ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

[London,] 2 December 1885

Dear Kautsky,

Ad vocem* Adler:

1) Re the pistol business, don’t forget to point out that the NCOs were wearing their sabres. They complained of an affront to the NCO caste.491

2) Hess. It is not of course possible to confirm — for I never saw him again after May 1848, when he disappeared for good — whether or not he spent a few days in Baden or the Palatinate. But he didn’t ‘take part’; he was neither orator, nor journalist, nor official, nor soldier, so it’s inconceivable that some government or other — Adler certainly ought to have said which one — should have condemned him to death.492

Ad vocem Liebknecht. Before you post the letter, give me a chance to enclose a word or two of explanation; there was something I forgot to tell him yesterday. b

Your
F. E.

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

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

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* As regards - b See previous letter.
Dear Old Man,

As it’s so long since I heard from you, I am reminding you of my existence by advising you of the despatch of a £5 money order which I hope will arrive at the same time as this letter and perhaps help to lighten the transition from the old year to the new. I trust you are still in the best of health and that you will send me a line or two before long acknowledging receipt.

I have been slogging away hard of late, as no doubt you will learn from the Zurich booksellers’ publishing side, and in particular have seized the opportunity of reviving various pieces from the golden days of our youth in 1848-49. This is damned important, for the younger generation, which has forgotten all about it, if indeed it ever knew, is beginning to want to find out what went on at that time and, in view of the many inaccurate sources and accounts, it’s important to provide them with as much accurate information as possible. What is absolutely vital is that you should finish your memoirs; years ago the *Neue Welt* published some really charming pieces. You’re a wonderfully skilful narrator and on top of that your memory goes back at least 10 or 15 years further than mine and embraces the period 1830-40, which is also very important where later developments are concerned. Some money might also be made out of it, and that’s not to be sneezed at.

I still have to revise the *Peasant War* which is badly in need of it and shall then go on to Volume III of *Capital*, this having now been dictated in the rough from the original draft and set down in a legible hand. It will be the devil of a task, but a splendid one. Unfortunately a mass of translations into French, English, Italian and Danish keep intervening, which I have to go over—all too necessary in most

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a J. Ph. Becker, ‘Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben’, *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 17-20, 23, 24, 26, 28 and 29; 22 and 29 April, 6 and 13 May, 3, 10 and 24 June, 8 and 15 July 1876.
Fortunately my knowledge of Russian, let alone Polish, doesn’t extend to this sort of job, otherwise it would never end. But from that you will see how extensive is the international field our communism has now conquered and it is always a pleasure when one can do one’s bit towards extending that field still further.

I hope the wretched business in the Balkans will pass off peacefully. We are making such splendid progress everywhere that a world war would be inopportune just now — too late or too early. But ultimately it would also work in our favour by putting an end to militarism once and for all — at the cost of the massacre of 1 1/3 million men and the squandering of 1,000 billion francs. After that there could be no more war.

The elections in France have provided the Radicals with the immediate prospect of coming to power and have thus been of considerable help to us, too. The elections over here have temporarily made the Irish masters of England and Scotland; without them neither party can govern. There are still about 100 results to come in, but they’ll make little difference to the outcome. Thus the Irish question will at last be settled — if not at once, at any rate in the immediate future and then the decks will be cleared over here as well. Some 8 or 10 working men have likewise been elected — some of them bought by the bourgeoisie, others trade unionists pure and simple — who will doubtless make thorough fools of themselves and be of enormous assistance in the creation of an independent labour party by banishing the inherited self-deceit of the workers. History moves slowly over here, but move it does.

Warm regards.

Your old friend

F. Engels

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Printed according to the original

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Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith excerpts from the *Economist* and *Bullionist.*

The amounts shown in my letter of the 1st inst. are those of the Russian loans quoted on the London stock exchange. The 1884 (Bismarck) loan is *not dealt in over here at all and is excluded* from the list of securities negotiable on the stock exchange. Likewise the smaller hand-to-mouth loans which have been raised off and on since 1878; most of these were taken up internally and are quoted on the Berlin stock exchange. I have found the following in the latter’s list of prices:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orient Loan</td>
<td>5% I, II and III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan 1880</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds 1883</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

as well as other stuff about which I’m not clear. You’ll have to get more information on the subject from someone on the Berlin stock exchange. Several also appear in the enclosed excerpts, but only with the net amount the government claims to have received.

The Russian paper rouble, which ought to be worth 39d. at par, is now standing at 23d., i.e. 16d. or 41% below the full value in gold.

If the Russian government is still managing to place its paper at home, this is simply because the colossal slowdown in trade makes it more advantageous for Russian manufacturers to invest their surplus cash in paper yielding 6-7% rather than in such currently ruinous activities as extensions to factories or speculative trading. The interest coupons are circulating as currency, especially for the payment of wages. Thus coupons, which are not payable until 1891-92, are now passing from hand to hand, and these the Russian worker must ac-

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* See this volume, p. 360.
cept at face value in payment of his wages, though they can only be disposed of for half this amount (much the same thing happened in Germany not long ago). I have this direct from Russia.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN 495

IN ZURICH

London, 7 December 1885

Dear Ede,

Here too we’ve had a storm in our socialist tea-cup. Kautsky will already have written and told you something about it; 2 Echoes (Liberal) enclosed herewith. Also some other stuff, and a document (letter from Bland, based on the minutes of the Executive of the Social Democratic Federation, sent you by Aveling), which will give you the substance. 496

This time Hyndman has given himself the coup de grâce. He took money from the Tories for socialist candidatures in order to filch votes from the Liberals. He has admitted to taking £340, but since the official expenses of the 3 candidatures amounted to about £600, it must have been something in the region of £1,000, if not more.

Taking money from another party may, in certain circumstances and by way of an exception, be admissible if, 1) the money is given unconditionally and 2) the transaction does not do more harm than good. In this instance the very opposite was the case. 1) The condition was that socialist candidates be put up in districts where they could only be made to look ridiculous—as, indeed, happened: Wil-
liams, 27 votes out of 4,722, Fielding, 32 out of 6,374; only Burns got
598 votes out of 11,055 in Nottingham. 2) Hyndman, however, knew
that to take money from the Tories would spell nothing less than irreper-
arable moral ruin for the socialists in the eyes of the one and only
class from which they could draw recruits, namely the great, radical
working masses. It's almost a replica of the Stoecker alliance against
the Party of Progress once proposed in Berlin. 497

Well, not content with this heroic deed, Hyndman already saw
himself as a second Parnell holding the scales between the two parties,
though forgetting that, unlike Parnell, he does not command 80 votes
in Parliament and 200,000 Irish votes in the elections in England and
Scotland. 487 He got the Executive of the Federation to empower him
to go to Birmingham with Champion and call on Chamberlain, the
leader of the Radicals. 415 With Tory money in his pocket, he offered
the latter his support if he, Chamberlain, would cede him a seat in
Birmingham, assure him of Liberal votes and agree to introduce an
Eight Hours' Bill. Not being such a mug as the Tories, Chamberlain
showed him the door.

In the meantime the affair, arranged on the qt by the Federation's
Executive, became known in the branches and caused a great furore.
Of which more in Bland's letter; it was written for publication, but
you should not mention the fact that it is based on the minutes. A gen-
eral meeting is to be called and whether the Federation will survive
it seems doubtful; not, at any rate, as a viable organisation.

Herewith Hunter Watts' statement in The Pall Mall Gazette. 498
It was written with Hyndman's connivance, yet he had to let
the expression 'ILL-ADvised', used of himself, stand. By contrast, Wil-
liams' statement in The Echo 496 is nothing less than a slap in the face,
its attitude being, and not without reason, one of outright hostility to
all socialist MIDDLE-CLASS MEN. So that's what Mr Hyndman has brought
about with his pushfulness. The man is nothing but a caricature of
Lassalle, totally indifferent to the nature of the means even when not
conducive to the end, provided Hyndman himself gets something out
of it; add to that his perpetual craving for instantaneous success, so
that he kills the goose that lays the golden egg; and finally, the way he
considers himself the centre of the universe, being utterly incapable of
seeing the facts in any light other than that which is gratifying to him.
And, for good measure, a political adventurer *comme il faut.* All Lassalle’s bad points magnified, and not a single one of his good ones.

What do things look like in your parliamentary tea-cup?

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE 499

IN PARIS

London, 7 December 1885

My dear Lafargue,

I shall speak to Tussy about Davitt. She may be able to get you what you want.

In opposition to your Social Studies Group 179 the good Malon and the no less celebrated Élie May have just set up a Republican Social Economy Society with ready-made rules. 500 Let’s hope this ‘research group’ will be confined to Malon who will do his research in May’s bosom, and to May who will do his research in Malon’s heart. They are petty panjandrums whom you would be well advised to ignore completely; that would infuriate them most of all. It’s Karl Blind to the life.

Why are you making such a splash in the *Socialiste* with Williams and the Social Democratic Federation? 501 You ought to know what attitude to take with respect to Hyndman, and this time you have fallen into a fine old trap. In the first place, Hyndman has contrived to make his party a laughing-stock second to none. Williams collected 27 votes out of 10,000, Fielding in North Kensington 32 out of 10,000,
Burns in Nottingham 598 out of 11,000. Whereupon the liberal press kicked up an almighty fuss, alleging that the money needed for these foolish candidatures had been provided by the Tories, and that the socialists had so lowered themselves as to do that party's dirty work for it. Williams then wrote to The Echo on 5 December 496 saying that all this had been arranged while he was in Liverpool, that they had recalled him by telegram without giving details, that he had been treated by the leaders as a mere tool and that he now saw

* 'that we cannot trust the middle class men of our movement any longer. I am not prepared to be made the tool of middle class men. I call upon my fellow wage-slaves to meet me as soon as possible and to say good-bye to the middle class men and to shut them out from what must be a real working men's organisation', etc.

—in short he has now adopted a stance directly opposed to Hyndman, Champion, etc.

Now for what has been happening in the Social Democratic Federation (by the same post you will be getting a letter via Aveling from Bland, one of its members). Hyndman was given money by the Tories to put up candidates against the Liberals — £340 has been admitted. But it must have been in the region of £1,000, since the official expenses of the 3 candidates amounted to more than £600.— With the exception of Burrows, the Executive Committee sanctioned Hyndman's action. However opposition arose within the main body of the federation. But before this could make itself felt, Hyndman, already seeing himself in the role of political arbitrator à la Parnell, left with Champion for Liverpool to offer his services to — Chamberlain, the Radical leader 415! The proposal they made the latter was that they would support the Liberals if Chamberlain was prepared to withdraw a Liberal candidate in Birmingham in favour of Hyndman and thus secure him the Liberal vote. Chamberlain showed them the door.

Opposition within the federation is increasing. At the last Committee meeting, at which many other members of the federation were present, the correspondence relating to the Tory money was read out, despite opposition from Hyndman who wished to suppress it. Great rumpus. Why had the sections not been consulted on so vital a mat-

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* Cf. the relevant figures in the previous letter.
ter? In short there is to be a general meeting and we shall have to see whether the federation survives it.

Obviously one may accept money from another party if that money is given unconditionally and if it does not do more harm than good. But Hyndman has acted like an idiot. In the first place he ought to have known that his candidatures couldn’t help but manifest the ridiculous weakness of socialism in England. Again, he ought to have known that, by accepting money from the Tories, he has damned himself once and for all in the eyes of the radical working men who form the vast majority and to whom alone socialism can look for support. In short, if one does such things, one advertises them, one boasts about them, but one doesn’t make a secret of them. Hyndman, however, is a caricature of Lassalle; to him all means are good, even if not conducive to an end. He is in such a hurry to play the political panjandrum that he has no time to consider his real position. He combines all the bad qualities of your English professional politician — your adventurer — with a quality common enough in France but rare over here, of seeing facts not as they are but as he would like them to be.

All this has come so soon after his infamous behaviour towards Aveling\(^5\) that he has not yet been forgiven — even within his own party — and he is bound to have a pretty hard time of it if he is to survive the affair. In any case, if the Social Democratic Federation continues, it will no longer have any substance.

A kiss for Laura.

Yours ever,

F. E.

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Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time
Dear Mr Schlüter,

My best thanks for the 2 copies of Dühring.\textsuperscript{208} If I can have 20 copies all told, that will do for the time being. Please also send me 4 copies of the Peasant War, 3rd edition. I haven’t a single copy left and so cannot get to work on the new edition.\textsuperscript{213}

I have no connections whatever with Eccarius and neither can nor wish to renew them. I shall see if the address is obtainable through Lessner. But I would at most advise you simply to reprint without alterations, etc.—for, having gone completely to the dogs, Eccarius is in fact unlikely to make any; moreover, in view of his bad conscience, any such addenda would most likely be used by him to introduce extenuating circumstances for the many ill-deeds he has perpetrated since 1873, and thus materially impair the book which was written with much prompting by and help from Marx (towards the end, entire pages were literally written by Marx), if not render it completely useless for our propaganda. I would even advise you to insist on printing it as it stands.\textsuperscript{303}

You will have had the bill for the photographs.\textsuperscript{a}

In my Dühring I continue to suffer at the printer’s hands even in the list of misprints where I find hopeless ‘error’ [Verirrung] for ‘confusion’ [Verwirrung].

Kind regards.

Yours,

F. E.


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

\textsuperscript{a} of Marx (see this volume, p. 309)
ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS
IN THE HAGUE

London, 19 December 1885

Dear Comrade,

I have despatched per PARCELS CONTINENTAL EXPRESS a package addressed to you containing the three Parliamentary Reports for which you asked. As you will see from the enclosed intimation, the first HOUSE OF LORDS report on prostitution is no longer to be had.

You are perfectly right in refraining from any kind of violent rebellion over there. This would only entail unnecessary sacrifice and set the movement back by decades. Next year it will be a hundred years since the Prussians first plundered Holland, and nothing would please Bismarck more than to celebrate the centenary by a repetition of that ‘epic deed’. The thirst for annexation, as yet no more than a harmless and impotent desire, might in that case assume more tangible form.

I shall send you by post the second edition of my Anti-Dühring which has just come out.

Always at your service in the common cause, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

F. E.

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Printed according to the original Published in English for the first time
ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI
IN BENEVENTO

London, 21 December 1885

Dear Citizen,

I should be very pleased if you would undertake the translation of Marx's work *Wage Labour and Capital*. The information in the *Socialiste* will barely suffice for the biography and I have therefore asked our friends in Zurich to send you a copy of the Brunswick *Kalender*, which contains a more complete biography written by myself.

Yours truly,
F. Engels

I shall of course be happy to carry out the revision, should you so desire.

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First published in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 21 December 1885

Dear Mr Schlüter,

20 *Dührings* (in all) and 4 of the *Peasant War* received with thanks. 

Kindly tell Mrs Wischnewetzky that, as agreed, I shall be prepared to go over the ms. of her translation and write the preface as soon as possible.

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as she has made a firm arrangement with a publisher. I’m so snowed under with work that it’s downright impossible to take on anything else unless it’s urgently required.

I shan’t be able to turn my mind to a new German edition a until I have shed considerable part of my present load of work. In January I have to revise the English translation of Capital, negotiate with the publishers, etc. After that there’s the Peasant War 213 and numerous other incidental jobs. Then comes the very urgent matter of the Capital, Volume III. Once I’ve cleared the decks to that extent, I’ll be able to turn my mind to the old book.a

I cannot recall the pamphlet mentioned by Bucher. 506 Peel died in 1850. Marx’s pamphlets b appeared in 1855. Nor is it likely that Palmerston would have given some writer or other 100 guineas and a cask of sherry to provide proof that Palmerston was a Russian agent. It is possible that Tucker, when alluding to the earlier piece, suggested the same title for one of Marx’s pamphlets; that would explain everything. Nor were there any woodcuts in Marx’s pamphlets.

Kindest regards.

Yours,

F. Engels

Martignetti wants to translate Wage Labour and Capital c into Italian along with a biography of Marx which he hasn’t got, as the few scrappy items in the Socialiste 505 are inadequate. Could you send him Bracke’s Volks-Kalender containing my biography of Marx d? I think it’s in the 1878 volume, but you’ll find it easily enough. The address is

Paolo e Martignetti
Benevento, Italia.


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Published in English for the first time

My dear Laura,

Herewith I hand you the cheque Paul wrote about to which I have added a trifling étrenne\(^a\) for yourself. The box with the plum-pudding and cake was forwarded last Saturday\(^b\) but would not leave here before Monday so that you will at best have received it today.

When Jollymeier came from Paris he told me you were sorely in want of dictionaries for your translating work. Among Mohr's books the only one that could have suited you was Mozin's French and German, but it was so dilapidated that it will be no use to any one for regular work; Tussy took it at the time. English and German there were none. So I tried to find out what were the best and ordered Williams and Norgate to have them delivered to you, bound. They are

Flügel's English-German and German-English
Mozin-Peschier French-German and German-French.

They will be delivered I expect before Christmas. Now as I had no opportunity to look at them, I want you to examine and report upon them. Flügel is the best to be had, though it might be better; so if it is both English-German and German-English, it will be all right. But about the Mozin-Peschier I am not so sure that it is not an abbreviation of what I intended to send you, namely: *Dictionnaire complet des langues française et allemande*, 2 volumes French-German and 2 volumes German-French. If it should not be the latter work, please let me know and I will have it exchanged, as not being sent to order.

On Saturday night Jollymeier arrived here, his holidays last till 12th January; and this morning who should jump in but the inevitable Meyer, fresh from Winnipeg where his first crop of wheat was frozen to death last August. He left again and will be in Paris tomorrow morning — but, he says, *ich sehe die Lafargue's nicht — warum nicht? — Weil Lafargue einen nie besucht*\(^c\) — which he seems to have

\(^a\) Christmas gift
\(^b\) 19 December
\(^c\) I don't see the Lafargues. — Why not? — Because Lafargue never comes to see anyone.
taken very much to heart, and which I told him was rather foolish for him to do. I merely state this to you as it was said, so that you may console you in case the illustrious stranger does not call upon you.

I will try and get a copy of *Justice* for Paul, it is not so easy just now, as Tussy and Edward are at Kingston on Thames for a few days and will not be back before Friday. Johnny is with us in the meantime, he has picked up his English again rather quickly, especially since he goes to school. He is a very good boy and reads an awful deal of, to him, unintelligible books.

I hope Paul is all right again, sound at the core and solid at the base, *plus solide que le Pont Neuf* which seems also subject to pimples and boils. By the bye, his last letter does not say a word about the final solution of the Labruyère-Séverine-Lissagaray affair, the last was the assertion of Labruyère that Lissagaray *a menti*. Has it all ended in smoke, as most scandals are apt to do now-a-days?

There is no doubt Hyndman has done for himself this time. If he manages to keep together a show of the Social Democratic Federation, it will be only a shadow. The provincial branches are sure to fall off and here in London his own people have remembered how at the time of the Morris-Aveling separation, he packed the general meeting by showing in a lot of new members, created for the occasion. They have therefore resolved that only those are to vote who were members at the time of the general election and of his exploits.

Nim, Pumps and Jollymeier are gone to the West End, Christmas shopping as they pretend, but in reality for a dinner at the Vienna Beer Hall. As I am still a little under restraint, I have stopped at home and use the time to write to you. But now the dinner bell rings — for me and Johnny — and so good-bye. Health and spirits and a sound foundation for Paul!

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time

*a Jean Longuet - b stronger than the Pont Neuf - c had lied - d See this volume, pp. 236-38 and 245.*
Dear Liebknecht,

Borkheim died in Hastings on Wednesday, 16 December, and was buried on the following Monday. An attack of pneumonia on the previous Sunday swiftly brought about his end. He had had tuberculosis for 12 years and during the final ten years, after the whole of his left side had become paralysed, he never left his bed save for a few brief intervals each day. He bore his sufferings with exceptional resilience and indomitable cheerfulness, always kept up with the political and social movement, and was a subscriber to the Sozialdemokrat until the very end. Up till a year ago he received a pension, first from two, then from one, of the houses for whom he had previously worked as salesman and/or buyer. Last year we collected amongst his friends here a subscription big enough to ensure that he had what he needed. You might perhaps put a short obituary in the Sozialdemokrat; I prefer not to thrust myself to the fore on an occasion like this. There is no objection to your doing it and, besides, you are better acquainted with his activities in Baden.

As regards Russia's finances, here with a further word on the latest critical turn the affair has taken:

A fortnight ago the Russian government obtained through Bleichröder and the Russian Bank a further loan, but only of 20 million roubles, which was, according to reports, heavily over-subscribed in Berlin. Depending on whether this is taken to mean roubles in specie or in paper, and that's something you can ascertain over there, it represents roughly either 60 million marks or else a mere 40 million. The loan was intended to secure the advances made by the Russian Bank to the government. As usual, the same old hollow excuse. How hollow became evident a few days later! About a week ago it was reported in the English papers that the Russian government had ordered the Russian Bank to sell the Russian aristocracy's (doubtless the Credit Bank's) mortgage bonds for 100 million roubles. The German press,
enlarging on this, stated that in return the Bank was to advance the
government 75 million of the proceeds. Thus the government is pay-
ing the Bank at best 20 million roubles in gold and is borrowing in re-
turn 75 million roubles extra. But since the realisation of 100 million
mortgage notes is a highly tedious operation, especially in Russia, this
means, in other words, that 75 millions in new paper money are to be
created and loaned to the government. Before the holidays the rouble
was standing at $23\frac{1}{2}d. (instead of 39d.) over here and is bound to go
even lower—as it will also do internally; in their present financial
predicament the device they have to use to give some support to their
ruined currency (the 20 millions in gold, when the Bank gets it) serves
only to bedevil their paper currency even further. 1789 is on its
way—even without the Nihilists—expeditied by the government
itself.

One may further conclude from the above that Bismarck is holding
his Russians on a short rein and will not authorise the release of
German funds other than on a hand-to-mouth basis lest the
Russians should get too uppish and do the dirty on him in the
Balkans.++

I can only suggest the main points for you to work on, but you will
have little difficulty in finding out further details in Berlin.

This Christmas we—the Avelings, the Kautskys, Pumps and
her husband, Schorlemmer, Lenchen and I—sat up drinking
to our hearts’ content and making merry until four in the morn-
ing.

A Happy New Year to you.

Your
F. E.

Schorlemmer sends his best wishes.

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* Percy White Rosher
Dear Old Man,

This is to notify you that our friend Borkheim died of pneumonia at Hastings on the 16th of this month after a three days' illness. He had had tuberculosis for twelve years and for the last ten years the whole of his left side had been paralysed. According to the doctor he had enough ailments to kill three other men. All this he bore with indomitable cheerfulness and, so far as he was able, kept up with the movement to the end. I have asked Liebknecht to publish a short obituary in the Sozialdemokrat.\textsuperscript{510}

At the beginning of this month I sent you a money order which I trust you have received.

For the rest—as the post is about to go and I get little time for writing in what is for me a period of turbulence—I wish you a Happy New Year and continuing good health; our movement is in no particular need of good wishes, since it is forging ahead everywhere—at a pace which varies according to place and people,—but everywhere splendidly, while the dirty business in the Balkans\textsuperscript{445} actually seems to be petering out without a world war.

With my very kindest regards,

Your old friend

F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time
London, 2 January 1886

Dear Liebknecht,

Borkheim’s wife died some 8 years ago. No great loss to him—she drank. His son, aged 19, is a clerk in Dunkirk. To begin with he himself was in business in Liverpool; during the Crimean War a speculative trip to Balaklava with a load of bits and pieces earned him £15,000 all at one go, which, however, he lost because he did the same thing again and peace supervened; became a wine merchant and discovered that his palate for Bordeaux was probably the finest in London; became the agent of a Bordeaux house, built up a clientèle for them, but was insufficiently circumspect and, when he sought a partnership, was given the push—they no longer needed him. No wiser for the experience, he tried to repeat this brilliant performance with another house, the result being the same, hence had to start from the beginning once more. Again promptly discovered two good connections, lived like a lord as always, while at Badenweiler had an apoplectic fit (about 10 years ago), which completely paralysed his left side, whereupon it transpired that, rather than possessing money, he had been borrowing from his friends in order to support his madly extravagant mode of life. But in spite of it all he was so much liked that people calmly put up with their losses, while the two houses for which he had worked paid him a pension to live on. His housemaid, with whom there had undoubtedly been some highly intimate goings-on, looked after him up till his death—she was able to furnish

a F. Borkheim
a boarding-house in Hastings and still do pretty well out of it during the season. A year ago, when the last of his pensions was stopped, we succeeded in persuading his City friends, all of whom were owed money by him, to provide a new and adequate pension. Absurdly ostentatious in his conduct while his luck was in, he behaved like a hero when suddenly assailed by the most atrocious ill-fortune. Never a word of complaint, unfailingfly cheerful, no sign of his having been affected by this sudden downfall. Rarely have I met such resilience. He spent his time writing his autobiography, first in English, then in German; the latter is probably not quite finished. If you could find a publisher for it as well as some money for the boy, who earns a wage of £70 after an upbringing that might almost suggest his having been born in the purple, you would be doing a good turn. The address is F. Borkheim, aux soins de Messieurs Bourdon & Cie, Dunkerque, France.

You are on the wrong track with your suppositions about the secret insinuations concerning you that have come to my ears. The only good friend who might possibly have managed to find some fault with you, the one ‘who told you’ this, ‘who told you’ that? is called Wilhelm Liebknecht and his insinuations have appeared in writing in his letters and in print in the Sozialdemokrat and any number of German newspapers. Thanks to this source I have known for years that you have a pleasing and insuperable weakness for all the ‘eddicated’ elements that hover round the fringes of the party and that you wish to win them over, even though 95 per cent of them can only do us harm. I further understand from this source that last year you only noticed personal differences within the parliamentary group whereas now you are already discovering ‘backsiders’. I am also indebted to the above source for the knowledge that this same Wilhelm Liebknecht is on occasion inclined to forget what has been written if, at that moment, it doesn’t suit his book and that he hopes others will be good-natured enough to do him a similar favour. Which is not, unfortunately, always possible. But as to your passion for picking up ‘eddicated’ elements and glossing over all differences, one must put up with such things and does so fairly readily for their being unavoidable. But don’t ask that they be overlooked. And their inevitability causes me all the less concern because I know, and shall say as much

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a care of - b See this volume, p. 387.
at every opportunity, that, come the moment of decision between the conflicting elements, you will be on the right side. 513

And now a Happy New Year.

Your

F. Engels

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have received your ms. 349 but have not as yet been able to look at it, so cannot say how long it will take me. Anyhow I shall lose no time, you may be sure.

As to those wise Americans who think their country exempt from the consequences of fully expanded capitalist production, they seem to live in blissful ignorance of the fact that sundry States, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., have such an institution as a Labour Bureau from the reports of which they might learn something to the contrary. 514

Yours very truly,

F. Engels
Dear Liebknecht,

Your conjecture re ‘Bloß’ merely provides me with further proof that the ‘nervousness’ you complain of is once again entirely of your own making. Still, as you say, never mind.

Borkheim was born in Glogau in 1825, studied at Greifswald and Berlin, was a three-year artillery volunteer in Glogau in 1848, came under investigation as a result of democratic meetings and bolted; subsequently spent some time in Berlin, fled, I believe, after the storming of the arsenal and went, if I’m not mistaken, to Switzerland, whence he returned with Struve. I don’t remember the exact details.

I shall be writing about the biographical note.

Tussy will be given your message on Sunday.

If you and Bebel, both of you, go to America together, you will certainly be able to raise money; should either of you not go or be replaced by someone else, that would make a difference of 25%-30% in the money you would receive. Besides, you yourself will be particularly needed, since at least one of you will, from time to time, have to make a speech in English.

As regards the Baltic Canal I’m all for its being at least 8 metres deep. The size and draught of merchant steamers are constantly increasing (5,500 tons is already quite usual), and new docks are being increasingly taken to a depth of 9 or 10 metres, so that a shallower canal would become obsolete within a few years, just like the Eider Canal now, which became completely so 30 years ago (as to some extent it always had been).

Your trip might be brought forward by a dissolution occasioned by the dissolution of old William which may happen at any moment.

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a Bloß in the original. b 10 January. c William I
But that would mean we should have the pleasure of seeing you here all the sooner.

Schorlemmer is still with us and sends his best wishes.

Otherwise everything is going well, but not for the Social Democratic Federation which Mr Hyndman would seem to have ruined good and proper this time. a Though he may win a spurious victory at his packed general meeting next Sunday, he’s done for in the provinces, and here all he’s left with is a steadily dwindling number of supporters.

Kindest regards.

Your old friend

F.E.

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Printed according to the original

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE 
IN PARIS 

London, 17 January 1886

My dear Laura,

Glad the dictionaries have arrived at last. b They were promised to be sent from here more than a week before Christmas.

Yesterday I received a post-card from Dr Max Quarck informing me that as a good extract from the Capital is wanted, he intends to translate Deville’s c:

‘Herr Deville hat mir nun eben auf mein Nachsuchen die alleinige Autorisation zur Übersetzung seines Auszuges ins Deutsche gegeben’ d;

the great Quarck has offered it to Meissner and desires me to favour him with a preface.

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a See this volume, pp. 366-70. b Ibid., p. 375. c G. Deville, Le Capital de Karl Marx, Résumé... d ‘In reply to my request Mr Deville has just granted me the unreserved right to translate his brief exposition into German.’
Now if Deville has really done so, I cannot but consider that he has acted very unwisely and moreover contrary to all the international obligations practically existing amongst the lot of us. How in the world could he commit himself with a man of whom he knew nothing? This Quarck is one of half a dozen young literati who hover about the boundary land between our party and the Katheder-Sozialismus,\(^a\) take jolly good care to keep clear of all the risks involved by being connected with our party, and yet expect to reap all the benefits that may accrue from such connection. They make a lively propaganda for das soziale Kaisertum der Hohenzollern\(^a\) (which Quarck has dithyrambically celebrated), for Rodbertus against Marx (Quarck had the cheek to write to me that he honoured the Capital by placing it in his library neben die Werke des grossen Rodbertus\(^b\)) and especially for each other. The fellow is so utterly impotent that even Liebknecht who has a certain tenderness for these fellows, has agreed with Kautsky that he is not fit to write in the Neue Zeit.\(^520\)

This moment Kautsky enters with Paul’s letter,\(^c\) according to that Deville has not replied and Quarck lies. I should be very glad if this was so, because then I should have that little scamp completely on the hip.

But now as to the translation itself. First of all, an extract from the Capital for our German workmen must be done from the German original, not from the French edition.\(^59\) Secondly Deville’s book is too big for the working men, and would in the translation, especially of the second half, be as difficult as the original, as it is composed as much as possible of literal extracts.\(^81\) It does well enough for France where most of the terms are not Fremdwörter,\(^d\) and where there is a large public, not exactly working men, who all the same wish to have some knowledge — of easy access — of the subject, without reading the big book. That public, in Germany, ought to read the original book. — Thirdly, and chiefly, if Deville’s book appears in German, I do not see how I can consistently with my duty towards Mohr let it pass unchallenged as a faithful résumé. I have held my tongue while it was published only in French, although I had distinctly protested against the whole second half of it, before publication.\(^e\) But if it comes to be put before the German public that is quite a different thing. I cannot allow, in Germany, Mohr to be perverted — in his very words. If there

\(^a\) the social empire of the Hohenzollerns - \(^b\) beside the works of great Rodbertus -
\(^c\) Lafargue’s letter to Engels of 10 January 1886 - \(^d\) foreign words - \(^e\) See this volume, pp. 61, 63.
had not been that absurd hurry at the time, if it had been revised as I suggested, there would not be that objection now. All I can say, I reserve my full liberty of action in case the book is published in Germany; and I am the more bound to do so as it has got abroad that I looked it over in the ms.

I cannot this moment ask Kautsky about his intentions as to Deville’s book, because all the people for Sunday’s dinner have come in, and I must conclude. Kautsky must write himself. As far as I know Kautsky and Bernstein intend making a fresh extract themselves which would be decidedly the best thing to do, and where they may make use of Deville’s work and acknowledge it with thanks. \[^{137}\]

Tussy, Edward, the Pumps’ and Kautskys, all send their loves, kind regards and kisses and I don’t know what more, ditto Johnny\[^{a}\] and the other little ones.

Yours affectionately but hungry,

F. E.

\[^{a}\] Jean Longuet \[^{b}\] C.A.S[chramm], Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle. Sozialwissenscha
tliche Studie. \[^{c}\] miserable \[^{d}\] ‘Zur Aufklärung’, Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 50, 10 December 1885.
dressing-down; I have, through Kautsky, drawn his attention to a number of points—the essentials can safely be left to him.522

For Kautsky this controversy with Schramm has been salutory in every way.523 Schramm, being unable to say anything about the actual matter in hand, is skilful enough to pick on all the errors of form perpetrated by Kautsky, partly out of youthful impetuosity, partly out of the habits acquired at university and in literary practice, and this has been a very salutory lesson to him. In this respect Ede already has a considerable advantage over Kautsky because, though neither a university man nor a professional littérateur, he is, through being on the Sozialdemokrat, always in the thick of the fray, besides which he's a business man and, last but not least, a Jew. For after all it's only in war that you learn the art of war.

What you tell me about the parliamentary group's frame of mind is most encouraging. Provided the party remains sound—and here the petty bourgeois will surely not gain the upper hand—the blunders of the deputy gentlemen can only serve to give these last a rude lesson. As you yourself say—and this is also my opinion—we shall never get the right kind of people into the Reichstag in time of peace and here the help afforded us by the party through bringing pressure to bear on the deputy gentlemen is absolutely invaluable; it shows that they must avoid any serious conflict, and the knowledge that this is so might, at a crucial moment, be of the utmost importance, since it would enable us to make a resolute stand in the certainty that we should emerge unscathed.

Of late Liebknecht has been positively bombarding me with letters asking for information about this and that. I took the opportunity of telling him, briefly and unequivocally, if in an altogether friendly way, just what I thought of his inconsistent conduct; and when, as usual, he tried to attribute this to some piece of gossip I must have heard, I told him that there was only one person who could harm him in my eyes, and that was Wilhelm Liebknecht who was for ever forgetting what he had said in his letters and published in the press. However that might be, I went on, we should simply have to put up with his foibles, and would do so all the more readily for the knowledge that, when things really came to a head, he would be found in the right place.Whereupon, contrary to his usual customary insistence upon having the last word, he calmed down again.

* See this volume, pp. 381-82.
As he mentioned the matter of the Schleswig-Holstein Canal, I took the opportunity of telling him that it would be stupid to vote for a shallow canal less than 8 or 9 metres deep,\(^a\) allegedly out of opposition to its use by the Fleet. The tonnage of large merchant ships is steadily on the increase, 5,000 or 6,000 tons being already the norm, and ever more ports are being adapted to accommodate vessels of corresponding draught. Those that cannot do so become obsolete and fall into decay, as will also happen in the Baltic. If the Baltic is to have its share of overseas trade, deep water harbours will accordingly have to be built there, and this will happen as surely as it has happened elsewhere. But to build the canal in such a way that, within the next 10 or 20 years, it will become as useless and obsolete as the old Eider Canal is now, would be throwing money down the drain.

As regards my proposal for productive cooperatives on state-owned land,\(^b\) its sole purpose was to show the majority—which was, after all, then *in favour* of the Steamship Subsidies\(^342\)—how they could decently vote against it and thus emerge from the impasse in which they found themselves. But in my view, the principle of the thing was altogether correct. It is perfectly true that, when we propose something positive, our proposals should always be *practicable*. But practicable *as such*, regardless of whether the present government can implement them. I would go even further and say that, if we propose socialist measures conducive to the downfall of capitalist production (as these are), we should restrict them to such as are *essentially feasible*, but could *not* be implemented by *this* government. For this government would tamper with and ruin any such measure, and put it through merely with a view to sabotaging it. This particular proposal, however, would not be implemented by any Junker or bourgeois government. To point the way for the rural proletariat in the Baltic provinces, if not set it upon the path that would enable it to put an end to exploitation by the Junkers and big farmers—to attract into the movement the very people whose servitude and stultification supplies the regiments upon which Prussia entirely depends, in short, to destroy Prussia from within, from the root up, is something that would never occur to them. The measure for which we must press, come what may, so long as big estates continue to exist there, and which we must ourselves put into practice the moment we come to the helm, is as fol-

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 383.\(^b\) Ibid., pp. 239, 240.
lows: the transfer — initially on lease — of large estates to autonomous cooperatives under state management and effected in such a way that the State retains ownership of the land. But the great advantage of this measure is that it is perfectly feasible as such, although no party except ours would embark upon it, and thus no party can bedevil it. And it alone would suffice to put paid to Prussia, so that the sooner we popularise it the better for us.

The matter has nothing whatever to do either with Schulze-Delitzsch or with Lassalle. Both supported small cooperatives, in one case with, in the other without, state aid; but in neither were the cooperatives to take possession of the already extant means of production; rather they were to introduce new cooperative production alongside already extant capitalist production. My proposal envisages the introduction of cooperatives into existing production. They are to be given land which would otherwise be exploited along capitalist lines; just as the Paris Commune demanded that the workers should manage cooperatively the factories closed down by the manufacturers.\(^a\) Therein lies the great distinction. Nor have Marx and I ever doubted that, in the course of transition to a wholly communist economy, widespread use would have to be made of cooperative management as an intermediate stage.\(^b\) Only it will mean so organising things that society, i.e. initially the State, retains ownership of the means of production and thus prevents the particular interests of the cooperatives from taking precedence over those of society as a whole. The fact that the Empire is not a land-owner is neither here nor there; you will find some formula, just as you did in the Polish debate, for here again the expulsions were no immediate concern of the Empire's.\(^524\)

Precisely because the government cannot envisage anything of the sort, there would be no harm in demanding the grant I propose as a counterpart to the steamship grant. Had there been any possibility of the government's assenting to it, you would, of course, have been right.

The disintegration of the German Free Thinkers\(^231\) in the sphere of economics tallies exactly with what is happening among the English Radicals.\(^415\) The old Manchester School men à la John Bright are dying off and, just like the Berliners, the younger generation is

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dabbling in piecemeal social reform. Save that here the bourgeois
wish to help not so much the industrial worker as the agricultural la-
bourer who rendered them such signal service during the late elec-
tions 487 and, in true English fashion, are demanding intervention
not so much by the State as by the local authorities. For rural work-
ers, allotments and potato patches, for those in the towns, sanitary
improvements and the like, such is their programme. It is an excellent
sign that the bourgeois should already be having to sacrifice their pet
classical economic theory, partly on political grounds and partly be-
cause they themselves have lost faith in it as a result of its practical
consequences. The same thing is evident in the growth of armchair
socialism 54 which, in one form or another, is increasingly supplant-
ing classical economics in academic faculties on both sides of the
Channel. The real contradictions engendered by the mode of produc-
tion have in fact become so glaring that no theory will now serve to
conceal them save the hotch-potch of armchair socialism which, how-
ever, is not a theory but sheer drivel.

Six weeks ago there were said to be indications that business was
looking up here. Now all that is over and done with; poverty is worse
than ever before, as is the mood of hopelessness and, on top of that,
the winter is an exceptionally severe one. This is already the eighth
year in which overproduction has exerted pressure on the markets
and, instead of improving, the situation is getting steadily worse, nor
can there be any doubt that it is essentially different from what it used
to be. Since the appearance of serious rivals to Britain on the world
market, the era of crises, in the old sense of the term, has come to an
end. If, from being acute, the crises become chronic yet lose nothing
of their intensity, what is likely to happen? There is bound to be
another, if brief, period of prosperity after the vast stocks of goods
have been run down, but I am curious to see what will come of it all.
Of two things, however, we may be sure: We have entered a period
which poses a far greater threat to the existence of the old state of so-
ciety than did the period of ten-year crises; and, secondly, prosperity,
if it comes, will affect Britain to a much lesser extent than before,
when it alone used to skim the cream off the world market. The day
when this is clearly realised in this country will be the day when
the socialist movement will begin here in real earnest — and not
before.

I shall have to leave the composition of the English Liberals to
another time. It is a complex subject because it involves depicting a state of transition.\textsuperscript{430}

This morning I received from Dresden the debate on the Polish motion (1st day). No doubt the 2nd day will follow shortly.\textsuperscript{a} It is all the more essential for me to be sent these things now that I see only the weekly edition of the \textit{Kölnerische Zeitung} which contains only brief excerpts from the debates. How are the short-hand reports sold? I will gladly pay for those of all debates in which our people take a serious part.

Whatever happens, it's essential that you should also go on the American tour.\textsuperscript{518} On the one hand, its success greatly depends on your presence. On the other, the party will not be properly represented unless you are there. If you don't go, the first-comer will be sent along with Liebknecht, and who knows what might not happen then. Thirdly, you should not miss the opportunity of seeing with your own eyes the most progressive country in the world. Life in Germany exerts an oppressive and constricting influence on anyone, even the best, as I know from my own experience, and one ought to get out of the place—from time to time at any rate. And in that case we might also see you over here again. Had I been able to get away from my work, I should long since have slipped across to America, as I was always hoping to do with Marx. Anyway, to people abroad, you and Liebknecht represent the party and there is no substitute for either of you. Should you not go, it will mean a loss of anything between 5,000 and 10,000 marks, if not more.

It might, in fact, be a very pleasant experience. For Tussy and Aveling have been corresponding with American free-thinkers about the possibility of a trip to that country, and would like to combine it with yours. They expect to hear within the next 3 or 4 weeks. If it comes off, the four of you would make agreeable travelling companions.

But now, good-bye for the present. Apropos, Ede exceeded my expectations in his first anti-Schramm article.\textsuperscript{522} Absolutely splendid.

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags. VI. Legislaturperiode. II. Session 1885/86}, Vol. I. 25th sitting on 15 January 1886, 26th sitting on 16 January 1886.
He has indeed learnt to make war in accordance with the rules of strategy and tactics.

Your
F. E.


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

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ENGELS TO EDWARD PEASE. 525

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 27 January 1886

Dear Sir,

In answer to your kind note of yesterday I regret to say that my time is so entirely taken up by urgent work on hand, that I cannot possibly for at least a year to come undertake any fresh engagements whatever.

Having said this much, I need not enter upon other considerations which might stand in the way of my writing the article you desire. But I may state at all events that the party to which I belong, has no fixed ready-made proposals to submit. Our views as to the points of difference between a future, non-capitalistic society and that of today, are strict conclusions from existing historical facts and developments, and of no value — theoretical or practical — unless presented in connection with these facts and developments. The economical aspect of these points of difference I have tried to establish and to explain in my book *Herrn E. D. Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* 2nd ed. p. 253 to 271; reprinted in my pamphlet *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus etc.* 3rd ed. p. 28-48. a Shorter I cannot possibly do even this partial

abstract, where neither political nor non-economic social questions are even touched. To give you a résumé in 600 words is therefore a task utterly beyond my powers.

I am yours faithfully


Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 January 1886

Dear Sorge,

At last I have some time to spare and hence shall hasten to write to you before anything else comes to claim it.

I hope your Adolf⁵ has made a success of his new business. For he understands it and is a hard worker; besides, it's not a particularly speculative business — a great danger, in America as here — so I don't see why all should not be well. I therefore wish him every success.

I should greatly like to have Marx's comments on an English translation.⁶ At last I have with me, here under my roof, the complete ms. of the English translation upon which I shall set to work next week. As soon as I know approximately how long the revision is going to take, and can thus determine the date when printing may begin, I shall make definite arrangements with the publisher. You will have seen (in *To-Day*) how Mr Hyndman, alias Broadhouse, endeavoured to put a spoke in my wheel.⁷ This has forced me to get a move-on so as not further to impair my position vis-à-vis the publisher, but otherwise no harm has been done.

An American woman⁸ has translated my book on the working

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⁵ Adolf Sorge jun.
⁶ Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky
class into English, and has also sent me the ms. for revision — parts of which will be very time-consuming. Its publication in America is assured, but what this lady sees in the old thing I cannot imagine.

I further have in hand — to mention only revisions: 1) The Eighteenth Brumaire, French — about 1/3 already done. 2) Wage Labour and Capital by Marx — Italian. 3) The Origin of the Family — Danish. 4) Manifesto and Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, etc., Danish; these two already in print but stiff with mistakes. 5) The Origin of the Family, French. 6) Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, English. Plenty more looming in the distance. As you can see, I’m turning into a mere schoolmaster correcting exercise-books. It’s lucky that my knowledge of languages is not more extensive, for if it were, they’d be piling Russian, Polish, Swedish, etc., stuff on to me as well. But it is work of which one easily tires — in any case all these nice little bits and pieces (at any rate Nos. 2 to 5) will have to give way before Volume III of Capital which I have finished dictating from the ms., though the editing of some of the most important chapters will involve a great deal of work, these consisting in little more than an assemblage of building blocks. That is the only task to which I look forward.

I have not yet had the New Yorker Volkszeitung. I shall, if possible, send off To-Day, September, by the same post as this. You’ve no idea how difficult these things are to get hold of here — the slovenliness of the publishers is quite disgraceful.

If you haven’t yet seen it, get Dietzgen to give you Hubert Bland’s piece on Hyndman’s simultaneous machinations with the Tories and Liberals over the elections. It is absolutely true. After this, and provided it doesn’t disintegrate, the Social Democratic Federation will be morally defunct. Hyndman must be mad to act as he does. You will have read all about his insane attack on Aveling, and will also have seen the relevant documents in Justice and Commonweal. Unfortunately, none of the other leaders of the Federation are worth much more than he, being literati and political speculators. Indeed, the movement in this country has hitherto been quite bogus, but should it prove possible to educate within the Socialist League a nucleus with an understanding of theoretical matters, considerable progress will have been made towards the eruption, which cannot be long in coming, of a genuine mass movement.

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Give my regards to Dietzgen. It’s uphill work for him, but he’ll manage all right.\textsuperscript{529} \textit{After all}, the movement in America has made tremendous strides. True, the Anglo-Americans want to do things their \textit{own} way with a total disregard for reason and science, nor could one expect anything else, yet they are drawing closer and will end up by coming all the way. Over there capitalist centralisation is going ahead like a house on fire—unlike here.

I trust your health is completely restored. I’m pretty well on the whole, otherwise I should never get through my work.

I’ve been working on Bebel with a view to his visiting the States with Liebknecht.\textsuperscript{a} Tussy and Aveling might go too. But that remains to be decided.

My kindest regards to Adolf.

Your

F. Engels

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\textbf{ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY} \textsuperscript{530} IN ZURICH

London, 3 February 1886

My dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

To-day I forwarded to you, registered, the first portion of the ms. up to your page 70, incl. I am sorry I could not possibly send it sooner. But I had a job on hand which must be finished before I could start with your ms. Now I shall go on swimmingly; as I proceed I find we get better acquainted with each other, you with my peculiar,

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p. 391.
old-fashioned German, I with your American. And indeed, I learn a good deal at it. Never before did the difference between British and American English strike me so vividly as in this experimentum in proprio corpore vili. What a splendid future must there be in store for a language which gets enriched and developed on two sides of an ocean, and which may expect further additions from Australia and India!

I do not know whether this portion of the ms. will arrive in time to reach Miss Foster before her sailing, but I hope you will not be put to any particular inconvenience through my delay which was indeed unavoidable. I cannot be grateful enough to all the friends who wish to translate both Marx's and my writings into the various civilised languages and who show their confidence in me by asking me to look over their translations. And I am willing enough to do it, but for me as well as for others the day has but 24 hours, and so I cannot possibly always arrange to please everybody and to chime in with all arrangements made.

If I am not too often interrupted in the evenings I hope to be able to send you the remainder of the ms. and possibly also the introduction in a fortnight. This latter may be printed either as a preface or as an appendix. As to the length of it, I am utterly incapable of giving you any idea. I shall try to make it as short as possible, especially as it will be useless for me to try to combat arguments of the American press with which I am not even superficially acquainted. Of course if American workingmen will not read their own States' Labour Reports, but trust to politicians' extracts, nobody can help them. But it strikes me that the present chronic depression which seems endless so far, will tell its tale in America as well as in England. America will smash up England's industrial monopoly—whatever there is left of it— but America cannot herself succeed to that monopoly. And unless one country has the monopoly of the markets of the world, at least in the decisive branches of trade, the conditions—relatively favourable—which existed here in England from 1848 to 1870, cannot anywhere be reproduced, and even in America the condition of the working class must gradually sink lower and lower. For if there are three countries (say England, America and Germany) competing on comparatively equal terms for the possession of the Welt-

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there is no chance but chronic overproduction, one of the three being capable of supplying the whole quantity required. That is the reason why I am watching the development of the present crisis with greater interest than ever and why I believe it will mark an epoch in the mental and political history of the American and English working classes — the very two whose assistance is as absolutely necessary as it is desirable.

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

IN THE HAGUE

London, 4 February 1886

Dear Comrade,

I am reading your work Hoe ons land geregeerd wordt with great pleasure, firstly because I am relearning a great deal of conversational Dutch therefrom and secondly because I am learning so much about the internal administration of Holland. Along with England and Switzerland, Holland is the only West European country not to have had absolute monarchy in the period between the 16th and 18th centuries, and in consequence enjoys a number of advantages, notably a residue of local and provincial self-government and an absence of any real bureaucracy in the French or Prussian sense. This is a great advantage both as regards the development of a national character and as regards the future; for only a few changes will have to be

a world market
made to establish here that free self-government by the working [people] \(^a\) which will necessarily be our best tool in the reorganisation of the mode of production. All this is lacking in Germany and France and will have to be built up from scratch. May I congratulate you on your success in producing a popular exposition.

Your translation of my pamphlet \(^b\) places me most deeply in your debt. In this instance it will not be so easy to employ popular language throughout, as in your little opus, but this should present no problem to someone with so good a command of both languages as yourself.

‘Gewanne’ are the strips of land of roughly the same quality into which common agricultural and pasture land is first divided; maybe ten or twenty in all. Then each commoner with full rights is given an equal share of each strip. Thus, if there are ten strips and a hundred commoners, there will be 1,000 parcels of land all told, each commoner getting 10 parcels, one in each strip. Subsequently commoners may often swap parcels so that though they may have fewer individual plots, their holdings are more compact. The same thing was still happening until quite lately in Ireland in the ‘Rundale’ \(^c\) villages, and in the Highlands of Scotland (cf. Fortnightly Review, November 1885, an article on Village Communities in Scotland\(^c\)).

G. L. Maurer has written:

1) *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Städteverfassung in Deutschland.*
2) *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland.*
3) *Geschichte der Hofverfassung* " " 4 vols.
4) ditto " Städteverfassung " " 2 "
5) ditto " Dorfverfassung " " 2 "

Nos. 1 and 2 are the most important, but the others are not without importance either, particularly as regards German history. Repetitiveness, poor style and lack of method make these otherwise excellent books difficult to study. *On n'est pas Allemand pour rien!* \(^d\)

The best works on the great French Revolution are indubitably those of Georges Avenel who died round about 1875. *Lundis révolutionnaires*, a collection of feuilletons which came out in the République

\(^a\)The manuscript is damaged here. - \(^b\) F. Engels, *De ontwikkeling van het socialisme van utopie tot wetenschap.* - \(^c\) J. Rae, ‘The Scotch Village Community’, *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. CCXXVII, 1 November 1885. - \(^d\) One’s not a German for nothing.
Française; also, Anacharsis Cloots, this last a survey, forming part of the biography, of the course of the Revolution up till Thermidor 1794. It's melodramatically written and, if one is not to lose the thread, one has continually to refer to Mignet\(^a\) or Thiers\(^b\) for the exact dates. But Avenel has made a close study of the archives and also produces a vast amount of new and reliable material. He is indisputably the best source for the period from September 1792 to July 1794. Then there is a very good book by Bougeart\(^c\) on Jean Paul Marat, L'Ami du peuple; also another about Marat, said to be good, the name of whose author eludes me—it begins with Ch.\(^d\) Some other good stuff also appeared in the final years of the Empire; the Robespierrites (Hamel, St.-Just etc.) not, on the whole, so good—mostly mere rhetoric and quotations from speeches.

Mignet still remains the bourgeois historian of my choice.

The Kautskys, Avelings, and Lenchen send their kindest regards. What is the position about your coming over here in the summer?

With kindest regards from

Yours,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV\(^{533}\)

IN PARIS

[London,] 7 February 1886

My dear Lavrov,

Please tell me what meaning you attach to the word 'WORTHIES'. When uttered by you I should hesitate to assign to it the philistine

\(^{a}\) F. A. Mignet, Histoire de la révolution française, depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1814.

\(^{b}\) A. Thiers, F. Bodin, Histoire de la révolution française..., Vols. 1-2; A. Thiers, Histoire de la révolution française..., Vols. 3-10. Bougeard in the original.

\(^{c}\) F. Chèvremont, Jean-Paul Marat.
meaning which is virtually the official meaning over here and which embraces a whole gamut ranging from a Faraday to a Peabody or a Lady Burdett-Coutts. However I shall try and find what you want.

The manuscript of the English translation of Volume I is at last to hand; I shall revise it straight away. After that I shall start final editing of Volume III. This will be hard, but I shall manage it in the end.

Yours ever,

F. E.


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Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 8 February 1886

My dear Sir,

I have received your kind letters 18/30 November, 19/31 December, 26 [December]/7 January and 8/20 January; also the four copies of the translation one of which has gone to the British Museum, another to the Colonel and a third to a lady well known who has also translated several works of the Author into your language. If you would be good enough to send another copy to Mr Otto Meissner, Hamburg, our German publisher, you would very much oblige me.

I have read your excellent preface with much pleasure, and

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*a* of *Capital* (Russ., gen. case) Engels into Russian of the second volume of *Capital* *b* Pyotr Lavrov *c* Vera Zasulich *d* Karl Marx
that I have done so attentively, I should like to prove to you by stating that on page X, line 17, the printer seems to have left out a word; should it not read as follows: что и переменная часть капиталовой стоимости, etc.? The omission is not of much consequence for any one who is used to the author's terminology, but would perhaps be puzzling to one who is not.

I thank you very much for your observations on the economical condition of your country. Anything of this class is always of the highest interest to me. The last 30 years have shown, all over the world, in how little time the immense productive powers of modern industry can be implanted and take a firm root even in countries hitherto purely agricultural. And the phenomena accompanying this process repeat themselves everywhere. What you tell me about payments in coupons not yet due occurred all over Germany ten or fifteen years ago and may occasionally occur still; but especially before the introduction of the new coinage the complaints about the circulation of such coupons, not yet due, and originally given in payment of wages were universal. The rapid development of German manufactures has now passed beyond that stage, and if it still occurs it will be an exception; but fifteen years ago it was the rule, especially in Saxony and Thuringia. But that your economists should consider this as a proof of a deficiency of circulating medium, and that in the face of a paper currency depreciated by over-issuse at least 36%, that is on a level with the views of the American greenbackers who demanded, too, an increased issue of paper money because that paper money was no longer depreciated and therefore evidently under-issued!

I am glad to learn that our friend is recommended a change of climate—I suppose it will be about the same where the doctors sent him to before and which seemed to agree well enough with his state of health. At all events this is proof to me that all danger of a sudden crisis in his malady is now over.

I have now at last the whole manuscript of the English translation of Volume I in my hands and shall go into the revision of it next week, and when I may have an idea how soon I can finish, conclude at once with a publisher. There are two translators, the one a barrister and old friend of ours (you and he are the two men living who know the book most thoroughly) but his professional occupations do

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a that the variable part of capital value, too
b Hermann Lopatin of Capital

c Samuel Moore
not allow him to do it all in time, so Dr Aveling, the husband of the author’s youngest daughter,\(^a\) offered his services; but both the economic theories and the language of the author are rather new to him and I know the portion done by him will give me more work. As soon as that is in a fair way of getting ready for the press, I shall start again with Volume III\(^b\) and do it to the end, not allowing any other work to interrupt it.

Here the industrial crisis gets worse instead of better, and people begin to find out more and more that England’s industrial monopoly is at an end. And with America, France, Germany for competitors in the world’s market, and high duties excluding foreign goods from the markets of other rising industrial countries, it becomes a simple matter of calculation. If one great monopolist industrial country produced a crisis every ten years, what will four such countries produce? Approximatively a crisis in 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) years, that is to say practically a crisis without end. *Uns kann recht sein.*\(^c\)

Very faithfully yours,

P. W. Rosher\(^{363}\)

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE\(^{537}\)

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 9 February 1886

Dear Sorge,

You have no doubt received my letter of 30 January,\(^d\) also *To-Day* and the new edition of the *Communist Trial*.\(^e\) Have had *New Yorker*...

\(^a\) Eleanor Marx-Aveling\(^b\) of *Capital*\(^c\). It might be helpful to us.
\(^d\) See this volume, pp. 393-95.\(^e\) K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. 
Volkszeitung, weekly edition of 23 January, but nothing else. You should also have had the September number of To-Day.

Yesterday the gentlemen of the Social Democratic Federation were yet again responsible for a fearful public gaff—as you will already have heard by telegraph. With any luck they will now be played out.

How is Adolf getting along with his business?

Your

F.E.


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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 9 February 1886

My dear Laura,

Our clever folk of the Social Democratic Federation scorn to rest on their laurels. Yesterday they must needs interfere in a meeting of the unemployed—who count now by hundreds of thousands—in order to preach La Révolution—revolution in general, and ask the mass to hold up their hands, those who were ready to follow Mr Champion to—well to what he does not know himself. Hyndman who can only overcome his personal cowardice by deafening himself by his own shouts, went on in the same strain. Of course you know what a meeting at 3 p.m. in Trafalgar Square consists of: numbers of the poor devils of the East End who vegetate in the borderland between working class and lumpen proletariat, and a sufficient admix-

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*Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung* -a Adolf Sorge jun. -b
ture of roughs and 'Arrys to leaven the whole into a mass ready for any ‘lark’ up to a wild riot à propos de rien." Well just at the time when this element was getting the upper hand (Kautsky who was there\textsuperscript{539} says das eigentliche Meeting war vorbei; die Keilerei ging los und so ging ich weg\textsuperscript{b}) the wisecracks above-named took these roughs in procession through Pall Mall and Piccadilly to Hyde Park for another and a truly revolutionary meeting. But on the road the roughs took matters into their own hands, smashed club windows and shop fronts, plundered first wine-stores and baker’s shops, and then some jewellers’ shops also, so that in Hyde Park our revolutionary swells had to preach ‘le calme et la modération’\textsuperscript{11}! While they were soft-sawdering, the wrecking and plundering went on outside in Audley St. and even as far as Oxford Street where at last the police interfered.

The absence of the police shows that the row was wanted, but that Hyndman and Co. donnaient dans le piège\textsuperscript{d} is impardonable and brands them finally as not only helpless fools but also as scamps. They wanted to wash off the disgrace of their electoral manoeuvres\textsuperscript{496} and now they have done an irreparable damage to the movement here. To make a revolution — and that à propos de rien,\textsuperscript{c} when and where they liked — they thought nothing else was required but the paltry tricks sufficient to ‘boss’ an agitation for any vile fad, packing meetings, lying in the press, and then, with five and twenty men seemed to back them up, appealing to the masses to ‘rise’ somehow, as best they might, against nobody in particular and everything in general, and trust to luck for the result. Well I don’t know whether they will get over it so easily this time. I should not wonder if they were arrested before the week is out. English law is very definite in this respect: you may spout as long as you like, so long as nothing follows; but as soon as any ‘overt acts’ of rioting ensue, you are held responsible for them, and many a poor devil of a Chartist, Harney and Jones and others, got two years for less.\textsuperscript{540} Besides, n’est pas Louise Michel qui veut.\textsuperscript{f74}

At last I have got nearly the whole of the ms. of the English translation of Volume I\textsuperscript{8} in my hands, the small remnant Edward has promised for Sunday.\textsuperscript{h56} I shall go at it this week — the only thing that keeps me from it is the revision of a translation (English) of my old book on

\textsuperscript{a} over nothing - \textsuperscript{b} the meeting proper was over; the fight started, so I went away - \textsuperscript{c} calmness and moderation - \textsuperscript{d} fell into the trap - \textsuperscript{e} for nothing - \textsuperscript{f} not everyone who wishes to can be Louise Michel - \textsuperscript{g} of Capital - \textsuperscript{h} 14 February
the English working class by an American lady who has also found a publisher for it in America — strange to say! This I do in the evenings and shall — unless much interrupted — finish this week. As soon as I see my way to fix a date for the printing to begin, I shall go and see Kegan Paul, and if we do not come to terms with him, go somewhere else, we have hints and offers from more than one. Our position in this respect is much improved. After that,— Volume III, and no more interruptions tolerated.

We thought it very strange that Bernstein should have recommended a fellow like Quarck and asked him. Here is his reply which I give you literally so that there can be no mistake:

‘Von einer Quarck-Empfehlung bin ich mir gar nichts bewusst, wie sollte ich einen Mann empfehlen den ich gar nicht kenne? Es ist möglich dass ich auf eine Anfrage einmal geantwortet, der Mann sei kein Parteigenosse, aber es liege nichts gegen ihn vor, aber auch nur möglich... Sollte da nicht eine Verwechslung vorliegen? Ich selbst kenne Quarck gar nicht, habe auch noch nie mit ihm korrespondiert. Also wie gesagt, ich bestreite nicht absolut, über Quarck einmal Auskunft erteilt zu haben, aber empfohlen habe ich ihn.’

Pardon me that I bother you again with this affair, but I wish to have this extract forwarded to Paris in the original German. As to the rest I write to Paul about it. Otherwise I wish Deville every happiness in his new ménage and hope it will not interfere too much with his regularity of habits. If once settled down in a new routine, he promises to be the best and happiest of husbands.

The people here go on much as usual. Edward has taken a hall in Tottenham Court Road where he preaches twice every Sunday to an attentive and on the whole reasonably well paying audience — it interferes rather with his after-dinner port, but it’s a good thing for him as it defeats Bradlaugh’s plan to ruin him as a public lecturer; he also goes now and then to provincial towns for 3 lectures on a Sunday! and one the Saturday evening. Bax is something like Paul, writes

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* The Condition of the Working-Class in England. * Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky. See this volume, pp. 384-85. "I am totally in the dark about Quarck’s recommendation. How could I give a recommendation to a person of whom I know nothing at all? It is possible that I could have answered a query to the effect that the man is not a party member, but nothing can be held against him, but this is only a possibility... Hasn’t there been a mix-up? I myself do not know Quarck at all and have never corresponded with him. So, as I’ve already said, I cannot say for certain that I haven’t given some information about Quarck, but I have never recommended him." - marriage
charming articles often enough in *The Commonweal*, but utterly unaccountable when an idea runs away with him. For practical agitation poor Bax is most dangerous, being utterly inexperienced; throws the ideas of the study, quite raw, into the meeting-room; has the feeling that something must be done to set the ball rolling, and does not know what; withal very nice, very intelligent, very industrious, so that we may hope he will outlive his zeal.

Yours affectionately,

F. E.


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 15 February 1886

Dear Bebel,

Your letter could not have arrived at a more opportune moment; I was in any case about to send you some further gladsome news today—of which more below.

Now as to the rumpus on the 8th inst.⁹⁶

Despite publicity to the contrary, the *Social Democratic Federation* is an exceedingly weak organisation which comprises some good elements but is led by literary and political adventurers who, by a stroke of genius, had brought it to the very verge of dissolution on the occasion of the November elections.⁹⁶ At the time, Hyndman (pronounced Heindman), head of the society, had accepted money from the Tories (Conservatives) and used it to put up Social Democratic candidates in two London boroughs. Since they had not a single adherent in either constituency, the consequent débacle might have been foreseen (one of them got 27 and the other 32 votes, each out of

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¹ See this volume, pp. 403-04.
a possible 4-5,000!). But hardly had Hyndman touched the Tories' money than his head began to swell inordinately, and he departed forthwith for Birmingham where he called on Chamberlain, now a Minister, and offered him his 'support' (amounting, for the whole of England, to barely 1,000 votes) if he, Chamberlain, would secure him, Hyndman, a constituency in Birmingham with the help of the Liberals, and also introduce an Eight Hours' Bill. Chamberlain, being no fool, showed him the door. Despite all attempts to hush up the matter, there was a great rumpus about it in the Federation, and dissolution was imminent. So something had to be done to get things going again.

In the meantime unemployment was steadily rising. As a result of the collapse of Britain's monopoly of the world market, a state of crisis has persisted uninterruptedly since 1878 and is growing worse rather than better. Poverty, particularly in London's East End, is appalling. The winter which, since January, has been exceptionally severe, combined with the abysmal indifference of the propertied classes, has given rise to great unrest among the mass of the unemployed. As always, political wire-pullers have sought to exploit that unrest for their own ends. The Conservatives, recently deprived of office, blamed unemployment on foreign competition (rightly) and foreign protective tariffs (for the most part wrongly), and advocated 'fair trade', i.e. retaliatory tariffs. There is also a labour organisation which is predominantly in favour of such tariffs. This last called the meeting of the 8th inst. in Trafalgar Square. Meanwhile the Social Democratic Federation had not been idle; having already demonstrated in a minor way, they now sought to take advantage of the aforementioned meeting. Thus two meetings took place, that of the retaliatory tariffs men, round Nelson's Column, the other addressed by the Social Democratic Federation men from a street next to the National Gallery, some 25 feet above the north side of the square. Kautsky was present; he left before the rumpus began and told me that practically all the genuine working men attended the other meeting, while Hyndman & Co. had a mixed audience who were out for a lark, and in some cases were already half seas over. If this was evident to Kautsky who has been here barely a year, it must have been even more so to the gentlemen of the Federation. Nevertheless, when things seemed to be already subsiding, they put into practice an idea long cherished by Hyndman, namely a procession of 'unemployed' along Pall Mall, the street of the great political, aristocratic and
ultra-capitalist clubs which are the hubs of political intrigue in Britain. The unemployed who followed them to another meeting in Hyde Park were mostly of the kind who do not wish to work—barrow-boys, idlers, police spies and rogues. Jeered at by the aristocrats from the club windows, they smashed the latter, likewise shop windows, and looted wineries, the better to set up an impromptu consumers’ club in the street so that, once in Hyde Park, Hyndman and Co. had hastily to swallow their bloodthirsty slogans and preach moderation. But by now the thing had gathered momentum. During the procession and this further little meeting as well as after it, most of the lumpen proletariat Hyndman had taken for unemployed poured along several of the grander streets nearby, looting jewellers’ and other shops, and using the loaves of bread and legs of mutton thus looted solely for the purpose of smashing windows until eventually they scattered without encountering any resistance. Only a few stragglers were dispersed in Oxford Street by four (sic!) policemen.

Otherwise the police were nowhere to be seen, and so conspicuous were they by their absence that it was not only we who believed it to have been intentional. Evidently the chiefs of police are Conservatives and not averse to seeing a bit of a rumpus in these days of Liberal rule. However, the government immediately set up a Committee of Inquiry and this may cost more than one of these gentry his position.

In addition, very half-hearted proceedings have been instituted against Hyndman & Co. which, to all appearances, will be allowed to peter out, although English law provides for very stiff sentences the moment inflammatory speeches give way to overt acts. True, the gentlemen talked a lot of bunkum about social revolution which, having regard to their audience and in the absence of any organised support amongst the masses, was sheer lunacy, but I can hardly believe that the government would be so stupid as to make martyrs of them. These socialist gents are determined to conjure up overnight a movement which, here as elsewhere, necessarily calls for years of work,—though, once it has got going and been imposed on the masses by historical events, it will admittedly advance far more rapidly here than on the Continent. But men of this type cannot wait—hence these childish pranks such as we are otherwise wont to see only among the anarchists.

The alarm of the philistines lasted four days and has now finally abated. One good thing about it is that the existence of poverty, which the Liberals simply denied and the Conservatives tried to ex-
ploit solely for their own ends, has now come to be recognised, and people see that something has got to be done, if only for appearances' sake. But the subscription fund started by the Lord Mayor amounted, by Saturday,\(^a\) to barely £20,000\(^{544}\) and, given the number of unemployed, would barely last out 2 days! But of one thing at least we have again received proof: Until something happens to frighten them, the propertied classes are totally indifferent to the destitution of the masses and I'm not at all sure they don't need rather more of a fright.

Now for France. Last week saw an event of an epoch-making kind, namely the constitution of a workers' party in the Chamber. It has only three members, and two Radicals besides,\(^429\) but a start has been made and the split is definitive.

Basly (pronounced Bali), a miner and then a landlord (because disciplined) from Anzin, carried out an investigation on the spot of the killing of the infamous pit manager Watrin in Decazeville.\(^545\) On his return, he first communicated his findings to a big meeting held on the 7th in Paris, in the course of which the Radicals from the Chamber came off very badly.\(^6\) On Thursday in the Chamber he made a really splendid speech when he questioned the Ministry.\(^c\) He was left in the lurch by the whole of the extreme Left. The only ones to speak in support of him were the two other working men, Boyer (of Marseilles, ex-anarchist) and Camélinat (ex-Proudhonist, Communist refugee), besides which he was applauded by Clovis Hugues and Planteau, while the other extreme Radicals were as if thunderstruck by this first bold, independent move on the part of the French proletariat in the Chamber.

(Between ourselves, Basly is completely under the influence of our men, Lafargue, Guesde, etc., of whose theoretical advice he is greatly in need and which he gladly accepts.)

I am sending you the *Cri du Peuple* with a full account of this historic sitting which I suggest you study. It's well worth the trouble. The importance of the rupture has been confirmed by Longuet who has just been over here and who, as Clemenceau's friend and fellow-editor, spoke with some disapproval of this unpatriarchal behaviour on the part of the workers.

\(^a\) 13 February - \(^b\) See E.J. Basly's speech at a meeting in Théâtre du Château d'Eau on 7 February 1886 (*Le Socialiste*, No. 25, 13 February 1886). - \(^c\) See Basly's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 February 1886 (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 837, 12 February 1886).
So in Paris, too, we now have our people in parliament, and of this I am glad, not only for the sake of the French to whose progress it will give a tremendous impetus, but also for the sake of our parliamentary group, some of whose members might yet learn much about boldness of approach from the above; for now we also have foreigners whom we can hold up as an example to the faint-hearts and weaklings.

The best part of it is that the Radicals proposed these chaps in the hope of being able to manipulate them, and now their trouble has been for nothing. I, too, felt very doubtful about Camélïnat as a former Proudhonist, but a point in his favour was that, when he came here as a refugee, he immediately sought work in Birmingham (he is one of the best engravers) and had nothing to do with refugee politics.

Time for the post.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

[Excerpt]

[London,] 16 February 1886

My dear Lafargue,

My congratulations. The sitting of the French Chamber on the 11th was an historical event.\(^a\) The ice—the parliamentary omnipotence of the Radicals\(^{429}\)—has been broken and it matters little whether those who dared to break it numbered three or thirty. And it was this superstition amongst the Parisian working men—this belief that by going further than the Radicals they would endanger the Republic or

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\(^a\) See previous letter.
Miners on strike in Decazeville, January 1886
at least play the Opportunists' game by dividing the 'revolutionary party'—which lent strength to the Radicals.

This is the definitive defeat of utopian socialism in France. For the Radicals were all 'socialists' in the old sense of the term. What survived of Louis Blanc's and Proudhon's theses served them as socialist trappings; they represent French utopian socialism stripped of the utopias and hence reduced to a phrase pure and simple. On 11 February this antiquated French socialism was crushed by the international socialism of today. The Poverty of Philosophy!

So far as your propaganda in Paris and in France generally is concerned, this is an event of prime importance. The effect will be felt very quickly. The Radicals—whether they make a clean break with the workers or whether they temporise by granting them more or less sterile concessions—will lose their influence over the masses and, along with that influence, such little potency as is left in traditional socialism will be lost, and people's minds will become more receptive to a new order of ideas...

Z... has left me in no doubt that Clemenceau and the rest of his gang, embroiled as they are in ministerial intrigues, have caught the parliamentary disease, that they no longer see clearly what is going on outside the Palais Bourbon and the Luxembourg, that it is here that, for them, the pivot of the movement lies and that, in their eyes, extra-parliamentary France is of no more than secondary importance. All this has given me the measure of these gentlemen.

In short I have seen that flectere si negequo superos, Acheronta movebo is not to their taste. Their backsides are seated on the same chute as that down which Ranc, Gambetta & Co. once slid. What frightens them is the proletarian Acheron.

I told Z...: So long as the Radicals allow themselves to be frightened, as for example at the inconclusive elections, by the cry 'The Republic is in danger', they will be nothing more than the servants of the Opportunists, will act as their cat's paw. But give each workman a gun and 50 cartridges and the Republic will never again be in danger!

First published in Le Socialiste, No. 115, Paris, 24 novembre 1900
Printed according to the newspaper
Translated from the French

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*a Presumably Charles Longuet.  
*b If Heaven be inflexible, Hell shall be unleashed (Virgil, Aeneid, VII, 312).
Dear Ede,

Your articles\(^a\) on the subject of C. A. Schramm\(^b\) were very nice and caused us much glee. The man's pretty well done for.

The new turn things have taken in France is most significant. See *Cri du Peuple*. On the 7th, Château d'Eau meeting\(^c\) at which Basly disassociated himself from the Radicals.\(^{429}\) On the 11th, in the Chamber, Basly's interpellation re Decazeville,\(^d\) seconded by Camélinat and Boyer, applauded by Clovis Hugues and Planteau—separation from the Radicals, *formation of parliamentary workers' party*.\(^e\) Splendid *entrée en scène*. Great chagrin of the Radicals over these highly unparliamentary goings-on. The three working men are to be punished by a vote of no confidence on the part of the bourgeois constituents. Meeting called at Château d'Eau for 21 inst. but cancelled upon the three declaring their intention to attend. Instead a meeting *du commerce*\(^f\) at the Château d'Eau announced, to discuss public works for the benefit of the unemployed, in fact for the purpose of obtaining a vote of censure against the 3. But instead a great victory for the working men, Basly in the chair, the bourgeois walk out, brilliant speech by Guesde. See *Cri du Peuple* of 23rd inst.\(^g\)

The French parliamentary workers' party is a great historic event and a great stroke of luck for Germany. Will make certain persons in

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\(^a\) [E. Bernstein,] 'Ein moralischer Kritiker und seine kritische Moral', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 4-7, 21 and 28 January, 5 and 12 February 1886.- \(^b\) C. A. S[chramm], *Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle.*- \(^c\) See E. J. Basly's speech at a meeting in Théâtre du Château d'Eau on 7 February 1886 (*Le Socialiste*, No. 25, 13 February 1886).- \(^d\) See Basly's speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 February 1886 (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 837, 12 February 1886).- \(^e\) See this volume, p. 409.- \(^f\) of business people- \(^g\) J. Guesde's speech at a meeting of business people (*Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 848, 23 February 1886).
Berlin stir their stumps. Moreover, wholly international; chauvinistic heckling fell completely flat.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

IN ZURICH

London, 25 February 1886

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

To-day mailed to you, registered, the rest of the ms. with my—introduction or postscript—according to where it may suit you to place it. I believe the title had better be a simple translation: The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844, etc.

I am glad that all obstacles to publication have been successfully overcome. Only I am sorry that Miss Foster has applied to the Executive of the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei in New York, as appears from their report of meeting in Der Sozialist, New York, 13th February. Neither Marx nor myself have ever committed the least act which might be interpreted into asking any Working Organisation to do us any personal favour—and this was necessary not only for the sake of our own independence but also on account of the constant bourgeois denunciations of ‘demagogues who coax the workmen out of their hard-earned pennies in order to spend them for their own purposes’. I shall therefore be compelled to inform that Executive that this application was made entirely without my knowledge or authority. Miss Foster no doubt acted in what she thought the best way, and this step of hers is in itself no doubt perfectly admissible; still, if I could have foreseen it, I should have been compelled to do everything in my power to prevent it.
The revision of your translation has delayed that of the English translation of *Das Kapital* by three weeks—and at a most critical period of the year too. I shall set about it to-night and it may take me several months. After that, the German 3rd volume must be taken in hand; you see, therefore, that for some time it will be impossible for me to undertake the revision of other translations, unless few and far between and of small volume. I have at this moment waiting here an Italian translation of Marx’s *Lohnarbeit und Kapital* which must wait some weeks at least. But if you will translate that into English (it was recently republished at Zurich) and will not be too pressing for time, I shall be glad to revise it, and you cannot have a better popular pamphlet than that. My *Entwicklung* Aveling intends to translate, and as the subject is in part rather difficult, I could not well give it to anyone except he be here on the spot, accessible to verbal explanation. As to my *Anti-Dühring* I hardly think the English speaking public would swallow that controversy and the hostility to religion which pervades the book. However we may discuss that later on, if you are of a different opinion. At present Marx’s posthumous manuscripts must be dealt with before anything else.

The semi-Hegelian language of a good many passages of my old book is not only untranslatable but has lost the greater part of its meaning even in German. I have therefore modernised it as much as possible.

Yours very truly,

F. Engels

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Reproduced from the original

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*a Wage Labour and Capital* - *b Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*
Dear Liebknecht,

It’s really quite impossible to do anything about getting your Russian speech\(^a\) published in this country for, as you know, the big newspapers are barred to us and the monthly *Commonweal* is too small to take on that sort of thing. You will have to see to the matter yourselves, e.g. by getting in touch with the *Standard* correspondent as Longuet, for instance, did in Paris with Mother Crawford, the *Daily News* correspondent. Knowing that the Reichstag has no real say in anything, the British press very rarely mentions it, save for quite short telegrams. If you had not virtually confined yourself to Faerber’s view of the harm suffered by German capitalists,\(^b\) but had introduced the present eastern imbroglio\(^4\) and blamed it on Bismarck as the man who, because of the loan, has the Russians eating out of his hand, your speech could not have been passed over in complete silence. But what you say about the worthlessness of Russian paper is common knowledge even in this country.

Now as regards those charming German literati who infest the neutral border zone between ourselves and the armchair\(^5\) and state socialists, and want to pocket all the advantages to be derived from our party while carefully shielding themselves against any disadvantage arising out of intercourse with us — I’ve just had another demonstration of what shits the said literati are. An importunate fellow by the name of Max Quarck — *nomen est omen*\(^c\) — wrote to me saying that Deville in Paris had given him *exclusive rights* to translate his abridgement of *Capital*, and asking me to recommend him to Meissner and write a *preface* for him.\(^d\) It was all a lie, a fact of which I have received confirmation from Paris and as he himself informed Kautsky in a letter the *selfsame day*. And now the wretch has the effrontery to suggest

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\(^a\) Liebknecht’s speech in the Reichstag on 8 February 1886 (*Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags. VI. Legislaturperiode. II. Session 1885/86, Vol. II*).

\(^b\) See this volume, p. 338.

\(^c\) The name tells all (Quark = curd or cottage cheese in German; fig. rubbish).

\(^d\) See this volume, pp. 384-85 and 405.
that *I* should beg his pardon for *his* having lied to me! Just let him try that again, the scoundrel.\(^{520}\)

You people will find you have competitors in France. The three working men, Basly, Boyer and Camélina, since joined by Clovis Hugues, have set themselves up in the Chamber as a socialist labour group\(^{a}\) in opposition to the Radicals,\(^{429}\) and when, at a meeting last Sunday, the Radicals tried to inveigle the constituents into passing a vote of no confidence, they met with a resounding defeat — so much so that at the meeting they themselves had convened, the Radicals did not dare to open their mouths.\(^{b}\) These three French working men will make more of an impact in Europe than your 25 because they sit in a Chamber which, unlike the Reichstag, is not a debating society, and because they have shaken themselves free of the milk-and-water petty-bourgeois following which hangs like a millstone round your necks. Clemenceau is now faced with a last crucial decision, but we can be almost sure that he will not hesitate to join the bourgeois camp, in which case, though he will indeed become a minister, he will be done for.

Your
F.E.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER  
IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London,] 3 March 1886

Dear Sir,

Would you kindly send Williams & Norgate, 14 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, London—1 copy of *Socialism: Utopian etc.* together

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 409-10.  
\(^b\) Ibid., p. 414.
with bill (incl. postage) in a wrapper — these people applied to me (they are my booksellers and, incidentally, publishers, a big firm) and I wrote and told them that my things are always to be had from the Volksbuchhandlung.  

Mrs Wischnewetzky played you a rotten trick with her ms. For upon her insisting it was a matter of life and death, I had to buckle to straight away, and now the English translation of *Capital* has got to be done without delay, competition having cropped up (see *Today*) in a menacing form. So if all is not to be lost, I must forge ahead and drop everything else, including the *Peasant War*. The rival translation is, by the way, quite shocking, but so much the worse if it's not elbowed out forthwith.

Kindest regards,

Yours,

F. E.


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**ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY**

**IN ZURICH**

London, 12 March 1886

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Deep buried as I am in the English *Capital*, I have only the time to write a few lines in haste. It did not require all your exposition of the circumstances to convince me that you were perfectly innocent of what had been done in America with your translation. The thing is done and can't be helped, though we both are convinced that it was a mistake.

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* a Social Democratic bookshop in Zurich  
* b the English translation of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*  
* c See this volume, pp. 415-16.
I thank you for pointing out to me a passage in the appendix which indeed is far from clear. The gradation from the Polish Jew to the Hamburger, and from the Hamburger again to the Manchester merchant does not at all come out to the front. So I have tried to alter it in a way which may meet both your and my own objection to it and hope I have succeeded.

And now I cannot conclude without expressing to you my most sincere thanks to you for the very great trouble you have taken to revive, in English, a book of mine which is half-forgotten in the original German.

Ever at your service as far as my time and powers allow, believe me, dear Mrs Wischnewetzky

Yours very faithfully,

F. Engels

The dedication to the English working men should be left out. It has no meaning to-day.


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**ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI**

IN BENEVENTO

London, 12 March 1886

Dear Citizen,

Please excuse the belated reply.

I have received your kind letter of 8 February and the manuscript, of the Italian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* which I shall deal with as soon as possible. But at the moment I am...
obliged before anything else to check through the English translation of *Capital*, Volume I, which is most pressing and must be printed without delay; it is no easy task. When I have a free moment I shall devote it to your work.

I have also received, and I thank you for them, the 6 copies of the *Origin etc.*

I am sorry that my error ‘Paolo’ caused you inconvenience. I shall not repeat it.

I must get hold of the calendar in order to restore the passage that was stuck and illegible; I hope to find it here in London at a friend’s house; this is another cause of delay.

I am sorry I cannot do better and more quickly than this, but the English *Capital* must take precedence; in any case I am committed by a deadline to the publisher.

With respect I remain

F. Engels

I hope to spare some time in April on *Wage Labour and Capital*.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 12 March 1886

Dear Mr Schlüter,

If I am to send you a speedy reply, I shall have to be brief.

1) The man with the money has not yet turned up.

2) We have Lexis here. Thanks for the hint.

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3) *Origin.* a This business of the ‘2nd edition’ has its dubious aspects, but when I consider that the two markets are completely different and that the ‘1st edition’ is therefore unlikely to get in the way of the ‘2nd’, it’s unlikely to do much harm.555 Admittedly I should have been happier had Dietz consulted us first. He has behaved very arbitrarily in the past over other matters. This time it was quite unnecessary; he could, e.g., easily have informed me about the matter through Kautsky. But he likes *faits accomplis* and I shall get someone to tell him as much.

4) Reports of the International.556 I was in Manchester at the time and can’t really remember the details. The General Council did, at any rate, send a message to all the congresses, but Marx’s papers and pamphlets are all of them still in the unsorted state they were in when I lugged them over here and it will take about 6 weeks to put them in order. However I’ve asked Kautsky to make inquiries from Lessner; I should be very surprised if he hasn’t collected everything.

5) Stephens’ Speech.557 Yes, the thing is by Weerth.

As to the introduction, I shall be glad to go through your ms. But here too there are few sources and the bourgeois have been responsible for some serious falsification. Last year Harney scoured the whole of Yorkshire, Lancashire and London for one copy of *The Northern Star*, the paper which he had edited and which had had a circulation of 100,000 copies. In vain. Evanescence — such is the curse that affects all proletarian literature not included in official literature. Thus Owen’s works are nowhere to be had and the British Museum would pay a great deal of money for a complete collection. A genuine account will therefore be difficult. The Brentanos and Co. know nothing. The Charter101 was drawn up in 1835, not 1838, and O’Connellb was also involved if I’m not mistaken. What Brentano says about the petition is utter nonsense; after 10 April the bourgeois of both parties stuck together and in such a case lies are always disseminated, it being impossible to refute them either in Parliament or in the press. Even if a House of Commons Committee did scrutinise the petition (which I very much doubt), it would have been quite incapable of distinguishing the genuine from the bogus.558 But in the spring of 1848, no one was able to take much interest in such dirty

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goings-on; there were other things to do. Besides, we weren’t in England.

With kindest regards,

Yours,

F. Engels


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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 15-16 March 1886

My dear Laura,

You complain of the weather, and you are in Paris! Look at us here—nothing above freezing-point for the last ten days, a cutting east wind, of which you don’t know which is the worst, the north-east or the south-east,—and to-night a fresh *couche de neige*\(^a\) on streets and roofs. Nim is at her second cold, but it’s getting better, I had one too, Pumps and Percy are in the same boat too, fortunately the children are well. However there must be an end to this some time, only I wish it would come.

The English *Capital* is at last getting into shape and form.\(^{56}\) I have the whole ms. here and begun revising. Saving the 1st chapter which will require a severe overhauling, the first 200 pages of the original German are ready to go to press. I saw Kegan Paul last week, declined his proposals of two years ago and submitted mine. They were accepted in principle. This, with a man like Kegan Paul who is on all hands described as extremely slipping, means very little, and I expect there will be a tussle with him yet. But that matters nothing at all, because our position in the market has improved wonderfully and we have at least one other good firm who will be glad to take it on

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\(^{a}\) cover of snow
very favourable terms. As soon as the thing is concluded I will let you know.

The book will be published end of September so as not to come out in the dead season, and this gives me time to do the revising work thoroughly. Practically 300 pages of the original are revised, but the last 500 I have not as yet looked at, and there are some very difficult chapters there. And it would never do to hurry over them.

Broadhouse-Hyndman goes on translating 'from the original German' in *To-Day*. He has in the sixth monthly number just finished Chapter I. But his 'original German' is the French translation now, and he insists on proving that with French he can play ducks and drakes quite as much as with German. The thing does so little harm, so far, that Kegan Paul never even mentioned it. But it has done this good that I have got Moore and Edward to finish their work. You have no idea how difficult it is to get hold of this *To-Day*. I have paid in advance but have to dun them almost every month for my copy, moreover it comes out at all times of the next month. Tussy last year went and paid for a copy to be sent to you but as far as I have heard it was never sent! However there is nothing whatever in it except — Christian Socialism!

You will have seen from *Justice* — that at least you do receive in exchange for the *Socialiste* — how Hyndman keeps up his alliance with Brousse and even ignores the new proletarian party in the Chamber.

To me, this appearance of a *parti ouvrier*<sup>a</sup> in the Palais Bourbon, is the great event of the year. The ice is now broken with which the Radicals had so far succeeded to cover the working masses of France. These Radicals are now forced to come out in their true colours, or else follow the lead of Basly. The latter they will not do for long, nor willingly. Whatever they do, they must alienate the masses and drive them to us, and that quick. Events move rapidly, the Decazeville affair could not come more opportually than it has done.<sup>b</sup> And a very good thing it is that this takes place not in Paris but in one of the darkest and most reactionary and clerical corners of *la province*. I am exceedingly curious to learn how the affair has terminated to-day in the Chamber.<sup>c</sup> But whatever is done, must turn out to our benefit.

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<sup>a</sup> workers' party.  
<sup>b</sup> One follows upon another.  
<sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 428.
The reappearance of France on the scene of the proletarian movement ‘comme grande puissance’\(^2\) will have a tremendous effect everywhere, especially in Germany and America; in Germany I have done my best to let them know the full importance of the event, and sent Basly’s speech\(^b\) to Bebel; Camélinat\(^c\) will follow as soon as I get it back from Kautsky. How furious Longuet must be that his old friend and as he believed protégé Camélinat has turned his back upon him!

At the same time, our Paris friends have done whatever they could to pave the way so that the event, when it came, found a terrain\(^d\) préparé. Their action since the elections has been perfectly correct—their attempt to rally all revolutionary proletarian elements, their forbearance towards the Possibilists,\(^{2,3,7}\) their limiting their attacks to those points and facts which showed Brousse and Co. as simple obstacles to union—all this was just what it should have been. And they are now reaping the fruits: Brousse has been driven into a position where he must find fault with Basly and Co. and thereby sever the last bond which still united him to the movement of the masses. Savoir attendre\(^c\)—that is what our friends have learnt at last, and that will carry them through. Paul will be, if he likes, in the Palais Bourbon before Longuet.

A citoyen Hermann has applied to me for an addressed adhesion to what I suppose is your meeting on the 18th.\(^5,6,0\) I send it\(^f\) to you here-with 1) to be sure that it falls into the proper hands and 2) that you and Paul may look over and mend my rickety French.

Now good night, it’s one o’clock and I must look over some papers yet to get them out of the way of to-morrow. Kind regards to Paul.

Yours most affectionately,

F. Engels

16th March. Just seen the ordre du jour\(^g\) adopted by the Chamber.\(^h\) It sounds rather different to all previous ordres du jour voted under similar circumstances. It is a decided victory for us, and Freycinet too

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\(^a\) ‘as a great power’\(-\)\(^b\) E. J. Basly’s speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 February 1886 (Le Cri du Peuple, No. 837, 12 February 1886).\(-\)\(^c\) Z. R. Camélinat’s speech in the Chamber of Deputies on 11 March 1886 (Le Cri du Peuple, No. 866, 13 March 1886).\(-\)\(^d\) fertilised soil\(-\)\(^e\) To be able to wait\(-\)\(^f\) F. Engels, ‘On the Anniversary of the Paris Commune’.\(-\)\(^g\) Order of the Day\(-\)\(^h\) ‘Règlement de l’ordre du jour’, Le Cri du Peuple, No. 867, 14 March 1886.
Dear Bebel,

I am up to my eyes in the revision of the English translation of Capital, Volume I, which is at last on the point of coming out, but since the business of Liebknecht's fund is urgent, I shall have to take a moment or two so as to be able to answer your letter quickly. Here-with, then my contribution,—a cheque for £10 on the Union Bank of London.

Many thanks for the Anti-Socialist Law and spirits monopoly debates and the Bürger-Zeitung.

It is indeed striking how faithfully the Anti-Socialist Law debate reflects the mood of the majority in the parliamentary group. Unable, presumably, to do as they wished they had, willy-nilly, to voice relatively correct opinions, and the impression made by the debate is, on the whole, very good, particularly since Singer was compelled by the Ihring case to speak pretty sharply. In general these people, not excepting even Frohme, are not too bad when they have to come out against the police, either in their own interests or in those of their constituents and hence keep the worthy citizen well out of sight, for one of their besetting sins is this very worthiness which seeks to convince an opponent rather than fight him because 'our cause is, after all, so noble and so just' that any other worthy citizen is bound to come over

*a sings another tune than before*  
*b The situation is getting grave for Messrs the Radicals.  
*c See Berliner Volksblatt, Nos. 42, 43, 54-56; 19 and 20 February and 5-7 March 1886 (Supplement).*
to us if only he can be made to understand it aright. This appeal to worthy sentiments, which neither recognises nor wishes to recognise the interests by which those sentiments are unconsciously motivated, is one of the chief characteristics of the philistinism which is peculiar to Germany and would be impossible here or in France, either in parliament or in literature.

Never have I come across anything so tedious as the spirits debate; even Bamberger’s jokes were as bad as ever, if not worse. So what matter if, after that, Schumacher also spoke tediously, proceeding to make what amounted to a naked appeal for ‘étatisation’ [Verstaatlichung]. Richter’s speech, based on statistics, was quite the best.

I would not venture to pass judgment on Liebknecht’s speech as reported in the Bürger-Zeitung. So much depends on nuances and the manner in which something is said and, in a summarised report, all that gets lost.563

I have not seen the account by Kautsky of which you speak. But as regards Hyndman, his behaviour in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park on 8 February did far more harm than good.538 Revolutionary ranting, which in France would be seen as the outmoded rubbish it is and do no harm, is sheer folly over here, where the masses are totally unprepared; it puts off the proletariat, encouraging only the worthless elements and, in this country, lends itself to but one interpretation, namely incitement to looting which in fact ensued, so that we shall be lastingly discredited over here, even in the eyes of the working class. As for its having drawn attention to socialism, you over there cannot know the extent to which, after centuries of freedom of the press and of assembly and its accompanying publicity, the public has become completely impervious to such methods. True, the initial alarm of the middle classes was quite funny, and brought in a subscription of some £40,000 for the unemployed — in all about £70,000 — but that has already been spent, nothing else is forthcoming and poverty is as before. What has been achieved is to equate socialism with looting in the minds of the bourgeois public and, while this may not have made matters much worse, it has certainly got us no further. You might think that Hyndman showed great courage and so it might seem. But Hyndman, as I have learnt from Morris and others, is a coward and has behaved as such on crucial occasions. This doesn’t prevent him, having once got himself into a dangerous fix, from drowning his cowardice in his own clamour and giving vent to the most bloodthirsty utterances. But this only makes him all the more of a menace to his
colleagues—for no one, neither he nor they, can tell beforehand what he is going to do. Fortunately the whole business has been pretty well forgotten over here.

I wholly agree with your view that periods of prosperity of over 6 months will cease to recur. The only prospect of a reactivation of trade—directly where iron, at any rate, is concerned and otherwise indirectly—lies in the possible opening up of China to railway construction and hence the destruction of the only remaining closed and self-sufficient civilisation based on a combination of agriculture and handicrafts. But 6 months will be enough to discount that, after which we shall, perhaps, experience yet another acute crisis. Apart from destroying Britain’s monopoly of the world market, the new methods of communication—the electric telegraph, the railways, the Suez Canal and the supplanting of sail by steam—have gone some way towards breaking down the ten-year industrial cycle. If China is opened up, not only will overproduction risk losing its last safety-valve, but emigration from China will assume such massive proportions that this alone will suffice to revolutionise conditions of production throughout America, Australia and India, even to the extent of affecting Europe—if it lasts itself till then.

Bismarck’s folly is indeed becoming excessive. But it has one recurring theme—more money! His craziest schemes always and infallibly involve the voting of subsidies, and the National-Liberal gents seem to have a positive passion for providing him with yet more cash.

Another victory in France. Camélinat’s question about Decazeville provoked a three-day debate, while on Saturday, 7 motions to proceed to the Order of the Day were thrown out, until finally the government and the Radical gents agreed a resolution unprecedented in French parliamentary history and which was passed on Monday: That this Chamber proceed to the Order of the Day, confident that the Government will move all the necessary amendments to mining legislation and that its conduct in Decaizeville will be dictated by the rights of the State and the interests of Labour.

The rights of Labour—it’s absolutely unheard-of! And as if that was not enough, a decision unfavourable to the company which is wholly dependent on a state concession and now sees the terms of that concession turned against itself. All this, of course, is still on paper,

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but for a first step it’s enough. The whole political situation in France has been revolutionised by the initiative of the three working men. The Radicals, who also call themselves socialists and who are, in fact, the representatives of French national socialism, of what survives of Proudhon and Louis Blanc, but who, as ministerial candidates, must make sure of keeping in with the republican bourgeoisie, are now compelled to show themselves in their true colours. The cool, almost hostile attitude they adopted from the outset towards the labour deputies, has shown the mass of the workers what is what; suddenly the latter see, alongside the ‘eddicated’ Radicals, genuine working-class socialists whom they joyously acclaim. The Radicals, incl. Clemenceau, must either temporarily renounce their ministerial aspirations and follow in Basly’s and Camélina’s footsteps, or jeopardise their re-election. All of a sudden the question of capital and labour is included in the agenda, albeit as yet in very elementary form (rates of pay, the right to strike and, possibly, mining on a cooperative basis), but nevertheless it’s there and there to stay. Since the workers of France, however, had received such a first-rate grounding from their history and from the altogether outstanding behaviour of our people during the past 2 years, nothing more was required to spark off the explosion but an event such as the Decazeville strike, combined with the stupidity of the Radicals in including 3 working men in their list of candidates. Now things will move fast in France. You’ll have seen how afraid the Radicals are from the resolutions taken by the municipal councils of Paris, Lyons, etc., to vote money for the Decazeville strikers. This again is unprecedented.

If that’s the state your voice is in, don’t go to America. The demands made on the vocal chords by what is universal practice there far exceed anything you can imagine. But anyway we shall look forward to seeing you here in the autumn.

Time for the post, too late for registration. Please send me a postcard acknowledging receipt of the cheque.

Your

F. E.

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* See Le Socialiste, Nos. 28 and 29, 6 and 13 March 1886.
My dear Lafargue,

Herewith the cheque for £12. Yesterday I was again disturbed. It always happens when there is an urgent task to be done.

Monday’s vote in the Chamber was a great victory. For the first time a French Chamber has sided with labour against capital—greatly against its will! But Basly & Co. have been valiantly supported by the monarchist gents who, after their relative victory at the polls, are in a state of high excitement and evidently believe—notably in their capacity as capitalists, shareholders, etc.—that they can do anything they please. Placed as they are between an ultramonarchist group and the revolutionary workers, they had to plump for the latter. At least they are Republicans and, after all, low finance, as represented by the Opportunists and Radicals, has no desire to restore the régime of high finance that was toppled with MacMahon and Thiers.

It was what I suspected—this reappearance of Malon’s behind the scenes. A parliamentary party embracing every shade of possibilism with Malon for secret leader—what a beautiful dream! The same old Bakuninist tactics which, so far as these intriguers are concerned, are now much more deeply ingrained than the bombastic language of anarchism! A firm stand must be made against these endeavours. If you can ensure that Basly and Camélinat—even on their own—carry on as they have begun and refuse to let themselves be persuaded to join a party where they would form an impotent minority, then the game is won. Any negotiations on their part would be the ruin of them and could only further the Radical cause. So long as they go forward with a firm tread and pay no heed to the honeyed words of the moderators...

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\(^a\) of 15 March - \(^b\) See previous letter.
and mediators, all this confusion will be swept away, like it or not. It is not good will that activates these gentry; rather it is fear and fear alone that has created such little good will as they have and this, when all is said and done, is the good will to spoil what Basly has begun and nothing else. Moreover such a party is out of the question. Either Basly or Camélinaat will turn traitor, which I don’t believe, or they will be forced to part company with these gentry as soon as the first important problem arises. It would therefore be better not to enter into an alliance with them.

Your article in the *Revue nouvelle* gave me much pleasure. Obviously one makes some ‘ALLOWANCE’ for what you are permitted to say in a periodical of that kind. Even so, I was surprised at the number of risqué allusions you were allowed to get away with—but she is a woman, she has a definite standpoint. Had the editor-in-chief been a man, you would have found yourself up against a much more ferocious brand of morality. What with the *Journal des Économistes*, the *Revue philosophique* and Juliette, you are now well launched in literature of a primarily official nature. And since you write better French (because more 16th-century and less Parisian) than others, you ought to succeed.

Juliette amused me much with her high foreign policy. This is Blowitz to the life, though less grotesque in form.

Fortunately the Socialist League is dormant for the time being. Our good Bax and Morris, craving to do something (if only they knew what?), are restrained only by the fact that there is absolutely nothing to do. Moreover they have far more truck with the anarchists than is desirable. Their celebrations on the 18th were held in concert with the latter and Kropotkin spoke there—twaddle, or so they tell me. All this will pass, if only because there is absolutely nothing to be done over here just now. But with Hyndman, who is well versed in political imposture and capable of all sorts of folly when his self-advancement is at stake—with the said Hyndman on the one hand and our two political babes in arms on the other, prospects are by no means bright. Yet now we have socialist papers abroad proclaiming at the top of their voices that socialism in England is

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marching forward with gigantic strides! I am very glad to say that what passes for socialism here in England is not on the march—far from it.

Yours ever,

F. E.

By the way, Bax has published a short history of philosophy that has some very good stuff in it.¹

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

Dear Citizen,

Many thanks for sending me the translation of The Poverty of Philosophy, which has been safely received.¹⁰⁵

When opening the parcel I tore the part showing the sender’s address. After a good deal of trouble I managed to reassemble the pieces well enough to decipher the address I am using today. But since I don’t know whether I have read it correctly, I would ask you to advise me of your address once again, as I should like to send you a copy of the Russian translation of Volume II of Capital, which has arrived from St Petersburg.⁵⁷⁰

¹ E. B. Bax, A Handbook of the History of Philosophy for the Use of Students.
Please accept my apologies for the inconvenience caused by my clumsiness.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

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Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN LEIPZIG

London, 12 April 1886

Dear Bebel,

Thank you for the debate on the Anti-Socialist Law—it pleased me tremendously. Here again we have something that does credit to the movement and this is the impression it gives from beginning to end. Even Liebknecht was quite his old self again; competition from the French seems to have had a good effect on him. I like the spectacle of the whole gang—or pack of dogs rather—crowding round you barking and snapping, only to be beaten off by the lash of a whip. What a mercy that, apart from you and Liebknecht, only Vollmar spoke a word or two, and that Singer, the victim of a concerted attack, was compelled to hit back hard, while the tractable majority held their tongues.

The gentlemen’s fears about regicide are too ludicrous. Surely they or their fathers have all of them sung:

Has ever man had such hard luck
As our poor Burgomaster Tschech,
He shot at Fatty two paces away
And yet his bullet went astray.

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a See this volume, pp. 424-25.
True, the German bourgeoisie still had some vitality in those days; another example of the difference is that 1844 saw the appearance of *Das Lied von Freifrau von Droste-Vischering*, whereas now the *Kulturkampf* is being waged with the most humdrum weapons wielded by the most flaccid hands.

The socialists here have been acquitted. I am sending you today's copy of the highly Conservative *Standard* (also a *Cri du Peuple*) containing an account of the final hearing. You will be able to see from it how a judge goes about his business in England (though admittedly not in Ireland). Translated from legal jargon, what he said was: The law on seditious speeches applies to the accused, but the law is outdated and invalid in practice. Otherwise you would have to convict every radical spokesman and minister. All you have to ask yourselves, therefore, is this: Was it, or was it not, the intention of the accused that there should be looting on 8 February? And Cave is one of England's 16 principal judges.

The verdict is a fine advertisement for Hyndman, but it has come too late. He has contrived to ruin his organisation beyond hope of repair; in London it's fizzling out, while in the provinces the various organisations have adopted a neutral, wait-and-see attitude to the rifts down here. *Summa summarum* the two organisations—Federation and League—have a combined paid-up membership of less than 2,000 and their papers a combined readership of less than 5,000—the majority being sympathisers in the persons of bourgeois, priests, literati, etc. As things are now, it is truly fortunate that these immature elements are failing to penetrate the masses. They must first complete the process of fermentation, after which all may be well.

For the rest, one might almost be back in the days of the International. Only this morning a whole stack of German, French, Spanish and Belgian papers arrived and are taking up time I ought to be devoting to the English translation of *Capital*. I only hope there isn't a bust-up before I've managed to finish the 3rd volume—after that it can come, so far as I'm concerned.

Things are going splendidly in Decazeville. You will see from the report (*Cri du Peuple*) of last Sunday's meeting (a week ago yes-
terday) which I am sending you today how skilfully those Parisians, who have been decried as revolutionary braggarts, contrive without relinquishing their revolutionary posture to advocate calm and lawfulness during the strike. It is indicative of the progress the French have made, thanks to the revolutionary soil on which they stand, that in their case there is a complete absence of that mass of sophistries and second thoughts which still confuse the minds of so many people in Germany. That one should proceed lawfully or unlawfully, depending on the circumstances, is taken entirely for granted over there and no one sees anything inconsistent in it. As to Paris, it is significant that up till yesterday the *Cri du Peuple* had raised 35,000 frs for Decazeville, but Rochefort’s *Intransigeant* less than 11,000.

Bismarck, who appears to have been in a frightful rage, though obviously speaking for the benefit of the Crown Prince, will doubtless get a reply from Laura and Tussy to the ludicrous insinuations he made about Marx. Of the other speeches, Hänel’s was the best from a legal viewpoint; he came out with the absurd demand that a citizen should conform to the law not only outwardly but also inwardly—that such a thing should be called for, that the mere intention and the public expression thereof, could be held punishable by deprivation of rights shows how debased all middle-class concepts of legality have become in Germany—not that they have ever prevailed over there save in the case of the oppositional bourgeoisie; what has, in fact, always prevailed is the illegality of a police state, which in other countries (always excepting Ireland) could only assert itself shamefacedly and in the guise of a coup de main.

Must close because registration time (5 o’clock) draws near.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO PHILIPP VICTOR PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 12 April 1886

Heartiest congratulations on Clara’s engagement.

Friedrich Engels

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 28 April 1886

My dear Laura,

The English translation of Capital is awful work. First they translate. Then I revise and enter suggestions in pencil. Then it goes back to them. Then conference for settlement of doubtful points. Then I have to go through the whole again, to see that everything is made ready for the press, stylistically and technically, and all the quotations, which Tussy has looked up in the English originals, fitted in properly. So far I have finished 300 pages of the German, and shall soon have about 100 more. But then there is another hitch. Edward has missed translating some 50 pages of his share, and these I hope to get by the end of the week. As soon as I have got these, I shall stir up

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a Written on Engels’ visiting card. - b Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling
Kegan Paul's drowsiness.\(^a\) The wily Scot who still fancies that we do not know our favourable position in the market, plays a waiting game, but will find himself awfully mistaken one fine morning. It is we that can afford to wait, and we intend to wait until we are quite ready to begin to print, say in a week. And as we have a written offer from another firm, we can stick to our terms.

This must serve as an excuse for my last short letter\(^3\)  and the delay that has taken place since. The fact is we must begin to print by middle of May so as to be ready to publish by end of September. And that we can, though it will keep me hard at work till far into June at least.

Your *billet-doux* to Bismarck\(^5\) is making great stir in Germany. Bebel writes\(^b\):

> 'Die Erklärung von Laura und Eleanor Marx ist famos, der grösste Teil der deutschen Presse nimmt davon Notiz, hütet sich selbstverständlich sie abzudrucken. Otto wird wütend sein, für dergleichen Angriffe ist er sehr empfindlich.'

The effect of the new departure in France\(^5\) is plainly visible in the debate on the Socialist Law in Berlin.\(^7\) Library\(^d\) would hardly have ventured to come out so strongly again in his best old manner, had it not been that events in Paris and Decazeville\(^5\) had stirred him up again a bit. This competition is invaluable for our people in Germany. The split and dissensions in Paris gave the philistine section amongst them a pretext for looking down, *de haut en bas*, upon the French, as if they, themselves, had not wallowed for years in splits, quarrels and dissensions; and they began to talk as if they, the German *kleinbürgerliche* section of the party, were the leaders of the universal movement. That precious bit of chauvinism has now been effectually knocked on the head. Unfortunately the Socialist Law has this one effect that it excludes pretty effectually the circulation of such papers as the *Socialiste* and *Cri du Peuple*, and that the daily, current information about France has to be taken from the vile

\(^a\)See this volume, p. 423. \(^b\) in his letter to Engels of 23 April 1886. \(^c\) 'Laura and Eleanor Marx's statement is excellent. The greater part of the German press have published notices about it but understandably take care not to reprint it. Otto [Bismarck] will be furious, for he is sensitive to such attacks.' \(^d\) Wilhelm Liebknecht's nickname given to him by Marx's daughters. \(^e\) *petty-bourgeois*
bourgeois papers. I have sent on the *Cris* and *Intransigeants* you sent me, to Bebel and Liebknecht but that does not go much further and may not always reach them.

It strikes me as very curious that I see nothing of the Villefranche judgment being appealed against.\(^{575}\) As far as I know there is a double appeal 1) on account of the alleged incompetency of the court, 2) against the judgment as such; and then a final *pourvoi en cassation*\(^a\) on both these issues. It seems to me well worth while to go in for that, if only to expose the infamy of the courts and keep the thing before the public.

I scarcely dare hope that Roche will get in next Sunday.\(^{576}\) Not having read any *Cris* for about a week, I do not know what other candidates besides Gaulier are in the field. But anyhow the poll will show a great progress and be enough to frighten the Radicals\(^429\) still more.

Here all is muddle. Bax and Morris are getting deeper and deeper into the hands of a few anarchist phraseurs, and write nonsense with increasing intensity. The turning of *The Commonweal* into a ‘weekly’ — absurd in every respect — has given Edward a chance of getting out of his responsibility for this now incalculable organ.\(^{577}\) Bax à la recherche,\(^b\) by means of half-digested Hegelian dialectic, of extreme and paradox propositions, and Morris going head foremost, bull fashion, against ‘parliamentarism’, will have to learn by experience what sort of people their anarchist friends are. It would be ridiculous to expect the working class to take the slightest notice of these various vagaries of what is by courtesy called English Socialism, and it is very fortunate that it is so: These gentlemen have quite enough to do to set their own brains in order.

Schorlemmer who is here, and Nim have taken little Lily to the Zoo, Pumps is going to Manchester for a few days. In our evening chats we talk a good deal of your promised coming over to London. When is that to be? Schorlemmer says you had mentioned something about Paul coming over at the same time. That would be all the better. Anyhow it is getting time that these good intentions set about developing into more or less tangible plans and projects, the season for execution is not too long in this blessed climate.

Did you see in last *Sozialdemokrat* the affair about Kalle and the *Weihergemeinschaft*\(^578\)? That fellow was nicely caught. He is a great

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\(^a\) appeal - \(^b\) in search
light among the National Liberals and has large chemical (dye-stuff) works at Wiesbaden.

Love from Schorlemmer and Nim and yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Paul I hope will excuse if I do not write to him as often as I should like.


254. Engels to Sorge. 29 April 1886

London, 29 April 1886

Dear Sorge,

Have received your letters of 15 and 28 February and 8 March, and postcard of 21 March.

In most cases the notes contained in the ms. are the same as those Marx made in his copy for the 3rd edition. In the case of those which provide for more insertions from the French, I would not commit myself unequivocally because the work done for the 3rd edition is of much later date and hence, for me, more authoritative, 2) because, in respect of a translation to be made in America, i.e. outside his own orbit, Marx might have preferred some of the passages to be translated correctly from the simplified French version rather than incorrectly from the German — a consideration which no longer applies. Nevertheless, it has provided me with very useful tips which will, in due course, also come in handy for the 4th German edition. As soon as I have finished with it I shall return it to you by registered post.
The *Volkszeitung* and *Sozialist* are now arriving regularly. Over the past fortnight I have sent you *To-Day* and *Commonweal*, March and April. Also yesterday *To-Day*, May, the delay being due solely to the slovenliness of the publishers. Should you require anything else let me know.

Broadhouse (Hyndman)’s translation of *Capital* is a complete farce.\(^3\) The 1st chapter was from the German, full of mistakes to the point of absurdity.\(^a\) Now he’s translating from the French, and making the same mistakes. At the rate it’s now going, the thing won’t be finished before 1900.

Thanks for the *Kalender*. I certainly had no idea that Douai was so grossly neglected a great man.\(^5\)\(^7\)\(^9\) May he take with him to the grave the knowledge of his greatness as of its total neglect, without first seeing it compressed into a sugar mould. But he was the right man for America and, had he remained an ordinary Democrat, I should have wished him the best of luck. As it was, however, he went whoring after false gods.

As for the purist who quibbles about our style and our punctuation he doesn’t know either German or English, otherwise he could not discover Anglicisms where there aren’t any.\(^3\)\(^8\)\(^0\) The German of which he’s so enamoured and which was drummed into us at school, with its frightful periodic structure whereby the verb is put right at the end and is separated from its subject by ten miles of subclauses, is a German which it has taken me thirty years to unlearn. This bureaucratic, pedagogical German, which completely ignores the fact that Lessing ever existed, is now on its last legs even in Germany. What would this worthy say were he to hear our people speaking in the Reichstag? Having done away with this horrible syntax because forever getting bogged down in it, they expressed themselves in that place like Jews\(^b\): ‘Faced with this dilemma, Bismarck chose to kiss the pope’s behind rather than the lips of the revolution’, etc. Little Lasker was responsible for this improvement and it’s the only good thing he ever did. Were the purist gent to go to Germany with his pedagogical German, he would be told that he spoke American. ‘You know how petty your educated German philistine is’—especially so in America, it would seem. German syntax and punctuation, as taught at school 40 or 50

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 424. \(^b\) Engels is referring to the more straightforward German syntax frequently employed by Jews, as exemplified in the sentence he then proceeds to quote.
years ago, are fit only for the scrap-heap to which, in Germany, they’re being well and truly consigned.

I think I wrote and told you that an American lady\textsuperscript{a} married to a Russian\textsuperscript{b} has taken it into her head to translate my old book.\textsuperscript{c} I have looked over the translation and this entailed a lot of work. But she had written to say that publication was assured and that I must do it at once, so I had to buckle to. It now transpires that she had entrusted the negotiations to a Miss Foster, secretary of a Women’s Rights society, who had been foolish enough to give the thing to the Socialist Labor Party.\textsuperscript{550} I told the translator what I thought of this,\textsuperscript{d} but the damage had been done. For the rest, I am glad that these folk aren’t translating anything of mine—a fine mess they’d make of it. Their German is bad enough, let alone their English!

The Volkszeitung people must be pleased with themselves. They have gained complete control over the movement amongst the Germans, and business must be flourishing. That a man like Dietzgen should go to the wall is understandable enough.\textsuperscript{529} Playing around with the boycott and minor strikes is, of course, far more important than theoretical guidance. But despite all this, the cause is making enormous strides in America. For the first time there is a real mass movement amongst the English-speaking population. That it should still be feeling its way, awkwardly, at random and in ignorance, is inevitable. But all this will right itself; the movement must and will evolve by learning from its own mistakes. Theoretical ignorance is an attribute of all young nations, but so is speedy practical development. In America as in England no amount of exhortation will help until the need is really there. And in America it is there, as is a growing awareness of it. The entry of the indigenous working masses into the movement in America is for me one of the great events of 1886.\textsuperscript{581} As for the Germans over there, let the presently prosperous kind gradually assimilate with the Americans—they’ll still be a step or two ahead of the latter and a nucleus will nevertheless remain which will still retain a theoretical grasp of the nature and progress of the movement as a whole, will keep the process of fermentation going and, eventually, rise to the top again.

The second great event of 1886 is the formation of a workers’ party in the French Chamber by Basly and Camélinat, two working-class deputies who, for appearances’ sake, were included in the list and given a leg up by the Radicals,\textsuperscript{429} but failed to play the game and, in-

\textsuperscript{a} Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky \textsuperscript{b} Lazar Wischnewetzky \textsuperscript{c} The Condition of the Working-Class in England; see this volume, pp. 393-94. \textsuperscript{d} See this volume, p. 415.
stead of becoming the servants of the Radical gents, took the floor as working men. The Decazeville strike\(^5\) brought to a head the split between them—they were joined by 5 other deputies—and the Radicals.\(^6\) The latter were thus forced to spell out their policy to the workers and, since it is only thanks to the Radicals that the government exists, this was highly distasteful, for it meant that they were rightly held responsible by the workers for everything done by the government. In short, the Radicals, Clemenceau et al, behaved contemptibly, with a result which no amount of exhortation had hitherto succeeded in bringing about, namely the defection of the French workers from the Radicals. And a further result was the uniting of all socialist groups for the purpose of joint action. Only the miserable Possibilists\(^2\) held aloof, in consequence of which they are steadily going to pieces. This new departure has been tremendously helped along by the government’s foolishness, notably its attempt to raise a loan of 900 million frs for which purpose it needed the big financiers, while the latter, being also shareholders in Decazeville, refused their money unless the government broke the strike. Hence the arrest of Duc and Roche\(^5\); the workers’ riposte was to put up Roche in Paris as a candidate (for the Chamber) in next Sunday’s elections and Duc (Quercy) as a candidate for the municipal council, where he is certain to get in.\(^5\) In short, France can again boast a splendid movement, and this is making spanking progress but, best of all, our men, Guesde, Lafargue and Deville, are its theoretical leaders.

Nor has it been without repercussions in Germany. The revolutionary language and actions of the French have shown how lacklustre are the jeremiads of your Geisers, Vierecks, Auers & Co., which is why, in the recent Anti-Socialist Law debate, only Bebel and Liebknecht spoke, and very well too.\(^5\) After this debate we can show our faces in decent company again, which is something we can by no means do after all of them. On the whole, it’s a good thing that German pre-eminence should not remain altogether unchallenged, especially now that so many philistine elements have been elected (inevitable though this may have been). In Germany, when times are quiet, there is a general tendency to philistinism, and then the spur of French competition is absolutely indispensable. Nor will it be lacking. From being a sect, French socialism has suddenly become a party and

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 409.
only now and because of this has it become possible for the workers to join en masse, for the latter are sick to the teeth of sectarianism, which explains why they adhered to the extreme bourgeois party, the Radicals. Next Sunday’s elections should already see a great step forward, although we can hardly expect Roche to get in.

I believe that the printing of the English translation of Capital, Volume I, will begin in 2 or 3 weeks’ time. I haven’t nearly finished revising it, but 300 pages are completely ready for the press, and another 200 very nearly so.

One more thing. Not long ago a Mr J. T. McEnnis interviewed me for the purpose of seeking my advice on labour legislation, ostensibly on behalf of the State of Missouri. I soon smelt a journalistic rat and, indeed, he admitted working for the leading Democratic paper of St Louis, but promised on his word of honour that he would first submit the whole thing to me for revision. The fellow was sent to see me by a Russian, Stepnyak. That was nearly a fortnight ago and I am afraid he may not have kept his word. I have forgotten the name of the St Louis paper, but if anything should appear about the interview, I would ask you to insert the following statement in the Sozialist, the Volkszeitung and anywhere else you think fit. If, however, the fellow comes back after all and abides by his word, I shall naturally let you know at once, and then you can tear up the statement.

Luckily the movement in this country has come to a complete standstill. Hyndman & Co. are political careerists who wreck everything and in the Socialist League the anarchists are making enormous strides. Morris and Bax—the former as a sentimental socialist, the latter as a searcher after philosophical paradoxes—are presently as clay in their hands and must now find this out in corpore vili. From the next Commonweal you will see that, thanks largely to Tussy’s efforts, Aveling will no longer be responsible for this simulacrum, which is a good thing. And it’s these addlepates who propose to

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a Missouri Republican; b F. Engels, 'A Statement to the Editorial Board of the New Yorker Volkszeitung'; c in their own persons
lead the British working class! Fortunately the latter refuse to have anything to do with them.

Kindest regards,

Your

F. E.


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Published in English in full for the first time

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

[Excerpt]

[London,] 7 May 1886

I congratulate you on Sunday's victory which has indeed confirmed the severance of the Parisian working man from radicalism. The Radicals are! But it is the fatal idiocy that seizes hold of any bourgeois party as soon as it finds itself on the threshold of power and thus loses the characteristics of an opposition party. They are impatient to take over the administration, although they know that the moment has not yet come; they play at running a shadow government, but nevertheless become responsible for the follies and faults of the government of the day. At the same time they are confronted by the Workers' Party growing from day to day as a result of the follies of the government the responsibility for which they can only partially disclaim. The Workers' Party will no longer accept fine words and promises; it will call upon them to act and this they cannot do. While wanting to retain it, they are compelled to act against it. Being not, as yet, in power and finding that the masses are deserting them in increasing numbers, they are reduced to pointing a finger at the monarchist conspirators, to representing them as a real danger, to uttering the cry: Let us unite to save the Republic, in short, to becoming Opportunists.
Any party is lost if it tries to assume power before the time is ripe for the implementation of its own programme. But the impatience of the bourgeois parties to arrive is such that all founder prematurely on this rock. That gives us even less time in which to develop.

On the other hand our movement in Paris has entered a phase in which even a blunder would do it no great harm. There can be no doubt that the rate of progress in the future will largely depend upon the group leaders. But once the masses are on the move, they will be like a healthy body that is strong enough to eliminate traces of disease and even a modicum of poison.

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Printed according to the newspaper
Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

[IN BORSDORF NEAR LEIPZIG]

London, 12 May 1886

Dear Liebknecht,

The French papers (of which I have sent at least 3 parcels) were simply intended to give you an opportunity of reading at first hand some of the news about the brilliant turn things have taken in France. Since you take the *Cri du Peuple*, I need only send you the *Intransigeant*, etc. Lafargue sends me one now and again, when something happens, and I thought that in this way they could be turned to further account.

As regards Clemenceau, the moment may very well come when you would do better to drop *La Justice*. He is being pushed over onto the conservative, markedly bourgeois, side by, on the one hand, the immediate prospect of a ministerial post, and, on the other, by the to him unexpectedly rapid growth of the Workers’ Party. Even from his own point of view he is behaving stupidly. But that’s how all these bourgeois are, even the most progressive. Longuet will soon have to choose, if he doesn’t want to ruin himself utterly. Gaulier’s candidacy, supported solely by the press unaided by the *comités radicaux-socialistes*, cost the Radicals 50,000 voters who have come over to
us and are now the loudest in their denunciation of their one-time chiefs. In the absence of colossal blunders— the movement is already strong enough now to absorb minor errors without damage to itself—we shall obtain between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the seats at the next elections in Paris. And, now that they have something real to do, our people are behaving in quite exemplary fashion.

But to write for *Justice* without being paid is stupid. The paper is perfectly well able to pay; after all, its chief editors—deputies—are paid by the State.

Bebel has written to say that his voice is apt to give out after several days of exertion, and needless to say I told him that for an American *stump* tour the very first prerequisite was a voice that is proof against anything. Whether he’s not making too much of the business, I naturally cannot say, but it would in any case be quite a risk; once you’re over there, you yourself will discover soon enough what the Yankees demand in return for their good money. If he doesn’t go, you must at any rate make sure that no one of the tame, petty-bourgeois breed is sent with you.

No doubt the Chicago affair will put paid to the anarchist farce in America. The chaps can shout their heads off if they want, but pointless rowdyism is something the Americans refuse to put up with, now they have become an industrial nation.

There’s nothing favourable to report of the so-called ‘movement’ over here. Hyndman loses more ground every day, having completely forfeited the confidence of his own people, and the League is increasingly coming under anarchist leadership. Since *The Commonweal* became a weekly—without adequate supplies either of money or talent—Aveling has had to resign his (honorary) editorship in favour of Bax who, like Morris, is strongly influenced by the anarchists. The two gentlemen will have to learn *in corpore vile*; they’ll soon be sick of it and it’s a real stroke of luck that these teething troubles will have been left behind before the masses join the movement, which at present they obstinately refuse to do. It’s just as it was in France; a really big working class cannot be got moving by exhortation, but when things have reached the right stage, the least impulse is enough to precipitate an avalanche. And that’s what will happen over here as well, and soon. Most probably it will be the financial collapse of the big trades unions under the pressure of chronic

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*a* See this volume, p. 429. *b* from bitter experience
overproduction that will mark the moment when the eyes of the English are opened to the inadequacy of 'self-help' and of Radicalism. So [see you] here this autumn!

Your
F. E.

Tomorrow week Mrs Pfänder will be sailing for America to stay with her brother-in-law in New Ulm, Minnesota.

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ENGELS TO F. H. NESTLER & MELLE'S VERLAG

IN HAMBURG

[Draft]

[London,] 13 May 1886

Dear Sirs,

Greatly flattered though I am by the offer you made me in your kind note of the 10th inst., I regret that I must nevertheless decline it on the grounds that I cannot spare the time.

I am responsible for editing the mss. left by Marx and for turning to account all the other papers he left. It is a responsibility that will occupy my time for several years to come and must take precedence over everything else.

In addition, I am responsible for revising the translations of our works into foreign languages — an essential task in the majority of cases. Not only is there the English translation of Capital, which I must now finish and which goes to the printers next month, but also a constant influx of mss. of the kind that call for revision, translations of shorter works into French, Italian, Danish, Dutch, etc., and these take up all that remains of my spare time.

a See this volume, p. 394.
But once I have put all this behind me, I shall, assuming I live so long, first have to turn my mind to the completion, once and for all, of my own independent works which have been totally neglected for the past three years.

Among those whose views correspond to my own, my friend Karl Kautsky would no doubt be suitable for such a position, especially as he now lives here, and I should be glad to give him all the help I could. Moreover the relevant English literature, most of it quite unknown, is obtainable nowhere save in the British Museum. Yesterday, therefore, I took the liberty of informing him of your proposal. But his commitments — apart from editing the Neue Zeit — are so many and extend so far ahead that he was unable to authorise my suggesting him to you as a candidate.

I am, as you can see, most interested in your scheme and hence am all the sorrier for being unable to participate in its execution. Meanwhile I would thank you for honouring me with your proposal, and remain

Yours faithfully


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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 22 May 1886

Dear Ede,

I am sending you the (Daily News) report of Thursday's parliamentary debate on the Irish Arms Bill: Restrictions on the right to carry or possess arms, hitherto aimed at the Nationalists in Ireland, are now to be extended to the Protestant braggarts in Ulster; rebellion is
in the offing. Remarkable speech by Lord Randolph Churchill, a brother of the Duke of Marlborough, democratizing Tory, Secretary for India in the last Tory Cabinet, and as such a life member of the Privy Council. In view of our petty-bourgeois socialists’ insipid and pusillanimous protests and assurances to the effect that, whatever the circumstances, they will pursue their objectives by peaceful means, this is surely the moment to point out that English ministers—Althorp, Peel, Morley, and even Gladstone—are advocating the right to revolt as a theory consistent with the Constitution, though admittedly only for such time as they remain in opposition, as Gladstone’s subsequent vapourings have borne out, though in none of them did he dare deny that right as such—and especially, too, because this emanates from England, the land of legality par excellence. Our Vierecks could hardly have had shorter shift.

I’m glad to see from the Sozialdemokrat’s renewed verve that you are in good shape again.

I’m up to my eyes in the English translation of Capital. Aveling fixed up everything with the publishers this morning and the contract will be signed in a day or two, after which comes the printing, 5 sheets a week minimum. Unfortunately I haven’t finished revising it, but pp. 1-450 of the original are ready for the press; ditto, almost, pp. 450-640. But please don’t make any announcement yet, as nothing has been signed so far.

Our Frenchmen are doing splendidly. Over here, on the other hand, everyone is playing about like a bunch of amateurs. The anarchist follies in America 582 may prove advantageous; it is undesirable that the American workers, given their present wholly bourgeois level of thinking—high wages and short hours—should win victories too quickly. That might unduly reinforce the biased trades union spirit.

The most powerful trades union over here, the Amalgamated Engineers, had to allocate from its reserve funds more than £43,000 for its unemployed members, bringing the reserves down from approx. £165,000 to approx. £122,000. Not until this fund is exhausted, and only then, will it be possible to do something with those chaps.

Your
F.E.

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*a* R. Churchill’s speech in the House of Commons on 20 May 1886 (The Daily News, No. 12515, 21 May 1886).  
*b* W. E. Gladstone’s speech in the House of Commons on 20 May 1886 (The Daily News, No. 12515, 21 May 1886).
I am sending this to Schlüter as I don’t know the new number of your house.

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

London, 23 May 1886

My dear Laura,

I think I can to-day announce to you that the affair about the English edition of the Kapital is at last settled. With Kegan Paul and Co. it was impossible to come to a satisfactory conclusion, so we arranged terms with Swan Sonnenschein and Co. I saw Swan Sonnenschein yesterday, with Edward, and there is now only the agreement to be signed formally and then the ms. will go to press at once. Swan Sonnenschein and Co. pay us 10% of gross selling price first 500 copies sold and 12½% all following copies. First edition to be a library one, at 32/- in 2 volumes: the type to be clichéd at once but so that alterations for 2nd edition can be made within certain limits; then second edition in one volume say from 7/6 to 10/-, and this plan will suit us much better than Kegan Paul’s who would have kept the price up at 28/- and thus excluded the book from general circulation.

As I have 450 pages (of the original German) ready to go to press, and about 200 more that can be got ready in 14 days, and all the rest done in the rough, there is no reason why we should not print 5 sheets a week and have done altogether by middle of August, and the book to be brought out 1st October.

I think Paul does not quite see why they wanted a letter from him on the Paris election for The Commonweal. The people here do not want directly to attack Justice and moreover their assertion would not go half as far as an authoritative statement from Paris. But it’s no
great matter, as the League\textsuperscript{346} is in a complete muddle through their having let the anarchists creep in. They will have their conference of delegates on Whit Sunday,\textsuperscript{586} and then we shall see what comes of it.

I cannot make out why Decazeville collapsed so suddenly,\textsuperscript{587} especially as Paul, like Napoleon after the burning of Moscow, all at once ceased to supply \textit{Cris du Peuple} to me, at the critical moment. Is it so absolutely impossible for the Parisian mind to own to unpleasant things that can’t be helped? The victory of Decazeville would have been exceedingly nice, but after all the defeat may be more useful to the movement in the long run. So I do believe, too, that the anarchist follies of Chicago will do much good.\textsuperscript{582} If the present American movement— which so far as it is not exclusively German, is still in the Trades Union stage— had got a great victory on the 8 hours question, Trades Unionism would have become a fixed and final dogma. While a \textit{mixed} result will help to show then that it is necessary to go beyond ‘high wages and short hours’.

Yours affectionately,
F. Engels


ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY \textsuperscript{588}

IN ZURICH

[London,] 3 June 1886
122 Regent’s Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

I have looked over the proofs and corrected in pencil a few additional mistakes.

That the set-up of the work would be anything but elegant, I foresaw as soon as I knew who had it in charge, and am therefore not much surprised. I am afraid there is no help now, so it’s no use grumbling.
Whatever the mistakes and the *Boniertheit* of the leaders of the movement, and partly of the newly-awakening masses too, one thing is certain: the American working class is moving, and no mistake. And after a few false starts, they will get into the right track soon enough. This appearance of the Americans upon the scene I consider one of the greatest events of the year. What the downbreak of Russian Czarism would be for the great military monarchies of Europe—the snapping of their mainstay—that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out of class war in America. For America after all was the ideal of all bourgeois: a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions, and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here every one could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, as yet, classes with opposing interests, our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood *above* class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatory, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe, an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place. The way in which they have made their appearance on the scene, is quite extraordinary: six months ago nobody suspected anything, and now they appear all of a sudden in such organised masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class. I only wish Marx could have lived to see it!

I am in doubt whether to send this to Zurich or to the address in Paris you give at foot of your letter. But as in case of mistake Zurich is safest, I forward this and the proofs to Mr Schlüter, who no doubt will forward wherever it may be necessary.

Ever sincerely yours,

F. Engels


*a* stubborn narrowness

Reproduced from the original
Dear Mr Schlüter,

Mrs Wischnewetzky has sent me some printed sheets\(^a\) which I have got to return; she also gave me a Paris address, which I can't decipher properly, and without telling me whether they should be sent there. For safety's sake I am taking the liberty of posting my reply and corrections to you, with the request that you kindly forward them. You may perhaps know the Paris address, or else you could make inquiries at the Pension Tiefenau — it looks like c/Drexel, Harjes & Co., Paris.\(^{589}\) I apologise for putting you to this trouble.

Your Chartist's\(^{557}\) turn will come round as soon as the English translation of *Capital* allows me a free moment. Printing has just begun and, as only the first half is ready for the press, I absolutely must attend to the remainder first.\(^{56}\) Hence I cannot allow anything more to stand in its way just now.

Regards to Ede.

Yours,

F. Engels

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\(^a\) F. Engels, 'Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*'.

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Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY
IN LONDON

[Eastbourne, Friday, 2 July 1886]

Many thanks for all the trouble you’ve taken. Please don’t send me, apart from *Nature*, any English papers, or the Manchester paper which arrives on Saturdays, or, after Saturday, *any more* papers at all, apart from the *Sozialdemokrat*, or, after Monday, any more letters, for we shall be home again on Wednesday* towards afternoon. The weather continues magnificent—I await with interest the first election results from the larger towns* tomorrow morning. Best wishes from my family to yours.

Your
F.E.

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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY
IN LONDON

[Eastbourne, 4 July 1886]

Dear Kautsky,

I would naturally prefer not to have any more visitors here,* as Schorlemmer will in any case probably be arriving tomorrow; however, what has to be has to be. Besides, I shall be back in London on Wednesday* and hope that Mrs Guillaume-Schack will find enough

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* 7 July
to do in town until then. Since yesterday it has been oppressively hot here too, though all the same there has been a bit of a breeze — on Friday it was actually chilly and I couldn’t sit outside in the evening without my overcoat. Best wishes to your wife. Pumps, Percy and Moore have taken a boat and gone out to catch fish for supper, provided, that is, le bon dieu a doesn’t object to their breaking the Sabbath and visit sea-serpents upon them. The Pilsener beer is also good here.

Your
F.E.

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Safely home — today called to see Guillaume-Schack, but she was out — hence, so far have not had the pleasure of making her acquaintance. Schorlemmer is with us — shall you be coming over here tomorrow evening?

Your
F.E.

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a God
Dear Old Comrade,

I put off answering your letter for a few days as I wanted to wait and see whether I could find some way of entering into your Paris scheme. I couldn’t, alas, if only because

1) I am tied down in England through having to attend to the proof-correction and publication of the English translation of Capital which is now printing; nor could I leave this to anyone else even if I were not bound by my contract.

2) For the past 3 months, however, I have again become an invalid, 200 or 300 paces being the most I can manage, and am dependent on all sorts of medical persons; the business is just gênant, no more, but at any moment complications might set in if I didn’t take things easy, so there can be no question of a long journey. And even if, as I hope, I am more mobile this autumn, I really must do my utmost this time to rid myself for good of this old trouble by which I have been crippled off and on during the past three years, and that means doing nothing that might bring about a relapse. I simply must get to the stage of being able to walk for 2 or 3 hours on end, otherwise I shall be done for and unable to do any sustained work. I had thought that, during the past fortnight, I might get to the stage of being able to register a positive improvement, but it’s taking longer than I imagined.

Well, with luck we might be able to make some other arrangement. For once in Paris, you might just as well cross the Channel and spend a little while here. I would gladly bear the cost, and your stay over here wouldn’t cost you a penny. In August I am being sent to the seaside to recuperate and in September I shall have visitors from the provinces, from Germany and most likely also the Lafargues from Paris and, since I only have one spare room, putting up all these people will
be none too easy. But in October it will all be over and I shall be able to let you have the room any time you like, and should be delighted to see you here. Then we could also talk things over and exchange all our news at greater leisure than in Paris where, after all, one is never on one’s own.

So make up your mind. By October, too, my urgent work will be so far advanced that I shall be able to shelve everything else; I also hope to have made sufficient progress to tipple again. If, by the by, you would rather come here in September, let me know; either way, I’m sure it can be managed. There are all sorts of things that still remain to be discussed and, above all, you have so much information—known, as you say, to no one else—about the historical origins of the movement to pass on to me, that it would be a crying shame if we didn’t do our utmost to foregather once again and get all this off our chests.

I haven’t yet had a chance to put Marx’s papers in order, a job that would take me at least a month. Perhaps I shall get round to it in the autumn, for done it has got to be, and done before the days grow too short.

I am taking out another five pound money order for you which I hope will reach you soon after, or at the same time as, this letter.

So do make up your mind. I look forward immensely to seeing you again and discussing things with you face to face. If I were as steady on my pins as you, I should come to Geneva—but as it is! Well, I expect you to do it in my stead, and come over here.

Your old friend
F. Engels

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

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Dear Baron,

I have today sent you a *Volkszeitung* and shall tomorrow send off the one that arrived today; also *Deutsche Worte*, wherein the first instalment of an article on Gustav Cohn—so far quite delightful. You really must get hold of the chap for the *Neue Zeit*.

Yesterday we were more or less on our own — Tussy was ill as well so that Aveling had to leave early — it’s nothing much, but nevertheless troublesome. On top of that it was raining cats and dogs — I hope you are having better weather down in the south-east where the climate is more continental than anywhere else in England.

So Dilke has providentially gone into political exile — *requiescat in pace!* That’s what comes of protestant hypocrisy. None of this business could ever have happened in a Catholic country—either in Vienna or in Rome or in Paris — nor yet in Petersburg; such whitened sevpulches are possible only in two centres — London and Berlin. In fact, if Berlin is becoming a metropolis, this is only because London is increasingly deteriorating into a Berlin. What could be more typical of Berlin than gallant Captain Forster escorting his lady-friend to a brothel?

No other news to speak of — Schorlemmer has gone to Germany; I am getting better every day. Nim has just finished reading *Märtyrer der Phantasie* aloud (end has come!!) and is knitting stockings. Kindest regards to you and your wife from us both.

Your

F. E.

If there should be anything you want doing at home, I have once more reached the stage at which I can perfectly well walk as far as

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*a* Julius Platter • *b* may he rest in peace • *c* The Martyrs of Imagination
Dear Kautsky,

I shall retain the post office order here as there would be no point in trying to cash it with the moron in Southampton Road. It will be kept at your disposal and, should you not return before, I shall leave it with Mrs Parker, alias Sarah, in an envelope addressed to you.

Instead, herewith a post office order for £4 in your name, Karl Kautsky, taken out by me Frederick Engels. If you could do with a few more pounds sterling, I will gladly let you have them.

Weather's improving — with you, too, I hope. So that there may be a chance of this letter's arriving today, I shall close. Kindest regards to your wife and yourself from Nim and

Your

F.E.
ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN MOUNT DESERT

[London,] 3 August 1886

Interview received with thanks; amused me greatly. Of course the idiot puts into my mouth all the silly things he himself said. *Commonweal*, 1 May-17 July, will follow in 2 parcels tomorrow. I now get them through Lessner at intervals, but complete. *To-Day* will follow as soon as I have got the *July* no. which is still missing.

Translation of ms. will be finished the day after tomorrow and last part handed over to publishers. 320 pages have been printed, almost the same as 3rd German edition. Hope it will be finished by end of September and published in October. Am also going to the seaside this Saturday, hope it will do us both and also your wife good.

Your
F. E.


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

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY
IN DEAL

London, 6 August 1886

Dear Kautsky,

We leave tomorrow for Eastbourne. Address 4 Cavendish Place, as before.

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*John T. McEnnis* - the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - *William Swan Sonnenschein* - 7 August
Have just booked a passage for Liebknecht on the Cunard steamer Servia and sent him the receipt.\(^6\)

You will find your money order here in an addressed envelope. Also sundry American Sozialists for yourself and sundry American Volkszeitungs along with the Missouri Republican containing the outrageous interview\(^5\) — please keep these Volkszeitungs and the Republican for me.

Will you please — when you get back — continue to forward my letters, etc., at regular intervals, i.e. at most every other day, but as a rule twice a week, just as you did before?

The translation of the ms.\(^a\) was finally completed yesterday; 23 sheets have been set up and the proofs are in hand.

Liebknecht is sailing from Liverpool on 4 September, the Avelings on 31 August.\(^6\) We shall be staying here until 28 August for certain and if possible a week longer; it depends on Liebknecht's arrival and other possible visitors.

You will have read about the sentences in Freiberg\(^b\) — 6 months for Dietz, Heinzell and Müller, 9 for the others.\(^6\) Typically German.

Thank you for your news from Vienna.\(^6\) Otherwise all is tranquil while the world takes a breather, the one exception being the Russians who are surreptitiously intriguing away for all they are worth. Giers evidently intends to wangle something worthwhile out of Bismarck this year, but I don't imagine he will succeed.

Kindest regards to your wife.

Your

F. E.

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\(^a\) the English translation of the first volume of Capital (see Note 56).

\(^b\) Freiburg in the original.
Dear Baron,

I shall gladly do my best as regards your ms. But to promise that it will be seen to by a specific date in the near future is utterly impossible: 1) everything depends upon the pressure of printed sheets, each of which I must read through carefully at least 3 times for proof-correcting and the 1st and 2nd revisions; 2) I have accumulated such a pile of urgent correspondence—which has been completely neglected for the past 3 months—that I shall have to dispose of that first; 3) 2 mss. have been lying about here for 7 months awaiting revision; however, I shall set them aside if needs must.

So send me the ms. and nous verrons. In any case he only needs the first instalment, so send me that.

Dietz must not hear a word about my going through it. I am only too familiar with the way he casts all discretion to the winds as soon as he senses that some commercial benefit may be in the offing. If necessary, therefore, you will have to find another source of information.

Changeable weather since yesterday.

As regards papers, etc., please send me only the French, Spanish and German-American Socialists, the Sozialdemokrat, the Volkszeitung, Volksfreund and Nature; the others can wait. All company prospectuses and reports can likewise wait.

I shall now get back to the printed sheets. I trust the sea air did you both good, especially your wife. Every night between 9 and 11 we have a hectic game of cards; so far I have been marvel-

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\[a\] of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) \[b\] we shall see \[c\] J. H. W. Dietz \[d\] *Le Socialiste, El Socialista, Der Sozialist*
lously lucky—as a loser. Nim and the Roshers send their best wishes.

Regards to your wife.

Your

F. E.

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

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY

IN ZURICH

Eastbourne, 13-14 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

My reply to your kind letter of the 9th June was delayed for the simple reason that overwork compelled me to suspend all my correspondence (such as did not command immediate despatch) until the ms. of the translation of Das Kapital was finally ready for the printer. Such is now the case, and I can at last attend to the heap of unanswered letters before me; and you shall have the first chance. Had you told me in the above letter that you had spare time on your hands for party work, I should at once have sent you a short reply; I am sorry if through my fault you were prevented from doing some useful work.

I quite forgot, when proposing to you Lohnarbeit und Kapital, that an English translation had already appeared in London. As this is offered for sale in New York it would be useless to translate it over again.

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* K. Marx, Wage Labour and Capital.
Now about *Der Ursprung*. The thing is more difficult to translate than *Die Lage*, and would require comparatively greater attention and more time per page on your part. But if I had time left to me for the looking it over, that would be no obstacle, provided you could devote that time and attention to it, and leave me a larger margin of blank paper to suggest alterations. There is however another matter to consider. If the thing is to come out in English at all, it ought to be published in such a way that the public can get hold of it through the regular book-trade. That will *not* be the case, as far as I can see, with *Die Lage*. Unless the trade arrangements are very different in America from those in Europe, the booksellers will not deal in works published by outside establishments belonging to a working men's party. This is why Chartist and Owenite publications are nowhere preserved and nowhere to be had, *not even in the British Museum*; and why all our German party publications are—and were, long before the Socialist Law*¹—*not to be had through the trade, and remained unknown to the public outside the party. That is a state of things which sometimes cannot be avoided, but ought to be avoided wherever possible. And you will not blame me if I wish to avoid it for English translations of my writings having suffered from it in Germany for more than 40 years. The state of things in England is such that publishers can be got—either now or in the near future—for socialist works, and I have no doubt that in the course of next year I can have an English translation published here and the translator paid; and as I have, moreover, long since promised Dr Aveling the translation of the *Entwicklung*¹⁰ and *Ursprung*,⁶⁰⁶ if he can make it pay for *himself*, you see that an American edition, brought out outside the regular book-trade, would only spoil the chance of a London edition to be brought out in the way of the regular trade and therefore accessible to the public generally and everywhere.

Moreover I do not think that this book is exactly what is wanted at the present moment by the American working men. *Das Kapital* will be at their service before the year is out, that will serve them for a *pièce de résistance*.⁶ For lighter, more popular literature, for real propaganda, my booklet will scarcely serve. In the present undeveloped state of the movement, I think perhaps some of the French po-

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¹ F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*  
³ special dish
pularisations would answer best. Deville and Lafargue have published two series of lectures, *Cours d'économie sociale*, about two years ago, Deville taking the economic and Lafargue the more general, historic side of the Marxian theory.¹ No doubt Bernstein can let you look at a copy and get one from Paris, and then you might judge for yourself. Of course I do not mean Deville's larger work, the extract from *Das Kapital*, which in the latter half of it is very misleading.ᵃ

14th August

To return to the *Ursprung*. I do not mean to say that I have absolutely promised Aveling to let him have it, but I consider myself bound to him in case a translation is to come out in London. The final decision, then, would depend very much upon the nature of the publishing arrangements you can make in America. To a repetition of what Miss Foster has done with *Die Lage* I decidedly object.ᵇ When I see my way to an English edition, brought out by a firm known in the bourgeois trade, and not only of this book, but probably of a collection of various other writings, with the advantage of having the translation done here (which saves to me a deal of time) you will admit that I ought to look twice before sanctioning the bringing out, in America, of this little book alone and thereby spoiling the whole arrangement. And with the present anti-socialist scare in America, I doubt whether you will find regular publishers very willing to associate their names with socialist works.

A very good bit of work would be a series of pamphlets stating, in popular language, the contents of *Das Kapital*. The theory of surplus value No. 1; the history of the various forms of surplus value (cooperation, manufacture, modern industry) No. 2; accumulation and the history of primitive accumulation No. 3; the development of surplus value making in colonies (*last chapter*) No. 4—this would be especially instructive in America, as it would give the economical history of that country, from a land of independent peasants to a centre of modern industry, and might be completed by specially American facts.

In the meantime you may be sure that it will take some time yet

before the mass of the American working people will begin to read socialist literature. And for those that do read and will read, there is matter enough being provided, and least of all will Der Ursprung be missed by them. With the Anglo-Saxon mind, and especially with the eminently practical development it has taken in America, theory counts for nothing until imposed by dire necessity, and I count above all things upon the teaching our friends will receive by the consequences of their own blunders, to prepare them for theoretical schooling.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

I shall be in this place until 27th inst.\(^599\); after that, in London.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN\(^607\)

IN ZURICH

Eastbourne, 14 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Ede,

A fortnight ago I sent you a *Standard* containing a Bulgarian report on Russian intrigues in the Balkans which was very important.\(^a\)

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\(^a\) ‘Russia and Bulgaria’, *The Standard*, No. 19359, 30 July 1886.
Meanwhile the situation has been getting more and more critical, for Alexander III is in need of a success after his many setbacks and, in view of the multifarious intrigues, it might well happen that matters get beyond the gentlemen’s control and war breaks out. In this connection I wanted to pass on to you the story sent in by the *Daily News* correspondent in St Petersburg, which he insists is true despite all disclaimers, that between the 18th and the end of this month six Russian army corps, opposed by six ditto, will be engaged on manoeuvres in the neighbourhood of Vilna, i.e. close to the Prussian border; an assemblage, that is, of 12 army corps (the whole German army has only 18 of them) or, at a very modest estimate, 240,000 men. We may be sure that the vast sum of money involved isn’t being chucked down the drain out of sheer bravado. Moreover Alexander III has forbidden all foreign officers to attend, even Werder, the Prussian. While these 240,000 men are concentrated on the border, Mr Giers will arrive in Germany to negotiate with Bismarck. It is a very bold stratagem, especially having regard to old William,¹ for he is being tackled precisely on this, his most sensitive flank. So things may go wrong and war break out. It may equally well be settled on the quiet, for we may be sure that Giers will not willingly be a party to such outrageous pranks. However I thought it as well to draw your attention to this curious business.

Tell Schlüter that I shall attend to his piece ⁵⁵⁷ as soon as I get back to London. I may possibly see old Harney before that, in which case I shall be able to glean a good deal of information that will be of interest to him.

*Kindest regards. Back in London on the 28th of this month.* ⁵⁹⁹

Your

F. E.

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¹ William I

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Published in English for the first time
Eastbourne, 18 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Bebel,

It is a long time since I sent you word of myself, but on the one hand nothing in particular had happened that seemed to call for an exchange of opinions and, on the other, the ms. of the translation of *Capital* was giving me such an immense amount of work that I had, quite literally and on principle, to let slide all correspondence that did not require immediate attention for about 10 weeks. Now that, too, has been dealt with, so that all that is pursuing me down to the seaside here are the very troublesome proofs and this means that I shall at last be able to make good my omissions, especially since various things have happened that are worth writing about.

First and foremost the Freiberg verdicts. \(^{602}\) It would seem that your German, and notably Saxon, magistrate still deems himself insufficiently depraved. His case is like that of Eccarius in the days of the International, of whom Pfänder once said: 'You have absolutely no idea what Eccarius is like; he intends to become far worse than he already is.' And the Saxons are no exception. In Germany everything official is corrupt, but a petty state gives rise to a particular brand of corruption. For its semi or wholly hereditary official class is so small and at the same time so jealous of its caste privileges that its judiciary, police, administration and army, all brothers and relatives, come to one another’s aid and play into one another’s hands, and to such good purpose that the legal norms, indispensable in larger countries, are completely lost to view, and what is utterly impossible becomes possible. I myself have seen what can happen in this way, not only in Germany but also in Luxembourg and, quite recently, in Jersey, not to mention Switzerland in the bad old Bonapartist days. \(^{6}\) And I am convinced that Bismarck could have achieved the same end in any

\(^{a}\) the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) - \(^{b}\) The reference is to Engels’ stay in Switzerland in 1849-50.
other petty German state as soon as the Court, the chief of the robber
band, ceased to oppose him. In the largest of the petty states, in Prus-
sia itself, this mutual aid society is formed by the military and official
élite and is capable of any infamy in the real or purported interest of
the caste.

Just now the ruling clique has more than enough to do. The death
of old William \(^a\) will usher in a period of uncertainty and indecision
for them --- hence, or so they believe, the need to consolidate their po-

\(^a\) William I

position as much as possible beforehand. Hence, too, the sudden furious
hue and cry which is raised to an even higher pitch by their fury over
the complete failure of all their previous machinations against us, and
their hope of [provoking] minor disturbances which would make it
possible to tighten up the law. \(^b\) And that is why you people have got
to spend nine months in jug.

I hope you will return from your travels this summer so fortified that
those 9 months will not be deleterious to your health. This, your en-
forced retirement, will prove extremely deleterious to the party; true,
the tractable members will at last be made to realise that mildness is
no safeguard against imprisonment, yet they are unlikely to change
their spots and their endeavour to pass themselves off as the genuine
representatives of the party will be facilitated by everything that im-
pedes the organisation, and hence the organised expression of opin-
ion, of our masses. And once they know you’re safely under lock and
key, they’ll really start to give themselves airs. Much will then depend
on Liebknecht, but upon what will he depend? He will be coming
over here in a fortnight’s time and will pass on to me a vast amount of
party gossip, or as much of it as he thinks fit. But of one thing you
may be sure --- my view of the German movement as a whole, of the
tactics it should adopt, and of its individual members including Lieb-
knecht himself, will remain what it has always been. Come to that,
I am greatly looking forward to seeing him again, although I know
from experience that reasoning with him is a complete waste of
time --- at most he may take some account of my opinion while in Amer-
ica, where Tussy Aveling will be able to give him an occasional
nudge and so keep him on the straight and narrow. \(^600\) As regards the
fund-raising success of the tour, I have my doubts. Now that the
American movement is acquiring reality, it is bound to become an
ever less productive source of funds for Germany. This it could only

\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 472-73.
be while still a completely academic proposition. But now that the Anglo-American workers have been roused from their lethargy, it is essential that in speeches and the press they be helped to take their first, still tentative steps, that a truly socialist nucleus be formed in their midst, and this costs money. Nevertheless, this time there may still be some pickings to be had.

The entry of the Americans into the movement and the revival of the French movement by the three labour deputies and by Decazes-ville—these are the two events of world historic importance this year. In America there’s all sorts of tomfoolery going on—here the anarchists, there the Knights of Labor—but no matter; the thing has got going and will make rapid progress. There are still many disappointments in store—the wire-pullers of the old political parties are preparing covertly to take over the leadership of the budding workers’ party—and colossal blunders will be made, but nevertheless, things will go faster there than anywhere else.

In France the 108,000 votes obtained by Roche prove that the Radicals’ spell is broken and the Paris workers are beginning to disown them, and to do so on a massive scale. To consolidate this victory, this new-won position, our men have managed to transform the temporary organisation set up for Roche’s election into a permanent one and in this way have become the theoretical teachers of the working men who are turning away from the Radicals. Though they all describe themselves as socialists, these people are learning from bitter experience that the threadbare remnants they have inherited from Proudhon and Louis Blanc are mere bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross; hence they are proving quite accessible to Marx’s theory. This is a consequence of the Radicals being partially at the helm; once wholly so, they will lose their entire working-class following and I maintain that the victory of Radicalism, i.e. of old, threadbare French socialism, in the Chamber will spell victory for Marxism, to begin with in the Paris municipal council. Oh, had Marx but lived to see his thesis vindicated in France and America,—his thesis that today’s democratic republic is no more than the battleground upon which the decisive struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat will be fought out!

For all that, practically nothing is yet happening in this country.

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\[\text{a In the original ‘trotz alledem und alledem’—a line from a poem by Ferdinand Freiligrath Trotz alledem!}\]
Not even a socialist sect, as in Owen’s day, can be said to exist. There are as many sects as there are heads. The Social Democratic Federation\textsuperscript{390} does at least have a programme and a certain amount of discipline, but no backing whatever from the masses. Its bosses are political adventurers of the most ambitious kind, and their paper, Justice, is one long lie about the historic power and importance of the Federation. Even the worthy Ede occasionally forgets this and inopportuneely cites the paper, thus doing the genuine movement over here more harm than he can make good; from where he is it is difficult for him to assess the way in which Justice exploits this. The League\textsuperscript{346} is going through a crisis. Morris, a sentimental dreamer pure and simple, the personification of good will with so good an opinion of itself that it turns into ill will if ever there’s a question of learning anything, has been taken in by the catchword ‘Revolution’ and fallen victim to the anarchists. Bax is very talented and no fool but, philosopher-fashion, has concocted his own brand of socialism which he regards as true Marxian theory and with which he does a great deal of harm. However, in his case these are merely teething troubles and will soon disappear; only it’s a pity the process should have to take place in public. Nor can Aveling learn very much, taken up as he is with working for his livelihood; he is the only one I see regularly. However, the publication of Capital in English\textsuperscript{56} will clear the air enormously over here.

And with that I must close if I want to finish this letter. It is 6.45, tea is about to be served and the last post goes at 8. So take care of yourself and mind you don’t pay my long silence back in kind. And above all, let me assure you that any gossip that might perhaps concern you yourself will make no impression on me whatever.

Your old friend

F. E.

I am sure to be here until the 28th of this month,\textsuperscript{599} after which you had better write to London.
ENGLERS TO KARL KAUTSKY  

IN LONDON  

Eastbourne, 20 August 1886
4 Cavendish Place

Dear Baron,

I return Dietz’s letter herewith. Provided you are given an assurance that Blos will not be allowed to put in anything whatever unless previously sanctioned by you, the mechanics could be left to him. If the worst came to the worst you might slip over to Stuttgart for a day or two and settle the matter. Anyhow that would be preferable to an attempt to spend 6 months there which would end in your being expelled after only 3 weeks, whereupon Mr Blos would have a completely free hand. But one thing you yourself should do is to exercise somewhat stricter censorship throughout that period, so that Blos should have no pretext for introducing anything slipshod.

It goes without saying that you may mention me in the prospectus as a contributor. Similarly, I will gladly let you have the introduction to the English translation of *The Condition of the Working-Class* as soon as I myself have got it. It is not long. I am not at present in a position to promise you anything definite, particularly since the enterprising Schlüter wishes to republish *The Housing Question* which will require revision and an introduction; also Borkheim’s *Mordspatrioten*, for which I shall have to write a biographical note on Borkheim. So you see, I need not bother about finding work; others do the bothering for me.

Your plan to settle into a house is a very sensible one, but in the long run you would find that the evening trains to Harrow leave too early and I would advise you to look round somewhere else. But it is more or less the same everywhere.

The sudden spate of prosecutions is clearly due to the impending demise of old William. For the gang now in power it will usher in

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*b* F. Engels, ‘Preface to the Second Edition of *The Housing Question*.’  
*d* William I
a period of uncertainty, and hence they are anxious in so far as possible to consolidate their position, partly by *faits accomplis* in domestic policy, partly, if they can, by provoking disturbances and thus yet greater alarm amongst the philistines.\(^a\) What wouldn't the gang give for a bit of eel-snatching in Berlin, as in Amsterdam.\(^613\) In addition there is the personal ire of Puttkamer who, like the true Prussian he is, regards every setback to one of his follies as an insult to his own august person.

On Tuesday,\(^b\) Percy, Pumps and Lily went to pay a visit to the old Roshers at Walmer near Deal. They are supposed to return today, but I haven't heard anything. Yesterday was terribly close and humid, but marvellous weather today. Nim is well and sends her kindest regards, as I do mine. I trust your wife is well.

Your
F. E.

Thanks for Sonnenschein; the parcel had been addressed to Regent's Park Road by mistake; it contained something I needed and for which I had already dunned them.\(^614\)

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

[Eastbourne,] 20 August 1886

Dear Ede,

I hope you have received a note from me via Mrs Schack.\(^c\) The Russians have eaten humble pie but are quietly going on with their

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 469. - \(^b\) 17 August. - \(^c\) Gertrud Guillaume-Schack; see this volume, pp. 455, 466-67.
intrigues, mainly directed against Britain in Asia—Turkestan and China. That eliminates the risk of war this year. It is now improbable that the *Daily News* correspondent’s 240,000 men will march... This for your information. The aspect of things has changed so rapidly that people like us are mostly too late with our news. The poor Baron’s in despair at not having heard from you.

Your

F. E.

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**ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER**

**IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH**

Eastbourne, 20 August 1886

4 Cavendish Place

Dear Mr Schlüter,

Now it’s your turn at last. I had to give up writing letters until the English ms. had been finished.

Firstly, therefore, your letter of 10 March.

1) Funds received at last. Receipt made out in duplicate.

2) Have read Lexis. The man is far from stupid, but he’s an out-and-out rascal and knows it.

3) *The Origin*—Dietz’s way of going about things gave me fresh proof of how arbitrarily he behaves in business matters and I shall be guided by this in future dealings with him. Apart from that, the out-

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come has been satisfactory and has enabled the thing to reappear in the bookshops.555

4) General Council’s Addresses. Whether I have them all I shall only know when my friends give me sufficient time to put Marx’s letters, etc., in order. So until then I shan’t be able to help you.615

5) Chartist ms.557 will be finished as soon as I get back to London after the 28th.599 I shall probably have a chance to consult our old friend Harney about doubtful points; he is sure to be in London now. The article in the Rheinische Jahrbücher is by Weerth and you may name him.a

Postcard of 8/6.—You might send me the letters from the late Heß’ papers when convenient, though they’re unlikely to amount to more than tittle-tattle. After 1848 the good Moses ceased to be connected with any real movement and merely did a bit of Lassalling for a time under Schweitzer.

Letter 16/8.—I shall be glad to look over The Housing Question; the thing can be reprinted pretty well as it stands (so far as I am able to judge from memory). A word or two will be necessary by way of introduction.b

A re-issue of the Mordspatrioten would certainly be a very good idea. The thing is by Borkheim and I would write a short biographical notec to go with it. But as I have only one copy, likewise of The Housing Question, and as both of them will probably call for notes, I should be grateful if you would send me one copy of each (to London).

Would you kindly give the enclosed line to Ede.

Yours,
F. Engels


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As you wrote to tell me you would be forwarding my letters, etc., on Saturday, I simply wanted to inform you that I got nothing either on Saturday or yesterday, nor had anything arrived by 7 p.m. today (Monday); I had at least counted on getting the Sozialdemokrat.

Liebknecht has written to say he will probably be here this week. I shall come up for the day to collect him and shall write beforehand. Regards to your wife from Nim and

Your
F. E.

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Dear Kautsky,

I have been completely crushed, smothered, squashed and stultified by your avalanche of letters this morning. I shall have to see how I can manage to answer them. Very many thanks.

Liebknecht has written to say he may set off for London as early as tomorrow, taking the direct route via Flushing—I am expecting more definite word any day; as soon as I know the day he’s arriving,
I shall come up for the day and bring him back here. I shouldn't buy him an *Esel* if I were you, he can write perfectly well on board ship without an *Esel*. Or is he expecting to be seasick all the time? But so far no *Esel* has been able to cope with seasickness.

Old Becker\(^a\) will be arriving from Geneva on the 12th-13th to stay with me in London.

Mother Schack has announced her intention of coming to London in the middle of September along with the Wischnewetzkys.\(^{618}\)

If Schorlemmer and the Lafargues turn up as well — postcard arrived 16th August from Schorlemmer in Bellagio, Lake of Como — it will be pretty hectic.

We shall be staying here until 4 September\(^{599}\) — a week on Saturday.

Nim and the Pumpses send their best wishes to your wife and yourself, as does

Your
F. E.

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\(^a\) Johann Philipp Becker
Countess Guillaume-Schack who was here only a month ago writes she will be here about 15 September with the Wischnewetzky\(^6\) (male Russian, female Yankee).

Liebknecht writes he may leave for London to-morrow. As soon as he lets me know date of arrival, I shall go to London to see Edward and Tussy before their departure\(^6\) and bring Liebknecht over here for a few days—we return to London 4 September.\(^5\)

Glad to see that Vierzon\(^6\) is exploited again like Decazeville.\(^5\)

The other day a postcard came from Schorlemmer from Bellaggio, Lake of Como.

Love from Nim, the Pumpses and yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

Eastbourne, 25 August 1886

4 Cavendish Place

Dear Baron,

Your letter sent to Offenbach will arrive in plenty of time, as Liebknecht doesn’t leave Borsdorf until the evening of the 26th, i.e. will be in Offenbach on the 27th and won’t leave Cologne until 1.40 p.m. on the 29th, assuming he is travelling via Flushing as he previously said he would.\(^6\)

So I shall be arriving in London on Sunday evening\(^b\) between 9 and 10\(^5\) and hope to see you both that same night. I have asked

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\(^a\) See also this volume, p. 489. - \(^b\) 29 August
Liebknecht to take a cab straight to my house, so what more could he want?

You would greatly oblige me if you would call round on Friday evening to see whether any letters have arrived for me, in particular one from the **Union Bank of London**, and if so send them on, as I want to attend to one or two business matters on Saturday if possible.

Kindest regards.

Your

F.E.

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**ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY**

**IN LONDON**

Eastbourne, 26 August 1886

Dear Kautsky,

Liebknecht is arriving on Monday\(^a\) at a station to be specified by you — via Flushing; if he hasn’t got your letter, then at **Holborn**. So he has no need of advice. If he finds no one at the station, he will take a cab to my house.

I shall be arriving in London on Saturday afternoon or, at the latest, evening\(^{599}\) — I hope if possible to get to Regent’s Park Road by 4 or 5. Harney will probably visit me on Sunday.\(^{620}\) More when we meet. Should there be a letter for me from the **Union Bank** on Friday and you could send it on before 5.30, I should be most grateful; other-

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\(^a\) 30 August
wise it can wait until I arrive, just as all the rest can wait; there is time enough.

Kindest regards to your wife.

Your F.E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 6 September 1886

The translation of Capital is being published by W. Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., Paternoster Square, London; 23 sheets have already been printed and the whole ms. is in the hands of the printers. Unfortunately I can’t find the relevant article anywhere, otherwise I could doubtless have given you further information.622

No doubt you will already have seen Liebknecht before receiving this; he sailed day before yesterday on the Servia.600 As soon as I have disposed of the more urgent tasks—that is to say by the end of this week—I shall write you a longer letter.

Your F.E.

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

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621 the English translation of the first volume of Capital (see Note 56)
Dear Sirs,

I must categorically reject the insinuation in your favour of the 9th inst.\(^6\)

Even had it occurred to Kautsky and, via him, to Dietz, to bring out a similar collection of excerpts simply as a result of the proposal you made me, you could have no cause for complaint, since in your postcard of 15 May you told me:

'We must frankly admit that without you we shall not be able to bring our idea to fruition.'

When you withdrew, they were fully entitled to step in. And why I should be considered in any way blameworthy in this matter is utterly incomprehensible to me.

However the above assumption is not even correct. The need for such a collection has long been discussed in socialist circles and preparations to bring one into being have often been all but completed. I know that Dietz, in particular, has had this in mind ever since he started his firm. When I spoke to Kautsky about your proposal, one of the reasons he gave for his refusing was that he was already corresponding with Dietz about a very similar offer and had committed himself to Dietz to the extent of being unable to entertain any proposition of a similar nature from elsewhere. I intimated as much when replying to you,\(^a\) in so far as it was permissible for me to do so; I was not entitled to say more. In fact the matter had by then progressed so far that, at the time you wrote to me, Kautsky had already been engaged for several weeks in finishing off the first instalments (on Marx)\(^13\) and hence needed no prompting from you.

Moreover, the appearance of Dietz's advertisement at this precise moment is in no way the result of your letter to me, of which Dietz, so

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 447-48.
far as I know, is not even aware. It is solely the result of the fact that Dietz, following his conviction in Freiberg,\(^602\) feels impelled to get various schemes of his to a stage at which they can go ahead without his supervision during his six months' detention.

When I was in business I grew accustomed to hearing overhasty criticisms based on insufficient information. It is one of those philistine German customs which make it virtually impossible for Germans to play a really prominent role in the world of business. But I must confess I am somewhat surprised that a firm of your repute could be capable of this sort of thing.

Yours faithfully


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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 13 September 1886

My dear Laura,

Here we are again in London\(^599\) — it's the same thing over and over again, jobs of all sorts. The last week I had to revise a German extract of the *Kapital* by Kautsky,\(^137\) and it wanted revising very much. Two other mss. are in my desk and have been there for more than six months. Hope to clear them off this week. Fortunately for me, proof-sheets\(^a\) have been few and far between, else it would have been but a poor holiday for me. Anyhow I shall now cut this sort of work completely, else I should never get to my chief work.

Tussy and Edward's ship the *City of Chicago* arrived in New York on the 10th, and Liebknecht's, the *Servia*, must be there by this time too, as she sailed 4th September. They will have a severe job to go

\(^a\) of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56)
through with travelling and speechifying. Liebknecht was four days with us at Eastbourne, he is quite fat and carries a deal of weight in front of himself, no doubt the Yankees will take some of that out of him. Otherwise he was very jolly and confident as usual: ‘alles geht famos’.

I wrote to you that I had a postcard from Schorlemmer about 18th August from the Lake of Como, since then I have not heard from him. Anyhow he is now soon due in Paris whence he has sworn to bring you, and if possible Paul too, over to London. I sincerely trust that he will succeed, Nim is already busying her mind with the few necessary arrangements which indeed will not require great exertions. Paul’s trial will not I hope prevent him from coming over, the old shop where he likes to buy drawers at 1/6d. a pair is still there if that is an inducement. And if he cannot get off, surely you are bound to take a holiday too and see your old friends in London once more. You know what Meyer said: ‘wenn sie im Zimmer kommt, ist es als wenn die Sonne aufginge’—so do let the sun rise once more over London!

Nim has had her photograph taken in Eastbourne, it was very good and is paid for, this is perhaps the reason why the copies are not yet sent.

Please thank Paul for his letter on the wine manufacture—it not only confirmed, but also completed what I had heard from other sources. It is very satisfactory to know that in these latter days of capitalist production the phylloxera has smashed up the Château Lafitte, Lagrange and other grands crus, as we that know how to appreciate them, do not get them, and the Jews and parvenus that get them, do not know how to appreciate them. Having thus no longer a mission to fulfil, they may as well go to smash, our successors will soon restore them when they are wanted for grand popular holidays.

What Mohr said in the Circular to the International in 1870, that the annexation of Alsace, etc., had made Russia l’arbitre de l’Europe, is now at last becoming evident. Bismarck has had to cave in completely, and the will of Russia has to be done. The dream of the Ger-

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\(^{a}\) ‘everything is going swimmingly’ - \(^{b}\) See this volume, p. 478. - \(^{c}\) ‘when she comes into the room, it is as if the sun rises’ - \(^{d}\) famous vineyards - \(^{e}\) K. Marx, ‘Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association on the Franco-Prussian War’. 
man Empire, the guardian of European peace, without whose leave not a cannon-shot can be fired, is dispelled, and the German philistine finds he is as much the slave of the Czar\textsuperscript{a} as when Prussia was ‘der fünfte Rad am europäischen Wagen’.\textsuperscript{b} And now he falls foul of Bismarck who after all does only what he is compelled to do. The rage is great in Germany, not only among the philistines, but also in the army. Liebknecht says since 1866 there has not been such an outcry against an act of the government. But there it will not stop. If the Balkan drama enters its second act, a war between Russia and Austria will break out and then vogue la galère\textsuperscript{c}—all Europe may burst out in flames. I should be rather sorry—no doubt it would be the last war, and no doubt this as anything else must turn out ultimately to our advantage. But it may after all delay our victory and the other road is safer. For that however there is scarcely another road than a revolution in Russia, and as long as Alexander\textsuperscript{a} follows the lead of the Pan-Slavists, that is a very unlikely event. In fact, the decisive argument of Giers with Bismarck was this: we are between Pan-slavists and Nihilists,\textsuperscript{356} if we keep the peace they will unite and the palace revolution will be a fait accompli—so we must go on towards Constantinople, and this will be less harmful to you, Bismarck and William,\textsuperscript{d} than a Russian revolution. This winter will decide matters, so I am bound to get the 3rd volume\textsuperscript{e} ready by next spring.

Had several visits from Bax and one from Morris lately—Bax sees the impasse he has got himself into, and would get out if he could do so without a direct recantation, and no doubt will find some way or other. Morris is a settled sentimental socialist, he would be easily managed if one saw him regularly a couple of times a week, but who has the time to do it, and if you drop him for a month, he is sure to lose himself again. And is he worth all that trouble even if one had the time? In the meantime Hyndman fortifies his position more and more, because he has a definite programme and a definite line of political action, to both of which Morris seems to object, his ideal is a debating club uniting all shades. In all this confusion I expect the principal help from the English Kapital.\textsuperscript{f} 23 sheets are printed and revised, but there is something wrong with the printer, I do not receive any fresh proofs and cannot get any information as Sonnen-schein is away for his holiday and nobody can or will tell where the hitch lies.

\textsuperscript{a} Alexander III - \textsuperscript{b} ‘the fifth wheel in the European waggon’ - \textsuperscript{c} come what may - \textsuperscript{d} William I - \textsuperscript{e} of Capital - \textsuperscript{f} the first volume
Splendid weather to-day—hope it will last while you come.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels


ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

[IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN]

London, 13-14 September 1886

Dear Bebel,

What I find odd about this whole Bulgarian and oriental business is the Russians having only just realised that, as a result of the annexation of Alsace, etc., they have become the arbiters of Europe, as indeed was pointed out to the members of the International by Marx as long ago as 1870. The only possible explanation for this is the universal adoption since the war (in Russia in 1874) of the Prussian Landwehr system which takes between 10 and 12 years to produce a commensurately powerful army. Russia and France now also possess such an army, hence the fun can now begin. And that is precisely why the Russian army, which supplies the hard core of Pan-Slavism, is now exerting such tremendous pressure on the government that the Tsar is faced with only two possibilities—he must either overcome his old animosity to the French Republic and enter into alliance with it, or he must persuade Bismarck to endorse Russia’s oriental policy. For Bismarck and William, the alternatives were, either resistance to Russia and the prospect of a Franco-Russian alliance and world war, or the certainty of a Russian revolution as a result of an alliance between the Pan-Slavs and the Nihi-

a K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - b Alexander III - c William I
lists, or again submission to Russia, i.e. betrayal of Austria. That from their own standpoint Bismarck and William could not have acted otherwise, seems obvious to me, and this represents a great leap forward, in that the incompatibility of the Hohenzollerns' interests and those of Germany has now been made plainly and overwhelmingly manifest. The very existence of the German Empire is being imperilled by its Prussian foundations.

Temporarily — until after the winter, that is,— the affair will probably be glossed over, but the Pan-Slavs' appetite grows with eating, and they will never have such a favourable opportunity again. If the Russians succeed in occupying Bulgaria, they will also go on to attack Constantinople, unless insuperable obstacles — say an Austro-German-British alliance — intervene. Hence Bismarck's desperate plea for an actively anti-Russian policy on Britain's part, a plea he now gets *The Standard* to re-echo almost daily in the hope that Britain will avert a world war.

At all events, Austrian and Russian rivalry in the Balkan Peninsula is becoming so acute that war is more likely than the preservation of peace. And that will be the end of localised warfare. But what the outcome will be — who will win — we cannot say. The German army is certainly the best and the best-led, but is only one amongst many. The Austrians are an unknown quantity, both numerically and militarily, especially as regards leadership, and have always been dab-hands at getting their best troops beaten. The Russians, as always, are deluding themselves as to their strength which, on paper, is enormous; though exceedingly weak in attack, they are strong in the defence of their own country. Their weakest point, aside from the high command, is a lack of suitable material to officer the vast masses; the country does not produce the required number of educated people. The Turks are the best soldiers, but the high command is invariably execrable, if not suborned. Finally, the French are also short of officers, because too politically advanced to tolerate an institution such as that of one-year volunteers; also because the French bourgeoisie is (personally) utterly unwarlike. Lastly, the new organisation has never been put to the test anywhere save in Germany. Hence these quantities are very difficult to estimate, either numerically or qualitatively. Of the Italians, it may be said with certainty that, given equal numbers, they would be beaten by any other army. But how these various quantities will group themselves, either with or against each other, in a world war is equally incalculable. Britain's importance —
that of her Navy and that of her vast resources — will grow as the war goes on and, if she withholds her troops at the start, it may, in the end, be a British corps of 60,000 men which finally turns the scales.

All this presupposes that nothing happens inside the countries concerned. But in France a war might well bring revolutionary elements to the helm, while in Germany a defeat or the death of the Old Man a might result in a violent change of régime, which in turn might lead to a regrouping of the belligerents. In short, there will be chaos of which the only certain outcome will be wholesale slaughter on a hitherto unprecedented scale, the exhaustion of the whole of Europe to a hitherto unprecedented degree and, finally, the complete collapse of the old system.

Immediate victory for ourselves could only be produced by a revolution in France, which would confer on the French the role of liberators of the European proletariat. I do not know whether this would be the best thing for the latter; however it would raise ideal French chauvinism to the nth degree. A revolution in Germany following a defeat would be of use only if it led to peace with France. Best of all would be a Russian revolution which, however, can only be expected after severe defeats have been inflicted on the Russian army.

This much is certain: A war would above all retard our movement all over Europe, completely disrupt it in many countries, stir up chauvinism and xenophobia and leave us with the certain prospect, amongst many other uncertain ones, of having to begin all over again after the war, albeit on a basis far more favourable even than today.

Whether or not there is war, this much has been gained. Your German philistine has been shocked out of his lethargy and at last finds himself compelled to intervene actively in politics. Since numerous intermediary stages will have to be gone through between today’s Prussian Bonapartism with its semi-feudal foundations and the socialist republic which will be our first stage, it can only be to our advantage that your German citizen should at last be forced to resume his political responsibilities and oppose the present régime, if only to

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a William I
make it get some sort of move-on. And so I look forward keenly to seeing what happens during the coming session of the Reichstag. Since I do not get any German papers at the moment, I should be greatly obliged if you would send me some from time to time, when they carry reports of important sittings, particularly those concerned with foreign policy.

Liebknecht, too, had a great deal to say about the indignation provoked in Germany by Bismarck’s kow-towing to the Russians. He spent several days with me at the seaside in Eastbourne, was in very good spirits and, as always, ‘everything was going swimmingly’. Since the gentlemen of the right wing are no longer stirring up any trouble to speak of and have had to knuckle under, Liebknecht could again give vent to quite revolutionary utterances and do his best to pass himself off as the most resolute of men. I intimated pretty plainly that I knew more about these goings-on than he might, perhaps, care for but, since he was completely on the right track, there was absolutely no reason why our intercourse should be other than exceedingly cordial. I am unaware of, and hence not responsible for, anything he may have told you in his letters about the matters he and I discussed.

14 September

Having again been interrupted, I must make sure that I finish this in time for the evening post so that you get this letter by Thursday morning at the latest. The Hungarian parliament will also be convening in the near future when the Bulgarian affair is sure to be brought up. The best thing for us would be for Russia to be peacefully or forcibly repulsed, in which case the stage would be set for revolution there. The Pan-Slavs would join in, only to find next morning that they had been duped. This was a point upon which Marx always expressed himself with the greatest conviction — and I know of no one who understood Russia, both as regards internal and external matters, as well as he. He maintained that, as soon as the old régime had been destroyed in Russia, no matter by whom, and a representative assembly had convened, no matter of what kind, Russia’s policy of aggression would cease and domestic questions take precedence over everything else. And the repercussions on Europe, once this last

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stronghold of reaction had been destroyed, would, he said, be tremendous; we in Germany would be the first to feel them.

Liebknecht's ship arrived in New York yesterday morning at 3 o'clock, that of the Avelings several days earlier. If it's as hot there as it is here—now, at 4 in the afternoon it's 25 degrees Centigrade here in my room—their tub-thumping is going to make them sweat a bit.

In France the good work still goes on. The method of agitation that was tried out at Decazeville is now being repeated at Vierzon where there is a strike on. Vaillant, whose home it is, is taking a leading part there. In Paris, the Radicals are working for us, as is Bismarck in Germany. They have got themselves into a frightful mess over the bucket-shops, and Clemenceau, though he had no need to do so, has nevertheless become too deeply involved with that crew to be able to keep out of it altogether. Thus the rift between him and the erstwhile radical working men yawns ever wider, and his loss is our gain. Our people are behaving with great address and I am surprised at the amount of discipline shown by the French. It was just what they lacked, and now they are acquiring it, but against a background of a wholly revolutionary tradition which, in France, is taken for granted and is innocent of all those philistine misgivings which are the bane of our Geisers and Vierecks. Next time, even with the scrutin de liste, we shall score considerable successes in France. And it is precisely because everything's going so marvellously, both there and in Germany, and because a couple of years of uninterrupted internal development, helped along by the events inevitable in the circumstances, would contribute so enormously to our progress—it is precisely because of all this that I wouldn't exactly wish for a world war—but history reck little of that! It pursues its course and we have to take it as it comes.

There's one thing you people should learn from the French. For 50 years all revolutionaries there have subscribed to the rule that the accused should refuse to give the examining magistrate any information whatsoever. The latter has the right to ask, the accused has the right not to answer, not to incriminate himself and his comrades. This—once it has been generally accepted to the extent that any deviation from it ranks as quasi betrayal—is of enormous advantage in all trials. One is still free to say what one likes at the public proceedings.

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* 77 degrees Fahrenheit
But at the preliminary investigation all records are so worded as to falsify the statements made by the accused who is browbeaten into signing by all manner of subterfuges. You should see for yourselves sometime.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 16-17 September 1886

Dear Sorge,

I am forcing myself to take an hour off in order to write to you. For weeks I have been kept so busy with the proofs (in triplicate) of the translation of *Capital*, a that I have been unable to do anything else, and now they are coming thick and fast. Allegedly I am to get 6 sheets a week (i.e. 18 sheets a week to be corrected), and the whole thing is supposed to be finished in 4 weeks' time. We shall see. But I'm going to have a lively time of it since, apart from anything else, old Becker b is arriving tomorrow from Geneva to stay with me, the following week I shall have Schorlemmer and probably the Lafargues, not to mention other people from Switzerland who are proposing to come over here. So I know that, if I don't get a letter written today, there'll be no chance of doing so later on.

Many thanks for the trouble you have gone to over the interviewer. c He shall be the last. Now the chap has broken his word and I shall be justified in sending them packing, unless it's to our advan-

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a the English translation of the first volume; see also this volume, pp. 462, 506.-
b Johann Philipp Becker
c John T. McEnnis
tage to impose upon some liar of this ilk. You are right in saying that
I haven't, on the whole, any cause for complaint; the man does at
least try to be decent from the personal point of view, and not he, but
the American bourgeoisie, is to blame for his stupidity. 598

A fine crew they'd seem to be at the head of the party in New
York 549 and as for the Sozialist, it's a model of what a paper ought
not to be. But nor can I congratulate Dietzgen on his article re anar-
chists 626 ; it's an odd way he has of going about things. If, for in-
stance, a person takes a somewhat narrow-minded view of a particu-
lar point, Dietzgen is at pains — often undue pains — to stress that
there are two sides to every question. But now, because of the New
Yorkers' abject behaviour, he suddenly takes the other side and tries
to make us all out to be anarchists. This may be excusable as things
are now, but even at a crucial juncture he should not, after all, en-
tirely forget his dialectics. However, he has probably long since worked
all this out of his system and is certainly back on the right track again,
so there's no cause for alarm.

In a country as unsophisticated as America which, though wholly
without a feudal past, has evolved along purely bourgeois lines yet
has uncritically taken over from England a mass of ideology deriving
from feudal times, such as English common law, religion, sectarian-
ism, and where the exigencies of practical work and of the concen-
tration of capital have engendered a general contempt, only now di-
iminishing amongst the most highly educated and learned circles, for
all theory — in such a country, the people will have to find out what
their own social interests are by making one blunder after another.
Nor will the workers be spared this experience; the confusion of the
TRades Unions, the socialists, the Knights of Labor, 609 etc., will persist
for some time yet, until wisdom is born of their own misfortunes. But
the main thing is that they are now in motion, that they are actually
progressing, and that the spell has been broken; things will move fast,
faster than anywhere else, even though the course they take may seem
erratic and, from the theoretical standpoint, almost demented.

Your letter arrived too late for me to speak to Aveling about
Brooks 627 — I only saw him, Aveling, for a couple of hours on 30 Au-
gust, and I had left your letter behind in Eastbourne. 599 Anyhow,
you will have seen him meanwhile in New York, also Liebknecht.

It would seem that your Adolf a has already dissolved his partner-

a Adolf Sorge jun.
SHIP with the agent in Rochester; I trust he has not burnt his fingers in the process, as may happen even to the best of men on such occasions.

I shall shortly be sending you the missing numbers of *To-Day*, in so far as I myself receive them, also *Commonweals*. It's not possible to subscribe to them direct. I shall send you some French papers when I myself get any from Paris. A few went off from Eastbourne. You should be able to obtain the *Socialiste* over there; the editorial and administrative offices are at 17 rue du Croissant, Paris, and the paper comes out weekly. *Abonnement étranger* a 4 frs a half year, incl. postage.

I myself get it very irregularly and often have to write, but I have to keep it for reference.

I am also sending you some surplus proof-sheets of the *Capital* translation so that you can see how the thing's progressing and what it looks like.

I hope your health is improving; I seem robust enough, but for 3 years now my mobility has been restricted, sometimes very considerably and always to a certain extent by an internal ailment, so that I am, alas, no longer fit for active service.

The first thing I shall have to do, as soon as the translation is finished, is rid myself of the minor jobs that have been foisted on me—revising other people's work, notably translations—and avoid getting myself saddled with any more, so that I can return to the 3rd volume. b The whole thing's there, ready dictated, but there's still a good 6 months' hard slogging to be done. This confounded English translation has taken up the better part of a year. But it was absolutely essential and I don't regret it.

17 September

The proof-sheets went off yesterday and the *Commonweals* up to 18 September will follow today. I have got to look out the copies of *To-Day*.

The movement over here is still in the hands, on the one side of adventurers (*Democratic Federation* 300) and, on the other, of hobby-horse riders and sentimental socialists (*Socialist League* 346); the masses are still holding aloof, although here too beginnings of a movement are perceptible. But it will be some time before the masses are in full spate, which is a good thing because it means that there will be time for proper leaders to emerge.

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a Overseas subscription - b of *Capital*
In Germany, some kind of movement will, presumably, at last come into being again among the bourgeoisie, whose cowardly inertia is becoming harmful to us; on the one hand the now imminent change of monarch\(^a\) will induce a general state of instability, on the other Bismarck’s kow-towing to the Tsar\(^b\) is arousing even the most lethargic from their slumbers.\(^625\) In France things are going famously. Our people are learning discipline, in the provinces from the strikes, in Paris from their opposition to the Radicals.\(^429\)

Kindest regards,

Your
F.E.

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\(^a\) William I
\(^b\) Alexander III
\(^c\) The beginning of the letter is missing, and the manuscript is damaged.
\(^d\) the Italian translation of Marx’s Wage Labour and Capital
to which I shall turn my attention. I have found the *Kalender* and shall fill in the missing passage.  

Yours very sincerely,  
F. E.

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My dear Laura,  

I suppose you are at this moment at the Assize Court watching Paul's trial,  I hope it will end in an acquittal. In the meantime I have a bit of agreeable news for you. Meissner sends this morning account for last seasons sales, and the result is a profit of 2,600 marks or about £130 for us, after deducting all expenses of the second volume; so your share will be above £40. I have told him to remit the money, and as soon as received I shall send you a cheque for your share. There were sold 320 copies of Volume I and 1,260 of Volume II.

The English edition will hardly be out before the New Year. It looks as if Sonnenschein had more pressing things on hand, and in the hands of the same printer, by which our book was pushed back. The thing is proceeding, but rather slowly.

I had a letter from Tussy on her arrival in New York, she had a very pleasant voyage, but was rather disappointed at the live American bourgeois she met on board, it rather dampened her enthusiasm for America, but prepared her for the realities of American
life.

Old Becker\(^a\) has been with me this last week, he is very jolly but getting rather rickety in body. He will leave for Paris next Tuesday\(^b\) and hopes to see you there.\(^6^2^8\) He is a splendid old chap, seventy-eight and still quite abreast of the movement.

No news from Schorlemmer here. How about your journey to London? You will be able to come to a resolution, if that be still necessary, after to-day's verdict. But even if Paul should be sent to Pélagie again,\(^4^0^2\) that is not so pressing, surely they will give him a few weeks leave and so you and he might still come over for a bit.

Ever yours affectionately,

F. Engels

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a Johann Philipp Becker  
b 28 September
From what we have heard so far, out friends' tour has been most successful.  

With sincere regards to you and the children,

Yours truly,

F. Engels

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My dear Laura,

To begin with the beginning, I enclose cheque for £42,13.4, being one-third part of Meissner's remittance of £128.- a which I hope you will receive and get cashed all right.

I am sorry you cannot come just now while the weather is fine, but if you feel such a decided home-sickness after London fogs and our beautiful winter, you can be suited too. Nim undertakes to accommodate you at any time, Christmas or otherwise, and if we have other visitors at the same time, she undertakes to accommodate them too. So that is settled, and we shall this time not be disappointed.

I also forward 2 *Volkszeitungen which please return, as they belong to Edward* and he will expect to find them here on his return (his papers, etc., are forwarded to me in his absence). b From these you see that *la république cosaque* — Mohr's solution of Napoléon's alternative: *ou république ou cosaque* — flourishes in New York as luxuriantly as

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a See this volume, p. 494. b Napoleon I's
in Paris. It is lucky for them that the first attempt at intimidation came so soon and was so clumsily executed.

I am afraid Paul exaggerates the significance of the Paris verdict in so far as it is a symptom of the accessibility of the industrial bourgeoisie for socialist ideas. The struggle between usurer and industrial capitalist is one within the bourgeoisie itself, and though no doubt a certain number of petty bourgeoisie will be driven over to us by the certainty of their impending expropriation de la part des boursiers, yet we can never hope to get the mass of them over to our side. Moreover this is not desirable, as they bring their narrow class prejudices along with them. In Germany we have too many of them, and it is they who form the dead weight which trammels the march of the party. It will ever be the lot of the petty bourgeoisie—as a mass—to float undecidedly between the two great classes, one part to be crushed by the centralisation of capital, the other by the victory of the proletariat. On the decisive day, they will as usual be tottering, wavering and helpless, se laisseront faire, and that is all we want. Even if they come round to our views they will say: of course communism is the ultimate solution, but it is far off, maybe 100 years before it can be realised—in other words: we do not mean to work for its realisation neither in our, nor in our children’s lifetime. Such is our experience in Germany.

Otherwise the verdict is a grand victory and marks a decided step in advance. The bourgeoisie, from the moment it is faced by a conscious and organised proletariat, becomes entangled in hopeless contradictions between its liberal and democratic general tendencies here, and the repressive necessities of its defensive struggle against the proletariat there. A cowardly bourgeoisie, like the German and Russian, sacrifices its general class tendencies to the momentary advantages of brutal repression. But a bourgeoisie with a revolutionary history of its own, such as the English and particularly the French, cannot do that so easily. Hence that struggle within the bourgeoisie itself, which in spite of occasional fits of violence and oppression, on the whole drives it forward—see the various electoral reforms of Gladstone in England, and the advance of Radicalism in France. This verdict is a new étape. And so the bourgeoisie, in doing its own work, is doing ours.

\[a\] on the part of the stock-brokers. \[b\] letting events follow their own course
But now I must conclude. I want this letter to be registered and have still to write to Tussy by first post.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

[IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN]

London, 8 October 1886

Dear Bebel,

I am writing to you today because of the conversations I have had with old Johann Philipp Becker who spent 10 days with me here and is now doubtless back in Geneva, having returned via Paris (where he discovered that his daughter had died suddenly).\(^6^2\) It was a great pleasure to see the old colossus again; though he has aged physically, he’s still as merry and pugnacious as ever. He is one of the characters out of our Rheno-Franconian saga that are personified in the *Nibelungenlied*—Volker the Fiddler to the life.

I had been asking him for years to set down his reminiscences and experiences\(^a\) and he told me that, having also been encouraged by you and others, he himself felt very much inclined to do so and had actually made a start on several occasions, though he had met with little real encouragement when his work was published piecemeal (as in the *Neue Welt* to which he sent some quite splendid stuff\(^b\) years ago, which was, however, considered insufficiently ‘novelistic’ as Liebknecht informed him via Motteler). A more formidable obstacle, however, was the need to work for his keep and earn 25 frs per week.

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 363. - \(^b\) J. Ph. Becker, ‘Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben’, *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 17-20, 23, 24, 26, 28 and 29; 22 and 29 April, 6 and 13 May, 3, 10 and 24 June, 8 and 15 July 1876.
as correspondent to a Viennese paper. For that he has to read a vast number of papers and periodicals and, since he has suffered from weak eyesight ever since the explosion during his experiment in Paris, this alone is more than he can cope with. I have now promised him that for a start I shall write to you and Ede.

I feel that in so far as its resources permit—as they now do, according to what I have been told by Liebknecht and have heard from Zurich—the party is under an obligation to admit this old veteran, at least partially, to its pension fund, and not to allow him to ruin his eyes for the sake of 25 frs per week. At present Becker gets 25 frs a month from van Kol, a similar amount from a friend in Basle, while I myself have undertaken to pay him £5 = 125 frs a quarter, making 1,100 frs a year in all. I may have made a mistake about the amounts paid by the other two; it may only be 20 frs, in which case the total would come to 980 frs. The balance to be made up by the party would therefore be of no great significance and could doubtless be raised without difficulty by private subscription, so that in the case of payments the party treasury would simply act as intermediary. As to what the balance should amount to, this would be best determined by Ede with the help of the old man himself.

If this can be arranged, he would have time to write and/or dictate his memoirs which, since they are of the utmost importance as regards the history of the revolutionary movement in Germany, i.e. our party’s antecedents, and to some extent the actual history of the party since 1860, would make an extremely valuable and saleable addition to the Volksbuchhandlung’s list. I consider this work highly necessary, for otherwise a whole mass of the most valuable material will go down with old Becker to the grave, or at best these things will be preserved and presented exclusively by those wholly or partially opposed to us, vulgar democrats, etc. Besides, the old man played quite an important political and military role. During the 1849 campaign he was the only commander who was a genuine product of the people and he achieved more with the crude, homespun strategy and tactics taught him by the Swiss army than any of the officers from Baden or Prussia, while at the same time he never deviated from the correct political course. Moreover he was a natural commander of a people’s army, had remarkable presence of mind and was possessed of rare skill in the handling of young troops.

\[\text{a a Social Democratic bookshop in Zurich}\]
It was in fact my intention to write to Ede first about the bookselling aspect of the matter, because there would have been much I could have discussed in a more positive vein after receiving his reply, but that damned Freiberg verdict \(^{602}\) may put paid to my plans at any moment and that is why I am approaching you straight away. If you take a favourable view of the matter, perhaps you would tell me whom I should deal with while you are in retreat, so that I can pursue this further—the old chap is somewhat mistrustful of Liebknecht, nor do I feel he is the right man, though I shall discuss it with him on his return; but the very fact of his being absent means that someone else will now have to deal with the business.

I must now close if this letter is to go off. I shan’t forgive the court for depriving me of your visit and you of your trip to Paris. But could you, perhaps, come over here next summer before the elections and accompany me on a visit to the seaside so as to build up your strength for the campaign? Will it be more or less possible to contact you while you’re in prison?

Liebknecht and the Avelings have been given a fairly, indeed unexpectedly, decent reception by the Anglo-American press.\(^{600}\)

Kindest regards.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 9 October 1886

Dear Ede,

Having perused with some perplexity your 3 pages of painstaking argument \(^{633}\) — perplexity as to what you could actually be driving
at—I couldn’t help laughing out loud when I finally got to the nub of the matter and realised that all this was intended to explain your marriage which, after all, calls for no explanation whatsoever. If all proletarians were to be so hesitant, either the proletariat would become extinct or it would reproduce itself only through illegitimate children, a method we are unlikely to resort to en masse until the proletariat has ceased to be. So please accept my heartiest congratulations on having at last overcome your grave hesitations and given free rein to the promptings of your heart. You will find that living as a couple, even when times are bad, is better than living alone; I myself put it to the test long enough, sometimes under the most wretched conditions, and never had cause to rue it. So give your fiancée\(^a\) my kindest regards and jump into \textit{thalamus}\(^b\) with a will.

But it is already four o’clock and my letter must go off before 5.30, so now to business.

Old Becker has been here\(^628\) and there was much talk about the necessity of his recording his reminiscences and experiences. It is something I and, he says, others as well, had often proposed to him, but how is he to do it? In order to live, he contributes to Schneeberger’s \textit{Korrespondenz} in Vienna\(^631\) in return for 25 frs a week, and for this he must laboriously collect material. The toll on his strength and eyesight is such that he is able to do nothing else.\(^632\) It is therefore essential that he be put in a position which will enable him to live while devoting all his time to the thing. Now van Kol, if I remember aright, gives him 25 frs a month and another friend the same amount. That makes 600 frs a year. I have undertaken to send him £5 = 125 frs a quarter. Total 1,100 frs. In my view, it is up to the party to supply the remainder, provided it has the means which, according to what Liebknecht told me, it does have. In fact, it ought really to provide wholly for the old veteran out of its pension fund. But I don’t suppose there would be much difficulty about raising from well-to-do party comrades the few hundred francs still required, and this would mean that the party would merely act as intermediary for the regular payments.

The memoirs as such would be a highly valuable addition to the \textit{Volksbuchhandlung’s}\(^c\) list, a new source on our party’s antecedents (the revolutionary movement from 1827 to 1860) and its history

\(^a\) Regina Schattner\(^b\) nuptial bed\(^c\) a Social Democratic bookshop in Zurich
(from the '50s up till the present), a document that no real historiographer could afford to overlook. And, what's more, a magnificently vivid account — genuine popular literature, if the samples published years ago in the Neue Welt are anything to go by.\(^a\) And the sooner he gets down to it the better, for when a chap has already totted up a total of 77 years, his verbosity tends to outstrip his ability to assess what is important and what is not — such is the course of nature.

I wrote to August\(^b\) about this yesterday; I had meant to write to you first and find out what you people at the publishing end thought about it, but since he is shortly due to go into jug,\(^6\) there was no time to waste. I myself consider the thing to be of the utmost importance. An account of what happened by an active participant,— indeed the only survivor from the thirties whose standpoint is the same as our own — is an absolute necessity; it will cast a new light on the whole of the period between 1827 and 1840 and, unless done by Becker, will be lost forever. Or else it will be undertaken by people who are hostile to us — members of the People's Party\(^2\) and other vulgar democrats, and that would serve no good purpose. It is an opportunity such as will never again present itself and to miss it would, I believe, be a crime.

I told August it would be best — once matters have got to that stage — if the details regarding the balance to be paid and the mode of publication were to be arranged personally between yourself and Becker. And in this connection there's another point which I thought it unnecessary to raise with August at this juncture, namely that the balance should be regarded simply as a pension and not as an advance on the fee. This last might be suggested by some of the 'leaders' but would be an exceedingly shabby way to treat the old warrior. Hence my proposal that as much of the balance as possible be raised by private subscription, when any such suggestion would be automatically precluded.

If all this should be settled and you enter into negotiations with Becker re publication, you should take no notice of his ideas about sales, etc., prospectus, and so forth. So far as his ideas about the sale of banned books are concerned, he might still be living in the '40s,

\(^a\) J. Ph. Becker, 'Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben', Die Neue Welt, Nos. 17-20, 23, 24, 26, 28 and 29; 22 and 29 April, 6 and 13 May, 3, 10 and 24 June, 8 and 15 July 1876. \(^b\) August Bebel; see previous letter.
and he has no inkling of the way this has now changed into a big industry.

So consider the matter and let me know what you think.

So far the Bulgarians have indeed done unexpectedly well and, if they hold out another 8 or 10 days, either they will win through or, should the Russians march against them, it will be only at the risk of a European war. This they owe to the circumstances of having been so long subject to the Turks, who were content to preserve what remained of their gentile institutions, while only preventing—through the depredations of the pashas—the rise of the middle classes. The Serbs, on the other hand, who had been free of the Turks for 80 years, wrecked their old gentile institutions by introducing Austrian legislation and an Austrian-trained bureaucracy, hence their inevitable drubbing at the hands of the Bulgarians. Give the Bulgarians 60 years of bourgeois evolution—when they would certainly accomplish nothing—and of bureaucratic rule, and they would go to wrack and ruin just as the Serbs have done. It would have been infinitely better for the Bulgarians as for us had they remained Turkish until the European revolution; their gentile institutions would have provided a first-rate point of departure for their further evolution along communist lines, just as would the Russian mir, which is now likewise being destroyed under our very noses.

As things are now I take the view that:

1) The southern Slavs should be supported if, and for as long as, they oppose Russia, for then they will go along with the European revolutionary movement.

2) If, however, they oppose the Turks, i.e. demand the annexation à tout prix of the few Turkish Serbs and Bulgarians that still remain, then they will, consciously or unconsciously, be doing Russia's work for it, and we cannot go along with them. This could only be achieved at the risk of a European war, and isn't worth the candle. The chaps will have to wait, just like the Alsatians and the Lorrainers, the Trentini, etc. Moreover, the result of any renewed attack on the Turks could—in present circumstances—only be that the victorious small nationalities—victorious solely thanks to Russia—would come directly under the Russian yoke, or—cf. the linguistic map of the peninsula—become hopelessly embroiled with one another.

3) As soon as revolution breaks out in Russia, however, the chaps

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\( ^a \) village commune \( ^b \) whatever the cost
can do as they like. But then, too, they will realise that they are no match for the Turks.

Time for the post.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 22 October 1886

Dear Ede,

This is to inform you that our friend Belfort Bax will probably be visiting you towards the end of this month. He is a thoroughly good sort, very erudite, especially in German philosophy, and speaks German, though in all political matters he’s of a childlike innocence that can drive one to despair and is also much in evidence in *The Commonweal*. But among the ‘edicated’ here he and Aveling are the only ones who not only are in earnest where the cause is concerned, but also devote some study to it.

Kautsky will have informed you about the legal niceties involved in getting married over here; I hope it can be arranged.

As regards Becker, a August writes 633 to say he has asked you to clarify matters with the old man. I trust you have already written to him — the old man —, as it is something he has very much at heart. August says that Becker is already getting an annual allowance of 200 frs from the party — I know I had omitted one item from the amounts I had stated b; this was it. I merely raise the point lest the impression

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a Johann Philipp Becker b See this volume, p. 501.
should have been given that Becker had concealed it from me, which was not the case.

If the stories put about by the Zankovists in Sofia are true\(^{636}\) Alexander III can safely recall his discredited Kaulbars,\(^{634}\) for he will then have everything he wants. It will be an improved version of the treaty of Unkia-Skelessi\(^{637}\) (1839, see Louis Blanc, *Dix ans*,\(^{a}\) where it is set out in the last volume). The Black Sea will then belong to him and Constantinople will be his for the asking. This would be the result of the appropriation of parts of Turkey, namely Bosnia and Egypt, by Austria and Britain respectively, who thus revealed themselves in Constantinople as Russia’s equals when it came to plundering Turkey. That was why the peace-loving Gladstone had to bombard Alexandria and wage war in the Sudan.\(^{638}\) — However the story is being contested and it is probable that no formal agreement has yet been concluded; but at all events we must watch out for further news of the affair. For even if it were true, Austria in particular would try to hush it up lest it be compelled to attack before the Russians really showed signs of occupying the Dardanelles, i.e. when it was too late.

Meanwhile Alexander seems to have gone really insane — he is said to have taken one of his aides-de-camp for a Nihilist\(^{356}\) and shot him —, while old William\(^{b}\) is going rapidly downhill. The Russian revolution — be it ushered in by a palace revolution — is becoming more necessary than ever and would at once help to clear up the whole wretched business.

Your

F. E.

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\(^{a}\) L. Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans. 1830-1840*, in 5 volumes.\(^{b}\) William I
My dear Laura,

To-day I have a bit of a holiday that is to say no proof-sheets, and the prefaces are as good as done. So I profit of it to write to you. Proofs are now up to sheet 40, or p. 644 of German 3rd edition. But there is a hitch again, otherwise I should be busy to-day at them again. It's awful work, every sheet 3 proofs, and a good many alterations to make in the text; the latter part of the manuscript was anything but ausgefeilt, when we had to cede to pressure and hand it in to the printer. Sam Moore, in the polishing of the text, is invaluable to me, he has a capital eye for these things and a very ready hand. But I shall be glad when it's done, as it is I cannot take anything else in hand and there are about 5 jobs awaiting in my desk.

I certainly do hope that you will not again put off your journey till some other time which may be less foggy meteorologically but which after all would leave us both in a fog of fresh uncertainty. As to Schorlemmer he arrived here quite knocked up, had been laid up at home for a week with indigestion (it was the Vaterland I suppose he could not digest) and was in an awfully down-in-the-mouth mood here all the time—since then I have not heard a word from him.

I send you herewith two more letters from our transatlantic travellers, please keep the lot for me until you come over, unless you return them before. They were yesterday in Providence (Rhode Island) and are now on the road from New England to the Great Lakes, stopping half way to-morrow at Albany and Troy (New York State) on the Hudson. The press in the New England manufacturing districts has been almost cordial in its reception, thus showing not only its own dependence upon the working people, but also an evident sympathetic feeling towards socialism on the part of the latter. I am very glad of this and also of the favourable effect they have made on the bourgeois press generally, more particularly on account of their im-

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\[a\] of the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* (see Note 56) \[b\] polished \[c\] Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling
pending arrival in Chicago where the bourgeois, six weeks ago, seemed inclined to get up police rows on their arrival. But they will hardly attempt anything of the kind in the face of the decided change in public opinion down East.

The Vienna anarchist plot is a pure police affair. The best proof is in the self-inflaming bottles the poor fools were told to put in timber yards to set them on fire. A bottle with nitric acid, stopped with cotton impregnated with sulphuric acid. This latter was to percolate and on reaching the nitric acid, was expected to cause an explosion and fire!! Thus the same police which excited the anarchist jackasses to this plot, took damned good care that the fire bottles were perfectly harmless. But the present anti-proletarian jurisprudence will there as everywhere find means to convict them of arson.

Yesterday I had a card from an unknown place in Canada ‘Rolandrie, P.O. Whitewood’: ‘Verehelich’: Dr R. Meyer, Mathilda Meyer, geb. Trautow.’ This must be a cousin of his whom he left on his farm last winter to mind it. On the back a few words in French from a Comte Ives de Rossignac or Prossignac that Meyer has had an accident and cannot use his right hand for a short time, and therefore cannot write himself. That is the end of another of your adorers. The grapes being sour, people take to crab-apples.

The successful issue of the Lyons Congress I read in the Cri, but nevertheless Paul’s comments and details were very welcome to me. Things seem everywhere ripe for us and we have only to gather in the fruit; all old-fashioned forms of socialism are exploded while nothing can touch our theory, and so the working people need only stirring up—whenever they get into movement, no matter how, they are sure to come round to us.

Altogether things are going on bravely in France. Vierzon continues Decazeville, and rightly so. The government must be taught to respect their own laws and to get used to strikes. And on the other hand the discipline of a strike is most useful to the French working men; a movement in which strict legality is the first condition of success, and where all revolutionary brag and explosion necessarily brings on defeat. This discipline is the first condition of successful and lasting organisation, and the thing most feared by the bourgeoisie. And as it has brought on one ministerial crisis, it may bring on more. As matters stand, it looks as if the present Chamber would soon

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a married - b née - c Cri du Peuple
become impossible and have to be dissolved. I believe it will be very necessary to prepare for that event, for in the next general election the Socialists ought to force the Radicals to place at least 20 of our people on the list for Paris; and the next Chamber ought to abolish scrutin de liste. Paul ought to get into Parliament next time, he has effaced himself a good deal in favour of Guesde, Deville and others, taken the hard anonymous work upon himself and left to the others not only all the pay but also the greater part of the credit. I think the time is approaching when he ought to assert himself a little more. He is decidedly the best writer amongst the lot — now that he has once found his happy vein and sticks to it — and also the most studious. And he is far more than all the rest in constant touch with the international movement. He and Guesde at the very least ought to get in next time and shape for it from now. Guesde may be more flashy as an orator but Paul would be far better in bringing out facts.

However by next spring we may have a European war which upsets all our calculations being incalculable in its results. About that I shall write Paul as soon as I find time. Now I must conclude, having just time enough left to send a few words to Tussy by to-day's mail.

Nim is very jolly and sends her love.

Yours affectionately,

F. E.

Liebknecht's wine-revolution is not very formidable, considering that he finds the most horrid wine 'famos'.


Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

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a See this volume, pp. 512-20. b 'fine'
ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

[IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN]

London, 23 and 25 October 1886, Saturday

Dear Bebel,

The *Sozialdemokrat* containing your statement arrived just now, at 9.30 p.m., and I am hastening to write to you although my letter cannot go off until 5.30 on Monday, when I shall have it registered. But on Monday, I may again have a whole lot of proofs requiring my immediate attention.

Your statement is so worded that no exception whatever can be taken to it — assuming the necessity of such a step. As to this, I cannot rightly judge but, even in the absence of Freytag’s opinion, it would seem to me justified. From the viewpoint both of the cause in general and of the newspaper in particular, it was, to my mind, most fortunate that the verdict enabled you to take this step in a seemly way. To have conferred an official character on the paper in the first place was, in my view, a great mistake, and so, indeed, it has proved to be in the Reichstag and elsewhere; but once it had been done, you could hardly go back on it without appearing to disown the paper and beat a retreat. The verdict gave you an opportunity of going back on it without producing that impression and you did right in making use of it. Nor, as Liebknecht saw it, was there any question of beating a retreat, and the paper will now be able to express the views of the great bulk of the party far more freely and with far less regard for the gentlemen of the right wing.

The *Neue Zeit* has not yet arrived. I too take the view that Bismarck has got far more involved with the Russians than he need have done on France’s account, and for this the main reason — besides those adduced by you, and overshadowing them all — is his having been told by the Russians what he knows to be true, namely: ‘Either we must have decisive and resounding victories on the road to Constantinople, or else — we shall have revolution.’ Without making sacrifices, neither Alexander III nor yet the Russian diplomats can exor-
cise the Pan-Slav and chauvinist spirit they have conjured up, for otherwise Alexander III will be bumped off by the generals and then, whether they like it or not, they'll get a national assembly. And a Russian revolution is what Bismarck fears above all else. The collapse of Russian tsarism would entail that of the Prusso-Bismarckian economy. And hence everything possible must be done to postpone the crash, despite Austria, despite the indignation of the middle classes in Germany, and despite Bismarck’s knowledge that, either way, he will eventually undermine his system—which, after all, depends on German hegemony in Europe—and that, on the day old William a dies, both Russia and France will rattle their sabres in quite different fashion.

The worst of it is that, given the rascality of those in power, no one can say how, in case of war, the belligerents will assort themselves, who will side with, and who against whom. That the eventual outcome will be revolution is plain, but at the cost of what sacrifices, of what general prostration—and after who knows how many changes.

In the meanwhile there’ll be a respite until the spring, and during that time much can happen. In Russia the fun might begin without more ado, old William might kick the bucket and Germany change its policy, the Turks (having been deprived of Bosnia by Austria and of Egypt by Britain, they will, of course, now regard these their former allies merely as traitors) may again get out of the Russian furrow, etc.

Your opinion of the German bourgeoisie cannot be worse than mine. But it remains to be seen whether historical circumstances won’t compel them actively to intervene willy-nilly, just like their French counterparts. The latter’s performance is wretched enough and that of our lot would be even worse, but all the same they’d be forced to take a hand in their own history again. At the time, I read Berger’s pronouncement with some pleasure, but as you say it’s applicable only to Bismarck’s lifetime. That it’s their intention to drop their own ‘liberal’ slogans for good, I do not for a moment doubt. 644 It remains to be seen whether they can do so once they no longer have a Bismarck to rule for them and find themselves face to face with nothing but imbecile squireens and dim-witted bureaucrats—people of their own moral calibre. For come war or peace, Germany’s hegemony has, during the past few months, gone for a burton and she has

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a William I
again become the humble servant of Russia. And it was only the chauvinist satisfaction of being the arbiter of Europe that held the whole bag of tricks together. Fear of the proletariat will certainly help things along. And if these chaps gain admittance to the government, they will certainly start off by adopting the very attitude you describe, but will soon be forced to change their tune. I would go still further and say that even were the spell to be broken by the Old Man’s death and the same people to remain at the helm as now, they would either be forced to resign as a result of renewed clashes—not only with the Court—or have to act in accordance with bourgeois views. Not at once, of course, but very soon. Political stagnation such as now obtains in Germany—a genuine Second Empire—can only be a transitory and exceptional state of affairs; large-scale industry will not allow its laws to be dictated by the cowardice of industrialists. Economic development will give rise to repeated clashes, each more severe than the last, nor will it suffer itself to be governed for any length of time by semi-feudal Junkers with feudal proclivities.

Come to that, there is also the possibility that in the spring they will all gird up their loins for war and, armed to the teeth, confront one another, each fearing to begin, until one of them puts forward a solution involving mutual compromise and the swallowing up of small states, whereupon they’ll all grab their share. That Bismarck is presently adumbrating such an expedient seems probable enough.

25 October

Your remarks about Liebknecht’s speeches presumably relate mainly to what he told the correspondent of the New Yorker Volkszeitung (little Cuno); this shouldn’t be taken too literally—since interviewers always distort things. I agree that his other remarks about the Kulturkampf are somewhat misguided, but as you know, Liebknecht is very dependent on atmosphere and tends to chance his hand with his audiences (not always successfully), while he never has more than two colours—black and white—on his palette. Not that very much harm will have been done, since it will all have been long since forgotten in America.

Goodbye, then, and mind you keep fit and send us occasional news of yourself during your imprisonment. I hardly imagine that you
will have to stay there for the full term, and in 9 months’ time everything may have changed.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE ⁶⁴⁵

IN PARIS

London, 25-26 October 1886

My dear Lafargue,

The Eastern affair is rather lengthy, and I shall be obliged to enter into a mass of detail in view of the absurdities which the French press, including the *Cri*,⁶ has been disseminating on the subject, under the Russian patriotic influence.

In the winter of 1878⁷ Disraeli sent 4 ironclads into the Bosphorus, this being sufficient to halt the Russian advance on Constantinople and to tear up the Treaty of San Stefano.⁶⁴⁶ For a time the Treaty of Berlin stabilised the situation in the Orient. Bismarck succeeded in effecting a settlement between the Russians and the Austrians, in accordance with which Austria was tacitly given dominion over Serbia, while Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia were to be left exposed to the predominant influence of Russia. In other words, if the Russians were later permitted to take Constantinople, Austria would get Salonika and Macedonia.

But on top of that, Bosnia was allotted to Austria, just as the greater part of Poland proper had been handed over to the Prussians and Austrians by Russia in 1794, only to be taken back by the latter in 1814.⁶⁴⁷ Bosnia represented a constant drain on Austria, a bone of

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⁶ Cri du Peuple — ¹ 1879 in the original
contention between Hungary and Western Austria and, in particular—proof, where Turkey was concerned, that the fate awaiting it at the hands of Austria no less than at those of Russia, would be that suffered by Poland. Henceforward there could be no question of mutual trust between Turkey and Austria—a tremendous victory, this, for Russia.

Though Serbia’s sympathies were Slavophil and, consequently, Russophil it had, since its emancipation, looked to Austria for all its means of bourgeois development. Its young men went to university in Austria, its bureaucratic system, its statute books, its judicial procedure and its schools all conformed to the Austrian model, as was only natural. But Russia thought it necessary to prevent the same thing happening in Bulgaria and, besides, had no desire to act as Austria’s cat’s paw there. Thus, from the very outset, Bulgaria was organised along the lines of a Russian satrapy. The administration was Russian, as were the officers and non-commissioned officers in the army, the whole body of government officials and, indeed, the entire system, while Battenberg, imposed upon it as satrap, was a cousin of Alexander III’s.

Russian domination, direct at first, then indirect, succeeded in stilling, within less than 4 years, all the sympathy Bulgaria had once felt for Russia, whole-hearted and enthusiastic though that sympathy had been. The people increasingly jibbed at the insolence of their ‘liberators’, so that even Battenberg, a man of weak character and devoid of political ideas, who asked nothing better than to serve the Tsar on condition that he himself was accorded some measure of respect—even Battenberg was becoming increasingly rebellious.

In the meantime things were taking their course in Russia. The government had succeeded, by draconian measures, in temporarily dispersing and disorganising the Nihilists. But this could not last forever; what was needed was to gain the support of public opinion and to distract people’s minds from social and political miseries at home—in other words, a bit of chauvinist phantasmagoria. And just as, under Louis Napoleon, the left bank of the Rhine had served to divert revolutionary fervour to foreign policy matters, so, too, in Russia the image of a Constantinople subdued, of oppressed Turkish Slavs ‘liberated’ to form part of a great federation under Russian leadership, was conjured up before the eyes of the anxious and restive people. But merely to evoke that phantasmagoria was not enough; something would have to be done to make it enter the domain of reality.

Circumstances were favourable. The annexation of Alsace-
Lorraine had thrown an apple of discord between France and Germany so that those two powers appeared to cancel each other out. Austria on her own was scarcely in a position to fight Russia, since her most effective offensive weapon—an appeal to the Poles—must, thanks to Prussia, remain permanently in the scabbard. And the occupation—or theft—of Bosnia constituted another Alsace between Austria and Turkey. Italy fell to the highest bidder, that is to say Russia, whose stake was the Trentino and Istria, if not also Dalmatia and Tripoli. And England? Gladstone, that peaceable Russophil, had hearkened to Russia's siren call and had occupied Egypt in time of peace, thus ensuring not only continual discord between England and France, but also and into the bargain the impossibility of any alliance between the Turks and the English who had just despoiled them by appropriating Egypt, a Turkish fief. Moreover, Russia's preparations in Asia were sufficiently advanced to keep the English, in case of war, fully occupied in India. Never had the moment presented so many and such favourable opportunities to the Russians; their diplomacy was proving victorious all along the line.

The revolt of the Bulgarians against Russian domination provided the pretext for instituting a campaign. In the summer of 1885 a carrot was dangled before the Bulgarians of North and South—the possibility of unification, as pledged by the Peace of San Stefano and revoked by the Treaty of Berlin. They were told that, if they again entrusted themselves to the liberating arms of Russia, that country would accomplish her mission by accomplishing the said unification, but the Bulgarians, for their part, must first rid themselves of Battenberg. Duly forewarned, the latter reacted with unwonted promptitude and vigour. Off his own bat and on his own account he effected the unification which the Russians had intended to bring about in his despite. From that moment it was implacable war between him and Russia.

To begin with, that war was conducted covertly and by indirect means. The small Balkan states were reminded of Louis Bonaparte's splendid doctrine which held that, when a nation hitherto disunited—say Italy or Germany—constituted itself a nation, other powers—say France—were entitled to territorial compensation. Serbia swallowed the bait and went to war with Bulgaria. Russia's triumph was the greater in that the war, instigated by her in her own interests, appeared to the rest of the world to be taking place under the auspices of Austria, which had failed to prevent it for fear this should bring the Russian party to power in Serbia.—Russia, for her
part, disrupted the Bulgarian army by recalling all its senior officers, including battalion commanders.

But contrary to all expectations the Bulgarians, deprived of Russian officers and with two men to the enemy’s three, inflicted a resounding defeat on the Serbs and won the respect and admiration of an astonished Europe. For those victories there were two reasons. In the first place Alexander Battenberg, though a weak politician, was a good soldier who waged war as he had learned to do in the Prussian school, whereas the Serbs, in both strategy and tactics, turned to Austria for their model. Secondly, the Serbs had lived for 60 years under a bureaucratic Austrian régime which, while failing to give them a strong middle class and an independent peasantry (by now all their property was mortgaged), had succeeded in undermining and disorganising what remained of the gentle communism which had lent them strength in their struggles against the Turks. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, these more or less communist institutions had been left intact by the Turks, and this is the explanation for their superior courage.

So Russia was foiled again and had to make a fresh start. And the Slavophil chauvinism which had been encouraged in the hope that it would counterbalance the revolutionary element, continued to grow day by day and had already begun to pose a threat to the government. So the Tsar betook himself to the Crimea where, or so the Russian press maintained, he would achieve great things. He attempted to entice the Sultan there so as to involve him in an alliance by demonstrating that his erstwhile allies—Austria and England—were traitors and robbers and that France was in tow to, and at the mercy of, Russia. But the Sultan did not come and, for the time being, there was no employment for the vast armaments Russia had accumulated in the west and the south.

The Tsar returned (last June) from the Crimea, but in the meantime the tide of chauvinism had continued to rise and the government, far from controlling this upward surge, found itself increasingly carried away by it. So much so that, on the Tsar’s return to Moscow, there was no preventing the mayor, in his address, of speaking loud

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\(^a\) on 1 April 1886. \(^b\) Abdul-Hamid II. \(^c\) Alexander III returned to Gatchina (near St Petersburg) on 30 May 1886 (see Правительственный вестник, No. 108, 20 May (1 June) 1886). \(^d\) Nikolai Alexeyev. \(^e\) See Новое время, No. 3666, 15 (27) May 1886.
and clear about the conquest of Constantinople. Under the influence of the generals, and under their aegis, the press openly expressed the expectation that the Tsar would take action against Austria and Germany which were hampering him, nor did the government have the courage to muzzle it. In short, Slavophil chauvinism was stronger than the Tsar. Either the latter must give way or else—the Slavophils would rebel.

All this was compounded by a shortage of cash. No one was willing to lend money to a government which between 1870 and 1875 had borrowed 70 million pounds sterling (1,750 million francs) in London and was posing a threat to the peace of Europe. Only three years before, in Germany, Bismarck had raised a loan of 375 million francs on its behalf, but that had been frittered away long since; and without Bismarck’s signature the Germans wouldn’t give another farthing. But that signature was no longer to be had save at the cost of humiliating conditions. At home, the government paper-mill had already been producing to excess; the rouble in silver was worth 3 francs 80, but in paper-money only 2 francs 20. And armaments were diabolically expensive.

Finally action became imperative. Either a successful move against Constantinople, or revolution. Which is why Giers went to call on Bismarck to explain the situation to him. And Bismarck understood him perfectly. He would have restrained the Russians, first because of their insatiability and secondly out of consideration for Austria. But revolution in Russia might involve the fall of Bismarck’s régime in Germany. Without the large reserves of the reactionary army, the rule of the cabbage Junkers in Prussia would not last a day. Revolution in Russia would, at a stroke, change the situation in Germany; it would put an end to that blind faith in Bismarck’s omnipotence which had rallied to his standard all the property classes; it would foment revolution in Germany.

Bismarck, who had no illusions but that the existence of tsarism in Russia was the base upon which the whole of his system rested, understood very well; he hastened to Vienna to tell his Austrian friends that, in the face of such a danger, it would not be opportune either for him or for them to place undue insistence on questions of amour-propre; that the Russians must be allowed at least a semblance of victory, and that it was in their own interests that Germany and Austria should bow the knee before the Tsar. Moreover, were his esteemed friends the Austrians to insist on meddling in Bulgarian affairs, he would wash his hands of them and then they’d see what
would happen. Kálnoky finally gave way, Alexander Battenberg was sacrificed, and Bismarck went in person to announce the fact to Giers.

There followed the kidnapping of Battenberg by military conspirators in circumstances which could not but shock any monarchically-minded conservative, in particular those princes who had armies of their own. But at this point Bismarck proceeded to the next item on the agenda, glad to have got off at so little cost.

Unfortunately, the Bulgarians gave evidence of a political aptitude and an energy which, in the circumstances, were highly inopportune, not to say intolerable in a Slav nation 'liberated' by Holy Russia. They arrested the conspirators and nominated an efficient government, energetic and — incorruptible (a quality wholly intolerable in a nation as yet barely emancipated!) which reinstated Battenberg. The latter thereupon proceeded to exert all his weakness by taking to his heels. But the Bulgarians proved incorrigible. Battenberg or no Battenberg, they resisted the supreme orders of the Tsar and forced even the heroic Kaulbars to make an ass of himself in the eyes of all Europe. 634

Imagine the fury of the Tsar! Having curbed Bismarck, having broken the resistance of Austria, to find oneself brought up short by this runt of a nation, weaned only yesterday, which owes its 'independence' to oneself or to one's father * and fails to see that the aforesaid independence means nothing more than blind obedience to the 'liberator'! The Greeks and Serbs have not shown themselves wanting in ingratitude, but the Bulgarians exceed all possible bounds. Taking their independence seriously — has such a thing ever been heard of before?

To save himself from revolution, the hapless Tsar was compelled to take another step forward. But with every new step the peril increased, for it brought closer the risk of European war — something Russian diplomacy had always been at pains to avoid. There could be no doubt that, if Russia intervened in Bulgaria, and if such intervention subsequently led to complications, the moment would come when the mutually inimical interests of Russia and Austria would lead to an open clash. And this time there could be no question of localising the affair. There would be general war. And, given the rascals who were at that juncture governing Europe, there was no foreseeing what the

* Alexander II
composition of the two camps might be. Bismarck was capable of ally-
ing himself with the Russians against Austria if that was the only
way of postponing revolution in Russia. What seemed more prob-
able, however, was war between Austria and Russia, and that Ger-
many would come to the help of Austria only in case of need, to pre-
vent her being crushed.

While waiting for the spring—for before April the Russians can-
not embark on a major war on the Danube—they did everything
they could to lure Turkey into their snare, and Austria and England,
by their treachery towards Turkey, furthered this ploy. Their object
was to gain the right to occupy the Dardanelles, thus turning the
Black Sea into a Russian lake, an unassailable haven for the organisa-
tion of powerful fleets which would sail out of it to dominate the
French lake, as Napoleon called the Mediterranean. But in this they
never succeeded, even though the cat had been let out of the bag by
the few adherents they had in Sofia.

Such was the situation. To avoid revolution in Russia, the Tsar
must have Constantinople. And Bismarck prevaricated, wishing to
find some way of avoiding one or the other eventuality. And what of
France?

For those Frenchmen whose thoughts, for 16 years, had centred sole-
ly on revenge, it would seem natural enough to seize on what might
be a possible opportunity. But for our party it is not so simple, nor yet
even for Messrs the chauvinists. War against Germany in alliance
with Russia might lead to either revolution or counter-revolution in
France. If a revolution were to bring the socialists to power, the al-
liance with Russia would collapse. In the first place, the Russians would
immediately conclude peace with Bismarck so that they might together fall
upon revolutionary France. And in the second, France would not put the
socialists in power so that they might fight to prevent revolution in
Russia. But such an eventuality is unlikely to arise. What is far more
likely is a monarchist counter-revolution, promoted by the Russian al-
liance. You know how greatly the Tsar desires the restoration of the
house of Orleans, and that this alone would enable him to conclude
a good, stable alliance with France. Well, the war once embarked
upon, good use would be made of the monarchist officers in the army
who would help pave the way for the said restoration. For any partial
defeat, however slight—and such there would be—they would
blame the Republic, saying that, if victories were to be achieved and
the whole-hearted cooperation of their Russian ally secured, there
must be a stable, monarchical government—in short, Philippe VII a;
the monarchist generals would themselves act irresolutely so that
their failures could be laid at the door of the republican govern-
ment—and hey presto, you've got your monarchy! And, Philippe
once installed, all those kings and emperors would suddenly be of one
mind and, instead of killing each other, share out Europe between
them, swallowing up the smaller states. Once the French Republic
had been killed there'd be another Congress of Vienna 650 at which
France's republican and socialist sins might, perhaps, be made a pre-
text for refusing her Alsace-Lorraine, whether in whole or in part,
and at which the princes would deride the stupidity of the republic-
cans for believing in the possibility of a genuine alliance between tsar-
ism and anarchy.

Is it true, by the bye, that General Boulanger is saying to anyone
who chooses to hear that war is to France a necessity, in that it is the only
way to kill social revolution? If so, let it be a warning to you. The
good Boulanger has a swashbuckling air, excusable perhaps in a sol-
dier, but which gives me a low opinion of his political nous. It is not
he who will save the Republic. If he had to choose between the social-
ists and the house of Orleans he would, if needs be, come to terms
with the latter, especially if it secured the Russian alliance for him.
Whatever the case, the bourgeois republicans in France are in the same boat
as the Tsar in Russia; they see before them the spectre of revolution and can see
only one means of salvation: war.

In France as is Germany things are going so well for us that all we
can wish for is the continuation of the status quo. And if revolution
were to break out in Russia it would create a combination of circum-
stances which could hardly be more favourable. Whereas if there
were to be general war, we should find ourselves back in the realm of
uncertainty and of unpredictable events. Revolution in Russia and
France would be averted, our party's splendid development in Ger-
many would be violently interrupted, and the monarchy would prob-
ably be restored in France. Doubtless all this would eventually re-
dound in our favour, but what a waste of time, what sacrifices, what
fresh obstacles to be overcome!

a Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans
The temptation to go to war is everywhere great. In the first place the Prussian military system, universally adopted, takes some 12 to 16 years to complete its development; after that period, all reserve formations are made up of men trained in the handling of weapons. Everywhere the 12-16-year period has elapsed; everywhere there are 12-16 classes which have passed through the army each year. Thus everywhere people are prepared, and the Germans no longer enjoy any particular advantage in that respect. And in the second place, old William \(^a\) is probably about to die; then the system will undergo certain changes. Bismarck will see his position to some extent undermined and may himself press for war as the only means of maintaining it. For others this would represent a further temptation to attack Germany which would seem to them less strong and less stable at a time when internal affairs were in a state of flux. Indeed, the Stock Exchange everywhere believes there will be war as soon as the Old Man has closed his eyes.

As for myself, I believe we must take for granted the fact that the war, if war there be, will be conducted simply with a view to preventing revolution: in Russia, to forestall common action by all malcontents—Slavophils, Constitutionals, Nihilists \(^b\) and peasants; in Germany to keep Bismarck in power; in France to stem the victorious progress of the socialists and (or so all the big bourgeoisie hopes) to re-establish the monarchy. Hence I am for 'peace at any price', seeing that it is not we who will pay that price.

Yours ever,

F. E.

I return *La France Juive*. \(^b\) What a tiresome book!

26 October, Tuesday, 3.30 p.m.

So this letter will reach you tomorrow morning.

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Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

\(^a\) William I

\(^b\) É. Drumont, *La France Juive. Essai d'histoire contemporaine*. 
My dear Laura,

I am sorry you gave yourself the trouble to copy out the Menger balderdash. The fellow is a simple Streber who knows that, the thicker he lays it on, the better will be his chance of promotion. We have got the book here and I shall give Kautsky notes enough to enable him to smash the cheeky devil up. The position he takes is so utterly ridiculous that it will nowhere be accepted unless in national-liberal newspapers, and there we must expect to have it served up again and again, but that is of the utmost indifference. The Rodbertus scare was far more serious and that we have already smashed up so completely that it is quite forgotten by this time.

I don’t think even Hyndman will venture to make capital out of this, except perhaps in a very small way.

Now I must begin writing my preface, as Swan Sonnenschein and Co. are asking for it, so this looks like coming to a conclusion!

Very affectionately yours,

F. E.
Dear Sir,

All this time I have been busy with the English translation of Volume I which I hope will now be finished in a few weeks as I have read the first proof-sheets of the whole and only now have to read 2nd and 3rd corrections of the last 10 sheets. It was very hard work, as after all I shall be held responsible for the text. I have not been able to do anything else during that time, and thus a heap of other little matters have accumulated which I now shall clear off and then return to the 3rd volume. This, as I believe I told you, I have dictated from the original ms. into a legible handwriting, and the greater part of it will not require much revision, but the chapter on the transformation of the rate of surplus value into the rate of profit, and that on banking capital, and to some extent — also that on the rent of land will take a deal of working out yet. I hope to bring the whole out next year, but shall not send anything off to the printer until the whole is completed.

The sale of Volume II up to March 1886 was 1,300 copies.

As soon as the English translation is out, I shall forward you a copy.

The reviews of Volume II in the German press have been exceedingly stupid. One, by a Dr Gross in Vienna, was very decent, but the man is an idiot. Another by Professor Lexis in Breslau is very clever in its way, the man understands the book perfectly, and knows that nothing can be said against it; but he is a 'Streber' and therefore disguises himself as a Vulgärökonom. It is in Hildebrand's Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, XI. Band, 1885, 5tes Heft (5 December 1885).

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I shall be only too glad when I can bring out the 3rd volume for as you say only then will the whole system of the author be completely understood and many stupid objections made at present will fall completely to the ground.

Yours faithfully,

P. W. Rosher

First published, in Russian, in Minuoshiye gody, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO E. T. 653

IN LONDON

[London, about 13 November 1886]

In answer to above I have got a translator for the pamphlet in question, 528 and as it is rather difficult to translate, I should certainly not like any translation to be published without my first having revised it.

Yours faithfully,

F. Engels


Reproduced from the magazine
London, 23 November 1886

My dear Laura,

I intended to write to you today but had to write to Edward first to catch the steamer, and that has taken me till now 5 p.m. So I must delay till to-morrow.

Prefaces, etc., corrected in 14 proofs, so by end of week my share of the work will probably be done. Damned glad, it has worried me more than a little. How soon Swan Sonnenschein & Co. will now bring it out I cannot tell.

In the meantime I enclose the two American letters I have just replied to.

Thanks for 'Fergus' — they do decline then to take his name?

Cyon has orders to start a large French paper (or to buy an existing one) in Paris in the interest of Russia, that was what he went home and brought the money for.

Yours affectionately,
F. E.


Published in English for the first time

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ENGLS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS

London, 24 November 1886

My dear Laura,

I hope you have received the American letters I sent you yesterday, to-day I can keep my word and write. Our people have in-
deed hit upon a lucky moment for their journey, it coincides with the first formation of a real American working men’s party and what was practically an immense success, the Henry George ‘boom’ in New York. Master George is rather a confused sort of a body and being a Yankee, has a nostrum of his own, and not a very excellent one, but his confusion is a very fair expression of the present stage of development of the Anglo-American working class mind, and we cannot expect even American masses to arrive at theoretical perfection in six or eight months— the age of this movement. And considering that the Germans in America are anything but a fair and adequate sample of the workmen of Germany, but rather of the elements the movement at home has eliminated—Lassalleans, disappointed ambitions, sectarians of all sorts—I for one am not sorry that the Americans start independently of them, or at least of their leadership. As a ferment the Germans can and will act, and at the same time undergo, themselves, a good deal of useful and necessary fermentation. The unavoidable starting point, in America, are the Knights of Labor, who are a real power, and are sure to form the first embodiment of the movement. Their absurd organisation and very slippery leaders—used to the methods of corrupt American partisanship—will very soon provoke a crisis within that body itself, and then a more adequate and more effective organisation can be developed from it. All this I think will not take very long in Yankeeland; the great point gained is that the political action of the working class as an independent party is henceforth established there.

From America to Russia il n’y a qu’un pas. a Tussy told me last summer that Lawroff had asked her to write something about Lopatine, and to ask me to do the same, as he was to publish something about him. I told her that as far as I knew, Lopatine was still awaiting his trial, and that surely under those circumstances Lawroff would not publish anything to aggravate his position; would she therefore again write to Lawroff to know how this was (for it led me almost to conclude Lawroff must have been informed that Lopatine was dead) and what he desired me to say about him. Since then I have not heard anything more with respect to this matter. I now see in the papers that a fresh Nihilist trial is coming on in Petersburg, and from the way it is worded, it looks likely that this concerns Lopatine too if he be still alive. Would you be good enough to ask Lawroff next time

a is but a step
you see him how all this is, and what he wishes me to do with regard to Lopatine as I shall be always ready and willing to contribute my testimony in confirmation and acknowledgment of the great services he has done to the cause, provided I know what is wanted and what is his position at the present moment.

Thanks to the stupidity of all its rivals and opponents, the Social Democratic Federation is beginning to become a power. The government saved them from a four by forbidding their procession on Lord Mayor's Day, and prepared them a nominal triumph by allowing them to hold what they called a meeting the same afternoon on Trafalgar Square. And when after that, the Social Democratic Federation called a meeting for last Sunday on Trafalgar Square, the same government made it a real triumph by first announcing that artillery should be brought out to St. James Park in readiness to act, and then countermanding this ridiculous plan. So the meeting — the first where the Social Democratic Federation had announced they would proceed orderly and peaceably — was puffed by the government into a great event, and when it did come off orderly and peaceably, the bourgeois and Spiessbürger found that whatever the strength of the Social Democratic Federation itself might be, it had a very powerful tail behind it. The fact is that as the Socialist League is too deeply engaged in discussing its own rules and regulations with its anarchist members, to have a moment to spare for events outside No. 18 Farringdon Road, and as the Radical Clubs of the East End take no initiative whatever with regard to the unemployed, the Social Democratic Federation have no competitor, are alone in the field, and work this question, which springs up afresh as soon as winter comes on, entirely to their own liking. And they have certainly of late been far more sensible in their doings — of late, that is to say for the last fortnight. How long that will last, of course nobody can tell. Hyndman est capable de tout.

That Professor Menger who seems to have frightened people all over the continent by his brazen impudence, is a vulgar Streber who aspires to the Ministry of Justice. I have given Kautsky the necessary materials and partly worked them out myself as far as necessary, and if we can manage it, bekommt er sein Fett schon in der ersten Nr. de N. Z. Ja-

\[a\] failure-\[b\] philistines-\[c\] is capable of anything-\[d\] pusher
Of course the Liberal papers have made an awful fuss about his discoveries, just as they did about Vogt's. Only times have changed and we can hit back now, and with effect. The conspiracy of the bourgeois press in 1859 against us was 1,000 times more effective than Bismarck's contemptible Socialist Law.

You have no idea how glad I am that the book is at last through the press. It was impossible to do anything else while it was going on. The arrangements were of necessity very complicated, proofs being sent to Edward, Moore, and myself, which naturally caused delay and constant pegging on the part of Swan Sonnenschein and Co. Then, as I only lately found out, the book was printed in — Perth! And considerable neglect of business in Swan Sonnenschein and Co.'s office through which everything had to pass. Finally, the usual course of things: neglect and delay, on the part of the printers, in summer, then, towards end of September, hurry and worry, just over that part of the ms. which wanted most careful final revisal, and constant attempts to saddle the delay on us. Grosse Industrie in the publishing trade is all very well for periodicals, novels and Tagesliteratur, but for works like this it won't do, unless your ms. is perfect to the dot on every i; otherwise, woe to the Author!

Well now, and how about your journey to London, you and Paul? Tussy will sail from New York 25 December, X-mas day, which brings her here about 6th January. But that is no reason why you should stay away so long, on the contrary we hope to have you here on Christmas day. And Paul this time has no excuse and I won't take any either, everything in France is nice and quiet, no trials, no prison, no great meetings, no excitement, and perfectly hopeless to get any during la saison des étrennes. And you, as you have let the summer and autumn pass, you will have to face the fogs—don't you feel a little home-sick for them?—which fogs by the way so far treat us very well, for we have it clear and bright, while since Monday not only the City but even Kilburn are benighted and murky. So please make your minds and let us be knowing how many days before Christmas you will make your appearance here. Nim is getting very impa-

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*a* he'll get it hot already in the first number of Die Neue Zeit, in January 1887 (see Note 651) *b* the English edition of the first volume of Capital *c* big industry *d* topical literature *e* the holidays *f* 23 November
Dear Mr Schlüter,

Very many thanks for your communication re J. Ph. Becker. As to his moving to Zurich, that is a matter I would rather leave to you to deal with direct. You say that the need for it is perfectly obvious; to you in Zurich that may seem entirely right, but to me here in London, where I am less able to weigh up the pros and cons, the case looks different. And for that reason I cannot possibly persuade him to move, at the drop of a hat, to Zurich from Geneva to which, after forty years, he has grown accustomed, having become, so to speak, part and parcel of the place. Accordingly I have so far said not a word about the matter.

The English translation is all but done and once I have paid off my most pressing debts in the shape of letters owed to correspondents, I shall at last be able to attend to the items in suspense reposing in my desk. In order of seniority these are as follows:

1) Italian translation of Wage Labour and Capital, 10 months old,
2) French ditto of the 18th Brumaire, 8 months old,
3) your Chartist ms.,
4) and 5) my Housing Question, etc., and the Mordspatrioten. To these you have now added 6) and 7).

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

London, 26 November 1886

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels


Reproduced from the original

a of the first volume of Capital (see Note 56) — b by Marx — c F. Engels, ‘Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim’s Pamphlet In Memory of the German Blood-and-Thunder Patriots. 1806-1807’.
6) *Theory of Force.* You are welcome to go ahead, but what do you mean by 'correspondingly altered'? The purely positive part amounts to no more than a few pages while the anti-Dühring polemic is itself positive and indispensable both factually and technically. However if you simply mean the deletion of individual passages having no particular relevance to the question of force and merely serving to link together the rest of the text, then I agree. This will amount to about 25 pages and is rather little. In my view the 2 chapters, *Morality and Law: Eternal Truths* and *Equality,* could be similarly revised and added on, since these also revolve round the materialist-economic view of history, in which case the whole could be entitled *On Law and Force in World History* or something of the kind.

7) *On Social Relations in Russia.* If you reprint the little pamphlet as it stands I have no objection; a preface to it would mean my embarking on further Russian studies, for which I have absolutely no time; a preface *without* further studies would provide nothing new and would therefore best be omitted. The articles relating to it in the *Volksstaat* would also best be omitted. No. 3 was an attack on Lavrov who since then has given us no cause to bring up the old business again and, like the beginning of No. 4 (attacking Tkachov), it contains nothing, save for one or two perhaps tolerable jokes, that could be of any interest today, let alone have any effect as propaganda.

If Ede is not wholly engrossed in the Eternal Feminine, kindly tell him that in my view the *Social Democratic Federation* ought now to be handled somewhat differently. The stupidity of the government, the inaction of the working men's Radical Clubs vis-à-vis the enormous growth in the number of 'unemployed' and, finally, the wisdom of the *Socialist League,* whose constant preoccupation with its own rules and regulations leaves it time for nothing else, have provided the *Social Democratic Federation* with so splendid a pitch that not even Hyndman & Co. have yet managed to queer it. The *Social Democratic Federation* is beginning to be something of a power, since the masses have absolutely no other organisation to which they can rally. The facts should therefore be recorded impartially, in particular the most important fact of all, namely that a genuinely socialist labour movement has come into being over here. But one must be very careful to draw a distinction between the masses and their tem-

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* In the original mistakenly articles Nos. 1 and 2.-
* See this volume, p. 501.
porary leaders and, in particular, make sure you don’t identify yourselves with the latter in any way, for it is virtually certain that before very long these political adventurers will, with the impatience that is born of ambition, again commit the most appalling blunders. As soon as the movement has acquired substance, either it will keep these gentlemen in check or they will destroy themselves. Hitherto the irritation felt by the majority has simply taken the form of dull, unconscious dissatisfaction, but it is in this way that the ground has been prepared for sowing.

In America, apart from New York, the real movement is running ahead of the Germans. The Americans’ real organisation is the Knights of Labor which is as muddle-headed as the masses themselves. But it is from this chaos that the movement will evolve, not from the German sections—the Germans, that is, who, for the past 20 years, have proved incapable of extracting from their theory what America needs. But this is just the moment when the Germans might exert a very enlightening influence—if only they had learnt English!

Kindest regards to everyone.

Yours,
F. Engels


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Published in English in full for the first time

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN LONDON

London, 29 November 1886

Dear Kautsky,

This morning a letter from Mrs Liebknecht wherein, on her husband’s advice, she informs me that she will be arriving day after to-
morrow at Victoria Station via Flushing. As this question cropped up yesterday, I hasten to let you know and leave it to you to decide whether, as the only person acquainted with her, you are under any compulsion to go and meet her at the station in the middle of the night. Far be it from me to put any kind of pressure on you — I merely thought fit to acquaint you with this weighty Victorian fact.

We have got some more beer in, if only I were allowed to drink it! Regards to your wife.

Your

F. E.


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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 November 1886

Dear Sorge,

Today I have delivered the last corrected proofs of the Preface\(^a\) to the publishers, thus finally ridding myself of this incubus. I hope to be able to send you a copy of the translation in a fortnight’s time. Mrs Liebknecht arrives here the day after tomorrow to await her husband who left New York only the day before yesterday.\(^6^0^0\)

The Henry George boom\(^6^5^7\) naturally brought a vast amount of dirty business to light, and I’m glad I wasn’t there. Nevertheless, it was an epoch-making day. The Germans simply have not realised how they can use their theory as a lever that will set the American masses in motion; they themselves do not for the most part understand the theory and treat it in doctrinaire and dogmatic fashion as something which, having once been learnt by rote, is sufficient as it

\(^a\) F. Engels, Preface to the English edition of Volume I of *Capital*. 
stands for any and every need. To them it is a credo, not a guide to action. Besides which, they refuse to learn English on principle. Hence the American masses have had to find a way of their own and would appear to have done so for the time being in the KNIGHTS OF LABOR whose muddle-headed principles and ridiculous organisation would seem to match their own muddle-headedness. From all that I hear, the KNIGHTS OF LABOR are a real power, particularly in New England and the West, and are daily becoming more so as a result of the brutality of the capitalist opposition. It is, I believe, necessary to work in their midst, to form, within this still fairly malleable mass, a nucleus of men who know the movement and its aims and will thus automatically take over the leadership of at least some part of it when, as is inevitable, the present 'Order' disintegrates. The worst aspect of the KNIGHTS OF LABOR is their political neutrality whose only result is the sharp practice of the Powderlys, etc. But this last has had its sting drawn by the response of the masses in the November elections, more especially in New York. In a country that has newly entered the movement, the first really crucial step is the formation by the workers of an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is distinguishable as a labour party. And this step has been taken far sooner than we might have expected, and that's the main thing. That the first programme of this party should still be muddle-headed and extremely inadequate,⁶ that it should have picked Henry George for its figurehead, are unavoidable if merely transitory evils. The masses must have the time and the opportunity to evolve; and they will not get that opportunity until they have a movement of their own — no matter what its form, providing it is their own movement — in which they are impelled onwards by their own mistakes and learn by bitter experience.

The movement in America is at the same stage as it was at home before 1848; the really intelligent chaps will at first play the same role over there as did the Communist League before 1848 among the working men's associations.¹ Save that in America things will move infinitely faster; for it is completely unprecedented for a movement to achieve such electoral successes after an existence of barely eight months. And what is still lacking, the bourgeois will make good; nowhere else in the world do they behave so outrageously and tyrannically

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¹ See Der Sozialist, No. 40, 2 October 1886. ² See F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1888 English Edition of the Manifesto of the Communist Party'.
as there, and your judges knock Bismarck's imperial pettifoggers into a cocked hat. When the struggle is conducted by the bourgeois with weapons such as these, it will rapidly come quickly to a head and, unless we in Europe bestir ourselves, the Americans will soon steal a march on us. But just now it is doubly necessary to have a few chaps on our side who are thoroughly versed in theory and in well-tried tactics and who can also speak and write English, since the Americans, for good historical reasons, lag far behind in all theoretical matters; true, they did not bring with them from Europe any medieval institutions, but instead a mass of medieval traditions—religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism—in short, every kind of balderdash that was not immediately harmful to business and now comes in very handy for the stultification of the masses. And if people are available whose clear grasp of theory enables them to tell the Americans what the consequences of their mistakes are likely to be, and make them see that any movement which does not constantly bear in mind that the ultimate goal is the destruction of the wage system, must necessarily go astray and come to nothing, then much silliness can be avoided and the process be considerably curtailed. But it must be done in English, the specifically German character must be sloughed off, and this the gentlemen of the \textit{Sozialist} are hardly qualified to do, while those of the \textit{Volkszeitung} may be shrewder, but only in regard to \textit{business}.

The American elections this month made a tremendous impact on Europe. The absence up till now of a labour movement in England, and more especially in America, has been the great trump card of radical Republicans everywhere, notably in France. Now these chaps are utterly dumbfounded—Mr Clemenceau in particular who, on 2 November, witnessed the collapse of all that his policy was based on. 'Just look at America,' he never tired of saying, 'that's a real republic for you—no poverty and no labour movement!' And it's the same with the men of Progress and 'democrats' in Germany and over here—where they are just experiencing an incipient movement of their own. What has completely stunned these people is the fact that the movement is so strongly accentuated as a labour movement, and that it has sprung up so suddenly and with such force.

Over here it was the absence of all competition on the one hand and the stupidity of the government on the other that enabled the gentlemen of the \textit{Social Democratic Federation} to assume a position to which they would never have ventured to aspire 3 months ago.
The hoo-hah that was created about the plan — never seriously contemplated — to form a procession behind the Lord Mayor's a Show on 9 November, and the similar hoo-hah later on, about the Trafalgar Square meeting of 21 November b when, despite talk of bringing up the artillery, the government eventually had to back down — all this at long last compelled the gents of the Social Democratic Federation to hold a quite ordinary meeting on the 21st, without any hollow rhodomontade or pseudo-revolutionary demonstrations with their obbligato plebeian accompaniment,— and all of a sudden the philistines began to feel respect for the men who had stirred up so much dust and yet behaved so reputably. 658 And, since no one except the Social Democratic Federation bother about the unemployed whose numbers, in these days of chronic stagnation of trade, increase substantially every winter and who suffer extreme want, the Social Democratic Federation can hardly fail to win. In this country we now have the beginnings of a labour movement, and no mistake, and if the Social Democratic Federation is the first to reap the reward, this will be due to the cowardice of the Radicals and the stupidity of the Socialist League 346 which is bickering with the anarchists, is unable to shake them off and hence has no time to spare for the real live movement that is taking place there under its very nose. How long, for that matter, Hyndman & Co. will continue to act in this relatively rational way remains to be seen. I anticipate that, being in too much of a hurry, they will before long again perpetrate the most colossal blunders, whereupon they'll discover that, in a serious movement, this simply won't do.

In Germany things are getting nicer and nicer — sentences in Leipzig of up to 4 years' hard labour for 'insurrection'! 666 They are absolutely determined to provoke a rumpus.

I now have 7 lesser jobs in my desk — Italian and French translations, prefaces, new editions, etc. c — and then inexorably on to Volume III. d

Your old friend
F.E.

Printed according to the original

"John Staples." b 31 November in the original; see also this volume, p. 526. c See this volume, p. 528. d of Capital
306. Engels to Sparling. 7 December 1886

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ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER 667

IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH

[London,] 7 December 1886

Please send me a copy of *The Bakuninists at Work* 668; the only one I’ve got was in a bundle with other stuff. The thing is badly crumpled and requires close scrutiny. On Sunday\(^a\) afternoon the soldier\(^b\) turned up here, where his wife had already been for several days—he’s very satisfied with his success.\(^600\) Yesterday Paul, the Berliner,\(^c\) also turned up. Since I cannot easily apply myself to any really big jobs while they are here, I shall see if I can’t get something or other ready for press for you; however, I would prefer to write my prefaces myself.

Kindest regards.

Yours,
F. E.

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Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO HALLIDAY SPARLING

IN LONDON

[London,] 7 December 1886

122 Regent’s Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

For your *private* information I beg to say that *at present* there is no English translation published of the work alluded to by you.\(^669\)

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\(^{a}\) 5 December \(^{b}\) Wilhelm Liebknecht \(^{c}\) Paul Singer
I make this information private as I cannot see the use of having such things published in *The Commonweal*.

Yours truly,

F. Engels

[At the bottom of the letter]

H. H. Sparling Esq.


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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 13 December 1886

My dear Laura,

Well, here we have you at last nailed to a date, and I hope you will make it the 23rd, so as to be able to go a bit about town with Nim before Christmas and look at the Christmas shops. And to cut short any further excuses, I enclose a check for £20.- to enable you to perform your promise.

Also a letter from Tussy, who was yesterday in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, and will have meetings after that in Baltimore, Wilmington and New York—but in New York a whole series from 19th to 23rd, and leave on 25th. Another letter from Edward will be sent tomorrow, I have to make a note or two out of it. Please bring all these letters with you when you come for I have a strong suspicion that they were written with one eye to business, for I find that Liebknecht also wrote almost daily his *impressions de voyage* to his wife, not so much
for her sake as for that of forming the material basis of a book already contracted for.

Last Wednesday week a Mrs Liebknecht arrived here, an extremely German lady, and before 24 hours had passed, she began to unbosom herself to Nim with an eagerness that was almost too much for Nim. The household seems to be a model German one, Sentimentalität und häuslicher Zwist, but considerably more of the latter. Nim will tell you more anon. On Sunday afternoon Liebknecht dropped in, more hungry than usual, fortunately there was a boiled leg of mutton to appease his craving. He is quite the old Liebknecht, only Nim who has got the deepest inside in his household mysteries affirms that he is somewhat more of a Philistine. What Tussy says of him is quite correct, his notion of his own importance, capacities and absolute invincibility is astounding; but at the same time there is an undercurrent of a dim apprehension that after all he is not the stupendous man that he would like the people to believe him to be; which undercurrent drives him to be more in want of other people's admiration than he otherwise would be, and in order to obtain that, to manipulate facts considerably in all his tales about himself. But his wife says with truth that if he was not so immensely satisfied with himself, he would never be able to do the work he does. So we must take him as he is and be satisfied with a quiet laugh at much of what he says; he will create much mischief in a small way by his diplomatising ways pro aris et fo- cis, but at the decisive moment he will always take the right side. They left on Friday for Leipzig.

Percy is quite well again, he always has these violent attacks, but if once over the first assault, he is soon right again.

The Kautskys are taking a house beyond the Archway — not the Archway Tavern but the real Archway farther on. That is to say, Scheu takes the house for three years, and takes part of it with his daughter, a rather silly girl of about 18 whom he has got over from Hungary; and the Kautskys take the other part. They are beginning to move into it to-day and hope to have done with it by Saturday.

I had a letter last week from old Harney, he sailed 12th October, much too late for his condition of body, and of course arrived rheumatic and gouty all over. But he could not leave England which he adores while he hates America, and if he lives, he says he will come

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* 1 December - b sentimentality and household quarrels - c for our altars and firesides (Cicero, De natura deorum, III, 40, 94)
across again next spring and live and die in England! Poor fellow—when the Chartist movement broke down he found himself adrift and the glorious time of free-trade prosperity in England was indeed enough to drive a fellow to despair. Then he went to Boston, only to find there, in an exaggerated form and ruling supreme, those very things and qualities he had hated most in England. And now when a real movement begins on both sides of the Atlantic amongst the English speaking nations, he is too old, too decrepit, too much an outsider, and—too patriotic to follow it. All he has learnt in America is British chauvinism!

Now Nim comes and brings me the out-of-the-way stamps to affix to this uncommon heavy letter, while Anni is getting the dinner things into shape and so I must conclude. Nim sends her love to both of you. As to Paul you will perhaps after all succeed in bringing him with you on the 23rd, what in the name of dickens is he going to mopse in Paris in Christmas week, not even the chambers sitting?

Ever affectionately yours,
F. Engels


Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS Jun.

IN ENGLSKIRCHEN

London, 22 December 1886

Dear Emil,

I was very pleased to hear from you again and through you from your mother* and all the others.

As to your request, it occurs to me that it would be considered gross inconsistency on my part if I wished to contribute 150 marks to the Protestant Institute in Barmen because the aims it pursued were, as

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* Charlotte Engels
a rule, generally worthy. I believe your father-in-law would likewise think it inconsistent were he to make a donation to an avowedly Social Democratic workers' fund on account of its generally worthy aims. But where there's a will there's a way and since in any case it always strikes me as somewhat comical whenever I see myself listed in the books as a shareholder of the Protestant Institute, I hereby present you with both the shares to do with as you please. I enclose a note for Hermann who will, I trust, attend to the matter.

I am glad to hear that you are all well and especially that your mother's solicitude for her children and grandchildren is giving her a new lease of life. All of you will indeed miss your father for a long time to come, both in the family and in the business. He was every inch a man and such a one will never be replaced in the family and only with difficulty in the business. However it will be a great help to you young people to step into positions of responsibility early on; unfortunately it was rare enough in Germany in my day, yet it is absolutely essential to the formation of the mind and particularly of the character. So let the elderly gentlemen amuse themselves in Barmen and in summer use Engelskirchen more for recuperation than for business. If you can run the firm on your own, so much the better; it will give you self-confidence.

But now I must close; Schorlemmer will be arriving from Manchester in a few minutes and tomorrow I expect more visitors from Paris; we shall therefore have a full house and that will put paid to my work and also to my correspondence. However I was anxious to settle the matter of the shares beforehand and have used my last free moment for this purpose.

So my particularly fond regards to your mother and to your wife, your boy, Hermanns and Moritz and regards to yourself

From your Uncle
Friedrich

And in particular a very Merry Christmas and prosperous New Year to you all.

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

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\(^{a}\) Friedrich Wilhelm Röhrig  \(^{b}\) Hermann Engels jun.  \(^{c}\) Emil Engels sen.  \\
\(^{d}\) Laura and Paul Lafargue  \(^{e}\) Johanna Klara Engels  \(^{f}\) Emil Engels  \\
\(^{g}\) Hermann Engels sen. and his son Hermann  \(^{h}\) Rudolf Moritz Engels
Dear Mrs Wischnewetzky,

Your letter of November 13th never reached me, of which I am very sorry; it would have suited me much better to write a preface then, and moreover would have left me more time.\footnote{F. Engels, ‘Appendix to the American Edition of The Condition of the Working Class in England’}

But let me first congratulate you on the happy family event in which you have been the principal actor and add my best wishes for your own health and that of the little one newly arrived.

Of course the appendix\footnote{F. Engels, ‘Appendix to the American Edition of The Condition of the Working Class in England’} is now a little out-of-date, and as I anticipated something of the kind, proposed that it should be written when the book was ready through the press. Now a preface will be much wanted, and I will write you one; but before, I must await the return of the Avelings\footnote{F. Engels, ‘Appendix to the American Edition of The Condition of the Working Class in England’} to have a full report of the state of things in America; and it seems to me that my preface will not be exactly what you desire.

First you seem to me to treat New York a little as the Paris of America, and to overrate the importance, for the country at large, of the local New York movement with its local features. No doubt it has a great importance, but then the North-West with its background of a numerous farming population and its independent movement will hardly accept blindly the George theory.

Secondly the preface of this book is hardly the place for a thorough-going criticism of that theory, and offers even not the necessary space for it.

Thirdly I should have to study thoroughly Henry George’s various writings and speeches\footnote{F. Engels, ‘Appendix to the American Edition of The Condition of the Working Class in England’} (most of which I have not got) so as to render impossible all replies based on subterfuges and side-issues.

My preface will of course turn entirely on the immense stride made by the American working-men in the last ten months, and naturally
also touch Henry George and his land scheme. But it cannot pretend to deal extensively with it. Nor do I think the time for that has come. It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat, than that it should start and proceed, from the beginning, on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes, *durch Schaden klug werden*. And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working-class to move *as a class*; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, Henry George or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionised from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there have made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of *alleinselig machendes Dogma*, a and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory — if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848,— to go in for any real general working-class movement, accept its *faktische* b starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme: they ought, in the words of the *Komrnunistischen Manifest*: ‘in der Gegenwart der Bewegung die Zukunft der Bewegung zu repräsentieren’. c But above all give the movement time to consolidate, do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start, worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which, at present, they cannot properly understand, but which they will soon learn. A million or two of working-men’s votes next November for

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a the only saving dogma - b actual - c 'in the movement of the present to represent the future of the movement'.
a bona fide working-men's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform. The very first attempt — soon to be made if the movement progresses — to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis — will bring them all face to face, Georgites, Knights of Labor, Trade-Unionists and all; and if our German friends by that time have learnt enough of the language of the country to go in for a discussion, then will be the time for them to criticise the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage labour. But anything that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the working-men's party — on no matter what platform — I should consider a great mistake, and therefore I do not think the time has arrived to speak out fully and exhaustively either with regard to Henry George or the Knights of Labor.

I did not write 'yes' because I could not exactly make out what you might make out that 'yes' to mean.

As to the title: I cannot omit the 1844, because the omission would give an entirely false idea of what the reader has to expect. And as I, by the preface and appendix, take a certain responsibility, I cannot consent to its being left out. You may add: 'With preface and appendix by the Author', if you think proper.

The proofs I return corrected by same mail.

Yours very faithfully,

F. Engels


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My dear Tussy,

You know I would do anything in my forces to please our friend Donkin, but I am afraid I cannot do so in this case.

The work I have had in hand for the last few years is so urgent and of such dimensions that I have had to give up, once for all, attending meetings and societies and taking part in discussions or preparing for such. If I am to accomplish my work, I cannot break through this rule, and the less so, as having given way once, I could not plead the same reason again for refusing in other cases.

Moreover the subject I am asked to discuss, has been lost sights of by me for more than a year, and I should therefore be compelled to read it up again and to look at whatever has been published since with respect to it, which would take me more than a week to be exclusively devoted to that purpose, and that week, I am sorry to say, I cannot spare.

And therefore, highly flattered as I feel by the invitation, I very much regret that circumstances will not allow me to avail myself of it.

Yours affectionately,

F. Engels

Kindest regards to Dr Donkin!

First published in Die Wahrheit, Nr. 39, 1./2. Oktober 1988

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time
My dear Dr Donkin,

I have heard of the Club — and I am much obliged to Mr Pearson for asking me to join it. But I cannot — for these reasons. First, I think many members of the Club would decidedly object to my belonging to it. You see, it is a very different matter to advocate certain things, in theory, and to have the courage to put one’s theory into practice. Probably, many of the good ladies in the Club would be much shocked at the idea of my becoming a member of it, and I should only be giving Mr Pearson trouble if I accepted his friendly suggestion. But there is also another reason. I have, as it is, hardly a moment of time for real study, a half the work I ought to do I don’t do. And apart from this, any time not taken up in trying to earn bread (and it is so difficult for a woman to do like that!) I feel I must give to what seems to me the highest and most important work I could do — i.e. the propaganda of Socialism.

It would not be right to join this Club well knowing that I could not undertake to ‘wilt progress’ for it, or attend its meetings regularly, or even take such an interest in it as a member ought to take. If, however, mere ‘visitors’ are admitted, and no one objects to me, I shall be very glad to go to any meeting and take part in any discussion on a question of which I know something. — Please thank Mr Pear-
son very much for asking me. I have often wished to meet him, but have always, somehow, missed doing it. If I went to the Club on an evening, I should be glad if it could be when you are there!

Yours very sincerely,

Eleanor Marx-Aveling

First published in *Die Wahrheit*, Nr. 39, 1./2. Oktober 1988

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Published in English for the first time
NOTES


2 Engels was busy sorting out Marx’s library and archives. Apart from extensive economic manuscripts (including the manuscripts of the second and third books of *Capital*; see Note 4), he found a large number of diverse conspectuses, excerpts, letters and documents on the working-class movement (see notes 57, 72, 174). It took Engels until late March 1884 to put the archives in order, whereupon he moved all the manuscripts which had survived and the correspondence to his own house. He was faced with tasks of enormous dimensions, namely preparing for the press Marx’s unfinished works, notably volumes II and III of *Capital*.—3, 6, 33

3 On 31 March 1883 Pyotr Lavrov informed Engels from Paris that he was sending him a postal order which he had received from the students of Technological Institute and Russian women students with the request that it be used to buy a wreath to be laid on Marx’s grave. Engels had an announcement printed in *Der Sozialdemokrat* of 3 May 1883 to the effect that the request had been carried out (see F. Engels, ‘On the Death of Karl Marx’, present edition, Vol. 24, p. 473).—3

4 Engels is referring to the manuscripts of the second and third books of *Capital*, written by Marx. As he studied Marx’s manuscripts, Engels was able to establish within certain limits the time span in which they must have been written (see Engels’ prefaces to volumes II and III of *Capital*, present edition, vols 36 and 37). By the spring of 1884 Engels became convinced of the need to change Marx’s original plan according to which the second volume of *Capital* was to consist of two books and decided to publish the manuscripts of these books as volumes II and III of *Capital* (see this volume, pp. 121, 122). When preparing Volume II for the press, Engels used the latter versions of the drafts (see Note 17) which came to his notice afterwards (see Engels’ letters to Johann Philipp Becker of 22 May, to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of 29 June and to Karl Kautsky of 18 September 1883).
The second volume of *Capital*, edited by Engels, appeared in 1885, and the third in 1894.—3, 6, 26, 29, 88, 121, 348, 522

5 The idea of writing a study of dialectics came to Marx in late 1857 or early 1858 when Ferdinand Freiligrath gave him—most probably after 22 October 1857—an incomplete set of Hegel’s *Works*. On 16 January 1858, Marx wrote to Engels: ‘If ever the time comes when such work is again possible, I should very much like to write 2 or 3 sheets making accessible to the common reader the rational aspect of the method which Hegel not only discovered but also mystified’ (see present edition, Vol. 40, p. 249). Marx was going to call the study ‘Dialectic’ (see his letter to Joseph Dietzgen of 9 May 1868, present edition, Vol. 43, p. 31), but this plan failed to materialise.—3

6 On 24 February 1883 Hermann Lopatin fled from exile in Vologda to Paris, whence he proceeded to London in September 1883.—4

7 Engels is referring to the sister of Paul Lafargue’s mother. It is clear from Laura’s letter to Engels of 4 May 1883 that Lafargue’s mother lived together with her sister and the latter’s children in Bordeaux.—4

8 The family of Jenny, Marx’s eldest daughter who died in January 1883—her husband Charles Longuet and their four children—lived in Argenteuil near Paris.—4

9 Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde and Jean Dormoy were tried by a jury in Moulins in late April 1883 for their actions in the province of Montluçon and elsewhere in the autumn of 1882; the charges brought against them were conspiracy and incitement to civil war. The court sentenced each of them to six months’ imprisonment as well as imposing fines. Guesde and Lafargue served their sentences in Ste Pélagie prison, Paris, from 21 May to 21 November 1883 (see Note 402).—5, 20, 28, 30, 41, 46, 48, 59, 61, 64, 115

10 No information is available on the French edition of the *Manifesto* mentioned by Engels. In all probability it never materialised.—5

11 In his letter of 17 March 1883, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, on behalf of the Dutch Socialist Workers’ Party, asked Engels to ‘pass on our homage and grateful acknowledgement, to the Marx family and to all those who join us in mourning at the grave of the master’. Nieuwenhuis also informed Engels that he planned to translate his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* into Dutch, which he actually did in 1886. Nieuwenhuis further enquired about Engels’ plan with regard to Volume II of Marx’s *Capital*, further study of the English labour movement after 1845 and the reissue of Engels’ *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—6

12 Engels is referring to the *Social-Democratic Association of the Netherlands* which was formed in 1881 and united in a single party the Social-Democratic associations of Amsterdam, The Hague, Haarlem and Rotterdam. The associations had been formed in 1878-81 with the active involvement of former members of the Dutch section of the First International. Nieuwenhuis was among the founders of the new organisation.—6

13 The London monthly *The Republican* carried a short obituary entitled ‘Karl Marx’ in its issue of April 1883 containing a reference to the November issue of 1882 which had published a biography and photo of Marx.—7
In his letter of reply to Engels of 16 April 1883, Eduard Bernstein confirmed that the wood block of Marx's portrait was in the possession of the editorial board of Der Sozialdemokrat. — 7

The reference is to the third congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany which was held illegally in Copenhagen from 29 March to 2 April 1883, with 60 delegates taking part. The congress was to work out the German Social Democrats' political line on the social reforms being carried out by the bourgeois government, to decide on the party's tactics and the position to be taken by Der Sozialdemokrat, its printed organ, given the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany (see Note 37). The congress unanimously called on the party to expose the demagogy of Bismarck's domestic policy, endorsed the stance of the main printed organ and the general line of conduct of the parliamentary group (see Note 49). It further made it incumbent on every party member, including the Social-Democratic representatives in the Reichstag, to observe party discipline and help carry out party decisions (see also Note 16).—7, 14, 21

Engels is probably referring to the first report on the Copenhagen Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany carried by Der Sozialdemokrat of 12 April 1883. ('Kongreß der deutschen Sozialdemokratie. Abgehalten in Kopenhagen vom 29. März bis 2. April 1883.') Subsequent reports were printed by the newspaper on 19 and 26 April.—7

Eight of Marx's draft manuscripts for Volume II (Book II, as he originally intended) of Capital have survived. The longest of them, consisting of three lengthy chapters, is Manuscript I. It was completed in the spring of 1865, and Engels subsequently turned it into parts of Volume II. Since he did not regard the said manuscript as the final version of Book II, as he was preparing Volume I of Capital for the press Marx wrote Manuscript III (in which he gave a conspectus of works apparently intended for quotation in Volume II) and Manuscript IV, which Engels later described as 'an elaboration, ready for the press, of Part I and the first chapters of Part II of Book II' (see present edition, Vol. 36, Preface). In 1868-70 Marx wrote a completely new version of the second book, i.e. Manuscript II. The reason why manuscripts III and IV appeared earlier than Manuscript II is that, when he was numbering the drafts of Volume II in the late seventies, Marx started with the two complete versions and followed them with the outlines of individual parts. In the latter half of the 1870s Marx resumed work on Book II, having realised that it was not complete; although he had examined the simple reproduction of capital in great detail in Manuscript II, he had not analysed its extended reproduction. Manuscripts V, VI and VII appeared between April 1877 and July 1878 and were an attempt to turn the text into a suitable form for printing. The final version of the second book of Capital was Manuscript VIII on which Marx seems to have worked between the autumn of 1879 and early 1880. Later it was used in full by Engels when preparing Part III of Volume II.—8, 14, 18, 26, 33, 43, 53, 58, 88, 154, 160, 244

This letter is the reply to the letter by the editor of The Nineteenth Century, Thomas James Knowles, of 7 April 1883 in which the latter requested Engels to send him a short résumé in English of Volume I of Marx's Capital for an article his journal was planning to publish on the subject.—8
Notes

19 This letter was written by Engels in reply to that by Philipp Van Patten of 2 April 1883. In it the latter informed Engels that at a meeting dedicated to Marx's memory Johann Most and his supporters had claimed Most had been on intimate terms with Marx, that he had helped to popularise Capital in Germany and his propaganda work had enjoyed Marx's support. Engels' letter and an excerpt from that by Van Patten were published in German in Engels' article 'On the Death of Karl Marx' carried by Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 21 of 17 May 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 24). Engels made several changes in the German text of his letter the most important of which are given in the footnotes.


20 The reference is to the disruptive activities in the International of Mikhail Bakunin and his supporters. In the autumn of 1868 in Geneva they founded the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, an organisation with its own programme and rules that contradicted those of the International (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 207-11).

Following the refusal by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to admit the Alliance to the International, in 1869 Bakunin, in violation of the promise he had given to disband his organisation, secretly introduced the Alliance into the International with the aim of seizing its leadership. Posing as sections of the International, sections of the Alliance publicised their anarchist programme, claiming it was the programme of the International. In November 1871, the Bakuninists' congress in Sonvillier, Switzerland, called for a revision of the International's Rules, notably the articles on the importance of the political struggle by the working class and its party.—10

21 At the Hague Congress of the First International (2-7 September 1872) a special commission was formed to investigate the secret activities of the Alliance. On the strength of the materials it studied, the commission concluded that the activities of the Alliance were incompatible with membership in the International, as were the activities of the leaders of the former, Bakunin and Guillaume. Having generally accepted the commission's proposals, the Hague Congress decided to publicise the documents at the commission's disposal concerning the Alliance and expelled Bakunin and Guillaume from the International.—10

22 In his reply of 18 April 1883 to Engels' letter of 17 April (see this volume, pp. 8-9), Thomas James Knowles wrote that he was intending to include in the journal The Nineteenth Century the English translation of Engels' Synopsis of Volume One of Capital by Karl Marx (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 263-308) complete with the author's name. Knowles intended to publish in the same issue an article about Marx written by Maltman Barry, who had been a member of the International.—12

23 In mid-November 1850 Engels joined the Manchester branch of the German textiles firm Ermen & Engels. The German side of the enterprise was run by Fr. Engels (Senior) with the assistance of Anthony Ermen. The firm's office was in Barmen. Following the death of his father in 1860, Engels received £10,000 from his brothers as compensation for renouncing his rights to the factory in Engelskirchen, which bolstered his financial and legal status in the Manchester firm.
Engels was a co-owner of the Manchester firm of Ermen & Engels for five years between June 1864 and June 1869. At the end of this period he left the firm to concentrate on party, academic and journalistic work.— 12

24 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, also in his hand, reads: Herrn Ed. Bernstein, 137, alte Landstraße, Riesbach-Zürich, Switzerland.— 12, 72

25 The reference is to Engels’ Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (see present edition, Vol. 24) which in 1883 was published in three German editions running to a total of 10,000 copies. The work was composed of three revised chapters by Engels from his work Herr Eugen Dühring’s Revolution in Science (Anti-Dühring) (see present edition, Vol. 25).— 12, 15, 37, 60

26 The article by Engels which is referred to in this letter was published in Der Sozialdemokrat, Nos. 19 and 21, 3 and 17 May 1883, under the heading ‘On the Death of Karl Marx’ (see present edition, Vol. 24). It was written in reply to the articles about Marx and Engels by Brousse, a Possibilist leader (see Note 237), which had been carried by Le Prolétaire, Nos. 234 and 237, 24 March and 14 April 1883.— 12


28 The New Yorker Volkszeitung, No. 68, 20 March 1883 reported that, on 19 March, after a meeting of New York workers in memory of Marx, Engels had been sent the following telegram: ‘The proletariat of New York, assembled at the Cooper Institute, honours the memory of its immortal Karl Marx and calls on its brothers: Workers of all countries, unite!’ — 14

29 The trip was planned for the spring of 1884 with the aim of collecting funds from the workers to finance the election campaign for the Reichstag in the autumn of that year. However, Wilhelm Liebknecht was not able to go to the United States until the autumn of 1886, and with a different aim in mind (see Note 600).— 14, 114

30 Engels attached a great deal of importance to publicising Marx’s theoretical and practical revolutionary activity. With this aim in mind, he wrote three biographies of Marx at different times— in 1869, 1877 and 1892— and for different publications (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 59-64, Vol. 24, pp. 183-95 and Vol. 27, pp. 332-43). The new biography which Engels planned, taking account of the extensive correspondence and other materials which had survived, and to which he refers in this letter, was not written.— 14, 17, 26, 40, 79

31 On 19 March 1883 Friedrich Adolph Sorge informed Engels that Henry George’s propaganda in America was leading the labour movement astray and suggested the publication of the letter Marx had written to him on 20 June 1881 (see present edition, Vol. 46). This letter contained a critique of Henry George’s book Progress and Poverty which had been published in New York in 1880. However, Engels considered that it would be rather premature to publish Marx’s letter in the American press (see this volume, p. 42, and Engels’ letter to Sorge of 18 June 1887, present edition, Vol. 48). Engels gave a critical exposition of George’s views of the nationalisation of land in the Preface to the American edition of his book The Condition of the Working-Class in England (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 437-39).— 14, 114
32 When he learned that Engels' pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (present edition, Vol. 24; see also Note 25) was about to appear, Sorge wrote on 19 March 1883 that he could request Otto Weydemeyer to translate it into English and have it published in the United States. The publication failed to materialise.—15

33 Eduard Bernstein was returning to Switzerland from Copenhagen where he had been a delegate to the congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see Note 15).—15

34 Following the introduction of a local state of siege in Leipzig in 1881 (see Note 67), Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and other German socialists had been forced to leave the city. They settled in the village of Borsdorf near Leipzig.—16, 19, 20, 47, 52, 80, 83, 147, 258, 377, 380, 417, 445, 495

35 Engels was unable to carry out these plans due to the enormous demands made on him by the preparation for the press of volumes I and II of *Capital* and the publication of translations of Marx's and his own works. At the same time, he was working on his book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see Note 174).—17

36 On 17 March 1883, August Bebel informed Engels that at the forthcoming congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in Copenhagen (see Note 15) he intended to put up for discussion the question of the party erecting a monument to Marx. It seems that the stance taken by Marx's family, about which Engels informed Bebel in this letter, long remained an obstacle to the erection of a monument in Highgate Cemetery where Marx was buried. In 1954 the Marx grave was moved to a better place in the cemetery. Lawrence Bradshaw was commissioned by the Communist Party of Great Britain to sculpt a bronze head of Marx, and the monument which incorporated it was unveiled in 1956 by Harry Pollit, then General Secretary of the British Communist Party.—17

37 The *Exceptional Law Against the Socialists* (Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie — the Law against the Harmful and Dangerous Aspirations of Social Democracy) was introduced by the Bismarck government, supported by the majority in the Reichstag, on 21 October 1878 to counter the socialist and workers' movement. This law, better known as the Anti-Socialist Law, made the Social-Democratic Party of Germany illegal, banned all party and mass workers' organisations, and the socialist and workers' press; on the basis of this law socialist literature was confiscated and Social Democrats subjected to reprisals. However, during its operation the Social-Democratic Party, assisted by Marx and Engels, uprooted both reformist and anarchist elements and managed to substantially strengthen and widen its influence among the people by skillfully combining illegal and legal methods of work. Under pressure from the mass workers' movement, the Anti-Socialist Law was abrogated on 1 October 1890. For Engels' assessment of this law, see his article 'Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party' (present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 407-09).—17, 21, 26, 32, 50, 93, 100, 114, 124, 125, 129, 132, 145, 147, 164, 187, 199, 213, 216, 220, 242, 268, 271, 275, 285, 290, 295, 300, 303, 305, 307, 313, 464, 527

38 The materials used by the prosecution in the trial of Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Adolf Hepner for high treason in Leipzig in March 1872 included the

39 The letter mentioned has not been found.—18, 23, 62, 80, 108, 124, 147, 201, 204, 210, 211, 212, 249, 257, 293, 353, 437, 524

40 The reference is to Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England. From Personal Observation and Authentic Sources* (see present edition, Vol. 4) which was put out in early 1845 by Otto Wigand's publishing house in Leipzig. In 1872-73 Engels discussed with Liebknecht the plan for a second edition of his book since the latter was planning to publish it in a socio-political literature series with the participation of the editorial board of *Der Volksstaat* (see present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 375, 477). It is clear from the letters which Wilhelm Liebknecht and Adolf Hepner wrote to Engels in early 1873 that they helped to sort out Engels' legal relations with the Leipzig publishing house. However, this matter was not clarified for the next 12 years (see Engels' letter of 19 January 1885 to August Bebel, this volume, p. 253). The second authorised edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* was not published until 1892 by Dietz.—19, 248, 251, 253, 263


42 On 6 June 1879 Wilhelm Bracke wrote to Engels, 'I admire Bebel; he is the only one among us with the skills for life in parliament.'—20

43 August Bebel failed to obtain election to the Reichstag at the 1881 poll. In April 1883 Social Democrats in Hamburg nominated Bebel as a candidate at the additional elections being held then. On 2 May 1883 Bebel wrote to Engels that, given the relatively poor effect of campaigning and particularly parliamentary work against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law, he had requested the voters in Hamburg not to nominate him as a candidate. However, this letter did not arrive until after he had been elected to the Reichstag on 29 June.—20

44 The half-and-halves—representatives of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany grouped at that time around Wilhelm Blos and Bruno Geiser. The decision of the Copenhagen Congress (see Note 15) of Social-Democratic candidates nominated for the elections to the Reichstag was directed against them. It stated that the candidates should fully endorse the party programme, observe party discipline and help implement party decisions (see *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 17, 19 April 1883).—21

45 When the question of the merger of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers) and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers was being discussed in the early 1870s, Marx and Engels considered this step to be premature. They believed that joint political activity 'against the common foe' should precede the establishment of a united party and the elaboration of its programme (see K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, F. Engels to A. Bebel, 18-28 March 1875, present edition, Vol. 24, p. 78). At the Gotha Unity Congress (22-27 May 1875) the Lassallean Wilhelm Hasenclever was elected a co-chairman of the party Executive Committee, and in June 1875 Wilhelm Hasselmann joined the board of the party-
owned national German co-operative printing office in Berlin which had been formed by decision of the Congress.— 21

46 On 2 May 1883, Bebel wrote to Engels that ‘Liebknecht, instead of showing the toughness [against Right-wing and the half-and-half members of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany] he ought, is doing his utmost to blur and hush up the conflicts. He has the half-and-halves for protection.’

On the half-and-halves, see Note 44.— 21

47 The reference is to Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche’s and Louis Viereck’s journey around the USA from February to May 1881 on an assignment for the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany. The purpose of the journey was to engage in propaganda work and collect money for the election campaign to the Reichstag. The elections were due to take place that autumn. On Wilhelm Liebknecht’s and August Bebel’s trip to the USA planned for 1884, see Note 29.— 22, 80

48 In the latter half of April and early May 1883 the Reichstag discussed a bill on workers’ health insurance and one providing for changes in trade regulations; the two bills were part of Bismarck’s so-called social reform (see Note 312). On 2 May 1883 Bebel informed Engels that some of the Social-Democratic deputies—including Moritz Rittinghausen and Max Kayser—had intended to vote in favour of these bills. However, they had submitted to party discipline and voted against them along with the remainder of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on 31 May and 2 June 1883, respectively.— 22

49 The reference is to the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag which in 1880 was officially recognised as the party centre at the illegal congress in Wyden, Switzerland, against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37). Prior to that the party centre was in fact the Relief Committee for the repressed Social Democrats set up in 1878.— 22, 145, 381

50 Wilhelm Blos was expelled from Hamburg in late 1880 in connection with the introduction of a so-called local state of siege (see Note 67) in some places in Germany. His letter to Engels from Bremen of 4 February 1881 showed that he was disturbed at the reaction which had ensued and was in a liquidationist mood, which was manifested in particular by his proposal to dissolve the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany.— 23

51 On 2 May 1883 Bebel wrote to Engels that symptoms were apparent in various branches of the German economy which suggested the approach of a crisis.— 23

52 This letter by Engels is his reply to the Italian economist Achille Loria whose article ‘Karl Marx’ had been carried by the journal Nuova antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti, ser. 2, Vol. 38, fas. 7, Rome, 1883, pp. 509-42. Engels’ letter was published in German by Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 21, 17 May 1883 in the article ‘On the Death of Karl Marx’ (see present edition, Vol. 24).

For a critique of Loria’s article, see also Engels’ Preface to Volume III of Capital (present edition, Vol. 37).— 24

53 Engels is referring to Loria’s quotation in his article ‘Karl Marx’ of the expression Alphonse de Lamartine used with regard to Proudhon in his work Histoire de la révolution de 1848, Brussels, 1849, Vol. 1, Book VII, Ch. 5.— 24
The armchair socialists—representatives of a trend in German bourgeois political economy which emerged in the last third of the 19th century in response to the growth of the workers' movement and the spread within it of the ideas of scientific socialism. They preached bourgeois reformism at universities, passing it off as socialism. They alleged that the state, specifically the German Empire, was above all classes and could help achieve improvements in the condition of the working class by way of social reforms.—24, 138, 184, 226, 348, 385, 390, 417

A fragment from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Correspondence. 1846-1895, Martin Lawrence, London, 1934.—25, 98

The idea of translating Capital into English occurred to Marx as early as 1865, when he was working on the manuscript (see Marx's letter to Engels of 31 July 1865, present edition, Vol. 42). The British journalist and member of the International's General Council, Peter Fox, was to help Marx find a publisher. However, this matter was not settled due to Fox's death in 1869. The English translation of the first volume of Capital, edited by Engels, did not appear until after Marx's death, in January 1887, and was published by Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., London. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling between mid-1883 and March 1886. Eleanor Marx-Aveling took part in the preparatory work for the edition (see also this volume, pp. 33 and 127-28).—29, 31, 33, 52, 83, 122, 124, 130, 133, 143, 153, 202, 245, 261, 291, 306, 313, 348, 400, 401, 404, 416, 419, 421, 423, 426, 434, 436, 447, 449-50, 453, 456, 460-63, 468, 471, 474, 480, 482, 493-94, 506, 509, 522, 527-28

Engels is referring to the extracts from statistical reports and specialised studies of the various forms of land ownership and the history of the village commune in Russia which Marx wrote down in the 1870s. He intended to use this material for the section on ground rent in Book III of Capital. However, this plan did not materialise (see Engels' Preface to Volume III of Capital, present edition, Vol. 37).—29, 88

The reference is to Marx's economic manuscripts: 1) Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft of 1857-58), and 2) the Manuscripts of 1861-63, which Marx entitled A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (see present edition, Vols. 28-29 and 30-34).—29

The first volume of Capital was translated into French in full by Joseph Roy and appeared in Paris in 1872-75 as individual instalments which were then put together to form a book. Marx gave an assessment of the translation and the work which had been done in connection with it in the Preface and Afterword to the French edition (see present edition, Vol. 35) and also in his letter to Nikolai Danielson of 28 May 1872 (present edition, Vol. 44). The changes and additions which Engels made to the third German edition of Volume I of Capital (1883) on the basis of the French edition were pointed out by him in the Preface to the said edition (see present edition, Vol. 35).—29, 33, 41, 42, 385

The reference is to Marx's and Engels' joint work on the manuscript of The German Ideology and to Engels' work The True Socialists (see present edition, Vol. 5) between 1845 and 1847. Not long before his death Engels dictated to Eduard Bernstein a list
of manuscripts from his own and Marx’s literary legacy and of other materials stored in his archives. The list contained the following note, ‘... manuscript of The German Ideology’ ('Stirner, 1845/46, Moor and I', ‘Feuerbach and Bauer, 1846/47, Moor and I’, ‘True Socialism, 1847, Moor and I’).—31

An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, On Literature and Art, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—32, 90, 159, 498

The surviving page of the draft manuscript of chapter two of the Manifesto of the Communist Party is reproduced in the present edition, Vol. 6, p. 579.—34


Weerth’s poem referred to in this letter, namely ‘Die rheinischen Weinbauern’, was published in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 29, 12 July 1883.—34

Following the assassination of Alexander II by members of the Narodnaya Volya (People’s Will) group on 1 March 1881, liberal reforms were expected in Russia; however, in a manifesto published on 29 April 1881 Alexander III stated that he intended to strengthen autocratic rule.

When King Frederick William IV of Prussia ascended the throne in 1840 the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie had hoped he would carry out the constitutional reforms promised by his father, Frederick William III. However, these hopes proved to be unfounded, and the judicial persecution of liberal bourgeois writers and officials was begun as early as 1841.—34

In the 1870s and 1880s the French government pursued an active colonialist policy: in 1876 Franco-British financial control had been established in Egypt, and interference in the country’s internal affairs continued until 1882, in 1881-83 a French protectorate was established in Tunisia. In 1882 came the provocation of an armed conflict in Madagascar and the beginning of a colonial war in North Vietnam (Tongking) which grew to become a war with China and led to the setting up of a French protectorate in Vietnam in June 1884.—34, 57

Engels quotes a thesis from the Programme of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany adopted at the Gotha Congress in 1875 (see Note 45). It read, ‘The emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class, in relation to which all other classes are only one reactionary mass.’ For comment of this thesis see Marx’s Critique of the Gotha Programme (present edition, Vol. 24, p. 88).—35, 81, 98

Engels is referring to the English Revolution in the 17th century and the French Revolution of 1789. Between 1642 and 1646 England witnessed its first civil war
which ended in the defeat of the monarchy and the victory of Parliament relying on the support of the big, middle and petty bourgeoisie and the new nobility.

The years 1789 to 1793 cover the three periods of the French revolution when power was transferred from the hands of the big bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility (Feuillants) to the commercial, industrial and landowning bourgeoisie (Girondists) and finally to the Jacobins who expressed the interests of the revolutionary-democratic petty bourgeoisie that had allied themselves with the peasantry and the lower urban strata.—35

69 Engels is referring to Volume II of *The German Ideology* (present edition, Vol. 5; see also Note 60).—37, 38

70 On 12 June 1883 Pasquale Martignetti wrote to tell Engels that he had read his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and intended to publicise it in Italy. With this in mind, Martignetti made an Italian translation from the French one by Paul Lafargue and sent it to Engels for the latter to look through. Apart from minor insertions, Engels made major additions to the text which had not featured in the French version.—37

71 On 20 June 1883 Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels reminding him that, during her stay with Marx at the Swiss spa town of Vevey in August-September 1882 he had informed her of his plans for future work and promised to give her all the documents and papers she required to write a history of the International Working Men's Association. He further requested her to start work on an English translation of the first volume of *Capital*.—39

72 As he was sorting through Marx's literary legacy, Engels found a number of works relating to Marx's preoccupation with mathematics. Marx's interest in mathematics had emerged in the early 1850s and had grown as he worked on *Capital* (see Marx's letter to Engels of 11 January 1858, present edition, Vol. 40). The first signs of Marx's mathematical endeavours date back to 1846 and are to be found in his initial notebooks on political economy. In the 1850s and 1860s this work was of an auxiliary nature and connected with his studies of political economy, but in the latter half of the 1870s it became systematic and more independent. Marx's most complete mathematical manuscripts were first published in full in the language of the original (German) with a parallel Russian translation in: К. Маркс, *Математические рукописи*, Nauka, Moscow, 1968 (see Note 79).—39

73 In his article 'On the Death of Karl Marx' carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat* in May 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 476) Engels announced that Marx's works would be published by his literary executors, Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor and Engels himself.—39

74 Louise Michel, a French revolutionary and participant in the Paris Commune, was sentenced in June 1883 to six years' imprisonment and ten years' stringent police surveillance for taking part in a Paris unemployed demonstration in March 1883. She was amnestied in January 1886.—41, 404

75 The reference is to Marx's surviving personal copy of the first volume of the second German edition of *Capital* (Hamburg, 1872). All the changes and additions which Marx made to the text are given in *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe* (MEGA²), Abt. II, Bd. 8, Berlin, 1988.—41, 42
This letter was first published in English with minor abridgements in *Science and Society*, Vol. 2, New York, 1938, No. 2.—42

Engels learned from Adolf Hepner, editor of the *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*, that an English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was being prepared in the United States. On 7-12 May 1883 Hepner wrote to Engels, 'The Mostians and Schewitsch, i.e. the Marx Memorial Committee, organised an English translation of the *Communist Manifesto*... naturally, without asking you or showing you the translation... A few days ago I happened to go to the print shop and saw the proofs of the Introduction. They included the words, "It was written by K. Marx, assisted by Fr. Engels...".—42

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* appeared twice in Russian in Geneva: in 1869, it was published by the Volnaya russkaya tipografiya publishing house and issued for a second time in 1882. It is not quite certain whether the first translation was by Mikhail Bakunin or Nikolai Lyubavin. The second Russian edition, supplied with a preface specially written by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 425-26), was prepared by Georgi Plekhanov and appeared in the Russian Social- Revolutionary Library series.—42, 89

This apparently refers to Marx's mathematical manuscripts which he sent to Engels in 1881 ('Über den Begriff der Abgeleiteten Funktion' and 'Über das Differenzial') (see Engels' letters to Marx of 18 August 1881 and 21 November 1882, present edition, Vol. 46; see also Note 72).—43

From the late 1860s Marx studied agrarian relations in the United States, Belgium and Russia in the intention of using this material in the third book (Volume II) of *Capital* when examining the emergence of ground rent. It is clear from Marx's correspondence that he obtained some of the materials he used on agrarian relations in the United States from his friends there (see Marx's letters to Sigfrid Meyer of 4 July and 14 September 1868, and to George Julian Harney of 21 January 1871; present edition, Vols. 43 and 44).

On Marx's notes from Russian sources see Note 57.—43, 88, 264

Following the appearance in 1875 of the French edition of Volume I of *Capital* (see Note 59), the French socialist Gabriel Deville considered issuing a short conspectus of this work (see Marx's letter to Deville of 23 January 1877, present edition, Vol. 45). On 2 August 1882 he met Marx in Paris where the latter looked through part of his manuscript. On 10 August 1883 Deville wrote to Engels that Paul Lafargue had told him he (Engels) was willing to read the rest of the work. He sent Engels the manuscript with the request that he make the necessary corrections. Deville's book was published that year under the title *Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique*. In the Preface the author wrote that he had done the work 'at the courteous request and benevolent encouragement of Karl Marx'. Deville sent Engels a copy with his own dedication. For Engels' assessment of the book see this volume, pp. 61, 76-77.—44, 50, 52, 59, 61, 63, 94, 112, 385

Between 17 August and 14 September 1883 Engels was on holiday in Eastbourne on the south coast of England.—44, 45, 47, 50, 58

Engels is referring to his previous stay in Eastbourne from 5 to 27 August 1879.—46

The reference is to a winning lottery ticket (see this volume, p. 178).—46
85 In his letter of 10 August 1883 Wilhelm Liebknecht asked Engels to let him have the exact dates of death of Marx’s wife and eldest daughter. He further enquired about Heinrich Heine’s links with the Paris Vorwärts! as well as Marx’s cooperation with the same newspaper and the Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung. Liebknecht intended to use this information in his article ‘Karl Marx’ which was later published in Die Neue Zeit, No. 10, 1883.—47

86 It is clear from Heinrich Heine’s letter to Marx of 21 September 1844 that on the same day he also sent Marx some of the proofs of his book Neue Gedichte. It included the poem ‘Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen’, which Heine intended to publish as a separate edition. He further requested Marx to write an introduction to this poem to appear in Vorwärts! In October 1844 the newspaper started to publish the poem, preceded by an editorial article probably written by Karl Ludwig Bernays.—47

87 In a letter to Engels of 25 June 1883 Pasquale Martignetti thanked the recipient for endorsing his Italian translation of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (see Note 70). Expressing his regret that he had not been able to translate from the German original, Martignetti asked Engels to advise him of a textbook which might help him to learn German; he also requested Engels to let him know where he might find works by Marx, Engels and other authors which the recipient could recommend as reading material. On 30 July Martignetti informed Engels that, as the latter had requested (see this volume, p. 37), he was sending him copies of the Italian translation of the above-mentioned work by Engels which had just appeared in Benevento.—48

88 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—49, 101, 131, 139, 147

89 In 1872 Johann Philipp Becker was a delegate to the Hague Congress of the International Working Men’s Association.—49

90 Eduard Bernstein recommended Engels the Austrian Social Democrat Emil Kaler-Reinthal as a secretary to prepare Marx’s works for publication.—50

91 The question of a republic in France was raised in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 27, 28 June 1883, which carried an article entitled ‘Louise Michel vor Gericht’ containing excerpts from her speech for the defence (see Note 74), and in No. 28, 5 July 1883, in an article on the same subject under the title ‘Republik oder Monarchie? Zum Jahrestag des Bastillesurmes’.—51

92 On 4 September 1870 in Paris, following the routing of the French army by Prussian forces at Sedan, a mass revolutionary uprising took place which led to the fall of the Second Empire and the proclamation of the Third Republic headed by a bourgeois government (see K. Marx, The Civil War in France, present edition, Vol. 22, p. 307).—51, 324

93 The Party of Progress (Fortschrittspartei) — a bourgeois-liberal party formed in Prussia in 1861. It represented the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the section of the middle bourgeoisie that was involved in foreign trade. The party supported the idea of German unification under Prussian supremacy but demanded the establishment of a parliamentary system. In 1866 its Right wing split away to form the National Liberal Party. In 1884 the men of Progress merged with the Left wing which had broken away from the National Liberals to form the German Party of Free Thinkers (Deutsche Freisinnige Partei).—51, 140, 147, 533
An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in The Labour Monthly, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 9, IX.—52, 73, 80, 85, 118

95 In the Preface to Volume II of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 36) Engels described in detail the state of Marx's surviving manuscript and recalled that shortly before his death Marx had told his daughter Eleanor that he (Engels) should 'make something' out of the manuscript.—53

96 The reference is to the second ballot to the Reichstag held on 29 June 1883 at which Bebel, obtaining 11,711 votes, gained a victory over the candidate from the Party of Progress (see Note 93) who received 11,608 votes. In this way he became the thirteenth Social-Democratic deputy to the Reichstag (see Note 43).—53

97 A hint at the statement made by Bismarck with reference to his aggressive policy towards France.—53

98 In January 1883 agreements were signed between Germany and Serbia on trade and the establishment of consular relations. On 12 July 1883 an agreement on trade and shipping was signed between Germany and Spain.

In August 1883 talks were held on Romania's accession to the Triple Alliance (made up of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy); the talks ended with the conclusion of a defensive alliance between Romania and Austria-Hungary which reinforced Romania's subordination to the Triple Alliance.—53

99 Democratic Federation—an association of various British workers' and radical-democratic societies formed on 8 June 1881 by a group of radical intellectuals headed by Henry Mayers Hyndman. The Federation's programme was limited to bourgeois-democratic demands like adult suffrage, the nationalisation of land and a parliamentary reform. However, as it was joined by socialist intellectuals (Ernest Belfort Bax, William Morris and others) and advanced workers (Harry Queich, John Elliot Burns), the leadership of the Federation adopted noticeably more socialist positions.

The Federation's conference in June 1883 adopted a Manifesto drawn up by Hyndman and setting out its fundamental principles. It was soon put out as a separate pamphlet entitled Socialism Made Plain, being the Social and Political Manifesto of the Democratic Federation. It contained a demand for 'nationalisation of the means of production and distribution'. In August 1884 the Democratic Federation became the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300).—54, 106, 114, 118, 123, 165

100 In 1881 Henry Mayers Hyndman published the pamphlet England for All which he intended to serve as a commentary on the programme of the Democratic Federation (see Note 99). In two of its chapters Hyndman gave an interpretation of several sections of Volume I of Capital, in many cases failing to correctly express their content and referring neither to the author nor the book itself. Marx expressed his resolute protest at this in a letter to Hyndman of 2 July 1881 (see present edition, Vol. 46).—54, 114

101 The reference is to the Chartist movement in England, the first mass political and revolutionary movement of the English proletariat in the 1830s and 1840s. Its slogan was the struggle for a 'People's Charter'. This document contained six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualification for MPs, and payment of
MPs. Petitions urging the adoption of the People’s Charter were turned down by Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848.—54, 422

The reference is to a series of concessions the British bourgeoisie made to the working class in the 1870s. In 1871 the Liberal government under Gladstone adopted the Trade Union Act which improved the judicial status of the unions. Trade unions were thus recognised for the first time, it was no longer possible to proclaim them illegal, they were able to register their rules and determine their internal structure and procedure of their activities without interference from the judiciary. In 1875 Disraeli’s Conservative cabinet enacted legislation permitting ‘peaceful picketing’, thus giving the workers a right to strike.

1867 saw the second electoral reform in England under which the property requirement for voters in the counties was reduced to £12 in rent for tenants, whilst in the towns the right to vote was accorded to homeowners and tenants of flats and houses who had lived in the same place for not less than a year and paid rent of not less than £10. Some of the skilled workers also received the right to vote. However, this law did not extend to Scotland or Ireland.—55

A fragment from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, On Colonialism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1959.—55

In his letter of 14 September 1883 Karl Kautsky sent Engels a leaflet apparently put out by Bruno Geiser and other adherents of the opportunist wing of the German Social Democrats. Kautsky wrote to Engels that the leaflet was a clear demonstration of how, against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law, petty bourgeois elements in the party were advancing not socialist, but petty bourgeois, slogans (the right to work and demand for a minimum wage); in order to counteract this, Kautsky suggested to Engels that he should without delay write a piece for Der Sozialdemokrat explaining that it was impossible to implement the demand for a ‘right to work’ under capitalist conditions.—55

The reference is to a series of articles by Karl Kautsky entitled ‘Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie’ and carried by the magazine Kosmos, Stuttgart, Vol. XII (October 1882-March 1883). Engels set out his opinion of the initial articles in his letters to Kautsky of 10 February and 2 March 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 46).—56

The reference is to the attempt to annex Port Moresby in New Guinea staged by the British colonial authorities in Queensland, Australia, in April 1883; in November 1884 the British government proclaimed a temporary protectorate over the South-Eastern part of New Guinea and the adjacent island.—57

The regular trade union congress was held in Nottingham from 10 to 15 September 1883.—57

This is an allusion to a series of articles headed ‘Die Trades Unions’ which Wilhelm Liebknecht published anonymously in Die Neue Zeit in early 1883.—57

In the first three issues of Die Neue Zeit for 1883 the Austrian economist Emanuel Hans Sax (pseudonym Fritz Denhardt) published two reviews and a short article entitled ‘Zur sozialen Statistik in Deutschland’.

Replying to Engels, Kautsky wrote on 3 October 1883, ‘Other contributors I had been counting on arc holding back out of cowardice. I can only ascribe it to
this that Braun and Fritz Denhardt have ceased to deliver material. I am becoming increasingly distrustful of the "educated" socialists who have not broken with the past.'—57

Intending to become a factory inspector, Victor Adler took a trip around Germany, Switzerland and Britain in 1883 to familiarise himself with the work of the inspectors there. In Stuttgart he visited Kautsky, who gave him a reference for Engels.—57

The postcard referred to has not been found.—59, 211

Hermann Lopatin visited Engels on 1 September, several months after fleeing from exile in Vologda (see Note 6). They met for the second time on 23 September. On 20 September 1883 Lopatin wrote to Maria Oshanina, telling her about the substance of his first conversation with Engels (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 591-93).—59

The first volume of Marx’s Capital (third German edition) was issued by the Meissner publishing house in Hamburg and printed on Otto Wigand’s press in Leipzig.—60

During his prison sentence (see Note 9) Paul Lafargue worked on an article entitled ‘Le blé en Amérique...’ which was carried by the Journal des Économistes in 1884.—63, 71

The reference is to the international workers’ conference held in Paris on 29 October 1883 by decision of the congress of the French Workers’ Social-Revolutionary Party (Possibilists; see Note 237) which took place in late September and early October of that year. The Possibilists regarded its convocation as the first step towards the formation of a new International in which they would have the leadership. With this in mind, invitations to the congress were issued only to the British trade unions and the socialist movements in Italy and Spain. The decision to form an International, like others, did not yield any practical results.

The anti-Broussists were opponents of the Possibilists.—64, 96

In early November 1883 Vera Zasulich asked Engels a number of questions with a view to ascertaining his attitude to the plans to publish the second volume of Marx’s Capital in Russian in St Petersburg. She informed him that, if they were given the opportunity, Russian socialist émigrés were prepared to take on the translation. Together with the letter Zasulich sent Engels the announcement about the publication of the Library of Contemporary Socialism series (see Note 124) and the Russian translation of Marx’s Wage Labour and Capital which had just appeared in Geneva. She further informed Engels that his work Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, which she had translated into Russian, was in the press. This book appeared in Geneva in 1884 under the title Развитие научного социализма.—65

Hermann Lopatin began translating the first volume of Marx’s Capital into Russian during his stay in London in the summer and autumn of 1870. Before leaving for Russia at the end of the year he translated the second, third and beginning of the fourth chapter of the first German edition of Volume I of Capital. The translation in full was done by October 1871 by Nikolai Danielson and Nikolai Lyubavin, Professor of Chemistry at Moscow University. The first Russian edition of Volume I of Capital appeared in St Petersburg in 1872.

The second volume of Capital was published in Russian in Danielson’s translation in January 1886.—65
The reference is to the German translation of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon* which was written in French and appeared in Brussels and Paris in 1847. The translation into German was begun by Eduard Bernstein who was later joined by Karl Kautsky. Engels edited the translation, wrote a special preface for it and a number of notes, using the amendments made by Marx on a copy of the French edition of 1847. The book was published by Dietz in Stuttgart in January 1885.—66, 67, 73, 90, 124, 126, 131, 133, 135, 138, 153, 176, 186, 189, 191, 195, 196, 261

On 10 November 1883 Eduard Bernstein informed Engels that Max Quarck (literary pseudonym Freiwald Thüringer) was the author of a book about the Thuringian cottage industry; the book contained positive comments on the social reforms carried out by the German government.—67

Engels is referring to Georgi Plekhanov's translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels which appeared in 1882 (see Note 78) and also to Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* which was published in Russian in Geneva in the autumn of 1883 as the fourth book in the Russian Social-Revolutionary Library. The cover carried the note 'translation from the German edition of 1880 (Breslau').—67

Engels wrote the essay 'The Mark' between mid-September and the first half of December 1882 as an appendix to the German edition of his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24). 'The Mark' was published by *Der Sozialdemokrat* in March-April 1883 and as a separate edition in Hottingen-Zurich under the title *Der deutsche Bauer. Was war er? Was ist er? Was könnte er sein?* which was specially prepared by Engels for propaganda work among the peasants.—68

On 10 November 1883 Eduard Bernstein informed Engels of his intention to publish in *Der Sozialdemokrat* Paul Lafargue's pamphlet *Le Droit à la Paresse* which Lafargue had prepared for publication as a separate edition in the summer of 1883, during his imprisonment in Ste-Pelagie (see Note 9). The pamphlet *Le Droit à la Paresse. Réfutation du 'Droit au Travail' de 1848* was published for the first time in 1880, in *l'Égalité*; a separate pamphlet appeared the same year in Paris. This was also published in German in *Der Sozialdemokrat* under the heading 'Das Recht auf Faulheit' in December 1883-January 1884.—68, 86

*Wailers* (Heuler) — the name the republican democrats in Germany in 1848-49 applied to the moderate constitutionalists; here Engels uses the label to describe adherents of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.—68, 125, 140, 145

Engels is quoting from the announcement of the publication of the Library of Contemporary Socialism series issued by Russian Social-Democratic émigrés in Geneva on 25 September 1883. The announcement set out the main aims and tasks of the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group. It read in part, 'In now changing their programme to serve their struggle against absolutism and the organisation of the Russian working class in a separate party with a definite socio-political programme, the former members of the Black Redistribution group hereby form a new group — Emancipation of Labour — and definitively break with the old anarchist tendencies'. The group regarded the following as
its main tasks: 1) the translation into Russian and dissemination of the major works of K. Marx and F. Engels and their followers; 2) a critique of the Narodniks and efforts to deal with current problems of Russian life.—68

Karl Kautsky was in London from late November to early December 1883. On 28 November, he attended Engels’ birthday party together with Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling.—68, 80

In his letter of 26 November 1883 Johann Philipp Becker asked Engels to remind Laura Lafargue that she had promised, in the presence and with the agreement of Marx, to send him the letters of 1848 and 1849 which Becker had let Marx have for his work on the pamphlet Herr Vogt.—69, 98, 152, 203, 301


Engels wrote the lines below on a postcard which he addressed: ‘Karl Kautsky, Esq., Wedde’s Hotel, Greek St., Soho, W. C.’—70

On 19 December 1883 the Paris newspaper Le Cri du Peuple published an article by Paul Lafargue headed ‘L’Assassinat d’O’Donnell’. It denounced the hostile position adopted by George Shipton, editor of the English trade union newspaper The Labour Standard, to the trial, taking place in London at the time, of Patrick O’Donnell, a member of an Irish secret society. On 6 May 1882 members of this society had killed Lord Frederic Cavendish, Principal Secretary for Irish Affairs, and his deputy T. H. Burke. The main witness for the prosecution, James Carey, himself one of the murderers, had subsequently been killed by O’Donnell. Flying in the face of democratic public opinion, The Labour Standard sharply condemned O’Donnell.—72

On 2 December 1883 Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg, editor of the New Yorker Volkszeitung, organ of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA, published an article signed ‘von der Mark’. It alleged that the state was an abstract concept, a ‘union of individuals’. Responding to this, Eduard Bernstein used the pseudonym ‘Leo’ when publishing in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 52, 20 December 1883 an article entitled ‘Der Sozialismus und der Staat’ in which he quoted verbatim statements Engels had made in Socialism: Utopian and Scientific about the historical role of the state and his assessment of Lassalle’s term ‘free state’ (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 320-21). Bernstein also stressed that, in contrast to the anarchists, the Marxists suggested beginning not with the abolition of the state, but with the transfer of power to the proletariat.

On 3 January 1884 Rosenberg continued the polemic by publishing another article in the New Yorker Volkszeitung with the title ‘Herr Leo’. In it he tried to prove that Engels and Bebel were making a concession to the anarchists and alleged the Marxists believed that, following the withering away of the state, there would ensue a situation marked by an absence of authorities.—72, 86, 91

Engels is referring to Johann Karl Rodbertus’ letter to Rudolf Hermann Meyer of 20 September 1871. It was published in the book Briefe und socialpolitische Aufsaetze von Dr Rodbertus-Jagetzw. Published by Dr R. Meyer, Vol. 1, Berlin, [1882], p. 111.—72
In the 'Preface to the 1872 German Edition of the Manifesto of the Communist Party' Marx and Engels referred readers to the passage in Marx's work The Civil War in France where, on the strength of the experience gathered by the Paris Commune, he concluded that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes' (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 175).—73

By way of a reminder the appendix to the Russian edition of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, which appeared in Georgi Plekhanov's translation in Geneva in 1882 (see Note 78), contained an excerpt from Marx's The Civil War in France. Engels is further referring to the 1883 German edition of the Manifesto for which he wrote a special preface (see present edition, Vol. 26); this edition was published without an appendix.—74

On 21 December 1883 The Times reported that on 10 December 1883, when Tsar Alexander III had been out hunting, the horses had bolted and upturned the sled in which he was sitting.—74

On 16 December 1883 his chief and secret police inspector Lieutenant-Colonel Georgi Sudeikin was murdered in St Petersburg in the flat of Sergei Degayev (Yablonsky). The terrorist act was carried out on the decision of the Executive Committee of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) party which, on pain of his own death, had forced the exposed provocateur Degayev organise the murder.

The Standard, No. 18561, 11 January 1884, reported that the St Petersburg chief of police supposed the murderers were led from Paris by Lavrov and Tikhomirov.—74, 79

On 29 December 1883 Karl Kautsky wrote to Engels that the tsarist government had ordered from his father Johann Kautsky's workshop in Prague the scenery which was to capture various moments from the coronation of Alexander III in May 1883; the scenery was to be put on public display in various Russian cities and to be completed by May 1884.—76

On 29 December 1883 Karl Kautsky informed Engels that he was planning to publish in Germany Gabriel Deville's Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé et accompagné d'un aperçu sur le socialisme scientifique (see Note 81) which had just appeared in Paris. On Engels' advice, Kautsky decided not simply to publish a translation but wrote a work of his own in accordance with the instructions Engels gave him in this and subsequent letters (see this volume, pp. 101 and 462); Kautsky's work appeared under the title Karl Marx's Oekonomische Lehren. Gemeinverständlich dargestellt und erläutert von Karl Kautsky, Stuttgart, 1887.—76, 78, 89, 101, 386, 481, 482

The second, illegal, edition of August Bebel's book Die Frau und der Sozialismus was printed in Dietz's works in Stuttgart but appeared under the auspices of the Zurich publisher Schabelitz with the title Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft in 1883. The first edition was issued in Zurich-Hottingen in 1879.—77, 81, 132, 164, 204

Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 1, 1883 did not appear on Thursday, as usual, but on Monday, 1 January, whilst No. 2 was published the following Thursday, 4 January. The last issue for that year, No. 52, appeared on Thursday, 20 December, whilst on 27 December the newspaper was not published at all. The following issue, No. 1, did not appear until 3 January 1884.—77
In a letter to Engels of 7 January 1884 Paul Lafargue wrote about the ‘German "goût"’ (taste), illustrating it with such examples as pictures for children, toys and artificial flowers. Lafargue continued that German producers were planning to capture part of the French market from the domestic industrialists and, for this purpose, the goods they exported to France were being supplied with German labels, this serving to indicate that they were more competitive.—78

In a letter of 31 October 1883 August Bebel asked Engels to find a place in an English family for the daughter of his associé Ferdinand Isselieb. But on the very next day Bebel apologised to Engels for the trouble he had caused him and sent him Isselieb’s urgent request that he return Bebel’s letter of 31 October.

Engels’ letter to Bebel, written in pencil, has not been found.—80

Engels is referring to the propaganda in favour of the introduction of the right to work carried on by the Right wing of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany (see also Note 104).—81

During trips to England and Ireland in 1882 and 1884 the American economist Henry George gave lectures in which he attempted to prove that the nationalisation of land was a means of settling social contradictions under the capitalist system (see also Note 31).—82

The Archives of German Social Democracy were established by a decision of the Conference of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany held in Zurich from 19 to 21 August 1882. They contained manuscripts by figures from the German workers’ movement, including Marx and Engels, literature on the history of Germany and the international workers’ movement as well as the workers’ press. The archives were originally based in Zurich and the initial documents were collected by Eduard Bernstein. From April 1883 the archives were run by Hermann Schlüter. In June 1888, following its move from Switzerland to London, the editorial board of Der Sozialdemokrat also transferred the archives of German Social Democracy to the same place. They were moved to Berlin following the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law.—83, 85, 95, 107, 111, 328

August Bebel’s book Die Frau und der Sozialismus appeared in English translation in London in 1885 under the title Woman in the Past, Present and Future.—83

Engels made a draft of his reply on Charles L. Fitzgerald’s letter to him of 25 January in which the latter asked Engels to write for the recently founded newspaper Justice. Fitzgerald’s letter was written on paper belonging to the editorial board and carrying the address, ‘The Editorial Office of Justice, Palace Chambers, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.’.—84

In his letter of 23 January 1884 Ludwik Krzywicki requested Engels’ permission to publish the first volume of Marx’s Capital in Polish translation. The translation was the work of Stanisław Krusiński, Kazimierz Pławinski, Mieczysław Brzeziński, Józef Siemaszko, Kazimierz Sosnowski, representatives of Polish revolutionary youth, as well as Krzywicki himself, who edited the entire translation. The first instalment appeared in 1884, the second in 1886 and the third in 1889. The book was published in full in 1890 in Leipzig, and one copy of this edition was sent to Engels.—87

Russian books from Marx’s library were sent to Pyotr Lavrov on 3 March 1884.
On 7 March he acknowledged their receipt from Engels. It is not known what happened to Lavrov's library, including these volumes.—88

Engels used the manuscript when preparing the third volume of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—88

In his letter of reply, written on 30 January 1884, Pyotr Lavrov recommended Kazimierz Sosnowski to Engels as 'a sincere and devout socialist and an excellent young man'. Lavrov also expressed his doubts 'as to where this pretty poor group will find enough money to publish something as large as the first volume of *Capital* in Polish'. On the translation of the first volume of *Capital* into Polish, see Note 147.—89

The reference is to Marx's article 'On Proudhon' which he wrote on 24 January 1865 at the request of the editorial board of *Der Social-Demokrat* (see present edition, Vol. 20). Engels planned to include it in full in the preface to the second French edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, which Laura Lafargue was preparing at the time. It appeared in 1896, following Engels' death. The article by Marx was included in the appendix under the title 'Proudhon jugé par Karl Marx'. In the German edition of *The Poverty*, which appeared in Stuttgart in 1885, this article by Marx came after Engels' preface.—91, 102, 107, 206

The *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 12, 14 January 1884, carried an article entitled 'Ein paar Muster'. Its author advised the Social Democrats, particularly the French and the German, to follow the example of the Irish and Russian revolutionaries, who, as he put it, observed unity and displayed agreeability. In *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 6, 7 February 1884, these views were criticised in an article entitled 'Toleranz, aber keine Indifferenz' (Tolerance, but not indifferen—91

It is clear from Eduard Bernstein's letter to Engels of 2 February 1884 that the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat* intended to devote one of the March issues to the memory of Marx. The article 'Marx and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49)', which Engels wrote for this issue, was included in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, 13 March 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 26).—92

Engels is referring to the events in Vienna where Hlubeck and Blöch, two secret police agents, were killed in December 1883 and January 1884. The murders were provoked by the government, which attributed them to the anarchists and used this as an excuse to introduce a state of siege in Vienna and its environs as well as adopting legislation against the anarchists which was actually directed against the socialist movement. Workers' organisations were subjected to police persecution, their leaders deported and their press prohibited.—92

In his letter of 30 January 1884 Pyotr Lavrov suggested to Engels the idea of publishing the second volume of *Capital* in Russia in instalments parallel to it being prepared for the press in Germany. He drew Engels' attention to the great Russian public interest in this edition. He also wrote that Hermann Lopatin had come to Paris for a few days and, intending to publish a Russian edition of this volume in St Petersburg, had expressed the hope that Engels would send the proofs of the German edition in preparation to Nikolai Danielson (see also Note 168).—93

On 30 January 1884 Pyotr Lavrov wrote to Engels about the need to reissue Marx's early works, which had already become a rarity; he further informed Engels that he had been given the chance to publish in *Вестник Народной Воли* the
translation of Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 10) which had been carried in 1850 by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* under the title 'Von 1848 bis 1849'. Lavrov asked Engels for more detailed information about this work.—93, 261

157 The reference is to the propaganda trip Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde, Simon Dereure and Jean Dormoy made around the northern districts of France in connection with the forthcoming congress of the French Workers' Party in Roubaix (29 March to 7 April 1884) (see Note 195). On 27 January 1884 Lafargue, Guesde and Dereure addressed a large rally in St Quentin. On 28 January they spoke in St-Pierre-Calais, not having arrived until ten o'clock in the evening since they had been forced to wait 3½ hours for a train to Calais. The meeting had nevertheless passed off successfully, as Lafargue informed Engels on 6 February 1884.—94, 96

158 Engels is referring to a series of articles carried on 23 December 1883, 13 January and 3 February 1884 by the London weekly *The National Reformer* published by Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant. The author of the first and third articles, which appeared in the 'Daybreak' column was Annie Besant, whilst the second was unsigned and published in the 'Crowded Table' column.—95

159 From March 1864 to his death Marx lived with his family in North West London, first at 1 Modena Villas (renamed 1 Maitland Park Road in 1868), then in March 1875 they moved to 41 Maitland Park Road.—95, 104, 118, 121

160 Using the pseudonym 'Deux amis de la liberté' (Two friends of freedom), F. M. Kerverseau and G. Clavelin published a work in several volumes entitled *Histoire de la révolution de 1789...* in Paris between 1790 and 1803.—95

161 *Blue Books*—collected documents of the British Parliament and Foreign Office published since the 17th century.—95, 128

162 The reference is probably to the German Workers' Educational Society formed in London in 1840 by Karl Schapper, Johann Moll, Heinrich Bauer, and other members of the League of the Just. Marx and Engels took part in its activities in 1847 and 1849-50. The name of the society was changed in the following years, and from the 1870s it was called Communist Workers' Educational Society (Kommunistischer Arbeiterbildungverein). Soon after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37), a group of extremist-minded members gained the upper hand in the society. They opposed the tactics employed by the German Social Democrats against the background of the Anti-Socialist Law, came out against a combination of legal and illegal methods of struggle, against the Social Democrats working in Parliament and for individual acts of terrorism. In March 1880 a considerable number of members left the society and formed their own organisation retaining the previous name. The refounded society announced that it intended to act in accord with the principles and tactics of the German Social Democrats. The remaining members, including the supporters of Most, continued to adhere to Leftist views and were active under the same name.—95, 119, 210, 263

163 The *Cercle international* of the fifth arrondissement was a workers' association in Paris belonging to the Federation of the Centre (the Paris association of the Possibilists) (see Note 237). The secretary of the association, Henri Leclère, was one of the Possibilist leaders; it included among its members a number of German and Russian émigrés.—96
164 It seems likely that the French journalist Paule Mink (Pauline A. Mćkarska) went on a trip to the South of France, where she engaged in propaganda work. It is clear from Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 10 April 1884 that she later joined Lafargue and Jules Guesde (see Note 157) and visited a number of northern French cities together with them where Lafargue gave a report on the significance of the International Working Men's Association.—96

165 The reference is to the second French edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* which was being prepared at that time by Laura Lafargue (see also Note 169). The preparatory work on this edition was protracted and it did not appear until 1896 (in Paris), after Engels' death.—97, 104, 111, 115, 124, 133

166 This letter was written by Engels in reply to Nonne's letter of 7 February 1884. Heinrich Nonne, an émigré from Hanover who was living in Paris and taught foreign languages, informed Engels of his plan to set up a kind of international centre in Paris with a view to bringing about a rapprochement between socialists in different countries. Nonne asked Engels to send him statistical notes and information about events in other countries. Later, in September 1884, it turned out that Nonne was in the pay of the Prussian police (see Note 303).—97

167 On 5 February 1884 Johann Philipp Becker wrote to Engels saying he believed there was a need to broaden the campaign for universal suffrage in Germany and that the masses there were not learning to act in a collective and coordinated manner. Becker wrote that this campaign was an excellent means of setting the masses in town and country in motion, notably young people between 21 and 25, who were deprived of the right to vote, and also of exposing the bourgeois parties.—98

168 Replying on 9 February to Engels' enquiry about the possibility of publishing a Russian translation of the second volume of *Capital* in Russia (see Note 155), Pyotr Lavrov wrote that the Russian revolutionaries had decided to bring out this translation 'by all means' and that, should it be confiscated, the book would be put out abroad.

The first Russian edition of the second volume of *Capital* appeared in St Petersburg on 11 January 1886 with a preface by Nikolai Danielson and in his translation. The year of publication printed on the title page was 1885.—100

169 Engels did not write a special preface to the second French edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*. This led Laura Lafargue to include in the edition Engels' preface to the first German edition of the work (‘Marx and Rodbertus’) which had appeared in Stuttgart in 1885 (see present edition, Vol. 26).—101, 104, 124


171 The reference is to Marx's manuscript *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1861-63). Its central part is called *Theories of Surplus Value* (see present edition, vols 30-34). Marx planned to revise it and then publish as a separate book of *Capital* entitled 'The History of the Theory' (see Marx's preface to the first volume of *Capital*, present edition, Vol. 35). However, neither Marx nor Engels carried out this plan. Engels gave a detailed description of this manuscript in the preface to the second volume of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 36).
Marx gives a critique of Rodbertus' theory of rent in Notebooks X-XI of the *Theories* (present edition, Vol. 31).— 102, 104, 121, 122, 188, 244, 264, 278

The reference is to Karl Kautsky's letter to Engels of 2 February 1884 in which, on behalf of the Volksbuchhandlung in Zurich, he asked for the right to publish a new edition of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.*— 102

The 'original cantons' was the name given to Switzerland's mountainous cantons which formed the original core of the Swiss Federation in the 13th and 14th centuries.— 103

When sorting through Marx's manuscripts after his death, Engels discovered a detailed conspectus of *Ancient Society or Researches in the Line of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization*, London, 1877, written by the American scientist Lewis H. Morgan. The conspectus had been drawn up by Marx in 1880-81 and contained his critical remarks, conclusions of his own and some information from other sources (the conspectus is not included in the present edition). Believing that Marx had intended to write a work specifically devoted to the initial period in the history of human society, basing himself on Morgan as he did so, Engels, who had familiarised himself with Marx's conspectus and Morgan's book, thought it necessary to carry out Marx's plan. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, on which Engels worked from early April to 26 May 1884, appeared in Zurich at the end of the same year.— 103, 121, 123, 131, 132, 135

Engels' critical remarks about Taylor's and Lubbock's works are contained in his preface to the fourth German edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* which appeared in 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 27).— 103

By 'later versions' Engels means the manuscripts of the first (1867) and third (1865) volumes of *Capital.*— 104

In his capacity as a representative of the German Social Democrats, Eduard Bernstein visited Lyons and Rouen in February 1884; he gave a speech at the German Workers' Club in Paris. From 25 February to 2 March Bernstein stayed with Engels in London, whereupon he returned to Zurich.— 104, 109

This letter by Engels was written in reply to John Darbyshire's letter of 17 February 1884. Reminding Engels of their meeting in 1872, Darbyshire informed him of his efforts to 'start the International again' and continued by saying that in Manchester he had 'at last succeeded in forming a Committee of English, Irish, Welsh and Scotch'. Darbyshire asked Engels to remind him of the names of members of the International so that he might resume correspondence with them and further promised to send him a copy of the 'Principles, Objects and Aims' of the future organisation.— 106

The reference is to the cycle of lectures Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville gave ('Cours d'économie sociale') on Marx's doctrine which were organised on Sundays from 23 January 1884 by a circle at the Socialist Library of the French Workers' Party. The cycle of lectures given by Lafargue was called 'Le Matérialisme économique de Karl Marx'. He entitled his second lecture 'Le Milieu naturel. Théorie darwinienne'. Deville called his cycle of lectures 'L'Évolution du capital'. There were five in all, entitled 'Génese du capital', 'Formation du prolétariat', 'Coopération et manufacture', 'Machinisme et grande industrie' and 'Fin du capital'. The lectures were published in the press and also as separate pamphlets in 1884.
Referring to 'bon dieu', Engels means the disproof of the idealist world view as developed by Lafargue in his first lecture 'Idéalisme et matérialisme dans l'histoire'.—107, 115, 134, 143, 162, 368, 465

The reference is to the second congress of the League of Peace and Freedom—a bourgeois pacifist organisation formed in Switzerland in 1867 with the active involvement of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. Mikhail Bakunin took part in its work in 1867 and 1868. At the League’s second congress, which took place in Berne on 21-25 September 1868, he proposed a resolution proclaiming the need for the economic and social equalisation of classes. Having failed to win the support of the congress, which voted by a majority against his resolution, Bakunin and his supporters left the League.—108

Engels is referring to the declaration of 21 March 1871 (‘République Française. Liberté, égalité, fraternité...’) which Benoît Malon signed as assistant to the Mayor of the 17th arrondissement in Paris together with the Mayor himself and two other assistants. The document stated that, since the Mayor and his assistants were alienated from power by force, the validity of all acts of the municipality of the 17th arrondissement ceased from that day.

On Malon’s activities in this period see also Marx’s and Engels’ Fictitious Splits in the International (present edition, Vol. 23, p. 94).—108

In April 1884 Russia obtained a loan of 300 million marks from Germany.—109, 112, 148, 338, 360, 365

Engels wrote the following on a postcard which he addressed: Monsieur Paul Lavo- roff, 328 rue St. Jacques, Paris, France.—110

This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—111, 155, 311

In her letter of 2 March 1884, Vera Zasulich, writing on behalf of the Russian revolutionary émigrés in Switzerland, requested permission from Engels to put out a Russian edition of Marx’s The Poverty of Philosophy (see present edition, Vol. 6). She also asked Engels to send her the text of the preface which he intended to write for the first German edition then in preparation (see Note 118) and expressed the hope that he would look through the proofs of the Russian edition and, if need be, make his remarks. The Russian edition of The Poverty of Philosophy appeared in Geneva in 1886 in the fifth issue of the Library of Contemporary Socialism series.—111, 432

The ‘reactionary socialists’ was the name Engels gave to the armchair socialists (see Note 54) who spread the ‘myth about Rodbertus’ in their works. For a critique of them see Engels’ preface to the second volume of Capital (present edition, Vol. 36).—111

This false accusation against Marx is contained in Johann Karl Rodbertus’ letters to Rudolf Meyer of 29 November 1871 (in Briefe und socialpolitische Aufsätze von Dr Rodbertus-Jagetzow. Published by Dr R. Meyer, Vol. 1, Berlin, [1882], p. 134), and to J. Zeller of 14 March 1875 (in Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft, Vol. 35, Tübingen, 1879, p. 219). Engels rebuffed Rodbertus’ accusation in the preface to the first German edition of Marx’s The Poverty of Philosophy (‘Marx and Rodbertus’, present edition, Vol. 26) and also in the preface to the second volume of Marx’s Capital (present edition, Vol. 36).—111, 166, 187
After the assassination of Emperor Alexander II on 1 March 1881, Alexander III, his successor, was staying in Gatchina (the Russian tsars' country residence), fearing that new terrorist acts would be staged by the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will).—112, 280

Engels is probably referring to the terrorist activities of the members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), a secret revolutionary Narodnik organisation, which continued even after 1 March 1881 (see previous note).—112

Engels is referring to the letter Marx wrote in the autumn of 1877 to the editorial board of the St Petersburg magazine Otechestvenniki zapiski (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 196). In an effort to have it published in the Russian press after Marx's death, Engels made three handwritten copies of the letter. The first he gave in September 1883 to Hermann Lopatin, who was in London at the time (see this volume, p. 59), and the second he sent to Vera Zasulich, that being the subject of this letter. He seems to have made the third copy in connection with Nikolai Danielsen's unsuccessful attempt in the autumn of 1885 to have Marx's letter published in the journal Severny vestnik (see this volume, pp. 322 and 347).

A Russian translation of Marx's letter was first published in Russia in 1885 in the form of a lithograph; the translation was most likely the work of Vera Zasulich. A large part of the edition was confiscated by the police, a fate it shared with another illegal hectographic version of the letter which appeared that December in St Petersburg.

Marx's letter was first published in Russian abroad in Geneva in Вождь Народа, No. 5, 1886. The following year it appeared in German in the American newspaper New-Yorker Volkszeitung (3 May) and Der Sozialdemokrat (Zurich, 3 June).—113

An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in The Socialist Review, London, March 1908.—113

In the 1880 general election Henry Mayers Hyndman stood as an independent candidate for Marylebone constituency. However, his extremely moderate programme (he did not support the demand for the nationalisation of land and opposed universal suffrage) lost him votes among the workers and provided Gladstone, who was registered as a voter in the said constituency, with the occasion to denounce him as a Tory. Hyndman's attempt to be elected to Parliament failed.—114

On 10 February 1884 Friedrich Adolph Sorge informed Engels that George Stiebeling was about to criticise Marx's concept of history. —114

The reference is to the regular elections to the German Reichstag which took place on 28 October 1884.—114, 150, 152, 185, 192, 198, 201

The congress of the French Workers' Party met in Roubaix from 29 March to 7 April 1884. It was attended by 26 delegates representing about 60 groups, circles and trade unions. The delegates unanimously endorsed the programme adopted at Le Havre in 1880 (see also Note 201). Also present at the congress were Ernest Belfort Bax and Harry Quelch, representatives of the Democratic Federation (see Note 99). An address was read out from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, proclaiming solidarity between the workers of all countries. The reply to this address adopted at the congress expressed regret that no German delegation was pre-
sent and stated that no government measures could destroy the solidarity between the French and German proletariat.—115, 118, 123, 125, 129

196 This letter was first published in English in: F. Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.—116, 129, 134, 179, 255, 444

197 In his letter to Laura and Paul Lafargue of 21 February 1884 (see this volume, p. 107), Engels asked them to look through his French translation of Marx’s ‘On Proudhon’ (see present edition, Vol. 20). In this letter Engels examines the corrections they sent him to the translation. Marx’s article was included in the appendix to the second French edition of his work *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see Note 165).—116

198 The reference is to Proudhon’s book *Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d’exister? Actes du futur congrès*, Paris, 1863, in which he opposed a revision of the decisions on Poland taken by the 1815 Vienna Congress. He also spoke out against support for the Polish national liberation movement by European democrats and, in so doing, actually backed up the foreign policy of Russian tsarism.—117

199 On 16 March 1884 London witnessed a workers’ demonstration in connection with the anniversary of Marx’s death and in commemoration of the Day of the Paris Commune. A meeting was held at Marx’s grave in Highgate Cemetery.—118

200 Engels is referring to the review of the March issue of *To-Day* published in *Justice*, No. 8, 8 March 1884. The author criticised the publication of Edward Aveling’s article ‘Christianity and Capitalism’ and believed that the views it presented on religious and atheist issues were well known. The reviewer also considered Eleanor Marx’s article ‘Dr Marx and Mr Gladstone’s Budget Speech of 1863’ to be ‘scarcely suited’ to appear in the journal. In it, Eleanor Marx disproved the allegations made by the English economist Sedley Taylor who had accused Marx of citing Gladstone’s 1864 budget speech in a distorted way. This accusation by Taylor was the continuation of the campaign of slander begun back in 1872 which Engels exposed in 1891 in his work *In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx* (see present edition, Vol. 27).—118

201 Following the adoption of a programme based on Marxist positions at the 1880 Congress of the French Workers’ Party in Le Havre (see K. Marx, ‘Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers’ Party’, present edition, Vol. 24), the struggle between the Possibilists (see Note 237) and the Guesdists was aggravated; the latter represented the party’s revolutionary wing and favoured the revolutionary transformation of society. The struggle led to a split in the party at its 1882 Congress in St Etienne. The Guesdists, who were in a minority, gathered together their representatives in Roanne and formed their own party, retaining the previous name.—118, 444, 445

202 ‘Ex-President of Mankind’ was the name Marx and Engels gave to Bernhard Becker, who had been President of the General Association of German Workers (Lassalleans). This was an allusion to Marx’s article ‘The “President of Mankind”’ (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 92-96) containing a critique of Becker’s activities.—119

203 The *German People’s Party* (Deutsche Volkspartei) appeared in Stuttgart in 1868. It consisted of democratic elements from the petty and middle bourgeoisie, mainly
from the South German states, and thus was also called South German and Swabian. Opposing the establishment of Prussian hegemony in Germany and advancing general democratic slogans, the German People's Party at the same time expressed the particularist aspirations of the bourgeoisie in a number of German states. This was manifested in its campaign against the unification of Germany to become a single centralised democratic republic, in favour of a federal German state and a republican form of government. From the late 1870s the party took a negative stance on the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37). In an effort to gain control of the workers' movement, the party repeatedly came out in favour of joint action with the German Social Democrats during the election campaigns to the Reichstag. The party's permanent leader and the chairman of its parliamentary group from its foundation up to the 1890s was Leopold Sonnemann. The party ceased to exist in 1910 when it merged with the People's Party of Progress (Fortschrittliche Volkspartei).— 119, 282, 502

204 Engels is probably referring to the part of Karl Kautsky's letter of 12 March 1884 dealing with the English socialist William Morris. Kautsky wrote that he had incorrectly understood Eleanor Marx's remark about William Morris and, in one of his articles, had therefore called him a 'Gefühlssozialist' (socialist by feeling). The offended Morris categorically rejected this opinion.— 121

205 Engels is referring to the newspaper Révolutions de Paris published by Élisée Loustalot, the newspaper Feuille Villageoise and Maurice Alhoy's and Louis Lurine's book Les prisons de Paris. Histoire, types, moeurs, mystères, Paris, 1846.— 122

206 The magazine To-Day, No. 4, April 1884, carried the articles by M. Davitt, 'The Irish Social Problem' and P. Lafargue, 'Peasant Proprietary in France'.

The newspaper Justice, No. 11, 29 March 1884, reported that To-Day was about to publish Lafargue's article 'On Peasant Proprietary in France' and described the author as 'perhaps the greatest living authority on the French peasantry'.— 122

207 The letter referred to by Marx was probably written in the spring of 1882 and has not been found. Engels quotes Marx's opinion of Richard Wagner in Chapter II of his work The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 147).— 124

208 On 7 April 1884 Eduard Bernstein informed Engels that the second and third parts of his work Anti-Dühring ('Political Economy' and 'Socialism', see present edition, Vol. 25) were almost sold out and that 300 copies remained of the first part ('Philosophy'). He therefore suggested that a new edition of the work be prepared, but this time as a single volume and not in separate parts. The second German edition of Anti-Dühring appeared in Zurich at the beginning of December 1885 with additions made by Engels to the second chapter of the third part. The title page gave the year of publication as 1886.— 124, 126, 130, 131, 142, 249, 251, 263, 310, 324, 327, 346, 371, 372

209 On 11 October 1880 Heinrich Wilhelm Fabian, a German émigré living in the United States, wrote to Marx and Engels asking them to contribute to a weekly journal called Einheit which he planned to start publishing in an American city on 1 January 1881. The journal's programme was compiled by Fabian together with Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg and sent together with the letter.
On 6 November 1880 Fabian wrote to Marx about $\sqrt{-1}$ (on this, see Ch. XII of the first part of *Anti-Dühring*; present edition, Vol. 25, p. 112).

In April 1884 Fabian published in the *Freidenker* newspaper an article directed against Marx's and Engels' doctrine of the state.—124, 295

On 22 March 1884, during a reception on the occasion of his birthday for a delegation made up of representatives from the Federal Council, the German Reichstag and Prussian Landtag, Emperor William I (nicknamed Lehmann) of Germany expressed his displeasure at the Reichstag's decision at the first reading to reject the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law. The Emperor made it plain that he regarded opposition to this law as opposition to him personally.—124, 147

On 7 April 1884 Karl Kautsky informed Engels that on 1 April a legal newspaper called the *Berliner Volksblatt* had begun to appear in the German capital. Its first editor-in-chief, Wilhelm Blos, belonged to the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party. The members of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, including Blos himself, opposed Liebknecht playing any part in the newspaper's publication.—124

Engels is referring to the decision taken at the congress of the French Workers' Party in Roubaix (see Note 195) to call an international congress in London for spring 1885 to discuss factory law. The congress took place in Antwerp in August 1885.—125

The reference is to Engels' plans to revise *The Peasant War in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 10), which he failed to carry out. For the fragments which have survived and plans of the book see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 554-55.—130, 131, 133, 142, 217, 244, 245, 249, 328, 363, 371, 374, 419

Legend has it that Martin Luther, speaking in the Diet of Worms on 18 April 1521, answered the question as to whether he stood by his works or rejected them as heresy by saying: 'Here stand I—I can do no other'.—132

Apparently Ludwig Kugelmann sent Engels Leibniz' correspondence as published in Hanover, first in the journal *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen* for 1881 and 1884 and later as separate offprints from this journal: *Leibnizens Briefwechsel mit dem Minister von Bernstorff und andere Leibniz betreffende Briefe und Aktenstücke aus den Jahren 1705-1716*, Hanover, 1882, and *Briefwechsel zwischen Leibniz und der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte v. Orléans in den Jahren 1715 und 1716*, Hanover, 1884.—133

At the elections to the Paris municipal council, which were set for 4 May 1884, the French Workers' Party decided to put up its own candidates only in those constituencies where no candidates were standing from the Possibilsits (see Note 237) or from other socialist tendencies.—134

Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 9 May 1884 gives reason to believe that the reference is to Engels' article on Marx's *Capital* which he (Lafargue) found at home ('Review of Volume One of *Capital* for *The Fortnightly Review*', present edition, Vol. 20). It is clear from Marx's correspondence with Engels that they intended to publish this review in Lafargue's French translation in *Le Courier français*, the newspaper of the Left-wing republicans (see Marx to Engels, 1 February 1868, present edition, Vol. 42, p. 532). However, the article was not published in Marx's and Engels' lifetimes.—134
Engels' work 'Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag' (see present edition, Vol. 24) was written in February 1876. The publication of this work, which exposed the Prussian Junkers, in *Der Volksstaat* and as a separate offprint caused consternation in government quarters.—136

Here Engels is apparently referring to several representatives of the Right wing in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany such as Bruno Geiser, editor of the Stuttgart-based *Die Neue Welt*, and to journalists who were close to this trend, like Karl Frohme, Wilhelm Blos, Louis Viereck, etc.—136, 145, 153, 160, 169

Eugen Richter, one of the leaders of the German Party of Free Thinkers (see Note 231) opposed the schnapps monopoly as lucrative for the Junkers.—137

In a letter of 29 April 1884 Karl Kautsky suggested to Engels that his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26) should be published in Germany at what was, in his opinion, an opportune moment — during the Reichstag discussion on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law. He believed that on the eve of the elections all parties would have to reckon with the voters' opinion and the government would therefore not risk banning *Die Neue Zeit* and the publication of Engels' work.—137

On 12 May 1884 the Reichstag voted by a majority of 189 to 157 at the third reading to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37) until 1886.—137, 140

The Social-Democratic newspaper *Süddeutsche Post* was banned on 19 May 1884 because of its 'general tendency' and, in particular, for publishing a leader in No. 57 entitled 'Recht auf Arbeit' ('The Right to Work'). Under Paragraph 11 of the Anti-Socialist Law the newspaper was accused of attempting to overthrow the state and social system.—137

At Engels' request (see this volume, pp. 85 and 95) he was sent the following materials from the Archives of the German Socialist Workers' Party (see Note 144): 1) Rodbertus, *Offener Brief an das Comité des Deutschen Arbeitervereins zu Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1863, and 2) *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 16, 17 and 18 of 1, 3 and 5 February 1865 containing Marx's article 'On Proudhon' (see Note 151).—138, 139

Engels is referring to the accusation made by Rodbertus-Jagetzow that in *Capital* Marx plagiarised his work *Zur Erkenntniss unserer staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände*, Neubrandenburg and Friedland, 1842 (see also Note 187 and Engels' Preface to Volume II of *Capital*, present edition, Vol. 36).—138, 319

Karl Kautsky gave a detailed critical analysis of Rodbertus-Jagetzow's views in 'Das “Capital” von Rodbertus', published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Nos. 8 and 9, August and September 1884 (see also Note 254).—138

The reference is to a group of persons who took part in publishing Rodbertus-Jagetzow's literary legacy, notably his work *Das Kapital. Vierter socialer Brief an von Kirchmann*, Berlin, 1884. This work was published by Theophil Kozak who also wrote an introduction, a preface was written by the German economist Adolph Wagner.—138

Given the fact that tighter controls on the Swiss-German border were causing difficulties in transporting the printed edition of *Der Sozialdemokrat* from Zurich to Germany, Eduard Bernstein went to Belgium with a view to organising the rerouting of the newspaper via the Belgian-German border.—139
The Centre—a political party of German Catholics formed in June 1870; it expressed the separatist and anti-Prussian tendencies that were widespread in West and South-West Germany (the deputies representing this party had their seats in the centre of the chamber). The Centre Party united different social sections of the Catholic clergy, landowners, bourgeoisie, sections of the peasantry and, as a rule, occupied an intermediate position, manoeuvring between the parties which supported the government and the Left opposition groups in the Reichstag. The Centre was in opposition to the Bismarck government from the mid-1870s to the early 1880s but still voted for the measures it took against the workers' and socialist movement. Engels described the Centre in detail in *The Role of Force in History* and in 'What Now?' (see present edition, Vol. 26).—140, 192, 216, 222, 343, 361

The Conservatives expressed the interests of the German Junkers, the aristocracy, the generals, the Lutheran clergy and senior officials. In the Reichstag they were represented by the German Conservative Party and the Free Conservative Party.—140, 147, 192

The reference is to the German Party of Free Thinkers formed in March 1884 through the merger of the Party of Progress with the Left wing of the National Liberal Party (see notes 93 and 243). Reflecting the interests of banking and trading capital, the middle and petty bourgeoisie, in the 1880s it was in opposition to the Bismarck government on a number of domestic policy issues and took a hostile stance towards the Social Democrats. The party fell apart in 1893.—140, 149, 389

During the ballot on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law held in the Reichstag on 10 May 1884 (see Note 222) the majority of deputies—including 27 members of the German Party of Free Thinkers and 39 deputies of the Centre (see Note 229)—voted in favour of its prolongation. The total vote in favour was 189, with 157 against. Fearing a possible dissolution of the Reichstag (see Note 244) and the calling of new elections, the leaderships of the German Party of Free Thinkers and the Centre, by supporting Bismarck's domestic policy, weakened the liberal opposition to the government.—140

When the bill to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law was being discussed in the Reichstag on 9 May 1884 Bismarck declared that he recognised the 'right to work'. On 17 May, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the mouthpiece of the government, declared in its evening edition by way of explanation that Bismarck had meant the use of unemployed labour in workhouses (like those in Britain) or in places of detention. It was planned to use the unemployed in Germany to carry out physically arduous work—repairing the roads, breaking up stones, chopping wood, etc.—and to pay them in money or food.—140, 150

*Phalanstère*—palaces in which, according to the French utopian socialist, Charles Fourier, members of producer and consumer associations were to live and work in an ideal socialist society.

The ideas which Engels goes on to advocate in this letter were used in an editorial article probably written by Eduard Bernstein and carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22, 29 May 1884 under the heading 'Reklame und Wirklichkeit'.—141

The *national workshops* (*ateliers*) were instituted by the Provisional Government immediately after the February revolution of 1848. By this means the government
Notes

sought to discredit Louis Blanc’s ideas on ‘the organisations of labour’ in the eyes of the workers and, at the same time, to utilise those employed in the national workshops, organised on military lines, against the revolutionary proletariat.

For an assessment of the national workshops, see K. Marx, The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850 (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 63).—141

Opportunists was the name given in France to the party of moderate bourgeois republicans after its split in 1881 and the formation of a radical party based on the Left wing and headed by Georges Clemenceau.

The reason for this name, introduced in 1877 by the journalist Henri Rochefort, was the statement by Léon Gambetta, the party’s leader, that reforms should be carried out ‘at an opportune time’.—141, 314, 413, 444

Possibilists — followers of a reformist trend in the French socialist movement between the 1880s and the beginning of the 20th century. It was led by Paul Louis Marie Brousse and Benoît Malon who caused a split in the French Workers’ Party in 1882 by forming their own party called the Workers’ Social- Revolutionary Party (see Note 201). Its ideological basis was the theory of municipal socialism. The Possibilists proclaimed the ‘policy of possibilities’ to be their principle; at the beginning of the 20th century they became part of the French Socialist Party.—141, 320, 425, 442

In connection with Wilhelm Liebknecht’s trip to Paris in mid-May 1884 German newspapers reported that preparations were underway there for a conference of socialists from several European countries.—144

From 29 May to 4 June 1884 Engels stayed in Hastings with Sigismund Borkheim, a participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany.—144, 152, 381

On 29 May 1884 Kautsky informed Engels of the differences of opinion which had arisen on the editorial board of Die Neue Zeit between himself and the publisher Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz. The latter thought it essential to make the journal more up to date by introducing a new column headed ‘Politische Rundschau’ which, he intended, should be run by Wilhelm Bloß in Stuttgart. Then Dietz insisted on Bloß being appointed editor of Die Neue Zeit. This situation prompted Eduard Bernstein, in a letter to Engels of 29 May 1884, to suggest that for the time being no chapters should appear there from Engels’ work The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.—145, 153

The reference is to the ‘Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands’ adopted at the unification congress in Gotha in May 1875. On this document see K. Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme (present edition, Vol. 24).—146

Engels is referring to the system of provocation, espionage, false evidence and forgeries employed by the Prussian police officer Wilhelm Stieber, who organised the Cologne trial of members of the Communist League in 1852.—147

The reference is to the National Liberals, a Prussian, and from 1871 all-German, Right-wing bourgeois party which existed from 1867 to 1918. It was one of the pillars of the Junker-bourgeois bloc. The party’s programme called for civil equality and bourgeois-democratic freedoms, but as the workers’ movement in Germany strengthened it abandoned these demands and contented itself with Bismarck’s half-hearted reforms. Following the unification of Germany it definitively took shape as a party of the big, mainly industrial, bourgeoisie and for all practical purposes disavowed the demands it had made earlier.—147, 192, 428, 439
On 9 May 1884, during the discussion on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37) Bismarck read out to the Reichstag a letter written by William I in March 1884 following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II of Russia (see Note 188). The author referred to the need for joint action by the great powers to combat 'the threat of assassination attempts hanging over the whole of Europe'. Bismarck then announced his intention to dissolve the Reichstag immediately in the event of the bill being defeated.— 147

In late February 1884 a major strike began at the coal mines in Anzin, Denain district, department Nord, France. Involving more than 10,000 workers, the strike was in protest at the prohibition of trade unions and lasted until mid-April when the employers reversed their decision to introduce harder working conditions.— 149

Under the English Act for the Reliefs of the Poor (43rd Elizabeth) (1601) a special tax was levied in each parish to help the poor. Those residents who were unable to provide for themselves and their families received help from the poor fund.

An Act for the Amendment and Better Administration of the Laws Relating to the Poor in England and Wales (1834) provided for only one form of assistance to the poor, namely their accommodation in workhouses, otherwise known as 'bastilles for the poor'. The aim of the act was to force the poor to agree to harder working conditions and, in this way, to provide the industrial bourgeoisie with a more plentiful supply of cheap labour.— 150

The reference is to the Act against the Criminal Use of Explosives. It was introduced in response to the unsuccessful assassination attempt organised by a provocateur in Niederwald on 27-28 September 1883. During the discussion of the bill in May 1884 the Social-Democratic deputies announced their refusal to discuss or vote on it. The act was passed by the Reichstag on 15 May 1884 and subjected to police surveillance the production, use, storage and import of explosive substances. Violations of the act were punished by long terms of imprisonment or even the death sentence.— 150

Sigismund Ludwig Borkheim's autobiography was published posthumously in Die Neue Zeit, Nos. 3, 5, 6 and 7 for 1890 under the heading 'Erinnerungen eines deutschen Achtungvierzigers'.— 152, 381

This letter was published in English for the first time in The Labour Monthly, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 10, X.— 153

In Salzburg Karl Kautsky met some Austrian Social Democrats who told him that the anarchists did not wield any appreciable influence among the masses. He informed Engels about the details of this meeting on 23 June 1884.— 153

A number of explosions occurred in London on 30 May 1884, including one at Scotland Yard when a dynamite charge was set off in a public convenience. Irish nationalists claimed responsibility for the explosions.— 154

An anarchist newspaper called L'Explosion began to appear in Carouge near Geneva in April 1884. One of the men behind it was the former Bakuninist Carlo Terzaghi (see also K. Marx and F. Engels, The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association, present edition, Vol. 23).— 154

The reference is to the anarchists who were expelled from Vienna and its surround-
ings due to the introduction of a state of siege there on 30 January 1884 (see Note 154). Some of them emigrated to Britain.— 154

254 On 23 June 1884 Karl Kautsky sent Engels the beginning of his article 'Das "Kapital" von Rodbertus' (see also this volume, p. 138) so that the latter might familiarise himself with its contents. The article was published in Die Neue Zeit, Nos. 8 and 9 for 1884. It marked the start of Kautsky's polemic with Carl August Schramm (see Engels to Bebel, 20-23 January 1886, this volume, pp. 386-87).— 155
The reference is to the work: J. K. Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Zur Erkenntniss unserer staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände, Neubrandenburg and Friedland, 1842. Rodbertus' treatment of the constituted value as referred to in this letter is examined by Engels in the article 'Marx and Rodbertus' which he wrote by way of a preface to the first German edition of Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy (see present edition, Vol. 26).— 156

256 Engels is replying to Evgenia Papritz's letter of 26 June 1884 in which she wrote that, with a view to spreading the ideas of scientific socialism in Russian society, a start had been made in Moscow on publishing the lithographed journal Социалистическое знание. The journal was to publish translations of works by West European authors and articles on socio-political issues. Informing Engels that she was translating his work Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy (see present edition, Vol. 3), Papritz enquired where she could obtain little-known works by Marx and himself for translation and asked where she might find 'the last manifesto to the English workers' as well as Engels' work Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science (see present edition, Vol. 25).— 157

257 In the 1880s a number of works by Marx and Engels were published in Russian in Geneva: in 1882, the Manifesto of the Communist Party (see present edition, Vol. 6 and this volume, Note 120), and also the Provisional Rules of the Association, written by Marx (Vol. 20); in 1883, Marx's Wage Labour and Capital (Vol. 9), and in 1884, Engels' Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy (see Note 185) appeared in 1886. The second volume of Capital by Marx was published in St Petersburg in 1885 (see Note 155).— 158

258 Marx's work Wage Labour and Capital (see present edition, Vol. 9) was first published in 1849 as a series of leading articles in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. The first separate edition of the work appeared in Breslau (Wroclaw), Silesia in 1880 without Marx's involvement. The second edition was published in the same place in 1881. In 1884, with Engels' participation and a short Introductory Note written by him on the history of its publication (see present edition, Vol. 26), the work was published in Hottingen-Zurich.— 159

259 In his letter of 20 June 1884 Eduard Bernstein asked Engels to send him a photograph of Marx for a chromolithograph a comrade of his was planning. For the original Bernstein wished to have either the drawing in chalk which he had seen at Engels' home in his study, or else a photograph of Marx.— 159

260 On 20 June 1884 Eduard Bernstein wrote to Engels saying that the Zurich publishing house Die Volksbuchhandlung was planning to publish a collection of socialist poetry. Bernstein enquired in this conjunction about previous editions of verse by Georg Weerth. Engels is probably referring to the collection of Weerth's poems selected from two previous editions, Jahrbuch für Kunst und Poesie, Barmen, 1843, and
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Album. Originalpoesien von Georg Weerth, Borna, 1847. Moreover, Weerth completed another collection of poems in 1848, which was not, however, published in his own lifetime. It was included in Georg Weerth's *Sämtliche Werke* published in Berlin in 1956-57. — 160

261 Hermann Schlüter, the keeper of the Archives of German Social Democracy (see Note 144) asked Bernstein to remind Engels that he had agreed to send him a number of materials for the archives. Bernstein did this in his letter to Engels of 20 June 1884, remarking that Schlüter had 'a real mania for collecting things'.— 160

262 A draft of this letter was written by Engels on the back of Sarah Allen's letter to him of 5 July 1884. — 161

263 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 10, X. — 164, 176, 197, 206, 212, 244, 299, 315, 340

264 Following prolonged and unsuccessful talks with the publisher Dietz on printing Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* in Stuttgart, Karl Kautsky wrote to Engels on 16 July 1884 that this work could be issued by the Social Democratic publishing house Die Volksbuchhandlung in Hottingen-Zurich where Hermann Schlüter was a member of staff. Of the total edition of 5,000 copies, 1,000 would be passed on to the publisher Jakob Schabelitz for distribution in Germany. — 164, 172

265 In their letters to Engels of 16 July 1884 Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein informed him that the Stuttgart publisher Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz was planning to cease issuing *Die Neue Zeit* because of financial difficulties. However, a month later, on 18 August, Kautsky wrote to tell Engels that he and Dietz had discussed plans for moving the journal's place of publication to Hamburg. This plan was not carried out and *Die Neue Zeit* continued to appear in Stuttgart up to 1923. — 164, 189

266 Nos. 20, 21 and 22 of *Die Neue Welt* for 1884, the editor being Bruno Geiser, published an article by Karl du Prel called 'Der Somnambulismus'. — 165, 170

267 The 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' column of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 28, 10 July 1884, carried a report about the spread of cholera among the poor in Europe. In a note on the report the author severely criticised 'the scholars from the Volkszeitung and other German papers' for using the word 'bacillus'. Among others, this note was directed against Bruno Geiser. *Die Neue Welt*, of which he was the editor, had used the word in its report on the cholera epidemic. — 166

268 Given the fact that a cholera epidemic was expected in Paris in the summer of 1884, Engels and Paul Lafargue agreed to persuade Laura Lafargue to move to England for some time. However, Laura did not arrive at Engels' home until the autumn of 1884. — 167, 171, 224

269 *Le quart d'heure de Rabelais* — the moment of settling accounts, an unpleasant interlude. This expression originates from an episode which allegedly happened to the French author Rabelais and was retold by Voltaire. On his way from Rome to Paris, Rabelais stopped off at a hotel in Lyons and, not having any money to live on, thought up an original way of solving his problem. With the assistance of the son of the hotel's owner, he made some labels on which he wrote 'Poison to kill the
King' and 'Poison to kill the Queen' to be attached to bottles. After that Rabelais, having now eaten his fill for free, was taken to Paris in the company of two policemen.—167

The editorial board of the *Journal des Économistes*, which carried Paul Lafargue's article 'Le blé en Amerique', added an accompanying note to the article expressing regret that Lafargue had not 'devoted his excellent enquiring mind and good style to political economy'.—168

On 16 July 1884 Eduard Bernstein wrote to Engels that the voters' mood did not favour the Social Democrats in the constituencies where August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were standing at the forthcoming elections (see Note 194) and that the Right-wing Social Democrats Bruno Geiser and Louis Viereck had the better constituencies.—169

Engels is referring to Bruno Geiser's attacks on atheism in his article 'Das Innere der Erde. Eine Auseinandersetzung über den gegenwärtigen Stand einiger Fragen der Wissenschaft' which was published in *Die Neue Welt*, Nos. 14 and 15, 1884.—170

In a letter of 25 July 1884 Paul Lafargue asked Engels to look through his résumé of P. P. Leroy-Beaulieu's book *Le Collectivisme...* in which the author set out to disprove some of the propositions of Marx's economic theory. For Engels' remarks on Lafargue's work 'La théorie de la plus-value de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu' see this volume, pp. 179-83.—171, 175, 178

In Eduard Bernstein's correspondence published by the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, this excerpt from Engels' letter is dated: [Hastings, c. 5 July 1884?] (see *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, herausgegeben von H. Hirsch, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1970, pp. 282-83). However, since the date and place of writing are doubted by the publishers themselves, the present edition has retained the traditional dating.—173

*Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (Letters of obscure men) — a collection of satirical letters in two parts (Part I—1515, Part II—1517), probably written by members of a humanists' club in Erfurt who supported Reichlin. A major role in the second (and perhaps also the first) part of the *Letters* was played by Ulrich von Hutten. The letters were directed against Cologne-based theologians.—173

This letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in: Friedrich Engels, Paul et Laura Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, 1868-86, Paris, Editions sociales, 1956.—174

Engels vacationed in Worthing on the South coast of England from about 5 August to 1 September 1884.—174, 176, 178, 190

The annual conference of the Democratic Federation (see Note 99) was held in London in early August 1884; the conference resolved to rename the Democratic Federation and call it the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300).—177

The beginning of the letter has not been found.

In this letter Engels sets out his remarks on the manuscript of Paul Lafargue's résumé of the book *Le Collectivisme. Examen critique du nouveau socialisme* by the French economist and sociologist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. Part of the book was devoted to a denial of Marx's economic doctrine, particularly his theory of surplus va-
lue. Taking account of Engels' remarks, Lafargue's article was published in the *Journal des Économistes*, No. 9, 1884 under the heading 'La théorie de la plus-value de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu'.—179

Here, the direct form of the circulation of commodities means the form: commodity—money—commodity, and the second form: money—commodity—money.—180

The editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Économistes*, Gustave Molinari, assured Paul Lafargue that he would be given the opportunity to make a reply should Paul Leroy-Beaulieu raise objections to his résumé (see Note 279), whereupon the discussion would be considered finished. However, the one to raise objections was not Beaulieu, but Maurice Block, who published an article in the *Journal des Économistes* entitled 'Le Capital, de Karl Marx, à propos d'une anticritique'. Lafargue replied to him in the *Journal des Économistes*, No. 11, 1884, with an article called 'Le "Capital" de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Block'.—183, 224

In a letter of 6 August 1884 Georg Heinrich von Vollmar asked Engels to advise him of a suitable higher educational establishment for Miss Kjellberg who was planning to embark on a thorough study of the social sciences.—184

*Manchesterism — the Manchester School* — a trend in economic thought which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders, advocated freedom of trade and non-interference by government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester.

Marx dealt in detail with Frédéric Bastiat's views in the *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58* (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 5-16).—184

On 12 August 1884, Marya Jankowska (pseudonym Stefan Leonowicz), the representative of a Polish Social-Democratic group in Geneva, wrote to Engels requesting permission to publish a Polish edition of his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Engels wrote a draft of his reply on the back of the letter from Jankowska.—185

In a letter of 18 August, 1884 Karl Kautsky suggested to Engels that he should advertise the forthcoming publication of his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and include its preface in *Die Neue Zeit* with a view to preventing the book being banned in Germany. The September issue of the journal carried an announcement that this work was to appear shortly together with excerpts from Engels' preface (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 129-276).—187

On 18 August 1884 Eduard Bernstein wrote to inform Engels that translation work had been completed on Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see Note 118). He also offered to compile an index to *Capital* together with Karl Kautsky.—188

Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address it bears is also in his handwriting and reads: 'Herrn K. Kautsky, 38, Berglistr.; Riesbach-Zürich, Switzerland.'—189, 200, 205

In his letter of 26 August 1884 Karl Kautsky drew Engels' attention to the fact that, in his work *Rodbertus, der Begründer des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus*, Georg Adler described as mistaken Engels' claim that Rodbertus had borrowed his doctrine of crises from Sismondi (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 273, Engels' footnote).—189
The reference is to a number of polemical articles in *Der Sozialdemokrat*. In No. 36, 3 September 1884 there was a leading article called ‘Höheres Blech’ directed against an article praising Rodbertus by the Austrian journalist Hermann Bahr which had appeared in the Viennese *Deutsche Wochenschrift* in August.

In the same issue of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Eduard Bernstein, using his pseudonym Leo, published an article (‘Ein Ketzerriecher’) against Heinrich Wilhelm Fabian, a German socialist living in the United States who had published articles against Marx’s and Engels’ doctrine of the state in the April issue of *Der Freidenker* and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

*Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 37, 11 September 1884 carried an article called ‘Wie stellen wir uns zur Börsensteuer?’ evidently written by Abraham Gumbel. The article said that the German Social Democrats should support the bill on the stock exchange tax proposed by Bismarck. Taking up the polemics on this issue, the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat* declared that, in its opinion, the bill accorded merely with the interests of the big landowners’ party (see ‘In Sachen der Börsensteuer’, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 39, 25 September 1884).—191

Engels’ reply to the editors of *To-Day* has not been found.—192, 195

The *Kölische Zeitung*, No. 241, 30 August 1884 (first edition) carried an article headed ‘Professor Schweifurth über den Congo’ on the activities of the Association Internationale Africaine which had been founded in Brussels in 1876 by King Leopold II of Belgium. The organisation was renamed the Comité d’Études du Haut-Congo in 1878. Among those taking part in its work was the famous explorer Henry Morton Stanley. The actual aim of the association was to seize and exploit the Congo basin. The article reported that, alongside their philanthropic and scientific work, the Belgian settlers were buying slaves in the Congo, employing the slave labour of the indigenous population, buying ivory, palm oil and other local commodities for export.—192

German colonial policy became much more active in 1884. The first congress of the German Colonial Union took place on 5 January in Frankfurt-am-Main. The same year saw the organisation of the first German trading station on the South-West coast of Africa, which served as a base for expanding the role played by German capital in Africa.—192, 199

The reference is to the manuscripts of Carl Schramm’s and Karl Kautsky’s articles. Engels goes on in the letter to examine the latter’s article against Schramm. The German Social Democrat and reformist Carl Schramm sent the editors of *Die Neue Zeit* his manuscript ‘K. Kautsky und Rodbertus’ for publication in which he sharply attacked Kautsky’s article ‘Das “Kapital” von Rodbertus’ which the journal had published previously. Schramm’s article and Kautsky’s reply, entitled ‘Eine Replik’, were carried by *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1884.—193

The neo-Malthusian Charles Robert Drysdale published an article entitled ‘The State Remedy for Poverty’ in the September issue of *To-Day*. Referring to Karl Kautsky’s book *Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft* (Vienna, 1880), he wrote that the ‘ardent Socialist’ Kautsky ‘fully admits the truth of the generalisation of Malthus and Darwin’.—195

This letter was written by Engels on a postcard. On it he wrote the following ad-
dress: 'Herrn H. Schlüter, Volksbuchhandlung, Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.'—196

296 This letter was written by Engels on a postcard. He provided it with the following address: 'Herrn H. Schlüter, Volksbuchhandlung, Kasinostr. Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.'—196

297 On 15-17 September 1884, a meeting took place in Skierniewice, Poland, between the emperors of Germany, Austria and Russia and their foreign ministers. The result was the prolongation for three years of the agreement reached between Russia and Germany in June 1881 on the maintenance of benevolent neutrality should the other country be attacked.—198

298 Engels seems to be referring to the impression the results of the German Reichstag elections of 10 January 1874 had in Europe, when the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany scored a considerable victory: nine of its candidates (including August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht) were elected and the party won over six per cent of the poll.—198

299 In 1884 the third parliamentary reform was carried out in England, as a result of which the suffrage was extended to include small farmers and the farm workers who were homeowners or householders. Suffrage was not extended to the poorer rural and urban sections of the population (tenants and domestic servants), nor to women. The first elections under the new electoral law took place in November-December 1885, with the electorate having a numerical strength of two million higher than at the previous poll (see Note 487).—198, 270, 304, 314, 317, 318, 320, 341, 497

300 Social Democratic Federation— an English socialist organisation founded in August 1884 and based on the Democratic Federation (see Note 99); it united different socialist elements, mainly drawn from the intelligentsia and part of the politically active workers. The Federation’s programme stated that all the wealth should belong to labour—its only source, it called for the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, for the set-up of society of ‘complete emancipation of labour’. It was the first socialist programme in England, which was on the main based on Marx’s ideas. The leadership of the Federation was in the hands of Henry Mayers Hyndman, who was prone to use authoritarian methods, and his supporters, who denied the need to work in the trade unions. This doomed the organisation to isolation from the working masses. As a counter to Hyndman’s line, a group of socialists within the Federation (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Tom Mann, William Morris and others) campaigned for the establishment of close links with the mass workers’ movement. The disagreements in the Federation over questions of tactics and international cooperation (attitude to the split in the French Workers’ Party; see notes 201 and 348) led in December 1884 to a split and the foundation of an independent organisation called the Socialist League (see Note 346). In 1885-86 the local branches of the Federation took an active part in the unemployed movement, supported the strike campaign and the fight for an eight-hour working day.—198, 207, 224, 236, 245, 341, 376, 384, 394, 403, 471, 492, 526, 529, 533

301 The reference is to the German edition of Marx’s The Poverty of Philosophy, which appeared in Stuttgart in January 1885 (see Note 118). The book included, in place of Marx’s preface, his article ‘On Proudhon’ (see present edition, Vol. 20) and two

At one time *Die Neue Zeit* was printed in a distinctive orthography proposed by Bruno Geiser. — 200, 205, 206, 208, 216

302 The Italian translation of Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* was done by Pasquale Martignetti and edited by Engels himself (see this volume, p. 215). The Polish edition appeared in Paris in 1885, and the Russian translation was published in St. Petersburg in 1894. — 205, 421

305 In a note headed 'Exécution d'un agent provocateur' the Paris newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 356, 18 October 1884 reported that Heinrich Nonne, a Hanoverian living in Paris, had been exposed as a provocateur and police spy and expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see also Note 166). — 207

304 When he visited his relatives in Darmstadt in the summer of 1884, Carl Schorlemmer was detained by the authorities on suspicion of bringing illegal literature into Germany. Being a British subject, however, he succeeded in avoiding punishment (see also F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', present edition, Vol. 27). — 209, 245


306 At the Reichstag elections on 28 October 1884 — the outcome of which August Bebel telegraphed to Engels — and at the second ballots held in early November, the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was able to increase its number of seats to 24 as against 13 at the previous elections. It received 549,990 votes, or 238,029 more than at the 1881 elections. — 210, 216, 221

307 The election result meant that the Social-Democratic group was able to initiate legislation for the first time, since the Reichstag's rules accorded this right only to parliamentary groups with 15 or more seats. — 210, 217

308 Bebel was elected to the Reichstag in Hamburg I (12,282 votes) and Dresden I (8,620 votes at the first ballot and 11,106 at the second) constituencies. He did not receive the required number of votes in Leipzig and Cologne. — 211

309 The Reichstag elections of 28 October 1884 brought fresh success to the German Social Democrats when compared with the 1878 elections held before the Anti-Socialist Law came into force; their vote increased from 493,000 to 549,900. — 212

310 Wilhelm Liebknecht failed to obtain the required number of votes at the first ballot in Offenbach-Dieburg, but he was elected at the second ballot with 10,505 votes. — 212

311 Following August Bebel's failure at the first ballot in Cologne, representatives of the National Liberals and the Centre stood at the second ballot (see notes 229 and 243).

In its reports headed 'Die Stichwahlen...' (second edition), No. 307, 4 November 1884; 'Die Reichstags-Stichwahl in Köln...' (second edition), No. 309, 6 November 1884 and 'Noch einmal die Kölner Stichwahl...' (second edition), No. 311, 8 November 1884, the *Kölnerische Zeitung* called upon the Social-Democratic
electors to vote for the National Liberal candidate and demanded that they publicly disavow revolutionary principles.— 213, 231

312 Bismarck's social reform was a distinctive method employed by the ruling classes in their fight against the revolutionary workers' movement during the period when the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37) was in force in Germany. Having failed to destroy the Social Democrats in the initial years of this law (see notes 307 and 309), in late 1881 Bismarck set out to achieve his objective through a carrot and stick policy. On 17 November, a proclamation was published by the Emperor announcing a number of reforms (social insurance laws in cases of industrial accident, illness, old age and invalidity). Bismarck hoped that their introduction would split the Social Democrats and isolate the working class from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.— 213

313 In this letter Pasquale Martignetti asked for Engels' permission to translate his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* into Italian and for his agreement to look through the translation; the book appeared in Benevento in 1885.— 215

314 In his reply to Engels of 18 November, Pasquale Martignetti informed him that he had conducted talks with the publisher Gennaro, who had issued the Italian translation of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, and that the latter had agreed to publish *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.— 215


316 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence. 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence, London, 1934.— 220, 231, 279

317 As a result of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) Frederick II of Prussia seized Silesia from Austria. Frederick II waged the war against Austria in alliance with France and Bavaria and twice during its course betrayed his allies by concluding a separate peace treaty with Austria (1742 and 1745).

Prussia was among the participants in the Seven Years' War from 1756 to 1763.

On 5 April 1795 Prussia concluded the separate Peace of Basle with the French Republic, thus betraying its allies in the first anti-French coalition.— 221

318 *German Confederation* (der Deutsche Bund) was an ephemeral union of German states formed by decision of the Congress of Vienna in June 1815 and originally comprising 35 absolutist feudal states and four free cities. The central body of the German Confederation was the Federal Diet, which consisted of representatives of the German states. The Confederation sealed Germany's political and economic fragmentation and retarded her development. After the defeat of the revolution of 1848-49 and the failure of the attempts to establish a more stable political union, the German Confederation was restored in its old decentralised and amorphous form.

The German Confederation finally ceased to exist during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. This war ended the long-standing rivalry for supremacy in Germany between Austria and Prussia in favour of the latter and marked an important
stage in the unification of Germany from above under the hegemony of Junkerbourgeois Prussia.— 221

319 Engels is referring to the annexation and incorporation into Prussia of the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Kassel, the Duchy of Nassau and the free city of Frankfurt-am-Main. This occurred after Prussia's victory in the war with Austria, in which they had supported the latter, and were the subject of legislation adopted on 20 September 1866.— 221

320 Engels is apparently referring to the confiscation of the property and lands belonging to George V, the King of Hanover, who had fought on the Austrian side. This decision was adopted by the Prussian government on 2 March 1868.— 221

321 The North German Confederation (Norddeutscher Bund) — a federative state formed in 1867 after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war to replace the disintegrated German Confederation (see Note 318). It initially included 19 states and three free cities, which were formally recognised as autonomous. In 1870 Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg joined the Confederation. The establishment of the North German Confederation and its Constitution securing Prussian domination, was a major step towards the national unification of Germany. The Confederation ceased to exist in January 1871, when the German Empire was formed.— 221

322 The reference is to the November coup d'état in Prussia which ended on 5 December 1848 in the dispersal of the Prussian National Assembly and the publication of the so-called imposed constitution (see also present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 66-70).— 222

323 Edda — a collection of epic poems and songs about the lives of the Scandinavian gods and heroes. It has come down to us in a manuscript dating from the 13th century, discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic bishop Sveinsson — the so-called Elder Edda — and in a treatise on the poetry of the scalds compiled in the early 13th century by Snorri Sturluson (Younger Edda).— 224

324 Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 47, 21 November 1884 reported that the French socialists had held a major rally on 15 November 1884 in solidarity with the German workers. It also published excerpts from an article carried by the Lyon-Socialiste, No. 9, 9 November 1884 and welcoming the German Social Democrats' victory in the Reichstag (see Note 306).— 225

325 During the second ballot to the Reichstag, Philipp Heinrich Müller, the SocialDemocratic candidate in Darmstadt constituency, issued a leaflet in response to one put out by the National Liberals (see Note 243). Müller declared that he and millions more Germans supported the Republic and resolutely defended the Paris Commune. The text of the leaflet was reprinted in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 46, 14 November 1884.

Jules Guesde quoted Müller in the leading article carried by Le Cri du Peuple, No. 387, 18 November 1884, which was headed 'Nouvelle victoire'.

What Engels meant by the Hanoverian programme was the election leaflet issued in Hanover stating that the growth in reaction in Germany could be explained by the cowardice of the National Liberals and their grovelling to Bismarck. The text of the leaflet was carried by Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 47, 21 November 1884.— 225, 232

326 With regard to the preparations for a meeting of solidarity with the German Social Democrats scheduled to take place in Redoute (France) on 15 November 1884 (see
Note 324) Eduard Bernstein wrote to Paul Lafargue asking him to refrain from sharp criticism of Lassalle. Lafargue informed Engels of the same on 18 November 1884.—225

327 This letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in: Thompson E. P., William Morris. Romantic to Revolutionary, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1955, p. 861.—227

328 The English worker and socialist John L. Mahon wrote to Engels on 26 November 1884 requesting that he receive him to discuss a number of issues concerning the English workers’ movement, in particular, an opportunity of setting up a workers’ party.—228

329 The reference is to the events of May 1860; see Engels’ letter to Emile Engels of 11 April and Engels’ letters to Marx of 7 and 10 May 1860 (present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 120-21, 134 and 137; see also this volume, Note 23).—229

330 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard which he addressed ‘Herrn Karl Kautsky, Hungelbrunngasse, 14, Wien IV, Austria’.

In a letter of 2 December 1884, Karl Kautsky, who was preparing to move from Zurich to London and was to stop off in Vienna and Berlin, gave Engels his Vienna address and also asked him to receive his correspondence at his (Engels’) London address for a start. Kautsky further inquired whether Engels thought it better to publish Marx’s ‘Speech on the Question of Free Trade’ as a separate pamphlet or as an appendix to the German edition of The Poverty of Philosophy (see Note 301) being printed by Dietz’s publishing house in Stuttgart at the time.—230

331 The original of this letter contains a number of changes written in an unknown hand, perhaps that of August Bebel. The present edition reproduces Engels’ text and gives the changes in footnotes.—231

332 Speaking on 10 May 1884 in the Reichstag debate on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37), Bruno Geiser stated that the Social Democrats did not seek to use violence to overthrow the existing state and society. He described Bismarck’s statement in the Reichstag of 9 May 1884 in which the latter acknowledged the right to work (see Note 233) as evidence of a social revolution in progress.

Speaking in the debate on 12 May 1884, August Bebel declared, in contrast to Geiser, that the law’s prolongation would not effect the development and implementation of socialist ideas and that ‘sooner or later they will quite certainly come to play the dominant role in state and society’.

Geiser’s and Bebel’s speeches were published in a pamphlet entitled Aus den Verhandlungen über die Verlängerung des Sozialistengesetzes which appeared in Nuremberg in 1884.—231

333 The reference is to the five thousand millions of golden francs which France paid under the peace treaty it concluded with Germany on 10 May 1871 in Frankfurt-am-Main after losing the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.—233

334 The reference is to the representatives of the radical bourgeoisie in the Prussian National Assembly which met in Frankfurt-am-Main from 1848 to 1849 (see also Note 322).—234

335 The reference is to the party of moderate Republicans headed by Armand Marrast which formed around the newspaper Le National in the 1840s; it was supported by
the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of the liberal intellectuals connected with it.—234

336 The interim government formed on 24 February 1848 during the bourgeois-democratic revolution in France was a coalition of three political groupings: the bourgeois republicans, the petty bourgeois democrats and the petty bourgeois socialists. The representatives of the latter two groupings made up the 'Social-Democratic minority'—accounting for four of the 11 members of the government—and were unable to exert any influence in their own right on government decisions.—234

337 This excerpt from the letter was reproduced by Paul Lafargue in the article 'Descendre dans la rue' published in the Lyon-Socialiste, No. 15, 21 December 1884. The original has not been found.

The surviving fragment of the letter is published in English for the first time in the present edition, Vol. 26.—235

338 This letter was first published in an abridged form in The Labour Monthly, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 10, X.—236

339 This evidently refers to the trips to Scotland undertaken by Andreas Scheu (in November 1884) and Henry Mayers Hyndman (in early December 1884). In Edinburgh Scheu took part in the founding of the Scottish Land and Labour League from among the local socialists. In an effort to extend the organisation's influence to other Scottish cities, Scheu contacted socialists in Glasgow and called on them to form a branch of this League. However, a gathering of socialists took place in Glasgow on 1 December at which Hyndman was present and which proclaimed the formation of the Glasgow branch of the Social Democratic Federation. This was reported in Justice, No. 47, 6 December 1884.—237

340 At a meeting of the executive of the Social Democratic Federation chaired by H. Quelch on 27 December 1884 a vote of no-confidence in Hyndman was passed by ten to eight and the behaviour of Andreas Scheu was endorsed. Immediately after this, ten members (Eleanor and Edward Aveling, R. Banner, B. Bax, W. J. Clark, J. Cooper, J. Lane, J. L. Mahon, S. Mainwaring and W. Morris) declared that they were leaving the Federation.—238

341 The fragment below from Engels' letter was reproduced by Liebknecht in his article 'Zur Dampfersubvention' published in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 2, 8 January 1885. The whereabouts of the original is unknown.—239

342 In late 1884, Bismarck, seeking to step up German colonial policy (see Note 292) demanded that the Reichstag approve annual subsidies for steamship companies to organise regular services to Eastern Asia, Australia and Africa. This demand led to disagreements within the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag. The Left wing headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht came out against supporting the government's policy. The Right-wing majority in the group (Dietz, Frohme, Grillenberger, etc.) intended to vote for the subsidies under the pretext that they promoted international links. Under pressure from the majority, the parliamentary group decided to declare the subsidies issue to be of no major importance and give each member the right to vote as they thought fit (see Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 50, 11 December 1884).

The sharp criticism expressed in Der Sozialdemokrat and the resolutions adopted by
the party leadership led the majority of the parliamentary group to somewhat modify their attitude to the government's project when it was discussed in the Reichstag in March 1885 and to make their support conditional on the Reichstag accepting a number of the group's proposals. It was not until after the Reichstag declined to endorse the proposals made by the Social-Democratic group that they voted against the subsidies.—239, 240, 242, 245, 268, 295, 388

343 The reference is to the speech made by Max Kayser on 17 May 1879 with the agreement of the entire Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag in support of the government plan to introduce protective customs tariffs. Marx and Engels sharply condemned Kayser's action in defending a proposal put before the Reichstag in the interest of large industrialists and big farmers and to the detriment of the masses. They further criticised the lax attitude shown to Kayser by a number of German Social-Democratic leaders (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 259-61).—241

344 In a letter written on 28 December 1884 Bebel informed Engels that on 31 December he intended to surrender his shares in the workshop producing door and window handles which had been formed in Berka a. W. in 1876.—243

345 In a letter of 18 November 1884 Pasquale Martignetti requested Engels' permission to publish in one volume two works, namely The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State and The Peasant War in Germany, the former of which he was translating into Italian at the time.—243

346 The reference is to the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) and the Socialist League.

The Socialist League was formed in December 1884 by a group of English socialists who had left the Social Democratic Federation. Its organisers included Eleanor Marx, Ernest Belfort Bax, William Morris and others. 'The Manifesto of the Socialist League' (see The Commonweal, No. 1, February 1885) proclaimed that its members advocate 'the principles of Revolutionary International Socialism' and '...seek a change in the basis of Society ... which would destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities'. The League set itself the task of establishing a national workers' party adhering to international stand, assisting the trade union and cooperative movements. In its initial years the League and its officials took an active part in the workers' movement. However, in 1887 the League's leadership split into three factions (anarchist elements, the 'parliamentarians' and the 'antiparliamentarians'); its links with the day-to-day struggles of the English workers were gradually weakened and there was a growth in sectarianism. In 1889-90 the League fell apart.—245, 247, 265, 275, 321, 394, 431, 434, 443, 446, 451, 471, 492, 526, 529, 534

347 The fragment below from Engels' letter to the editor of Der Sozialist Joseph Dietzgen was first published in the same, No. 4, 24 January 1885 (New York) in the column 'Sozial-politische Nachrichten der letzten Tage'. An editorial note placed before the fragment read as follows: 'In a communication from London of 31 December 1884, Fred. Engels tells us that Volume II of Marx's Capital, so long and eagerly awaited, is now ready to go to press, and likewise gives us the glad tidings that, exceeding all our expectations, the third and fourth volumes are also to be bestowed upon us.'

The whereabouts of the original letter is not known.—246
The reference is to the rapprochement between the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation and the French Possibilists (see notes 300 and 237).

On 27 December 1884 the newspaper *Justice*, No. 50 published a letter from Adolphe Smith under the heading ‘France and the International Congress’. The author considered it essential that the Social Democratic Federation, having proposed the convocation of an international socialist congress, should recognise the Possibilists as the main organisation of the French socialists and not maintain relations with the French Workers’ Party.— 247

The reference is to the manuscript of the English translation of Engels’ book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4) prepared by the American socialist Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky for publication in the United States (see also Note 360).— 248, 257, 373, 382, 419

Engels is referring to the review of the pamphlet G. Groß, *Karl Marx*, Leipzig, 1885 being prepared by Karl Kautsky. The review was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 6, 1885.— 250

On 9 January 1885 Kautsky wrote to Engels to say that the German Social Democrat Louis Vierreck had offered him a temporary or permanent post with one of the newspapers he published.— 250

Hermann Schlüter asked Engels to send him a set of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue* since he was intending to publish in the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek series a number of works by Marx and Engels which the said journal had carried in 1850.— 251

*Reptiles* (grovellers) is a term which became widespread after Bismarck used it in his speech before the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on 30 January 1869 to describe the government’s opponents. The left-wing press took up this expression and began to describe as reptilian the semi-official press which was in the pay of the government, labelling the relevant category of journalists as reptiles.— 253

Engels’ negative attitude to Franz Mehring which he expresses in this letter had to do with the fact that from the mid-1870s Mehring started to criticise Social-Democratic theory and tactics in the bourgeois-democratic press. His position was summarised in the pamphlet *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie, ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre; eine historisch-kritische Darstellung*, three editions of which were issued in 1877, 1878 and 1879, respectively, by the publishing house belonging to the *Weser-Zeitung*, a National-Liberal (see Note 243) newspaper based in Barmen. Captivated by the Kantian philosophy, Mehring believed that the history was made by the ‘strong personalities’, while the workers’ movement and, consequently, Social Democracy were not the natural result of the social development.

In the early 1880s Mehring had been revising his views on the socialist movement. Having joined the Socialist Party of Germany in 1891 he became one of its left-wing leaders. Engels’ attitude to Mehring changed accordingly; right up to his death in 1895 Engels repeatedly praised Mehring’s journalistic and academic endeavours.— 253, 316

This letter, which Paul Lafargue passed on to Jules Guesde, formed the basis for Guesde’s leading article in the newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, No. 461, 31 January 1885. The excerpt published here was included in the article in full, where it was
stated that a letter written by 'one of the veterans of our great social battles' had been received from London. Engels examined the issue to which he refers in this excerpt in the article 'Real Imperial Russian Privy Dynamites' carried by Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 5, 29 January 1885 (see present edition, Vol. 26). The whereabouts of the original letter are unknown.—255

Nihilists — a term used in the 1860s to describe the progressive-minded Russian intellectuals of different social estates. The Nihilists refused to recognise the dominant ideology and morality, rejected religion and demanded freedom of the personality. They advocated equality between the sexes and called for the study of the natural and exact sciences. Towards the end of the 1860s the term almost completely disappeared from polemic writing, although it was used later on occasions by reactionary political commentators as a label for revolutionaries. In West European writing, the term was applied to participants in the Russian revolutionary movement of the 1870s and 1880s, notably the members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will).—256, 275, 279, 338, 378, 484, 486, 505, 513, 520, 525

On 13 (1) January 1885 Russia and Prussia exchanged notes on the extradition of persons accused of criminal offences against the monarchs of the contracting parties or members of their families, as well as of persons found guilty of manufacturing or storing explosives. This was the subject of a report in The Times, 24 January 1885 (No. 31352) entitled 'Extradition by Russia and Prussia. Berlin, Jan. 23'.—256

358 The series of explosions which Engels is writing about took place on Saturday, 24 January 1885. The investigation showed that the man responsible for the explosion in the Tower was the same one who had organised the explosion on the underground railway two years previously, when bombs had been placed at Charing Cross and Praed Street stations. He was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment and hard labour. See also Note 251.—256

359 The reference is to Engels' preface to the first edition of his work The Condition of the Working-Class in England (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 302-04) and his dedication of this book 'to the Working-Classes of Great-Britain' (ibid., pp. 297-301). The preface and dedication were not included in the edition of this work which appeared in the United States (see Note 349).—257, 420

360 In February 1886 Engels wrote an article as a preface or epilogue to the American edition of The Condition of the Working-Class in England (see present edition, Vol. 26). When publication was delayed, Engels considered it essential to write another preface in January 1887 (ibid.). The first article was included as an appendix in the American edition.—257, 259, 415

361 To speed up the Russian translation of the second volume of Capital Engels sent Nikolai Danielson the proofs of the German edition as they were printed. The volume appeared in January 1886.—260, 265, 278, 289, 294, 303, 311

362 Hermann Lopatin was arrested in St Petersburg on 6 October 1884 and was under investigation up to May 1887; on 4 June 1887 he was sentenced to death, later commuted to life imprisonment in Schlisselburg fortress. Lopatin was released on 28 October 1905.—260, 319, 349, 401, 525

363 Engels' pseudonym in his correspondence with Nikolai Danielson; Engels used the
name of the husband of his wife’s niece — Percy White Rosher. — 260, 278, 294, 319, 322, 350, 402, 523

Pyotr Lavrov enquired as to whether the information about Marx contained in Groß’ pamphlet was correct (see Note 350) and whether Engels had made any additions or changes to the 1885 German edition of Marx’s *The Poverty of Philosophy*. — 261

Karl Kautsky lived in London from early 1885 to June 1888. — 262, 265

To Engels’ enquiry about the rumours regarding the prohibition in Germany of his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see this volume, p. 252), Hermann Schlüter replied that, according to his information, the work had not been officially banned, but there had been a case of a large number of copies being confiscated in Leipzig. Although they had all been returned, booksellers refused to stock the book any longer and from that time it was being distributed directly from Zurich on advance order only. — 263

In a letter published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 9, 26 February 1885, Karl Varenholz, a member of the Social Democratic Federation, came out in defence of Henry Hyndman’s policy and attempted to disprove the reasons for the split in the Social Democratic Federation reported by the same newspaper, No. 3, 15 January 1885; the report reflected Engels’ views (see this volume, pp. 236-38). Bernstein’s letter to Engels of 15 January gives reason to believe that the report was written by Eleanor Marx-Aveling. Edward Aveling’s reply to Varenholz was carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 13, 26 March 1885. Aveling exposed Hyndman’s activities in trying to take over the presidency of the Federation, his intrigues against Andreas Scheu and other members of the Federation and the authoritarian practices employed by the editors of *Justice*, which carried material for the most part reflecting the position of Hyndman and his supporters. — 265

The reference is to Maitland Park Crescent, which led into Maitland Park Road. In the 1870s, this street, together with Modena Villas, Maitland Park Villas and Maitland Park Road was given the single name Maitland Park Road (see also Note 159).

Eleanor Marx-Aveling lived at 67, Maitland Park Road. — 265

Jenny and Karl Marx were buried at Highgate Cemetery in London (see also Note 36). 14 March 1885 was the second anniversary of Marx’s death. — 265

The reference is to the group of French workers in the Montceau-les-Mines coalfield who were arrested in November 1884 on a charge of organising explosions in the mine and the town. The immediate reason for their arrest was the explosion of 7 November organised by the agent provocateur Claude Brenin, who was in the pay of local police commissar Thévenin. Those arrested included activists in the workers’ movement who had no connection with these explosions. The role played by Brenin as a provocateur was exposed by the socialist newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, 16 February 1885. At the trial in late May the accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. — 265

On 21 March 1885 Richard Stegemann asked Engels to let him know where he could obtain personal information about Marx for inclusion in a work he was preparing for the press about the latter’s economic doctrine. Stegemann requested
Engels, in the absence of printed sources for a biography of Marx, to send him his own thoughts about Marx as a man.—266

372 The French government under the leader of the moderate Republicans Jules Ferry, who had held the post since 1883, resigned on 30 March 1885 due to an unsuccessful colonial adventure in Indochina.—267, 270

373 Following the elections in 1884 (see Note 306), the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag was made up of a right-wing majority led by Wilhelm Blos, Bruno Geiser, Karl Frohme, Wilhelm Hasenclever and others, and a left-wing minority led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.—268, 300

374 The majority of the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag, consisting of reformists, tried to dispute the right of the party newspaper—Der Sozialdemokrat—to criticise the action of the parliamentary group and its attitude towards the bill envisaging the payment of subsidies to steamship companies (see Note 342). They published a statement to this effect in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 14, 2 April 1885.

However, the majority of the local Social-Democratic organisations resolutely supported the editors. The reformists were virtually forced to renounce their objections and, in a joint statement with the editors of Der Sozialdemokrat published on 23 April, they recognised the newspaper’s status as the ‘organ of the whole party’ (see also notes 380 and 390).—268, 269, 275, 290, 300, 313, 323

375 Until 1885, France was divided into ‘small constituencies’, each sending one representative to the Chamber of Deputies. In June 1885, on the initiative of the moderate bourgeois republicans, a system of voting by department lists was introduced. Under this system, which operated until 1889, small constituencies were combined to form larger ones each corresponding to a department. Now a voter received a ballot paper with names of candidates from different parties, but he was obliged to vote for the total number of candidates to be elected, with one deputy for every 70,000 people. A deputy was considered elected in the first ballot provided he had received an absolute majority of votes; a relative majority was sufficient in the second ballot.—270, 314, 317, 320, 326, 330, 489, 508

376 Engels is referring to Gladstone’s Liberal administration which had formed the government in Britain from 1880 (see Note 414).—270

377 Der Sozialdemokrat, Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 7 of 8, 15 and 29 January and 12 February 1885 published articles and editorial comments criticising the attitude taken by the majority of the parliamentary group to the bill on subsidies to steamship companies (see Note 342). The first article was signed ‘W. L.’, the second was without a signature, the third carried the initials ‘J. A.’ and the fourth, ‘H. R.’.—271, 284

378 In March and April 1885 there was a conflict between Britain and Russia caused by their rivalry over the area around the North-West frontier of Afghanistan. Following the annexation of Southern Turkestan by Russia there was a clash between Russian and Afghan forces, the latter supported by Britain, which threatened to escalate into an armed conflict between the two powers. However, the diplomatic isolation of Britain due to the position taken by Germany, forced the Gladstone administration to step down in its dispute with Russia about the division of spheres of influence in Central Asia.

The April issue of the organ of the Socialist League—The Commonwealth
(No. 3) — carried an article by Ernest Belfort Bax entitled 'At Bay!' in which he set out his views on the foreign policies pursued by Britain and Russia, including those on the Anglo-Russian conflict.—275

379 In his letter to Engels of 27 March 1885 Paul Lafargue asked what the former thought of his hypothesis about the origin of certain legal terms.—275

380 With regard to the conflict between the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (see Note 49) and the editors of Der Sozialdemokrat (see Note 374) August Bebel sent the parliamentary group a note of protest on 5 April 1885 in which he reserved the right to appeal to the party should the parliamentary group continue to suppress the freedom of opinion.

The parliamentary group completed three days of debates on 15 April 1885.—277

381 Nikolai Danielson provided Engels with some figures about the length of the working day and the wages paid to workers in Russia as well as about the extent to which peasants had joined the ranks of the proletariat. He also was ready to send Engels the following books by Russian economists: Н. И. Энбер, Давид Рикардо и Карл Маркс в их общественно-экономических исследованиях (2nd edition, St Petersburg, 1885), И. И. Янкул, Фабричный быт Московской губернии (Moscow, 1882) and П. А. Песков, Санитарное исследование фабрик по обработке волокнистых веществ в г. Москве (Moscow, 1882).—277

382 A draft of this letter in Engels' handwriting has survived. All substantial variations are given in footnotes.—279

383 The reference is to the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group (see Note 124).—279

384 In his book Наши разногласия (Our Differences), Geneva, 1884, Plekhanov repeatedly used the expression 'unstable balance' to describe relations in the Russian village commune.—280

385 The reference is to the following passage in Plekhanov's letter to Pyotr Lavrov of 22 July 1884, which appeared in place of a preface in Plekhanov's book Our Differences: 'I think that the Russian revolution has an enormous, invincible potential energy, and that reaction is raising its head only because we are unable to transform that energy from potential into kinetic.'—280

386 Here, Engels quotes Hegel from the second volume of his work Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie (see Werke, Bd. XIV, Berlin, 1833, S. 62). Explaining the expression 'Socratic irony', Hegel wrote: 'All dialectics regard as valid what should be valid, as if it were valid, have the inner destruction develop of its own accord on this account — general irony of the world.'—281, 348

387 This letter is Engels' reply to Richard Stegemann's second request (see Note 371) that he write a short personal description of Marx for a work Stegemann was preparing on the latter's economic doctrine. Stegemann justified his request with a need to reply to the efforts being made by bourgeois authors in various countries to distort Marx's personality.—282

388 Tuileries documents is the name Engels gives to the lists of agents in the pay of Napoleon III found in the Tuileries in 1870 and published by the government of the Third Republic in September 1871. Under the letter 'V' was the note 'Vogt—
in August 1859 has been sent a remittance of 40,000 francs.' This bore out Marx's assumption that Karl Vogt was a Bonapartist agent (see K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*; present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 190, 212). Engels wrote about this document in the article 'Once Again "Herr Vogt"' published in May 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 303).— 282

389 On the conflict between the parliamentary group and the editorial board, see Note 374. The original text of the parliamentary group's decision of 20 March 1885 carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat* contained a clause saying that the parliamentary group bore 'moral responsibility' for the newspaper's contents. This met with objections on the part of members of the editorial board, including Eduard Bernstein. The parliamentary group had sent Wilhelm Liebknecht to Zurich, the place of publication, to settle the conflict. The text published by *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 2 April 1885 contained, among other things, the following remark: 'the party organ must under no circumstances become opposed to the parliamentary group, which bears the moral responsibility for the contents of the same', and continued, 'It is not the paper which has to determine the stance of the parliamentary group, but the parliamentary group which has to monitor the stance of the paper.'— 284

390 The reference is to the statement by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and the editors of the paper carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 17, 23 April 1885, in which it was stated that any attempt to limit criticism in the party would be a violation of party principles and would shake it to the foundations. As for the relations between the parliamentary group and the editorial board, the statement represented a compromise. It pointed out, on the one hand, that *Der Sozialdemokrat* was the organ of the party as a whole but that, on the other hand, the parliamentary group was the party's representative body and had a right to monitor the work of the editorial board. On the parliamentary group's first statement, see Note 374.— 284

391 The protective tariffs system was introduced by Bismarck in 1879 in the interest of the landowners and large industrialists and remained in force throughout the 1880s (in 1885 and 1887 it was supplemented by further rises in the duties payable on imported agricultural produce). To a certain extent it promoted the growth of German industry, but brought a major deterioration in the situation of the masses. This led to major discontent, not only among the proletariat, but also the middle and petty bourgeoisie.— 285

392 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in *Science and Society*, New York, 1938, Vol. 2, No. 3.— 286

393 In a letter of 13 May 1885 Hermann Schlüter asked Engels to help him select revolutionary poems and songs for inclusion in a collection from a series of poems for workers which he was preparing for the press. Among other things, Schlüter was interested in songs and poems originating from the period of peasant risings in the 15th and 16th centuries, the revolution of 1848 in Germany and the time of the English Chartists which had been in general circulation. (The collection appeared in Zurich in 1886 under the title *Vorwärts! Eine Sammlung von Gedichten für das arbeitende Volk.*) In the same letter Schlüter informed Engels of his intention to publish a number of minor works and articles by Marx, including some documents from the International, within the framework of the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek series (see also Note 352).— 286
Engels is referring to Luther's chorale 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott' ('God is our firm stronghold'), which Heine, in his Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland, called the 'Marseillaise of the Reformation' (Der Salon, Vol. 2, Hamburg, 1835, p. 80).

In the Introduction to his Dialectics of Nature Engels calls this chorale the 'Marseillaise of the sixteenth century' (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 319).— 286

The reference is to a song written in 1844 by Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz and beginning with the words 'Schleswig-Holstein, meermuschlungen' (Schleswig-Holstein, surrounded by the sea). It was particularly popular in 1848-50, during the struggle for Schleswig-Holstein's liberation from Danish rule.

The Heckerlied is a revolutionary song about the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1848 led, among others, by Friedrich Hecker, a prominent figure among the South German petty bourgeoisie. Engels gave the version of the chorus cited below in his work The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 149).— 287

The Marseillaise—a French revolutionary song. The words and music were written in Strasbourg in 1792 by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle. Its original title was 'Chant du guerre pour l'armée du Rhin' ('War chant for the Rhine army'). Having become widespread in the Republican army, it made its way to Marseilles, thus receiving the name 'Marseilles March' or 'Marseillaise', and later became popular in Paris.— 287

A conflict arose between Prosper Lissagaray, editor-in-chief of La Bataille and its publisher Périnet. With assistance from Paul Brousse and his supporters, Périnet staged an abortive attempt to gain control of the editorship and pocket 10,000 francs donated to the newspaper by Capoul, a former singer.— 288

The article by Louis-Edouard Grimaux referred to below ('Les substances colloïdales et la coagulation', Revue scientifique, Vol. XXXV, 1885) contains the following quote from Carl Schorlemmer, 'If chemists ever succeed in artificially obtaining proteins, they will be in the form of living protoplasm.' And later on, 'The enigma of life can only be resolved by protein synthesis.' — 289

The reference is to sections 5 and 6 of Volume III of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 37).— 290

An incomplete copy of this letter signed by Engels is to be found at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. The copy carries the address of the sender and the date of writing ('London, 19 May 1885, 122, Regent's Park Road, N. W.'), the first paragraph of the draft and the following note by Engels: 'The original of this letter was sent to Nitti in Naples on 26.5.92.'— 291

Engels wrote the note on Mark (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 236) for Chapter VII ('The Gens Among the Celts and Germans') of the Italian translation of his work The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.— 291

On 21 May 1885 Paul Lafargue was sent to Ste Pélage prison, Paris, for two months for failing to pay a fine of 100 francs imposed on him in April 1883 by a jury in Moulins as punishment for his public speeches (see Note 9). To begin with, Lafargue was kept in the cell reserved for criminals, but later transferred to
the part of the prison where the political detainees were kept.— 292, 297, 301, 303, 310, 495

403 Paul Lafargue intended to translate Engels’ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* into French, but failed to carry out this plan. The French translation was done by Henri Ravé from the fourth German edition edited by Laura Lafargue and looked through by Engels; it appeared in Paris in 1893.— 293, 394

404 On 24 May 1885 a demonstration was organised in Paris in memory of the members of the Paris Commune. Carrying red flags, the demonstrators made their way to the Mur des Fédérés in Père-Lachaise cemetery where 200 members of the Commune had been shot on 27 May 1871. The police attacked the demonstrators on the pretext that it was forbidden to carry red flags on demonstrations in Paris. A clash ensued in which a number of people were killed and injured.

Engels expected that the police would try to organise a similar act of provocation on 1 June during the funeral of Victor Hugo who had died on 22 May 1885.— 293, 297


406 Between 1869 and 1873 Marx maintained regular correspondence with Nikolai Danielson, who systematically sent him Russian books and articles in journals dealing with the agrarian question in Russia. In his letter of 24 April (6 May) 1885, Danielson enquired of Engels whether the statistics on the Russian economy had been included in the third volume of *Capital*.

The chapter on ground rent to which Engels refers forms part of Section 6 of Volume III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).— 294


408 Here, Engels uses an expression from the speech made by the Prussian officer Prince Lichnowski in the Frankfurt Assembly on 31 August 1848. Lichnowski used a double negative (‘With regard to historical right there does not exist no date’). See also present edition, Vol. 7, p. 369.— 296

409 The reference is to the work *De origine actibusque Getarum* by the Gothic historian Jordanes. It is a short conspectus of *Historia Gothorum* by Cassiodorus, which is not extant, and to which Jordanes added surviving oral pieces, legends of the Germanic tribes and material from other sources.— 296

410 This letter has survived in the form of an excerpt (the beginning of the letter and name of the addressee are missing). According to the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, where the original is kept, it was written on the letter which A. N. Davison sent to Engels on 10 June 1885. The note ‘Soc. League’ on Engels’ letter suggests that the addressee was John Lincoln Mahon, the secretary of the said organisation (see Note 346).— 298

411 Frederick Charles, Prince of Prussia and inspector-general of the cavalry, died on 15 June 1885.— 300, 302, 304

412 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 17, 23 April 1885 published a statement adopted by a meeting of Social Democrats in Frankfurt-am-Main and sharply criticising the
position of the majority of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and its attempts to impose this position on the party as a whole (see Note 374). On 7 May 1885 Karl Frohme, one of the leaders of the parliamentary group, published a letter attacking this statement in response to this in the bourgeois Frankfurter Journal. The editorial board of Der Sozialdemokrat reprinted Frohme’s letter (No. 20, 14 May 1885) and in the next issue, 21 May 1885 published August Bebel’s article in reply called ‘Auch “ein Protest”’, in which he criticised Frohme’s position.—302, 307

413 The Hamburg party organisation, which supported the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag in its conflict with the editorial board of Der Sozialdemokrat (see Note 374), donated 1,000 francs to the French socialists’ election fund.—303

414 Engels is referring to the resignation in June 1885 of the Liberal cabinet under Gladstone due to the refusal of the majority in parliament (Conservatives and Irish members) to vote for the government proposal to increase taxes on spirits. The real reasons for the resignation were the failures in colonial policy — the concessions to Russia when it came to dividing up spheres of influence in Central Asia (see Note 378) and the major defeats inflicted on the British forces by rebels in the Sudan — as well as the government’s refusal to grant Irish self-administration in the framework of the British Empire.—303

415 Tories — traditional name of the Conservative Party.

The Whigs were the right wing of the Liberal Party, and the Radicals its left wing. The Whigs expressed the interests of the landed, and in part, financial aristocracy, of the big and medium capitalist farmers, whilst the Radicals were the representatives of large sections of the trading and industrial bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intelligentsia and the rich trade unions. The Liberal Party exerted an influence on the trade unions through the Radicals, who recognised the need for democratic social reforms. The differences between the Whigs and the Radicals became particularly clear during the preparations for the electoral reform of 1884, when the Whigs opposed the extension of the suffrage to Irish peasants and the establishment of constituencies of equal size, thus backing the Conservatives. Most of the Radicals favoured Home Rule and improvements in the agrarian law. However some of them, headed by J. Chamberlain, wanted to keep the Union of 1801 intact. The rivalry between the Whigs and the Radicals became aggravated on the eve of the 1885 general election which the Radicals expected would bring them victory in the party and the country as a whole (see notes 299 and 487). It was at this time that the political outlook of the Radical movement took its final shape, as expressed in ‘The Radical Programme with a Preface of J. Chamberlain’, London, 1885 (see also Note 430).—304, 326, 345, 367, 369, 389

416 The trials of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and the Rhenish district committee of Democrats took place in Cologne on 7 and 8 February 1849. The accused at the first trial were Karl Marx as editor-in-chief, Frederick Engels as co-editor and Hermann Korff as responsible publisher. Those indicted at the second trial were Marx, Karl Schapper and the lawyer Schneider II. The trials ended with the accused being acquitted. They were reported in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung — the first on 14 February and the second on 19, 25, 27 and 28 February 1849. In October 1885 the report on the trial of the Rhenish district committee of Democrats was published as a separate pamphlet in the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek series in
Hottingen-Zurich. Entitled Karl Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen. Prozeß gegen den Ausschüß der rheinischen Demokraten wegen Aufrufs zum bewaffneten Widerstand, it included a preface by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 304).—304

417 There was no separate collected edition of Marx's and Engels' articles about the June insurrection (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 121, 123-28, 130-64).—305, 309, 332

418 The reference is to a separate edition of Wilhelm Wolff's series of articles on the situation of the Silesian peasants called Die schlesische Milliarde and printed in a number of issues of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung between 22 March and 22 April 1849. Engels included a preface in this edition, which came out in 1886. Its first section was a biography of Wolff which he had written back in 1876 (see F. Engels, 'Wilhelm Wolff', present edition, Vol. 24) but in a much abbreviated form, whilst the second section was the article 'On the History of the Prussian Peasants. Introduction to Wilhelm Wolff's pamphlet The Silesian Milliard' (Vol. 26) specially for that edition.—309, 324, 328, 332, 346

419 In his letter of 24 June 1885 Hermann Schlüter informed Engels that Meissner, whose publishing house had issued Capital, was offering Der Sozialdemokrat publishers in Zurich copies of the second volume of Capital to distribute on terms he considered unfavourable.—309

420 Engels is referring to the report in Justice, No. 73, 6 June 1885 that the publisher William Reeves intended to put out Gabriel Deville's book Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé... (see Note 81) in an English translation by John Broadhouse (Hyndman's pseudonym). At that time Engels was negotiating with the publishers Kegan Paul and Co. about publishing the English translation of the first volume of Capital (see Note 56). These negotiations ended without success. Marx's work was put out by another publishing house and Deville's book did not appear in English.—310, 313

421 Engels spent his holidays on the island of Jersey from 14 August to 14 September 1885.—310, 315, 321-25, 328, 358

422 The German socialist Gertrud Guillaume-Schack, who was preparing an article on the limitation of female labour, wrote to Engels on 1 July 1885 to ask whether it was true that he and Marx had been involved in drawing up the programme of the French Workers' Party, which contained the demand that equal pay be given for equal work.

Following the establishment of the French Workers' Party at a congress in Marseilles in October 1879, the French socialist Jules Guesde began work on the party programme and, through Paul Lafargue, requested Marx and Engels to help draw up a draft election manifesto for the French Workers' Party. The theoretical introduction was formulated by Marx and dictated to Guesde (see K. Marx, 'Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party', present edition, Vol. 24, p. 340). The practical part of the programme (minimum programme, see Vol. 24, Note 384) was compiled by Guesde and Lafargue. The programme was endorsed at the party congress held in Le Havre in 1880.

On the Rouen tendency, or the Guesdist, see Note 201.—311

423 The whereabouts of the original of this letter are not known. The draft of the letter
was written by Engels on a letter which John Lincoln Mahon had written to him (on paper used by the editorial board of The Commonweal) on 11 July 1885.— 312

Under the heading ‘The Parting of the Waters’, The Edinburgh Review, No. 331, July 1885, contained a summary of the parliamentary debates for 1884-85. It sharply criticised the policies pursued by the Radical wing of the Liberal Party (see Note 415). The author of the summary called on the Whigs to split with the Radical wing, describing this act as a ‘watershed’.— 314

In a letter of 10 July 1885 to the German Workers’ Educational Society in London (see Note 162) Wilhelm Liebknecht objected to the Society’s proposal that an extraordinary party congress be held due to the conflict between the reformist majority in the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and the editorial board of Der Sozialdemokrat. He supposed that the disagreements, including that between the Frankfurt organisation and Karl Frohme (see Note 412), were not of a major nature and could thus quickly be settled with his mediation.— 315

On 14 July 1885 Wilhelm Liebknecht spoke to a meeting of Social Democrats in Offenbach and criticised the letter by the group of Frankfurt Social Democrats which had been published in Der Sozialdemokrat (see Note 412). His words appeared in the Berliner Volksblatt, 18 July 1885. The dissatisfaction his speech created in the Frankfurt Social-Democratic organisation led to Liebknecht publishing a statement in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 32, 6 August 1885, claiming that his criticism only related to the tone of the letter and that he rated highly the fight waged against the Anti-Socialist Law by the Social Democrats in Frankfurt.— 315

Engels is evidently referring to Karl Kautsky’s book Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft, Vienna, 1880, which he sharply criticised for its Malthusian errors in a letter to Kautsky of 1 February 1881 (see present edition, Vol. 46) and also to a series of articles about marriage in primitive society with the general heading ‘Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie’ published in Kosmos, Jg. VI, Stuttgart, 1882-83 (see Engels’ letters to Laura Lafargue of 16-17 February and to August Bebel of 7 March 1883; present edition, Vol. 46, and also this volume, p. 56).— 316

Maybe this refers to Franz Mehring’s articles on Rodbertus in Demokratische Blätter, Nos. 19, 20 and 21, 13, 20 and 28 May 1885, or his article ‘Der soziale Beruf des Adels’ in Volks-Zeitung, Nos. 155 and 156, 7 and 8 July 1885.— 316

The Radicals — in the 1880s and 1890s a parliamentary group which had split away from the party of moderate republicans in France (‘ Opportunists’, see Note 236). The Radicals had their main base in the petty and, to some extent, the middle bourgeois and continued to press for a number of bourgeois-democratic demands: a single-chamber parliamentary system, the separation of the Church from the State, the introduction of a system of progressive income taxes, the limitation of the working day and settlement of a number of other social issues. The leader of the Radicals was Clemenceau. The group formed officially as the Republican Party of Radicals and Radical Socialists (Parti républicain radical et radical-socialiste) in 1901.— 317, 326, 330, 343, 354, 409-10, 414, 418, 424, 428, 430, 438, 441, 445, 470, 489, 493, 497, 508

Engels is referring to the disagreements within the Liberal Party (see Note 415) and the noticeable rapprochement between its right wing — the Whigs — and the
Conservatives. In 1886 this wing, which opposed the granting of Irish self-administration, split off and a Liberal-Unionist bloc headed by Joseph Chamberlain was formed of supporters of the 1801 Union of Ireland with Great Britain; the Liberal-Unionists backed the Conservatives on most issues. They constituted a political expression of a major regrouping among the British ruling classes and signified a shift to the right.—317, 391

431 In 1688-89, as a result of the coup d’état which brought William III (of Orange) to power in England, absolutism was abolished as the form of government and replaced by a constitutional monarchy. Parliament became the supreme organ of state power, carrying out the will of the bourgeoisie and the new nobility.—317

432 The envelope has survived and carries in Engels’ handwriting ‘N. F. Danielson Esq., Moika 27, St. Petersburg, Russia’. The name of the street and of the addressee have been written by an unknown hand in Cyrillic script.—318

433 Engels did not write a special preface for the Russian translation of the second volume of Capital. The Russian edition contained an abbreviated version of his preface to the first German edition of the second volume. The second half of the preface, including the criticism of Rodbertus, was omitted.—318

434 Paul Lafargue was planning to visit his mother in Bordeaux.—320

435 In connection with Engels’ fears about the planned publication in England of Deville’s book Le Capital de Karl Marx. Résumé... (see Note 420), Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels on 7 August 1885 saying that the French publisher Henri Oriol had said he could prevent the book being translated into English.—320

436 ‘Après moi (or nous) le déluge!’—words uttered to Louis XV and attributed to Mme Du Barry or to Mmle Pompadour.—320, 354

437 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. It carries the following address in his handwriting: ‘K. Kautsky Esq., care of Mrs Huggetts’ Dew House, Camden Road, Eastbourne.’—321

438 In this letter (see present edition, Vol. 26) written on the advice of Nikolai Danielson, Engels suggested to the editors of Severny vestnik that they print Marx’s unpublished letter to the editorial board of Otechestvennye zapiski which he had written in response to Nikolai Mikhailovsky’s article ‘Карл Маркс передъ судомъ г. Ю. Жуковскаго’ (see Note 190).—322, 347

439 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard carrying the following address in his handwriting: ‘Herrn H. Schlüter, Volksbuchhandlung, Kasinostr. 3, Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.’—322, 324

440 A hint that Louis Viereck was the illegitimate son of Emperor William I of Germany. Engels is referring to Viereck’s speech on 8 August at a workers’ meeting in Munich in which he said that the emperor would give the workers much more if he knew how poorly they lived. The Munich Social Democrats protested at Viereck’s speech (see Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 34, 20 August 1885). In his reply, published in the Munich-based Deutsches Wochenblatt, No. 30, 30 August and Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 36, 3 September 1885, Viereck, to all intents and purposes, supported Bismarck’s social reform (see Note 312).—324, 328

441 Engels is referring to the conflict which emerged between Germany and Spain in August-September 1885 as a result of Germany’s attempts to seize the Caroline is-
lands to which Spain laid claim. The German government sent a gunboat to one of the islands, where the German flag was raised. This led to tension in the relations between the two states. Pope Leo XIII, who acted as arbitrator, supported the Spanish claims.—324

442 On 20 September 1885 in Paris, during the funeral of Antoine Jules Arnaud, a member of the Paris Commune, the police used the excuse that processions with red banners were prohibited to attempt to seize the red cover which had been placed over the deceased and attacked those attending the funeral.—326

443 The reference is to the English socialists' free speech struggles against the police suppression of outdoor meetings. Between July and September 1885 the London police on several occasions arrested socialist speakers at meetings in the East End. One of them, John E. Williams, a member of the Social Democratic Federation, was sentenced to a month's hard labour. This prompted the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, the Labour Emancipation League and the London Radical Clubs (see Note 659) to organise a joint meeting on 20 September in the area of Dod Street, which was attended by several thousand people. The police tried to arrest the speakers, but met with resistance. Several people were detained, but released the next day. This was reported in The Daily News of 21 and 22 September.—326

444 Laura Lafargue's French translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party was published in Le Socialiste, Nos. 1-11, from late August to early November 1885. It was published with Engels' changes as an appendix to Mermeix (pseudonym), La France Socialiste, Paris, 1886.—326, 328, 333, 342

445 The reference is to the so-called Bulgarian crisis which began in September 1885. In the night of 5-6 September an uprising of Bulgarian patriots occurred in Plovdiv, the capital of Eastern Roumelia (Southern Bulgaria), which, according to the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, was under the control of Turkey (see present edition, Vol. 45, Note 430). The Turkish governor was overthrown. Roumelia was reunited with Bulgaria and Grand Duke (formerly Prince) Alexander Battenberg of Bulgaria proclaimed himself ruler of the united Bulgaria on 8 September. Russia, showing its displeasure at the rapprochement between Battenberg and Austria-Hungary which had begun some time previously, recalled its officers from the Bulgarian army. Reports on this were carried by the Kolnische Zeitung, Nos. 276, 277, 278 and 279, 5, 6, 7 and 8 October 1885.

On the subsequent course of the Bulgarian crisis, see Engels' article 'The Political Situation in Europe' (present edition, Vol. 26, and also this volume, pp. 512-20 and notes 478 and 634).—329, 364, 378-79, 417, 485, 488

446 The reference is to the trial of a group of German Social Democrats at the Saxon provincial court in Chemnitz between 28 and 30 September 1885. Auer, Bebel, Dietz, Müller, Ulrich, Vierreck, Vollmar, Frohme and Heinzl were charged with belonging to a secret society seeking by illegal means to hinder the implementation of laws and regulations issued by the authorities. The reason for the indictment was their participation in the 1883 congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in Copenhagen (see Note 15). In the absence of proof of their guilt, the court acquitted them. The government appealed to the imperial court which passed on the case for re-examination at the provincial court in Freiberg, Saxony (see Note 602).—330
At the elections held on 4 October 1885 to the French Chamber of Deputies, numerous candidates failed to receive the number of votes required for election, so that a second ballot was scheduled for 18 October. This ballot brought a republican majority, comprising representatives of the party of moderate republicans ('Opportunists') and the party of Radicals (see notes 236 and 429). The Chamber of Deputies was made up of 382 republicans (including 180 Radicals) and 202 monarchists.—330, 364, 430

The views about the elections in France which Engels sets out in this letter were reflected in the leading article in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 42, 15 October 1885.—330

The results of the first ballot gave rise to particular disappointment among the French socialists. This prompted Engels to explain to Paul Lafargue the essence of the situation in France. An excerpt from his letter was printed in *Le Socialiste* with the title 'The Situation' (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 331-32). The whereabouts of the full text of the letter are not known.—331

Apart from the works mentioned in the text, Engels also included in the new edition of Marx's pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* a fourth appendix — 'The Communist Trial in Cologne' — to Marx's work *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 305-11) and his afterword to the second German edition of the pamphlet (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 51-54).—332

This letter was written on a postcard and carries the following address in Engels' handwriting: 'Monsieur P. Lavroff, 328 rue St. Jacques, *Paris*, France.'—337

In a letter of 19 October 1885 Pyotr Lavrov asked Engels to let him know what materials he might use for a work he was planning to write on Chartism.—337

Engels attached great importance to publicising the experience of Chartism as the first political movement of the British working class. It is thought that in the 1880s he wrote special notes for inclusion in *Die Chartistenbewegung in England* by the German democrat Sigismund Borkheim, although Engels' text has not yet been found. *Die Chartistenbewegung in England* (Zurich, 1887) by the German socialist Hermann Schlüter was based on a chronology of Chartism compiled in August 1886 by Engels at the request of the author (see present edition, Vol. 26).—337

The Social Democrat Salo Faerber from Breslau suggested that Engels write an article on the financial position of Russia in the *Volks-Zeitung*, Berlin, with a view to hindering subscriptions to Russian loan bonds in Germany.—337

Here, Engels is alluding to the following statement in the Reichstag by Heinrich von Stephan, head of the postal and telegraph service: 'The secrecy of the mail rests just as firmly on the conscience of the German Empire's postal officials as the Bible does on the altar.'—337, 361

The reference is to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 which was caused by a growth in the activities of the national liberation movement in the Balkans and the exacerbation of international conflicts in the Middle East. The war ended in victory for Russia.

In 1806, Prussia joined the fourth anti-French coalition, and its army was soon routed by the Napoleonic forces at the battles of Jena and Auerstedt.—339

The reference is to Wilhelm Liebknecht's reply to Salo Faerber's letter requesting him to shed light on the state of Russian finances in his Reichstag speech during
the third reading of the budget. In the letter Liebknecht explained the reasons why he had not made any speech.— 339

At the elections to the Saxon Provincial Diet on 15 September 1885 Liebknecht, who was standing for the rural district around Leipzig, lost at the hands of a candidate jointly nominated by the Conservatives (see Note 230) and the National Liberals (see Note 243).

The poll was held in line with the electoral qualifications set out in the law of 1868; the vote extended to persons of 25 and over who had paid at least three marks in direct taxes, whilst to stand as a candidate it was necessary to be not less than 30 years of age, to have paid at least 30 marks in direct taxes and have been a Saxon citizen for a minimum of three years.— 340

The French utopian socialist Étienne Cabet tried to organise a communist colony in North America made up of several hundred of his followers drawn from among the French workers. The colony existed from 1848 to 1856. The last communist community in the United States, which had been formed by adherents of Cabet, ceased to exist in 1895.— 342

In 1880, at the request of Paul Lafargue, Engels transformed three chapters of his *Anti-Dühring* (Chapter I of the ‘Introduction’ and Chapters I and II of Part three — see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 16-27 and 244-71) into a popular work in its own right. Entitled *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, it was published under the heading ‘Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique’ in the French journal *La Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, 20 March, 20 April and 5 May 1880, and later that year under the same heading as a separate pamphlet in Paris.— 342

The words by Reichstag deputy Ludwig Bamberger which became a standard phrase were uttered at one of the 1876 sittings to describe the manner in which Bismarck dealt with the National Liberals.— 342

Engels is referring to the *Kulturkampf*, a word which has come to describe the measures taken 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 229). Between 1871 and 1875 a number of laws were passed which were designed to weaken the Party of the Centre and the Catholic clergy who supported it. However, the Church refused to submit. In the latter half of the 1870s and the early 1880s, given the growth of the labour movement, Bismarck sought to rally all reactionary forces and steered a course of reconciliation with the Catholic Church, as a result of which most of these laws were repealed.— 343, 434, 511

The reference is to an attempted coup aimed at restoring the monarchy in France and staged in 1877 by Marshal Mac-Mahon, President of the Third Republic. However, Mac-Mahon failed to gain support not only from large sections of the general public but also from a section of the officers and rank-and-file soldiers, who reflected the republican sentiments among the French peasantry. The parliamentary elections of October 1877 brought victory for the republicans and the formation of a government made up of bourgeois republicans; Mac-Mahon resigned in January 1879.— 343, 430

The reference is to the following passage contained in the preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: ‘... in view of the practical experience gained ... in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held
political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, ... that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes‖ (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 175).— 344

465 Olivia, written by the English playwright W. G. Wills, is an adaptation of Oliver Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield.— 345

466 In a letter of 8 August 1885 the French socialists Paul Lavigne asked Engels to look through the manuscript of his translation of Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.— 345, 358

467 This is the number of votes Paul Lafargue received at the election to the French Chamber of Deputies in October 1885 (see Note 447).— 345

468 Engels is referring to the passage in his work On the History of the Communist League where he deals with the activities of Stephan Born, a member of the League; at this point he also indicates that Born's real surname was Buttermilch (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 325-26). Born does not figure among the list of names Georg Adler thanks for their assistance in the preface to the said book by Adler.— 346

469 The Thirty Years' War (1618-48) — a general European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands, and a number of German states. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed political dismemberment of Germany.— 348

470 Nikolai Danielson attached to his letter of 25 August 1885 several excerpts from letters which Marx had written to him on 12 December 1872, 15 and 28 November 1878, 10 April 1879, 12 September 1880 and 19 February and 13 December 1881 (see present edition, Vols. 44, 45 and 46).

Danielson believed that these excerpts—which contained a description of the economic, notably the financial and agrarian, crisis in Britain and several other countries, as well as advice on translating the first volume of Capital into Russian—might be of use to Engels in his work on the third volume of Capital and the preface to the second volume. In his letter of 10 April 1879 Marx also explained why he had not yet completed the second and third volumes of Capital.— 348

471 The reference is to the economic crisis in Britain and other capitalist countries which Marx dealt with in his letter to Nikolai Danielson of 10 April 1879 (see present edition, Vol. 45).— 349

472 This letter is Engels' reply to Paul Lafargue's request (voiced in his letter of 13 November 1885) for information on his involvement in the May 1849 uprising in Dresden and the Rhine Province. Lafargue intended to include the information in a biography of Engels he was preparing for publication between 14 November 1885 and 28 August 1886 in the 'Galerie socialiste internationale' column of Le Socialiste. Engels' letter formed the basis for the second part of the biography which appeared unsigned in No. 13 of the newspaper, 21 November 1885. The same issue carried a portrait of Engels by the artist Clarus; Lafargue sent Engels a copy of this portrait together with the letter mentioned.— 350

473 Engels gives a detailed analysis of the reasons behind the movement in support of the Imperial Constitution and the course of armed hostilities in Rhenish Prussia,
Baden and the Palatinate in *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10).— 350

474 *Landwehr* — the army reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. In the 1840s it consisted of men under forty who had done three years active service and not less than two years in the reserve. In contrast to the regular army, conscription to the army reserve took place in cases of extreme necessity (war, or threat of war).— 351, 485

475 The sitting of the Reichstag opened on 19 November 1885.— 352

476 The German Social Democrat and Reichstag deputy Georg Schumacher wrote to Engels on 14 August 1885 in an attempt to justify the position taken by those who had voted in favour of state subsidies for steamship companies in the Reichstag (see Note 342). On Engels' attitude to this issue, see this volume, pp. 240-42.— 353

477 Wilhelm Liebknecht served a four-week prison sentence in Leipzig beginning on 29 September 1885. It is roughly during this period that *Der Sozialdemokrat* carried a series of his articles headed ‘Über den Normalarbeitstag’ (22 and 29 October, 5, 12 and 19 November 1885).— 353

478 The reference is to the first battle of the Serbian-Bulgarian war, which took place on 16 November 1885. The war was caused by the so-called Bulgarian crisis (see notes 445 and 634). Under the influence of Austria-Hungary, Serbia declared war on Bulgaria on 14 November 1885, demanding territorial compensation for the growth in Bulgarian territory. The Bulgarian forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the Serbian army in the very first month and entered Serbia. Bulgaria ceased its advance under pressure from Austria-Hungary and, on 3 March 1886, a peace treaty was concluded in Bucharest under which Serbia recognised the borders of the reunited Bulgaria.— 353, 515

479 An excerpt from this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art*, International Publishers, New York, 1947.— 355

480 This letter is the reply to that of 15 October 1885 from Minna Kautsky, Karl Kautsky's mother, who had got to know Engels during her stay in London in the summer of 1885. She described her impressions of London and Berlin to Engels and asked his opinion of her book *Die Alten und die Neuen.*— 355

481 It follows from Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 4 November 1885 that Engels asked Lafargue for information on Paul Lavigne. Lafargue wrote: 'The question you ask concerning Lavigne is difficult to answer. One fine day he appeared in our midst saying that he had translated Marx's *18th Brumaire* and *The Holy Family*, that Fortin did not know the ABC of German.... Believing him to be a giant refreshed in German we commissioned him to translate the *Manifesto*. But after going over the translation for the first number, we decided it had to be thrown into the waste-paper basket. ...Lavigne seems to me slightly mad....'

Lavigne wrote to Engels on 8 August 1885 saying, among other things, that he intended to translate the second volume of Marx's *Capital*.— 358

482 Apart from Paul Lavigne's manuscript, this refers to the translation of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11) done by Édouard Fortin (see this volume, p. 345). This translation, edited by Engels, was published
in *Le Socialiste*, January-November 1891 and appeared as a separate volume during the same year in Lille.—358, 528

483 Édouard Fortin repeatedly wrote to Marx in 1881 in connection with his study of the first volume of *Capital* (see K. Marx to Charles Longuet of 4 January 1881; present edition, Vol. 46).—358

484 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.—359, 363, 448

485 Liebknecht wrote to Engels on 26 November 1885 asking his assistance in obtaining material in English on the financial situation of Russia for a speech he was to make in the Reichstag about the granting of a German loan to Russia. Liebknecht made use of Engels' recommendations during his Reichstag speech of 8 February 1886 (see also Note 551).—359, 365, 377

486 The speech by Wilhelm Liebknecht to which Engels refers was made in the Reichstag on 24 November 1885. In it, Liebknecht sharply criticised Bismarck's home and foreign policy, for which he was called to order.—361

487 The British general election took place from 23 November to 19 December 1885. The Liberals obtained 335 seats of which 4 belonged to the 'Independents', the Conservatives 249 and the supporters of Irish Home Rule, 86 seats. These were the first elections held after the parliamentary reform of 1884 (see Note 299).—361, 364, 367, 390

488 At the beginning of the 1880s, the English bourgeoisie started to call for protective tariffs due to growing competition on the world market from the United States and Germany, thus departing from the principles of free trade as advocated by the Manchester school (see Note 283).—361

489 The slogan *The Church in danger!* was advanced by the Conservatives during the British election campaign in the autumn of 1885. It was prompted by the fact that the Liberals supported the demand raised by bourgeois-radical elements and Irish Catholics for the separation of the Anglican Church from the state. When the Conservative propaganda attracted a favourable response among a large number of voters, the Liberals to all intents and purposes ceased to support this demand.—361

490 This letter was written in connection with the preparatory work Karl Kautsky was doing — at Engels' initiative and on his instructions (see this volume, p. 344) — on a résumé of *Die Geschichte der ersten Sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland* by the German journalist Georg Adler. The book depicted the history of the Communist League and Marx's revolutionary activities in a distorted manner. The résumé was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 2, February 1886.—362

491 In his book Georg Adler wrote that, as editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx had allegedly been constantly subjected to insults and physical attacks which posed a serious threat to his life. In his résumé of the book, Karl Kautsky ridiculed this allegation as instructed by Engels. By way of proof he cited an episode recalled to him by Engels. Two armed non-commissioned officers had appeared at Marx's home demanding retribution for his alleged derision of the title of non-commissioned officer. Marx had greeted them in a dressing gown with the butt of
an unloaded pistol protruding from the pocket. At the sight of this, the NCOs had quickly taken their leave (see present edition, Vol. 38, pp. 192-93).— 362

492 Georg Adler claimed in his book (see Note 490) that Moses Hess had taken part in the South German uprising of May 1849, for which he had been sentenced to death. In his résumé, Karl Kautsky refuted this unsubstantiated claim on Engels’ instructions.— 362

493 The reference is to the works by Marx which were prepared for republication and issued with Engels’ prefaces by the German Social-Democratic publishing house in Hottingen-Zurich in 1885-86: ‘The Preface to the Pamphlet Karl Marx Before the Cologne Jury’; On the History of the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 26), and also Engels’ work ‘On the History of the Prussian Peasants. The Introduction to Wilhelm Wolff’s Pamphlet The Silesian Milliard’ (see present edition, Vol. 26).— 363

494 In the course of 1884 and 1885 Engels edited the German translation of The Poverty of Philosophy (present edition, Vol. 5), the English translation of The Condition of the Working-Class in England (Vol. 2), the Italian and Danish translations of The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (Vol. 26) as well as the translations of The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (Vol. 11) and the Manifesto of the Communist Party (Vol. 6) into French and other languages.— 364

495 This letter was first published in English in an abridged form in The Labour Monthly, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 11, XI.— 366

496 Henry Mayers Hyndman and Henry Hyde Champion, the leaders of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) received money from the Conservative Party to put up their candidates at the 1885 general election (see Note 487). The Federation fielded candidates in London constituencies—Hampstead and Kensington—where they had no prospects of winning but could capture a proportion of the Liberal vote to the benefit of the Conservatives. The Federation’s leadership attempted to justify their agreement to these conditions by claiming that the election campaign merely served as propaganda for the future revolution. This created displeasure among many of the Federation’s members, as a result of which a number of them resigned and several local organisations split from the Federation. The Echo, Nos. 5285 and 5287, 5 and 7 December 1885 carried a statement from John Edward Williams, one of the Federation’s candidates, claiming he was not aware of the receipt of any money from the Tories, an editorial giving details of how the money had been received and a note by Federation member Charles L. Fitzgerald criticising the leadership. Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 51, 17 December 1885, published an editorial based on this letter by Engels, material from The Echo and a letter by Hubert Bland, one of the Federation officials, dealing with the meetings of the Executive Committee on 9 and 12 November at which Hyndman and Champion had been censured for their actions.— 366-67, 369, 376, 394, 404, 406

497 The reference is to the attempt made by the leaders of the German Conservative Party (see Note 230) and the Christian-Social Party, Adolph Wagner and Adolf Stoecker, to conclude an electoral alliance with the Social Democrats against the candidates of the Party of Progress (see Note 93) during the Berlin elections of November 1881. They agreed to support Social-Democratic candidates (August Bebel and Wilhelm Hasenclever) in two Berlin constituencies on condition that the
Socialist Workers' Party acknowledged the 'social reforms' being carried out by Bismarck's government and backed the implementation of these 'reforms' with a view to warding off a revolution. On behalf of the party, Bebel and Liebknecht sharply rebuffed these manoeuvres on the part of the reactionaries. Their statement was published in the Volks-Zeitung, 19 November 1881.— 367

In a statement headed 'The Socialists and the General Election' and carried by The Pall Mall Gazette, 4 December 1885, John Hunter Watts, the treasurer of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300), tried to justify the actions of 'an ill-advised few London Socialists' by claiming that they intended 'to take ammunition from the enemy in order to blaze it in their faces'.— 367

The substance of this letter formed the basis for the editorial 'Angleterre' published in Le Socialiste, No. 16, 12 December 1885.— 368

The Republican Social Economy Society (Société Républicaine d'Économie sociale) was founded on 7 November 1885 at the initiative of the Possibilist (see Note 237) leader Benoît Malon. The society set itself the aim of studying the social question and putting forward plans for imminent reforms.— 368

In its leading article 'En Angleterre', dealing with the results of the election to the House of Commons, Le Socialiste, No. 15, 5 December 1885 quoted from the election platform put forward by John Edward Williams, a candidate for the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300), and also mentioned other candidates from this party.— 368

The reference is to two notes by Henry Mayers Hyndman published in Justice, No. 90, 3 October and No. 92, 17 October 1885 where he accuses Edward Aveling of offending against an agreement concluded between various socialist organisations about speeches to be made by socialists at the Dod Street demonstration of 27 September 1885. Hyndman's accusation was refuted in a statement signed by 31 members of socialist organisations. The statement together with both notes from Justice was carried by The Commonweal, No. 10, November 1885 in an article entitled 'Free Speech and the Police'.— 370, 394

On 16 November 1885 Hermann Schlüter wrote to Engels asking for the address of Johann Georg Eccarius, the former secretary of the General Council of the First International. He intended to reissue the latter's book Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's in the Social-Democratic publishing house in Zurich; Schlüter believed that Eccarius would revise his book. It appeared in 1888, without any changes on Engels' advice.— 371

Engels is referring to the Prussian armed intervention of 1787 in the Netherlands, which was aimed at crushing the uprising by the opposition party of 'patriots'. The party had used the defeat of the Dutch in the war with Britain (1784) to seize power and expel Stadtholder William V. The Prussian forces invaded the country and restored him to power.— 372

The reference is to the short biography of Marx carried by Le Socialiste, No. 12, 14 November 1885 and probably written by Paul Lafargue.— 373, 374

Hermann Schlüter wrote to Engels on 19 December 1885 that Lothar Bucher, in his pamphlet Der Parlamentarismus wie er ist claimed a journalist in the pay of Palmerston had written a pamphlet entitled Palmerston, What Has He Done? at the latter's
bidding. Schlüter asked Engels whether Bucher was not perhaps alluding to Marx's pamphlet *Lord Palmerston* (present edition, Vol. 12).—374

The reference is to Paul Lafargue's letter to Engels of 21 January 1885 in which he asked Engels to send him a cheque for £12 (see F. Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 322).—375

In his letter of 21 December 1885 Paul Lafargue asked Engels to send him *Justice*, No. 100, 12 December 1885 containing a statement by Henry Mayers Hyndman and other leaders of the Social Democratic Federation in which they sought to refute the accusations levelled at Hyndman for his having received money from the Conservatives to finance the election campaign (see this volume, pp. 366-68).—376

Engels is playing on the fact — of which Paul Lafargue informed him — that the oldest of all bridges in Paris, the Pont Neuf, which became proverbial for its strength, was partly destroyed when the Seine burst its banks. It is an allusion to Lafargue's illnesses.—376

The obituary to Sigismund Borkheim was carried by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 3, 15 January 1886 under the heading 'In memoriam!'. It was probably written by Wilhelm Liebknecht. The factual inaccuracies it contained were corrected by the author in the following issue in a note headed 'Sigismund Borkheim' (*Der Sozialdemokrat*, 21 January 1886). The date, year and place of Borkheim's birth were put right, as were the years he attended school and a number of facts associated with the events of 1848.


Engels wrote this letter by way of a supplement to his letter of 28 December 1885 to Wilhelm Liebknecht in which he had requested Liebknecht to place the obituary of Borkheim in *Der Sozialdemokrat* (see this volume, p. 377).—380

The *Paris Peace Treaty*, which ended the Crimean War of 1853-56, was signed by representatives of Russia, Austria, France, Great Britain, Sardinia, Turkey and Prussia on 18 (30) March 1856.—380

The reference is to the clashes of ideas which occurred under the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37) in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany between December 1884 and mid-July 1885. The question was whether it was possible for two ideological tendencies — revolutionary-proletarian and opportunist — to coexist within the framework of a single party in the German workers' movement. Differences of principle on a wide range of issues emerged between the representatives of these two tendencies within the Socialist Workers' Party: the strategy and tactics of the workers' movement, inner-party discipline, the significance of parliamentary activity by socialist deputies, the role of the bourgeois state and the social reforms being carried out by the government, etc.

Engels wrote to Bebel setting out his attitude to Liebknecht's position in the conflict as described in this letter (see this volume, p. 387).—382

The reference is to the annual reports of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor. From
1869 onwards these bureaus were set up in numerous US states under pressure from workers' organisations.—382, 396

An allusion to Wilhelm Blos' speech in the Reichstag on 9 January 1886 during the first reading of the bill on the construction of a Baltic canal (see Note 519).—383

The reference is to the attempt of 14 June 1848 by German workers and artisans during the revolution to seize an arsenal in Berlin.—383

Engels provided Liebknecht with additional brief biographical details of Bork-heim for the obituary (see this volume, pp. 379 and 381).—383

The reference is to Bebel's and Liebknecht's planned trip to the United States to raise funds for the German Social Democrats' election campaign (see this volume, pp. 14 and 114). Liebknecht departed alone on the trip, which lasted from September to December 1886, whilst Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling stayed in the United States almost concurrently with him (see Note 600).—383, 391, 429, 446

The reference is to the project for the construction of a ship canal in Schleswig-Holstein connecting the harbour of Kiel with the mouth of the River Elbe near Brunsbüttel, subsequently called the Kiel Canal (alternatively, the North Sea-Baltic Canal, Kaiser Wilhelm Canal). The bill providing for its construction was presented to the Reichstag by Bismarck on 12 December 1885 and discussed on 9 January and 20 February 1886. It was enacted at the third reading on 25 February 1886.

On Engels' attitude to the bill, see also this volume, p. 388.—383

In 1884 and 1885 Die Neue Zeit carried a number of articles by Max Quarck. Engels vehemently protested against Quarck contributing to the journal (see this volume, pp. 164 and 258).—385, 418

A fragment from this letter was published in English for the first time in The Labour Monthly, London, 1933, Vol. 15, No. 11, XI.—386, 393, 426, 439, 445

This letter is Engels' reply to August Bebel's letter of 7 December 1885 in which Bebel insisted on publishing in the press a critique of C.A. Schramm, Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle. Sozialwissenschaftliche Studie and asked Engels to assist Karl Kautsky with the same.

Schramm's book was the continuation of the polemic between Kautsky and himself (see Note 523). In it the author once again tried to play down the significance of Marx's theoretical and practical work. Eduard Bernstein provided a critical analysis of this work in a series of articles headed 'Ein moralischer Kritiker und seine kritische Moral' and published in Der Sozialdemokrat, Nos. 4-7, 21, 28 January, 5 and 12 February 1886.—387, 391

Kautsky began the polemic with Schramm by publishing a critique of Rodbertus' Das Kapital von Rodbertus in Die Neue Zeit, Nos. 8 and 9, 1884. This was occasioned by the attempts of the armchair socialists (see Note 54) to set Rodbertus against Marx and depict him as the most outstanding theoretician of political economy. Engels looked through the article (see this volume, pp. 193-94). Schramm defended Rodbertus in the article 'K. Kautsky und Rodbertus' carried by Die Neue Zeit, No. 11, 1884. The same issue contained Kautsky's reply, 'Eine Replik'. Following the inclusion under the heading 'Marx und Rodbertus' in the January issue of Die Neue Zeit of Engels' preface to the German translation of Marx's La Misère de la
The polemic continued in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 5, 1885 with the publication of Schramm’s ‘Antwort an Herrn K. Kautsky’ and Kautsky’s reply headed ‘Das Schlusswort’. That marked its end.— 387

524 The reference is to the expulsion of 30,000 Poles who were not German subjects from the Eastern provinces of Prussia. This prompted Dr Ludwig von Jazdzewski to request an explanation on behalf of the Polish faction in the Reichstag on 28 November 1885, a move supported by the Social-Democratic deputies. At the Reichstag sitting of 1 December 1885 Bismarck made use of a message from William I in an attempt to prevent the matter being discussed. He claimed that it came under the jurisdiction of the Prussian government and could not therefore be debated by the Reichstag. However, the Social Democrats successfully insisted on a discussion, which took place on 15-16 January 1886.— 389

525 This is Engels’ reply to a letter from Edward R. Pease, a member of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society, who had requested him to write a brief résumé of the most important economic, social and political proposals of the party for a pamphlet called *What Is Socialism?* that was in preparation.

The Fabian Society—an organisation founded in 1884 by democratically-minded intellectuals. The society took its name from a Roman general who lived in the third century B.C., viz. Quintus Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator (‘the delayer’) for his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal. A leading role in the society was played by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw and others. The branches of the society included among their members workers attracted by the sharp criticism of capitalist relations contained in the Fabians’ publications. The Fabians rejected Marx’s and Engels’ doctrine of class struggle and the revolutionary transformation of bourgeois society, considering it possible to carry out the transition from capitalism to socialism by way of a number of reforms within the framework of what they called municipal socialism.— 392

526 Marx’s comments on the English translation of Volume I of *Capital* in the margins of the manuscript in 1877 were occasioned by the planned publication of the book in the United States, which failed to materialise. Marx then sent the manuscript to Friedrich Adolph Sorge. Having discovered that Engels was editing the English translation of the first volume, Sorge wrote to him on 3 August 1885 offering to send him the manuscript. Engels received it in early 1886.— 393, 439

527 In October 1885 *To-Day* began to publish the English translation of the first volume of *Capital* done by Henry Mayers Hyndman (pseudonym John Broadhouse). Engels criticised the beginning of this translation (of the first and a part of the second sections of Chapter One) carried by *To-Day*, vol. 4, No. 22, in his article ‘How Not to Translate Marx’ (see present edition, Vol. 26). The translation was published in the journal up to May 1889 inclusive; it covered the first seven chapters and a large part of Chapter Eight of the first volume.— 393, 419, 424, 440

528 The English edition of Engels’ *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was published in Edward Aveling’s translation in London in 1892.— 394, 416, 464, 523

529 Engels is referring to Joseph Dietzgen’s contributions to the American newspapers *Der Sozialist* and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, organs of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 549) in which the Lassalleans held leading positions at the time. Sorge
repeatedly informed Engels that Dietzgen’s articles in these newspapers were being altered and distorted.—395, 441

This letter is Engels’ reply to that from Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky of 10 January 1886 in which she asked him to send her the corrected manuscript of her English translation of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* for dispatch to the United States via R.M. Foster.—395

Engels is replying to a number of questions Nieuwenhuis posed in his letter of 28 January 1886 in connection with his work on the Dutch translation of the pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*; the pamphlet also included Engels’ article ‘The Mark’ as an appendix (see present edition, Vol. 24).


Under the *rundale* system Irish tenant farmers each paid rent separately for his plot of the land which had formerly belonged to the entire gens but later had been seized by the British invaders. However, they then put all the arable and grazing land together and divided it into strips according to location and quality, with each farmer receiving a share of each lot. For Engels’ description of this system, see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 234.—398

Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed as follows: ‘Monsieur P. Lavrov, 328 rue St. Jacques, Paris, France.’ It is his reply to Lavrov’s request, voiced in a letter of 23 January 1886 for a publication in which he might find a description of the external appearance, habits, etc., of the ‘foremost English worthies’.—399

The reference is to Nikolai Danielson’s preface to the first Russian edition of Volume II of *Capital* (see notes 155 and 168). In his letter to Engels of 31 December 1885 Danielson informed the recipient that he had completed the Russian translation of the second volume of *Capital* and was waiting for the third volume to appear.—400

It is probable that Nikolai Danielson’s remarks about the economic situation in Russia were contained in his letters of 30 November, 7 January and 20 January whose whereabouts are unknown.—401

*Greenbackers* — a political party in the Western American states formed in March 1875 and chiefly composed of farmers. It opposed the removal from circulation of the paper money (bills with a green reverse) issued during the Civil War of 1861-65, a measure carried out due to its devaluation. The Greenbackers wrongly thought that the retention of a large volume of paper money would bring about a rise in the price of agricultural produce. Following the inclusion of a number of working-class demands in the party programme, a considerable number of workers joined the party, which became known as the Greenback Labor Party. The party fell apart after 1884.—401

Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: ‘F. A. Sorge Esq., Hoboken N.Y., U.S. America.’

On its first publication in English, see Note 27.—402

The supporters of protective tariffs, including pro-Conservative trade union officials (S. Peters, T.M. Kelly, W. Kenny and T. Lemon, who were expelled at the Trades Union Congress in Manchester in 1882) held a meeting in Trafalgar Square on 8 February 1886. The Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) or-
ganised a meeting and unemployed demonstration in opposition to the Conservative campaign for protective tariffs. This demonstration (see this volume, pp. 403-04 and 406-08) was joined by the lumpenproletarian elements, who began to behave in an unruly manner and loot shops. The police subsequently arrested Henry Mayers Hyndman, John Burns, Henry Hyde Champion and John Edward Williams, the leaders of the Federation, on a charge of making ‘inciting speeches’. The trial ended on 10 April with their acquittal.— 403, 407, 427, 434

539 Karl Kautsky published a report on the events of 8 February 1886 in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 8, 19 February under the heading ‘Der anarchistisch-sozialistische Aufruhr in London’ and in the Viennese newspaper Die Deutsche Wochenschrift, No. 8, 21 February under the heading ‘Arbeiterunruhen in London’.— 404, 407

540 The reference is to the conviction of E. Jones, J. Fussell, I. Williams, A. Sharpe and T. Vernon, who were arrested in early June 1848 in connection with a Chartist demonstration planned for 12 June in London; they were each sentenced to two years’ imprisonment and fined on a charge of incitement to revolt and overthrow the government. Harney was not among those arrested; it was at his initiative that a special fund was set up to assist the convicted and their families.— 404

541 On 12 February 1886 Bebel requested Engels to provide him with information on the activities of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) and on the events in London (see Note 538), since the German reactionary press was using them as an excuse in support of the need to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 37). Bebel intended to take part in the discussion of this matter in the Reichstag.

On the letter’s first publication in English, see Note 521.— 406

542 The Conservative government of Lord Robert Arthur Salisbury resigned on 26 January 1886; it was replaced in early February by a Liberal government formed by William Ewart Gladstone.— 407

543 Fair Trade — the name given in 1881 in Great Britain to a movement to protect industry from foreign competition by means of import duties. The movement was organised by certain quarters from the Conservative Party who founded the Fair Trade League that same year. The League was joined by a small group of trade union officials.— 407

544 According to The Annual Register: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the year 1886, New Series, London, 1887, the subscription fund amounted to £78,000, or £28,000 more than the official estimation of the damage.— 409

545 3,500 miners went on strike in Decazeville (department of Aveyron) on 26 (27?) January 1886 in response to the ruthless exploitation to which they were exposed by the owners of the Aveyron Association of Coalmines and Foundries. At the beginning of the strike, the miners killed Watrin, the manager of the collieries, who had refused to heed their demands. The government sent troops to Decazeville. The strike continued until mid-June and evoked a broad response in France; the events led to the formation in the Chamber of Deputies of a workers’ group which supported the miners’ demands. The strike ended in the surrender of the company to the miners; an increased rate was promised, and the obnoxious officials dismissed.— 409, 424, 428, 434, 437, 442, 470, 478, 489, 507

546 An excerpt from this letter has survived only as a newspaper publication in Le Socialiste, No. 115, 24 November 1900 with the heading ‘Engels et les radicaux’.

On the letter’s first publication in English, see Note 196.— 410
This letter was written by Engels on a postcard addressed: 'Herrn E. Bernstein, Asylstr. 43, Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.'

It was used in the editorial note 'Aus Frankreich', Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 10, 5 March 1886.—414

This is Engels' reply to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky's letter of 22 February in which she wrote about the forthcoming publication in America of the English translation of his The Condition of the Working-Class in England, the major importance of this publication for the American workers and the need for translations of other works by Engels.—415

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States (originally called the Workingmen's Party) was founded at the unification congress held in Philadelphia on 19-22 June 1876 as a result of the merger between the American sections of the First International, led by Friedrich Adolph Sorge and Otto Weydemeyer, and the Labor Party of Illinois and Social Democratic Party, led by Adolph Strasser, A. Gabriel and Peter J. McGuire. However, the party failed to become a mass organisation throughout the country due to the sectarian policies pursued by the leadership which neglected to form links with the mass organisations of the indigenous American proletariat, and due to the predominance of the Lassallean influence in a number of local organisations.—415, 491, 530

On the instructions of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, the translator of Engels' The Condition of the Working Class in England, R. Foster—secretary of the National Women Suffrage Association—sought a publisher to put out the book in the USA. She turned to the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 549) for help, and on 8 February 1886 the latter set up a special commission for the purpose of negotiating with publishing houses. However, the negotiations were protracted, and the book was issued in May 1887 without any involvement on the part of the Committee.—415, 441

On 8 February 1886 Wilhelm Liebknecht took part in the Reichstag discussion of the imperial budget, which provided for financial assistance to the Russian government. Relying on advice from Engels and the material he had sent him, Liebknecht analysed the state of the Russian Empire's finances and stressed that Bismarck was rendering it financial assistance in order to help government overcome economic difficulties and prevent them growing into a domestic political crisis (see this volume, pp. 360, 365).—417

For the appropriate passage in Engels' 'Appendix to the American edition of The Condition of the Working Class in England', see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 400.—420

When addressing his letter of 21 December 1885 to Martignetti, Engels mistakenly gave his name as Paolo instead of Pasquale (see this volume, p. 374), which delayed delivery.—421

The Volks-Kalender published in Brunswick in 1878 contained Engels' work 'Karl Marx' (see present edition, Vol. 24) which Pasquale Martignetti was translating into Italian for publication in one volume together with Marx's Wage Labour and Capital. Since two pages were stuck together in Martignetti's copy of the
Volks-Kalender, he was not able to translate them in full and asked Engels to fill in the missing text in the manuscript sent to him for editing.—421, 494

On 10 March 1886 Schlüter informed Engels that Dietz had received 1,000 copies of his The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State from the Social-Democratic publishing house in Zürich and provided them with a new title page for sale as the second edition in Germany.—422, 475

Hermann Schlüter intended to publish as a separate volume the reports of the General Council to the congresses of the International Working Men’s Association and therefore enquired of Engels when and where they had been printed. He further informed him that ‘a translation into Armenian of Marx’s Wage Labour and Capital recently appeared in Constantinople’.—422

On 10 March 1886 Hermann Schlüter informed Engels that he intended to publish as a separate pamphlet a speech by the Reverend Joseph Stephens, one of the leaders of the Chartist movement, which had been printed in Georg Weerth’s article ‘Joseph Rayner Stephens, Prediger zu Staleybridge, und die Bewegung der englischen Arbeiter im Jahre 1839’ contained in Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform, Herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung Webserer von Hermann Püttermann, Vol. II, Belle-Vue, near Constance, 1846. Schlüter asked Engels to look through the introduction he had written for this publication. He later changed his plans and published the manuscript anonymously after Engels had looked through it under the title Die Chartistenbewegung in England, Hottingen-Zürich, 1887 (see also Note 453).—422, 453, 467, 475, 528

Engels is replying to Hermann Schlüter’s question about when the People’s Charter was drawn up.

The purpose of the mass demonstration planned for 10 April 1848 was to present to Parliament the Chartists’ third petition supporting the admission of the People’s Charter. Unconfirmed reports said the petition was signed by some five million people. However, the demonstration was prohibited by the government and did not take place.—422

Engels is probably referring to the article ‘French Socialists at the Ballot Box’ by A.S. Headingley, carried by The Justice, No. 113, 13 March 1886. The article describes the Possibilists (see Note 237) as the main socialist organisation in France but fails to mention the formation of a workers’ group in the Chamber of Deputies (see this volume, pp. 409-10).—424

On 18 March 1886 two thousand people gathered in Paris to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the Paris Commune. The meeting was addressed by Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde, Louise Michel, Gabriel Deville and Oury. Engels sent a letter of greetings which was published in Le Socialiste, No. 31, 27 March 1886 (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 406-07).—425

In connection with Wilhelm Liebknecht’s forthcoming 60th birthday, on 29 March 1886, a group of Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag (Ignaz Auer, August Bebel, Paul Singer and others) proposed setting up a fund to assist him and his family. Bebel attached the group’s appeal to his letter to Engels of 9 March and requested him to make his contribution.—426

At the sitting of 18 February 1886 in the Reichstag Paul Singer exposed Ferdinand Ihring, an employee of the police criminal investigation department, who had in-
filtrated a workers' society in Berlin under the name of Mahlow and incited the workers to carry out acts of terrorism for the purpose of provocation.—426

This probably refers to Wilhelm Liebknecht's speech at the workers' meeting on 8 March 1886 in Berlin. Liebknecht rebuffed the claims by government circles that the Anti-Socialist Law was of an 'educative significance' for the Social Democrats and exposed the attempts to pass off the introduction of a state monopoly on spirits as a 'socialist' measure.—427

The Chamber of Deputies passed the resolution on 15 March 1886 by 379 votes to 100.—428

On 17 March 1886 Paul Lafargue wrote to Engels that Benoît Malon, one of the Possibilist (see Note 237) leaders, was seeking to set up a parliamentary group made up of socialists of all complexions except those who were 'too red'.—430

On 1 March 1886 La Nouvelle Revue, whose editor-in-chief was Juliette Adam, published Paul Lafargue's article 'Le Matriarcat...'. On 17 March 1886 he wrote to Engels, 'You will have received the copy of La Nouvelle Revue which I sent you yesterday. So as to correspond to the magazine's level of publications I have made the theoretical part much shorter; in the proofs Mme Adam has abridged it even more... However one should not blame her since she has dropped rather serious things which would have shocked brave philistines who subscribe to it. The prudery of the Parisian journals is incredible...'.—431

In 1884 the Journal des Économistes. Revue de la science économique et de la statistique carried the following articles by Lafargue: in Nos. 7 and 8, 'Le blé en Amérique, production et commerce'; in No. 9, 'La théorie de la plus-value de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu'; in No. 11, 'Le "Capital" de Karl Marx et la critique de M. Block'. The Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger, Vol. XX, September 1885, published Lafargue's article 'Recherches sur les origines de l'idée du bien et du juste'.—431

Each issue of La Nouvelle Revue contained a section headed 'Lettres sur la politique extérieure' and signed 'J. Adam'.—431

On 18 March 1886 South Place Chapel in London was the venue for a meeting to commemorate the anniversary of the Paris Commune. The meeting was addressed by representatives of the Socialist League (see Note 346) (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Frank Kitz and others), the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 300) (Tom Mann, Harry Quech and others), Friedrich Lessner from the German Workers' Educational Society (see Note 162) and also a number of anarchists, including Pyotr Kropotkin.—431

In her letter of reply written in April 1886, Vera Zasulich thanked Engels for sending her the Russian translation of the second volume of Capital and gave her precise address: 'Madame Beldinsky, Maison Goss-Renevier, Chemin de la Queue d'Arve, Plain palais, Genève.'—432

The reference is to the Reichstag repeated debates on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law held on 30 and 31 March and 2 April 1886. Engels is alluding to the bold interventions by the leaders of the German Social Democrats. Speaking on 31 March, for example, August Bebel stated that the government would not require any anti-socialist law if it was in a position to halt the proletarianisation of the
masses but—since it was not in a position to do so—no anti-socialist laws would help it. In his speech of 2 April Wilhelm Liebknecht severely criticised Bismark's speech in which he had accused Bebel of advocating terror, and compared Bismark's regime with that of the Second Empire in France.

On 2 April 1886 the Anti-Socialist Law was prolonged for two years at the third reading by 169 votes to 137.—433, 437, 442

572 Engels is quoting from a popular satirical song dating from 1844-45. Tschech's Attentat relates to the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Frederick William IV staged on 26 July 1844 by H. L. Tschech, the mayor of Storkow.

The second song, Freifrau von Droste-Vischering, is a parody directed against the Catholic clergy in Trier.—434

573 In the Reichstag discussion on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law on 31 March 1886, Bismarck turned to August Bebel and said that, although he could not prove that Marx had engaged in 'training murderers', Ferdinand Blind—who had made an attempt on his life on 7 May 1866—was a pupil of Marx. At Engels' insistence, Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx-Aveling made a statement on the matter in which they categorically rejected this false allegation. The statement was published in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 16, 15 April 1886 and reprinted in Le Socialiste, No. 35, 24 April 1886.—435, 437

574 Engels is referring to the formation of a workers' group in the French Chamber of Deputies (see this volume, pp. 409-10 and 413).—437

575 The reference is to the sentence passed by the criminal court in Villefranche on 17 April 1886 on the socialists Ernest Roche and Albert Duc-Quercy. As special correspondents of L'Intransigeant and Le Cri du Peuple during the strike at Decazeville (see Note 545), they had been arrested there on a charge of inciting acts of violence and the organised downing of tools. Roche and Duc-Quercy were each sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment.—438, 442

576 The reference is to the by-elections to the Chamber of Deputies held in Paris on 2 May 1886. The socialist parties and groups (with the exception of the Possibilists, see Note 237) put forward Ernest Roche as their candidate, whilst the Radicals nominated Alfred Nicholas Gaulier. Roche received 100,000 votes, and Gaulier 146,000. At the previous elections on 4 October 1885 the socialist vote had been over 35,500.

At the poll to elect part of the Paris municipal council on 31 October 1886 the socialist candidate Duc-Quercy received 901 votes, whilst Faillet collected 988 votes for the Possibilists.—438, 442, 444, 446, 470

577 In May 1886, The Commonweal started to appear weekly instead of monthly. Edward Aveling used this as an occasion to leave the editorial board which was increasingly being influenced by anarchist ideas. Aveling's letter of resignation was made public in the first weekly issue (No. 16) of 1 May 1886. The letter merely said that 'the necessary demands of a weekly on an editor's time can only be met by those in relatively more fortunate positions'. Thereafter Aveling contributed to The Commonweal from time to time on a freelance basis.—438, 443, 446

578 In the article 'Ein Musterbourgeois ist Herr Kalle...' published in the 'Sozialpolitische Rundschau' column, Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 16, 15 April 1886 carried a report on the speech made in the Reichstag on 2 April by manufacturers' association
president Fritz Kalle during the debate on the prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 571). Kalle claimed that the Social Democrats aspired to the 'communality of wives' (Weibergemeinschaft) and quoted in a distorted manner from the Manifesto of the Communist Party to back up his claim. At the same sitting Wilhelm Liebknecht sharply rebuffed Kalle and provided documentary evidence to show that the quotation was not from Marx, but from Pastor Schuster.—438

Engels is referring to Pionier. Illustrierte Volks-Kalender für 1886, New York, which carried a biographical article entitled 'Aus dem Leben eines alten Sozialdemokraten' about Carl Daniel Adolph Douai, a German socialist who had participated in the 1848 revolution and was living as an émigré in the United States.—440

The reference is to the critical remarks about the style of the second volume of Capital which Friedrich Adolph Sorge received from a German socialist émigré in the United States and communicated to Engels in his letter of 28 February 1886.—440

Engels is referring to the mass campaign for the eight-hour working day which developed in major centres of US industry (Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Milwaukee) in the spring of 1886. The campaign culminated in a general strike and mass demonstrations on 1 May 1886 involving over 350,000 people. Almost 200,000 workers secured a shorter working day as a result.—441, 452

In the spring of 1886 the United States witnessed a mass proletarian campaign for the eight-hour working day (see Note 581). Up to 65,000 people went on strike in Chicago in the first days of May. Workers clashed with police at a meeting held on 3 May. During the following day's protest meeting in Haymarket Square an agent provocateur threw a bomb which exploded and killed seven policemen and four workers. The police opened fire on the crowd, as a result of which a number were killed and over 200 wounded. Mass arrests were carried out and the leaders of the Chicago Labor Union brought before the court. Despite the broad campaign in defence of the accused in the United States and a number of European countries, four of them—Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer and George Engel—were hanged on 11 November 1887 on the decision of the US Supreme Court.

In memory of the events of 1886 in Chicago, the International Socialists' Congress held in Paris in 1889 resolved to proclaim 1 May International Workers' Day.—446, 449, 451

This letter is Engels' reply to that of 10 May 1886 from the Hamburg publishers F. H. Nestler un Melle asking him to edit the 'Handbibliothek der Sozial-Oekonomie' which they were planning to issue. The edition was to be a series of pamphlets containing statements on social issues by prominent academics.


The debates on the Irish Arms Bill to which Engels refers occurred at the second reading in the House of Commons on 20 May 1886. The purpose of the bill was to prolong the ban on the sale, carrying and importation of arms for certain areas of
Ireland which had been instituted with *The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act* of 1881. In his substantiation of the bill, John Morley, Secretary of State for Ireland, said that it was particularly important in the North of Ulster, where an overt campaign for the organisation of resistance to the introduction of Irish Home Rule was being carried on among the Protestant population (Englishmen). Randolph Churchill set out to show that these steps were legitimate by referring to Lord Althorp and Sir Robert Peel, who in 1833 had spoken of a possible justification for civil war should a threat emerge to the integrity of the British Empire. In his reply, Gladstone accused Churchill of supporting resistance to government measures. The bill was adopted in the House of Commons by 303 votes to 89.

The material which Engels sent and the ideas expressed in his letter formed the basis for the leading article ‘Das Recht zur Rebellion’ in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22, 27 May 1886.— 448

On the eve of the by-elections to the Chamber of Deputies in Paris (see Note 576) *Justice*, No. 120, 1 May 1886 carried an item by A.S. Headingley headed ‘The Socialists and the Paris Elections’ in support of the position taken by the Possibilists (see Note 237). They had declined to support the candidature of Ernest Roche which had been put forward by the Workers’ Party (see Note 201) together with all the other socialist groups and had nominated their own candidate in the shape of a working miner named Soubrié. In response to this, Eleanor Marx-Aveling published a short note in *The Commonweal*, No. 18, 15 May 1886 stating that one of its coming issues would carry an article by Lafargue about the strike in Decazeville (see Note 545) and the Paris elections. Lafargue did, indeed, write such an article, which was carried by *The Commonweal*, No. 22, 12 June 1886 under the heading ‘The Decazeville Strike’; the article explained that the Possibilists’ position had facilitated the victory of the bourgeois candidate.— 450

The second annual conference of the Socialist League, held at 13 Farringdon Road on 13 June 1886 with 19 delegates attending, revealed a growth in disagreements between the anarchist-influenced supporters of ‘direct action’ and the proponents of a struggle by parliamentary means.— 451

Engels’ reference to the collapse of the Decazeville strike (see Note 545) is evidently based on incorrect sources, possibly the report by *Le Socialiste*, No. 38, 15 May 1886 that the strike was nearing its end. In reality the strike did not end until mid-June.— 451

Engels is replying to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky’s letter of 31 May 1886 in which she informed him that she had sent him the manuscript and proofs of the ‘Appendix to the American Edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*’, wrote about the quality of the print of Engels’ book and the importance for the American reader of its publication.— 451

Schlüter replied to Engels’ letter on 8 June 1886. He wrote out Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky’s address on a postcard: ‘Drexel, Haryes & Co., Paris’.— 453

Engels was on holiday in Eastbourne approximately from 25 June to 7 July 1886.— 454, 455

The British parliament was dissolved on 26 June 1886. The elections to the House of Commons began on 2 July and were not completed before 20 July 1886. They brought defeat for the Liberals, who obtained 191 seats as against 316 for the Con-
servatives, 78 for the Liberal Unionists (see Note 430), and 85 for the supporters of Home Rule in Ireland.— 454

On 3 July 1886 Kautsky wrote to tell Engels that he had been visited by Mrs Guillaume-Schack who wished to see him in Eastbourne. She obtained Engels’ address and wrote the same day asking him to receive her.— 455

Becker wrote to Engels on 18-22 June 1886 suggesting that they meet in the autumn in Paris where he intended to visit the family of his eldest daughter.— 456

Karl Kautsky was on holiday in Deal near Dover from the latter half of July to the beginning of August.— 458-60

The reference is to the unsigned article ‘Die Kathederweisheit der “christlich-ethischen” Nationalökonomie’, a résumé of Gustav Cohn’s book System der Nationalökonomie, Vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1885, published in Deutsche Worte, Nos. 7, 8 and 9, 1886. Its author was the Zurich economist Julius Platter.— 458

In August 1885, the British Liberal politician Charles Dilke—Deputy Foreign Secretary in Gladstone’s Cabinet—was forced to surrender his seat in Parliament and undertake to refrain from political activity due to his involvement in the divorce proceedings of Donald Crawford, Liberal M. P. for Lanark. A certain Captain H. Forster likewise figured amongst those involved in the proceedings.— 458

Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: ‘F. A. Sorge, Esq. in Hoboken, N. Y., U.S. America.’ The address was crossed out by an unknown hand and replaced with ‘Mt. Desert, Maine’. It follows from Sorge’s letter to Engels of 20 July 1886 that at this time Sorge and his wife were on holiday in Mount Desert (Maine), a small island in the north-east of the United States.— 460

The reference is to the interview which Engels gave to J. T. McEnnis, a correspondent for The Missouri Republican (see this volume, p. 443). Following the publication of the interview, Sorge placed in the New Yorker Volkszeitung, No. 162, 8 July 1886 the statement sent to him by Engels (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 408).— 460-61, 491

Engels was on holiday in Eastbourne from 7 August to 4 September 1886.— 460, 466-67, 471, 475, 477-79, 482, 488, 491

At the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 549) Wilhelm Liebknecht took part in a campaign tour of the United States to raise money for the German Social Democrats’ election fund. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling made a trip around the United States at approximately the same time (see Note 601). Liebknecht stayed in Eastbourne with Engels for four days, left Liverpool on 4 September and arrived in New York on 13 September where he met the Avelings. In New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Washington and other cities he gave talks and lectures on the theory and history of socialism, the state of the workers’ movement in Europe and other subjects. This trip, which he completed on 26 November, raised 16,000 marks for the German Social Democrats’ election fund. On his way back to Germany, Liebknecht stayed with Engels in London from 5 to 10 December, following which he set off on his way home to Borsdorf near Leipzig.— 461, 469, 478, 480, 483, 489, 496, 500, 531, 535

Like Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling toured the
United States giving lectures and talks at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 549). They left Liverpool on 31 August and arrived in New York on 10 September. Their trip was a great success, ending on 25 December. On 4 January 1887 the Avelings returned to London. In early 1887 they gave numerous lectures and talks on the labour movement in the United States to a working-class audience in London.—602

602 As a re-examination of a sentence passed by a court in Chemnitz (see Note 446), a new trial began on 25 July 1886 in Freiberg (Saxony) of a group of leading figures in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. On 4 August 1886 the local provincial court sentenced Ignaz Auer, August Bebel, Carl Ulrich, Louis Vierreck, Georg Heinrich von Vollmar and Karl Franz Egon Frohme to nine months', as well as Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz, Philipp Heinrich Müller and Stefan Heinzl, to six months' imprisonment on a charge of belonging to a 'secret society'. Bebel served his prison sentence in Zwickau from mid-November 1886 to 14 August 1887.—461, 468, 482, 500, 502, 511

603 On 3 August 1886 Karl Kautsky informed Engels that from that autumn Victor Adler was planning to publish a socialist weekly in Vienna which he wished to put at the party's disposal. Adler published the socialist weekly Gleichheit from December 1886 to June 1889.—461

604 This is Engels' reply to the request made by Kautsky in his letter of 9 August 1886 that Engels look through the manuscript of the book Karl Marx's Oekonomische Lehren which he was preparing for the press at the time (see also Note 137). Engels read the manuscript in the first half of September and made a number of remarks which the author took into account when publishing the book.—462

605 This evidently refers to the Italian translation of Marx's Wage Labour and Capital and Hermann Schlüter's work on the history of the Chartist movement (see Note 557).—462

606 There was no English translation of The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State made during Engels' lifetime.—464

607 The substance of this letter by Engels was used in the editorial carried by Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 34, 18 August 1886.—466

608 This letter was first published in English abridged in The Labour Monthly, London, 1934, No. 2.—468, 490

609 The Knights of Labor (The Noble Order of the Knights of Labour) is the name of an American workers' organisation founded in Philadelphia in 1869 and constituting a secret society until 1881. The bulk of the members of the 'Order' were unskilled workers, including a large number of Blacks. Its aims were to set up cooperatives and organise mutual assistance, and it took part in a considerable number of working-class campaigns. However, the leadership of the 'Order' to all intents and purposes rejected the idea of workers' taking part in political struggle and advocated cooperation between classes. In 1886 the leadership worked against the general strike, forbidding its members to take part. Rank-and-file members of the 'Order' nevertheless did so, and after this the 'Order' began to lose influence among the working masses, falling apart by the end of the 1890s.—470, 491, 525, 530, 532, 541
During the run-up to the elections for the Chamber of Deputies on 2 May 1886 (see Note 576) the socialist organisations and groups who had put forward Ernest Roche set up an election committee. After the elections, the leadership of the Socialist Federation of the department of Seine published an official report on the meeting of 9 May 1886 in *Le Socialiste*, No. 38, 15 May. It was announced in the report that the committee members had decided to maintain the coalition of these organisations and groups and had set up a standing commission including among its members Paul Lafargue from the Paris organisation of the Workers’ Party.—

A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Reactionary Prussianism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1943.—

In the letter referred to Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz suggested to Kautsky that, for the duration of the six months’ imprisonment to which he had been sentenced by the court in Freiberg (see Note 602), Wilhelm Bloß should be entrusted with editing *Die Neue Zeit* in Stuttgart (Kautsky had just done the general editing of the journal from London). Kautsky sent this letter to Engels on 19 August, asking his opinion on the matter and requesting permission to publish his name on the list of the journal’s regular contributors in the prospectus for 1887.—

Engels is referring to the following event: On 25 July 1886 the police in Amsterdam had tried to break up a traditional fete on the grounds that its participants were playing a forbidden game known as ‘eel-snatching’. The police action met with considerable resistance, and clashes continued until the following day. Several dozen people were killed and an even greater number injured. Government bodies and the press used these events to launch a provocative campaign against the Socialist Party. Persecution began on a massive scale, a number of socialists were arrested and brought before the court.—

The reference is to the parcel from Swan Sonnenschein & Co publishers which was addressed to Engels in London and forwarded by Karl Kautsky to the recipient in Eastbourne.—

Engels is evidently referring to the General Council reports which Schlüter planned to publish as a separate volume (see Note 556).—

Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: ‘K. Kautsky Esq., 50, Maitland Park Road, N. W. London.’—

On 23 August Karl Kautsky wrote to Engels that Wilhelm Liebknecht had asked him to purchase an easel which he could hang around his neck by means of a belt and on which he could write whether standing or walking. (Play on words: Esel meant both ‘ass’ and ‘easel’.)—

On 16 August 1886 Gertrud Guillaume-Schack informed Engels that she intended to come to London in mid-September in the company of the Wischnewetzkys.—

The reference is to the strike by the workers at the Vierzon (department of Cher) factory of the Société française de construction de matériel agricole which began on 4 August 1886 in response to the dismissal of some of them due to the crisis in the engineering industry. The events in Vierzon were widely reflected in the
French press, as Laura Lafargue wrote in her letter to Engels of 20 August 1886.—478, 489, 507

620 On 25 August 1886 George Julian Harney informed Engels that he had intended to visit him in Eastbourne on 29 August but was no longer able to do so due to changed circumstances. On 26 August, Harney sent two consecutive letters to let Engels know he would visit him in London.—479

621 Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: 'F. A. Sorge Esq., Hoboken N. Y., U. S. America.'—480

622 The New Yorker Volkszeitung, No. 200, 21 August 1886 carried an item headed 'Ein Bedürfnis und eine Schmach' expressing surprise at the lack of a complete English translation of Volume I of Capital. It stated that the translation being printed by To-Day (see Note 527) could not meet with the readers' satisfaction since it was being published in numerous short parts. The author of the item described this situation as disgraceful and suggested that the funds for an English edition of Capital might be obtained from some well-to-do Social Democrat.—480

623 In the letter referred to, the Hamburg publishers F. H. Nestler und Melle accused Engels, once he had refused to edit the 'Handbibliothek der Sozial-Oekonomie' (see this volume, p. 448 and Note 583), of having passed on the offer to Karl Kautsky and then Die Neue Zeit. Dietz's publishing house was advertising the forthcoming appearance of a series called 'Klassiker der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus', whilst Kautsky had also been planning a similar edition for some considerable time.—481

624 Engels is referring to the trial of Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Etienne Suisini and Louise Michel for the speeches they had made in the Théâtre du Château-d'Eau on 3 June 1886. The trial took place on 12 August 1886, but Guesde, Lafargue and Suisini refused to appear before the court, so that only Louise Michel was present. All four of them were sentenced to terms of imprisonment between four and six months and fined 100 francs. On 24 September 1886 Guesde, Lafargue and Suisini appealed against the court's decision and all four were acquitted.—483, 494

625 Engels analysed Bismarck's relations with Russia in his letter to Paul Lafargue of 25-26 October 1866 (see this volume, pp. 512-18) which was subsequently published as an article entitled 'The Political Situation in Europe' (see present edition, Vol. 26).—483, 488, 493

626 Engels is apparently referring to the article 'Haben wir etwas mit den Anarchisten gemein?' carried by Vorbote, the weekly supplement to the Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung, on 9 June 1886.—491

627 In his letter of 10-11 August 1886 Sorge informed Engels that the Reverend J. G. Brooks from Brockton near Boston (Massachusetts) had asked for Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling to visit him during their tour of the United States. Brooks promised them the opportunity to address a large working-class audience.—491

628 From 17 to 28 September 1886 Johann Philipp Becker stayed with Engels in London, and from 29 September to 4 October with the Lafargues in Paris.—495, 498, 501

629 An allusion to the following passage in Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bo-
napartet: 'The French bourgeoisie had long ago found the solution to Napoleon's dilemma: “Dans cinquante ans, l'Europe sera républicaine ou cosaque.” It had found the solution to it in the “république cosaque”’ (the words are taken from the book: Las Cases, Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou journal où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois, Paris, 1823-24) (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 182).— 496

In his letter to Engels of 30 September 1886 Paul Lafargue described the acquittal at his trial (see Note 624) as a manifestation of the fact that 'the bourgeois have ripened to appreciate some part of our theories'.— 497

At that time Johann Philipp Becker was a contributor to Deutsch-Italienische Korrespondenz published by Franz Julius Schneeberger in Vienna.— 499, 501

As an émigré in Paris, in 1857 Becker engaged in applied chemistry; an explosion occurred during one of his experiments.— 499, 501

The reference is to Eduard Bernstein’s letter to Engels of 17 September 1886.— 500

The reference is to the political crisis which emerged in Bulgaria in the autumn of 1886 after Prince Alexander Battenberg was toppled from the throne by a group of military conspirators associated with the secret service of the Russian government. The interim government set up on 9 August survived for just a few days and was replaced by a pro-Austrian regency. An attempt to restore Alexander Battenberg to the throne was unsuccessful, meeting with overt Russian resistance. In September 1886, the Russian government sent Major-General Nikolai Kaulbars to Sofia with the mission of preparing the ground for the installation of a Russian candidate on the Bulgarian throne. The mission was unsuccessful, partly due to the position taken by the West European powers, notably Britain. On 5 November Kaulbars was recalled and the government of the Russian Empire broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria (see also Note 445).— 503, 505, 517

The reference is to August Bebel’s letter to Engels of 12 October 1886.— 504

Several newspapers reported that the supporters of Dragan Zankoff, the leader of Bulgaria’s liberal party, had spread rumours to the effect that the Russian government had concluded a secret agreement with Turkey. They alleged that the agreement guaranteed the inviolability of the Sultan’s possessions and reduced the outstanding war debt to be paid by the Turks in return for the right to set up Russian fortifications in the Dardanelles.— 505

The Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was signed by Russia and Turkey on 8 July 1833. It provided for mutual aid in the event of war with a third power. A secret article in the treaty freed Turkey from the obligation to give military aid to Russia in return for an undertaking to close the Straits to all foreign men-of-war on Russia’s demand.— 505

The reference is to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British Navy under Admiral Beauchamp Seymour on 11 July 1882. It represented one of the crucial actions carried out by the British in their quest to colonise Egypt. Following the seizure of Alexandria on 2 August, units of the Anglo-Indian army occupied the Suez Canal zone, and on 15 September Cairo was taken. Whilst nominally remaining a part of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt was actually turned into a British colony.
The British colonisers' penetration into the Sudan from the early 1870s met with stiff resistance from the local people; an uprising of national liberation in 1881 drove British forces from almost the entire country. An independent centralised state was formed in the course of the uprising, and the British did not manage to break the Sudanese until 1899.— 505

It was announced in Vienna in early October 1886 that the police had uncovered an 'anarchist conspiracy', allegedly to organise fires and explosions in various parts of the city with the aim of creating panic among the public. It was also reported that the police had found a number of caches with explosives and side-arms; some 20 people were arrested as a result.— 507

The first national congress of the French trade unions was held in Lyons from 11 to 17 October 1886, with representatives of more than 700 trade councils (chambres syndicales) taking part. The congress adopted a resolution recognising that the genuine liberation of the proletariat was not to be had by way of cooperation, profit-sharing for workers and similar measures, as proposed by the bourgeoisie, but only through the abolition of private property and its replacement by collective, social property, through the socialisation of the means of production. The congress also adopted a resolution on the need to campaign for an eight-hour working day and on the establishment of a National Federation of Trade Unions (La Fédération nationale des Syndicats).

Commenting on the outcome of the congress in his letter to Engels of 22 October 1886, Paul Lafargue wrote that 'the congress in Lyons will be a crucial means for attracting the French workers to communism'.— 507

The events in Vierzon (see Note 619) and Henry Maret's interpellation about the dispersal of a strikers' demonstration by gendarmes on 5 October and the arrest of demonstrators meant that Internal Affairs Minister Jean Sarrien was forced to resign on 18 October 1886. This coincided with the announcement of Finance Minister Sadi Carnot's resignation and raised the danger of a government crisis. However, President Jules Grévy and Prime Minister Charles de Freycinet were successful in persuading both ministers to withdraw their resignations.— 507

The reference is to the statement by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag that Der Sozialdemokrat was no longer to be called the party's official printed organ; on 5 November 1886 the newspaper started to appear with the subheading 'Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge' (Organ of Social Democracy in the German tongue).

This decision was occasioned by the confirmation on the part of the criminal chamber of the imperial court of the sentence imposed by the Saxon provincial court in Freiberg against a group of German Social-Democratic leaders on 4 August 1886 (see Note 602). They were accused of belonging to a 'secret society', the grounds behind the accusation including their links with Der Sozialdemokrat which carried the subheading 'Zentral-Organ der deutschen Sozialdemokratie' (Central Organ of German Social Democracy).— 509

Engels is referring to Die Neue Zeit, No. 11, 1886, which carried August Bebel's article 'Deutschland, Rußland und die orientalische Frage'.

In his letter of 12 October 1886 Bebel expressed the view that one of the reasons for Bismarck's efforts to achieve a rapprochement with Russia was his fear that a European war might give rise to social upheavals.— 509
In his speech of 20 May 1886 to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, the National Liberal Louis Berger stated that he and his friends did not expect the establishment of a liberal cabinet and were prepared to content themselves with a moderate conservative one. August Bebel wrote to Engels on 12 October that, if the liberals came to power, all their 'opposition' to the present regime would come to an end.—510

This letter was published slightly abridged and with editorial alterations as an article headed 'Situation politique de l'Europe' in Le Socialiste, No. 63, 6 November 1886 (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 410-17).

On its first publication in English, see Note 196.—512

The preliminary Peace Treaty of San Stefano, which ended the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, was concluded on 3 March (February 19) 1878 at the place of the same name near Constantinople. It provided for the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian principality with nominal dependence on Turkey; for state independence for Serbia, Montenegro and Romania and their territorial enlargement, etc. The treaty considerably strengthened Russian influence in the Balkans and gave rise to sharp opposition from Britain and Austria-Hungary with the tacit support of Germany. Under diplomatic and military pressure, the Russian government was forced to agree to an international congress to reconsider the treaty, given that it concerned 'general European' issues. The congress was held in Berlin from 13 June to 13 July 1878 and attended by representatives of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Britain, Italy and Turkey. The outcome was the Treaty of Berlin, which represented a major deterioration in the conditions of the Treaty of San Stefano for Russia and the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula. The size of self-governing Bulgaria was reduced to less than half that specified in San Stefano; an autonomous province—Eastern Rumelia—was set up under the Sultan's rule in the parts of Bulgaria located south of the Balkans; the size of Montenegro was considerably reduced. The Treaty of Berlin endorsed the return to Russia of that part of Bessarabia which had been cut off from it in 1856 and at the same time sanctioned the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary.—512

The suppression of the Polish national insurrection (1794) was followed, in 1795, by the third partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia and Russia, and the final abolition of the Polish state. By a decision of the Vienna Congress (1814-15), the Kingdom of Poland was established as part of the Russian Empire and included a large part of the lands seized by Prussia and Austria in the third partition of Rzecz Pospolita.—512

In the 1870s, Britain and France, Egypt's main creditors, used the Egyptian government's financial difficulties, notably its large external debts, to impose their financial control on the country. This led in the 1880s to a growth in the national liberation movement and efforts by the Egyptians to free themselves from dependence on foreign powers. In the summer of 1882, Britain provoked a conflict with Egypt, took military action and seized the country, turning it into a British colony to all intents and purposes (see also Note 638).—514

Welcoming Alexander III back from the Crimea at a meeting in Moscow on 25 May 1886, Nikolai Alexeyev, the mayor of the city, stated: 'Our hope gains wings,
and strength is imparted to our belief that the Cross of Christ will shine upon St Sophia’ (Alexeyev was referring to St Sophia’s Church in Constantinople).—516

650 The Congress of Vienna was held by European monarchs and their ministers in September 1814-June 1815. They established the borders and status of the European states after the victory over Napoleonic France and sanctioned, contrary to the national interests and will of the peoples, the reshaping of Europe’s political map and the restoration of the ‘legitimate’ dynasties.—519

651 In Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung, which appeared in 1886, the Austrian sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger set out to prove the ‘unoriginality’ of Marx’s economic theory, claiming he had borrowed some of his conclusions from the English utopian socialists of the Ricardian school (Thompson, etc.). Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels on 30 October 1886, informing him of the book’s appearance. Feeling that if he personally was to oppose Menger in public, the latter might use this to boost his image, Engels thought it expedient to rebuff Menger with an editorial in Die Neue Zeit or a résumé of the book in the name of Karl Kautsky, the editor of the said journal. Engels originally intended to write the bulk of the article himself, but was unable to continue his work on it due to illness. The article was completed by Kautsky in line with Engels’ instructions. It appeared unsigned in Die Neue Zeit, No. 2, 1887 and was headed ‘Juristen-Sozialismus’ (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 597-616).—521, 527

652 The reference is to I, Part I; I, Part V; II, Part VI of the third volume of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 37).—522

653 This letter is Engels’ reply to a certain E. T. who had published in The Commonweal an item called ‘Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique’ containing the following: ‘Please say if there is an English translation of Engels’ “Socialisme Utopique et Socialisme Scientifique”. If not, do you know if Engels has given permission to any particular person to translate it; and is there any likelihood in that case of its being issued shortly? Or is it open to any one who wishes to translate it into English, to do so?’—523

654 Engels is probably referring to Marx’s prefaces to the first and second editions of Volume I of Capital, which were included in the English edition, and also his own preface to this edition.—524

655 This seems to refer to letters by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling who were on a tour of the United States with Wilhelm Liebknecht at the time (see Note 601).—524

656 Paul Lafargue signed his articles in La Nouvelle Revue with the pseudonym ‘Fergus’.—524

657 Engels is referring to the election for the mayor of New York which took place on 2 November 1886. Henry George, the candidate from the United Labor Party, received 68,110 votes, or 31 per cent of the poll. Workers’ candidates were elected in Chicago, Milwaukee, Stanton and other cities.

The United Labor Party was formed in the run-up to the New York municipal elections in the autumn of 1886 to promote joint political action on the part of the working class. The initiative for its foundation was taken by the Central Labor Union of New York, an association of the city’s trade unions established in March 1882.
Following the New York example, similar parties were set up in other cities, including Baltimore, Milwaukee, Detroit, Chicago, etc.—525, 531

658 A special meeting of the General Council of the Social Democratic Federation on Tuesday (October 5) decided to call on the unemployed of London to follow the Lord Mayor’s Show on 9 November 1886. The authorities banned all demonstrations in the vicinity of the procession and deployed a large number of police in the area. The leadership of the Federation nevertheless held a meeting in Trafalgar Square on 9 November without any of the rioting and disorder the authorities did so much to provoke. On 21 November the greatest working-class demonstration ever seen in London was held in Trafalgar Square. The demonstration, with tens of thousands participating, passed off without any incidents and contributed to a certain growth in the authority the Federation enjoyed among working people in London.—526, 534

659 The Radical Clubs began to appear in London and other cities during the 1870s. They united bourgeois radicals and workers. The proletarian element was predominant in the poorest areas of the capital, like the East End. The clubs were distinctive for the fact that they criticised Gladstone’s policy on Ireland and called for greater democracy (extension of the suffrage and other reforms). Socialist ideas were spread in the Radical Clubs from the early 1880s. In 1885 the Radical Clubs in London merged to form the Metropolitan Radical Federation.—526, 529

660 Engels is referring to the bourgeois press’ attacks on Marx which were directly occasioned by the pamphlet: K. Vogt, Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung. Ste- nographischer Bericht. Dokumente und Erläuterungen. Published in Geneva in December 1859, it was directed against Marx and his associates in the Communist League. Marx exposed Vogt’s attacks in his work Herr Vogt (see present edition, Vol. 17).—527

661 A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, On the United States, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.—528

662 On 4 November 1886 Schlüter wrote to Engels informing him of the successful conclusion of talks with Johann Philipp Becker on the granting of material assistance in return for his writing his memoirs (see this volume, pp. 498-500). The plan did not materialise as Becker died on 7 December 1886.—528

663 This is Engels’ reply to the suggestion made by Schlüter that he revise three chapters from the second part of Anti-Dühring for publication as a separate pamphlet under the title The Theory of Force. They contain an exposition of the materialist views of the correlation between economics and politics. Engels subsequently changed his plans and decided to add a fourth chapter giving concrete form to the main propositions using the example of the history of Germany from 1848 to 1888 and analysing them from the viewpoint of a critique of Bismarck’s policies. The pamphlet was to be called The Role of Force in History. Engels worked on the fourth chapter at a later date, between late December 1887 and March 1888, but did not complete it. The unfinished work, as well as various plans and fragments, were not published until after Engels’ death (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 452-510, 511, 578-80).—529

664 The reference is to the article ‘On Social Relations in Russia’ from the Refugee Literature series, published in Der Volksstaat from 1874 to 1875 (see present edition,
Schlüter's plans to publish a pamphlet *Soziales aus Rußland* were not carried out at the time. The first, second and fifth articles in the series, together with an afterword specially written by Engels ("Afterword (1894) to On Social Relations in Russia", present edition, Vol. 27) appeared as a collection of articles by Engels published in Berlin in 1894 as *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat' (1871-75).*

A fragment of this letter was first published in English in *The Socialist Review*, London, 1908, III-VIII, and in full in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—531

Engels wrote this letter on a postcard addressed: 'Herrn H. Schlüter, Volksbuchhandlung, Casinistraße, Hottingen-Zürich, Switzerland.' —535

Schlüter wrote to Engels on 4 December 1886 describing his plans to reissue Engels' pamphlet *The Bakuninists at Work* together with his article 'On Social Relations in Russia' as an issue of the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek series (see Note 664). Schlüter further wrote about Eduard Bernstein's proposal that this issue be supplied with a preface from the publishers.—535

This apparently refers to the English translation of Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* made by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky (see Note 550).—535

On 28 November 1886 Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels saying that she would be arriving in London on 23 or 24 December.—536

Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky wrote to Engels on 10 December 1886 asking him to write a preface to the American edition of her translation of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (see Note 550). She explained that the afterword Engels had written for this edition in February 1886 had become outdated and asked him to concentrate in the new preface on a critique of Henry George's doctrine, notably his plan for land reform. In the same letter Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky asked Engels whether he was agreeable to omitting 'in 1844' from the title.—540

Engels may have meant the following works by Henry George: *Our Land and Land Policy* (1871), *Progress and Poverty* (1880), *The Irish Land Question* (1881), *Social Problems* (1883), *Protection or Free Trade* (1886).—540

Engels is referring to the following passage from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement" (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 518).—541
This is Engels' reply to the invitation to join Karl Pearson's Club (see Note 678) which Dr Horatio Bryan Donkin passed on to him via Eleanor Marx-Aveling (see Eleanor Marx-Aveling's letter to Horatio Bryan Donkin of 8 February 1886, this volume, pp. 547-48).

The original is kept in the library at University College, London (Pearson Papers, 10/36). It was found by the German scholar Erhard Kiehnbaum and published in German translation in Die Wahrheit, 1/2 October 1988. We were kindly presented with a x-copy of the original for publication in Marx's and Engels' Collected Works.— 543

The reference is to Engels' editing of the English translation of Volume I of Marx's Capital (see this volume, Note 56).— 543

Engels is probably referring to the discussions at Pearson's Club of issues relating to the family and the social emancipation of women (see Note 678). He dealt with these questions in The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (see notes 174, 264 and 555).— 543

The original of this letter is kept in the library at University College, London (Pearson Papers, 10/37). It was published in German translation by the German scholar Erhard Kiehnbaum in Die Wahrheit, 1/2 October 1988. We were kindly presented with a x-copy of the original for publication in Marx's and Engels' Collected Works.— 547

The reference is to the Club established by Karl Pearson, an English biologist and philosopher, to encourage free and unbridled discussions on questions connected in some way or another with relations between men and women. Its members were 15-20 intellectuals, among them Horatio Bryan Donkin, a doctor who had treated Marx, and Olive Schreiner, a friend of Eleanor who had written a book entitled Woman and Labour. The discussions centred on Pearson's books The Woman Question and Socialism and Sex. Pearson, who sympathised with the workers' and socialist movement, wished to recruit Engels and Eleanor Marx-Aveling as members of the Club; in the summer of 1885 the latter had published a review of Bebel's book Die Frau und der Sozialismus (see Note 145).— 547

It is clear from the correspondence between Donkin and Pearson that Eleanor Marx-Aveling intended to visit the Club in April 1886 but never carried out this plan. The Club's minutes contain no record of any contributions made by Engels or Eleanor.— 547
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Bahr, Hermann (1863-1934) — Austrian journalist, critic, novelist and playwright. — 191

Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876) — Russian revolutionary and journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; subsequently an ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International; was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities. — 10, 108, 198, 430

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Bax, Ernest Belfort (1854-1926) — English historian, philosopher and journalist, socialist, editor of The Commonweal from 1884, member of the Social Democratic Federation, a founder of the Socialist League in 1884; was on friendly terms with Engels from 1883. — 74, 105, 114, 122-23, 127-29, 153, 165, 172, 177, 207, 224, 236, 238, 245, 248, 275, 405, 406, 431, 432, 438, 443, 446, 471, 484, 504

Bebel, Ferdinand August (1840-1913) — a leading figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; President of the Union of German Workers’ Associations from 1867; member of the First International; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867; a founder (1869) and leader of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany; opposed the Lassalleans; took an internationalist stand during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; came out in support of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels. — 14, 20, 22-23, 32, 47, 52-55, 68, 77, 80-83, 99, 114, 146-48, 150, 151, 153, 162, 164, 169, 187, 195, 197-202, 204, 209-13, 220-23, 225, 231, 234, 235, 240-43, 245, 253-55, 268-71, 285, 306-09, 315-17, 329, 340-44, 352-54, 361, 386, 387, 391, 395, 406, 409, 410, 425-29, 433-
Becker, Bernhard (1826-1891) — German journalist; follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported Eisenachers; withdrew from the working-class movement after 1874.—119

Becker, Elisabeth (d. 1884) — wife of Johann Philipp Becker.—98

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886) — German revolutionary, took part in the democratic movement of the 1830s-50s, the international working-class movement and the 1848-49 revolution; after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849) left Germany; prominent figure in the First International and delegate to all its congresses, editor of Der Vorbote; active in the Swiss working-class movement; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—25-27, 49, 69-70, 98-99, 151, 152, 201-03, 267-69, 299-301, 363-64, 379, 456, 457, 478, 490, 495, 498-502, 504-05, 528

Behrens — engineer, Bismarck’s partner in the Varzin paper mill.—199, 202

Berger, Louis Konstanz (1829-1891) — German industrialist and politician, member of the Party of Progress, deputy to the Reichstag from 1874.—510

Bernstein, Caroline (1855-1884) — Eduard Bernstein’s sister.—236


Bernstein, Jakob (d. 1884) — Eduard Bernstein’s father, engine-driver.—236

Bernstein, Regina (Gine) (née Zadek, by first marriage Schattner) — Eduard Bernstein’s wife from 1886.—501

Besant, Annie (1847-1933) — English politician, Radical, member of the Fabian Society and of the Social Democratic Federation.—94

Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von (1815-1898) — statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Envoy to St Petersburg (1859-62) and to Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71; 1873-90); Chancellor of the North-German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia; one of the authors of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—22, 34, 35, 53, 54, 69, 83, 92, 110, 112, 124, 130, 131, 137-39, 140, 147, 148, 150, 190, 192, 202, 209, 211, 213, 216, 225, 235, 237, 267, 281, 329, 338, 343, 348, 360, 365, 372, 378, 417, 428, 435, 437, 440, 461, 467, 468, 483-84, 486, 489, 493, 510-12, 516-18, 520, 527, 533

Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis (1811-1882) — French historian; socialist; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London from August 1848; deputy to the National Assembly in 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—71, 342, 354, 413, 429, 470, 505

Bland, Hubert (1856-1914) — English journalist; socialist; a founder of the Fabian Society; member of the Social Democratic Federation.—366, 367, 369, 394

Bleichröder, Gerson von (1822-
1893) — German financier, Bismarck’s personal banker and his unofficial adviser on financial matters.— 109, 112, 377

Blæker, Ludwig (Louis) (1812-1863) — German ex-officer; democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to the USA and fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union.— 287

Blind, Karl (1826-1907) — German democratic journalist; took part in the Baden revolutionary movement in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s-early 1860s; later National Liberal.— 368

Bloch, Maurice (1816-1901) — French statistician and economist.— 224, 225

Blos, Wilhelm (1849-1927) — German journalist; member of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany from 1872; an editor of Der Volksstaat (1872-74), sided with the reformist wing of German Social Democrats from the 1880s; deputy to the Reichstag (1877-1918).— 21, 23, 34, 150, 173, 296, 383, 472

Blouin, Henri Georges Stephan Adolphe Oppen de (1825-1903) — French journalist, Austrian by birth; correspondent of The Times in Paris from 1871.— 431

Blum, Robert (1807-1848) — German democrat; journalist; leader of the Left wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly; participated in the defence of Vienna in October 1848, court-martialled and executed after the fall of the city.— 287

Bödiger, Tonio (Anton) Wilhelm Laurenz Karl Maria (1843-1907) — German government official, adviser of the Imperial Home Ministry from 1881, was engaged in trade and insurance legislation, delivered reports in the Reichstag on behalf of the ministry on these matters, headed the Imperial Insurance Ministry in 1884-97.— 34

Boelling, Hedwig (née Engels) (1830-1904) — Frederick Engels’ sister, wife of Friedrich Boelling.— 220

Bonaparte — see Napoleon III

Borde, Frédéric — French journalist; socialist.— 36

Borkheim, F. — Sigismund Ludwig Borkheim’s son.— 380, 381

Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig (1825-1885) — German democratic journalist; took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated after its defeat; merchant in London from 1851; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.— 152, 203, 269, 377, 379, 380, 383, 472, 475

Born, Stephan (real name Buttermich, Simon) (1824-1898) — German typesetter; member of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution; turned his back on the workers’ movement after the revolution.— 346

Bougeart, Alfred (1815-1882) — French Left journalist; author of several works on the French Revolution.— 399

Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie (1837-1891) — French general, War Minister (1886-87); strived to establish his own military dictatorship.— 519

Boyer, Antoine Jean Baptiste (Antide) (1850-1918) — French potter; member of the Chamber of Deputies several times.— 409, 414, 418

Bracke, Wilhelm (1842-1880) — German Social Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany (Eisenachers); member of the Social-Democratic parliamentary group in the Reichstag (1877-79); represented the revolutionary wing of German Social Democracy.— 20, 374

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891) — English journalist and politician,
bourgeois Radical; editor of The National Reformer from 1860.—94, 115, 405

Bray, John Francis (1809-1895) — English economist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen; supporter of the theory of labour money.—156

Brenin, Claude (b. c. 1851) — French miner, an organiser of the provocative explosions in Montceau-les-Mines in 1884.—265

Brentano, Clemens (1778-1842) — German romantic poet.—286

Brentano, Ljudo (Ludwig Joseph) (1844-1931) — German economist, professor, armchair socialist.—422

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); leader of the Left Wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s, held several ministerial posts.—389

Broadhouse, John — see Hyndman, Henry Mayers

Broadhurst, Henry (1840-1911) — English bricklayer, a trade union leader, secretary of the parliamentary committee of the Trades Unions Congress (1875-90), Liberal M.P. from 1880, Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (1886).—57

Brocher, Gustave (1850-1931) — teacher, French by birth, lived in Russia in the late 1860s-early 1870s and took part in the Narodnik movement; lived in London in 1874-93, sided with the anarchists; moved to Switzerland in 1893; atheist.—13

Brooks, J.G. — American clergyman, advocated socialist views.—491

Brousse, Paul Louis Marie (1844-1912) — French socialist, physician; member of the First International (up to 1872); participant in the Paris Commune, after its defeat lived in Spain and Switzerland; sided with the anarchists; returned to France in 1880 and became a member of the French Workers’ Party; a Possibilist leader.—68, 107, 123, 225, 289, 425

Bucher, Lothar (1817-1892) — Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution emigrated to London, later National Liberal, supporter of Bismarck.—374

Bückler, Johann (1780-1803) — German robber nicknamed Schinderhannes (Hans the Skin-flint); in a number of literary works depicted as a ‘noble robber’ and defender of the poor.—198

Bunge, Nikolai Kristianovich (1823-1895) — Russian lawyer, economist and politician, professor at Kiev University from 1850, Minister of Finance in 1881-86, Chairman of the Committee of Ministers in 1887-95.—360

Buonarroti, Filippo Michele (1761-1837) — Italian revolutionary, utopian communist, a leader of the revolutionary movement in France at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, Babeuf’s comrade-in-arms.—226

Burdett-Coutts, Angela Georgina, Baroness (1814-1906) — English aristocrat, philanthropist.—400

Burns, John Elliot (1858-1943) — English worker, activist of the English working-class movement, a leader of the new trade unions (late 1880s-early 1890s), organiser of the London dock strike (1889), M.P. from 1891, minister in the Liberal cabinets in 1905-14.—366, 368

Burrows, Herbert (1845-1922) — English official, a founder of the Social Democratic Federation; helped found trade unions of the unskilled workers.—195, 238, 245, 369

C

Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856) — French journalist, utopian communist, author of
Voyage en Icarie.—117, 342
Calderón de la Barca, Pedro (1600-1681)—Spanish dramatist.—48
Camélina, Zéphirin Remy (1840-1932)—French bronze-worker; a leader of the Paris sections of the First International, took part in the Paris Commune, after its defeat moved to England, returned to France after the 1880 amnesty; active in the socialist movement, member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1885-89; member of the French Communist Party from 1920.—409-10, 414, 418, 425, 428-31, 441
Campbell, Sir George (1824-1892)—British official in India (1843-74), subsequently Liberal M. P. (1875-92), author of works on India.—179
Capefigue, Jean Baptiste Honoré Raymond (1802-1872)—French journalist and historian, monarchist.—71
Carpenter, Edward (1844-1929)—English poet and journalist, took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s.—236, 238
Cassiodorus, Flavius Magnus Aurelius (c. 490-c. 580)—Roman author and monk; politician of the Ostrogothic Kingdom, aristocrat by birth, author of Historia Gothorum.—296
Cave, Sir Lewis William (1832-1897)—English lawyer, member of the High Court from 1881.—434
Cerioli—Italian socialist.—205
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—48, 357
Chamberlain, Joseph (1836-1914)—British statesman, Liberal, Mayor of Birmingham in 1873-76, M. P. from 1876, member of the Cabinet, Liberal Unionist after 1886.—268, 361, 367, 369, 407
Champion, Henry Hyde (1857-1928)—English publisher and journalist, socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation up to 1887, later a leader of the Labour Electoral As-
Colman — Charlotte Engels’ son-in-law.—228
Cremer, Sir William Randall (1838-1908) — a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council; member of the Central Council of the International (1864-68) and its General Secretary, Liberal M.P. (1885-95 and 1900-08), active in the pacifist movement.— 321
Cumberland, Ernst August, Duke of (1845-1923) — son of the King of Hanover George V, claimant to the Hanoverian (from 1878) and Brunswick (from 1884) thrones, was prevented from becoming the ruler due to the negative attitude of the Bismarck government.— 222
Cuno, Theodor Friedrich (1846-1934) — German engineer, socialist, member of the First International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), after the Congress moved to the USA and took part in the American working-class and socialist movement.—13, 511
Cyon, Ilya Faddeyevich (1842-1912) — Russian physiologist, journalist, professor at the St Petersburg University and at the Medical Surgical Academy; under public pressure refused from professorship and moved to Paris in 1875, representative of the Russian Ministry of Finances in Paris in 1875-91.— 524

D
Daniels, Roland (1819-1855) — German physician, member of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League from 1850, one of the accused in the Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted by the jury; friend of Marx and Engels, was the first to attempt to apply dialectical materialism to natural sciences.— 351
Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich (pen-name Nikolai—on) (1844-1918) — Russian writer on economics, an ideologist of Narodism in the 1880s-90s; correspondent of Marx and Engels, translated into Russian volumes I, II and III of Marx’s Capital (Volume I jointly with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lyubavin).—88, 95, 100, 129, 260, 265, 277-78, 289, 294, 318-19, 322, 347-50, 400-02, 522, 523
Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) — Italian poet.—48, 357
Darbyshire, John — member of the Manchester section of the First International, later of the Social Democratic Federation.—106
Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882) — English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection of species.—103, 226
Davitt, Michael (1846-1906) — Irish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Irish national liberation movement in the 1880s-90s, an organiser (1879) and leader of the Land League, advocate of Home Rule; M.P. (1895-99).—122, 368
Davout, Louis Nicolas, duc d’Auerstoedt, prince d’Eckmühl (1770-1823) — Marshal of France, participated in the wars of Napoleonic France.—332
Defoe, Daniel (c. 1661-1731) — English writer and journalist, author of The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.—194
Demosthenes (c. 384-322 B.C.) — Greek orator and politician, champion of democracy in the slave-owning society.—202
Demuth, Helene (Lenchen) (1820-1890) — housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family.—28, 29, 31, 41, 45, 46, 58, 59, 61, 63, 76, 78, 80, 94-

Denhardt, Fritz — see Sax, Emanuel Hans

Dereure, Louis Simon (1838-1900) — French shoemaker, prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, Blanquist, member of the Paris section of the First International, member of La Marsellaise editorial board; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to the USA after its suppression, member of the General Council of the International elected by the Hague Congress, member of the French Workers' Party from 1882.—141

Deville, Gabriel Pierre (1854-1940) — French journalist, socialistic, member of the French Workers' Party, author of the popular exposition of Volume I of Marx's Capital and some other works on philosophy, economy and history; withdrew from the working-class movement in the early 20th century.—44, 46, 50, 59-63, 76-78, 89, 90, 94, 96, 101, 112, 113, 115, 134, 144, 162, 183, 310, 313, 320, 338-86, 405, 417, 442, 465, 508

Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm (1843-1922) — German Social Democrat, founder of the Social-Democratic publishing house in 1881, deputy to the Reichstag (1881-1918).—17, 20, 27, 36, 58, 77, 102, 162-64, 200-01, 204-07, 210, 212, 230, 249, 251, 346, 422, 461, 462, 472, 474, 481, 482

Dietzgen, Joseph (1828-1888) — German leather-worker, philosopher, Social Democrat, member of the First International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—246, 297, 394, 395, 441, 491

Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, Baronet (1843-1911) — English politician and writer, a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party; M.P.—268, 458

Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881) — British statesman and writer; leader of the Conservative Party in the second half of the 19th century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868, 1874-80).—512

Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1836-1861) — Russian revolutionary democrat; literary critic and materialist philosopher; one of the predecessors of Russian Social Democracy.—158

Donkin, Horatio Bryan (1845-1927) — English physician, doctor of the Marx family in 1881-83.—274, 543

Dormoy, Jean (1851-1898) — French metal-worker, socialist, sentenced for a term in prison together with Guesde and Lafargue in 1883.—115

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 in 1852 and took part in its socialist movement; edited a number of socialist papers including the New Yorker Volkszeitung (1878-88); contributed to the Vorwärts!—13, 296, 440

Dumont, Edouard Adolphe (1844-1917) — French politician and journalist, author of anti-Semitic books and articles.—520

Drysdale, Charles Robert — English physician, supported neo-Malthusianism.—195

Duc-Quercy, Albert (1856-1934) — French journalist, took part in the working-class and socialist movement, a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879), an editor of Le Cri du Peuple.—442

Dühring, Eugen Karl (1833-1921) — German philosopher and eco-
nomist; lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).—251, 289, 529

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 insurrection in Paris; lived in London from 1862, member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864 to 1872), participant in all congresses (except the Basle Congress) and conferences of the International; member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); emigrated to the USA in 1874; associate of Marx and Engels.—310

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889) — prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor, journalist; member of the Communist League; member of the First International and of its General Council (1864-72); took part in the British trade union movement.—371, 468

Ede — see Bernstein, Eduard
Edward — see Aveling, Edward Bibbins
Eisengarten, Oskar — German typesetter, Social Democrat, emigrated to London, secretary of Engels in 1884-85.—153, 160, 170, 177, 190, 279

Elisabeth I (1533-1603) — Queen of England and Ireland (1558-1603).—150

Ely, Richard Theodore (1854-1943) — American economist, professor of political economy at the Wisconsin University.—295

Engels, Charlotte (née Bredt) (1833-1912) — wife of Emil Engels, Frederick Engels’ brother.—228-30, 538

Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Maurita (née van Haar) (1797-1873) — Frederick Engels’ mother.—229

Engels, Emil (1828-1884) — Frederick Engels’ brother; a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—218, 220, 228, 229, 538

Engels, Emil (1858-1907) — Emil Engels’ son, nephew of Frederick Engels, employee, and from 1889 a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—538-39

Engels, Emil (b. 1885) — son of Frederick Engels’ nephew, Emil Engels.—539

Engels, Emma (née Croon) (1834-1916) — Hermann Engels’ wife.—220

Engels, Friedrich (1796-1860) — Frederick Engels’ father.—219, 229

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905) — Frederick Engels’ brother; manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—218-20, 228, 539

Engels, Hermann Friedrich Theodor (1858-1926) — Hermann Engels’ son, nephew of Frederick Engels; manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—219, 220, 539

Engels, Johanna Klara (b. 1862) — wife of Emil Engels, Frederick Engels’ nephew.—539

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903) — Frederick Engels’ brother; manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—219

Engels, Rudolf Moritz (1858-1893) — Frederick Engels’ nephew, son of Rudolf Engels; employee, and from 1889 a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm in Engelskirchen.—539

F

Fabian, Heinrich Wilhelm — German Social Democrat.—124, 191, 295

Fauerber, Salo — German Social Democrat, merchant in Breslau.—337-39, 417

Faraday, Michael (1791-1867) — English physicist and chemist, founder of the teachings on the electromagnetic field.—400
Ferry, Jules François Camille (1832-1893) — French lawyer, journalist, a moderate Republican leader, member of the Government of National Defence and Mayor of Paris (1870-71), Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85). — 109, 267, 270

Fielding, John — member of the Social Democratic Federation in England. — 366, 368

Fitzgerald, Charles L. — English journalist, deputy-secretary of the Social Democratic Federation and an editor of the Justice in 1884-85. — 84, 236-38, 245

Fleischmann, Adolf — German big merchant, Counsellor of Justice. — 64

Flügel, Johann Gottfried (1788-1855) — German lexicographer, composed English-German and German-English dictionaries. — 375

Fock — 196

Forster, Henri — English officer, in 1885-86 was engaged in the divorce case which caused retirement of Minister Dilke. — 458

Fortin, Édouard — French journalist, socialist, member of the Workers' Party of France. — 62, 310, 333, 345, 358, 359

Foster, Rachel — American public figure, secretary of the Women's Rights Society. — 396, 415, 441, 465

Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772-1837) — French utopian socialist. — 132, 141, 184

Frankel, Leo (Léo) (1844-1896) — jeweller, prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement; member of the Paris Commune and the General Council of the First International (1871-72); a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary (1880); associate of Marx and Engels. — 76, 250

Frederick Charles (Friedrich Karl Nikolaus), Prince (1828-1885) — Prussian general and field marshal general (1870), commanded the Second Army during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71). — 300, 302, 304

Frederick William (1831-1888) — Prussian Crown Prince, general and field marshal general (1870), took part in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71); after William I's death in 1888, King of Prussia and German Emperor under the name of Frederick III. — 34, 148, 149, 268, 435

Frederick William III (1770-1840) — King of Prussia (1797-1840). — 148

Frederick William IV (1795-1861) — King of Prussia (1840-61). — 34

Freiligrath, Ferdinand (1810-1876) — German poet; member of the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); withdrew from revolutionary activity in the 1850s. — 34, 52, 470

Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saulces de (1828-1923) — French statesman and diplomat, moderate Republican; Prime Minister (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92). — 425

Freytag, Otto — German lawyer, Social Democrat, deputy to the Saxon Landtag (1877-79). — 102, 124, 248, 251, 253-54, 509

Fritzsch, Friedrich Wilhelm (1825-1905) — German tobacco-worker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution, a founder and leader of the General Association of German Workers (1863), member of the International, sided with the Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German (1868-71) and the German (1877-81) Reichstag; emigrated to the USA in 1881. — 22, 80

Frohme, Karl Franz Egon (1850-1933) — German journalist, a leader of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; deputy to the
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<td><strong>Gambetta, Léon Michel</strong></td>
<td>(1838-1882) — French statesman, bourgeois republican; member of the</td>
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<td>Government of National Defence (1870-71); founded the paper</td>
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<td>République Française in 1871; Prime Minister and Minister of</td>
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<td><strong>Gartman, Lev Nikolayevich</strong></td>
<td>(1850-1913) — Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, took part in the</td>
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<td>terroristic act of the People's Will organisation against</td>
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<td>Alexander II after which emigrated to France and later to</td>
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<td>England, settled in the USA in 1881, withdrew from politics.—13, 256</td>
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<td><strong>Gaulier, Alfred Nicolas</strong></td>
<td>(b. 1829) — French politician and journalist, Radical, member of</td>
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<td>the Chamber of Deputies (1886-89). — 438, 445</td>
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<td><strong>Geiser, Bruno</strong></td>
<td>(1846-1898) — German journalist, edited Die Neue Welt (1877-86),</td>
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<td>deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87) where he belonged to the</td>
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<td>Right wing of the Social-Democratic group; expelled from the</td>
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<td>Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany in the late 1880s.—21, 34, 81,</td>
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<td><strong>Gendre</strong></td>
<td>— see Nikitina, Varvara Nikolayevna</td>
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<td><strong>George, Henry</strong></td>
<td>(1839-1897) — American economist and journalist; favoured</td>
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<td>nationalisation of land by the state.—14, 42, 74, 82, 114, 237, 525,</td>
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<td><strong>Gervillé-Réache, Gaston Marie Sidoine Théonile</strong></td>
<td>(b. 1854) — French lawyer and politician, member of the Chamber</td>
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<td></td>
<td>of Deputies for Guadeloupe.—180</td>
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<td><strong>Giers, Nikolai Karlovich</strong></td>
<td>(1820-1895) — Russian diplomat, envoy to Teheran (from 1863),</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Berne (from 1869), and Stockholm (from 1872); Deputy Minister for</td>
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<td>Foreign Affairs (1875-82), Minister for Foreign Affairs (1882-95).</td>
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<td>— 461, 467, 484, 516, 517</td>
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<td><strong>Giffen, Sir Robert</strong></td>
<td>(1837-1910) — English economist and statistician, specialist on</td>
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<td>finances, publisher of the Journal of the Statistical Society</td>
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<td>(1876-91); head of the statistical department at the Board of</td>
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<td>Trade (1876-97). — 5</td>
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<td><strong>Gladstone, William Ewart</strong></td>
<td>(1809-1898) — British statesman, first Tory, later a leader of the</td>
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<td>Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century; Chancellor</td>
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<td>of the Exchequer (1852-55, 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74,</td>
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<td>(1749-1832) — German poet.—30, 48, 92, 253</td>
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<td><strong>Gray, John</strong></td>
<td>(1798-1850) — English economist, utopian socialist; follower of</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Robert Owen; an author of the labour money theory.—208</td>
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<td><strong>Grévy, François Paul Jules</strong></td>
<td>(1807-1891) — French statesman, bourgeois republican; President of</td>
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<td><strong>Grillenberger, Karl</strong></td>
<td>(1848-1897) — German worker, later journalist; deputy to the</td>
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<td>German Reichstag from 1881, where belonged to the Right wing of the</td>
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<td>Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany.—231</td>
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<td><strong>Grimaux, Louis Edouard</strong></td>
<td>(1835-1900) — French chemist.—289</td>
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<td><strong>Gronlund, Laurence</strong></td>
<td>(1846-1899) — American journalist, Dutch by birth, a member of the</td>
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<td>Executive of the Socialist Labor Party from 1887.—192, 295</td>
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<td><strong>Grüß, Gustav</strong></td>
<td>(1856-1935) — Austrian politician, economist and journalist,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lecturer at Vienna University.—250, 261, 322</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Guesde, Jules</strong></td>
<td>(pen-name for Mathieu Jules Bazile) (1845-1922) — prominent</td>
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<td>figure in the French and international</td>
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socialist movement; a founder (1880) and leader of the French Workers' Party up to 1901; for some years on, a leader of the revolutionary wing in the French socialist movement.—28, 30, 41, 61, 64, 74, 94, 115, 141, 225, 409, 414, 442, 508

Guillaumé-Schack, Gertrud (née countess Schack) (1845-1903) —German socialist, took part in the women workers' movement in Germany.—311, 454, 455, 473, 477, 478

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874) —French historian and statesman; Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48); in 1847-48 also Prime Minister; virtually directed France's home and foreign policy from 1840 to the February revolution of 1848; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.—95

Gumbel, Abraham —German Social Democrat, émigré in France in the early 1880s, bank employee in Paris in 1883.—191

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893) —German physician in Manchester; friend of Marx and Engels.—62

H

Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich (1834-1919) —German biologist, follower of Darwin, adherent of materialism in natural science, atheist; formulated the biogenetic law of the relationship between phylogensis and ontogenesis; ideologist of 'social Darwinism'.—289

Hagen —correspondent of Engels in Bonn.—252

Hamel, Ernest (1826-1898) —French historian and journalist, author of works on history of the French Revolution.—399

Hänel, Albert (1833-1918) —German lawyer and politician, a leader of the Party of Progress, member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies (1867-88) and deputy to the German Reichstag (1867-93 and 1898-1903).—435

Harney, George Julian (1817-1897) —prominent figure in the English labour movement, a Chartist leader (Left wing); editor of The Northern Star and other Chartist periodicals; an émigré in the USA in 1863-88; member of the First International, was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels.—274, 289, 292, 293, 337, 404, 422, 467, 475, 479, 537

Hartmann —see Gartman, Lev Nikolayevich

Haseke, Wilhelm (1837-1889) —German Social Democrat; editor of the Neuer Social-Demokrat, President of the General Association of German Workers in 1871-75, a chairman of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from May 1875; edited together with Liebknecht the Vorwärts! in 1876-78; deputy to the Reichstag (1874-88).—21

Hasselmann, Wilhelm (b. 1844) —one of the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of the Neuer Social-Demokrat in 1871-75; member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1875; expelled from the Party for his anarchist views in 1880.—21

Haug —German Social Democrat.—209

Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Baron von (1792-1866) —Prussian official and economist, conservative, author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—179

Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz (1811-1881) —German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and later to the USA, took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—287

Hege, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831) —German philosopher.—35, 126, 186, 189, 281, 348, 356, 438
Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856) — German revolutionary poet.—33, 47, 78, 167, 226
Heine, Stefan (1841-1899) — German tailor, Social Democrat, was sentenced to imprisonment (1886) for participation in the illegal party congress in Copenhagen in 1883, after release took part in the Social-Democratic movement.—461
Hepner, Adolf (1846-1923) — German Social Democrat, an editor of Der Volksstaat (1869-73); member of the First International, emigrated to the USA (1882); in 1908 returned to Germany.—47, 114, 198
Hess (Heß), Moses (1812-1875) — German radical journalist; 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; after the split in the League sided with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; Lassallean in the 1860s; member of the First International.—160, 362, 475
Hess (Heß), Sibylle (née Pesch) (1820-1903) — Moses Hess' wife.—226
Hütten, Ulrich von (1488-1523) — German poet, advocate of the Reformation, ideologist of and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—173
Hurewitz, Eugene (1808-1880) — German poet.—33
Höchstetterns — dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—67, 385
Höffer, George (1833-1910) — bricklayer; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); Secretary of the Reform League (1864-67) and the Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress of Trade Unions (1871-75); Liberal M.P. (1885-95).—8
Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885) — French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative assemblies during the Second Republic; lived in emigration in 1851-70, from 1876 member of the Senate.—293, 297, 303
Hugues, Clovis (1851-1907) — French poet, journalist and politician, supported the Paris Commune, deputy to the National Assembly from 1881.—409, 414, 418
Hutten, Henry Mayers (1842-1921) — English socialist, founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation which was transformed into Social Democratic Federation in 1884; later a leader of the British Socialist Party, was expelled from it for his support of the imperialist war in 1916.—54, 74, 85, 105, 114, 118-19, 123, 127-28, 155, 165, 177, 207, 236-38, 245, 247, 265, 313, 342, 345, 366-70, 376, 384, 393-94, 403, 404, 406-08, 424, 427, 431, 434, 440, 443, 446, 448, 521, 526, 529, 534
I

Hiring, Ferdinand — officer of the German political police, agent provocateur in a Berlin workers’ society under the name of Mahlow; was exposed in February 1886. — 426

Irving, Sir Henry (John Henry Brodribb) (1838-1905) — English producer and actor; engaged in some plays by Shakespeare. — 345

Issleib — daughter of Ferdinand Issleib, August Bebel’s partner. — 80

J

Jagemann, Christian Joseph (1735-1804) — German philologist, wrote on the Italian literature history, composed an Italian-German dictionary. — 85

Jankowska, Marya (née Zaleska, pseudonym Stefan Leonowicz) (1850-1909) — Polish socialist, journalist, member of the First International; lived in emigration in the 1880s-90s, delegate to the international socialist congresses in Paris (1889), Brussels (1891) and Zurich (1893); took part in the foundation of the Polish Socialist Party in 1892; married Polish socialist Stanislaw Mendelson in 1889. — 185-86

Joffrin, Jules François Alexandre (1846-1890) — French mechanic, socialist, an organiser of the mechanics’ trade union; took part in the Paris Commune, after its defeat an émigré in England (1871-81); member of the French Workers’ Party, a leader of the Possibilist wing; member of the town’s council of the 18th arrondissement of Paris. — 134, 141-42

Johny — see Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johny)

Jollymeier — see Schorlemmer, Carl

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869) — proletarian poet and journalist, prominent figure in the English working-class movement, Left-wing chartist leader, friend of Marx and Engels. — 404

Jordanes (Jornandes, Jordanis) (b. c. 500) — historian, wrote a work on the Goths. — 296

Jornandes — see Jordanes


Juta, Johann Carl (Jean Carol) (1824-1886) — Dutch merchant, husband of Karl Marx’s sister Louise, bookseller in Capetown (South Africa). — 71

Juta, Louise (1821-1893) — Karl Marx’s sister, Johann Carl Juta’s wife. — 71

K

Kaler-Reinthal, Emil (1850-1897) — Austrian journalist, Social Democrat, withdrew from the workers’ movement in the late 1880s, opposed Social Democracy. — 50

Kalle, Fritz (1837-1915) — German industrialist, National Liberal, deputy to the Reichstag in 1884-90. — 438, 439

Kálnoky, Gustav, Count von (1832-1898) — Austro-Hungarian statesman, ambassador to St Petersburg (1880-81), chairman of the Imperial Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister (1881-95). — 517

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804) — German philosopher. — 114, 122

Kautbars, Nikolai Vasilyevich, Baron (1842-1905) — Russian general, military attaché in Austria (1881-86), was on special diplomatic mission in Bulgaria in 1886. — 505, 517

Kautsky, Karl Johann (1854-1938) — German journalist, economist and historian, Social Democrat, edited Die Neue Zeit (1883-1917), wrote on


Kautsky, Minna (née Jaich) (1837-1912) — German writer of social novels; Karl Kautsky’s mother.—320, 321, 355-58

Kayser, Max (1853-1888) — German journalist, Social Democrat, deputy to the Reichstag (1878-84), sided with the Reformist wing of the Social-Democratic group.—21


Kjellberg, Julia — daughter of the Swedish industrialist, wife of Georg Heinrich von Vollmar.—185

Klopf, Ludwig — German Social Democrat, an émigré in Switzerland.—25-28

Knowles, Sir James Thomas (1831-1908) — English architect, writer and publisher, founded and edited The Nineteenth Century (1877-1908).—8, 12

Kock, Charles Paul de (1793-1871) — French novelist and dramatist.—170

Kol, Henri Hubert van (1852-1925) — a founder and leader of the Dutch Social-Democratic Workers’ Party.—477, 499, 501

Kolb, Georg Friedrich (1808-1884) — German politician, journalist and statistician; democrat.—359

Krantz — see Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich

Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich (pseudonym Stepnyak) (1851-1895) — Russian author and journalist, revolutionary Narodnik in the 1870s; an émigré after he took part in the revolutionary action against the police chief in St Petersburg in 1878; lived in England from 1884.—256, 443

Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince (1842-1921) — Russian geographer, geologist and revolutionary; theoretician of anarchism, an émigré in 1876-1917.—431

Krywicki, Ludwik Joachim Franciszek (1859-1941) — Polish anthropologist, sociologist, economist and journalist; professor at Warsaw University; took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s, a translator into Polish and editor of the first volume of Capital; propagated Marxism in Poland.—87, 89

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902) — German physician, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International, Marx’s regular correspondent (1862-74), friend of Marx and Engels.—133, 134

Kuropatkin, Alexei Nikolayevich (1848-1925) — Russian general, took part in the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78) and campaigns to the Central Asia (1879-83).—339

L

Labruyère, Georges de — French journalist, contributed to Le Cri du Peuple.—376
Lafargue (b. 1803) — Paul Lafargue’s mother. — 4


Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis (1790-1869) — French poet, historian and politician, a leader of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Foreign Minister and virtually head of the Provisional Government in 1848. — 24

Lasker, Eduard (1829-1884) — German lawyer, politician, a founder and leader of the National Liberal Party, with-
philosopher of the Enlightenment.—440

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; prosecuted at the Cologne Communist trial in 1852, emigrated to London in 1856, member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864 to 1872), member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—139, 371, 422, 460

Lexis, Wilhelm (1837-1914) — German economist and statistician, professor of economics at the universities of Strasbourg, Dorpat, Freiburg, Breslau and Göttingen (1887-1914).—421, 474, 522

Liebig, Justus, Baron von (1803-1873) — German agrochemist.—107

Liebknecht, Natalie (née Reh) (1835-1909) — Wilhelm Liebknecht’s second wife (from 1868).—495-96, 530, 531, 537

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 First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag from 1874 (with intervals); a founder and leader of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany; editor of Der Volksstaat (1869-76) and the Vorwärts! (1876-78 and 1890-1900); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—5, 14, 16-22, 26, 27, 32, 35, 36, 38, 47, 48, 54, 55, 57, 60, 83-84, 99, 102, 114, 123, 124, 144, 146, 169, 212, 239-41, 243, 245, 253, 258, 275, 284, 285, 290, 303, 307, 339, 340, 353, 359, 361, 362, 365, 366, 377-82, 385, 387, 391, 395, 417, 418, 426, 427, 433, 438, 442, 445, 446, 461, 469, 476, 478-

80, 482, 484, 488, 489, 491, 495, 498-501, 508, 509, 511, 530, 535-38

Lippert, Julius (1839-1909) — Austrian historian and ethnographer.—207

Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier (1838-1901) — French journalist; took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England; wrote Histoire de la Commune de 1871.—288, 376

Longuet, Charles Félix César (1839-1903) — journalist, socialist, member of the General Council of the First International (1866-68 and 1871-72), member of the Paris Commune, later emigrated to England; joined the Possibilists in the 1880s, was elected to the Paris Municipal Council; husband of Marx’s daughter Jenny.—4, 106, 409, 413, 417, 425, 445

Longuet, Edgar (1879-1950) — physician, member of the Socialist Party of France; son of Marx’s daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet.—60, 94, 105, 106, 127, 248

Longuet, Henri (Harry) (1878-1883) — son of Marx’s daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet.—17

Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny) (1876-1938) — lawyer, a leader of the Socialist Party of France, son of Marx’s daughter Jenny and Charles Longuet.—5, 60, 99, 105, 106, 127, 248, 333, 376, 386

Longuet, Jenny (née Marx) (1844-1883) — Karl Marx’s eldest daughter, wife of Charles Longuet from 1872.—47, 226

Longuet, Jenny (1882-1952) — daughter of Jenny and Charles Longuet, granddaughter of Karl Marx.—60, 94, 105, 106, 127, 248

Longuet, Marcel (1881-1949) — son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—60, 94, 105, 106, 127, 248

Lopatin(e), Hermann Alexandrovich (1845-1918) — Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; member of the General Coun-
cil of the First International (1870), a translator of the first volume of Marx's Capital into Russian; friend of Marx and Engels.—4, 59, 60, 65, 93, 100, 129, 260, 319, 349, 401, 525-26

Loria, Achille (1857-1943)—Italian sociologist and economist, professor at Siena, Padua and Turin.—24-25, 226

Louis Bonaparte—see Napoleon III
Louis Napoleon—see Napoleon III
Louis Philippe I (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—221
Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de Paris (1838-1894)—Louis Philippe's grandson, pretender to the French throne under the name of Philippe VII.—519
Loustalot, Élisée (1762-1790)—French journalist, revolutionary democrat, took part in the French Revolution.—95, 122

Lowrey—partner in the firm William Swan Sonnenschein & Co.—480
Lubbock, Sir John, 1st Baron Avebury (1834-1913)—English naturalist, follower of Darwin, wrote on zoology and history of the primitive society.—103

Lüderitz, Franz Adolf Eduard (1834-1886)—merchant from Bremen, an initiator of German expansionism in Africa.—199

Luther, Martin (1483-1546)—prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism).—132

M

Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de (1709-1785)—French sociologist, proponent of utopian egalitarian communism.—95

MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta (1808-1893)—French marshal, senator, Bonapartist, took part in the Crimean, Italian and Franco-Prussian wars; took part in the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—430

Mahon, John Lincoln (1865-1933)—English mechanic; member of the Executive of the Social Democratic Federation (from 1884); member of the Socialist League (from December 1884), and its secretary (from 1885), organised the North of England Socialist Federation (1887).—227-28, 298, 312

Maine, Sir Henry James Sumner (1822-1888)—English lawyer and historian.—179

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the First International and of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868); member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after the Commune was suppressed, emigrated to Italy and later to Switzerland where he joined the anarchists; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France; a Possibilist leader.—64, 68, 74, 96, 108, 368, 430

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—77, 95

Manz-Schäppi, Karl (1856-1917)—German book-binder, Social Democrat; emigrated to Vienna and later to Zurich after the introduction in 1878 of the Anti-Socialist Law.—170, 204

Marat, Jean Paul (1743-1793)—a Jacobin leader in the French Revolution.—399

Mark, von der—see Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig

Marlborough—see Churchill, George Charles Spencer, 8th Duke of Marlborough

Martignetti, Pasquale (1844-1920)—Italian socialist, translated works by Marx and Engels into Italian.—37, 38, 48, 49, 205, 243, 244,
Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898) — Karl Marx’s youngest daughter; took part in the British and international working-class movement in the 1880s-90s; wife of Edward Aveling from 1884; member of the Social Democratic Federation, a founder of the Socialist League (1884); was active in foundation of trade unions of unskilled workers in England in the late 1880s.—3, 5, 6, 14, 31, 39-41, 53, 58-60, 63, 69-71, 74, 76-78, 83, 85, 87-89, 91, 92, 94, 111, 115, 120, 124, 128, 167, 175, 195, 214, 224, 237, 245, 247, 250, 261, 265, 274, 275, 297, 301, 303, 320, 323, 326, 368, 375, 376, 378, 383, 386, 391, 399, 402, 424, 435-37, 443, 458, 461, 469, 478, 482, 489, 494, 498, 500, 506, 508, 524, 527, 537, 540

Marx, Heinrich (1777-1838) — Karl Marx’s father, lawyer, Counselor of Justice in Trier.—29

Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen) (1814-1881) — Karl Marx’s wife.—34, 39, 47, 152


Maurer, Georg Ludwig von (1790-1872) — German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—179, 398

May, Élie Henri (1842-1930) — French socialist, Possibilist; a founder of La Société républicaine d’économie sociale, later supported Boulanger.—368

Mayall — photographer in London.—15, 18

McEnnis, J. T. — correspondent of the Missouri Republican in Saint Louis (USA).—443, 460, 490, 491

Mead, Edward P. — English workers’ poet, contributed to the Chartist newspaper The Northern Star.—92

Mehring, Franz (1846-1919) — German philosopher, historian and journalist, took part in the working-class and socialist movements; author of works on history of Germany and of Social Democracy; biographer of Karl Marx, member of the German Social-Democratic Party (from 1891); permanent contributor to Die Neue Zeit.—253, 255, 316

Meissner, Otto Karl (1819-1902) — Hamburg publisher, published Capital and some other works by Marx and Engels.—17, 20, 26, 40, 60, 76-78, 89, 92, 96, 101, 121, 122, 190, 309, 319, 328, 384, 400, 417, 494, 496

Mendelssohn — bank manager in Berlin.—338

Menger, Anton (1841-1906) — Austrian lawyer and politician, sociologist, professor at Vienna University.—521, 526

Meyer, Mathilde (née Trauow) — wife of Rudolf Hermann Meyer.—507

Meyer, Rudolf Hermann (1839-1899) — German economist and journalist, conservative, biographer of Rodbertus.—54, 79, 101, 138, 250, 375, 483, 507

Michel, Louise (pseudonym Enjolras) (1830-1905) — French teacher, was active in the Paris Commune; supported Blanquists during the Second Empire, was exiled to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Commune; after the 1880 amnesty took part in the working-class movement in France, Belgium and Holland, sided with the anar-
chists; emigrated to England in 1890 where cooperated with Kropotkin.—
41, 404
Mignet, François Auguste Marie (1796-1884) — French historian.— 399
Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich (1842-1904) — Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic, ideologist of liberal Narodism, an editor of the Otechestvennye Zapiski (Fatherland’s Notes) and Russkoye Bogatstvo (Russian Wealth) magazines.— 112
Mignet, Paule (pseudonym Mekarska, Pauline Adèle) (1839-1901) — French journalist, took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to Switzerland after the Commune was suppressed; was active in the French socialist movement after the 1880 amnesty.— 96
Mirkach, Otto von (born c. 1800) — Prussian retired artillery officer; democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising; emigrated from Germany.— 351
Molinari, Gustave de (1819-1912) — Belgian economist, professor at Brussels University; Free Trader; edited Journal des Économistes.— 225
Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von (1800-1891) — Prussian military leader and writer; general, field marshal general from 1871, Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—211
Mommsen, Theodor (1817-1903) — German historian, professor of ancient history at Berlin University (from 1857), wrote on ancient Rome.—207
Money, J. W. B. — 102, 179
Moore, Samuel (1838-1911) — English lawyer; member of the First International, translated into English the first volume of Marx’s Capital (together with Edward Aveling) and the Manifesto of the Communist Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—9, 24, 28, 29, 31, 33, 40, 46, 59, 79, 95, 122, 124, 127-29, 143, 245, 247, 261, 289, 292, 401, 402, 424, 436, 455, 506, 527
Morgan, Lewis Henry (1818-1881) — American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—103, 115, 120, 123, 131-32, 207
Morley, John, Viscount Morley of Blackburn (1838-1932) — English statesman, journalist and historian; Liberal; editor-in-chief of the Fortnightly Review (1867-82), Secretary of State for Ireland (1886 and 1892-95).— 449
Morris, William (1834-1896) — English poet, writer and artist; socialist; a leader of the Socialist League in 1885-89.— 105, 155, 165, 214, 224, 237, 238, 245, 247-48, 376, 427, 431, 438, 443, 446, 471, 484
Most, Johann Joseph (1846-1906) — German book-binder; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); emigrated to England after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in 1878 where he published Die Freiheit, expelled from the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany as anarchist (1880); emigrated to the USA (1882).— 9, 11, 14, 15, 44, 91, 114, 198
Motteler, Julius (1838-1907) — German Social Democrat; deputy to the Reichstag (1874-78, 1903-07); at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law, an émigré in Zurich and later in London; was responsible for transportation of Der Sozialdemokrat and illegal Social-Democratic literature to Germany.— 77, 498
Mozin (c. 1771-1840) — French clergyman, philologist.— 85, 375
Müller, Philipp Heinrich — German Social Democrat, convicted at the Freiberg trial in 1886 for his participation in the illegal party congress at Copenhagen (1883).— 225, 461
N

Napoleon — see Napoleon III
Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821) — Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).— 451, 496
Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte) (1808-1873) — nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).— 51, 237, 330, 513, 514, 518
Nelson, Horatio Nelson, Viscount (1758-1805) — English admiral.— 407
Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela (1846-1919) — a founder of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party (1881), M. P. from 1888, anarchist from the 1890s.— 6, 7, 372, 397-99
Nikitina, Varvara Nikolayevna (née Gendre) (1842-1884) — Russian journalist, lived in Italy from the late 1860s, later in France; contributed to the Justice and Nouvelle Revue.— 5
Nim — see Demuth, Helene
Nonne, Heinrich — German agent provocateur, member of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London, lived in Paris from spring 1883, exposed in 1884.— 96-97, 108-09, 206
Norgate — bookseller in London.— 375
Novikova, Olya Alexeyevna (née Kireyeva) (1840-1925) — Russian journalist, for a long time lived in London, favoured an Anglo-Russian alliance.— 256

O

O’Connell, Daniel (1775-1847) — Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the liberal wing in the national liberation movement; organiser and leader of the Repeal Association (1840).— 422
Oriol, Henri — clerk in Lachâtre’s publishing house in Paris; owner of a printshop which put out socialist literature in Paris (1883-86).— 104

Orléans — branch in the house of Bourbons in France.— 518, 519
Owen, Robert (1771-1858) — English utopian socialist.— 184, 422, 470

P

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount (1784-1865) — British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).— 374
Papritz, Evgenia Eduardovna (Lineva by marriage) (1854-1919) — Russian singer and collector of folk songs; took part in the work of the illegal Moscow Society of Translators and Publishers (1882-84) where some works by Marx and Engels were published in Russian, émigré in 1884-96.— 157, 158
Paquet, Just. — 226
Parker, Sarah — Frederick Engels’ housemaid.— 459
Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846-1891) — Irish politician and statesman, Liberal M. P. (from 1875); leader of Home Rule League (1877-90); President of the Irish Land League (from 1880).— 361, 367, 369
Paul — see Lafargue, Paul
Paul, Kegan (1828-1902) — English publisher.— 31, 33, 40, 128, 143, 313, 405, 423, 437, 450
Pauli, Clara — Philipp Viktor Pauli’s daughter.— 436
Pauli, Philipp Viktor (1836-d. after 1916) — German chemist.— 436
Peabody, George (1795-1869) — American merchant, financier and philanthropist; headed a bank in London (from 1837).— 400
Pearson, Karl (1857-1936) — British mathematician, biologist and philosopher; professor in the University College (London) from 1884.— 543, 548
Pease, Edward Reynolds (1857-1955) — English socialist, a founder
and secretary of the Fabian Society.—392, 393
Peel, Sir Robert (1788-1850)—British statesman, Tory; Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30); Prime Minister (1834-35, 1841-46).—374, 449
Percy—see Rosher, Percy White
Peschier, Charles Jaques (nickname Adolphe) (1805-1878)—professor of French literature at Tübingen; a compiler of the French-German dictionary.—85, 375
Petrarch or Petrarca, Francesco (1304-1374)—Italian poet of the Renaissance.—48
Pfänder, Karl (c. 1819-1876)—German painter, took part in the German and international working-class movement; emigrated to London in 1845; member of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London, of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—468
Pfänder.—447
Philippe VII—see Louis Philippe Albert d’Orléans, comte de Paris
Planteau, François Édouard (b. 1838)—French radical politician; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1885); sided with the socialists (1887-89); follower of Boulanger (from 1889).—409, 414
Platter, Julius (1844-1923)—Swiss economist, professor at Zurich University (1879-84).—458
Plekhanov (Plechanoff), Georgi Valentinovich (1856-1918)—Russian philosopher, propagated Marxism in Russia; founder of the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group (1883).—67, 264, 279-80
Potter, George (1832-1893)—British worker, carpenter; leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers and of the trade union movement; member of the London Trades Council; founder, editor and publisher of The Bee-Hive Newspaper.—320
Powderly, Terence Vincent (1849-1924)—mechanic, a leader of the working-class movement in the USA (1870s-90s); a leader of the Knights of Labor (1879-93); sided with the Republicans in 1896.—532, 541
Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist; founder of anarchism.—102, 105, 117, 156-57, 208, 342, 354, 413, 429, 470
Pumps—see Rosher, Mary Ellen
Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich (1799-1837)—Russian poet.—48
Putnam, George Haven (1844-1930)—owner of a New York publishing house (from 1872); Liberal.—259
Puttkamer, Robert Victor von (1828-1900)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Home Affairs (1881-88).—138, 473
Quarck, Max (pseudonym Freiwald Thürringer) (1860-1930)—German lawyer and journalist; Right-wing Social Democrat; deputy to the German Reichstag (1912-18).—64, 67, 138, 164, 258, 384, 385, 405, 417
Quelch, Harry (1858-1913)—English worker; a leader of the new trade unions; socialist; delegate to international socialist congresses of 1891 and 1893.—123
Rackow, Heinrich (d. 1916)—German Social Democrat; a refugee in London (from 1879); owner of a tobacco shop; member of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London.—118
Radford, Ernest—English lawyer.—40
Rae, John (1845-1915)—English economist and sociologist; contributed to the
Contemporary Review magazine in the 1880s.—398

Ranc, Arthur (1831-1908) — French journalist; moderate Republican; member of the Chamber of Deputies, later senator.—413

Réauchlin, Johann (1455-1522) — German scientist, philologist and lawyer, representative of humanism.—173

Rémillon, Antoine (1832-1898) — French writer and journalist; Left radical; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1881).—292

Ribot, Alexandre Félix Joseph (1842-1923) — French lawyer and statesman; a leader of the right Republicans; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1878); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1890-92); Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1893, 1895).—330

Ricardo, David (1772-1823) — British classical economist.—82, 126, 163, 166, 181, 184, 194, 210, 226

Richter, Eugen (1838-1906) — German politician, leader of the Liberals; a founder of the Party of Progress from March 1884, deputy to the North German (1867) and German Reichstag (1871-1906).—137, 268, 427

Rittinghausen, Moritz (1814-1890) — German journalist and politician, democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; contributed to the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; member of the First International; member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (prior to 1884); deputy to the German Reichstag (1877-78, 1881-84).—21, 209

Rohet, Gustave — French employee; socialist; candidate of the Workers' Party at the municipal elections (July 1887).—96

Roche, Ernest Jean (1850-1917) — French engraver, later journalist; socialist, editor of L'Intransigeant, organised strikes in Anzin (1885) and Decazeville (1886); member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1889), follower of Boulanger in the late 1880s, later sided with the Independent Socialists.—438, 442, 443, 470

Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay (1830-1913) — French journalist and politician; Left-wing Republican; a member of the Government of National Defence after the revolution of 4 September 1870, was exiled to New Caledonia after the suppression of the Paris Commune; escaped to England; returned to France after the 1880 amnesty, published L'Intransigeant; monarchist (from the late 1880s).—435

Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl (1805-1875) — German economist, leader of the Left Centre in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); subsequently theoretician of 'state socialism'.—72, 101, 102, 111, 124-26, 138-39, 154, 156, 163, 166, 175, 176, 187-89, 193-95, 204, 206, 208, 211, 220, 262, 296, 301, 319, 383, 521

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Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig (pseudonym von der Mark) (b. 1850) — American journalist, socialist; secretary of the National Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA and leader of the Lassallean faction in it; expelled from the party in 1889.—72, 86, 91, 124

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Rosher, Percy White—English trader, husband of Mary Ellen Burns from 1881.—5, 45, 59, 71, 78, 143, 171, 174, 178, 263, 273, 303, 315, 357

Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52, 1865-66); Foreign Secretary (1852-53, 1859-65).—217

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Sabor, Adolf (1841-1907)—German teacher; Social Democrat; deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-90).—225

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—184

Sax, Emanuel Hans (pseudonym Fritz Denhardt) (1857-1896)—Austrian economist and poet, contributed to Die Neue Zeit; professor at the agricultural school in Vienna.—57, 79

Schabelitz, Jakob (1827-1899)—Swiss publisher and bookseller.—164, 253, 263, 346

Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich (1831-1903)—German economist and sociologist; armchair socialist.—179, 267

Schattner, Regina—see Bernstein, Regina (Gine)

Schou, Andreas (1844-1927)—a leader in the Austrian and British socialist movement; member of the First International; emigrated to England (1874); a founder of the Social Democratic Federation; member of the Socialist League.—237, 537

Schewitsch, Sergei Yegorovich (1844-1912)—American socialist, Russian by birth; an editor of the New Yorker Volkszeitung (1870s-80s); editor of The Leader (from 1886).—13, 44, 91

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—357

Schippel, Max (1859-1928)—German economist and journalist; follower of Rodbertus; Social Democrat (from 1886); sided with the semi-anarchist group of the 'Young', deputy to the German Reichstag (1890-1905).—163, 165

Schlüter, Friedrich Hermann (1851-1919)—German Social Democrat; head of the Zurich Social-Democratic publishing house (1880s); a founder of the archive of German Social Democracy; emigrated to the USA in 1889; took an active part in the socialist movement; wrote on the history of the British and US working-class movement.—171, 172, 196, 197, 248-49, 251, 263, 286-88, 304-06, 309-10, 322-24, 327-29, 331, 332, 346, 347, 371, 373, 374, 418, 419, 421, 422, 450, 453, 467, 472, 474, 475, 528

Schneeberger, Franz Julius (1827-1892)—Austrian writer and playwright, editor and publisher of the Deutsch-Italienische Korrespondenz.—501


Schormleimer, Ludwig—Carl Schormleimer's brother.—160, 209

Schramm, Carl (Karl) August (1830-1905)—German economist; Social Democrat; an editor of the Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik; withdrew from the working-class
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Schuberth, Julius—German publisher; published the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue in Hamburg in 1850.—261

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883) — German economist and politician; advocated unification of Germany under the Prussian supremacy; a founder of the National Association (1859); a leader of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising cooperative societies.—389

Schumacher, Georg Gerber (1844-1917) — German tanner, later trader; Social Democrat; deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-98); was expelled from the German Socialist Workers' Party (1898) for his adopting liberal stand during the elections to the Reichstag.—209, 352, 427

Schweichel, Robert (pseudonym Rosus) (1821-1907) — German writer, literary critic and journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to Switzerland; active in the working-class movement (from the late 1860s); contributed to Die Neue Zeit and other socialist press.—164

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1875) — German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; edited Der Social-Demokrat (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); expelled from the General Association (1872) for his contacts with the Prussian authorities.—475

Séverine, Caroline Rémy (Guebhard by marriage) (1855-1929) — French journalist, active participant in the socialist movement (1880s); headed Le Cri du Peuple (1886-88); supported Boulanger (from the late 1880s).—376

Shaw, George Bernard (1856-1950) — Irish-English playwright and journalist; a founder of the Fabian Society (1884) and its active member.—207, 238

Shipon, George Ball (1839-1911) — English trade unionist; secretary of the Amalgamated Society of House Painters and Decorators; editor of The Labour Standard (1881-85); secretary of the London Trades Council (1872-96).—72

Simoneau — Radical candidate at the Paris municipal elections in May 1884.—141

Simrock, Karl Joseph (1802-1876) — German poet and philologist.—226

Singh, Paul (1844-1911) — prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member of the German Socialist Workers' Party (from 1878), deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911) and head of its Social-Democratic group (from 1885); member of the party Executive (from 1887) and its chairman (from 1890).—140, 218, 232, 240, 243, 284, 426, 433, 535

Sketchley, John (b. 1822) — English journalist, Chartist and prominent figure in the English socialist workers' movement; member of the Social Democratic Federation and of the Socialist League.—238

Skrebitsky, Alexander Illyich (1827-1915) — Russian liberal historian.—339

Smith, John (Smith-Headingley) — English journalist and socialist; member of the Social Democratic Federation (1880s).—247

Smith, Adolphus (Adolphus) — English journalist and socialist; member of the Social Democratic Federation (1880s).—247

Sonnenheim, William Swan (1855-1931) — English publisher; put out the first English edition of Volume I of Marx's Capital (1887).—421, 449, 450, 460, 473, 480, 484, 494, 521, 524, 527

Sorge, Adolf (1855-1907) — son of Fried-
rich Adolph Sorge, mechanical engineer.—43, 116, 246, 297, 393, 395, 491

Sorge, Friedrich Adolph (Adolf) (1828-1906) —German teacher, prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1852; member of the First International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74); a founder of the Socialist Labor Party (1876); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—10, 13-16, 18, 42, 91, 113-16, 192, 244-46, 295-97, 393-95, 402, 403, 439, 443, 460, 480, 490-93, 531, 534

Sorge, Katharina —Friedrich Adolph Sorge’s wife.—113, 460

Sosnowski, Kasimierz (1857-1930) —Polish engineer, socialist; an organiser of the workers’ societies in Warsaw (late 1870s); an émigré in Paris (from 1881); translated Volume I of Capital into Polish; later withdrew from the revolutionary movement.—89

Sparling, H. Halliday —English journalist; member of the Socialist League (from 1884), an editor of The Commonweal.—535-36

Stanley, Sir Henry Morton (original name John Roselands) (1841-1904) —English journalist; explorer of Africa; head of the English expedition to the Equatorial Africa (1887-89).—192

Staples, John —Lord Mayor of London (1885-86).—534

Stiegemann, Richard —German economist.—266-67, 282

Stephan, Heinrich von (1831-1897) —German statesman; organiser and head of the post and telegraph service in the German Empire.—337

Stephens, Joseph Rayner (1805-1879) —English clergyman; took part in the Chartist movement (late 1830s).—422

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Stiebeling, George —American statistician and journalist; member of the Socialist Labor Party; wrote on economical questions.—114, 296

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882) —chief of the Prussian political police (1852-60); an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); chief of military police and of the German intelligence and counter-intelligence in France during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and the Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars.—305, 329, 344, 346

Stoecker, Adolf (1835-1909) —German clergyman, founder (1878) and leader of the Christian-Social Party; opposed the socialist working-class movement; advocated Anti-Semitism; deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-93 and 1898-1908).—367

Struve, Gustav von (1805-1870) —German journalist, democrat; a leader of the Baden uprising (April-September 1848) and of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849), a leader of the German refugees in England; took part in the US Civil War on the side of the Union, returned to Germany in 1862.—287, 383

Sudeikin, Georgi Porfiryevich (1850-1883) —Russian police officer, inspector of the St Petersburg secret police, assassinated by the Narodnaya Volya members.—74

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Terry, Ellen Alicia (1847-1928) —English actress.—345

Terzaghi, Carlo (b. 1845) —Italian lawyer and journalist; secretary of the Federazione operaia and L’Emancipazione
del proletario societies in Turin; police agent from 1872.—154
Thévenin (d. 1885) — French police commissioner; an organiser of the provocative explosions in Montceau-les-Mines (1884).—265
Thierry, Jacques Nicolas Augustin (1795-1856) — French historian.—226
Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877) — French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); deputy to the Constituent (1848) and Legislative (1849-51) assemblies; head of the Orleanists after 1848; chief of the executive power (1871); dealt brutally with the Paris Communards (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—117, 399, 430
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Tikhomirov (Tichomiroff), Lev Alexandrovich (1852-1923) — Russian journalist, member of the Narodnaya Volya party; monarchist from the late 1880s.—264
Tkachov, Pyotr Nikitich (1844-1886) — Russian revolutionary journalist, ideologist of Narodism (Populism) in Russia.—529
Tschech, Heinrich Ludwig (1789-1844) — Prussian official, democrat; burgomaster of Storkow (1832-41), executed for an attempt on the life of Frederick William IV.—433
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Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett (1832-1917) — English anthropologist, ethnographer and historian of primitive culture, supporter of the evolution doctrine.—103

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Vaillant, Édouard Marie (1840-1915) — French physician and engineer; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72); member of the Paris Municipal Council (from 1884); a founder of the Socialist Party of France (1901).—134, 141, 342, 489
Vaillant, Marie Anne Cécile Ambroisine (née Lachouille) — Édouard Vaillant’s mother.—320
Van Patten, Philipp — American businessman; took part in the American socialist movement; National Secretary of the Workingmen’s Party of North America (from 1876) and Socialist Labor Party (1877-83); later, an official.—9-11, 14
Varenholz, Karl (1838-1930) — English socialist, German by birth; member of the Social Democratic Federation in 1884-85.—265
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Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa (1840-1901) — Queen Victoria’s elder daughter; wife (from 1858) of the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick William.—268
Viereck, Louis (1851-1921) — German publisher and journalist; illegitimate son of the German Emperor William I; Social Democrat; leader of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany (second half of the 1870s); deputy to the Reichstag (1884-87); emigrated to the USA (1890) and withdrew from the socialist movement.—22, 80, 187, 218, 250, 258, 323, 328, 442, 449, 489
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Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von (1850-1922) — German army officer; Social Democrat; a leader of the Right wing in German Social Democracy; an editor of Der Sozialdemokrat (1879-80); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87 and 1890-1918).—184, 185, 433

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Wagner, Adolph (1835-1917) — German economist and politician, professor of political economy and finance; a founder of socio-legal school in political economy; armchair socialist.—138

Wagner, Richard (1813-1883) — German composer, conductor and musical writer.—124, 174, 283

Walther — German physician, acquaintance of the Bebel family.—316

Wattrin (d. 1886) — French engineer, manager of the mines in Decazeville.—409

Watts, John Hunter (1853-1923) — English socialist, a leader of the Social Democratic Federation; later member of the British Socialist Party.—367

Werth, Georg (1822-1856) — German proletarian poet and journalist; member of the Communist League; edited the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49; friend of Marx and Engels.—34, 160, 161, 422, 475

Wegmann — German confectioner, relative of A. Wegmann, a member of the First International.—293

Wehner, J. G.— German refugee in Manchester; Treasurer of the Schiller Institute in the 1860s; Engels' acquaintance.—204

Weiler, G. Adam (1841-1894) — German joiner; refugee in the USA and from 1862 in England; member of the First International (from 1865) and of the British Federal Council (1872-73); member of London Trades Union Council (1872-73) and of the Social Democratic Federation (from 1883).—57

Werder, Bernhard Franz Wilhelm von (1823-1907) — Prussian general and diplomat, military attaché in St Petersburg (1869-86), governor of Berlin (1886-88), ambassador to St Petersburg (1892-95).—467

Wermuth, Karl Georg Ludwig (1804-1867) — chief of police in Hanover; an organiser of and witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1832); in collaboration with Steiber wrote the book Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.—305, 329, 344, 346

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Willich, August (1810-1878) — Prussian army officer; member of the Communist League; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the sectarian group in the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, general in the Northern army during the Civil War.—352

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Wischnewetzky, Lazar — physician, Polish by birth; emigrated to the USA in 1886, member of the Socialist Labor Party, Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky’s husband. — 441, 477, 478
Wiermann, Adolf (1847-1911) — big German merchant; National Liberal; deputy to the Reichstag (1884-90); active participant in the colonial expansionism in Africa. — 199
Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864) — German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League from March 1848; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848-49, took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels. — 309, 324, 328
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Yanson, Yuli Eduardovich (1835-1892) — Russian statistician and economist, professor at St Petersburg University (from 1865) and at some other educational institutions, head of the statistical bureau of the Petersburg municipal board (from 1881); wrote fruitfully on the theory and history of statistics. — 339

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Zasulich (Zasoulitch), Vera Ivanovna (1849-1919) — participant in the Narodnik (from 1868) and later in the Social-Democratic movements in Russia; a founder (1883) and active member of the Emancipation of Labour group. — 63-67, 93, 111-13, 204, 264, 279, 281, 400, 432
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Bürger-Zeitung — a German Social-Democratic newspaper published in Hamburg from 1881 to 1887 under the editorship of Johannes Wedde. — 426, 427

Le Citoyen — a socialist daily published under different titles in Paris from 1881 to 1884; Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Emile Massard, Benoit Malon, Achille Secondigné and others were among its editors. — 96


The Daily News — a liberal daily of the British industrial bourgeoisie published under this title in London from 1846 to 1930. — 57, 64, 227, 326, 417, 448, 467, 474

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Est—a French socialist weekly published in Rheims from 2 December 1883 to 1885.—115

La Démocratie pacifique—a daily published in Paris from 1843 to 1851 under the editorship of Victor Considérant; organ of the Fourierists.—141

Demokratische Blätter—a weekly of the German Party of Progress published in Berlin from 1884 to 1886.—255

Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung—a newspaper founded by the German refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848.—47

Deutsche Worte—a journal on economic, social and political questions published in Vienna from 1881 to 1904; weekly from 1881 to June 1883 and monthly from July 1883.—458

Deutsches Tageblatt—a conservative newspaper published in Berlin from 1881 to 1891.—119

The Echo—a liberal daily published in London from 1868 to 1907.—366, 367, 369


The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal—a liberal literary and political journal published in Edinburgh and London from 1802 to 1929, quarterly in the 1850s.—314

L'Égalité—a socialist paper founded by Jules Guesde in 1877; from 1880 to 1883 it was published in Paris as an organ of the French Workers' Party. It appeared in six series, each with its own subtitle; the first three series were published weekly (113 issues in all), the fourth and fifth, daily (56 issues in all). Of the sixth series only one issue appeared in 1886.—227

L'Explosion. Organe de la lutte pour la vie—an anarchist newspaper published in Carouge (suburb of Geneva) from April 1884.—154

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Le Figaro—a conservative daily published in Paris from 1854; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—119

The Fortnightly Review—a historical, philosophical and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals, subsequently it became liberal in character, under this title was published in London till 1934.—398

Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt—a German democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—207, 302

Freiheit—a German-language weekly of the anarchist Most-Hasselmann group published in London (1879-82), and in New York (1882-1908).—11

Gesellschaftsspiegel. Organ zur Vertretung der besitzlosen Volksklassen und zur Beleuchtung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände der Gegenwart—a German monthly, organ of the 'true Socialists', published under the editorship of Moses Hess in Elberfeld in 1845-46, altogether twelve issues appeared; Frederick Engels was one of its founders.—160
L'Intransigeant—a newspaper published in Paris in 1880-1948; its founder and editor-in-chief was Henri Rochefort (1880-1910); in the 1880s it was a mouthpiece of radical republicans.— 435, 437, 445

Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik—a fortnightly founded in Jena in 1863, came out till 1943.— 522

Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires—a daily published in Paris from 1789 to 1944, was of conservative trend in the 1870s and 1880s.— 330

Journal des Économistes. Revue mensuelle d'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales—a liberal monthly published in Paris from December 1841 to 1943.— 168, 431

Journal de Roubaix. Politique, industriel et commercial—a French Republican daily published in Roubaix from 1856.—129

Justice—a weekly of the Social Democratic Federation published in London from January 1881 to December 1933; appeared under this title in 1884-1925 and then as Social-Democrat Incorporating Justice.—84, 85, 105, 106, 108, 122, 142, 165, 166, 205, 236, 238, 245, 247, 310, 321, 376, 394, 424, 434, 450, 471

La Justice—a daily of the Radical Party published in Paris from 1880 to 1930. In 1880-96, under the leadership of its founder Georges Clémenceau, the paper was the organ of the Left-wing radicals advocating a programme of democratic and social reforms. In 1880 Charles Longuet became its editor.—445-46

Kölnische Zeitung—a daily published under this title in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; it voiced the interests of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie.—52, 192, 213, 231, 254, 329, 391

Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrtten Sachen—a daily published in Berlin from 1785; also known as Vossische Zeitung after its owner Christian Friedrich Voss.—33

The Labour Standard. An Organ of Industry—a trade union weekly published in London from 1881 to 1885.—72

Londoner Zeitung—a German-language weekly published in London from 1870 to 1914.—119

Lyon-Socialiste—a French socialist weekly published in Lyons from September 1884 to 1885.—225

Missouri Republican—a daily of the US Democratic Party; published in St Louis under this title from 1822 to 1888 and as St Louis Republic until 1919.—443, 461


Neue Rheinische Zeitung—see Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie

Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Organ der Demokratie—a daily of the revolutionary proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; was published in
Cologne under Marx’s editorship from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849. Engels was among its editors.—26, 36, 52, 92, 287, 288, 304, 305, 310, 332, 351

_Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue_ — a theoretical journal of the Communist League founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published from March to November 1850.—93, 251, 261, 305

_Die Neue Welt. Illustriertes Unterhaltungsblatt für das Volk_—a German socialist fortnightly published in Leipzig from 1876 to 1881, then in Stuttgart and Hamburg till 1919; Wilhelm Liebknecht was its editor in 1876-80.—7, 160, 165, 173, 174, 309, 324, 363, 498, 502

_Die Neue Zeit_—a theoretical journal of the German Social Democrats; published monthly in Stuttgart from 1883 to October 1890 and then weekly till the autumn of 1923; Engels contributed to it from 1885 to 1895.—26, 27, 57, 103, 121, 132, 135, 137, 144, 153, 163, 164, 189, 204, 212, 220, 250, 274, 307, 385, 448, 458, 509, 527


_The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review_—a liberal review published in London from 1877 to 1900.—8

_The Northern Star_—central organ of the Chartists, published weekly from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, and, from November 1844, in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O’Connor. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—337, 442

_La Nouvelle Revue_—a French republican journal founded by Juliette Adam and published in Paris from 1879.—431

_The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review_—a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920, in the 1860s and 1870s pursued a conservative line; Marx and Engels maintained contacts with it from July 1870 to June 1871.—256, 367

_Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender_—a German-language annual published by the Socialist Labor Party in New York in 1883-1904.—440

_Progress. A Monthly Magazine_—a monthly on science, politics and literature published in London from 1883 to 1887; Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling contributed to it.—7, 71, 74, 75

_Recht voor Allen_—a Dutch socialist newspaper founded by Ferdinand Nieuwenhuis in Amsterdam in 1879 and published till 1900.—6

_The Republican_—British journal of radical trend published in London under this title between 1880 and 1886 and as _The Radical_ from 1886 to 1889.—7

_La République Française_—a radical daily founded by Léon Gambetta and published in Paris from 1871 to 1924.—398-99

_Révolutions de Paris_—a revolutionary-democratic weekly published in Paris from July 1879 to February 1894; till September 1890 the paper was edited by Élisée Loustalet.—95, 122

_Revue philosophique de la France et de l’étranger_—a monthly journal published in Paris from 1876.—431
Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform — a German magazine, organ of the 'true Socialists', published by Hermann Püttmann; the magazine carried Engels' Elberfeld speeches. — 475

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El Socialista — a weekly of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Spain, published in Madrid from 1885. — 462

Le Socialiste. Organe du Parti ouvrier — a French weekly founded by Jules Guesde in Paris in 1885, appeared with intervals till September 1890; press organ of the Workers’ Party up to 1902. — 368, 373, 374, 424, 437, 462, 492

Le Soir — a daily published in Paris from 1867 to 1932. — 53


Der Sozialist — a German-language weekly published in New York from 1885 to 1892, organ of the Socialist Labor Party. — 295-97, 303, 415, 440, 443, 461, 462, 491, 533

The Standard — a conservative daily published in London from 1827 to 1916. — 64, 79, 87, 134, 417, 434, 466, 486


Süddeutsche Post. Unabhängiges demokratisches Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke — a German democratic newspaper published three times a week in Munich from 1869 to 1884. — 137

The Times — a conservative daily founded in London in 1785 under the title Daily Universal Register; appears as The Times from 1788. — 64


Le Travailleur — a French socialist weekly published in Saint-Pierre-le-Calais (suburb of Calais) and founded by Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville. — 91, 94, 115

Volksfreund. Organ der Social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei Oesterreichs — an Austrian socialist newspaper founded in Brünn in 1881.— 462

Volks-Kalender — a Social-Democratic miscellany published in Brunswick from 1875 to 1878; its editor-in-chief and publisher was Wilhelm Bracke.— 373-74, 494

Der Volksstaat — central organ of Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876, first twice a week, and, from 1873, three times a week; a new subtitle Organ der Sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands was introduced in 1875.— 253, 529

Volkszeitung — see New Yorker Volkszeitung

Volks-Zeitung. Organ für jedermann aus dem Volke — a liberal daily published in Berlin from 1853 to 1897 (under this title to 1889).— 316, 323

Vorwärts. Central-Organ der Socialdemokratie Deutschlands — a newspaper published in Leipzig from October 1876 to October 1878. It appeared as a result of the merger of Neuer Sozialdemokrat and the Volkstaat. The publication was stopped when the Anti-Socialist Law was introduced.— 253

Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift — a German-language newspaper published in Paris from January to December 1844 twice a week.— 47

Vossische Zeitung — see Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen

Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung. Den Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidmet — a weekly supplement to the New Yorker Volkszeitung.— 114, 246, 402

Отечественная записка (Fatherland's Notes) — a literary and socio-political monthly published in St Petersburg from 1868 to 1884 when it was closed down by the government.— 112

Северный вестник (Northern Herald) — a literary, scientific and political monthly of a liberal Narodnik trend (up to mid-1891) published in St Petersburg from 1885 to 1898.— 322, 347

Слово (The Word) — a Russian liberal literary and scientific monthly published in St Petersburg from 1878 to April 1881.— 112

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