapers.—10, 92, 206, 209, 261, 266-67, 270, 277, 327-28, 331, 336-42, 352, 415

Bastelica, André 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 of 1871.—42, 156, 184

Bastiat, Frédéric (1801-1850)—French economist and politician.—153, 346
Baudeau, Nicolas (1730-1792)—French abbé, economist, Physiocrat.—265

Bayer, Karl Robert von (pseudonym Robert Byr) (1835-1902)—German novelist.—107

Bazaine, François Achille (1811-1888)—marshal of France, commanded a French corps in Mexico (1863-67); during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the Army of the Rhine; capitulated at Metz on 27 October 1870.—35, 251

Beaconsfield, Earl of—see Disraeli, Benjamin

Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de (1732-1799)—French dramatist.—324

Beaumont de—MacMahon's sister-in-law.—246, 440

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, turner; member of the International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag (1871-83 and from 1883); a founder and leader of German Social-Democracy, championed the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels; leader of the Second International.—7, 60, 65, 66, 69, 85, 96, 97, 99-101, 157, 227, 322, 324, 326, 328, 366-68, 375, 378, 386-87, 393-94, 397, 408, 412-13, 416, 417, 419, 420-26, 429-32

Becker, Bernhard (1826-1891)—German journalist and historian; follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1870); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—30, 70, 95, 98, 120, 151, 152, 166, 266, 269

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; brushmaker; took part in the German and Swiss revolutionary democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution, commanded the Baden people's army during the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; active member of the International, delegate to all its congresses and to the London Conference (1865); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 173-75, 183, 200, 214, 215, 293, 348-49, 350, 364, 383-85, 392, 410, 415, 432-34, 442-44

Beckx, Pierre Jean (1795-1887)—Belgian clergyman, General of the Society of Jesus (1855-84).—289

Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915)—British historian and radical politician; positivist philosopher; chaired at the Inaugural Meeting of the International on 28 September 1864 in London; supported the International and the Paris Commune in 1870-71.—213

Behr, B.—German publisher.—100

Beifuß—treasurer of a US section of the International.—29

Berg, Fyodor Fyodorovich, Count (Berg, Friedrich Wilhelm Rembert) (1793-1874)—Russian field-marshal, Governor General of Finland (1855-63), Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland (1863-73).—169

Bernstein, Aaron (pseudonym A. Rebenstein) (1812-1884)—German publicist, democrat, founder (1853) and editor of the Volks-Zeitung; Eduard Bernstein's uncle.—411

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat, publicist, editor of Der Sozialdemokrat (1881-90); came out with open revision of Marxism after Engels' death.—360-63, 366, 367, 373-75, 381, 386, 393, 395, 397-99, 401, 402, 404, 406, 408, 411-13, 417, 422, 429

Betham-Edwards, Matilda Barbara (1836-1919)—English novelist.—79-81, 92

Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von (1809-1886)—Saxon and Austrian
statesman, champion of independence of lesser German states; Foreign Minister (1866-71) and Chancellor (1867-71) of Austria-Hungary; Ambassador to London (1871-78) and to Paris (1878-82).—168

Bignami—Italian police officer, chief of the police in Turin.—198-99

Bignami, Enrico (1844-1921)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic and working-class movement, journalist; republican; took part in the Italian national liberation struggle headed by Garibaldi; organised a section of the International in Lodi; editor of La Plebe (1868-75, 1875-83); from 1871 on, constantly corresponded with Engels; opposed anarchism.—198, 200, 207, 214

Biscamp (Biskamp), Elard—German democrat, journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; member of the editorial board of Das Volk.—312, 317

Bismarck (or Bismarck-Schönhausen), Otto, Prince von (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, Ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and to Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); unified Germany; introduced an Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—3, 16, 30, 35, 65, 100, 121, 127, 137, 155, 156, 223, 278, 297, 303, 308-09, 312, 314, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 326-28, 331-32, 334, 338, 340, 349, 351-53, 364, 387, 389, 399, 401, 405, 410, 413-14, 419, 434

Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis (1811-1882)—French socialist, historian; in 1848, member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic and Chairman of the Luxembourg Commission; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—25, 440

Blandini—police officer in Turin (Italy).—199

Blank, Karl Emil (Emilius) (1817-1893)—German merchant in London; was close to socialists in the 1840s-50s; husband of Frederick Engels' sister, Marie.—159, 161, 165, 181

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805-1881)—French revolutionary; utopian communist, organised several secret societies and plott; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; leader of the French revolutionary proletarian movement; was imprisoned several times.—81

Bleichröder, Gerson von (1822-1893)—German financier, head of a Berlin bank, Bismarck's personal banker.—424

Blind, Karl (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National Liberal (from the 1860s); chauvinist during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—175-77

Bloche—French police commissar.—18

Block, Maurice (1816-1901)—French statistician and vulgar economist.—194, 204

Blos, Wilhelm (1849-1927)—German publicist, member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1872); an editor of Der Volksstaat (1872-74); deputy to the Reichstag from 1877 to 1918 (with intervals); Minister President of the Württemberg Government (1918-20).—8, 123, 285, 288-89

Bonaparte, Louis—see Napoleon III

Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul (1822-1891)—Napoleon III's cousin, nicknamed Plon-Plon.—341, 342
**Borchardt, Louis** (1820-1883)—German physician, Liberal, Engels' acquaintance in Manchester.—165

**Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig** (1826-1885)—German publicist, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat emigrated, merchant in London from 1851.—34, 349, 443

**Börnstein (Bernstein)**—American merchant.—83, 84

**Bouffiers, Stanislas, marquis de** (1738-1815)—French writer.—15

**Bowles, Jessica** (d. 1887)—Thomas Gibson Bowles' wife.—209

**Bowles, Thomas Gibson** (1842-1922)—English publicist and politician, M.P. for King's Lynn; Conservative; founder and publisher of the weekly *Vanity Fair* (1868-88).—209

**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); member of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (1877-79); opposed Lassalleanism and Bakuninism; supported Marx and Engels.—9, 62, 66, 69-70, 73, 94-96, 97-98, 149-52, 155, 166, 172, 186, 188, 189, 196, 217, 222, 227, 228, 230-32, 236, 237, 247, 262, 265-66, 269-70, 285, 306, 308-10, 332, 394, 408, 422

**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); member of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (1877-79); opposed Lassalleanism and Bakuninism; supported Marx and Engels.—9, 62, 66, 69-70, 73, 94-96, 97-98, 149-52, 155, 166, 172, 186, 188, 189, 196, 217, 222, 227, 228, 230-32, 236, 237, 247, 262, 265-66, 269-70, 285, 306, 308-10, 332, 394, 408, 422

**Braake, Charles** (1833-1891)—English journalist and politician, Radical, republican; editor of *The National Reformer* (from 1860).—292, 340-42

**Brassey, Thomas** (1805-1870)—British railway contractor engaged in the building of railways in Europe, America, India and Australia.—277

**Brassey, Thomas, 1st Earl** (1836-1918)—British economist and politician, railway and shipbuilding contractor; Liberal M.P. (1868-85); son of the above.—277

**Bravo.**—132

**Bright, John** (1811-1889)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843); held several ministerial posts; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party in the 1860s.—156, 158, 299-300, 340, 447

**Brismée, Désiré** (1823-1888)—Belgian printer and publisher, Proudhonist; a founder of the Belgian section of the International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council (from 1869), delegate to the Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International and the London Conference (1871); sided with the Bakuninists; later abandoned the anarchists, member of the Executive Committee of the Belgian Workers' Party.—277

**Broglie, Jacques Victor Albert, duc de** (1821-1901)—French politician, writer and historian; deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75); envoy to London (1871-72), Prime Minister (1873-74 and 1877), monarchist.—193, 233, 235, 246, 251

**Brousse, Paul Louis Marie** (1844-1912)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, physician; took part in the Paris Commune; after the defeat of the Commune lived in Spain until 1880, then in Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists; member of the French Workers' Party (from 1880), a Possibilist leader.—132, 351

**Bucher, Lothar** (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; a refugee in London; later National Liberal; champion of Bismarck.—310, 312, 389

**Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin** (1796-1865)—French politician and historian, Christian socialist.—62-63

**Büchner, Ludwig** (1824-1899)—German physiologist and vulgar materialist philosopher.—107
Bucknam, W. H.—employee of a New York agency engaged in international postage.—10

Buffenoir, Hippolyte François Philibert (1847-1928)—French publicist and writer; contributed to the Vorwärts.—295

Buffet, Louis Joseph (1818-1898)—French politician and statesman, Liberal and later Conservative; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (1848, 1849); Minister of Finances (January-April 1870); deputy to the National Assembly (from 1871); head of government and Home Minister (March 1875-February 1876); later senator.—153

Bülow, Hans Guido von (1830-1894)—German pianist and conductor.—143

Bürgers, Heinrich (1820-1878)—German journalist, contributor of the Rheinische Zeitung (1842-43); member of the Cologne community of the Communist League (1848); an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League (from 1850), later Liberal.—259

Burke, Edmund (1729-1797)—British politician and publicist, a Whig leader, M.P.—156


Burt, Thomas (1837-1922)—English miner, Secretary of the Miners' Union in Northumberland, M.P. (1874-1918), supported the Liberal Party.—300

Busch, Moritz (1821-1899)—German publicist, radical, owner of Die Grenzboten (1859-66); supported Bismarck's policy.—350

Butt, Isaac (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.; defended the Fenian prisoners in state trials in the 1860s; chairman of the Irish Home Rule League in the 1870s (until 1877).—261

Byr, Robert—see Bayer, Karl Robert von

C

Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856)—French lawyer and writer, utopian communist, author of the book Voyage en Icarie.—99

Cafero, Carlo (1846-1892)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, lawyer; member of the International; a leader of Italian anarchist organisations (from 1872); abandoned the anarchists in the late 1870s.—85, 132, 199, 305-66

Calvin, John (Jean Chauvin) (1509-1564)—Reformer; founder of Calvinism, a Protestant teaching distinguished by its particular intolerance of Catholicism, as well as of other Protestant doctrines.—351

Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles, Duke of (1819-1904)—British general, commander-in-chief of the British army (1856-95).—341

Cambronne, Pierre Jacques Étienne, comte (1770-1842)—French general, took part in Napoleonic wars, commanded a guardsmen's brigade in the battle of Waterloo (1815).—443

Cappele—Catholic priest.—84

Carey, Henry Charles (1793-1879)—American economist, advocated harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—153
Carleton, William (1794-1869)—Irish novelist.—371

Carnarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, 4th Earl of (1831-1890)—British Conservative statesman, Secretary of State for the Colonies (1866-67 and 1874-78).—296

Caro, Jakob (1836-1904)—German historian, professor at Breslau University (from 1869).—162

Carol (Karl) I (1839-1914)—Prince (1866-81) and King (1881-1914) of Romania; nephew of King William I of Prussia.—155, 298

Castelnau, H.—French socialist, an editor of L'Intransigeant.—203

Cato, Marcus Porcius, the Elder (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer.—156

Cavagnari, Uriele—Italian socialist, intended to publish the first volume of Marx' Capital in Italian in 1877.—277

Cecilia—see La Cécilia, Napoléon François Paul Thomas

Challemel-Lacour, Paul Armand (1827-1896)—French publicist and politician; after the coup d'état of 1851 emigrated, returned after the amnesty of 1859; Republican deputy to the National Assembly (from 1872); senator (from 1876), Ambassador to Berne (1879) and to London (1880).—251

Charles I (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), beheaded during the English Revolution.—260

Charles II (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—260

Charles X (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30); deposed during the July revolution of 1830.—303

Chaucer, Geoffrey (1340-1400)—English poet.—449

Chernyayev, Mikhail Grigoryevich (1828-1898)—Russian military and public figure, lieutenant-general, took part in the Crimean war (1853-56), commander-in-chief of the Serbian army (1876).—179

Chernyshev, Ivan Yakovlevich—Russian socialist, refugee in Switzerland and Germany.—147

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat, philosopher, writer and literary critic; predecessor of Russian Social-Democrats.—114, 312

Chicherin (Tschtscherin), Boris Nikolayevich (1828-1904)—Russian philosopher, historian, writer and public figure; a leader of the liberal Westerners in the Russian social movement; author of works on the history of communal landownership in Russia.—343, 346

Cluseret, Gustave Paul (1823-1900)—French politician, general; took part in the US Civil War on the side of the North; member of the International, sided with the Bakuninists; participant in the revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune, military delegate (April 1871); after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to Belgium, later to the USA.—5

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, bourgeois radical, a leader of the Free Traders and a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M.P.—340

Cohn, Gustav (1840-1919)—German economist, professor at Zurich (from 1875) and at Göttingen universities.—386

Coleman, Patrick John—Secretary of an Irish section of the International in London.—76

Collet—Collet Dobson Collet's son.—206

Collet, Clara Elizabeth (1860-1948)—English public figure, author of
works on the statistics of women's labour; labour correspondent of the Board of Trade (from 1893); Collet Dobson Collet's daughter.—206

Collet, Collet Dobson (1812-1898)—English radical journalist and public figure, musician, editor and publisher of The Free Press (1855-65), organ of Urquhart's followers, editor of The Diplomatic Review (1866-77).—167-70, 178, 206, 210, 235, 245

Collier, Lester.—11, 13

Costa, Andrea (1851-1910)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class and socialist movement, a leader of Italian anarchist organisations in the 1870s; criticised anarchism in 1879; one of the organisers and leaders of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Romagne (1881-91), M.P. (from 1882), member of the Socialist Party of Italy (from 1892).—305

Cox.—132

Crémieux, Isaac Moïse (called Adolphe) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician, member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies (1848-51), deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75), supported Left Republicans, senator (from 1875).—36

Cross, Richard Assheton, Viscount (1823-1914)—British statesman, Conservative, Home Secretary (1874-80, 1885-86).—228

Cuno, Theodor Friedrich (1846-1934)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, engineer, socialist, fought anarchism in Italy; organiser of the Milan section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); emigrated to the USA and took part in the International's activities there; a leader of The Knights of Labor, an American workers' organisation.—200

D

Damad Mahmud—see Mahmud Dschelal ed-din Pasha Damad


Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich (pseudonym Nikolai—on) (1844-1918)—Russian economist, publicist, a theoretician of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; correspondent of Marx and Engels for a number of years; translated the three volumes of Marx's Capital into Russian (the first volume jointly with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lyubavin).—343-44, 346, 353-55, 358, 409

Darson, A.—publisher and bookseller in London.—45

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of evolution by natural selection.—91, 106, 107, 124, 179, 313, 316-17

Davydovsky, Ivan Mikhailovich—Russian nobleman, Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya's second husband.—36, 185

Dekhterev, Vladimir Gavrilovich (1853-1905)—Russian psychiatrist.—147

Delius, Nikolaus (1813-1888)—German philologist, expert in Shakespeare's legacy, professor at Bonn University.—191, 273, 446

Demuth, Frederick (1851-1929)—Helene Demuth's son, English worker.—200

Demuth, Helene (Lenchen) (1820-1890)—housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—75, 132, 138-40, 244, 245, 323, 392
De Paepe, César (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, printer, later 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), Basle (1869) congresses, the London Conference (1871) of the International and Ghent International Socialist Congress (1877); a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1883).—172, 184, 199, 277

Derby, Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Earl of (1799-1869)—British statesman, Tory leader; from the 1850s, a leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68).—296, 298, 299

Derossi, Karl (1844-1910)—German journalist; member (from 1869) and Secretary (1871-75) of the General Association of German Workers, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1873-78); emigrated to Switzerland in 1879, then to the USA where contributed to the German-language workers' newspapers.—96, 98

Descartes (Cartesius), René (1596-1650)—French dualist philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—50

Deville, Gabriel Pierre (1854-1940)—French socialist, propagated Marxism, member of the French Workers' Party, publicist; author of a popular exposition of the first volume of Marx's Capital; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris of 1889.—193, 194

Devonshire, Spencer Compton Cavendish, Duke of, Marquis of Hartington (1833-1908)—British statesman and politician, Liberal; M. P. (from 1857); the de facto leader of the Liberal Party (1875-80), Secretary of State for War (1882-85).—300

Dickes.—11, 13

Diderot, Denis (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—15

Diebich-Zabalkansky, Ivan Ivanovich (Diebitsch, Hans Karl Friedrich Anton), Count (1785-1831)—Russian field marshal-general, commander-in-chief (1829) of the Russian army during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 and of the troops (from December 1830) which crushed the Polish insurrection of 1830-31.—300-02

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, Tory leader, later leader of the Conservative Party; Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—18, 23, 24, 67, 121, 140, 155, 178, 296, 298, 361

Dizzy—see Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield

Dolleschall, Laurenz (b. 1790)—police officer in Cologne (1819-47); censor of the Rheinische Zeitung.—252

Dörentz, E.—German publicist, contributed to the Berliner Freie Presse.—199

Douai, Karl Daniel Adolph (1819-1888)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, later socialist; French by birth; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA (1852), took part in the American socialist movement; edited a number of socialist newspapers, contributed to the Vorwärts.—276-77, 282-84, 318

Dronke—Ernst Dronke's second wife.—345, 347

Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891)—German writer, 'true socialist'; later member of the Communist League and an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); after the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to Switzerland, then to England; associate of Marx and Engels; subsequently withdrew from
politics.—159, 161, 164-65, 171, 268, 289, 345, 347

Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas (1798-1881)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of the Interior (1848, 1849), Minister of Justice (1871-73, 1875-76, 1877-79), Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876, 1877-79).—293


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); took part in the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) (Chairman), Brussels (1868), and the Hague (1872) congresses, and the London Conference (1871); organiser of sections of the International in Manchester (from 1870); member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); moved to the USA in 1874; associate of Marx and Engels.—77

Duval, Théodore—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, joiner; a founder of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in early 1870 left the Bakuninists; member of the Romance Federal Council of the International; delegate to the Hague (1872) and Geneva (1873) congresses of the International.—4

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889)—German tailor and journalist, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League, a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), General Secretary of the Council (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72), delegate to all congresses and conferences of the International; supported Marx and Engels up to the Hague Congress (1872); participant in the British trade union movement in the 1870s and 1880s.—49, 92, 183, 277, 340, 448

Ecker, Karl—German engineer, factory inspector in Hanover.—281

Ehrhart, Franz Joseph (1853-1908)—German Social-Democrat, upholsterer; refugee in England; supporter of Johann Most; Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (1878-first half of 1879); deputy to the German Reichstag (1898-1908).—315, 337

Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm (1833-1895)—German socialist and journalist, refugee in London (1861-66); member of the International (from 1868) and one of its first historians; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (from 1869); edited a number of legal workers' papers in the 1880s.—121

Engel, Amélie.—434-35

Engels, Emma (née Croon) (1834-1916)—Hermann Engels' wife.—280

Engels, Hermann Friedrich Theodor (1858-1926)—Hermann Engels' son, student of Berlin University (1876-77), later manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm.—187

Engels, Mathilde (née Remkes) (1831-1905)—Rudolf Engels' wife.—68, 106

Engels, Paul (1857-1883)—Rudolf Engels' son, merchant, later army officer.—105

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903)—Frederick Engels' brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen (from 1861).—19, 66-68, 105-06, 320

Engels, Rudolf Moritz (1858-1893)—Rudolf Engels' son, student of Leipzig University (1876-78), later manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm.—187

Epicurus (c. 341-c. 270 B.C.)—Greek materialist philosopher, atheist.—50

Ermen—Heinrich Ermen's wife.—68

Ermen, Franz—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels; Peter Ermen's son.—67, 68

Ermen, Franz jr.—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels, Franz Ermen's son.—67

Ermen, Gottfried (Godfrey) Jakob (1811-1899)—a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels; Peter Ermen's brother.—19-20, 67-68

Ermen, Heinrich—a partner of Gottfried Ermen in Bridgewater Mill, Pendlebury; Peter Ermen's son.—67-68

Ermen, Peter (1802-1889)—a founder (1837) and partner of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels.—67, 68

Esselen, Christian (1823-1859)—German author, democrat, headed the Workers' Association in Frankfurt in 1848; emigrated to Switzerland, later to the USA.—214

Étienne, Charles Guillaume (1777-1845)—French journalist and dramatist.—389

Eugénie Marie Ignace Augustine de Montijo de Guzmán, comtesse de Teba (1826-1920)—Empress of France (1852-70), Napoleon III's wife.—341

Eulenburg, Botho Wend August, Count of (1831-1912)—Prussian statesman, Conservative, Minister of the Interior (1878-81), Prime Minister (1892-94); took part in drawing up the Anti-Socialist Law.—322, 324

Euripides (c. 480-c. 406 B.C.)—Greek dramatist.—245

F

Failly, Pierre Louis Charles Achille de (1810-1892)—French general, commanded a corps during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71).—251

Fanelli, Giuseppe (1826-1877)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic movement, took part in the Italian revolution of 1848-49 and in Garibaldi's campaign of 1860; follower of Mazzini, friend of Bakunin, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; organiser of sections of the International and groups of the Alliance in Spain (1869); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; M.P. (from 1865).—210

Farga Pellicer, Rafael (pseudonym Gomez) (1840-1903)—Spanish printer and journalist; a founder and leader of anarchist groups and first sections of the International in Spain; one of the leaders of the secret Alliance; editor of La Federación (1869-73); delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of 30 May 1873.—42, 49

Fatouville, Nolant de (d. 1715)—French playwright.—198

Favre, Jules Claude Gabriel (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician,
leader of the bourgeois republican
opposition from the late 1850s; Foreign Minister (1870-71); together
with Thiers, headed the struggle
against the Paris Commune, inspired
struggle against the International.—
223, 224, 440

Fawcett, Henry (1833-1884)—English
economist, M.P. (from 1865), Liberal.—158

Fleckel, Ferdinand (1836-1894)—
German physician, practised in
Karlsbad from 1864 to 1866; editor
of Der Sprudel; Marx's acquaintance.—37, 89, 136, 145, 147-49,
190-91, 212

Fleury, Charles (real name Carl Friedrich
August Krause) (b. 1824)—merchant
in London; Prussian spy and police
agent.—54

Forbes, Archibald (1838-1900)—Scottish
journalist, contributed to The Morn-
ing Advertiser and The Daily News,
war correspondent during the Franco-
Prussian war of 1870-71 and Russo-
Turkish war of 1877-78.—140

Forster, William Edward (1818-1886)—
English manufacturer and politician,
Liberal M.P., Secretary of State for
Ireland (1880-82).—300

Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772-
1837)—French utopian socialist.—
262-63

Francis Joseph I (1830-1916)—Emperor
of Austria and King of Hungary
(1848-1916).—263

Frankel, Léo (1844-1896)—prominent
figure in the Hungarian and interna-
tional working-class movement;
jeweller; took part in the Paris Com-
mune, member of the General Coun-
cil of the International (1871-72),
delegate to the London Conference
(1871) and the Hague Congress
(1872) of the International; a found-
er of the General Workers' Party of
Hungary (1880); associate of Marx
and Engels.—36, 49, 93, 112, 157-58,
174

Frederick III (1831-1888)—Crown
Prince of the German Empire (from
1871), King of Prussia and German
Emperor (March-June 1888).—315

Frederick William III (1770-1840)—
King of Prussia (1797-1840).—301

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—
King of Prussia (1840-61).—260, 350

Freund—Wilhelm Alexander Freund's
wife.—192

Freund, Wilhelm Alexander (1833-
1918)—German physician, lecturer
at Breslau University; friend of
Marx's family.—4, 191-92, 439

Fribourg, Ernest Edourd—prominent
figure in the French working-class
movement; engraver, subsequently
businessman; Right-wing Proudhoni-
ist; a leader of the Paris section of
the International; author of L'Associa-
tion internationale des travailleurs
which was hostile to the International
and the Paris Commune.—80

Friedberg, Hermann (1817-1884)—
German physician, professor at Bres-
lau University (from 1866).—136

Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm (1825-
1905)—German cigar-maker; took
part in the 1848-49 revolution; a
founder and leader of the General
Association of German Workers
(1863); member of the International,
adhered to the Eisenachers in 1869;
deputy to the North German (1868-
71) and the German Reichstag (1877-
81); emigrated to the USA in 1881.—
408, 416

Frohme, Karl Franz Egon (1850-1933)—
German publicist, Social-Democrat,
follower of Lassalle in the 1870s, later
a leader of the reformist wing of
German Social-Democracy; deputy to
the German Reichstag (from 1881);-
delegate to the International Socialist
Workers' Congress in Paris (1889).—
49

Frossard, Charles Auguste (1807-1875)—
French general, commanded a corps
during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, captured at Metz.—251

**Furnivall, Frederick James (1825-1910)**—English philologist, Christian socialist, founded several literary societies, the New Shakespeare Society among them.—192

**G**

**Galliffet, Gaston Alexandre Auguste, marquis de** (1830-1909)—French general, captured at Sedan during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; released in March 1871 to take part in the struggle against the Commune; butcher of the Paris Commune; held several military posts from the 1870s.—246, 440

**Gambetta, Léon Michel** (1838-1882)—French statesman and politician, lawyer, moderate republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister (1881-82).—25, 239, 246, 251, 295

**Gambuzzi, Carlo** (1837-1902)—Italian lawyer, follower of Mazzini in the early 1860s; later anarchist; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of anarchist organisations in Italy; founded a section of the International in Naples in January 1869.—210

**Gandolfi, Mauro**—Italian merchant, Bakuninist, member of the Milan section of the International.—200

**Gans**—physician in Karlsbad.—82

**Gans**—physician in Prague, son of the above.—52, 87

**Geib, Wilhelm Leopold August** (1842-1879)—German Social-Democrat, bookseller in Hamburg; member of the General Association of German Workers (1863); participant in the Eisenach Congress of 1869; one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, its treasurer (1872-78); deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-77).—69, 96, 98, 186, 246, 251, 252, 259, 392

**Geiser, Bruno** (1846-1898)—German Social-Democrat, publicist; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and of the International (1872); editor of the Volksstaat (1875) and the Neue Welt (1877-86); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87); expelled from the party at the end of the 1880s.—408

**Gigot, Albert** (1835-1913)—French lawyer, liberal, later conservative; Prefect of Paris police (1877-79).—328, 338

**Gillot, Firmin** (1820-1872)—French lithographer, invented zincography.—447

**Girardin, Émile de** (1806-1881)—French publicist and politician; editor of La Presse, and La Liberté; moderate republican during the 1848-49 revolution; later Bonapartist.—155, 235

**Gladstone, Catherine** (née Catherine Glynne of Hawarden) (1807-1874)—William Ewart Gladstone's wife.—168

**Gladstone, William Ewart** (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory and 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).—18, 23, 67, 155-56, 158, 167-70, 178, 179, 205, 206, 209, 277, 297, 299, 361

**Glagau, Otto**—German writer and publicist; author of a work on stock-exchange speculation.—304

**Glais-Bizoin, Alexandre Olivier** (1800-1877)—French politician, lawyer, moderate republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), member of the Corps législatif (the 1860s), member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—36
Glaser de Willebrord, E.—participant in the Belgian working-class movement; member of a section of the International in Brussels.—75

Gnecco, Eudávio Cesar d'Azedo—prominent figure in the Portuguese working-class movement, member of the Portuguese section of the International (1871); a founder of the Portuguese Socialist Party, member of its Central Committee (1875); editor of O Proteste.—174

Goegg, Amand (1820-1897)—German democratic journalist; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849); emigrated after the revolution; member of the International; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—63

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German poet.—131, 379

Golokhvastov, Pavel Dmitrievich (1839-1892)—Russian historian and publicist.—164

Golovachov (Golovatscheff), Nikolai Nikitich (b. 1825)—Russian lieutenant-general, military governor of Turkestan (from 1867).—168, 169

Gomez—see Farga Pellicer, Rafael

Gorchakov, Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1856-82) and State Chancellor (1867-82).—123, 162, 389

Gordon, Sir Robert (1791-1847)—British diplomat, Ambassador extraordinary to Constantinople (1828-31) and to Vienna (1841-46).—301-02

Gore—English acquaintance of Eleanor Marx.—139

Gorlov (Gorloff), Alexander Pavlovich (1830-1905)—Russian lieutenant-general, military attaché in the United States of North America (from 1868) and in London (1873-82).—168, 169

Goschen, George Joachim Goschen, 1st Viscount (1831-1907)—British statesman and politician, financier; German by birth; Liberal; M.P. from 1863, member of government on more than one occasion, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1887-92); author of works on economics.—300

Götz, E.—Engels’ acquaintance in Manchester.—165

Gouppy, A.—French refugee in Manchester.—77

Grant, Albert—German businessman from Mainz.—335

Greulich, Hermann (1842-1925)—German bookbinder; emigrated to Zurich in 1865; member of the Zurich section of the International (from 1867); founder and editor of the Tagwacht (1869-80); subsequently a founder of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and leader of its reformist wing.—349

Grillenberger, Karl (1848-1897)—German worker, then journalist; publisher of several Social-Democratic newspapers; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (from 1869); sided with its reformist wing; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1881).—398

Grimm, Friedrich Melchior, Baron von (1723-1807)—German diplomat, writer of the Enlightenment; lived in France from 1748, member of the Encyclopaedists’ circle; from 1792 was in Russia’s diplomatic service; Russian Consul in Gotha, later in Hamburg.—14, 15

Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl (1785-1863)—German philologist, author of a historical grammar of the German language and of folklore adaptations; professor at Göttingen and then at Berlin; liberal.—74

Griset.—12

Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand (pen-name Ernst von der Heide) (1817-1887)—German journalist, ‘true socialist’ in the mid-1840s; petty-
bourgeois democrat during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing); refugee in Brussels (1850-61), professor at Frankfurt am Main (1862-65) and at Vienna (from 1870).—88

Grunzig, Julius (b. 1855)—German Social-Democrat, journalist; deported from Berlin (1883) under the Anti-Socialist Law; emigrated to the USA, contributed to several US workers’ papers.—150, 152, 166

Guesde, Jules (Mathieu Jules Bazile) (1845-1922)—prominent figure in the French and international socialist movement; founder and editor of L’Égalité; a founder of the French Workers’ Party (1880) and author of its programme; propagated Marxism in France.—327, 450, 451

Gugenheim, J.—German Social-Democrat, Secretary of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London (from April 1879).—359-60, 363

Guillaume, James (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist; member of the International, delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, edited anarchist papers (1868-78); was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress for his splitting activities.—132, 154, 156, 172, 200, 207, 214, 259, 277, 306, 348, 351

Guilleminot, Armand Charles, comte de (1774-1840)—French general and diplomat, took part in the wars of the French Republic and of Napoleonic France; Chief of Staff of the French interventionist army in Spain (1823), Ambassador to Constantinople (1824).—301, 302

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels.—4, 16, 17, 23, 26, 28, 31, 244, 245, 387

Gurevich, Grigory Yevseyevich (1854-d. after 1920)—Russian publicist, socialist, sided with the Narodniki; refugee in Germany (1874-79).—147

Gurko (Romeiko-Gurko), Iosif Vladimirovich (1828-1901)—Russian general, took part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—272

Guyot—Lavrov’s agent in Paris in the 1870s.—153, 440

H

Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich (1834-1919)—German materialist biologist; professor at Jena University (1862-1909).—50, 317

Hales, John (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of the Reform League and 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 in 1872; expelled from the International by the General Council’s decision of 30 May 1873.—81, 92, 155, 277, 292, 300, 341, 448

Hansemann, Adolph von (1826-1903)—German financier, head of the Disconto-Gesellschaft banking firm (from 1864); commercial adviser and Consul-General of Austria-Hungary in Berlin.—424

Hansen, Georg (1809-1894)—German economist; author of works on the history of agriculture and agrarian relations.—179

Harcourt, William George Granville Venables Vernon, Sir (1827-1904)—British statesman and politician, M.P. (1868-80), Liberal leader (1894-98).—300
Harney, George Julian (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing; edited several Chartist periodicals; refugee in the USA (1862-88), member of the International; friend of Marx and Engels.—284, 370, 377

Harney, Mary—George Julian Harney's wife (from 1856).—370

Harrison, Frederic (1831-1923)—English lawyer and historian, radical, positivist, took part in the democratic movement in the 1860s-70s; cooperated with Marx in helping Commune refugees.—11, 12, 179, 193

Hartington—see Devonshire, Spencer Compton Cavendish, Duke of, Marquis of Hartington

Hartmann, Eduard von (1842-1906)—German idealist philosopher; ideologist of Prussian Junkers.—50

Hartmann, Georg Wilhelm—German Social-Democrat, member of the General Association of German Workers; one of the two presidents of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (from 1875); deputy to the German Reichstag (1878-81).—96, 98

Hasenclever, Wilhelm (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers (1871-75); one of the two presidents of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (1875-76); together with Wilhelm Liebknecht edited the Vorwärts (1876-78); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1869-71, 1874-78, 1879-88).—6, 7, 43, 60, 65, 96, 98, 247, 249, 408

Hassan Cheirullah, effendi—head of the Moslem clergy of the Ottoman Empire (until 1877).—263

Hasselmann, Wilhelm (1844-1916)—a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of the Neuer Social-Demokrat (1871-75); member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (from 1875); deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76, 1878-80); expelled from the party as an anarchist in 1880.—6, 43, 60, 65, 75, 96

Havas, August (1814-1889)—co-proprietor of the French news agency, Havas.—158

Hayes, Rutherford Birchard (1822-1893)—US President (March 1877-March 1881), Republican.—251

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—50

Heine—the owner of a banking house founded in Hamburg in 1797 by Solomon Heine (1767-1844).—136

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—288

Heinzen, Karl Peter (1809-1880)—German radical journalist; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and, in the autumn of 1850, to the USA.—433

Heller, Hugo—correspondent of Marx, carried Marx's instructions concerning transportation of material for the General Council of the International; lived in Oxford in 1879.—350

Hellwald, Friedrich Anton Heller von (1842-1892)—Austrian ethnographer, geographer and historian.—107

Helmholtz, Hermann von (1821-1894)—German physicist and physiologist, professor at Berlin University (from 1871).—78, 124, 236

Henry IV (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—425

Hepner, Adolf (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat, an editor of Der Volksstaat; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; subsequently emigrated to the USA.—123
Herder, Johann Gottfried von (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist of the Enlightenment; a founder of the Sturm-und-Drang trend.—272

Hess, Moses (1812-1875)—German radical writer, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after its split sided with the Willich-Schapper separatist group; member of the General Association of German Workers; member of the International, took part in the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses.—286, 290

Hess, Sibylle (née Pesch) (1820-1903)—Moses Hess' wife.—286, 290


Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679)—English materialist philosopher.—108, 293

Hochberg, Karl (pseudonym Dr Ludwig Richter) (1853-1885)—German writer and publisher, social reformist; member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1876); published and financed Die Zukunft (1877-78) and Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik (1879-81).—252, 253, 258-60, 283, 285, 362, 367-68, 372-73, 375, 378-80, 383, 386-87, 393-94, 396-99, 401-02, 411-13, 417, 420, 422, 429-33, 440

Hoffmann.—204

Hoffmann, Wilhelm—German worker, refugee in London.—229

Hohenstaufens—emperors of the Holy Roman Empire (1138-1254).—303

Hohenzollerns—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—278, 303

Hollinger, Fidelio—German refugee in London, owner of a print-shop which published Das Volk.—175-77

Howell, George (1833-1910)—a leader of the British trade unions, mason; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress of Trade Unions (1871-75); Liberal M.P. (1885-95).—179, 300, 335

Hubbard, Nicolas Gustave (1828-1888)—French economist, historian and publicist.—263

Hume, David (1711-1776)—Scottish philosopher, historian and political economist.—50, 207-08, 452

Hutten, Ulrich von (1488-1523)—German poet, Reformer, ideologist and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—74

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-1895)—English naturalist, follower of Charles Darwin and populariser of his theory.—50

Idelson, Rozalia Christophorovna (died c. 1915)—Valerian Nikolayevich Smirnov's wife.—78, 91

Ignatiyev, Nikolai Pavlovich, Count (1832-1908)—Russian statesman and diplomat, Ambassador to Turkey (1864-77), Russia's representative at the conclusion of the San Stefano Peace Treaty (1878); Minister of the Interior (1881-82), member of the State Council (from 1877).—120, 210, 216, 280, 296

Imandt, Peter (1823-1897)—German teacher, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League; refugee in Lon-
don from 1852; supported Marx and Engels; member of the International.—92

Immhof.—229

Irving, Sir Henry (1838-1905)—English producer and actor, played in Shakespeare’s tragedies.—441

Isouard, Nicolas (Nicolo), dit (1775-1818)—French composer.—389

J

Jacoby, Johann (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; headed the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); joined the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party in 1872.—7, 9

James II Stuart (1635-1701)—King of England, Scotland and Ireland (1685-88).—260

Jennychen—see Longuet, Jenny

Johnny—see Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric

Jolly (Jollymeier, Jollymeyer)—see Schorlemmer, Carl

Juch, Hermann—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, refugee in London; editor of the newspaper Hermann (1859-69), founder of the Londoner Journal (1878).—315

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the Swiss and international 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); delegate to the London Conference (1865), Chairman at the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and at the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council (1872); supported Marx before the Hague Congress (September 1872); later joined the reformist wing; at the end of the 1870s left the working-class movement.—5, 6, 43, 92, 277, 341, 448

Juta, Charles—son of Marx’s sister Louise Juta.—261

Juta, Henry (1857-1930)—English lawyer and public figure; son of Marx’s sister Louise Juta.—192, 261, 390

Juta, Johann Carl (1824-1886)—Dutch bookseller in Cape Town; husband of Marx’s sister Louise.—261

Juta, Karoline—daughter of Marx’s sister Louise Juta.—138, 141

Juta, Louise Amalia—daughter of Marx’s sister Louise Juta.—369

K

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—50, 123

Kara Chali, effendi—head of the Moslem clergy in the Ottoman Empire (from 1877).—263

Karcher, Théodore (1821-1885)—French publicist, republican; after the coup d’état of 1851 emigrated to Belgium, later to England.—341

Kareyev, Nikolai Ivanovich (1850-1931)—Russian historian and publicist, liberal, professor at Warsaw and St Petersburg universities (1879-84).—452

Karl von Hohenzollern—see Carol (Karl) I

Kaub (Kolb), Karl (Charles)—German worker; refugee in London and after 1865 in Paris; member of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1865, 1870-71); delegate to the London Conference (1865).—92, 269, 306, 327, 330, 337, 339-40, 377, 439-41, 445, 450
Kaufman, Illarion Ignatievich (1848-1916)—Russian economist, professor at St Petersburg University; author of works on money circulation and credit. 260, 304, 358

Kaufmann, Konstantin Petrovich von (1818-1882)—Russian general, first Governor General of Turkestan (1867-82). 168, 169, 170

Kaufmann, Moritz (1839—after 1914)—English clergyman, author of works on socialist teachings. 432-35

Kaufmann, S. F.—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London. 365, 411

Kautsky, Karl Johann (1854-1938)—German Social-Democrat, publicist, economist and historian; editor of Die Neue Zeit (1883-1917); author of theoretical works on Marxism; abandoned Marxism in the early 1900s. 100

Kayser, Max (1853-1888)—German Social-Democrat, deputy to the German Reichstag (1878-87); represented the reformist wing in German Social-Democracy. 373, 388, 397-401, 414, 418, 419, 424

Kersten, Paul—German sculptor, Social-Democrat. 49, 110

Kind, Johann Friedrich (1768-1843)—German writer. 177

King, Philip Stephen—bookseller in London. 220

Kinkel, Gottfried (1815-1882)—German poet and democratic publicist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, was sentenced to life imprisonment by Prussian court, in 1850 escaped for England; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London; opposed Marx and Engels. 137

Kinkel, Marie—Gottfried Kinkel's daughter. 137

Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von (1802-1884)—German lawyer, writer and philosopher, radical; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848, later member of the Party of Progress, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-76). 54

Kistemaeckers, Henri—Belgian writer. 149, 445

Kitt, Frank (born c. 1848)—English socialist, member of the Socialist League (from 1885), Secretary of the English section of the Social-Democratic Workers' Club in London. 338

Knies, Karl (1821-1898)—German vulgar economist. 252, 255

Knille, Otto (1832-1898)—German artist. 47

Koch, Charles Paul de (1793-1871)—French novelist and dramatist. 324

Kokosky, Samuel (1838-1899)—German publicist, Social-Democrat from 1872, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers; translated into German the pamphlet The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association by Marx and Engels. 166

Koshelev, Alexander Ivanovich (1806-1883)—Russian writer and public figure. 100

Kötgen, Gustav Adolph (1805-1882)—German artist, poet; took part in the working-class movement in the 1840s; was close to 'true socialists'; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. 88

Kovalevsky, Maxim Maximovich (1851-1916)—Russian sociologist, historian, ethnographer, lawyer; liberal; author of essays on the history of the primitive communal system. 137, 153, 163, 179, 185, 322-23, 329, 344, 376, 381, 386, 388, 409, 452

Kraus—Bernhard Kraus' wife. 82

Kraus, Bernhard (1828-1887)—Austrian physician; founded and edited the Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung (from 1856). 47, 82, 103-04
Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince (1842-1921)—Russian revolutionary, theoretician of anarchism, sociologist, geographer and geologist; an émigré (1876-1917).—305

Kugelmann, Franziska (1858-c. 1930)—Ludwig Kugelmann’s daughter.—3, 17, 21, 31

Kugelmann, Gertrud (néé Oppenheim) (b. 1839)—Ludwig Kugelmann’s wife.—3, 17, 21, 31, 31-46-48, 56, 144

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902)—German physician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; correspondent of Marx and Engels (1862-74).—3, 4, 17, 19, 21, 31, 32, 37, 38, 40, 46, 47, 82, 125, 162, 280-81

Kulishova, Anna Moiseyevna (real name Rosenstein) (1854-1925)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; joined the Bakuninists (1872); refugee in Italy (from 1878); broke off with anarchism; participant in the Italian socialist movement, prominent figure in the Socialist Party of Italy (from 1892); Andrea Costa’s wife.—305

Kutschova, Anna Moiseyevna (real name Rosenstein) (1854-1925)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; joined the Bakuninists (1872); refugee in Italy (from 1878); broke off with anarchism; participant in the Italian socialist movement, prominent figure in the Socialist Party of Italy (from 1892); Andrea Costa’s wife.—305

Kurz, Isolde (1853-1944)—German authoress.—172, 189, 196, 217, 218, 222, 224, 250-32, 266, 285, 288

Küster—German army officer; attaché of the Prussian Embassy in Constantinople (1829).—302

Küllmann.—165

I.

Lauf—German chaplain, Christian socialist, candidate at the by-elections to the German Reichstag in 1877.—195

La Cécilia, Napoléon François Paul Thomas (1835-1878)—Italian-born French revolutionary; professor of mathematics; participant in Garibal-di’s expedition (1860); member of the Paris section of the International; an editor of Le Rappel; general of the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England; maintained friendly relations with Marx and Engels.—36

Lachâtre (Lachastre), Claude Maurice, baron de (1814-1900)—French progressive journalist; took part in the Paris Commune; publisher of the first volume of Marx’s Capital in French.—25-26, 56-57, 75, 113, 153, 183, 223, 227, 439

Lacroix (Sigismond Julien Adolphe Krzyzanowski, dit Sigismond) (1845-1907)—Polish-born French journalist; contributor to and editor of a number of periodicals; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1883).—259

Lafargue, Laura (1845-1911)—Marx’s second daughter, participant in the French working-class movement; Paul Lafargue’s wife (from 1868).—22, 51-52, 118, 121, 131-32, 139, 212, 244, 271, 274, 369, 373-75, 379, 382, 385, 387, 388, 390

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; journalist, author of several works on the theory of Marxism; member of the General Council of the International (from 1866); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers’ Party (1880); disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.—28, 32, 75, 118, 130, 132, 139, 244, 271, 274, 374, 375, 379, 382, 385, 387, 388, 390, 447, 448

La Harpe (Laharpe), Jean François de (1739-1803)—French poet and critic.—14

Lahure, Louis Justin (c. 1850-1878)—Parisian printer; printed the French edition of the first volume of Marx’s Capital.—16, 57, 79

Lasker, Eduard (1829-1884)—German politician, a founder and leader of
the National Liberal Party which he left in 1880; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1867).—136-37

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; took part in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder and first President of the General Association of German Workers (1863-64); an initiator of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—62-63, 65, 97, 100, 118, 288, 334, 402-03

Laube, Heinrich (1806-1884)—German writer and dramatist; member of the Young Germany literary group; later theatre director.—429

Laveleye, Émile Louis Victor, Baron de (1822-1892)—Belgian historian and economist.—153, 194, 204

Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich (1823-1900)—Russian sociologist, philosopher, revolutionary journalist, an ideologist of Narodism; member of the International, took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the magazine Vperyod! (1873-76) and the newspaper Vperyod! (1875-76).—53, 58, 59, 73, 78, 91, 93-94, 106, 109, 111, 113, 117, 126-30, 132, 134, 137, 147, 153, 154, 163-64, 201, 203, 206, 210-11, 213, 216, 217, 220-21, 225, 226, 242, 307, 313, 316-17, 331, 440

Layard, Sir Austen Henry (1817-1894)—English archaeologist and politician, Radical, M.P. (1852-69), Liberal (from the 1860s); Ambassador to Madrid (1869-77) and to Constantinople (1877-80).—255

Leblanc, Albert Marie Félix (b. 1844)—participant in the French working-class movement, sided with the Bakuninists; engineer; member of the Paris section of the International; took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England.—159, 222, 341

Leblanc (Le Blanc), F. D.—refugee in London.—113, 213

Leeson, E.—acquaintance of Engels' family in London.—119, 201

Lefrançais, Gustav Adolph (1826-1901)—French revolutionary, Left-wing Proudhonist, teacher; participant in the 1848 revolution; member of the International (from the late 1860s), member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and joined anarchists.—259

Le Moussu, Benjamin (pseudonym Constant) (b. 1846)—participant in the French working-class movement; engraver; member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for the French-speaking sections in the USA (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against Bakuninists.—11, 29, 44, 448

Lenchen—see Demuth, Helene

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League from 1847; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); emigrated to London in 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); took part in the British socialist movement (the 1880s-90s); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—49, 112, 204-05, 274, 277, 319, 374, 377, 391, 434, 443

Lever, Charles James (1806-1872)—Irish-born British novelist.—371

Levy, Joseph Moses (1812-1888)—English journalist, a founder and publisher of The Daily Telegraph (from 1855).—328, 331

Lewes, George Henry (1817-1878)—
English positivist philosopher, physiologist and writer.—179

Liebig, Justus, Baron von (1803-1873)—German scientist, agrochemist.—107

Liebknecht, Natalie (née Reh) (1835-1909)—Wilhelm Liebknecht's second wife (from 1868).—55, 247, 256, 274-75, 336

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and the International; propagator of the International's ideas in the German working-class movement; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German (from 1874) Reichstag; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; editor of Der Volkstaat (1869-76) and the Vorwärts (1876-78, 1890-1900); during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 took an internationalist stand; supported the Paris Commune; delegate to the international socialist congresses in 1877 ( Ghent), 1889, 1891 and 1893; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—4, 6, 7, 9, 30, 43, 45, 50, 54, 55, 60, 65, 66, 69-70, 75, 85, 94, 96, 98, 103, 118-23, 125-30, 132, 134, 147, 151, 154-56, 166, 175-76, 184, 186-87, 194, 201, 203, 207, 218-20, 227, 228, 236, 238, 239, 243, 247, 249, 251, 254-60, 274-76, 295, 296, 299, 303, 321, 331, 334, 336, 352-53, 361, 364, 366-67, 372-75, 378, 381, 385, 388, 394-98, 408, 412, 413, 416, 420, 422, 433, 434, 449

Lieven, Christofor Andreyevich, Count (1774-1839)—Russian diplomat, envoy to Berlin (1810-12), Ambassador to London (1812-34).—303

Lindheimer, B.—German Social-Democrat.—225-26, 229-30

Lingenau, Johann Karl Ferdinand (c. 1814-1877)—German-born American socialist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA; he bequeathed his fortune to the German Social-Democratic Party.—279, 392

Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier (1838-1901)—French journalist and historian, Left Republican; participant in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and then to England.—36, 149-52, 155, 157, 166, 172, 189, 190, 196, 222, 230-31, 234, 262, 266, 288, 308, 333, 440, 445, 446, 450

Liszt, Franz (1811-1886)—Hungarian composer and pianist.—143

Longuet, Charles (September 1873-July 1874)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—14, 15, 26, 28, 29, 31, 36, 38, 43

Longuet, Charles Félix César (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68, 1871-72); Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune, later joined the Possibilists; member of the Paris Municipal Council in the 1880s and 1890s.—12, 15, 27, 32, 34, 35, 75, 118, 121, 123, 131, 143, 244, 262, 263, 268, 274, 332, 341, 372, 373, 390, 391, 447

Longuet, Edgar (1879-1950)—active in the French working-class movement; son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet; physician; member of the Socialist Party.—372, 375, 376, 378, 391, 392

Longuet, Felicitas—Charles Longuet's mother.—234

Longuet, Henry (Harry) (1878-1883)—son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx's grandson.—316, 321
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<td>Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny) (1876-1938)</td>
<td>—active in the French and international working-class movement; son of Marx's daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet; lawyer; a leader in the French Socialist Party.</td>
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<td>Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich (1845-1918)</td>
<td>—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the International (1870); a translator of the first volume of Marx's <em>Capital</em> into Russian; friend of Marx and Engels.</td>
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<td>Loria, Achille</td>
<td>(1857-1943)</td>
<td>Italian sociologist and economist, falsifier of Marxism. 426</td>
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<td>Loris-Melikov, Mikhail Taridavich, Count (1829-1888)</td>
<td>—Russian general and statesman, commander of the Caucasian Corps during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78; Minister of the Interior (1880-81).</td>
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<td>Lover, Samuel</td>
<td>(1797-1868)</td>
<td>British writer, Irish by birth. 371</td>
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<td>Lowe, Robert, 1st Viscount Sherbrooke (1811-1892)</td>
<td>—British statesman and journalist; contributor to <em>The Times</em>; Whig and later Liberal; M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer (1868-73); Home Secretary (1873-74).</td>
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<td>Loyola, St Ignatius of (Inigo Lopez de Loyola) (1491-1556)</td>
<td>—Spanish nobleman, a founder of the Society of Jesus (1534).</td>
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<td>Lübeck, Carl</td>
<td>German journalist, Social-Democrat, emigrated in 1873.</td>
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<td>Luther, Martin (1483-1546)</td>
<td>—prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany; ideologist of the Germanburghers.</td>
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<td>Macdonald, Alexander</td>
<td>(1821-1881)</td>
<td>one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions, President of the National Miners' Union (from 1863), M.P. (from 1874); advocated the Liberal Party's policy. 300</td>
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<td>M(a)cDonnel(l), Joseph Patrick (1847-1906)</td>
<td>—prominent figure in the Irish working-class movement; 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); emigrated to the USA in 1872 and took part in the working-class movement there.</td>
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<td>MacMahon (Mac-Mahon), Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta (1808-1893)</td>
<td>—French marshal, senator, Bonapartist; participant in a number of wars of the Second Empire; a butcher of the Paris Commune; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).</td>
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Magne, Pierre (1806-1879)—French statesman, Bonapartist, Minister of Finance (1855-60, 1867-69, 1870, 1873-74).—25

Mahmud II (1785-1839)—Sultan of Turkey (1808-39).—301

Mahmud Dschelal ed-din Pusha Damad (1840-1884)—Turkish statesman, member of the War Council, War Minister several times, demoted and deported (1878); returned in 1880; was exposed as an accomplice in the assassination (in 1876) of the Turkish Sultan Abdul Aziz and sentenced (in 1881) to exile for life.—234, 260, 263, 280, 293, 296-97

Mahomet—see Mohammed

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International; delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland where he joined the Bakunists; a leader of the reformist trend in the French Workers' Party and of the Possibilists (from 1882).—157, 214, 259, 431

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—62, 108

Manning, Charles—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28

Maret, Henri (1838-1917)—French radical journalist, writer and politician, editor of La Marseillaise; deputy to the National Assembly from 1881.—339-40

Maria Alexandrovna (1853-1920)—Grand Duchess, Alexander II's daughter, Duke of Edinburgh's wife from 1874.—14, 18

Maria Fyodorovna (1759-1828)—Princess of Württemberg, Empress of Russia, Paul I's wife (from 1776).—14

Martin, Constant (1839-1906)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, 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).—36

Marx—Austrian police official, chief of police in Vienna.—82

Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, took part in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884; active propagator of Marxism.—26, 34, 37, 39-40, 46, 47, 51, 56, 75, 87, 89, 93, 121, 132, 135, 136, 138-42, 144-46, 148, 190, 191, 212, 222, 226, 244, 245, 268, 269, 289, 291, 321, 323, 324, 329, 333, 369-72, 374, 376-78, 380, 390, 392, 441-42, 444-46, 449, 450


Maskelyne, John Nevil (1839-1917)—English illusionist, organised anti-spiritualist seances.—291

Matheson—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28

Mayer, Karl (1819-1889)—German democrat, deputy to the Frankfort National Assembly (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland; editor of Der Beobachter in Stuttgart in the 1860s.—9, 85, 190

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; leader of the national liberation movement in Italy, head of the Provisional Govern-
ment of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London; fought against the International and the Paris Commune.—81

Mehmed Ali Pasha (real name Karl Detroit) (1827-1878)—Turkish general; German by birth; commanded a corps in Bosnia (1875-76), commander-in-chief in Bulgaria (1877), recalled in 1878; took part in the Berlin Congress (1878); later commander-in-chief in Albany.—255, 272, 280

Mehmed Sadek, effendi—Turkish statesman, Minister of Finance, plenipotentiary at the Russo-Turkish peace negotiations in Adrianople (1829).—302

Mehring, Franz (1846-1919)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, philosopher, historian and journalist; author of several works on the history of Germany and German Social-Democracy and of a biography of Marx; member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1891); a regular contributor to Die Neue Zeit; one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Left wing of the German Social-Democratic Party.—260, 334

Meissner, Otto Karl (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher, printed Marx's Capital and other works by Marx and Engels.—45, 47, 51, 52, 57, 125

Mercier de la Rivière, Paul Pierre (1720-1793)—French economist, Physiocrat.—452

Merriman—Marx's attorney.—11, 13

Mesa y Leompar, 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) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchism; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translated into Spanish a number of works by Marx and Engels; their supporter.—39, 42, 306, 330, 439

Meshchersky, Vladimir Petrovich, Prince (1839-1914)—Russian writer and journalist, an ideologist of the reactionary nobility, monarchist.—164

Metz, Theodor—an innkeeper in Cologne.—106

Meissen, Gustav von (1815-1899)—German banker and politician, leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; founder of a number of big joint-stock and credit banks and industrial joint-stock companies.—182

Meyer, Hermann (1821-1875)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to the USA in 1852, an organiser of the International's sections in St Louis.—115

Meyer, Rudolph Hermann (1839-1899)—German economist and publicist, conservative.—7, 17, 304, 359, 368, 382, 391, 424

Midhat Ahmed Pasha (1822-1884)—Turkish statesman, Grand Vizir (1872, 1876-77), succeeded in proclaiming the first Turkish Constitution (23 December 1876); later was condemned and banished to Arabia.—234, 260, 297, 331

Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic, ideologist of liberal Narodism; an editor of the Otechestvennye Zapiski (1868-84).—343

Milyutin, Dmitri Alexeyevich, Count (1816-1912)—Russian general, War Minister (1861-81).—168, 170

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—English economist and philosopher.—58, 346

Miquel, Johannes von (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and financier; member of the Communist
League; chief burgomaster of Osnabrück (1865-70, 1876-80); a leader of the Right-wing National Liberals (from 1867); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag.—405

Mohammed (Muhammad, Mahomet) (c. 570-632) — founder of Islam.—447

Moleschott, Jakob (1822-1893) — Dutch physiologist and philosopher; lectured in Germany, Switzerland and Italy.—107

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von (1800-1891) — Prussian military leader and writer; general, field-marshall (from 1871); chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—8, 163, 182, 297, 300

Montefiore, Leonard (1853-1879) — English journalist.—329

Moore, George — English engraver.—10-13

Moore, Samuel (1838-1911) — English lawyer, member of the International, translated into English the first volume of Marx’s Capital (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the Manifesto of the Communist Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—387

Morel — French refugee in London.—110

Morley, John, Viscount Morley of Blackburn (1838-1923) — British journalist and statesman, Liberal; editor-in-chief of The Fortnightly Review (1867-82).—6, 213

Morley, Samuel (1809-1886) — British industrialist and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85).—6, 299

Most, Johann Joseph (1846-1906) — participant in the German working-class movement, anarchist; bookbinder; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); emigrated to London in 1878; published the newspaper Die Freiheit there; expelled from the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany as an anarchist (1880); emigrated to the USA (1882).—118-20, 122, 123, 125, 130, 150, 152, 218, 247, 276, 283, 351, 353, 362, 363, 365, 368, 381, 383, 386, 389, 411, 413, 414, 423, 425, 429, 433

Mottershead, Thomas G. (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); later opposed Marx’s and Engels’ line in the General Council and the British Federal Council, one of the active members of the latter’s reformist wing; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council (1873).—92, 155, 158, 292, 300, 448

Müffling, Friedrich Ferdinand Karl, Baron (1775-1851) — Prussian general, then field-marshall general, military writer, took part in the wars against Napoleonic France.—301-02

Muhtar Ahmed Pasha (1832-1919) — Turkish general, commander-in-chief of the Turkish troops in Asia Minor during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—232

Müllerberger, Arthur (1847-1907) — German physician, journalist; Social-Democrat.—120

Müllner, Amadeus Gottfried Adolf (1774-1829) — German poet, dramatist and literary critic.—154

Mundella, Anthony John (1825-1897) — British statesman and manufacturer; M.P. from 1868; Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education (1880-85); held a number of ministerial posts.—299

Murad V (1840-1904) — Sultan of Turkey (May-August 1876); nephew of Sultan Abdul Aziz.—120

Muravyov (Muravieff), Mikhail Nikolayevich, Count (1796-1866) — Russian statesman, participant in the campaign against Napoleon in 1812, Governor General of the North-
Western Territory (1863-64).—169, 170

Mutzelberger—German Catholic priest in Frankfurt am Main.—84, 85

N

Nadler, Karl Christian Gottfried (1809-1849).—German poet.—133

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—14, 68

Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—Napoleon I’s nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—52, 175, 303, 314, 340, 357

Nassauer.—84

Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1816-56); State Chancellor (from 1845).—303

Neumann.—84

Neustadt an der Hardt—participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; refugee in England, member of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London.—364

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—164, 301, 302

Nikolai Nikolayevich (1831-1891)—Grand Duke, Nicholas I’s son; commander-in-chief of the Russian army in the Balkans during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.—241

Nobilting, Karl Eduard (1848-1878)—German anarchist; made an attempt on William I’s life in 1878.—419, 449, 450

Noé—see Idelson, Rozalia Christophorovna

Noé—see Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich

Novikov (Nov(w)ikoff), Yevgeny Petrovich (1826-1903)—Russian writer and statesman, envoy to Athens (1865), Ambassador to Vienna (1870) and to Constantinople (1879-82).—167

Novikov (Nov(w)ikoff), Ivan Petrovich—Russian general, Olga Alexeyevna Novikova’s husband.—167

Novikova (Nov(w)ikoff), Olga Alexeyevna (née Kiryevna) (1840-1925)—Russian journalist, for a long time lived in London.—167-70, 178, 179, 205, 277

O

O’Clery, Keyes, Count (1849-1913)—Irish historian and politician, M.P. (1874-80).—210, 221

O’Connell, Daniel (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing of the national liberation movement.—84

Offenbach, Jacques (1819-1880)—French composer.—143

Oppenheim, Max—Gertrud Kugelmann’s brother, lived in Prague.—47, 48, 52, 53, 55-56, 86, 87, 89, 142, 144-45, 146, 147

Oriol, Henri—clerk in Lachâtre’s publishing house in Paris; owner of the printshop which put out socialist literature (1883-86).—153, 439

Orlov, Alexei Fyodorovich, Count, Prince (from 1856) (1786-1861)—Russian military leader, statesman and diplomat; signed the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) with Turkey; headed the Russian delegation to the Paris Congress (1856).—302

Orsini, Cesare—Italian refugee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67); spread the International’s ideas in the USA; Felice Orsini’s brother.—81

Orsini, Felice (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican, prominent figure in the struggle for Italy’s
national liberation and unification; executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—81

Osborne, John—English trade unionist; plasterer; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of the International held on 28 September 1864 at St Martin’s Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), reformist.—292, 300

Osman Nuri Pasha (1832-1900)—Turkish military leader, marshal; participant in the Crimean (1853-56) and Russo-Turkish (1877-78) wars, War Minister (1878-85).—255, 272

Oswald, Eugen (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49); emigrated to London after the defeat of the revolution.—74

Otto-Walster, August (1834-1898)—German journalist and writer; member of the General Association of German Workers, Social-Democrat; emigrated to the USA in 1876.—100

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—English utopian socialist.—99, 262-63, 292, 335

Pauli, Ida—Philipp Viktor Pauli’s wife.—104, 115-17, 133, 134, 141-42, 146, 180, 197-98, 215, 216, 316

Pauli, Philipp Viktor (1836-d. after 1916)—German chemist, friend of Marx and Engels; headed a chemical plant in Rheinau (1871-80).—104, 105, 115-17, 133, 134, 142, 146, 180, 181, 198, 215, 216, 288, 314, 316

Perret, Henri—participant in the Swiss working-class movement, engraver; a leader of the International in Switzerland, Secretary of the Romance Federal Council (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; broke with the Bakuninists in 1869; after the Hague Congress (1872) adopted a conciliatory stand.—4-6

Perrot, Franz—19th-century German economist and journalist.—304

Pertev, Reis, effendi (d. 1837)—Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs (from 1827).—301

Peter III (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—14

Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca) (1304-1374)—Italian poet of the Renaissance.—25

Petty, Sir William (1623-1687)—English economist, father of the classical bourgeois political economy.—208, 329, 452

Petzler, Johann (d. 1898)—German democrat, teacher of music; refugee in London from the 1850s.—332, 333

Pindar (c. 522-c. 443 B.C.)—Greek poet.—358

Pindy, Jean Louis (1840-1917)—French joiner, Proudhonist; member of the International, delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congress-
ses, organiser of the International’s section in Brest (1869); took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Switzerland and joined the anarchists.—157

Pio, Louis Albert François (1841-1894)—a leader of the Danish working-class and socialist movement, propagated Marx’s ideas, an organiser of the International’s Danish sections (1871), a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); emigrated to the USA in 1877.—117, 121, 126, 221

Plater, Władysław (1806-1889)—Polish politician; took part in the insurrection of 1830-31.—37

Plon-Plon—see Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul

Polyakov, Nikolai Petrovich (c. 1843-1905)—Russian democratic publisher, was close to Narodniki; published the first Russian edition of the first volume of Marx’s Capital (1872).—57

Potapov, Alexander Lvovich (1818-1886)—Russian adjutant general; took part in the Crimean war (1853-56); Chief of Staff of the gendarmes’ corps and of the Third Department of the Imperial Chancellory (1861-64); Governor General of the North-Western Territory (from 1868); chief of gendarmes (1874-76).—170

Potter, George (1832-1893)—a British trade union leader, carpenter; member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder and publisher of The Bee-Hive Newspaper.—81

Powell—Marx’s lawyer.—11, 13

Premlerani—policeman in Turin (Italy).—199

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; founder of anarchism.—64, 80, 92, 99, 433

Pumps—see Burns, Mary Ellen

Pyat, Félix (1810-1889)—French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat; took part in the 1848 revolution; opposed an independent working-class movement; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the International; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); member of the Paris Commune (1871), after its suppression emigrated to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1888).—440

Q

Quesnay, François (1694-1774)—French economist, founder of the School of Physiocrats; physician by profession.—262, 263, 265, 452

Quétel, Lambert Adolphe Jacques (1796-1874)—Belgian statistician, mathematician, astronomer and sociologist.—82

Quinet, Edgar (1803-1875)—French politician and historian; participant in the 1848 revolution; refugee (1852-70); took part in the bourgeois-pacifist congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in Geneva (1867); deputy to the National Assembly (1871-75).—25

R

Ragsky, Ferdinand—Austrian chemist, professor at Vienna.—88

Ralston, William Ralston Shedden (1828-1889)—English writer, author of works on literature and history of Russia.—329

Ramm, Hermann—German Social-Democrat, member of the editorial
board of Der Volksstaat and Vorwärts.—59, 66, 194-95, 238, 326

Rasch, Gustav (d. 1878)—German lawyer, democrat, journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; after its defeat a refugee in Switzerland and France; member of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party from 1873.—175, 177, 239

Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke (1810-1895)—English historian, orientalist, army officer in Persia; member of the Council of India (1858-59, 1868-95); M.P. (1858-59, 1865-68); President of the Royal Asiatic Society (1878-81); contributed to many English newspapers.—163

Razoua, Eugène Angèle (1830-1878)—French journalist, Republican; deputy to the National Assembly; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Geneva; member of the International; contributed to a number of periodicals.—259

Reclus—Protestant priest, father of Élie and Élisée Reclus.—259

Reclus, Jean Jacques Élisée (1830-1905)—French geographer, sociologist and politician, theoretician of anarchism; member of the International; took part in the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated and lived in Italy, Switzerland and Belgium.—132, 172, 257, 259, 440

Reclus, Jean Pierre Michel Élie (1827-1904)—French ethnographer, journalist, utopian socialist; took part in the 1848 revolution; director of the National Library during the Paris Commune.—132, 172, 257, 259

Redif Pasha—Turkish statesman, War Minister (1877).—260

Reichenbach—young German writer.—359

Reichenberger, August (1808-1895)—German lawyer and politician; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing) (1848-49) and to the German Reichstag (1871-84); a leader of the Catholic Party of the Centre.—322, 325, 328

Rennshaw—an acquaintance of Engels’ family in London.—321, 324

Reshid Mustafa Mehemed Pasha (1802-1858)—Turkish statesman; repeatedly held posts of Grand Vizir and Foreign Minister.—301

Reuß, Heinrich VII, Prince (1825-1906)—Prussian diplomat and general, Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople (1877), Ambassador to Vienna (1878-94).—301

Reuter, Paul Julius, Baron von (1816-1899)—founder of the Reuter telegraph agency in London (1851); German by birth.—158, 325

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—English economist.—62, 153, 205, 261, 452

Richter, Dmitry Ivanovich (1848-1919)—Russian statistician, economist and geographer; lived in emigration in the 1870s.—121, 126-28

Richter, Eugen (1838-1906)—German politician, leader of the Party of Progress, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-1906).—309

Rittinghausen, Moritz (1814-1890)—German journalist, democrat; contributed to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); member of the International; member of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party till 1884; deputy to the German Reichstag (1877-78 and 1881-84).—195

Rivers, George—bookseller in London.—317-18

Roby, Henry John (1830-1915)—British manufacturer, classical scholar; Liberal; member of the government schools commissions (1864-74); a partner in the Manchester firm of Ermen & Roby (1874-94); M.P. (1890-95).—67

Roby, Mary Ann Matilda (née Ermen) (d. 1889)—Peter Ermen’s daughter, wife of the above from 1861.—67
Rachat, 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).—49

Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay (1831-1913)—French journalist, writer and politician, Left-wing republican; member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia whence fled to England; organised the second edition of the Anglo-French magazine Lanterne in London and Brussels (1874-76).—25, 29, 34

Rocher, L.—11

Röhrig—Wilhelm Liebknecht’s acquaintance, forester.—55

Rothschild, Alphonse, baron de (1827-1905)—French banker, head of the banking house.—136

Roy, Joseph (1830-1916)—French teacher, translated the first volume of Marx’s Capital and works by Feuerbach into French.—16

Royer, von—Prussian diplomat, envoy to Constantinople (1829).—302

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a National Liberal after 1866.—374

Rümelin, Gustav (1815-1888)—German writer and statistician, sociologist, author of works on statistics, history and literature.—191

Russell, John, 1st Earl Russell (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—140, 156

S

Sadek, effendi—see Mehmed Sadek, effendi

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—263

Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquis of (1830-1903)—British statesman, Conservative leader (from 1881), Secretary of State for India (1866-67, 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92, 1895-1902).—296, 299

Salmann.—83

Samarin, Yuri Fyodorovich (1819-1876)—Russian writer and public figure.—103

Samter, Adolph (1824-1883)—German economist, follower of Rodbertus.—328

Sargent, William Lucas (1809-1889)—English teacher and economist, Owen’s biographer.—263

Sarney, Eduard—German journalist, an editor of the Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt.—180

Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich (1831-1903)—German vulgar economist and sociologist, armchair socialist, rejected the class struggle.—163, 190, 413

Schaitte, Karl Heinrich (1824-1899)—German physician and writer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, then emigrated to England.—175-77

Scheu, Andreas (1844-1927)—a leader in the Austrian (1868-74) and British socialist movement; member of the International; emigrated to England in 1874; a founder of the Social-Democratic Federation.—49, 189
Scheu, Heinrich (1845-1926)—Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); emigrated to England in 1873; brother of the above.—49, 189

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—259

Schily—Victor Schily's wife.—92

Schily, Victor (1810-1875)—German democrat, lawyer; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; refugee in France; member of the International, delegate to the London Conference (1865); Marx's friend.—92

Schlesinger, Maximilian (1855-1902)—German journalist, Social-Democrat, Lassallean; contributor to a number of newspapers and magazines.—386

Schmidt, Eduard Oscar (1823-1886)—German zoologist, Darwinist, professor at Strasbourg (from 1872).—313-14, 317

Schmidt, Johann Joseph.—180

Schmitz, Richard (1834-1893)—German physician in Neuenahr (from 1863).—267

Schneckenburger, Max (1819-1849)—German poet.—444

Schöler, Caroline (Lina) (1819-1891)—German teacher in Cologne; friend of Marx's family.—202, 203, 205

Schollmeyer, Schorlemeyer—see Schorlemmer, Carl

Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788-1860)—German idealist philosopher, irrationalist and pessimist, ideologist of Prussian Junkers.—50


Schott, Sigmund (1818-1895)—Württemberg writer and politician; advocate of Germany's unification under Prussia's supremacy; founder of the National Association.—287, 304-05, 311-12

Schramm, Carl August (1830-1905)—German Social-Democrat, reformist; left the Party in the 1880s.—73, 75, 375, 378, 393, 395-98, 402-08, 411-13, 417, 422, 428, 431

Schumacher, Balthasar Gerhard (1755-d. after 1801)—German lawyer, author of the song on which Prussian National Anthem was based.—301

Schumacher, Hermann (c. 1826-1904)—German economist.—90

Schumann, Fritz—delegate to the International Socialist Congress in Paris (September 1878) from the Danish Social-Democratic Workers' Party and from the International Labour Union.—339, 340

Schupps—family of Engels' acquaintances in Heidelberg, with whom Mary Ellen Burns stayed in 1875-77.—116, 180, 197

Schuyler, Eugene (1840-1890)—American historian and diplomat, secretary of the diplomatic mission in Russia (1869), General Consul in Constantinople (1876-78), later American minister in Athens and US representative in Romania and Serbia.—168

Schweitzer—owner of a printing-house in London, where the Londoner Journal was printed.—315

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; fought against the Social-Democratic
Workers' Party; was expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—6, 402

Schwitzguébel, Adhémar (1844-1895)—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, anarchist; engraver; member of the International; a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of the Jura Federation; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); expelled from the International by the General Council's decision (1873).—49, 306

Seidlitz, Georg von—German naturalist, follower of Darwin.—107

Servailier, Auguste (b. 1840)—participant 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.—44, 341, 448

Seton—one of Marx's witnesses when he applied for British naturalisation in 1874.—28

Shaen—English lawyer.—11, 12

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—English poet and playwright.—65, 122, 191, 226, 446

Shipton, George (1839-1911)—prominent figure in the British trade union movement, reformist, Secretary of the House-Painters' Union and of the London Trades Council (1871-96).—300

Shuvalov (Schiwalooff), Pyotr Andreyevich, Count (1827—1889)—Russian statesman and diplomat, general, member of the State Council (1874); chief of gendarmes (1866-74); Ambassador to London (1874-79).—168, 170, 389

Sieher, Nikolai Ivanovich (1844-1888)—economist; one of the first popularisers of Marx's economic works in Russia; held radical bourgeois reformist views.—343

Simon, Jules François Simon Suisse (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher; moderate republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); member of the Government of National Defence, Minister of Public Instruction in that government and in Thiers' government (1870-73); deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, an instigator of struggle against the Paris Commune; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1876-77).—440

Singer, Paul (1844-1911)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the German Social-Democrats; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1878); deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911); member (from 1887) and Chairman (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—396, 412

Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich (pseudonym Doctor Noel) (1848-1900)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, physician; emigrated to Zurich in the early 1870s, then to London, Paris, and Berne; member of the International; an editor of the newspaper and magazine Vperyod!—78, 91, 129, 134, 147, 154, 305, 312-13, 316

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—153, 260, 452

Sonnemann, Leopold (1831-1909)—German politician, journalist, banker, democrat; founder and publisher of the Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt; deputy to the German
Reichstag (1871-77, 1878-84).—7, 9, 85, 95, 98, 156, 180, 305, 334, 412
Sorge, Friedrich Adolph (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland, then to Belgium, from 1852 lived in the USA; organised the International's American sections, Secretary of the Federal Council for North America, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council of the International in New York (1872-74), propagated Marxism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—7-10, 28, 30, 40, 41, 43, 44, 51, 114-15, 124-25, 275-77, 279, 282-84, 318-19, 385, 392, 410, 414, 422, 445-48
Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus) de (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—452
Spurgeon, Charles Haddon (1834-1892)—English Baptist priest.—22
Staël, Madame de (Anne Louise Germaine Necker, baronne de Staël-Holstein) (1766-1817)—French authoress.—252
Staël, Madame de (d. 1877)—a relative of the above.—252
Stahl, Heinrich—German socialist in Chicago.—42
Stern—Joseph Stern's wife.—85
Stern, Joseph (1839-1902)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; an editor of the Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt (from 1873).—85
Steward, Ira (1831-1883)—prominent figure in the American labour movement, leader of the Eight-Hour League in Boston and of the National Ten-Hour League; an organiser of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1869) and of the International Labor Union (1878).—411
Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—chief of Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and main witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); chief of military police during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars.—29, 96, 100, 103, 121, 147, 327
Stoffel, Eugène, baron (1823-1907)—French army officer; during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) served in MacMahon's General Headquarters; discharged from the army (1872).—251
Stolberg-Wernigerode, Otto, Prince (1837-1896)—German statesman and politician, conservative, deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-78), Vice-Chancellor of the German Empire (from 1878).—322-24
Strousberg, Bethel Henry (1823-1884)—German-born railway contractor who lived in England; went bankrupt in 1873.—228, 405
Suleiman Pasha (1840-1892)—Turkish general; commander-in-chief in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, then commander of the Danubian army; commander-in-chief of Turkish troops (December 1877-February 1878).—272

T

Talandier, Pierre Théodore Alfred (1822-1890)—French democratic journalist, took part in the 1848 revolution; emigrated to London after the coup d'etat of 1851; member of the General Council of the International (1864); senator (1876-80, 1881-85).—336-42
Taneyev, Vladimir Ivanovich (1840-1921)—Russian public figure, lawyer, materialist philosopher; from 1866, counsel for the defence at a number of political processes.—185
Tenge, Therese (née Bolongaro-Crevenna) (born c. 1833)—wife of the Westphalian landowner Tenge-
Ritberg; acquaintance of Ludwig Kugelmann’s family in Hanover.—17, 19

Tennyson, Alfred (1809-1892)—English poet.—14

Terzaghi, Carlo (b. 1845)—Italian lawyer and journalist; editor of Proletario italiano, Secretary of the Federazione operaia and the Emancipazione del proletario societies in Turin; became police agent in 1872.—184, 199

Tessendorf(f), Hermann Ernst Christian (1831-1895)—Prussian Public Prosecutor, member of the Berlin City Court (1873-79); organised persecution of Social-Democrats.—96, 100

Theisz, Albert Frédéric Félix (1839-1881)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, engraver; Proudhonist; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International, member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to England, member of the General Council of the International (1872) and its treasurer.—110

Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840), President of the Republic (1871-73); hangman of the Paris Commune.—16, 30, 210, 235, 235, 440

Thünen, Johann Heinrich von (1783-1850)—German economist.—90

Tkachov, Pyotr Nikitich (1844-1885)—Russian revolutionary, journalist, an ideologist of Narodism.—59, 363

Töleke, Karl Wilhelm (1817-1893)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; President of the General Association of German Workers (1865-66) and member of its Executive Committee till 1874.—6, 60, 65

Tomanovskaya, Yelizaveta Lukinichna (née Kusheleva) (1851-d. after 1910)—Russian revolutionary, lived in emigration from 1868 to 1873, 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 (1871); after its suppression emigrated; withdrew from revolutionary activities after her return to Russia.—36, 185

Traube, Moritz (1826-1894)—German chemist and physiologist.—78, 192

Treitschke, Heinrich Gotthard von (1834-1896)—German historian and journalist; historiographer of the Prussian state (from 1886); deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-88).—260

Trochu, Louis Jules (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist; head of the Government of National Defence; commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Paris (September 1870-January 1871); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—223, 224

Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de l'Aulne (1727-1781)—French economist and statesman; Physiocrat; Controller General of Finance (1774-76).—209

Turner.—11

Tussy, Tussychen—see Marx, Eleanor

Tyndall, John (1820-1893)—English physicist, professor at the King’s College in London.—50

U

Urquhart, David (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician; Turkophile; exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs, M.P. (1847-52); founder and editor of The Free Press (1855-77) renamed Diplomatic Review (1866).—158, 167, 178, 206, 209, 233, 238
Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich (1841-1883)—Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement, member of the Land and Freedom society; emigrated to England in 1863, then to Switzerland; an organiser of the Russian section of the International in Geneva and an editor of L’Égalité (1870-71); Marx’s supporter in the struggle against Bakuninism; delegate to the London Conference of the International (1871); retired from political activity in the mid-1870s; returned to Russia in 1878.—36, 148, 163, 328, 351

Utina, Natalia Jeronimovna (née Cornsini)—Nikolai Utin’s wife; contributed to Vestnik Yevropy and other periodicals.—211

Vahlteich, Karl Julius (1839-1915)—German Social-Democrat, shoemaker; first secretary of the General Association of German Workers (1863-February 1864); delegate to the Eisenach Congress (1869) and a leader in the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party, deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76 and 1878-81); emigrated to the USA and took part in the working-class movement there.—85, 95, 98, 257, 276

Vasilchikov, Alexander Illarionovich (1818-1881)—Russian economist and public figure.—103

Vasiliyev, Nikolai Vasiliyevich (1857-1920)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; physiologist, Doctor of Medicine; carried on propaganda among St Petersburg students; emigrated to Switzerland in the latter half of the 1870s and continued his revolutionary activity there; lived in London for some time.—427

Vernouillet, Juste—director of Lachâtre’s publishing house in Paris.—57, 79, 439

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Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von (1850-1922)—German army officer, Social-Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of German Social-Democracy; an editor of Der Sozialdemokrat (1879-80); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87 and 1890-1918).—375, 413, 417, 422
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Weber, Joseph Valentin (1814-1895)—German watchmaker; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848; after its suppression, refugee in London; member of the German Workers’ Educational Society there; expelled from the Society for his splitting activities and the slander of the General Council of the International (December 1871).—364

Weber, Louis—German watchmaker; refugee in London after the 1848-49 revolution, Lassalean, member of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London; expelled from the Society for the intrigues against Marx and his supporters (April 1865); son of the above.—364, 411

Wedde, Friedrich Christoph Johannes (1843-1890)—German journalist and writer, democrat.—240, 259

Weiler, Adam (1841-1894)—German joiner; refugee in London, member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), supporter of Marx and Engels, member of the London Trades’ Council; member of the Social-Democratic Federation (from 1885).—277

Weiß, Guido (1822-1899)—German democratic journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; belonged to the Party of Progress (Left wing) in the 1860s; editor of Die Zukunft, organ of the People’s Party (1867-71), publisher of a weekly Die Wage (1873-79).—85, 88

Weilbing, Wilhelm (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany, tailor by profession; theorist of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—284, 410

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of (1769-1852)—British general and statesman, Tory; commanded troops in the wars against Napoleon I (1808-14, 1815); commander-in-chief of the British army (1827-28, 1842-52), Prime Minister (1828-30) and Foreign Secretary (1834-35).—301, 303

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Westlake—English public figure, elected to the school board from Marylebone on 30 November 1876.—444

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; a responsible editor of the Neue Deutsche Zeitung (1849-50); emigrated to the USA in 1851, participated in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners; disseminated Marxism in the USA; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—115, 448

Weydemeyer, Otto—participant in the American working-class movement; son of the above.—276, 318-19
Wiede, Franz (born c. 1857)—German journalist, founder and editor of Die Neue Gesellschaft, reformist.—240-43, 247, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 362, 413

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William I (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88) and Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—16, 263, 301, 352, 384, 389, 412, 428

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Wingfield, Lewis Strange (1842-1891)—English traveller, writer and actor; correspondent of The Times during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) and at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—49

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Wolff, Bernhard (Benda) (1811-1879)—German journalist, owner of the Berlin National-Zeitung (from 1848); founder of the first telegraph agency in Germany (1849).—158

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Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864)—German proletarian revolutionary, teacher, prominent figure in the Communist League; editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—195, 391

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Wright, Carroll Davidson (1840-1909)—American economist and statistician, head of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1873-88).—377, 411

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Zhukovsky, Nikolai Ivanovich (1833-1895)—Russian revolutionary, anarchist; refugee (from 1862), Secretary of the Geneva Section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the International (from 1869), withdrew from it in 1872 in protest to Bakunin's expulsion by the Hague Congress.—259

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L'avant-garde. Organe collectiviste et anarchiste—a French-language anarchist newspaper, published twice a month in La-Chaux-de-Fonds (Switzerland) in 1877-78.—348

Der Beobachter. Ein Volksblatt aus Schwaben—a daily published in Stuttgart from 1833; newspaper of the petty-bourgeois democrats in the 1860s.—9, 85

Berliner Freie Presse—a German Social-Democratic daily published under this title in Berlin from 1876 to 1878; from the middle of 1876 it appeared under the editorship of Johann Most.—199

Braunschweiger Volksfreund—a daily, organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (Eisenachers) published in Brunswick from 1871 to 1878.—245

Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs—a French-language newspaper of the Swiss anarchists published under the editorship of James Guillaume from 1872 to 1878, at first twice a month, and from July 1873, weekly.—6, 199, 200, 214, 294, 306

Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung—a German-language socialist newspaper published in Chicago from 1876 to 1924, three times a week until 1879, then daily.—414

La Commune—a democratic daily published in Paris in September-November 1880 under the editorship of Félix Pyat.—440

The Contemporary Review—a liberal monthly published in London since 1866.—168-70, 209
The Daily News—a liberal newspaper of the British industrial bourgeoisie; it appeared under this title in London from 1846 to 1930.—35, 118, 140, 168-70, 311, 322, 324, 332

The Daily Telegraph—a liberal and, from the 1880s, conservative newspaper, published under this title in London from 1855 to 1937.—176, 328, 331, 340

Demokratisches Wochenblatt. Organ der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei—a German workers' newspaper, published under this title in Leipzig from January 1868 to September 1869 under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht; at the Eisenach Congress (1869) it was declared a central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany and renamed Der Volksstaat.—65

The Diplomatic Review—an English foreign policy journal, published under this title from 1866 to 1877, up to July 1870 as a monthly, then as a quarterly; its publisher was David Urquhart.—158, 167

Dziennik Polski—a Polish liberal newspaper, published in Lvov from 1869 to 1914.—103

The Eastern Post—an English workers' weekly published in London from 1868 to 1873, organ of the General Council of the International from February 1871 to June 1872.—341

L'Égalité—a socialist weekly founded in 1877 by Jules Guesde, organ of the French Workers' Party from 1880 to 1883. It appeared in six series with different sub-titles. The first three series were published weekly (113 issues), the fourth and the fifth series—daily (56 issues). Of the sixth series only one issue appeared (1886).—306, 449


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The Evening Standard—an conservative daily founded in London in 1827; from 1857, it came out as a morning newspaper under the title The Standard and from 1860 to 1905 under the titles The Evening Standard and The Standard.—35

The Farmer—an English monthly and later weekly newspaper published under this title from 1865 to 1889; has been appearing under the title Farmer and Stockbreeder since 1889.—12

La Federación. Organo de la Federacion de la Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores—a Spanish workers' weekly organ of the Barcelona Federation of the International, published in Barcelona from 1869 to 1873; was under the Bakuninists' influence.—6

Le Figaro—a French conservative daily published in Paris since 1854. From 1826 to 1833 it appeared under the title Figaro, journal nonpolitiqué.—36, 268

The Fortnightly Review—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine, founded in 1865 by a group of radicals; subsequently liberal in character; published under this title in London till 1934.—179, 213
Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt—a democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—3, 17, 61, 85, 95, 98, 120, 121, 156, 180, 310, 329, 334, 441

Fraser's Magazine. For Town and Country—a literary, popular scientific and political liberal monthly published in London from 1830 to 1882.—80, 92, 415

Freiheit—a German-language weekly of the anarchist group of Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann; published in London from 1879 to 1882, in Belgium in 1882 and in the USA from 1882 to 1910.—351, 353, 360-63, 365, 383, 398, 411, 417, 433

Galignani's Messenger—an English-language newspaper published in Paris from 1814; at first three times a week and then daily; it reprinted excerpts from major English, American and French papers.—268

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Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette—an agricultural weekly published in London since 1841.—11, 13

Gazeta Narodowa—a Polish liberal paper published in Lvov from 1862 to 1914.—103

La Gazette de Bruxelles—a French liberal daily published in Brussels.—49

Hermann. Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London—a German-language weekly of the German petty-bourgeois democratic refugees published in London from 1859.—315

L'Homme Libre—a petty-bourgeois democratic daily, published in Paris in 1876-77; Louis Blanc was its editor-in-chief.—341, 342

L'Indépendance belge—a liberal daily founded in Brussels in 1831.—75, 268

L'Internationale. Organe des sections belges de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs—a weekly organ of the Belgian sections of the International published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873; printed documents of the International; took the anarchist stand in 1873.—6

The International Gazette—an English-language weekly published in Berlin in 1874.—56

Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik—a social-reformist magazine published in Zurich in 1879-81 by Karl Höchberg (pseudonym Dr Ludwig Richter); three issues came out.—374, 383, 386-87, 393, 401-02, 413, 422, 430, 432

Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944, was conservative in the 1870s-80s.—244, 441

Journal des Économistes. Revue mensuelle d'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales—a liberal monthly published in Paris from 1841 to 1943.—194

Kalender—see Volks-Kalender

Kölnische Zeitung—a daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; expressed the interests of the National-Liberal Party in the 1870s.—155, 240, 241, 326, 416
Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen—a daily published under this title from 1785 to 1911; also called Vossische Zeitung after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—252, 312, 317

The Labor Standard—a socialist weekly published in New York from 1876 to 1900; Engels contributed to it in the 1870s.—306

La Lanterne—a radical republican weekly published by Henri Rochefort from 30 May 1868 in Paris and, after it was banned by the Bonapartist authorities, in Brussels (from August 1868 to November 1869), opposed the Second Empire; Rochefort published the second edition of the paper in London in 1874-76.—25, 34

Die Laterne—a Social-Democratic weekly, published by Carl Hirsch in Brussels from 15 December 1878 to 29 June 1879.—388, 395, 398, 399, 401, 412, 414, 417

The Leisure Hour—a magazine published under this title in London from 1852 to 1905.—393

La Liberté. Organe socialiste hebdomadaire—a democratic paper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873 (in 1872-73 daily); from 1867, an organ of the International in Belgium.—6, 259

Londoner Journal—a German-language petty-bourgeois paper published in London from 1878 to 1891.—315

La Marseillaise—a radical republican weekly published in Paris from 1877 to 1914.—235, 336-40, 342

Il Martello. Organo del Circolo Operaio di Milano, Giornale democratico socialista degli operai—an Italian Bakuninist weekly published in Bologna under the editorship of Andrea Costa in January-March 1877.—199

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Le Mirabeau—a weekly published in Verviers from 1868 to 1874, organ of the Belgian sections of the International.—6

Morning News—a Scottish conservative paper.—209

The Morning Post—a London conservative daily published from 1772 to 1937; in the mid-nineteenth century it was the organ of the Right-wing Whigs grouped around Palmerston.—178

The National Reformer—a radical weekly published in London from 1860 to 1893.—341, 342

Nature. A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Science—a journal published in London since 1869.—50

Die Neue Gesellschaft. Monatschrift für Socialwissenschaft—a reformist magazine published in Zurich from October 1877 to March 1880; its editor-in-chief was Franz Wiede.—242, 243, 253, 258, 362, 407, 413

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie—a daily newspaper of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution
in Germany; it was published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849 (with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848); Engels was among its editors.—259, 334

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a theoretical journal of the Communist League, founded by Marx and Engels and published by them from December 1849 to November 1850.—49

*Die Neue Welt. Illustriertes Unterhaltungsblatt für das Volk*—a socialist fortnightly published in Leipzig from 1876 to 1883, then in Stuttgart and Hamburg till 1919; its editor was Wilhelm Liebknecht (1876-80); Engels contributed to it in the 1870s.—123, 195, 215, 242

*New-York Daily Tribune*—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left-wing American Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; opposed slavery in the 1840s and 1850s. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—115, 448

*The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review*—a liberal journal published under this title in London from 1877 to 1900.—328, 335

*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—a daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918; semi-official paper of Bismarck's government in the 1860s-80s.—310

*O operai*—a Portuguese socialist paper published in Oporto in the late 1870s and the 1880s.—363

*Österreichische Monatsschrift für Gesellschaftswissenschaften und Volkswirtschaft*—a conservative Catholic monthly published in Vienna in 1879 and 1880.—369

*The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review*—a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920; conservative in the 1860s and 1870s; Marx and Engels maintained contacts with the paper from July 1870 to June 1871; it published a series of Engels' articles *Notes on the War*.—128, 163, 428

*Paterson Labor Standard*—an American weekly published in Paterson from 1878; from 1899 to 1906 appeared under the title *The National Labor Standard*.—410

*La Plebe. Giornale republicano-rationalista-socialista*—an Italian paper published under the editorship of Enrico Bignami in Lodi (1868-75) and in Milan (1875-83); till the early 1870s—democratic, then socialist paper; in 1872-73 was organ of the Italian sections of the International and supported the General Council.—198-200, 203, 214

*Le Précursor*—a French-language socialist weekly, organ of the Social-Democrats of Romance Switzerland; published in Geneva from 1877 to 1887 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker.—183, 214, 294, 348-49, 351

*Il Proletario Italiano*—a newspaper published in Turin twice a week from 1871; appeared under the title *Il Proletario* from 1872 to 1874.—184

*O Protesto*—a socialist weekly published in Lisbon from August 1875 to January 1878.—91, 99, 174

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Le Radical—a democratic paper published in Paris in 1877.—451
Le Rappel—a Left-republican daily founded by Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort; it was published in Paris from 1869 to 1928.—439
La République Française—a bourgeois-radical daily founded by Léon Gambetta and published in Paris from 1871 to 1924.—235, 251, 263, 341
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Revue des deux Mondes—a literary and political fortnightly published in Paris from 1829 to 1944.—153, 194
La Revue socialiste—a monthly founded by Benoît Malon, at first a socialist republican, then syndicalist and co-operative organ; published in Lyons and Paris from 1880, in Paris from 1885 to 1914; Marx and Engels contributed to it in the 1880s.—431
Schwäbischer Beobachter—see Der Beobachter
Le Siècle—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; in the 1870s it was moderate republican.—235, 441

Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge—central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany; published weekly in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to 27 September 1890; edited by Georg von Vollmar (1879-80) and by Eduard Bernstein (1881-90); Marx and Engels contributed to it.—367, 372, 374, 378, 379, 383, 386, 392-99, 401, 402, 412-13, 417, 420, 421, 422, 425, 430, 431, 433
The Spectator—a weekly published in London since 1828; at first liberal, then conservative.—341

Der Spüdel—a weekly published in Vienna from 1869 to 1876.—37
The Standard—a conservative daily published in London from 1857 to 1916 (see The Evening Standard).—255, 277, 322, 324, 326, 327, 339, 340

Die Tagwacht—a German-language Social-Democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland in 1869-73, later of the Swiss Workers' Union and the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—174
Le Temps—a conservative daily organ of the big bourgeoisie published in Paris from 1861 to 1943; opposed the Second Empire and war with Prussia.—441

The Times—a conservative daily published in London since 1785.—42, 49, 67, 234, 266, 268, 277, 329, 340, 352
Le Travailleur—a French-language anarchist monthly published in Geneva from May 1877 to May 1878 under the editorship of Nikolai Zhukovsky, Élisée and Éli Reclus and others.—259

Tribune—see New-York Daily Tribune

Über Land und Meer—an illustrated weekly published in Stuttgart from 1858 to 1923.—107

L'Union des Travailleurs—a workers' monthly published in Geneva in 1873-74, held a reformist stand.—5
Vanity Fair. A Weekly Show of Political, Social and Literary Wares—a conservative weekly published in London from 1868 to 1929.—205, 209, 220, 227

Das Volk—a German-language weekly published in London from 7 May to 20 August 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publication beginning with issue No. 2 and in early July he became its de facto editor.—175, 176

Volksfreund—see Braunschweiger Volksfreund

Volks-Kalender—a Social-Democratic almanac published in Brunswick from 1875 to 1878; its editor-in-chief and publisher was Wilhelm Bracke.—227, 236, 306

Der Volksstaat. Organ der sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei und Gewerksgenossenschaften—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876 (twice a week, from July 1873 three times a week) under the general guidance of Wilhelm Liebknecht; August Bebel greatly influenced the paper; it regularly printed articles by Marx and Engels.—7, 30, 41, 54, 55, 58, 61, 94, 103, 118, 123, 127, 132, 154, 155

Volks-Zeitung. Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke—a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1897.—411


Vossische Zeitung—see Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrtten Sachen

Die Wage. Wochenblatt für Politik und Literatur—a democratic journal published in Berlin under the editorship of Guido Weiß from 1873 to 1879.—88

Westphälische Volkszeitung—a daily, organ of the Party of Progress, published in Hagen in the 1860s; its editor-in-chief was Wilhelm Hassenclüver (1862-63).—247

Whitehall Review—a conservative weekly published in London from 1876 to 1929.—205, 209, 277, 327, 352

Wiener medizinische Zeitung—see Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung


Впереди Европа. Журнал историко-политических наук—a Russian historical, political and literary journal of liberal trend, published in St Petersburg from 1866 to 1918; from 1868, monthly.—358

Впереди! Двухдневное обозрение—a Russian paper published by Pyotr Lavrov in London in 1875-76; printed material on the struggle of the proletariat of different countries.—91, 106, 107, 132, 154, 163

Впереди! Непериодическое обозрение—a Russian journal published from 1873 to
1877 at first in Zurich and then in London; five issues appeared; Pyotr Lavrov was its publisher from 1873 to 1876; it printed many articles on the working-class movement in the West and on the activity of the International.—129, 305, 307

Гражданин— a Russian literary and political weekly published in St Petersburg from 1872 to 1914; organ of the nobility.—164

Начало. Орган русских социалистов—the first Narodnik paper in Russia published illegally in St Petersburg from March to May 1878; four issues appeared; the paper strove to unite revolutionaries of different trends.—316

Отечественные Записки—a Russian literary and political monthly published in St Petersburg from 1839 to 1884.—343
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