Dear Kautsky,

At last a few minutes in which to write to you. The damned congress and everything connected with it has taken up all my time for the past 3 months; there’s the devil of a lot of writing, running about and slaving to do, and nothing comes of it but vexation, trouble and strife. At St Gallen, our worthy Germans imagined, as they have done ever since, that they only had to convok a congress for it to happen—*jehi ŏr, vajehi ŏr*! (get Adler to tell you what that means). Having *themselves* got over their internal quarrels, they imagined that love and friendship, peace and harmony, prevailed throughout the socialist world, and it never occurred to them that convoking a congress would mean either submitting to the Brousse-Hyndman alliance or else combating it. Now, however, having had ample experience they still seem to be somewhat in the dark and flatter themselves with dreams of the merger of both congresses at the instant of meeting; thus they abjure the only mode of combat capable of bringing this about, namely snarling defiance at Brousse and Hyndman. Anyone who knows anything about these men is aware that they will only cede to force and regard every concession as a sign of weakness. Instead, Liebknecht demands that we treat them considerately, not only handling them with kid gloves but even going so far as to give them a helping hand. Liebknecht has made a mess of the whole business. The

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*a let there be light: and there was light* (Genesis, 1.3)
Hague Conference, described over here as a *caucus* by Hyndman because he wasn’t invited (which in itself was a stupidity), could, in the absence of the Possibilists, only acquire significance and become something more than a *caucus* if other signatures—those of the Austrians, Scandinavians, etc.—had been secured after the event. That would also have brought pressure to bear on the Belgians. Nothing of the kind, indeed nothing whatsoever, was done; the Hague business, which had been a good start, was also, it seemed, to be the *finish*. Well, after the Possibilists’ refusal, the Belgians dragged their feet, refused to reply and eventually said that they wanted to leave the decision to *their* congress on 21 April. Instead of sending somebody to force the Belgians to give a prompt yes or no and then induce the others to act accordingly, they allowed everything to slide. Liebknecht made commemorative speeches in Switzerland and, when we let fly over here—at a crucial moment so far as this country was concerned—, he began to fume, alleging that we had infringed the secrecy agreed upon in regard to the Hague resolutions (secretly it would have been madness to observe *after* the Possibilists’ refusal, and of which, moreover, we *knew nothing*), that we had frustrated, etc., his move to bring the Possibilists over to our side over the heads of Brousse, etc. (!). And when, at *our* instigation, the English—discontented Trades Unionists—, sought information from Belgium, Holland, Germany and Denmark about the position as regards *our* congress, they got nothing but vague, noncommittal replies and, needless to say, came down in favour of the men who knew their own minds, the Possibilists. So months were spent dithering and dawdling while the Possibilists swamped the whole world with their circulars, until in the end people lost patience, even in the German camp, and insisted on attendance at the Possibilist congress. This made its mark and, 24 hours after we over here had told the French that the resolutions of the Belgian congress had set them at liberty to do as they pleased, and that they, too, could convoke their congress for the 14th of July,—24 hours later, up comes Liebknecht with this self-same and hitherto so hotly contested proposal. The fact of the matter is that, if he is to be capable of reaching a bold decision, he must first get himself into a complete and utter mess.

But now it is, in many ways, too late. *Over here* the battle has been lost all along the line because we were left in the lurch at the crucial moment. People who sympathised with us could count themselves lucky to be selected—to go to the *other*, Possibilist congress. In Belgium, thanks to those intriguers in Brussels, the Possibilists have all
but gained the upper hand; Anseele, in other respects a good chap, seems anxious to avoid a breach with the Brussels lot. And even the Danes seem to be wavering, and they’ll be followed by the Swedes and Norwegians, who admittedly do not yet count for very much, but nevertheless represent 2 nations. When one considers the way in which Liebknecht has so utterly compromised, if not actually in part ruined, the magnificent international position enjoyed by the Germans, it’s enough to drive one mad.

Close alliance with the Austrians; the Americans up till now merely a branch of the German party; the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Swiss as it were offshoots of the Germans; the Dutch a reliable intermediary for the West; add to that, German colonies everywhere and the non-Possibilist French almost wholly dependent on their alliance with the Germans; likewise the Slav colonies and refugees in the West, who have also been gravitating towards the Germans ever since the fiasco of the anarchists:—what a magnificent position it is! And all this placed in jeopardy by Liebknecht’s illusion that he only has to open his mouth for all Europe to dance to his tune, and that, unless he gives the order to advance, the enemy won’t do anything either. And, thanks to Bebel’s comprehensible but most regrettable ignorance of foreign affairs, Liebknecht has had a pretty free hand. If things go wrong, it will be he who is to blame because of his failure to do anything (save intrigue) and his failure to make a public stand between the time of the Possibilists’ refusal early in March and the Belgian congress on 22 April.

However, I think all may yet be well, provided we all of us pull together. If we can win over the Danes, we shall carry the day—but it so happens that it’s only from Germany—i.e. through Liebknecht—that influence can be brought to bear on them. Yet it’s absolutely maddening that we should have got into this frightful predicament at all, when swift action in March and early April must have secured us the whole of Europe. The Possibilists acted, whereas Liebknecht not only failed to act, but also made it impossible for anyone else to do so—the French might not lift a finger, come to any decision, issue a circular or convolve a congress—until it finally dawned on him that for the past six weeks the Brussels people had been leading him by the nose and that the effect of the Possibilists’ activities, in contrast to his own masterly inactivity, was to make his own Germans desert him. And on top of all that there was the business of that scoundrel Schlesinger. He, Liebknecht, has appealed to my better feelings, saying that the least public move might
ruin him, load him with debts to the tune of 6,000 marks and force him to emigrate to America. In these circumstances I shall wait—or so I think just now at any rate—until the whole thing has been published, and then see what ought to be done. However, the business is most compromising so far as he’s concerned, and if he imagines he can simply get away with allowing his name to be attached to anything so unsavoury, he’s in for a surprise. Would you be so kind as to send me the next instalments? The rascal’s overweening arrogance is only matched by his crass ignorance. You’re perfectly right; if Liebknecht’s name didn’t feature on it, it would simply be a joke.

What is Louise doing? Is she still busily engaged in helping to multiply the human species? I trust she is well and happy and that she got through her last exam. Nim and I send her our love. Presumably she will now be able to take a bit of a rest.

I have had to give up smoking because of its effect on my nerves and more especially on my heart, which is otherwise very sound. I have also got to cut down my drinking a lot, its effect being more marked when the nerves are disordered. I am taking sulphonylal to help me sleep, and spend a lot of time in the open air in Hampstead and Highgate. That, too, is time-consuming. If only the damned congress were over, so that one didn’t have to plough through so many newspapers; it prevents me from doing anything else and, when I do at last get round to some sensible reading, my eyes are too tired and I have to turn to some other occupation. The doctor tells me my eyes won’t ever be quite right again, though it’s nothing serious, only a constant nuisance—i.e. having to restrict the time I spend reading and writing.

Tussy now uses a machine with keys for writing with.

Kindest regards from Nim and

Your

F. E.

*Maximilian Schlesinger*
London, 21 May 1889
122 Regent’s Park Road, N. W.

Mr A. F. Robinson
47 Little George St. Hampstead Road

Sir,

As I am informed that you are now in good work and well able to repay gradually the 25sh. I advanced to you, and Mr Lahr your neighbour is out of work, I request you to pay the above money to him in such weekly payments as you may agree amongst yourselves and as are reasonable, and I shall consider their receipt—Mr and Mrs Lahr’s—for the money as good as my own.

I am, Sir,
Yours respectfully
F. Engels

Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time
Never mind the content, however colourless and devoid of rhetorical flourishes—it’s the signatures that count. If it reaches us within the next eight or ten days, it will mean victory for us here, otherwise we shall lose the battle for the second time, and this time it will be the Parisians’ fault. It is really so difficult to write a circular anyone can sign?

Herewith *Justice* with a manifesto* of which the fury and bare-faced mendacity betray all too plainly the effect created here by the Convocation,*\(^\text{414}\) even at this late hour. The Social Democratic Federation,*\(^\text{62}\) you see,—or rather Hyndman—are well aware that what is at stake is their position over here, and likewise that of the Possibilists in France. We shall, of course, reply. But if we could append to our flysheet the Convocation with the foreign signatures, the effect would be tremendous.

The Convocation has appeared in *Commonweal*,\(^\text{b}\) and Morris has come out openly in support of our congress. In the *Labour Elector* W. Parnell, a delegate to the London congress\(^\text{320}\) and a very good and capable chap—a worker—says he has got copies of the Convocation for anybody who may want one.\(^\text{443}\) A very good acquisition. Tussy has arranged a meeting for tomorrow at which Bernstein (over here we call him Ede, so if I happen to use that name, you will know whom I mean) will meet Burns, Tom Mann and other influential working men. Burns has been nominated for the Possibilist congress by his branch. It will be a very good thing to have men of that stamp at the Possibilist congress, supposing we cannot have them at our own.

The *Star* has not yet printed Okecki’s letter,\(^\text{c}\) but only Bax’s on Vaillant.\(^\text{d}\) We shall remind him\(^\text{e}\) about the former. As he wishes to promote the sale of his paper in Paris, we shall give him introductions to the radical Socialists of the Municipal Council, Longuet, Daumas, etc. What does Okecki say in his letter? Does he deny *outright* the imputation that Boulé accepted Boulangist money? You cannot conceive the importance—both to ourselves and to you—of this English daily, nor how much it would repay the trouble of getting it out of Hyndman’s clutches.

The manifesto in *Justice* claims that Farjat voted for the Possibilist congress (at the London congress). This cannot be true! I am asking him

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*\(^\text{a}\) ‘Manifesto of the Social-Democratic Federation. Plain Truths about the International Congress of Workers in Paris in 1889’, *Justice*, No. 280, 25 May 1889 — *b* on 25 May (see Note 414) — *c* See this volume, p.316— *d* The *Star*, 22 May 1889 — *e* Henry William Massingham
by this post to send us a letter we can publish. But no, on second thoughts, I haven’t got his address, and the man I had in mind was Fréjac of Commentry and not Farjat. So you would be doing us a great service if you could obtain a letter of this kind for us, and as soon as possible, for over here there’s no time to be lost if we are not to lose our public.

I have written to Denmark to find out what is holding things up there—but my correspondent belongs to the radical opposition and not to the moderates who lead the party. We have also written to Bebel, telling him how important it is to secure the Danes who, in turn, will be followed by the Swedes and Norwegians, and have suggested that one of the Germans should go there in person if things don’t go well.

And now, my dear Lafargue, make haste with the Convocation, signed by everybody concerned. It is the only effective way of stifling all the calumnies and lies put about by the others. And it is most important for the countries still hesitating that they should get it before they have made up their minds. Liebknecht, with his irresolution and dilatoriness, has cost us many a position; do not follow his example. For of one thing you may be certain—if you cause us to lose another battle by what others can only regard as incomprehensible delays, we over here shall be fully justified in losing patience and leaving you to ‘shift for yourselves’. It is impossible to help people unless they are willing to help themselves just a little. So send out a circular of some sort, but not one liable to arouse opposition, to the Parties abroad without further delay, collect the signatures and have the thing printed, or send it to us for that purpose—with an English translation by Laura to save time. The prospects are so good, if only the lot of you would deign to put first things first, setting aside all petty rivalries and matters of detail. Don’t ruin your own congress, don’t be more German than the Germans.

Love to Laura,
Yours ever,
F. E.

Herewith Justice and Commonweal.

First published in: Marx and Engels, Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, Moscow, 1940 Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

\[ ^a \text{Gerson Trier} \]
My dear Lafargue,

From a letter written by Guesde to Bonnier I learn that the Convocation with the foreign signatures has gone to the printers. You may add:

K. Cunningham-Graham, English Member of Parliament, and, unless you hear to the contrary by telegram on Monday, also

W. Parnell
Tom Mann

The latter have not given their official assent. Bernstein saw them this morning, as also Graham and Burns, when the latter declared his intention of disassociating himself entirely from the Social Democratic Federation, saying that he is sick and tired of the underhand methods of Hyndman, who has ruined the Federation, that the circulation of Justice has dropped from 4,000 to 1,400 etc. Although elected to the Possibilist congress by his branch, he is going to support our line. How he can best set about doing so is still under discussion.

Send a copy of the Convocation as soon as possible.

Yours ever,

F. E.


Printed according to the original

Translated from the French
My dear Lafargue,

By the same post I am sending you the report on the Alliance. Would you also like to have the Fictitious Splits?

Send me the article for the Russian review, and I’ll send it on to Danielson.

Since Lavrov has turned coy, write to N. Axelrod, Kephir-Anstalt, Hirschengraben, Zurich and ask him to get you, besides his own, the signatures of Vera Zasulich (since you haven’t got her address), and those of G. Plekhanov and other Russian Marxists. That will astound our worthy eclectic.

The English Convocation is already at the printers; tomorrow I shall have the proofs, and distribution will begin the day after.

Parnell has refused his signature as a private person, but has given it in his capacity as the HONORARY SECRETARY of the LABOUR ELECTORAL ASSOCIATION.

Since you must have received this signature, together with those of its other members (Champion, Mann, Bateman), I did not telegraph you, for you would, of course, take the signatures as sent to you direct, and not from my letter.

The reason is that he is being sent by his TRADES UNION (cabinet makers) to the Possibilist congress, where he and Burns will support our line. If the Possibilists oppose their proposal for a merger, they might even part company with them and join us. But that is, as yet, the music of the future.

If I seemed insistent, it was because of the contradictory information that was coming in from Paris, and because I didn’t know whether or

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not agreement had been reached as to the text of the Convocation. But now things will get going over here as well.—It will be a thunderbolt.

Your tactics are best, more especially since you haven’t got a paper and since everyone in France has already taken sides. Here, where not a few are still sitting on the fence and where, in addition, we must try and shake the faith of those who have already gone over to the enemy—and it can be done—we must go into the attack.

Tomorrow I shall at least, I hope, be able to put in a little anti-Hyndman work\textsuperscript{450}; today, all my time has been taken up with arrangements for the English Convocation and with running errands.

The letter from Lyons was in the enclosed envelope. I sent it to you so that you might decipher the name and address of the signatory for me.\textsuperscript{416} It contained a request for copies of my writings. However, you appear to have received my accompanying letter asking you to enlighten me on the above.

Yours ever,
In haste F. E.

Farjat must let us have a definite yea or nay—perhaps he had left before the vote was taken?\textsuperscript{444}
failure to call; I can only assume, however, that he forced your hand by the uncouthness of his behaviour vis-à-vis yourself.

The mood re the congress in which you wrote your letter was also mine from mid-March until nearly mid-May. Now, miraculously, all is saved, as you will see from the second circular we sent you containing the convocation with signatures from almost everywhere in Europe (brought up to date in the appendix to Bernstein’s No. II, sent off today).

The first pamphlet, signed by Bernstein, was edited by me, like everything else that appeared in English on the subject. Such of it as you are able to find fault with was necessary from a local point of view. Particularly the explanations concerning the Possibilists which you see as attacks. But most necessary of all was the publication of the Hague resolutions which, in their wisdom, the chaps at The Hague had decided to keep secret, and ad infinitum at that. Fortunately no one either here or in Paris knew of this canny decision and we therefore let fly, since the Possibilists and their supporters over here were daily harping on those very resolutions, telling the most whopping lies about them, etc.

Prompt action ought, of course, to have been taken after the Possibilists’ refusal. But the Belgians, who were, after all, supposed to be convoking the congress along with the Swiss, didn’t lift a finger—they wanted to put the matter off until their congress at Easter in Jolimont, and take refuge behind such resolutions as might be adopted there. And of the Swiss, Scherrer, too, was a wee bit dilatory on the pretext that, with Liebknecht’s assent, he would lure the bulk of the Possibilists onto our side ‘over the heads of Brousse & Co.’! Liebknecht, however, was making commemorative speeches in Switzerland, and Bebel was insufficiently acquainted with the terrain to go ahead independently in his absence.

The real battlefield was here. The impact of Bernstein’s pamphlet No. I here was that of a thunderbolt. People realised they had been outrageously hoodwinked by Hyndman & Co. Had our congress been convoked straight away, they would all have rallied to us, and Hyndman and Brousse would have found they were on their own. The discontented elements in the Trades Unions here appealed to us, to the Germans, the Dutch, the Belgians and the Danes. But from no one did they obtain any information about our congress—when, where or how it would be held. Their main concern, however, was with opposing Broadhurst, Shipton & Co. by sending delegates to a congress, no matter
which, and they therefore came down in favour of the one that had been convoked.

Thus, step by step, we lost ground here, and our foothold in this country’s radical press grew distinctly precarious, on top of which came the resolution of the Belgian congress whereby one delegate was to be sent to each of the two congresses. And, even in the German party press, Auer and Schippel declared themselves in favour of attending that of the Possibilists, if only to show that the Germans weren’t Francophobes and chauvinists. In short, I gave the thing up for lost, at any rate so far as England was concerned.

However, I at once wrote to the French (who from the start had insisted that the congress must be held on 14/21 July, alongside that of the Possibilists, if it was to be worth holding at all) and told them that the Belgian resolution had restored their liberty of action and that they should immediately convoke the congress for that time. And Monsieur Liebknecht, galvanised by Auer’s and Schippel’s articles, tendered the same advice to the French, having suddenly discovered that he had been dragging his feet long enough and rapid action was now called for. The convocation followed—and the impact it made exceeded all expectations. Letters of adhesion came flooding in and continue to do so. And even over here we have scored more than a succès d’estime, while the sensation created by the publication of the signatures has still not died down. Even in this country everything outside the (very down-at-heel) Social Democratic Federation is ours, as is, morally speaking, part of what’s still inside it. For John Burns, the socialist London County Councillor, is probably going to resign, along with the entire Battersea Branch and may already have done so. He and Parnell (who signed our circular) have already been selected as delegates to the Possibilist congress and, while there, will be working for us.

With the exception of the Social Democratic Federation, the Possibilists haven’t got a single socialist organisation anywhere in Europe. Hence they are falling back on the nonsocialist Trades Unions and would do anything in the world to get hold of even the old Trades Unions, Broadhurst and Co., but the latter had their fill of that last November here in London. From America they’ll be getting one Knight of Labor.

The point of all this—and the reason why I’ve thrown myself into it as I have done—is that what we are now witnessing is the re-enactment

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a See this volume, pp.332-3  – b See this volume, p.311
of the old rift in the International, the old battle of the Hague.\textsuperscript{453} The antagonists are the same, save only that the anarchist flag has been exchanged for the Possibilist—principles sold to the bourgeoisie in return for concessions on minor points, more particularly in return for well-paid positions for the leaders (Municipal Council, Labour Exchange, etc.). And the tactics are identical. The manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation, which has clearly been written by Brousse, is a new version of the Sonvillier circular.\textsuperscript{454} And Brousse knows it full well: He still uses the same lies and calumnies in attacking \textit{le Marxisme autoritaire}, and Hyndman apes him—his chief sources of information about the International and Marx's political activities being the malcontents of the General Council here, i.e. Eccarius, Jung and Co.

The alliance between the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation was meant to constitute the nucleus of the new International which was to be founded in Paris—with the Germans as the third party in the alliance,\textsuperscript{a} provided they toed the line, otherwise in opposition to them. Hence the series of little congresses, each one larger than the last, hence the aloofness towards all other French and English tendencies, which were treated as though nonexistent by the allies, and hence the clique-forming, notably with the small nations, which had also been the mainstay of Bakunin. But these goings-on were rudely interrupted when the Germans naively—and in absolute ignorance of what was happening elsewhere—also entered the congress stakes with their St Gallen resolution.\textsuperscript{178} And since the fellows preferred to oppose rather than co-operate with the Germans—whom they regarded as altogether too Marxified—a struggle was inevitable. But you have no idea how naïve the Germans are. I had to go to immense pains to make even Bebel see what was really at stake, although the Possibilists are very well aware of, and constantly proclaim, it. And because of all these mistakes I had little hope that things would turn out well, that the immanent reason, which throughout this affair has gradually been gaining awareness of itself, would triumph so soon. I am all the more glad to receive proof that what happened in 1873 and 1874 is no longer possible today.\textsuperscript{455} The Intriguers have already been beaten, and the significance of the congress—whether or not it absorbs the other—lies in the fact that the concord of the socialist parties of Europe will be plain for all the world to see, while the handful of Intriguers, should they refuse to toe the line, will be left out in the cold.

\textsuperscript{a} An allusion to the phrase 'der dritte im Bunde' in Schiller's poem \textit{Die Bürgschaft}
Otherwise the congress is of no great significance. I, of course, shall not attend it, being unable to throw myself into agitation again for any length of time. But if the chaps are intent on playing at congresses once more, it's better that these shouldn't be directed by Brousse and Hyndman. For it is high time a spoke was put in their wheel.

I am curious to see what effect Bernstein's No. II will have. Let's hope it will be the concluding document in this affair.

In other respects, things here are so-so. I have had to give up smoking because of its effect on my nerves, and this has cost me surprisingly little effort; every 2 or 3 days I smoke about one-third of a cigarette, but next year I think I shall take it up again. Sam Moore is going to Africa as Chief Justice in the Niger territory. Leaves Liverpool next Saturday and will come back for six months after serving a year and a half; will translate Volume III of Capital while out there. Kind regards to your wife,

Your

F. Engels

Printed according to the original
Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von
Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen,
Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F.
A. Sorge und Andere, Stuttgart, 1906

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 11 June 1889

My dear Laura,

At last, I can find a few minutes for a quiet chat with you. And first of all let me thank you for your charming invitation to Le Perreux for the

*of Capital
Congress. But I am afraid I shall have as yet to delay accepting it. There are two things which I avoid visiting on principle, and only go to on compulsion: congresses and exhibitions. The din and throng of your ‘world’s fair’, a to speak the slang of the respectable Britisher, is anything but an attraction for me, and from the Congress I must keep away in any case; that would launch me in a new agitation campaign, and I should come back here with a load of tasks, for the benefit of a variety of nationalities, that would keep me busy for a couple of years. Those things one cannot decline at a congress, and yet I must, if the 3rd volume b is to see the light of day. For more than 3 months I have not been able to look at it, and it is too late now to begin before the holidays I intend taking; nor am I sure that my congress troubles are quite over. So if I do not come over to Le Perreux this year, aufgeschoben ist nicht aufgegeben, c but this summer I shall take a little rest in a quiet seaside place and try to put myself in condition again to be able to smoke a cigar which I have not done for more than two months, about a gramme of tobacco every other day being as much as I can stand—but I sleep again, and a moderate drink does no longer affect me unpleasantly.

Here is a bit of news for Paul; Sam Moore gives us tonight a parting dinner, he sails on Saturday for the Niger, where, at Asâba, in the interior of Africa, he will be Chief Justice of the Territories of the Royal Niger Company, Chartered and Limited, with six months’ leave to Europe every other year, good pay, and the expectation of returning in 8 years or so an independent man. It was chiefly in honour of Paul d that he consented to become Lord Chief Justice of the Niger Niggers, the very cream of Nigritian e Niger Niggerdom. We are all very sorry to lose him, but he has been looking out for some thing of the sort for more than a year and this is an excellent place. He owes his appointment not only to his legal qualifications, but very much, also, to his being an accomplished geologist and botanist and ex-volunteer officer—all qualities very valuable in a new country. He will have a botanical garden, and make a meteorological station; his judicial duties will mainly consist in punishing German smugglers of Bismarck’s potato spirit and of arms and ammunition. The climate is far better than its reputation, and his medical examination was highly satisfactory, the doctor telling him he would have a better chance than young men who kill themselves—out of pure

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a The Paris Great Fair  
b of Capital  
c postponed does not mean cancelled  
d An allusion to Paul Lafargue’s black extraction  
e Former name of West Sudan
ennui—with whisky and black harems. Thus when the 3rd volume comes out, a portion, at least, of it will be translated in Africa as I shall send him the advance sheets.

To return to our beloved congress. I consider these congresses to be unavoidable evils in the movement; people will insist on playing at congresses, and though they have their useful demonstrative side, and do good in bringing people of different countries together, it is doubtful whether le jeu vaut la chandelle when there are serious differences. But the persistent efforts of the Possibilists and Hyndmanites to sneak into the leadership of a new International, by means of their congresses, made a struggle unavoidable for us, and here is the only point in which I agree with Brousse: that it is the old split in the International over again, which now drives people into two opposite camps. On one side the disciples of Bakunin, with a different flag but with all the old equipment and tactics, a set of intriguers and humbugs who try to ‘boss’ the working class movement for their own private ends; on the other side the real working-class movement. And it was this, and this alone that made me take the matter up in such good earnest. Debates about details of legislation do not interest me to such a degree. But the position reconquered upon the Anarchists after 1873 was now attacked by their successors, and so I had no choice. Now we have been victorious, we have proved to the world that almost all Socialists in Europe are ‘Marxists’ (they will be mad they gave us that name!) and they are left alone in the cold with Hyndman to console them. And now I hope my services are no longer required.

As they have nobody to come to them, they fall back upon non-Socialist or half-Socialist Trades Unions and thus their congress will have a quite distinct character from ours. That makes the question of fusion a secondary one; two such congresses may sit side by side, without scandal.

My dear Laura, I was going to write a lot more, but I cannot see hardly, it is so foggy, and thus I had to interrupt for brighter intervals, until now it is post-time. So I can but enclose the cheque £10.—about which Paul writes.

As to money for Congress, the Germans ought to do something—if I can, will write to Paul about that tomorrow.

Ever yours
F. Engels

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a the game is worth the candle — b See this volume, p.341
Dear Sir,

A thousand apologies for having been so thoroughly remiss in answering the inquiry in your esteemed letter of 15 April. Contrary to my intentions I have got involved in the debate over the international congress and have thus taken upon myself a great deal of work, correspondence, running about, etc., which unfortunately has meant my neglecting a mass of other things, among them many letters, which remain unanswered.

So as not to keep you waiting a moment longer, I must inform you that I have not seen the pamphlet in question since the time it appeared in Cologne, nor, to my knowledge, is there a copy among Marx's papers. The pamphlet came out shortly before the trial began and I have never heard of a second part. Something of that kind would probably have been advertised in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung but all I can find there is the announcement, which first appeared on 9 July 1848, of this one pamphlet, described as Part I; the proceedings began on 5 August. There are no advertisements for a second part in the intervening numbers and I feel sure it never appeared. After his acquittal Lassalle would have had no cause to continue with a critique whose sole purpose had been to secure that acquittal.193

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193 Lassalle [Ferdinand], Der Criminal-Prozeß wider mich wegen Verleitungen zum Cassetten-Diebstahloder: Die Anklage der moralischen Mitschuld
I am most anxious to see that piece of yours, which has found a berth at last. I shan’t be able to read the article on Kant in the Vossische until after the post has gone, so for the present I can do no more than say how very grateful I am to you for sending it.

If you join the Vossische and are required to belabour the East, the Standard is the only paper I would commend to your attention. Of all the London and, possibly, European, papers (a few in Hungary excepted), none is better informed on the East in so far as Russia’s interests are concerned. A day or two ago, for example, it was first with the news of Russia’s little scheme, which has now re-emerged into the light of day, for a greater Serbian empire under the Prince of Montenegro—a little scheme whose furtherance has, for the present, been entrusted by the Russian government to the pan-Slav Comité so that, depending on circumstances, the former can either itself pursue it, or shelve it again for a while; 2., with the news of the secret agreement between Tsar and Shah whereby Persia would not grant railway, shipping, etc., concessions without Russia’s approval and, in case of war, would place Khorassan at the Russians’ disposal (i.e. make possible their strategic encirclement of Afghanistan). Months often go by without anything of this kind appearing in the Standard, but then the disclosures usually come thick and fast. The Standard is supplied with the stuff by Russophobes in the Conservative Party, the army and the Indian Civil Service.

I fear that, once Russia has fixed up the conversion of her debt and acquired thereby a financial status she has never enjoyed before, the pan-Slav party on the one hand and, on the other, the need to provide employment for the army (whose younger, educated officers are without exception constitutionalists, hence far in advance of the Prussians), thus keeping its mind off political conspiracies, will precipitate the Russian government into war. What will happen then, no one can tell; the old oracle of Delphi comes to mind: Croesus by crossing the Halys will ruin a mighty realm.

In any event much will be destroyed in the process, including, perhaps, the German army, provided a certain conceited young rascal is given a bit of time to disorganise it.

Meanwhile there has also been the splendid business of the coalminers’

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Conrad Schmidt, Die Durch Schnittsprofitrate auf Grundlege des Marx’schen \textit{werthgesetzes} – Alexander III – Nasr-ed-Dir – William II}
\end{itemize}
strike,\textsuperscript{435} which illuminated the whole situation like a flash of lightning. That's three army corps that have come over to us.

So until my next and with best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

First published in \textit{Sozialistische Monatshefte}, No. 17, 1920
Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE\textsuperscript{87}

AT LE PERREUX

London, 15 June 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I have written and told Bebel\textsuperscript{458} that your contributions are coming in rather slowly, and that you are hard put to it to obtain adequate funds for the congress, etc. I explained to him the reasons (your numerical weakness in Paris, the necessity for the provincials to scrape up their funds for their delegations, the habitual sluggishness of the French in paying contributions, etc.) and I suggested that here was an opportunity for the German Party to make a grant \textit{as a good international investment}. You would be well-advised to ginger up Liebknecht with a view to obtaining the said grant since you would be better able than I to put your case to him, at the same time mentioning that you have written to him on the subject at my instance.

I am sending you \textit{Justice}, containing Hyndman's reply.\textsuperscript{459} It is an outburst of impotent rage from a man aware that he has been well and truly trounced. What he says about Parnell and Stepniak is an out-and-out lie. I have before me a letter from Stepniak, sent to Tussy yesterday just after he had seen \textit{Justice}, in which he says it is false and that he will be writing to \textit{Justice} without delay.\textsuperscript{460} As for Parnell, his name was given
to us *officially* by the LABOUR ELECTORAL ASSOCIATION\textsuperscript{448} and, so long as he has not divested himself of his functions as secretary to that Association, he cannot contest the validity of his signature.\textsuperscript{a} He had refused to sign *as a private person* and we had respected his scruples on that score.

No one knows who this Field is—the chap who has evinced such ardour in defending our congress.\textsuperscript{461}

The Danish paper run by Trier and Petersen\textsuperscript{b} has come out publicly in our favour, but they are right not to have gone further than this. Should they propose sending a delegation to our congress, they would impel the official Danish Party into the arms of the Possibilists. We have the satisfaction of knowing that these cryptic-Possibilists will not dare go to the other congress.

Since the nature of the two congresses is now quite distinct—ours consisting of all the Socialists combined, the other of men who stop short at Trades Unionism (it’ll get nothing more, except for the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation), it is beginning to seem unlikely that there will be a merger, and if there is none there will be no disgrace. For it is a matter of common knowledge that Socialism has, as yet, failed to unite under its banner the whole of Europe’s working class—knowledge which the existence of two parallel congresses would merely go to confirm.

On the other hand, our congress being now more progressive than the other, we now have different responsibilities. If the two congresses were both avowedly Socialist, we could avoid a rumpus by making sundry concessions of a formal nature. But now that the forces have been mustered, without intervention by us, in two different camps and under two different banners, it behoves us to safeguard the honour of the Socialist banner, while the merger—if it happens—will not so much a *merger* as an *alliance*. Hence it is a matter of thoroughly thrashing out the terms of that alliance.

Whatever the case, we must wait and see how things go, and not tie ourselves down beforehand by making irrevocable decisions. The real aim must always be to put one’s adversary in the wrong and so to arrange things that, in the event of a breach, it is he who will take the blame.

You may be sure that, after what has happened, neither the Possibilists

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, p.331 – \textsuperscript{b} *Arbeideren*
nor the Social Democrat Federation will be animated by a desperate urge to effect a merger, but rather by an ardent desire to saddle us with the blame for the breach they secretly desire and which alone could give them some semblance of continued existence. To do them the kindness of *provoking* a breach would mean giving them a new lease of life. Only mistakes on our part would enable them to recover from their defeat, and those mistakes are going to be made by us if we let ourselves be swayed by passion or any kind of sentiment. It is a matter of pure calculation, nothing else.

Give Laura a kiss from me and from Nim. This morning Sam Moore left Liverpool for your African homeland.

Yours ever,

F. E.


Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

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My dear Laura,

As to your ‘free and easy’ translation of my *aufgeschoben* etc., I am afraid I can, in this tropical heat, muster no more energy than to entirely leave to you the responsibility of the same and to do so, as lawyers say, ‘without prejudice’. All I know is that if this weather lasts, I don’t envy you the Congress; the only congress I care for is one with Nim over a bottle of beer from the cool cellar.

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*a* postponed; see this volume, p.337
As to this Congress of yours I see, from your letter to Maggie Harkness, that it is intended to keep the administrative sittings in private. Now I am fully convinced that this question can only be decided by the Congress itself, and after having heard the Germans, Austrians, etc. But as far as the order of the day questions are concerned, I do not see any necessity for insisting upon private meetings at all, and should think the Germans themselves would prefer public sittings all through—unless there is in some quarters a hankering after a restoration of the International in some form or other, and that the Germans would and ought to oppose with might and main. Our people and the Austrians are the only ones that have a real struggle to go through, real sacrifices to make, with always a hundred men or so in prison, and they cannot afford to play at international organisations which are at present as impossible as they are useless.

On the other hand, the Possibilists and Co. will do everything to give retentissement\(^a\) to their congress, will probably have no private meetings at all, after the vérification des pouvoirs,\(^b\) and perhaps not even for that—and with the odds in their favour in their connection with the bourgeois press in France and here, they will get the pull of us—handicapped heavily as we are—unless we act boldly and have the press admitted as often as ever possible.

From all this, I conclude that it will be best not to have any settled opinion upon this or other questions connected with the Congress, but to wait until the others have been heard and then come to a conclusion. This I would apply also to what Paul writes about making the fusion of both congresses impossible.\(^462\) It strikes me that when that question crops up, there will be so many practical difficulties that, unless the Possibilists give way on every point, nothing is likely to come of it. But the Possibilists won’t give way, and as they are sure to make up by Trades Unions what they lack in Socialists, and will have a pretty fair show of French and English (which two nations, as you know, make up, in their own opinion, the whole civilised world) and as they will have one Knight of Labour,\(^60\) representing, on his own statement, at least 500,000, and one American Federationist of Labor,\(^463\) representing 600,000, they will represent, on paper, an immense number of working men and expect us poor Socialists to give in. All I fear is that they may make a sham move to put us in the wrong before the public (a trick they

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\(^{a}\) publicity — \(^{b}\) verification of credentials
understand to a T) and that Liebknecht will fall into the trap. In that case I reckon upon you especially, upon Tussy and D. Nieuwenhuis to open Bebel’s eyes and to prevent the success of Liebknecht’s Vereinigungswnut.\(^a\)

Tussy has replied to Paul’s question about Lavy; I was not there, she knows all about it.\(^464\)

In my opinion the two congresses might sit side by side without any harm—they are essentially different in character, the one of Socialists and the other chiefly of aspirants to Socialism, and I do not think Bebel would under these circumstances be prepared to go in for union at any price. He wrote to me that the fusion could only take place on the footing of perfect equality, and that will no doubt be the minimum of his conditions. But he has never lived outside Germany, and is no judge of English or French conditions of life or ideas—and there Liebknecht may become dangerous, especially as he is unfortunately, for want of a better informed man, the foreign minister of the Germans. One point you must press upon Bebel is that the Possibilists and SDF intend using the Congress as a means of restoring the International, a thing the Germans cannot countenance without calling down upon themselves prosecutions innumerable; and that therefore the Germans had better keep away from such a congress.

My congratulations to Paul for his double candidature\(^465\)—at Avignon he is sure to win, c’est la ville de Laure!\(^b\) he ought to have cards engraved Paul Lafargue, candidat, successeur (plus heureux) de Petrarch.\(^c\) But I suppose you have heard these bad puns long and often enough at Paris without me.

I suppose our people in Paris are preparing a projet de règlement\(^d\) for the Congress? That is absolutely necessary to save time, and it should be very short and leave all details to the chairman.

If I have time I shall send Paul a few lines on the question of national armament and suppression of standing armies.

Sam\(^e\) will be about Senegal or Gambia now, we expect to have a few lines from Madeira in a day or two.

Of Schorlemmer not a word. Shall try and stir him up a bit. But perhaps he has written to you, he has said to M. Harkness that he intends to be at the Congress in Paris.

\(^a\) drive for unification \hspace{1em} \(^b\) this is Laura’s town \hspace{1em} \(^c\) candidate, (happier) successor of Petrarch \hspace{1em} \(^d\) draft procedure \hspace{1em} \(^e\) Samuel Moore
Parnell has had a letter published in the *Labour Elector* that he *did* sign in his quality of Hon. Sec. of Labour Elector Association—*e ciò basta.*

Love from Nim. Ever yours

F. E.

5 p.m. Just received your letter to, and from, Tussy, she writes the enclosed on the subject of the private meetings which I fully endorse. I shall also write to Bebel tomorrow on the same subject.


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**ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON**

**IN ST PETERSBURG**

London, 4 July 1889

My dear Sir,

I communicated to Mr Lafargue and to Mr Kautsky what you were kind enough to say as to their articles published in the *Northern Review.* Mr Lafargue, in consequence of this, has sent me an article on the Evolution of Property which he wishes me to forward to you and to request you to be good enough to offer it to the Editor of the *Northern Review* on the usual terms as to honorarium etc. I forward it to you today by Book Post, *registered.*

The news you are enabled to give us about the state of Mr M[utual]'s health are very cheering, and in full agreement with what we heard from

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*a* and that's enough — *b* A. M. Yevreinova — *c* Hermann Lopatin
other sources. A man with such a tremendous constitution is sure to pull through and one fine morning we may hope to see him here again restored to full youthful health.

The third volume has lain fallow for the last three months in consequence of various unavoidable circumstances, and as the summer season is always a very idle time, I am afraid I shall not be able to do much at it before September or October. The section on Banks and Credit offers considerable difficulties. The leading principles are announced clearly enough, but the whole context is such that it presupposes the reader to be well acquainted with the chief works of literature on the subject such as Tooke and Fullerton, and as this is not the case generally, it will require a deal of explanatory notes, etc.

By the way I have a second copy of Fullerton's *Regulation of Currencies*, the chief work on the question; if you have not got the book I shall be most happy if you will allow me to send it to you.

The last section 'on rent of land' will, as far as I recollect, require but formal revision, so that, the Bank and Credit section once finished (it is 1/3 of the whole), the last third (Rent, and the different classes of revenue) will not take long. But as this crowning volume is such a splendid and totally unanswerable work, I consider myself bound to bring it out in a shape in which the whole line of argument stands forth clearly and in bold relief. And with the state of this Ms.—a mere first sketch, often interrupted, and left incomplete—that is not so very easy.

I am trying to make arrangements to have two competent gentlemen to copy out for me the elements of the fourth volume from the Ms. which my eyes will hardly allow me to dictate. If I succeed in this, I shall also have trained them to the deciphering of these manuscripts which at present are a sealed book to everyone except myself who am used to the handwriting and abbreviations, and thus the author's other manuscripts will remain available, quite independent of my life and death. I expect that these arrangements too may be concluded this next autumn.

Yours very faithfully

P. W. Rosher

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The English translator of the greater part of Volume I Mr Moore\textsuperscript{2} has just left for Africa, having been appointed Chief Justice of the Territories of the Niger Company. Thus the 3rd volume will be translated, in part at least, at the banks of the Niger!

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Published in English in full for the first time

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE\textsuperscript{87}

AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 July 1889

My dear Lafargue,

I quite appreciate that a congress consisting of delegates from an association should hold private meetings for the discussion of matters that concern no one but its members and, indeed, this would as a rule be obligatory. But that a congress of working-class and Socialist delegates, convened in order to discuss general questions such as the 8 hours' day, legislation on female and child labour, the abolition of standing armies, etc.,—that such a congress should close its doors to the public and deliberate in camera, strikes me as unjustifiable. The presence or otherwise of the Parisian public is of little moment, although the interest your Party must take in the said congress should certainly suffice to ensure it some sort of audience. But even if the usual nincompoops were to be conspicuous by their absence, the public meetings would, I opine, be none the worse. What we need is some reaction from the press, and for that to happen, publicity is essential. The press can only write about those things to which it is admitted. And the evening meetings devoted to oratory, in which French is obligatory as the only language the public understands, will hold out few charms for delegates who cannot speak it. After a lengthy afternoon or morning session they will want to look round Paris
rather than listen to incomprehensible speeches. Not that this should prevent you from holding one or two evening meetings in a large hall, but to close the doors for fear of it's being said that the hall was half empty is to attach, I should say, an exaggerated importance to the Parisian public. The congress is being held for the benefit of the world at large, a fact which the absence or otherwise of a handful of Parisians does nothing to alter. You, who are for ever saying that the Possibilists carry no weight, and that it is you who represent the French proletariat, now tremble lest they may have a bigger audience than yourselves!

For that matter, Bebel has written\(^a\) saying that, for them, there can be no question of closed meetings and that, so far as the Germans are concerned, publicity is the only guarantee against renewed accusations of being a secret society. In the face of that argument, lesser considerations relating to the Parisian public and its possible abstention will probably have to go by the board.

He further says that 60 German delegates will probably be coming. In Germany, enthusiasm seems to be boundless.

The Social Democratic Federation is well and truly in the shit. And who do you think has come to the rescue? Poor H. Jung, who this week declares in a letter\(^b\) that our congress is of no consequence whatsoever, that it’s a HAPPY FAMILY of enemies, that Longuet is not a Socialist, that Jaclard is not a Socialist, that Liebknecht voted for Bismarck’s colonial policy (which is a lie), etc. Poor fellows, they are at their wits’ end.

You doubtless know that Ferdinant D. Nieuwenhuis is going to propose a merger ‘in view of the fact that the agenda is the same for both congresses’. Since the agenda is not the same, I cannot see that anyone can vote for this motion. At all events I have written to Bebel,\(^470\) pointing out that things are no longer at the stage they had reached at the Hague\(^385\); that since that time you have been authorised by them to convene your congress; that this was supported by the whole of Socialist Europe and that, in consequence, you were entitled to lay down new conditions for a possible merger; that the mania for unity may force the unionists to adopt a course ultimately leading to union with their enemies and separation from their friends and allies; and, finally, that there will be a host of minor difficulties. Indeed, in my opinion, there

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\(^a\) Bebel to Engels, 2 July 1889  
\(^b\) H. Jung, ‘To the Editor of Justice’, Justice, Vol. VI, No. 286, 6 July 1889
will not be the slightest chance of a useful merger unless detailed conditions are hammered out between committees from both congresses, and are agreed by the latter. Otherwise the union will not last for more than a couple of hours. And if a solution is to be reached, time will be needed, which means that the merger, if it happens at all, could not be effected until things are nearly over.

Your article went off to Russia yesterday, REGISTERED.

What you tell me about the wine-growers of Champagne is extremely interesting—the ruination of the peasant is now gathering speed, thanks to advanced capitalism!

It is most fortunate that Liebknecht should be staying with Vaillant; I have strong suspicions that he will make another attempt to join forces with the 'good elements' among the Possibilists, going 'over Brousse's head', as in March and April.

A kiss to Laura from myself and Nim.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI
IN BENEVENTO

London, 9 July 1889

Dear Friend,

When I read your letter of 7 June I could only conclude that you might, perhaps, no longer be at liberty by the time my answer arrived. Rather than allow my letter to fall into the wrong hands and in the end
cause you further harm, I preferred not to write at all. Your letter of the 6th inst.\textsuperscript{472} has reassured me on that score.

The harsh blow that fate has, I’m sure, quite undeservedly dealt you has aroused my most heartfelt sympathy. You must allow me, at this moment when the whole of your life lies in ruins, to send you a further small loan in the shape of the enclosed money order for five pounds sterling.

As things are now, I certainly believe that your family is right about Buenos Aires and that you ought to put this plan into operation at once.

But circumstances being what they are at present, the slightest, albeit involuntary, indiscretion on my part might prove harmful to you. The post is not to be relied on anywhere, so I would prefer to say nothing more until we can again correspond in complete safety.

With my sincere sympathy

Yours ever,

F. E.

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\textbf{ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON}

\textit{IN ST PETERSBURG}

London, 15 July 1889

My dear Sir,

Excuse my ridiculous oversight in not giving you the address of Mr Lafargue.
It is

P. Lafargue
60 Avenue des Champs Elysées
Le Perreux
Seine—France.

The book—and the other important one on the same question by Tooke,\(^a\) of which too I happen to have a doublette, will be sent to you tomorrow.

Yours very truly
P. W. Rosher\(^{39}\)


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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE\(^{343}\)

IN HOBOKEN

London, 17 July 1889

Dear Sorge,

Our congress is in session\(^{473}\) and proving a brilliant success. By the day before yesterday 358 delegates had arrived and more are on their way. About half are foreigners, 81 of them being Germans from all the larger and smaller states and provinces excepting only Posen. On the first day the first hall was found to be too small, on the second day the second,

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\(^a\) T. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle* ... J. Fullerton, *On the Regulation of Currencies* ...
whereupon a search was made for a third. The sessions, despite various objections on the part of the French (they thought that the Possibilists would attract larger audiences in Paris and that it would therefore be preferable to meet in camera), are all being held in public—the only safeguard against mouchards—a—at the unanimous request of the Germans. All Europe is represented. The Sozialdemokrat will be informing America of the numbers by the next post. For the first time Scottish and German miners from the colliery districts are foregathering there for joint discussions.474

The Possibilists have 80 foreigners (42 British, of whom 15 are from the Social Democratic Federation and 17 from the Trades Unions), 7 Austro-Hungarians (obviously little more than eyewash, this, since the whole of the genuine movement over there is on our side), 7 Spaniards, 7 Italians (3 representing Italian societies abroad), 7 Belgians, 4 Americans (2 of whom, Bowen and Georgei from Washington, DC, visited me), 2 Portuguese, 1 Swiss (nommé par lui-même), 1 Pole. Almost all of them are Trades Unionists. Besides these there are 477 Frenchmen who, however, represent only 136 chambres syndicales and 77 cercles d’études socialistes, since each little clique may send 3 delegates, whereas each of our 180 Frenchmen represent one particular society.

The eyewash with regards to fusion is, of course, much in evidence at both congresses; the foreigners want fusion, but in both cases the French are holding back. Fusion on rational terms is perfectly all right; the eyewash, however, consists in the clamour for fusion à tout prix, which some of our own people are raising.

Have just seen in the Sozialdemokrat that Liebknecht’s motion in favour of fusion has actually been carried by a large majority. What it consists in and whether it signifies genuine fusion based on private negotiations or merely an abstract desire which might lead up to them is not, unfortunately, apparent from the report. The easy-going nature of the Germans is above such trifles, but the fact that the French have accepted it is sufficient guarantee, so far as I’m concerned, that no disgrace will be incurred vis-à-vis the Possibilists. I shan’t know more until after the post has left, probably not until tomorrow.

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a police spies  
b Probably delegates of the German Workers’ Club in Washington  
c nominated by himself  
d trade union chambers  
e socialist study groups  
f at any cost
In any case you'll no doubt hear the essentials as soon as I shall, for the Avelings have made arrangements regarding cabling with the New York Herald's man in Paris. Today I shall send you Saturday's Reynolds and Monday's Star—which contain everything of any importance to have appeared in the press over here up till now. More on Saturday.

At all events the intrigues resorted to by the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation in order that they might worm their way into the leading position in France and England respectively have proved a total failure and their pretensions to the international leadership still more so. If the two congresses, one alongside the other, merely fulfil the purpose of deploying their forces—Possibilists and London intriguers here, European socialists (who, thanks to the former, figure as Marxists), there—so that the world may see where the genuine movement is concentrated and where the bogus, that will be enough. Obviously any real fusion, supposing it came, would do nothing whatever to stop the squabbles continuing in England and France—quite the contrary. It would merely mean an imposing demonstration for the benefit of the great bourgeois public, a working men's congress more than 900 strong, ranging from representatives of the most docile Trades Unions to the most revolutionary communists. And it would put an end once and for all to the machinations of the intriguers at subsequent congresses, for they have now seen where the real power lies, they have seen that we are a match for them in France and their superiors throughout the Continent and that their position in England is also very precarious.

I have received Schlüter's letter and shall answer it shortly. I trust his business is doing well and that the American climate suits his wife.

Warm regards to your wife. Schorlemmer arrives this evening. Adler of Vienna is coming over here next week from Paris.

Your

F. E.


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Reynolds Newspaper – Victor Adler
Dear Sorge,

In my last letter I forgot to ask you if possible to question Hartmann about the article in the *Evening News and Post*. If you could get him to write a brief note in his own hand to the effect that the story is false and that he has not been to Europe, it would be important for us over here.\(^476\) Because,

1. Bismarck is trying to make the Tsar\(^4\) beholden to him by revealing alleged plots against his (the Tsar's) life.

2. Hitherto these have been going on in Switzerland, but now that the Swiss have expelled all potential plotters, operations must be transferred to London.

3. This end is being served by the *mouchard*\(^b\) Carl Theodor Reuss, who had already, on a previous occasion, used the *Evening News* as a repository for his lying allegations with regard to dynamite.

4. This latest Reussiad was telegraphed *from Berlin* to all German newspapers.

If we can expose this business outright, there'll be a nice rumpus over here.

Yours of the 7th inst. received yesterday evening.\(^477\) I don’t demand any particular satisfaction of Wischnewetzky for his failure to visit me.--- It didn’t grieve me. So if he eats *humble pie* vis-à-vis *yourself*, that will suit me. I did not call on his wife,\(^c\) whereat she took umbrage, which was why *he* failed to visit me, so that makes us quits. If these people view the matter in a similar light, I shall be content. Obviously if they demand *more*, I shan’t be able to oblige them. But as I have business matters to settle with his wife, it’s always best to be at least *on speaking terms*; I’ll be in no hurry to let them revert to anything more intimate, now that I know as much about them as you do. They’re a couple of conceited fools.

Pop! The bubble of reconciliation has burst in Paris. How fortunate

\(^a\) Alexander III  \(^b\) police spy  \(^c\) See this volume, p.223
that the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation, having rightly understood their position, should have preferred to deal our people a kick, thereby bringing the silly business to an end. That the thing had been prepared de longue main is evident from the whole series of now comprehensible manoeuvres and utterances on the part of these gentry over the past 2 months. It is the old Bakuninist libel against the Hague Congress, etc., to the effect that we had always operated with false credentials. This libel, which Brousse has been raking up off and on ever since 1883, was bound to come to the fore again on the present occasion, once they saw that they had been abandoned by all the socialists and that they could only save themselves with the help of the Trades Unions. The nature of their credentials will doubtless be revealed in the course of the furious polemic that is now flaring up. Unfortunately this old rubbish cuts no more ice today than it did back in 1873; but something had to be found to cover up the fact that they have been utterly disgraced. However it’s just as well that our sentimental brethren, the advocates of reconciliation, received a savage kick on the backside in return for all their assurances of friendship. That will doubtless cure them for some time to come.

I shan’t be able to send you any more papers until the next post (weeklies which Aveling writes for but which won’t come out until this evening and tomorrow); I have not had a single letter from Paris since Tuesday.

As regards Lingenau, congratulations on the sum extracted. Liebknecht alone was at fault here; Bebel is methodical and precise in such matters. No doubt Mount Desert will do you good; I too shall make for the water before long.

Warm regards to your wife and the Schlüters.

Your

F. E.

Schorlemmer has been here since the day before yesterday and sends you both his best wishes.


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

\(^a\) well in advance
My dear friend Martignetti,

All I can say in reply to your letter of the 14th inst. is that my funds are only limited and, furthermore, that there are calls on them from a great many quarters. Hence, if your Buenos Aires plan goes ahead, I cannot possibly assume the responsibility of guaranteeing your livelihood until such time as you are able to lay the foundations of a new livelihood yourself. I will tell you quite candidly what more I can do. I can place another five pounds sterling at your disposal and, should something very important be at stake, shall try and send you another five, i.e. ten pounds in all. That, however, would in fact exhaust my funds for a long time to come and render it impossible for me to do anything further for you.

I hope you will be justly treated by the court of appeal and remain

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time
Dear Citizen,

I have just received a letter from Brocher\textsuperscript{480} enclosing the one you had written him and asking me on your behalf for a loan of £20. As I am not used to reading Russian handwriting, I was not really able to decipher enough of your letter to find out exactly what is involved. But however that may be I have to tell you with infinite regret that it is out of the question for me to advance the sum for which you ask. My expenditure has of late been quite extraordinary as a result of my having to help numerous personal and political friends and then, to compound matters, there has been the congress,\textsuperscript{473} which has necessitated my making further advances of all kinds, so that I am now completely cleaned out. Having been asked by Brocher to let you have an immediate reply, I am losing no time in so doing, and am sorry that I am not able to give you a more favourable answer.

Yours very sincerely,

F. E.

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Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time
ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN MOUNT DESERT

Eastbourne, 17 August 1889
4, Cavendish Place

Dear Sorge,

Letters of 1 August received. So we are both taking a summer holiday—a summer of which the main feature over here is plenty of nice fresh rain.

I can’t send any papers, since these are forwarded to me only at very irregular intervals from London. Just the *Labour Elector*, a paper which is now assuming some importance. It was started by Champion in opposition to Hyndman, but kept afloat with suspect funds (from a Liberal-Unionist quarter), and hence was egregiously pro-Tory and inanely anti-Irish, so that one had to be very wary of it; but because it was suspect and already so notoriously Tory-Socialist people stopped buying the thing. This, however, brought about a revolution. The Tory funds would seem to have run out and thus Champion—au fond a no less unreliable bloke than Hyndman—found himself forced to do something he had long resisted, namely accept the terms offered by a committee—Burns, Bateman (typographer), Mann (engineer), Cunninghame-Graham—whereby the said committee became proprietor of the paper and Champion its temporary editor. The names of the committee members are a guarantee that all association with other parties and their funds has been broken off, and the paper, which is clearly on the up and up, is said to be almost paying its way. The Tory and anti-Irish nonsense has ceased, while the paper has done us yeoman service in the matter of the congress.

The plan of Hyndman and Co’s gang was to cast doubt on the credentials—which they alleged to be false—of the Marxist congress. Hence their unacceptable terms for fusion. The same old Bakuninist tactics as of yore, but specially adapted for English consumption. That it wouldn’t

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*a at bottom*
be much of a catch on the Continent was plain, but all one to them; provided it caught on here in England, their position would, for a time, be secure—and here all the odds were in their favour. But our vigorous offensive brought the business to an abrupt conclusion—Burns’ article⁴ and mine⁵ (on the Austrian credentials) in the Labour Elector have, I think, robbed them of all desire to cast doubt on other people’s credentials, an activity in which the Possibilists themselves have recently indulged to such good purpose as to leave small scope for anyone else.

There is now some prospect that a viable socialist organisation may be formed here which will gradually undermine the Social Democratic Federation⁶ or else absorb it. Nothing can be done with the League;²¹ they’re just a bunch of anarchists and Morris is their lay figure. The idea is to agitate for an eight hour day among the democratic and radical clubs²²—our recruiting grounds here—and the Trades Unions, and to organise the May the First 1890 demonstration. Since the latter was decided upon at our congress, the Social Democratic Federation must either adhere to it—i.e. submit to our resolutions—or oppose it and thus commit suicide. As you can see from the Labour Elector, the movement is at last taking hold amongst the Trades Unions⁴⁸⁴, and the star of Broadhurst, Shipton and Co. would seem to be rapidly on the wane. By next spring we shall, I believe, have made considerable progress.

Russian jiggery-pokery continues amain. First the Armenian atrocities, followed by others on the Serbian border. Next, for the benefit of the Serbs, magic lantern slides of the Greater Serbian Empire, and hints about the necessity of a Serbian military convention with Russia. And now the Cretan fracas which began, strangely enough, with internecine carnage among the Cretan Christians, until the Russian consul contrived to get them to sink their differences and massacre the Turks. And the stupid Turkish government goes and sends Shakir Pasha to Crete, a man who spent 8 years as Turkish ambassador to Petersburg and, while there, was bought by the Russians! The whole of this Cretan affair was intended, amongst other things, to prevent the British concluding an alliance with the Prussians.⁴⁸⁵ That is why it was launched when William came over here⁶—so that Gladstone could return to his hobby of phil-

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hellenism and the liberals wax enthusiastic about the Cretan sheep stealers. Little Willie wanted to be 'one up' on the Russians, wangle Crete for the Greeks as a dowry for his sister\(^a\) and, by the magic of his presence, induce the Sultan\(^b\) to abdicate. But once again the Russians have shown him that, by comparison with them, he is but a babe in arms. If Greece gets Crete, it will be by the grace of Russia.

Thanks for the news about Hartmann. I'd very much like to have further details as I want to put paid to this Prussian pack of lies in the *Evening News.*\(^{476}\)

It's very sensible of your son\(^c\) to want to find a post. I only wish my Rosher nephew\(^d\) could also be persuaded to do so. These young gentlemen imagine the whole world's made of money and that we old folk are simply too stupid to pick the stuff up. By the time they have learnt how things really are it will have cost a fortune.

Warm regards to you and your wife. Schorlemmer left here on Wednesday for Germany.

Your

F. E.

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\(^{a}\) Princess Sophia of Prussia, who was engaged to the Crown Prince of Greece in October 1889  
\(^{b}\) Abdul Hamid II  
\(^{c}\) Adolf Sorge  
\(^{d}\) Percy Rosher
Dear Liebknecht,

I have put off answering your letter of 19.4 until after the congress because there seemed to be no prospect of agreement beforehand; the fact is that our ways were utterly divergent. And even now I shall make no mention of your attempts to foist your sins of omission on to other people.

You say: ‘Your complaint that, even in the matter of the congress, I was “as usual” prevented by “unforeseen circumstances” from carrying out my duty, is more than merely blunt; it is downright insulting.’

You can only make an insult of my words if you distort their meaning, turning something passive—that it is the usual thing for such and such to happen to you,—into something active—that you deliberately make a habit of such and such. You thereby turn a complaint of weakness into a complaint of wilfulness and there you have your insult ready-made.

But you must yourself by now have noticed that you very often happen not to be at home when someone wants to keep you to your word or to make a quite common or garden request. What about the Aveling business in America? At the beginning, while the turpitude of the New York Executive was still fresh in your mind, you wrote:

‘The New Yorkers owe Aveling an apology; I shall demand one of them and, if they dig their heels in, shall come out publicly against them.’

But later on, when it came to doing as you had said, it was a different matter: You sent a statement that was neither one thing nor the other, and did Aveling no good and the New Yorkers no harm,—unforeseen circumstances! And it was only gentle pressure from me that induced you to make a statement containing at least part of what you had promised.

Even in your letter of 19.4. you can’t help providing fresh proof. Under the aegis of your name as editor, your son-in-law brings out a series of books. You, knowing what he’s like, entrust him with the selection, the editing—in short, the entire management of the thing. The
inevitable happens. There appears, under your name, a trashy work by a more than dubious scoundrel, a really vile concoction in which the said ignorant scoundrel presumes to improve on Marx. This vile concoction is recommended to German working men as instructive reading along party lines by the appearance on the title page of your name as editor. That such a vile concoction should be published somewhere or other is, of course, a matter of complete indifference, nor would it be worthy of mention. But that it should be published by you, under your sponsorship, as having been sanctioned and recommended by you (for what else does the appearance of your name on it signify?)—that is what’s intolerable. Of course your son-in-law pulled the wool over your eyes—you’d never have done it deliberately. But now, when it’s your bounden duty to rid yourself of the said vile concoction, to declare that you have been scandalously imposed upon and that not so much as one more sheet of it will appear under your name—what happens? You devote an entire page of your letter to the unforeseen circumstances that prevent you from doing so.

Why then the moral indignation over my having for once called this habit of yours by its proper name? Anyhow, I’m not the only person to have remarked on it. And if anyone has been insulted on this occasion it is I rather than you.

If you have taken any further steps in the Schlesinger affair, I for one have heard nothing of it. But one thing I do know: if you put a stop to the publication of Schlesinger’s vile concoction, I shall be able to let the matter rest at that. But should a sequel or conclusion appear under your name I shall owe it to Marx to make a public protest. I trust you will not let things go as far as that, for I feel sure that this changeling that has been foisted onto you is altogether more than you can stomach. And as, no doubt, you yourself realise, Mr Geiser cannot be allowed to sell for a mess of potage the position you have attained in the party, the fruit of forty years’ labour.

I have been here a fortnight and shall probably stay on through the first week in September—in the same house I was in when you left for America.

Warm regards,

Your

F. E.


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
Dear Ede,

Who is Paul Fischer? He wishes to translate my old article in Progress for the Berliner Volks-Tribüne. Since I should have to do some notes for it and thus appear as an actual contributor to the Volks-Tribüne, I have my reservations which, having sent a non committal answer, I shall keep in abeyance until my return.

In your next number you ought to deal with the dock labourers' strike. The matter is one of crucial importance so far as this country is concerned. Hitherto the East End had been in a state of poverty-stricken stagnation, its hallmark being the apathy of men whose spirit had been broken by hunger, and who had abandoned all hope. Anyone who found himself there was lost, physically and morally. Then, last year, there came the victorious strike of the match-girls. And now, this gigantic strike of the most demoralised elements of the lot, the dock labourers, not the regular, strong, experienced, relatively well-paid men in steady employment, but those who have happened to land up in dock-land, the Jonahs who have suffered shipwreck in all other spheres, starvelings by trade, a welter of broken lives heading straight for utter ruin and for whom Dante’s words, ‘lasciate ogni speranza, voi che entrate’ might be written up on the dock gates!

And this dully despairing mass of humanity who, every morning when the dock gates are opened, literally fight pitched battles to be first to reach the chap who signs them on—literal battles in the competitive struggle of the redundant workers amongst themselves—that mass, haphazardly thrown together and changing every day, has successfully combined to form a band 40,000 strong, maintain discipline and inspire fear in the powerful dock companies. It is something I am glad that I have lived to see. For this stratum to be capable of organisation is a fact

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a of Der Sozialdemokrat — b ‘Abandon hope, all ye who enter here.’ Dante, Inferno, III, 9
of great significance. Whatever the outcome of the strike may be—and I’m never sanguine about such matters before the event—it means that, with the dockers, the lowest stratum of East End working men has entered the movement and that the higher strata are bound to follow suit. The East End has a greater number of ordinary labourers, those whose work requires little or no skill, than anywhere else in England. The organisation of these strata of the London proletariat, hitherto treated with contempt by the Trades Unions of skilled working men, will set an example for the provinces.

And there’s more to it than that. Because of the lack of organisation and the passively vegetable existence of the real East End workers, the lumpen proletariat has hitherto had last say there, purporting, and indeed being held, to be the prototype and representative of the million starvelings in the East End. That will now cease. The hawker and his ilk will be pushed into the background, the East End working men will be able to develop a prototype of their own and so organise themselves as to assert it, and this will be of enormous value to the movement. Scenes such as took place during Hyndman’s procession along Pall Mall and Piccadilly\(^4\) will no longer be possible; a ne’er-do-well who tried to go on the rampage would simply be put down.

In short, it is an event. And just look how even the abject *Daily News* is covering the affair!\(^3\) That alone shows what a tremendous impact it has made. It’s just like the miners’ strike at home\(^4\) —a new stratum is coming into the movement, a new army corps. And your bourgeois who, only 5 years ago, would have been cursing and fuming, now finds himself forced to applaud half-heartedly just when, and precisely because, his bowels have turned to water. Hurrah!

What you said about parliamentarianism and its decline in your article on the anarchists\(^b\) is absolutely right. I was delighted.

Here it’s so-so—changeable weather—am again somewhat lame as a result of too much walking, and hence teetotal, whatever Julius\(^c\) may say—but I’m not allowed tea in the evenings because of my nerves, and therefore I do take a glass of beer instead—on teetotal grounds!

Regards to your wife and children and all our friends.

Your

F. E.

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\(^a\) *Daily News*, 20 August 1889 \(\quad\)^b E. Bernstein, ‘Anarchistische Phraseologie’, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 34, 24 August 1889 \(\quad\)^c Probably Julius Motteler
Dear Hermann,

The statement of account received with thanks; no doubt it will be correct.

Would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed note to young or now, I suppose, old Caspar—a—I don’t know whether he lives in Krefeld or Barmen. As I learn from R. Blank, whom I ran into here a week ago, things aren’t going too well with those chaps; if so, I am sorry.

I have been here a fortnight but am, alas, having more rain than I can do with. Ever since the English have begun holding their naval manoeuvres in August, the weather during that month has been truly atrocious and yesterday the words of the old song came true here:

On 21 August, just gone by,
In storm and rain there came a spy,
Who tidings to the prince did give, etc.⁴⁹²

In consequence of which three big warships sailed past this morning, but we still await the famous naval battle which is to take place in the Channel, before our very eyes.

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⁴ Caspar Engels
I shall probably be staying here another fortnight or three weeks, if the rain isn’t too bad, for

‘Back to my home I cannot go’,

the place being full of whitewashers, paperers, painters and other workmen, who make three-quarters of the rooms uninhabitable and, once they’re in the house, you never know when you’ll be rid of them again. This is because in England large-scale industry has ruined the crafts but has not been able to find anything else to put in their place. For a long time now the Germans have not had the sole prerogative of providing shoddy wares in return for good money; the Londoners have a positively stunning aptitude for this. In America, however, it’s altogether different. So far as ordinary, everyday business dealings are concerned, in which no speculation is involved, America is, I believe, the most reliable country in the world—the only one in which you will still find ‘good workmanship’.

I trust you are all well. Much love to Emma* and to the children and grandchildren, as well as to the rest of the Engels-kirchen, from

Your old
Friedrich

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE493

AT LE PERREUX

Eastbourne, 27 August 1889
4 Cavendish Place

My dear Laura,

That letter-writing at the sea-side is well nigh an impossibility, I thought you knew long since. And if, as in my case, a lot of people

* Emma Engels
whom I never saw seem to have conspired to overwhelm me with letters, visits, inquiries, requests of all sorts, the impossibility becomes a complete fact. Austrian student-clubs, a Viennese inquirer after 'truth' who wishes to know had he not better devour Hegel (better not, I replied), a Romanian socialist *in propria persona*, an unknown man from Berlin now in London, etc., etc., all have come down at once upon me and all expect to be attended to at once. So, with six people around me in the room whether they are but too often driven by rain, nothing remains for me but to retire from time to time to my bedroom and to turn that into my 'office'.

You had your adventures with Séraphine, Nim had hers with Ellen. Which Ellen having been long suspected by the knowing ones was one morning reported by the doctor to be six months gone in the way all flesh comes into the world and had consequently to leave—about a month before we came here. When we return there will be fresh engagement of someone—perhaps worse.

I am glad Paul is off on his election trip and moreover with funds from his Mamma. Of the three put up for Marseilles, one, perhaps two, may get in; I hope Paul may be one. But anyhow it is a distinct step in advance to have once been put up as candidate for the party, and facilitates further moves; especially with a rising party as ours at this moment undoubtedly is in France, once a candidate generally means always a candidate.

I do hope Boulangism will come to grief next elections. Nothing worse could happen to us than even a *succès d'estime* of that humbug which might prolong, at least, the apparent dilemma: either Boulanger or Ferry—a dilemma which alone gives vitality to either scoundrel. If Boulanger got well thrashed, and his following reduced, more or less, to the Bonapartists, it would prove that this Bonapartist vein in the French character—explicable by the inheritance from the great Revolution—is gradually dying out. And with the elimination of this incident the regular development of French republican evolution would *reprendre son cours*; the Radicals would, in their new incarnation Millerand, gradually discredit themselves as much as in the incarnation Clémenceau, and the better elements among them pass over to us; the Opportunists would lose their last pretext for political existence, that of being at least defenders of the republic against pretenders; the liberties conquered by

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*Anna Virginia Armaignac – b resume its course*
the Socialists would not only be maintained but gradually extended, so that our party would be in a better position for fighting its way than anywhere else on the Continent; and the greatest danger in war would be removed. To believe as the Boulangeo-Blanquists do that by sustaining Boulanger they can get a few seats in Parliament is worthy of these ignorant purs who would burn down a village in order to fry a cotelette. It is to be hoped that this experience will do Vaillant good. He knows perfectly what sort of fellows the mass of those Blanquist are, and his delusions as to the work to be got out of such materials must have received a severe shock.

Hyndman’s campaign with regard to the discredit to be thrown on the Marxist credentials seems to have utterly broken down. Burns’ disclosures were a ready blow, and our further revelations, especially about the Austrian Possibilist credentials, did the rest. These people never know what a glass-house they are living in themselves. And as in France the Possibilists seem to have kept quiet with regard to that point (these fellows are far cleverer than Hyndman and Co—in their small way) there will be no further necessity to follow up the victory unless fresh attempts are made. The whole trick was calculated for the British market, and there it has failed—cela suffit. Then there is the resolution about the 1st of May demonstration. That is the best thing our Congress did. That will tell immensely here in England, and the Hyndman lot dare not oppose it; if they do, they ruin themselves; if they don’t, they must follow in our wake; let them choose.

Another great fact is the Dock Labourers strike. They are as you know the most miserable of all the misérables of the East End, the broken down ones of all trades, the lowest stratum above the Lumpenproletariat. That these poor famished broken-down creatures who bodily fight amongst each other every morning for admission to work, should organise for resistance, turn out 40-50,000 strong, draw after them into the strike all and every trade of the East End in any way connected with shipping, hold out above a week, and terrify the wealthy and powerful Dock Companies—that is a revival I am proud erlebt zu haben. And they have even bourgeois opinion on their side: the merchants, who suffer severely from this interruption of traffic, do not

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\(^a\) fanatics — \(^b\) J. Burns, ‘The Paris International Congress’, The Labour Elector, 3 August 1889 — \(^c\) F. Engels, ‘Possibilist Credentials’ — \(^d\) that’s enough — \(^e\) to have lived to see
blame the workmen, but the obstinate Dock Companies. So that if they hold out another week they are almost sure of victory.

And all this strike is worked and led by our people, by Burns and Mann, and the Hyndmanites are nowhere in it.

My dear Laura, I am almost sure you are in want of some cash and I should have sent a cheque with this if I was not myself hard up. My balance at the bank is at the lowest ebb; a dividend of some £33, due generally about 18th August, has not yet been paid and Edward has borrowed £15 till end of month, as he was quite fast. So I have hardly room to turn round in, but as soon as I receive a supply I shall remit; at latest next Monday, I hope before.

Domela\(^a\) becomes quite incomprehensible. Is he perhaps after all not Jesus Christ, but Jan van Leiden? \(\textit{la prophète de Meyerbeer}\)? Vegetarianism and solitary confinement seem apt to produce queer results in the long run.

Edward and Tussy will be going to Dundee to report Trades Union Congress and then we shall get the boys\(^b\) here in the meantime.

Ever yours
F. Engels

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ENGLS TO LAURA LAFARGUE\(^{493}\)

\textit{AT LE PERREUX}

[Eastbourne], 1 September 1889

Sunday

My dear Laura,

Yesterday evening late I had news from my bank that the long expected dividend of £36 has been paid in and so I hasten to send you

\(^a\) Nieuwenhuis \quad \(^b\) Edgar and Jean Longuet
cheque for £30, ten of which are the second half of the money I promised Paul for his electioneering expenses and for which he applied in a letter, to hand here last Friday, from Cette. His prospects in the town seem good but then Cette is but small and the country votes will decide—hope I shall hear more from him in a few days. Let’s hope for the best.

Cannot write much being Sunday and our people always in and out, moreover have to write to Tussy about the strike[^89] which was in an important crisis yesterday. As the dock directors kept stubborn, our people were led to a very foolish resolution. They had outstripped their means of relief and had to announce that on Saturday no relief could be dealt out to strikers. In order to make this go down—that is the way at least I take it—they declared that if the dock directors had not caved in by Saturday noon, on Monday there would be a general strike—reckoning chiefly on the supposition that the Gas works for want of coal or of workmen or both would come to a stand and London be in darkness—and this threat was to terrify all into submission to the demands of the men.

Now this was playing *va banque*, staking £1000 to win, possibly, £10; it was threatening more than they could carry out; it was creating millions of hungry mouths for no reason but because they had some tens of thousands on hand which they could not feed; it was casting away wilfully all the sympathies of the shopkeepers and even of the great mass of the bourgeoisie who all hated the dock monopolists, but who now would at once turn against the workmen; in fact it was such a declaration of despair and such a desperate game that I wrote to Tussy at once:[^106] if this is persisted in, the Dock Companies have only to hold out till Wednesday and they will be victorious.

Fortunately they have thought better of it. Not only has the threat been ‘provisionally’ withdrawn, but they have even acceded to the demands of the wharfingers (in some respect competitors of the docks), have reduced their demands for an increase of wages, and *this has again been rejected* by the Dock Companies. This I think will secure them the victory. The threat with the general strike will now have a salutary effect, and the generosity of the workmen, both in withdrawing it and in acceding to a compromise, will secure them fresh sympathy and help.

On Friday[^a] we shall return to London. Shorlemmer has left about a fortnight ago for Germany, where he is now, what he is doing and what his intentions are, I don’t know.

[^a]: on 6 September
As to Boulanger his weakness is shown in his electoral proceedings: he takes Paris and leaves to the monarchists all the provinces. That ought to disabuse his most obstinate adherents if they pretend to be Republicans. Paul writes to me that a Marseilles Boulangist has owned to him that Boulanger has had from the Russian government 15 millions. That explains the whole dodge. The Russian dynasty, now allied by Denmark to the Orléans, wishes for an Orléans restauraition and one brought about by Russia; for then the Orléans would be its slaves. And only with a monarchical France can the Czar have a sincere alliance, such as he requires for a long war with dubious chances. To bring this about, Boulanger is put forward as the tool. If he is successful as a stepping stone to monarchy, he will, at the proper time, be bought off or in case of need put out of the way, for the Russian government will not have in that case the scruples which our Socialists have; 'denn die abzumurksen ist uns Wurscht' is their motto. As to Millerand I believe you are right. In his paper there is, for all its attempted radicalism, a tone of weakness, half-despondency, and above all so much of the milk of human kindness (stale as it is, it has not the stuff in it to turn sour) that compared even with La Justice as I have once known that paper, it inspires pity mingled with a drop of contempt. And these be the successors of the old French Republicans, les fils des hérois de la rue Saint-Méry!

Ever yours

F. E.

Love from Nim and all the lot here.

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a Alexander III – b 'polishing one off makes no difference to us' – c La Voix – d Shakespeare, Macbeth, Act I, Scene V
My dear Laura,

Today I have the pleasant task of remitting you cheque for £14.6.8, one-third share of Meissner’s Remittance of £43,—the account is to follow. A fourth edition of Vol. I⁴⁹⁷ is impending, maybe before New Year we shall begin printing it.

Tussy was here yesterday with Liebknecht, his son and daughter Gertrud, Singer, Bernstein, Fischer, etc. etc. She is still over head and ears in the strike.⁴⁸⁹ The Lord Mayor’s,¹ Cardinal Manning’s and Bishop of London’s proposals were ridiculously in favour of the Dock Companies and had never a chance of acceptance. This is the busiest time; from Christmas to April nearly no work is done at the docks, so that the real purport of delaying the advance to January would have been to delay it till April.

You will have Liebknecht in Paris in about a week, that is if you are there still. And also his wife and one or two more of the family.

Domela and his Dutchmen seem to stick to their new line. Another proof that the little nations can play but a secondary part in Socialist development, while they expect to be allowed to lead. The Belgians will never give up the idea that their central situation and neutrality give them the manifest destiny of being the central seat of the future International. The Swiss are and always were philistines and petits bourgeois, the Danes had become the same and it remains to be seen whether Trier, Petersen and Co. can move them on out of this their present stagnation. And now the Dutch begin the same way. None of them can forget and will forget that at Paris the Germans and French led the way, and that they were not allowed to occupy the Congress with their pettifogging troubles. Never mind, there is a greater hope now of French, Germans and English pulling together, and if the little babies get obstreperous, nous en ferons cadeaux aux possibilistes.²

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¹ of *Capital* — ² Henry Aaron Isaacs — ³ John Lubbock — ⁴ Nieuwenhuis — ⁵ we shall make a present of them to the Possibilists
Liebknecht now is awfully anti-possibilistic, says they have turned out rogues and traitors and it's impossible to act with them. Whereupon I told him we knew that six months ago and told them—him and his party—so but they knew better. He pocketed that in silence. He is not at all as cock-sure of his infallibility as he used to be—at least if otherwise, he does not show it. Otherwise he is personally the opposite of what he is in correspondence—he is the old jovial hail-fellow-well-met Liebknecht.

But I must conclude. I have got the two boys here who were enchanted at little Marcel's letter. They have been to the Zoo and want to write to their cher papa and I must clear out from the desk.

Success to Paul in the Cher—I fully expected his fate at Cette, the town being too small not to be outvoted by the 74 hamlets making up the circonscription.\(^c\)

Nim's love.

Affectionately yours
F. E.


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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY\(^{211}\)

IN VIENNA

London, 15 September 1889
122 Regent’s Park Road, N.W.

Dear Kautsky,

I am taking advantage of its being Sunday morning to write you a letter, which I should have done long since—but for interruptions! First

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\(^a\) Jean and Edgar Longuet – \(^b\) Marcel Longuet – \(^c\) constituency
the congress and all it entailed, then Eastbourne, whither the aftermath of the congress in the shape of letters of all kinds still pursued me and, on top of that, six persons in one room—reflection or repose impossible. Then back home, only to find Paul and the soldier, not to mention 2 children, here, then the dock strike, etc. Today at last a brief respite. Longuet’s two sons, who have come to stay, do not disturb me.

We are all of us, Nim, Tussy, Edward and myself, tremendously sorry that your relations with Louise should have ended in so negative a fashion. But there’s no help for it. You two alone are competent to judge, and whatever you think is right, the rest of us must accept. But what I don’t understand—if I can be said to understand anything at all of this business—is your continual use of the word ‘compassion’—that all you now feel for Louise is ‘compassion’. Louise has conducted herself throughout with such heroism and such womanliness that we cannot admire her enough. If anyone is to be pitied in this affair, it certainly isn’t Louise. And I still maintain you have perpetrated a folly which you will yet live to regret.

As I have already told Adler, this turn in your relations does nothing to alter the proposal I made you in regard to the ms. of Volume IV. The work has got to be done and you and Ede are the only people to whom I can entrust it. The business of the archives has, Paul tells me, likewise now been settled which means, no doubt, that you will be coming over here again this winter, when we can discuss and make a start on what is to be done. Because of the damned congress I’ve been able to do no work at all on Volume III since February, and even now I am kept from it by the necessity of bringing out a fourth edition of Volume I, which I must attend to first. It’s no great task but when one is not allowed to spend more than three hours a day at one’s desk, it tends to be rather long-drawn-out. And then we have got two months of perpetual fog and darkness ahead of us.

A correspondent in St Petersburg has informed me that the Revue du Nord has published a translation of your Klassengegensätze in Frankreich and that this has caused a furore in Russia. When you come over here I shall give you a hint or two as to how you might, perhaps, extract money from Russia for your articles.

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a Paul Singer  b Wilhelm Liebknecht  c Gertrud and Theodor Liebknecht  d Jean and Edgar Longuet  e of Capital. See this volume, p.257
Your articles on the miners in Thuringia are the best you have done so far—a genuine study that deals exhaustively with the main issues and, moreover, aims simply at investigating the facts and not, as in your paper on population or that on the primaeval family, at confirming a preconceived opinion. That is why you have succeeded in producing something substantial. The work throws light on an important part of German history and, though there may be a few minor gaps in the argument, this is of no real moment. Reading it, I realised clearly for the first time (what I had only dimly and vaguely perceived in Soetbeer) the extent to which gold and silver production in Germany (and Hungary, whence precious metals were distributed throughout the West via Germany) provided the final impulse which, between 1470 and 1530, put Germany in the lead economically in Europe, thereby making her the focal point of the first bourgeois revolution, in the religious guise of the so-called Reformation. The final impulse in the sense that the guild crafts and the commission trade reached a relatively advanced stage of development, thus turning the scales in Germany's favour rather than in that of Italy, France or England.

Liebknecht has now come to see that there's nothing to be done with the Possibilists; when you're talking to him he's not nearly so cocksure as he otherwise tends to be, particularly when he writes. How lucky it was that the Possibilists refused, since a union of the two congresses would have led to fighting and general loss of life and we should have been hugely discredited. The campaign launched by the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation with a view to casting doubts on our people's credentials has failed miserably. Not only were Adler's revelations about the possibilist Austrians (in the Labour Elector) quite devastating, but in this country—and this made an even greater impact over here—the idiots had admitted Burns to the credentials committee, whereupon he mercilessly demolished the credentials of the Social Democratic Federation in the columns of the Labour Elector. Hyndman represented 28 people! The entire Federation, alleged to be but 1,925 strong, consists, in fact, of less than half that number!

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*a 'Die Bergarbeiter und der Bauernkrieg, vornehmlich in Thüringen' – b Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft ... – c Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie ... – d A. Soetbeer, Edelmetall-Produktion und Werthverhältniss zwischen Gold und Silber seit der Entdeckung Amerika's bis zur Gegenwart – e F. Engels, 'Possibilist Credentials – f J. Burns, 'The Paris International Congress'
The Trades Union Congress\textsuperscript{499} was Broadhurst's swan song. Burns, Mann and Bateman, the only people to know the details of the charges against Broadhurst, were tied down here by the Dock Strike, and Broadhurst benefited from it; but the congress was rigged, everything having been done to ensure that only Trades Unionists of the old type attended, as was still feasible on this occasion. Nevertheless, there is every sign that the old is in the process of disintegration.

In Denmark the old party leadership have put their foot in it badly over the matter of the congress, and the opposition, Trier, Petersen, etc., are gaining ground.\textsuperscript{418} You ought to engage Trier as correspondent for the \textit{Arbeiter-Zeitung}—Gerson Trier, Ahlefeldsgade 16, Copenhagen.

The Dock Strike has been won. It's the greatest event to have taken place in England since the last Reform Bills\textsuperscript{500} and marks the beginning of a complete revolution in the East End. The reason for the universal sympathy shown by the press, and even by the philistines, is, 1. Hatred of the monopolistic Dock Companies who, instead of writing off the non-existent capital they have squandered, fleece the shipowners, businessmen and workers so as to be able to declare dividends on it; 2. The knowledge that the Dockers are voters and need to be cajoled if the 16 to 18 East End M.P.s of Liberal and Conservative complexion wish to be re-elected (which they won't be; this time there'll be Labour M.P.s). What decided the victory was the £14,000 from Australia, whereby the Australian workers will prevent themselves from suddenly being landed with a mass influx of English workers. Burns, Champion, Mann and Tillet have earned their laurels, while the \textit{Social Democratic Federation was nowhere}. The strike is to England what the coalminers' strike\textsuperscript{435} was to Germany—it means that a new system, a vast army, has entered the labour movement. If we can now get by without a war, the fun may soon begin.

Guesde is standing for parliament in Marseilles, Lafargue in Saint Amand (Cher).

Kindest regards to Adler.

Your

F. Engels

As I don't know whether you still have your hedgehog's apartment,\textsuperscript{a} I am sending this to Adler, whose address is a safe one. Have received

\textsuperscript{a} Engels has 'Igelwohnung', a pun on 'Igelgasse', literally 'Hedgehog Alley', the name of the street where Kautsky lived in Vienna
only Nos. 1 and 4 of the Arbeiter-zeitung. Is it still in the land of the living? Are you still getting the Labour Elector? I'm sending you a copy.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London], 26 September 1889

Thanks for the Volkszeitung, etc. I was much tickled by the revolution in a tea-cup you have had over there. May possibly be a turn for the better. The progress of Nemesis is slow but sure and, by a quirk of history, it's the very people who have always relied on the support of the New Yorkers against the bulk of the party, especially that in the West, who are now being overthrown by the New Yorkers.

Haven't heard a word from the Russian. Will return his postcard in my next. If I'm writing no more than a postcard it's because there's so much work to do. Awaiting me on my return from Eastbourne was the news that a fourth edition of Capital, Vol. I, was wanted. Though only a few alterations and additional notes will be needed, they will have to be selected and worked out all the more carefully, and the printed text will require a minute scrutiny in order that no distortion of the sense slips through. Again, the references to Book III will now have to be made more precise.

[a] Hartmann
The dock strike was magnificent. Tussy was involved and worked like a Trojan and the envy aroused by the position she thus gained is already becoming apparent in sundry quarters. I am sending you Harney's article which was quoted in the Labour Elector. The old chap's laid up 12 miles away from here; in August he almost gave up the ghost, but is now better. Lenchen thanks you for the Kalender and sends her regards. In France Guesde has a chance of getting in on the second ballot. Unfortunately I have no precise news about the elections. Kindest regards to your wife and to the Schlüters.

Your
F. E.

The Nationalzeitung of Boston (Nos 1-5) received with thanks. They're the local 'Fabians'.


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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 3 October 1889

My dear Lafargue,

So after all ours is the only Party able to register an increase in strength at the elections. Altogether, though our information is by no means complete, we can reckon on 60,000 votes for our candidates, i.e.

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a Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalender
those put forward by the groups represented at our congress and, in addition, 19,000 which may be accounted ours (the candidates being neither Possibilists nor ‘Radical Socialists’), but to which we would not venture to lay claim in the absence of further advice.

But how comes it that we over here have been left without any statistical information regarding the elections except for that contained in the bourgeois press, from which we cannot possibly deduce the position of all those unknown candidates? How are we to know how many votes are ours when the papers fail to classify the candidates save in the vaguest possible manner? Yet I should say that it would be very much worth your while to keep German and English Socialists informed about your doings, seeing that you no longer possess a paper through which this might be done. And, as you know, we over here are all of us ready to work in the interests of your Party as, indeed, we have always done to the very best of our ability; but if you French gentlemen will not deign to keep us au fait with las cosas de Francia, we shall be powerless, and more than one of our number will tire of a task so little appreciated by those for whom it is performed.

So as soon as possible after the poll send us a complete list of Socialist candidates belonging to the groups represented at our congress, as also of other Socialists (if any) who are neither Possibilists nor Radical Socialists, with the number of votes cast for each in both the first and the second ballots. We cannot here run the risk of having our facts contested by men like Hyndman, etc., as is bound to happen if we are again thrown back on our own sources of information.

At the congress you set up a National Council which passed certain resolutions. Not one of you deemed it necessary to breathe a word to us about it; and if I hadn’t come upon the thing by chance in the Madrid Socialista, it would not have appeared either in the German Sozialdemokrat or in the Labour Elector—and, what is more, two months after the event.

You yourselves must realise that, by carrying on in this way, you are playing into the hands of the Possibilists and of their friends in this country.

I have written and asked Bebel to send some money for Guesde’s election campaign, of the importance of which I am very well aware. I hope it will be voted, but it must be remembered that the Germans have already contributed 500 fr. towards the congress, 1,000 for Saint-

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*a French affairs*
Etienne,\textsuperscript{507} 900 for the congress report (the first instalment of which hardly redounds to the credit of those who compiled it and who seem to have gone to undue pains to garble the names),\textsuperscript{a} 2,500 for the Swiss paper\textsuperscript{b} for which, furthermore, they are holding more than 3,500 fr. in reserve. In all, 8,400 fr. voted for international purposes, and this on the eve of their own general election! And, after all these sacrifices, M. Jaclard goes and gratuitously insults them in the Voix by calling them machines who vote to order.\textsuperscript{508} As if it was the Germans' fault that the workmen of Paris are Possibilists or Radicadets\textsuperscript{327} or Boulangists or nothing at all! It would seem that, in Jaclard's eyes, the Germans' ability to accept a majority vote and to act in concert of itself constitutes an insult to the Parisian gents, and that, if Paris marks time, the rest are forbidden to march on.

But if memory serves me aright, M. Jaclard is a Blanquist for whom Paris is therefore a holy city, Rome and Jerusalem at the same time.

To come back to the elections. If it is true that Guesde and Thivrier stand a chance, and if they are successful, we shall be vastly better placed in the Chamber than the Possibilists.—Baudin appears to be a certainty, then there's Cluseret, Boyer and Baslu,\textsuperscript{509} one or the other of whom will succeed and, with four or five such, Guesde could form a group which would not only impress the Chamber and the public, but would also place the Possibilists in a rum sort of position. It was the co-existence in the Reichstag of our deputies and those of the Lassalleans which, more than any other circumstance, brought about a merger between the two groups, i.e. the capitulation of the Lassalleans.\textsuperscript{510} In this case, too, our group would be the stronger and would end up by forcing the Dumays and the Joffrins to enter its orbit, so that the Possibilist leaders would have to choose between capitulation and abdication.

For the time being, however, all this is the music of the future.\textsuperscript{449} But of one thing you may be sure, and that is that Boulangism is in extremis.\textsuperscript{c} And to my mind that is something of the utmost significance. This has been the third attack of Bonapartist fever; the first, involving a genuine and great Bonaparte, the second a bogus ditto,\textsuperscript{d} the third a man who isn't even a bogus Bonaparte, but simply a bogus hero, bogus general, bogus everything, whose chief attribute has been his black charger. And, even with this charlatan-cum-adventurer, it was a dangerous business—as you

\textsuperscript{a} Congrès international ouvrier socialiste de Paris (Du 14 Juillet au 21 Juillet 1889), Paris, 1889 - \textsuperscript{b} Arbeitstag: Der Achtstündige Arbeitstag – \textsuperscript{c} on its last legs – \textsuperscript{d} Louis-Napoleon, subsequently Emperor Napoleon III
know better than I. But the acute stage of the attack, the crisis, is over, and we may hope that the French people will now cease to suffer from such Caesarean fevers—proof that its constitution has grown much more robust than it was in 1848. But the Chamber was elected to combat Boulangism and is suffering the consequences in the shape of an inherently negative character, which leads me to doubt whether it will be capable of reaching its natural term. Unless the majority becomes convinced of the necessity for constitutional revision, it will soon have to be replaced by a new Chamber with a revisionist but anti-Boulangist majority. You, being better acquainted with the elements that make up the new majority, will be able to tell me if I am wrong. But I believe that, had it not been for the Boulangist episode, there would by now already have been a revisionist republican majority, or at any rate a healthy minority.

All this if there is no war. The Portland Place HUMBUG’s defeat will at least postpone that but, on the other hand, the amassing of armaments by all the powers will have the reverse effect. And if war does come, then goodbye to the Socialist movement for some time. Everywhere we shall be crushed, disorganised, deprived of elbow-room. France, bound to Russia’s chariot wheel, will be unable to move and will have to renounce all revolutionary pretensions for fear of seeing her ally go over to the other camp. With the forces of the two sides pretty well equal, England will be in a position to tip the scales in favour of whichever side she may take. This will hold good for two or three years to come but, if war does break out later, I am willing to wager that the Germans will be beaten hollow for, within three or four years, young William\(^b\) will have replaced all the good generals with his favourites—imbeciles or fake geniuses, like those who commanded the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz,\(^{511}\) and each with a prescription for military miracles in his pocket. And just now Berlin is swarming with that breed, which has every chance of success since young William belongs to it himself.

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and me. I shall be writing to her soon.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

\(^a\) Boulanger, who had lived in Portland Place in London – \(^b\) William II
Dear Liebknecht,

On hearing for certain that Guesde was in the second ballot, i.e. a week ago yesterday, I at once sent a most urgent letter to Bebel. What was decided I don’t know.\textsuperscript{512}

As regards your letter from Paris, I stick as firmly to my opinion concerning your conduct apropos the congress\textsuperscript{473} in March and April as you do to yours. So it’s useless to bicker over what is past.

As to the Schlesingeriad, I should be very happy were you to succeed in ridding yourself of it. Meanwhile you have seen that the affair cannot really be hushed up in that way and have been forced to issue a statement, which pleases me greatly.\textsuperscript{513} Had you issued it at once, the two of us would have been spared this unpleasant correspondence. I know as well as you do, and you as well as I, that it was by no means just Kautsky and I who considered it a scandal that your name should have served to shelter a piece such as this by so worthless a fellow.

At all events your statement relieves me of the need to criticise the concoction myself. But the thing will inevitably be singled out, precisely because your name has unfortunately found its way onto it and not, what’s more, simply as publisher, but as editor.

I too regard Guesde’s election as highly important. So far as the number of votes is concerned, the elections have turned out very well for us. I estimate that 60,000 votes were certainly cast in favour of ourselves (of those represented at our congress) and a further 18,000 probably so. Against this some 43,000 throughout France for the Possibilists. Baudin seems a certainty, also Boyer, Cluseret and Ferroul and besides these there are a few others whose prospects look bright. If Guesde gets in as well, he’s the sort of man round whom they would all rally. In which case the Possibilists, Joffrin and Dumay, will be in the same situation as the Lassalleans were in the Reichstag in 1874 and \textit{then}, but \textit{only} then, can there be any question of our having dealings with them, just as we had dealings with the Lassalleans in Germany;\textsuperscript{510} and it is a condition of our
success that until that time they should be treated as enemies and
belaboured as such, that they should learn to respect the might of our
people.

At all events Boulangism\(^{137}\) is done for and will presumably be dealt
further blows at the second ballots, unless the fatuous annulment of the
poll in Montmartre\(^{514}\) brings it new supporters, at least in Paris. If the
Russians’ cash then fails to appear, *le brave général* will have to move
from Portland Place to Soho,\(^{a}\) or rent a couple of rooms from Lessner.

Regards to your wife and Theodor.\(^{b}\)

Your F. E.

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**ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE**\(^{274}\)

*London, 8 October 1889*

My dear Laura,

What a melancholy set our French friends are! Because Paul and
Guesde have not succeeded, they seem to despair of everything and Paul
thinks the less said about these elections, the better! Why, I consider the
result of the elections not a *déroute*\(^{c}\) but a relative success worth regis-
tering both in England and Germany. At the first ballots we had between
60 and 80,000 votes, which is quite enough to show that we are nearly
twice as strong as the Possibilists, and while they got but two men\(^{d}\) (of
whom one moribund\(^{c}\)) elected, we have Baudin, Thivrier, Lachize, and

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\(^{a}\) then a poor district, where many émigrés lived – \(^{b}\) Liebknecht’s son – \(^{c}\) defeat – \(^{d}\) J. B. Dumay and J. F. A. Joffrin – \(^{e}\) Joffrin
then Cluseret and Ferroul who are bound to cast in their lot with the first three; that makes five to two, and will be sufficient, with proper management, to put the two Possibilists in a very impossible position. But both in England and Germany, the effect will be made, not by the number of seats secured but by the number of votes given. So let me ask you to see to it that we get, as soon as possible, say not later than Monday morning next, but if possible before, the list of votes cast for our candidates at 1st and 2nd ballots, for the Labour Elector and the Sozialdemokrat. Surely Paul will not push the droit à la paresse\(^5\) far enough to refuse us that little bit of work.

Of course Guesde's defeat is a misfortune, but then while I thought it necessary to do everything to prevent it, I never believed much in his success, after the 1,445 votes \textit{au premier tour}.\(^b\) What cannot be helped we must put up with. It is a far greater advantage for us to have got rid of Boulanger. Boulanger in France and the Irish question in England are the two great obstacles in our way, the two side-issues which prevent the formation of an independent working men's party. Now Boulanger is smashed up, the road is cleared in France. And at the same time, the monarchist attack on the Republic has failed. That means the gradual passage of monarchism from the ground of practical to that of sentimental, politics, the transfer of Monarchists to Opportunism,\(^199\) the formation of a new Conservative party out of both, and the struggle of that Conservative-Bourgeois-party with the \textit{petits bourgeois} and peasants (Radicals\(^2\)) and the working class; a struggle in which the working-class Socialists will soon get the upper hand of the Radicals, especially after the way they have discredited themselves. I do not expect that everything will pass off in this simple, classical form, but the innate logic of French development is sure to overcome all side-issues and obstacles, especially as both forms of antiquated (not simply bourgeois) reaction—Boulangism and monarchism—have been so well beaten. And all we can ask for is that all these side-issues be removed and that the field be clear for the struggle of the three great sections of the French society: \textit{bourgeois, petits bourgeois et paysans, ouvriers}.\(^c\) And that I think we shall get.

Then Ferry is got rid of and I think Mother Crawford is right when she considers him an obstacle to even his own party.\(^5\) Colonial adventures will no longer bar the way; nor will the formation of the new

\(^a\) right to idleness \quad b\text{ in the first ballot} \quad c\text{ and peasants, workers}
bourgeois party be trammelled by the necessity of respecting the traditions of Ferryism.

Thus I do not despair at all, on the contrary; I see a distinct advance in the result of the elections, *eine sehr bestimmte Klärung der Lage.* Of course you will get Conservative government to begin with; but not what you had, the government of a *distinct set* of the bourgeoisie only. The Opportunists were as much a mere section of the French bourgeoisie as were the *satisfaits* of Louis-Philippe and Guizot: these were the *haute finance,* the others are the set which strives to become the *haute finance.* Now, for the first time, you will get a real government of the *entire* bourgeoisie. In 1849-51, the Rue de Poitiers under Thiers, too, formed a government of the whole bourgeois class, but that was by the truce between the two opposing monarchical parties, and by its very nature *passager.* Now you will get one based upon the despair to upset the republic, upon its recognition as an unavoidable *pis-aller* and therefore a bourgeois government which has the stuff to last until its final smash-up.

It was the splitting-up of the French bourgeoisie into so many sections, fractions and factions which has so often deceived the people. You upset one section, say the *haute finance,* and thought you had upset the whole bourgeoisie; but you merely brought into power another section. There are 1/ the legitimist or generally monarchical landed proprietors, 2/ the old *haute finance* of Louis-Philippe’s time, 3/ the second set of *haute finance* of the Second Empire, 4/ the Opportunists who to a great extent have still their fortunes to make, 5/ the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie chiefly of the provinces, who are generally hangers-on, practically, to whatever section happens to be in power, being themselves scattered and without their common centre. Now these all will now have to unite as ‘Moderates’ and ‘Conservatives’, will have to drop their old shibboleths and party-cries which divided them, and for the first time act as a bourgeoisie *une et indivisible.* And this concentration bourgeois will be the real meaning of all the concentrations républicaines et autres so much talked about of late, and it will be a great progress, leading gradually to a scattering of Radicals and a real concentration of Socialists.

Out! Now that’s enough on this blessed subject. Tonight I expect

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*a* a very definite clarification of the position — *b* high finance — *c* short-lived — *d* evil — *e* one and indivisible — *f* republican and others
Longuet here and shall cull wisdom from his lips. I am sorry he is beaten as it was a very important personal issue with him.

Of Sam Moore no news since he passed Sierra Leone. Tussy has tried to see his brother, but cannot find him at home. So we don't know whether his family have heard of him.

Nim has raved all the summer about your garden and the vegetables and fruit therein, and I have her special orders to say that she anxiously awaits what she calls her share of the pears, grapes and other good things now about due.

Will you give Paul the enclosed cheque for £20.

Ever your old
F. Engels

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P. et L. Lafargue, Correspondance, t.
II, Paris, 1956

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 12 October 1889

Herewith as usual the Labour Elector and Commonweal. The International Review is said to have already met its end, thus quickly has Hyndman ruined it by his mismanagement. Bax, however, is in negotiation over another revue; if he acquires it, Aveling will probably be his assistant editor. The revolution in New York gets funnier and funnier; the attempts by Rosenberg & Co. to remain on top à tout prix, while amusing, are fortunately doomed to failure. Your exchanges with the nationalists in the Workmen's Advocate have gladdened me, firstly

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*Time – ^a at all costs – ^b De Leon and others*
because one can recognise old Sorge from 10 miles off and, secondly, because they have once more provided me with public proof of your existence.

I don't know whether I wrote and told you that Sam Moore left for Asaba on the Niger (Africa) in June as Chief Justice for the territories of the English Niger Company. I received the first letter from there yesterday; he finds the climate very good and apparently salubrious; the heat is not very great—75° F in the mornings and 81°-83° in the afternoons. Cool, therefore, by comparison with New York. Thus the 3rd volume of Capital will probably be translated into English in Africa. I am working on the 4th edition of the 1st volume; the quotations are all having to be revised to conform to the English edition, but it can't be helped. After that I shall buckle down to the 3rd.

Longuet arrived yesterday to fetch his two elder boys, who have been staying with Tussy. As a result of the Opportunists' abstention he polled 800 votes fewer than his opponent. Of our people about 6 were elected, but not, alas, Guesde.

Your
F. E.


Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

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a 23.5° and 27-28°C — b Jean and Edgar Longuet — c See this volume, pp.384-7
My dear Laura,

Many thanks from Nim and myself for the splendid box of pears which arrived in capital condition and into which we have already eaten a considerable hole. I stick to my American habit\(^a\) of eating fruit every morning before breakfast and so you may imagine that the rate of disappearance of the produce of your garden is anything but slow. Tussy and Pumps, too, will claim their shares—in fact they are already set apart.

Since the Dock Strike\(^{489}\) Tussy has become quite an East-ender, organising Trades Unions and supporting strikes—last Sunday we did not see her at all, as she had to speechify both morning and night. These new Trades Unions of unskilled men and women are totally different from the old organisations of the working-class aristocracy and cannot fall into the same conservative ways; they are too poor, too shaky, too much composed of unstable elements, for anyone of these unskilled people may change his trade any day. And they are organised under quite different circumstances—all the leading men and women are Socialists and Socialist agitators too. In them I see the real beginning of the movement here.

The Federation\(^{62}\) is for the moment played out—the violent attacks of *Justice* on Champion, Burns, etc., have suddenly ceased, there is instead a sort of hidden, *verschämtes*\(^b\) sighing for some sort of universal brotherhood—the last report of the French elections\(^{521}\) for instance gives our results too, and without any nasty allusions or remarks; it looks as if the rank and file had become rebellious. If our lot here—I mean Champion especially—don’t make mistakes, they will soon have it all their own way. But I confess I cannot get myself to have full confidence in that man—he is too dodgy. He used to go to Church congresses and preach

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\(^a\) An allusion to Engels' sojourn in America in August and September 1888

\(^b\) shamefaced
Socialism there, and now he has formed a Committee for organising the East End women with a lot of middle class philanthropists who held a meeting with the bishop of Bedford in the chair—and of course from this business they took good care to exclude Tussy! Now I don't like that, and if they go on that way I shall soon leave them alone. Burns is too fond of popularity to be able to resist such things and goes in with Champion—if I once see him alone, I shall speak to him.

Longuet told us you had said you were coming over at Christmas. We shall be very glad to see you here and have everything comfortable for you, unless you prefer coming in the better season, as you said to Nim you would do next time. But then what is the better season here? After the exceptionally fine summer we had (and are having, for it is a regular *rheinischer Altweibersommer*¹ now) perhaps we are in for a whole year's rain!

Sam Moore has arrived at Asaba and has sentenced, as soon as he put his foot ashore in Africa, a Nigger Captain of a Steamer to 9 months hard labour for attempted rape. He says the climate is very fine, 23°C in the morning, 26-29°C at 3 in the afternoon (in July and August!) and to all appearance healthy. Fuller news we are promised, but alas, between Akassa and Asaba (both on the Niger) there seems to be no regular mail, and the post-mark of Akassa is the stamp of the Niger Co. with the date filled in in ink!

Love from Nim.

Ever yours

F. E.

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¹ Rhenish Indian summer
Dear Schmidt,

Your work,¹ which you kindly sent me and for which I am most grateful, has brought us so much closer together that I no longer can bring myself to address you in the ceremonious style required by custom and, if you would like to oblige me, perhaps you would treat me similarly.

Even though I cannot actually say that you have solved the problem under discussion,² your own line of reasoning coincides with that of Volume III of *Capital* at many, and indeed, at important, points, and does so in such a way that the reading of Volume III will give you quite exceptional pleasure. For obvious reasons I am barred from making a detailed criticism of your work just at present; this will be done in the preface to Volume III,³ when it will give me particular satisfaction to accord your work the full recognition that is its due. So until then, perhaps you will be patient. This much however is now quite certain—that your work has secured you a place in economic literature that must be the envy of all the worthy professors.

The work has been a source of particular pleasure to me personally in one further respect, namely by showing that we now have someone else who can think theoretically. Among the younger generation in Germany there are remarkably few who are capable of doing so. Bebel, who has a fine theoretical brain, is prevented by his practical party work from exercising this, the best of his attributes, other than in the application of theory to practical cases. Consequently there have hitherto been only Bernstein and Kautsky, though in Bernstein’s case far too much of his time is taken up by practical activities for him to be able to participate in, and further his knowledge of, the theoretical side as much as he would no doubt like and be capable of doing. And there is, after all, so

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much still to be done here in the way of theory, especially in the field of economic history and its links with political history, as with the history of law, religion, literature and civilisation generally where the only sure guide through the labyrinth of facts is a clear theoretical insight. So you can imagine how I patted myself on the back for finding a new collaborator.

It’s a very good thing that you should be re-editing Knapp’s Bauernbefreiung for the Neue Zeit. Excellent material for this task is provided by Wolff’s Schlesische Milliarde from the Neue Rheinische Zeitung of 1849, reprinted as No. VI of Volume I of the Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek. I shall send it to you in separate sheets enclosed in English newspapers, which would seem to be a pretty safe way. Kautsky will also be glad to have found another capable contributor—he has to accept quite enough trash.

I haven’t been able to do a stroke of work on Volume III since February. That damned Paris congress\(^3\) saddled me with such a mess of correspondence to all parts of the globe that everything else had to be pushed into the background. The chaps had everywhere lost their international contacts and as a result hatched up the most incredible schemes—sheer good will and a lack of knowledge of one another, as of things and circumstances, would have given rise to some fine old set-tos and everywhere the chaps would have made enemies of their friends, yet failed to appease their enemies. But luckily that’s all over now and I’ve just had news that a 4th edition of Volume I is needed. And since the English edition\(^2\) has appeared in the meantime and a comparison by Mrs Aveling of each quotation with its original revealed occasional \textit{formal} discrepancies but an even greater number of copyists’ and printers’ errors in the relevant passages, I cannot possibly allow the 4th edition to appear unless I put these right. All this will take time, after which I shall have the proofs to correct, but in a fortnight or so I shall get back to Volume III and thereafter allow nothing whatever to get in my way. I think I’m past the most difficult bits.

Kindest regards from

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

First published in \textit{Sozialistische Monatshefte}, No. 17, 1920

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
Dear Sir,

In reply to your note of the 19th, I made Stirner’s acquaintance around the beginning of 1842 in Berlin when he was hobnobbing with E. Meyen, Buhl, Edgar and subsequently Bruno Bauer, etc. It is true that his name was Schmidt; he owed the nickname of Stirner to his remarkably high forehead. He cannot have been hobnobbing with this circle for very long, since he didn’t know Marx, who had left Berlin, if my memory is correct, less than a year previously and was much respected by the others. He was, I think, no longer a grammar school master or at any rate ceased to be one shortly afterwards. Apart from the above named, others who used to meet together at that time were a certain von Leitner, an Austrian, K. F. Köppen, who taught at a grammar school and was a special friend of Marx’s, Mussak, his colleague, Cornelius, the bookseller who appears in Fritz Reuter’s Festungstid, Mügge, Dr J. Klein, the dramatist and dramaturgist, a certain Wachenhusen, Dr Zabel, subsequently editor of the National-Zeitung, Rutenberg who, however, left for Cologne shortly afterwards to join the first Rheinische Zeitung, a certain Waldeck (not the jurist and high court counsellor) and others whose names escape me; there were in fact several groups which would meet and mingle depending on the time and the opportunity. Jungnitz, Széliga and Faucher did not arrive until after November 1842, the month in which I completed my year of military service and left Berlin. We would meet at Stehely’s and, in the evenings, at this or that Bavarian ale-house in Friedrichstadt or, if we were in funds, at a wineshop in the Poststrasse, which was Köppen’s favourite haunt. I knew Stirner well and we were on Du terms; he was a good sort, not nearly as bad as he makes himself out to be in his Einzige; and

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a Stirn – forehead in German  
b Julius Waldeck  
c Benedikt Waldeck  
d district in old Berlin  
e Du or thou, the intimate form of address  
f M. Stirner, Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum
with a slight suggestion of pedantry that had clung to him since his teaching days. We discussed Hegelian philosophy a great deal; at that time he had made the discovery that Hegel’s logic begins with an error. Being, which proves to be Nothing and thus becomes the antithesis of itself, cannot be the beginning; the beginning must consist in something which is itself already the immediate, spontaneously evolved unity of Being and Nothing and from which alone that antithesis arises. And this, according to Stirner, was ‘It’ (it snows, it rains), something which is and which, at the same time, is Nothing. Later on he seems to have come round to the realisation that there was, after all, nothing in It, any more than in Being and Nothing.

I saw less of Stirner during the latter part of my time in Berlin; no doubt he was even then pursuing the lines of reasoning that resulted in his magnum opus. By the time it came out, our views had already diverged a great deal; the two years I had spent in Manchester had left their mark on me.525 When, later on in Brussels,526 Marx and I felt it necessary to join issue with the offshoots of the Hegelian school, we criticised Stirner amongst others—the critique is as bulky as the book itself. The ms., which has never been published, is still here in my house in so far as it hasn’t been eaten by mice.

Stirner enjoyed a revival thanks to Bakunin who, by the way, was also in Berlin at the time and, during Werder’s course of lectures on logic (1841-42), sat on the bench in front of me along with four or five other Russians. Proudhon’s harmless, purely etymological anarchy (i.e. absence of government) would never have resulted in the present anarchist doctrines had not Bakunin laced it with a good measure of Stirnerian ‘rebellion’.527 As a result the anarchists have themselves become nothing but a collection of ‘Unique Ones’, so much so that no two of them can abide one another’s company.

For the rest I know nothing about Stirner; I never found out what subsequently befell him, except that Marx told me he had almost literally starved to death; where he got this from, I don’t know.

I saw his wife in this country on one occasion; while here she took up with — ah que j’aime le militaire! — ex-Lieutenant Techow and, if I’m not mistaken, accompanied him to Australia.

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a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* — b Marie Stirner-Schmidt — c Ooh, I do love soldiers!
If I have time later on I might well write a sketch of that period, which was most interesting in its way.\textsuperscript{528}

Yours most respectfully,
F. Engels

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\textbf{225}

\textbf{ENGLERS TO O. A. ELLISSEN}

\textbf{IN EINBECK}

London, 22 October 1889
122 Regent’s Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your circular\textsuperscript{529} I regret to inform you that as the papers in my possession have not been sorted for the past 20 years, I cannot possibly search out F. A. Lange’s letters—there are only a few—from the pile until I have 3 or 4 weeks’ spare time in which to put the whole lot in order. As soon as I have finished the final editing of Volume III of Marx’s \textit{Capital}—some time early next year—I must address myself to this task, for it admits of no further delay, whereupon I shall be glad to place the aforementioned letters at your disposal.

You may, of course, publish my letters to Lange in full or in part depending on the circumstances, but in the latter case I would ask you to be good enough to ensure that the passages concerned appear in their full context.

Yours faithfully,
Fr. Engels

Printed from a typewritten copy
Published in English for the first time
My dear Laura,

A solemn vote of thanks I have to transmit to you for the fresh batch of pears sent by Edward and consumed, in great part, last Sunday with the port wine. They were splendid, and what was left will be mellow by next Sunday.

The Christmas trip legend\(^a\) was also explained by Edward—that it was little Marcel\(^b\) who caused the misunderstanding in Longuet’s brain. Anyhow, whenever you are ready to come, we shall be ready to receive you.

I must have expressed myself rather badly about the impending rule of the French bourgeoisie as a class.\(^c\) I meant that zunächst\(^d\) the rank and file of the Royalists and Bonapartists will pass over—gradually—into the ranks of the Moderate Republicans, and forsake, as in 1851, when the mass of the Republicans and Royalists passed over to Bonaparte, such of their leaders as will stick to their old-fashioned party shibboleths. That will mean a strengthening of the Moderate Republicans (though not necessarily of the Ferryist or the Léon Sayist cliques of speculators) but at the same time a cessation, once for all, of the power of the old cry: *La république en danger.*\(^e\) Then, and only then, the Radicals\(^200\) can come to the fore as ‘Her Majesty’s, the Republic’s, most faithful opposition’, and then you have the real conditions of the rule of the whole bourgeois class, of parliamentarism in full blossom: two parties struggling for the majority and taking in turns the parts of Ins and Outs, of Government and opposition. Here, in England, you have the rule of the whole bourgeois class; but that does not mean that Conservatives and Radicals coalesce; on the contrary, they relieve each other. If things were to take their slow, classical course, then the rise of the Proletarian party *would* no doubt finally force them to coalesce against this new and unparliamentary opposition. But that is not likely to come off; there will be violent accelerations of the development.

\(^{a}\) See this volume, p.390; \(^{b}\) Marcel Longuet; \(^{c}\) See this volume, pp.384-7; \(^{d}\) to begin with; \(^{e}\) The Republic is in danger
The progress consists, to my mind in the proof that to fight against the Republic has become hopeless; in the consequent gradual dying out of all anti-Republican parties, which means the participation of all sections of the bourgeoisie in the government—as Ins, or as Outs; the Ins to be, for the present, the reinforced Moderates, and the Outs the Radicals. One election cannot do everything at once, let us be satisfied that this one has cleared the ground.

About the defeat of the Socialists we agree perfectly. Only that I expected it—and a far worse one—and that our Paris friends have expected miracles which of course did not come off. I am perfectly satisfied with the result—under the circumstances. That we got six or seven men in against either the Cadettists or the Boulangists, and something like 120,000 votes, is more than I expected.

As to the policy with regard to the fellows that came in under Boulanger’s flag, I am rather of the opinion of Vaillant and Guesde than of Paul. If you admit the Boulangists, you must admit the Cadettists too—Joffrin and Dumay. But moreover, after the infamous way in which the Boulangeo-Blanquisists behaved to Vaillant in his circonscription and brought him to fall, we ought I believe not to have anything to do with them. Moreover, we have no interest to reconstitute the dissolving Blanquist faction as such. We know what peculiarly ‘pure’ elements it always contained. Granger is an imbecile chauvin, to have got rid of whom appears to me a blessing. As to Jourde (who seems to me the one after whom Paul really longs), perhaps he can be made to slip in later on, if he vaut la peine, ce que j’ignore, and if he breaks off point blank with the Boulangists. But there is no mistake, Paul’s whilom Boulangist sympathies have done us an immense deal of harm and are now being used by Liebknecht who throws them into my face.

As it is, the new socialist faction will be hard to manage, and the less its numbers are swelled by doubtful (still more doubtful) elements, the better it will be. Especially as Guesde is not elected. If the thing is found to work well, then fresh additions of the above sort might be less harmful and could be taken into consideration; and then, the novices ought to do public penance, unless the French party is to stand out as corrupt before the Germans, Swiss, Dutch and even Belgians. What a triumph would it be for the Possibilists if they could point to declared Boulangists in our ranks! And how difficult then for me to make the Germans understand the doings of our French party!

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[a] constituency — [b] deserves it, which I do not know
Now another subject. Percy is completely smashed up. In order to avoid getting execution into their house, they have locked it up and are all here. There are negotiations going on with his father and brothers, to avoid an open bankruptcy, but how that may end nobody can tell; and unless it comes to something, he will have to declare himself bankrupt before the week is out. Old Rosher is half idiotic, has muddled his affairs irretreievably, has handed his business over to the two younger boys, and says he is himself without cash or credit (the latter he has managed to ruin almost deliberately). I had an interview with his mother the other day—it’s a precious mess altogether. However it may end, it’s sure to cost me a lot of money.

Kautsky is not here yet.

Great lamentations by all here when they heard that Diane was lost or stolen.

Love from Nim and yours affectionately

F. Engels


ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSdorf NEAR LEIPZIG

London, 29 October 1889

Dear Liebknecht,

I can tell you very little about the Prophet Gottschalk, having long since forgotten the creature. Moses Hess brought him into the League prior to 1848 and made him out to be a veritable prodigy. In Cologne
early in March 1848 he posed as a working men's leader.\footnote{532}
For the conditions as they then were, he was the perfect demagogue who flattered the masses at the very moment of their awakening and pandered to all their traditional prejudices—but apart from that he was a complete numskull, as befits a prophet, and for that reason actually regarded himself as a prophet. Moreover, as a genuine prophet he was above all scruples and thus capable of every kind of dirty trick. Whether he ever uttered the words you cite\footnote{533} seems to me doubtful; he would systematically invent legends about himself. In short, he played a certain role in Cologne at the beginning of March and had quite crazy schemes, the details of which I have forgotten, that were supposed to work miracles overnight. All this was before our time. When we arrived in Cologne in April his star was very much on the wane and, when we regathered there again, having finally decided to publish the paper,\footnote{534} it had all but set. The paper and our Workers' Association\footnote{535} placed him in a quandary; either he went along with us or he opposed us. Luckily for him, he and Anneke were arrested at the beginning of July—on account of speeches of some sort, I believe. They were acquitted at the end of 1848 or the beginning of 1849 (I have been vainly searching through the \emph{Neue Rheinische Zeitung} for the date, etc., and shall have to discontinue the search if this letter is to go off). Thereupon the Prophet Gottschalk went into voluntary exile in Paris in the expectation of being recalled by gigantic demonstrations. But no one lifted a finger. After our departure Gottschalk returned to Cologne (it might even have been just before we left) and, having gained his former popularity on the strength of his medical practice in the poorer districts, went back into harness with a will at the outbreak of the cholera epidemic, treated his proletarian patients free of charge, contracted cholera himself, and died.

That is all I know.

In Paris things would seem to have settled down again. Lafargue is by no means as bad as you make him out to be—Jourde is no Boulanger; rather, he masqueraded as a Boulangerist in Bordeaux with the consent of the local party comrades, which I, of course, definitely disapprove of. The man has blundered and will have to pay for it, at any rate for the time being. If, however, he is all right in other respects, and that is something I don't know, he may be restored to grace later on.

I'm very sorry that the \emph{Volks-Bibliothek}\footnote{535} should have involved you

\begin{flushright}
\emph{Neue Rheinische Zeitung}
\end{flushright}
in such losses. But in view of your lack of business experience it was
only to be expected that Geiser would land you in the cart. After all, the
rotten stuff he published was made no better by having your name on it,
while the Schlesingeriad must inevitably have proved the last straw.
That, I think, explains it all quite naturally, without your needing to seek
the reason in the ill-will of others. You surely can’t expect the party to
enthuse over this Volks-Bibliothek.

I too am having a bad time. Percy has gone bankrupt and the whole
family is living here so as to avoid execution at their house; nothing has
been decided yet. Negotiations are going on with the old man\(^a\) but he
maintains that he himself is in a mess—and he’s really a bit cracked. In
short Augustine is in a mess—O my darling Augustine, everything’s
gone.\(^b\) How it will all end I don’t know.

Warm regards from Lenchen and

Your

F. E.

XXVIII, Moscow, 1940

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

ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI\(^536\)

IN BENEVENTO

London, 9 November 1889

Dear Friend,

Difficult as your situation is I can proffer no definite advice; for that,
I should have to be on the spot, it being impossible to give an expert
opinion from a distance.

\(^a\) Percy Rosher’s father - \(^b\) An allusion to the song O du lieber Augustin.
Only one thing can be said with certainty, and that is that neither here
not anywhere else in Europe would it be possible to find anything for
you. Your proximity to Italy would mean that, wherever you were, they
would demand your extradition, and not for a moment would you be
safe.

To find you even temporary employment in this country would be
utterly impossible. Neither I nor my friends could procure this for you—
your having been sentenced could not be kept secret. It would be impos-
sible to accommodate you on the Sozialdemokrat. And in any case, the
demand for your extradition would soon catch up with you. On the
other side of the Atlantic things might be different.

So there only remains the choice between prison and Buenos Aires.
If you are finally convicted by the court of appeal and go to prison, it
seems unlikely that, on the day of your release, you will have any other
alternative but to go to Buenos Aires, for you would surely not be able
to find work in Europe. In my opinion, therefore, the only question is
whether you want to go now, or after having spent three or four years
in gaol.

Should you decide to go now, I can put 200 francs at your disposal as
a contribution towards your travelling expenses. But this is the last help
I shall be able to give you. At the moment I am having to maintain two
families who are related to me, which means that I am myself sometimes
at a loss to know where to turn for the necessary cash.

I am sorry that I cannot do more for you. But the funds I have avail-
able are limited, and I am powerless against the Italian judiciary. I know
full well how desperate your plight is and assure you of my sincere
sympathy but it is not in my power to help you beyond the extent indi-
cated above.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con
italiani. 1848–1895, Milan, 1964

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
Dear Bebel,

I got your letter of 17 October when I was up to my eyes in work on the 4th edition of Capital\textsuperscript{a}—no small task, as it meant comparing yet again all the quotations Tussy had checked for the English edition and correcting the numerous copyist’s and printer’s errors. Hardly had that been done than I had to set to work again on Volume III, which has now got to be brought out quickly, for in Berlin little Schmidt has published a work on the average rate of profit\textsuperscript{b} which shows that the laddie has—greatly to his credit—puzzled out more than one could wish. So you can see that my hands are already completely full; add to that the necessity of keeping up with the international party press and referring back to the economic literature relevant to Volume III, some of which has to be read cover to cover—and you will see that I’m pretty well bogged down and hence you must forgive me if I don’t communicate with you as often as I should like.

As for the French,\textsuperscript{537} if you were to spend longer in their midst and become more closely acquainted with the sort of effect produced by their curious modes of procedure, you would probably take a more lenient view. The Party\textsuperscript{33} there found itself in what was, for France, the unprecedented, if \textit{in the long run} favourable, position of being strong in the provinces and weak in Paris. Thus what was needed was a victory of the steady-going provinces over arrogant, domineering, supercilious and partially corrupt Paris (the corruption being evident in 1. The dominance there of the corrupt Possibilist leaders, 2. The fact that successful opposition to that domination could, in Paris, \textit{only take the form of Boulangism}). On top of that, there were two executives in the provinces—one in Bordeaux for the Trades Unions and one in Troyes\textsuperscript{538} for the socialist groups, these being organised as \textit{such}. So they lacked not only the customary executive in Paris (or any possibility thereof) but

\textsuperscript{a} Volume I – \textsuperscript{b} Conrad Schmidt, \textit{Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marxschen Werthgesetzes}
also a unified provincial executive resp. the intellectual aptitude for such and the general recognition it would call for.

That the position during this interregnum should seem to you people exceedingly confused and unsatisfactory I can quite understand. It is but temporary, however, but it was typical of the French that, despite such a disorganisation of their own party, and despite having made one mistake after another, they should nevertheless have convoked a congress in Paris\footnote{473} where all this must be plain for Europe to see. They rightly considered that any discredit incurred would be far outweighed by the fact of Europe’s being represented at their congress and no more than a few sects at that of the Possibilists.\footnote{478}

That the creation of an immediate impact on the public should be to them a consideration of greater moment than it is to you and me and the bulk of the German party is a failing that is not confined to France. Here and in America the case is just the same. It comes from the greater freedom of their political life and their long familiarity with it. Besides, Liebknecht is acting in just the same way in Germany (one of the chief reasons for our perpetual rows), and, if you were to abolish the Anti-Socialist Law\footnote{52} tomorrow, you’d soon see how quickly the deplorable consideration mentioned above would come to the fore.

Again, I think you would be deceiving yourself were you to conclude from what you experienced at the Paris congress that the working men were being thrust into the background by, say, the literary men. Such may appear to be the case at a congress in Paris, the more so as the impossibility of communicating in foreign languages thrusts the working men into the background. In actual fact the French workers set far greater store than those of any other country by complete and, in particular, formal, equality with men of letters and bourgeois, and, had you read the reports I received regarding Guesde’s, Lafargue’s, etc., agitation during the last elections,\footnote{539} you would probably take a different view.

It was only on account of Protot (see enclosed proclamation) that Guesde wasn’t elected at Marseilles.\footnote{540} In France (because the number of candidates is not restricted in the second ballot, while the relative majority is decisive) it is the general rule that where there are 2 candidates of the same party, the one who polled fewer votes at the first ballot must stand down. Protot was in that position, but he remained a candidate and disseminated the most infamous calumnies about Guesde. Neither was known locally in Marseilles but, as an old member of the Commune, Protot was supported by the followers of that braggart Pyat, the former deputy for Marseilles. Hence it was understand-
able that he should obtain the 900 votes that would have put Guesde in the Chamber. The best constituency in Marseilles had been chosen by Boyer who had, indeed, previously been returned there, and it was he who got in.

So now we have 7 men—by no means the best possible ones. They have chosen Guesde for their secretary and he is to concoct their speeches for them. On the Municipal Council, Vaillant, Longuet and others likewise constitute a separate group. The two groups will enlist the co-operation of Lafargue, Deville, etc., and afterwards form a central committee of the united (or federated) Blanquists and Marxists. In this way an organisation will gradually take shape.

Besides the above, 3 socialists were elected as Boulangists and 2 as Possibilists but these will, of course, be excluded and allowed to fend for themselves.

I am very sorry that Auer should be in such poor case—but no doubt you’ll be getting better news anon. I can only deplore the relative weakness—and this also applies in the field of theory—of the younger generation. But now we have got little Schmidt; he was here for a year and I should never have guessed how much he had in him. If he retains his former modesty—megalomania being today the most insidious and commonest of diseases—he may do excellently.

Over here everything is going swimmingly, but not along the same simple, straightforward lines as in Germany. That calls for people with a natural aptitude for theory. In this country we shall have blunders and to spare. But never mind; the masses are now in motion and every new blunder will bring its own lesson with it. So *man tau,* as the Lower Saxons say.

What are your wife and the future wife of the doctor of medicine doing?

Your

F. E.
Dear Sirs,

I have received and considered your letter of the 7th inst. It strikes me as rather peculiar that you expect me to treat your enquiries as 'confidential', but never offer to extend the same treatment to my reply. Of course I cannot undertake such one-sided engagements.

If I understand you rightly, I am to report to you and eventually name the author of any reports I may have heard on board, from passengers, officers, or sailors, as far as they may have been disrespectful towards the circulating pumps of the City of New York. Such communications, if any, could only be made to me in the expectation that I would treat them after the manner of gentlemen, and not bring their authors into difficulties even supposed they had used an unguarded word or two. To act otherwise, would in my opinion be to turn common informer. Unless I misinterpret what seems to me the clear meaning of your proposal, that is what it amounts to; and in that case it is of a naiveté equalled only by its refreshing coolness.

Anyhow, to set your minds at rest, I will tell you that I don't recollect that anybody in my presence, cast the slightest slur upon the immaculate circulating pumps which you have the honour to represent and that I neither know nor care who made them.

I will not condescend to ask you to treat this letter as confidential. A perusal of this correspondence by a Continental or American lawyer or man of business might lead to some valuable hints as to the manner of conducting similar enquiries.


Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time
My dear Lafargue,

Let us say no more about your proclivity for Boulangism, now happily a thing of the past, and why re-read, at this late date, your letters of yester-year? In any case the gallant general has ruined himself, not only by his failure to remain on the field of battle, but—and this was infinitely worse—by his royalist and Bonapartist alliances; this he now sees and would like to recover his Republican virginity but, as in the case of the fair Eugénie:

Should he this night find a maidenhead,
(Bonaparte, on his wedding-night)
It'll mean the fair lady had two.

No one is in any doubt that the discontent underlying Boulangism is justified, but it is precisely the form assumed by that discontent which goes to show that the majority of Parisian working men are as little aware of their situation as in 1848 and 1851. Then, too, their discontent was justified; the form it assumed, Bonapartism, cost us eighteen years of Empire—and what an Empire! And at that time a fair number of the Parisian working men were still fighting against it; but in 1889 they thought fit to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of 1789 by grovelling at the feet of a mere scallywag. That being so, you can hardly expect other people to defer to the Parisians with the same respect they so readily accorded their forebears.

I am much relieved to hear that the Boulangists—genuine or otherwise—have been kept at arm's length by the Party, and the Possibilists likewise. Had they been admitted such as they are I should have been at a loss what to say to the English, Danes, Germans, etc. For the past twenty years we have been advocating the formation of a Party that was distinct from and opposed to all bourgeois parties—and the inclusion of men elected under Boulanger's banner, a banner whose protection, in those same elections, was extended to the Monarchists and repudiated by them—would have spelt our French Party's ruin vis-à-vis other
national parties. And how exultant would the Hyndmans and Smiths have been then!

You say that the attacks on Boulé achieved nothing save to gain him access to the *Intransigeant* and to get him nominated as a municipal candidate—in other words, publicly profess himself a Boulangist, fall into line with that crew and receive the due reward of his treachery. Thank you!

Your plan is very good if it is practicable—if, that is to say, the provinces are prepared to assume the leadership of this committee. You keep talking about your provincial papers, but you hardly ever send me any. A few used to be forwarded to me by Bonnier, but now I seldom see one. Everything you send me, or get others to send me, will bear fruit in that it will help me keep Bebel posted, and Bebel is ten times more important than Liebknecht; if, moreover, I know what is going on, I can get to work on Ede and the *Sozialdemokrat*.

It would be a good idea if all your newspapers were to arrange exchanges with the *Sozialdemokrat* and the *Labour Elector*, 13 Paternoster Row, E. C. In all other countries this is done as a matter of course; but the French gentlemen wait to be begged—and sometimes begged in vain—to put us in a position to work in their interest. Should this kind of behaviour exceed certain limits, we for our part might begin to tire. Is it really too much to expect some small modicum of order and organisation?

But enough of that. I stand up for you so often and with such ardour vis-à-vis other people that, by way of return, it is only fair that I should give you a thorough dressing-down. At the moment I have no means of checking M. de Paepe’s intimations and the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung* has received confirmation of his death from St. Petersburg; in view of the Russian government’s mendacity and the myths about Russian revolutionaries, there’s no knowing what is true and what is false.

Now for Laura.

Yours ever,

F. E.


Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

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*a* See this volume, p.402-3  
*b* The death of Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky
My dear Laura,

After I finished the enclosed to Paul, I went in the kitchen and had some Pilsener with Nim and Pumps, partly for the sake of the Pilsener and partly because I am ordered to write with interruptions only. Having been, before, to the bank to pay in Sonnenschein’s cheque, because I cannot afford to run the risk of keeping it, it will not astonish you to learn that it is now close upon four p.m. and as I dare not write by the gas-light you see I am rather pinched for time.

Anyhow you have done a marvellous thing in the Senator, about the most difficult thing on earth to be put into English. Not only that you have done it with all the proper impropriety, but even with a near approach to the lightness of the original. And that while both subject and metre are rebellious to translation, the Senator of Empire No. 1 being an unknown quantity over here. If you were a boy I should say: Molodétz, but I am not versed enough in Russian to know whether that epithet (equal about to the English: you’re a brick!) can be feminised into: Molodtzà!

The reflex of Thivrier’s blouse has fallen upon, and lighted up for a moment, even the English press. If he tears a hole into it, the whole respectability of great Britain will cry out about the bad manners of these Frenchmen. Barring old Mother Crawford, who is Irish and with all her crotches immensely superior to the other lot—because she does move on—the rest of the British journalists in Paris beat your French ditto into fits as far as imbecility goes.

The wise men of Cette appear to be quite up to our Krähwinkler and Schildbürger. If Sénéga has retired, Paul would be deputy. If they had not put up Sénéga—they inside or outside the town—Sénéga (who seems to be a worthy descendant of Seneca) would never have been in a position not to retire.

\^ a of Napoleon I \^ b Equivalent to ‘wise men of Gotham’
Glad to learn that the barometer is rising again with our French friends—it is sure to rise more than it ought, but that we are used to and cannot be avoided; how else could the proper average be restored.

Kautsky is in London and has been in possession of Paul’s letter, etc., for about a fortnight, I will tell him tomorrow that Paul expects news from him.

Your pears are gradually being eaten up, but we keep them religiously until at their best, and then I get most of them for my breakfast. Nim has just discovered that the long-shaped ones are sold here at 5d a piece today. Nim has what my poor wife\(^a\) called ‘a gammy leg’, rheumatism (articular) wandering from knee to hip and back. That of course is a most variable quantity though not, unfortunately, une quantité négligeable.\(^b\)

The asthma will become less whenever the weather allows me to take her out a bit to Hampstead. Gumpert told her hill-climbing would mend it and so it does.

Pumps and Co are still here—if a settlement is come to today, they will go back to Kilburn on Monday. The family of Percy has been forced to fork out a bit, but the job will cost me some 60 pounds at least, and then fully half their keep. Percy works for his brother Charlie who has some inventions that seem just now to suit the British philistines, but the pay is but trifling, and the whole thing uncertain.

The 4th edition Vol. 1\(^c\) is in the press and I am back to my Vol. III. No easy job, but mun be done as they say in Lancashire.

Tussy is hard at work—tomorrow she won’t be here at all, having two speeches afternoon and evening, so she won’t get her cheque before Monday. Yours is enclosed, also the account—your share unfortunately but £1.17.6, but then in francs it looks much bigger.

We have got hold of another Mother Schack in Miss Harkness. But this time we have nailed her, and she will find out whom she has to deal with.

Ever yours
F. E.

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\(^a\) Lizzy Burns — \(^b\) a negligible quantity — \(^c\) of Capital
London, 18 November 1889

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith cheque for £20.

If the editors of your newspapers do not understand foreign languages, it would be sensible for them to send out their papers, without the others (the foreigners) having to reciprocate with what is, for the French, incomprehensible gibberish. But I can’t see that this would be any reason for the French not to send their papers to people who can read them and who are more than willing to make use of them in the interests of the French Party.

The Pumps are still here and it is hoped that things will be settled today.

Last night I read Laura’s translation of the Sénateur to some friends. Everyone was delighted. That ought to be printed, Aveling said—But where? I asked—in the Pall Mall Gazette?—whereupon Aveling’s face assumed almost unlimited vertical dimensions.

Suppose Laura was to set about translating some of Heine’s stuff—next time she comes over here she could go to the British Museum, compare the translations that have already appeared, and choose some different piece—it might be possible to do something with it over here. Heine is fashionable at the moment and the translations are so British!

Give Laura a kiss from Nim and myself—Nim is pretty fit.

Yours ever,

F. E.
Dear Citizen Guesde,

I have just had a letter from Mrs Aveling who asks me to write to you if I should happen to have your address. Luckily it had been given me by Bonnier and hence I am doing so without delay. The case is as follows:

In Silvertown, a London suburb, Mrs Aveling is conducting a strike\(^549\) in Messrs Silver’s works where rubber goods, etc., are produced. The strike, in which three thousand working men and women are involved, has been going on for ten weeks and has every prospect of success. That it should succeed is important, for its failure would mean the interruption of the long series of successes scored by the workers since the dock strike,\(^489\) and would spell victory for the English employers whose rapidly dwindling confidence would thus be restored.

A few days ago, the Silver company received very urgent orders they would not possibly be able to carry out with 3,000 out of their 3,500 work people on strike. Furthermore, there was an order for a considerable quantity of submarine cables, which was to be shared out between four factories, among them Silver’s. They will miss their chance, if the strike continues. They made tempting offers to some of the strikers, but to no avail. They then played their last card.

Messrs Silver (a joint stock company which operates under that name) owns a similar establishment at Beaumont-Persan near Paris, where Frenchmen work under English foremen. Some of them were brought over to England. It is known for certain that 70 working men and women from Beaumont have arrived at the docks, but whether they have been introduced into the Silvertown factory is not yet known. It is now imperative that a stop be put to this. They were probably induced to come over under false pretences, without having been told that it was because of a strike.

Mrs Aveling at once telegraphed to Lafargue and Vaillant but, the matter being urgent, we are also addressing ourselves to you, with the
request that you do everything in your power to prevent the French workers from coming to replace the Silvertown strikers, and that you make known the true situation, thus calling upon the class feeling of your workers. It would be frightful were the strikers’ resistance to be broken by the arrival of a number of French Blacklegs. There would be a revival of old national animosities and no means of suppressing them. For the past four months the workers of London’s East End have not only given themselves to the movement body and soul; they have also provided, for their comrades in all other countries, an example of discipline, self-sacrifice, courage and perseverance equalled only by the Parisians when under siege from the Prussians. Just imagine what the effect would be if now, in the midst of the struggle, they were to find French workers fighting under the standard of the English bourgeoisie! No, that is unthinkable! Only let the true situation be known in France and it will, on the contrary, be thanks to the action of the French proletariat that the English strikers will achieve victory.

When, during the dock strike, we sent Anseele a telegram informing him that the employers were bringing in Belgian workmen, he immediately took the necessary action and his letters and telegrams went a long way towards reviving the sometimes flagging spirits of the combatants.

If you feel able to offer similar encouragement to the people of Silvertown, you should write direct to Mrs Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane, London, W. C., which would create an excellent impression.

I hear from Bonnier that your health has greatly improved and that the Marseilles campaign has strengthened your constitution instead of weakening it. I am delighted, for we need every ounce of your energy. It is good news that your slogan ‘Neither Ferry nor Boulanger’ should have excluded the renegades and traitors of both these camps from the Socialist Workers’ Party in the Chamber.

With cordial and fraternal greetings,

F. Engels


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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI
IN BENEVENTO

London, 30 November 1889

Dear Friend,

This is just to let you know in great haste that, immediately after the receipt of your letter, I wrote to Lafargue about Labriola.\(^{553}\) I have today heard from Lafargue, who tells me that he had already written to Labriola about your case, asking him to do all he could for you, and that there was hence no need for me to write to him as well.

Trusting that these steps will meet with success, I remain

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER\(^{554}\)

IN VIENNA

London, 4 December 1889

Dear Adler,

I suggest that you undertake a *revision* of Avenel’s *Cloots*\(^{a}\) for the following reasons:

\(^{a}\) G. Avenel, *Anacharsis Cloots: d’orateur du genre humaine*
In my view (and Marx’s) the book contains the first accurate account, based on a study of the records, to deal specifically with the critical epoch of the French Revolution, namely the time between 10 August and 9 Thermidor.\textsuperscript{555}

The Paris Commune\textsuperscript{364} and Cloots were in favour of a propaganda war as the only possible expedient, whereas the Comité de salut public\textsuperscript{556} went in for politics, was afraid of the European coalition and sought peace by dividing the members of that coalition. Danton wished for peace with England, in other words with Fox and the opposition party, which hoped to come to the helm at the elections. Robespierre was conducting intrigues in Basle with Austria and Prussia and wished to compound with those powers. Both joined forces against the Commune, primarily with the intention of overthrowing the men who wished for a propaganda war—the republicanisation of Europe. They succeeded and the Commune (Hébert, Cloots, etc.) had their heads cut off. From then on, however, no peace was possible between those who wanted to conclude peace only with Britain and those who wanted to conclude peace only with the German powers. The English elections turned out in favour of Pitt, which meant Fox’s exclusion from power for years to come; as a result Danton’s position was ruined, Robespierre emerged victorious and cut off Danton’s head. But—and this was a point upon which Avenel didn’t lay enough stress—whereas the reign of terror was now intensified beyond all reason, because indispensable if Robespierre was to remain at the helm in the conditions then obtaining in France, it was rendered wholly superfluous by the Fleurus victory of 26 June 1794,\textsuperscript{365} which not only liberated the frontiers but delivered up to France both Belgium and, indirectly, the left bank of the Rhine, whereby Robespierre was also rendered superfluous and fell on 28 July.

The whole of the French Revolution is dominated by the war with the coalition, a war upon which its every pulsation depends.—Let the coalition army advance into France, and the vagus takes over, the heart pounds, there’s a revolutionary crisis. Let it be pushed back—and the sympathetic ganglion takes over, the heart slows down, reactionary elements again push themselves to the fore, the plebeians—the forerunners of the later proletariat, thanks to whose energy alone the Revolution was saved—are restored to reason and order.

The tragic thing about it was that the party of war à outrance,\textsuperscript{a} of war for the liberation of the peoples, eventually turned out to be right, and

\textsuperscript{a} to the knife
that the Republic successfully tackled the whole of Europe, but not until after that party had itself long since been decapitated, while instead of the propaganda war, there ensued the Peace of Basle\textsuperscript{557} and the bourgeois orgy of the Directory.\textsuperscript{558}

The book must be completely revised and abridged—the bombast must be excised, and the facts, having been supplemented from ordinary history books, made to stand out clearly. In the process Cloots can be completely relegated to the background; the most important things from the \textit{Lundis révolutionnaires} can be interpolated\textsuperscript{3}—and in this way it can be made into a work on the Revolution such as has never existed before.

The account of how the Battle of Fleurus precipitated the collapse of the reign of terror appeared in 1842 in the (first) \textit{Rheinische Zeitung}, in an excellent review by C. F. Köppen of H. Leo's \textit{Geschichte der französischen Revolution}.\textsuperscript{559}

Many regards to your wife and to Louise Kautsky.

Your
F. E.

First published in: \textit{Victor Adlers \ Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe, Heft 1}, Vienna, 1922

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\textbf{ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON}\textsuperscript{560}

\textbf{IN ST. PETERSBURG}

London, 5 December 1889
11 Burton Road Kilburn, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Immediately on receipt of your letter of the 14/26 November\textsuperscript{561} I informed Mr Lafargue of its contents. He replies that he has written to you at once, saying that he never received any letters from the Lady

\textsuperscript{3} G. Avenel, \textit{Lundis revolutionnaires 1871-1874}
Editor of the *Northern Review*; that he places at her disposal 5 articles or any of them; as to the cutting out of certain passages of the article now in hand he says nothing *to me*, but if he should have omitted replying on that point, it seems to me clear that such must be left to her discretion. His address is

P. Lafargue,
60, Avenue des Champs Elysées
Le Perreux
Seine, France

I now forward to you *registered* a copy of Th. Tooke, on the Currency Principle, London, 1844. This is a copy I bought second hand, it contains some pencil notes by the former owner, mostly confused stuff; also two old newspaper cuttings, one referring to the crisis of 1847 and rather interesting.

In the meantime I have got ready the 4th edition of Volume I now in the press, there are two or three fresh additions from the French edition; the quotations have been looked over with the help of the English edition, and I have added a few notes of my own, especially one about Bimetallism. As soon as ready I shall forward you a copy.

Yours sincerely yours
P. W. Rosher

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\(^a\) A. M. Yevreinova – \(^b\) T. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, etc. – \(^c\) of *Capital*
Dear Sorge,

Letters of 8 and 29 October received with thanks.

That the ‘Socialist Labor Party’ might go into liquidation is too much to hope. Apart from Shevich, Rosenberg has other heirs in plenty, and the conceited, doctrinaire Germans out there will certainly not be anxious to give up their position as self-appointed tutors to the ‘immature’ Americans. Otherwise they’d be complete nonentities.

Here, too, we have seen that it’s not so easy to educate a great nation in doctrinaire and dogmatic fashion, even if one is in possession of the best of theories deriving from that nation’s own mode of existence, and has relatively better educators than those of the Socialist Labor Party. Now the movement has at last got going—as I believe for good. But it isn’t actually socialist and those Englishmen who have understood our theory best remain outside it—Hyndman because he’s an incorrigible intriguer and dog-in-the-manger, Bax because he’s too much of an academic. In form, the movement is first and foremost a trades union movement, but totally different from the movement of the old Trades Unions, that of the skilled labourers or working men’s aristocracy. The way the chaps are tackling the job now is altogether different; they are leading vastly greater masses into the fray, are convulsing society far more profoundly and making much more extensive demands—8-hour day, the universal federation of all organisations, complete solidarity. Thanks to Tussy, the Gas Workers’ and General Labourers’ Union has, for the first time, got women’s branches. Moreover, the chaps consider their present demands to be merely provisional, although they themselves don’t yet know what their ultimate goal will be. But this obscure presentiment is deep-seated enough for them to choose only avowed socialists for their leaders. Like everyone else, they will have to learn by experience and from the consequences of their own mistakes. But it won’t take them long since, unlike the old Trades Unions, they greet with derision any reference to an identity of interests between capital and labour. I hope there won’t be any general elections for the next three years, 1.
that Russia's minion, Gladstone, should not be at the helm at the time when the threat of war is greatest, this being alone sufficient to make the Tsar\(^a\) precipitate a war: 2. so that the anti-Conservative majority grows big enough to ensure genuine Home Rule for Ireland,\(^b\) for otherwise Gladstone will again play a dirty trick on the Irish and this obstacle—the Irish question—won't have been removed: 3. but also so that the labour movement can develop still further and, perhaps, mature more quickly as a result of the bad trading conditions that will surely come as a backlash of the present boom. Then the next parliament might boast between 20 and 40 labour M.P.s, and they of a quite different calibre to your Potters, Cremers & Co.

What is most repellant here is the workers' deeply ingrained sense of middle-class 'respectability'. The division of society into innumerable, incontestably recognised grades, each having its own pride but also an innate respect for its 'betters' and 'superiors', is so old and so firmly established that it's still pretty easy for the middle classes to practise their allurements. I am by no means sure that John Burns, for one, isn't secretly prouder of his popularity with Cardinal Manning, with the Lord Mayor\(^b\) and with the middle classes generally than he is of his popularity with his own class. And Champion—an ex-subaltern—has always indulged in intrigue with middle-class, and notably Conservative, elements, preached socialism at the priest-ridden Church Congress, etc. And even Tom Mann, who to my mind is the best of the lot, likes to say that he's going to lunch with the Lord Mayor. You only have to compare them with the French to see what the benefits of a revolution are. Incidentally, it won't greatly profit the middle classes if they do succeed in luring a few of the leaders into their web. By then the movement will be strong enough to cope with things of that kind.

The 4th edition\(^c\) has been finished and is printing.

Rappaport has been sent to Kautsky.\(^566\) Anyone with such an appalling name must be capable of every kind of nonsense.

Little Hepner\(^567\) is such a clever and, in his own eyes, such an impartial, and at the same time such an impractical, little chap (what the Jews call Schlemihl—a born Jonah) that I'm surprised he hasn't long ago come to grief out there. It's a pity about the little fellow, but there's nothing we can do.

*Time* has now been bought by Bax, who has also, I believe, arranged

\(^a\) Alexander III \(^b\) Henry Aaron Isaacs \(^c\) of the first volume of *Capital*
everything with the Avelings. But it depends on what Bax makes of it. For all his talent and good intentions, Bax is an unknown factor—an impractical academic who has plunged himself into journalism and been somewhat thrown off balance as a result. Add to that his peculiar notion that nowadays it is men who are downtrodden by women.

Your catalogue of the Tribune articles by Marx is doubtless buried under a mountain of unsorted letters. I have got the Tribune articles pasted in somewhere, but whether they are complete I can’t say just now. I only came upon them again this autumn.

Strictly between you and me, I have only just heard that, before leaving here, Schlüter’s wife apparently alleged that Kautsky had elbowed Schlüter out of his post. If she should say anything of the sort out there, there is no truth whatever in it. Schlüter resigned of his own accord and his resignation was accepted by the parliamentary group in Germany. He had a personal quarrel with Motteler, with whom no one can get on, but who is of great value to the party leadership because of his absolute and universally acknowledged reliability in money matters. If on this occasion Schlüter didn’t get from Ede Bernstein all the support he might have expected, the blame rested partly with Ede but also partly with Schlüter himself. Our thoughts only turned to Kautsky as a replacement for Schlüter in the post of archivist after Schlüter’s resignation. I would not have bothered you with this tittle-tattle, but now feel obliged to do so.

A fortnight ago a long letter arrived from Sam Moore. He finds the district salubrious, the situation very fine, and the company tolerable, subscribes to a whole lot of periodicals, but nevertheless would already appear to be looking forward to 1891 and his 6 months’ leave in Europe.

In Germany things are going swimmingly; little Willie is an even more proficient agitator than Bismarck, the miners of the Ruhr are certainly ours, those of the Saar soon will be, and the Elberfeld trial, with its revelations about mouchards is also doing its bit. In France our parliamentary group now numbers 8 men, amongst whom 5 of the delegates to the Marxist congress in Paris, Guesde is their secretary and prepares their speeches for them. There is once more some prospect of a daily paper. The group is going to put forward as a motion the resolutions taken by the congress. Everywhere work is under way for May Day 1890.—In Austria things are also going very well, Adler has managed splendidly and the anarchists there are done for.

———

a William II — b police spies — c Victor Adler
I, too, am well, my eyes have improved and if this goes on until the end of January, through the period of fog and shorter days, I shall be able to work at a brisker pace again. Tussy is busy with the Silvertown strike,\(^{549}\) which would have been over long ago had it not been neglected by Burns & Co.

Cordial regards to your wife,

Your

F. E.


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ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT\(^{570}\)

IN BERLIN

London, 9 December 1889

Dear Schmidt,

Best thanks for your letter of 10 November. I am glad to hear that you are getting along so well in your journalistic career, only you should make sure you are properly paid, otherwise it's only half the battle. Journalism is a very useful training ground, particularly for us Germans since we all of us tend to be a bit clumsy (which is why the Jews are so 'superior' to us in this sphere too); it makes one more flexible in every way, one gets to know and assess one's own abilities better and, above all, one learns to do a given piece of work in a given length of time. On the other hand, it can also lead to superficiality because shortage of time
accustoms one to dashing off things one knows one has not yet fully mastered. But someone like you with a scientific bent will nevertheless be able to preserve his powers of discrimination and not be tempted to place a dazzling tour de force, calculated for immediate effect and drawn exclusively from the handiest sources, on a par with a scientific work painstakingly produced if outwardly, perhaps, not so brilliant; although here too the cash forthcoming tends to be in inverse proportion to the actual value.

Once you have made a position for yourself in journalism you ought to try and establish contacts that would enable you to return to London for a year or two. It's pretty well the only place that is any good for the study of political economy. Despite the great advances happily made by German industry during the past 25 years, we still lag behind others—in the customary manner—in this respect too. England has anticipated us in heavy goods, and France in fashion goods; for the export trade, as I once said in an article for the Paris Égalité, our industry could have recourse only to goods that 'étaient trop mesquins pour les Anglais ou trop vilains pour les Français'. Hence, too, the remarkable phenomenon in Germany that the most notable feature of the present industrial boom is a drop in exports because, with the rise in internal consumption and thanks to protective tariffs, the manufacturers can sell more goods at home at monopolistic prices and are therefore having to sell fewer abroad at give-away prices. Hence all the economic phenomena there are manifested, firstly in a derivative form and, secondly, in a form vitiated by the protective tariff system, and are therefore always special instances nor, save as exceptions and after having been thoroughly purged of irrelevancies, can they be used to demonstrate the general laws and phases of development of capitalist production. Today, more than ever before, free trade has made England the classical field for the study of those laws and this all the more in that England, though in absolute terms still increasing its production, is, in relative terms, definitely declining by comparison with other countries and rapidly becoming a Holland-type nation. However, the decline of British industry is, in my view, coincidental with the collapse of capitalist production generally. And whereas there can be little doubt that Germany will be the ground on which the struggle will be fought out, it may well be in England that the issue is decided.

* 'were too mean for the English and too ugly for the French' (F. Engels, 'The Socialism of Mr. Bismarck', see present edition, Vol. 24, p.275)
Which is why it’s so splendid that here too, and at this particular juncture, the movement should have got under way in real earnest and, as I think, for good and all. The strata of working men who are now buckling to are infinitely more numerous, energetic and aware than the old Trades Unions, which represented only the aristocracy of the working class. They have far more drive. Whereas the old men still continue to believe in ‘harmony’, the young deride anyone who mentions an identity of interests between capital and labour. And whereas the old reject all socialists, the young refuse to have anyone at all except avowed socialists for their leaders. Here I have a splendid informant in the person of Tussy, who is deeply involved in the said movement.

As I have already said, do try and come back here. You could risk it if you were to work as correspondent and do various other jobs for the Neue Zeit, Braun’s Archiv and one or two other magazines. We should all—and I especially—be delighted to see you here again.

Sam Moore is in Africa, in Asaba on the Niger, as Chief Justice to the territories of the Royal Niger Company. He left in the middle of June and writes very contentedly; he finds the region salubrious and the company tolerable. Sleeps sweetly, I hope, in a negress’ arms.

Otherwise everything here is much as it was. Aveling seems to be doing well with his dramatic endeavours—his last piece, a fortnight ago, was much liked. The Swiss expellees are gradually settling down. Time, a monthly controlled by Bax, will be appearing as from 1 January.

With kindest regards

Yours
F. Engels

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Dear Mr Trier,

Many thanks for your interesting communication of the 8th.

Since you ask my opinion about the recent dramatic events in Copenhagen to which you fell victim, let me begin with one point upon which I am not of one mind with you.

You reject on principle any kind of collaboration, however transient, with other parties. I am revolutionary enough not to deprive myself even of this recourse in circumstances in which it would be more to our advantage or at any rate do us least harm.

That the proletariat cannot seize political power, which alone will open the doors to the new society, without violent revolution is something upon which we are both agreed. If the proletariat is to be strong enough to win on the crucial day, it is essential—and Marx and I have been advocating this ever since 1847—for it to constitute a party in its own right, distinct from and opposed to all the rest, one that is conscious of itself as a class party.

This does not mean, however, that the said party cannot occasionally make use of other parties for its own ends. Nor does it mean that it cannot temporarily support other parties in promoting measures which are either of immediate advantage to the proletariat or spell progress in the direction of economic development or political freedom. I would support anyone in Germany who genuinely fought for the abolition of primogeniture and other feudal relics, of bureaucracy, protective tariffs, and Anti-Socialist Law and restrictions on the right of assembly and of association. If our German Party of Progress or your Danish Venstre were genuine radical-bourgeois parties and not just a miserable bunch of windbags who creep into their holes at the first threat uttered by Bismarck or Estrup, I would by no means unreservedly reject any kind of temporary collaboration with them having a specific end in view. When our deputies vote for a motion tabled by a different party—as they all too often have to do—even this could be described as a form
of collaboration. But I would be in favour of it only if its immediate advantage to ourselves or to the country's historical progress towards economic and political revolution was instantly apparent and worth the effort. And provided the proletarian class character of the party were not jeopardised thereby. Thus far and no further I am prepared to go. You will find this policy propounded as early as 1847 in the *Communist Manifesto*; we pursued it in 1848 in the International, everywhere.

Disregarding the question of morality—a point I am not concerned with here and shall therefore not discuss—I would, as a revolutionary, countenance any means, the most violent but also what may seem the most moderate, that were conducive to the ends.

Such a policy demands insight and strength of character, but what policy does not? It exposes us to the dangers of corruption, or so say the anarchists and friend Morris. Very well, if the working class is an assortment of blockheads and weaklings and downright venal blackguards, then we might as well pack up at once, for in that case neither the proletariat nor any of the rest of us would have any business to be in the political arena at all. Like all other parties, the proletariat will be best taught by its own mistakes, and from those mistakes no one can wholly save it.

In my opinion, therefore, you are wrong when you elevate what is primarily a question of tactics to the level of a question of principle. And so far as I'm concerned, the only question that confronts us at the start is a tactical one. A tactical error, however, may in certain circumstances, lead to an infringement of principle.

And here, so far as I can judge, you are right in criticising the tactics of the *Hovedbestyrelsen*. For years the Danish Left has been acting out an undignified comedy of opposition, nor does it ever tire of demonstrating its own impotence to the world at large. It has long since missed the opportunity—if ever it had one—of avenging the infringement of the Constitution by force or arms; indeed, an ever increasing proportion of the Left would seem to be yearning for reconciliation with Estrup. A genuinely proletarian party could not, or so it seems to me, collaborate with a party of that kind without in the long run forfeiting its class character as a working men's party. Hence, in so far as you stress the class character of the movement as arguing against this policy, I can only agree with you.

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*a* See present edition, Vol. 6, pp.477-520  
*b* Central Executive  
*c* the Venstre Party
Now as regards the methods adopted towards you and your friends by the Hovedbestyrelsen, such summary expulsion of an opposition from the party certainly occurred in the secret societies of 1840-51; the very secrecy of the organisation made this inevitable. It also occurred—not infrequently—among the English Physical Force Chartists under the dictatorship of O’Connor. But the Chartists, being a party specifically organised for the use of force as their very name implies, were subject to dictatorship, and expulsion was an act of military discipline. On the other hand I have heard of no such high handed procedure in time of peace save in the case of the Lassalleans in J. B. von Schweitzer’s ‘rigid organisation’; von Schweitzer had to make use of it because of his suspect dealings with the Berlin police, and in doing so only precipitated the disorganisation of the General German Workers’ Association. It would be most unlikely to occur to any of the socialist labour parties presently in existence—now that Mr Rosenberg has happily made himself scarce in America—to treat along Danish lines an opposition it had nurtured in its own bosom. No party can live and prosper unless moderate and extreme tendencies grow up and even combat one another within its ranks, and one which expels the more extreme tendencies out of hand will merely promote their growth. The labour movement depends on mercilessly criticising existing society, criticism is the breath of life to it, so how can it itself avoid being criticised or try and forbid discussion? Are we then asking that others concede us the right of free speech merely so that we may abolish it again within our own ranks?

If you should wish to publish the whole of this letter, I should have no objection.

Yours sincerely

First published in Russian in Bolshevik, No. 21, 1932
Printed according to the original
Published in English in full for the first time
Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

First of all my most sincere thanks for the greetings you and your son\(^a\) so kindly sent me on my last birthday, which was a most merry occasion. We all had to sit up until midnight so as to kill two birds with one stone, for the next day was Aveling’s birthday and this we proceeded to celebrate together.

We were glad to hear that you are all in the best of health. We, too, are getting on pretty well; Nimmi has had some bad colds and all of us have had attacks of rheumatism—not that it can be wholly avoided in this climate, but so long as it doesn’t get too bad, no one complains about it.

All is also well with the Roshers, except that last Sunday Papa Percy caught a bad cold which very nearly developed into pneumonia. However he’s improving though it will, of course, put paid to any Christmas jollifications so far as he is concerned and he won’t be allowed to leave the house tomorrow. At the moment Pumps is without a maid; the last one upped and left a fortnight ago while she and the children were out, and when Pumps returned she found the house deserted and locked and, since she had no key, the company had to come round to me and await Percy’s arrival; until then they were unable to get in. So here too, you see, all kinds of \(\textit{petits misères}\)^b keep cropping up.

There will be a big party here tomorrow evening if Pumps and her children are able to come; besides them, the Mottelers, Fischers and Bernsteins will be coming, as will the Avelings, of course, and then there’ll be Schorlemmer, who has been here since yesterday. The number coming corresponds exactly to the number we can, at a pinch, find place for. Nimmi is busy cooking and baking—the plum puddings were made a week ago. It’s an awful chore, with no purpose other than to bring on attacks of indigestion! But such is required by custom, and one has to conform. Nevertheless we’ll make merry, even if we’re sorry for it on Boxing Day.

\(^a\) Theodor Liebknecht \(^b\) little calamities
Ever since the dock strike, when she worked day and night on the committee—the real executive work was done by 3 women—Tussy has been deeply involved in the strike movement. While the dock strike was on, a small strike broke out in Silvertown on the furthest outskirts of the East End, some 3,000 people. She was in the thick of it, organised a branch of the union for the girls and had to make her way there every morning—after 12 weeks, however, the strike ended in defeat. She is presently taking part in the gas strike in South London and on Sunday morning spoke in Hyde Park, but it isn’t so exhausting, of course, and gives her more free time. She and Aveling will be taking on the assistant editorship of a monthly which has been acquired by E. B. Bax with effect from 1 January and that will be work enough in itself. Besides this she is secretary to two women’s trade societies.

I also got a letter from Liebknecht yesterday and would ask you to be good enough to thank him for it on my behalf. He will doubtless be with you tomorrow. We over here are anxiously awaiting the verdict at the Elberfeld trial. I have long since lost all faith in the Prussian judiciary and only trust that Bebel won’t be convicted along with others.

The people in Paris are, it seems, to have a daily paper again—but my hopes on this score have so often been dashed that I won’t really believe it until I see it. Our French parliamentary group of eight men has not done at all badly up till now and has shown remarkable discipline when one considers that they have come together from all parts of France and are, to a great extent, strangers to one another.

And now, dear Mrs Liebknecht, I should like to send my best wishes for a merry Christmas and a thoroughly enjoyable New Year to you, Liebknecht, Theodor and all the other children, not forgetting Mrs Geiser. I heard from the Schlüters yesterday; they seem to be getting on pretty well.

With warm regards from Nimmi, the Roshers and myself

Yours very sincerely

F. Engels


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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a Time
ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 December 1889

Dear Kugelmann,

A Happy New Year to you.

Thank you for the prescription for my eyes, which, however, is not nearly concentrated enough for me. Last year and up till August I used cocaine and, as this grew less effective (on account of habituation), went on to ZnCl₂, which works very well. If I weather the present short days successfully—the last daylight we saw was on 28 December—since yesterday morning it has been perpetual night—I shall have put the worst behind me.

Kindest regards.

Your

F. E.

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time
Engels to Mrs Zadek
In London

[London, beginning of January, 1890]

[Draft]

Dear Mrs Zadek,

We were both, Lenchen and I, as surprised as we were delighted when we received the beautiful pieces of handwork you so kindly sent us. It was surely too much for you to have sat down, your eyes being as troublesome as they are (and I know what that means from my own experience), and made such complicated things. And for that reason they will be all the more treasured. Lenchen is in absolute raptures over her fine warm skirt and, even though you may have flattered me a shade too much in regard to the smallness of my feet, I’m perfectly sure that the slippers and I will, on longer acquaintance, become most intimate friends. We both of us thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I hope your health permitted you to spend a happy 70th birthday surrounded by your dear ones; may we please send you our belated congratulations? This distinction still lies ahead of Lenchen and myself—in my case it actually falls this year. It is a peculiar decade in which to enter it.

With my kindest regards to you and Dr Zadek.

Very respectfully, Yours,

F. E.
ENGLIS TO SERGEY STEPNIAK

[London,] 3 January 1890

My dear Stepniak,

As I have no Geneva address, I must send you my article. Please have the German original returned to me as soon as possible so that I can then write the second article.579

How often will your Review be published?

Happy New Year to you, Mrs Stepniak and all friends.

Ever yours
F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in the collection Gruppa 'Osvobozhdeniye Truda', No. 1, Moscow, 1924

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE40

AT LE PERREUX

London, 8 January 1890

My dear Laura,

Prosit Neujahr avant tout! Et puis après, as I cannot bear the idea that you should translate Walther von der Vogelweide from a modernisation, I send you a copy of the original.580 You are quite right, the metre and rhyme of the original ought to be preserved in every translation of poetry, or else go the whole hog like the French and turn it at once into prose.

Hope you got over your influenza by this. We have it here too and pretty thick, although of our nearer circle none has as yet been caught.

a The original erroneously has: ‘89’ – b First of all, a Happy New Year to you! Then, next,
Percy is better, but Pumps is laid up with bronchitis and congested lungs, will however be up soon. Charley R. is the only one I know who can boast of having the influenza.

Old Harney is laid up at Enfield with chronic bronchitis; I shall have to go some day this week and see him. Poor fellow, but he feels happy in one thing: being out of America! It is most amusing to see how America makes all Englishmen patriotic, even Edward was not without a touch. And all on account of a quarrel about ‘manners’ and ‘breeding’! The Yankees, too, have a rather provoking way of asking you how you like the country, what you think of it, and expect of course an outburst of admiration. And so poor old Harney has got so disgusted with the ‘Land of the free’ that his only wish is to be well back to the ‘effete monarchy’ and never to return to Yankeeland. I am afraid he will have his wish; bodily he is aging very much, no wonder after the eight years’ torture with rheumatic gout he has had. But in spirit he is the old inveterate punster and full of humour.

I was glad, on receiving Paul’s letter about the new paper,\(^5\) that I had written to Bonnier my opinion that they ought formally to engage you on the rédaction for the German part. So he will see that I had no idea of the situation and at the same time considered it as self-understood that everybody got paid. He has not written again to me but to Tussy, saying the paper will come out 11th January, and wanting them to write and to get Burns, etc. to do the same.

I really think you are about the only person who can keep his or her head above water and clear in Paris; that place seems to make people cracked. Here is Bonnier who was sensible enough as long as he was here and now all at once he is as mad as Guesde can be over this impossible paper. A daily paper with unpaid rédaction, unpaid correspondents, unpaid everything—why it is ruination to begin with, and being kicked out of the paper you have made as soon as you demand the payment due for your work! He might well write to me que la partie internationale doit être écrasante\(^\text{b}\)—when the partie parisienne is as good as non-existent from the beginning! And to expect people here to write à jour fixe\(^\text{c}\) regular letters, so that the fact may be announced la veille\(^\text{d}\) for that he actually expected all of us, Burns and God knows whom besides, to do here, and all for the honour of having the honour of being allowed to speak to the inhabitants de la ville lumière qui se fichent pas mal de nous tous!\(^\text{e}\)

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\(^{a}\) Either Charles Roesgen or Charles Rosher
\(^{b}\) that the international side must be an overwhelming burden!
\(^{c}\) on fixed days
\(^{d}\) the day before
\(^{e}\) of the City of Light which doesn’t give a damn for any of us
It strikes me this affair will end in all sorts of muddles, if not in quarrels amongst our own people at the moment when everything seemed to promise well.

Anyhow I shall feel obliged and it will be useful to all of us if you or Paul will keep us well posted up with regard to this matter; for we shall surely be bombarded with all sorts of demands when once the paper is out, and experience shows that ‘in the interest of the cause’ one half of the facts are kept from us. Of course we shall be very shy in engaging ourselves, but at the same time it will be better if we have not in every case first to inquire from you how the matter really stands.

I don’t understand how Guesde can act in that way upon his own hook and let his meridional imagination run away without the consent of Paul, Deville and others. Bonnier’s letters sound as if these people thought the whole world was idle, had more time on their hands than they knew to employ, and was anxiously waiting for the chance of a French paper coming out to which they might contribute gratis! Such things would not be suffered in the German or any other party—that one man engages the responsibility of all without a special mandate; that he acts upon delusions, as to the chances of his getting foreign contributors, which you and Paul would have at once destroyed, or if you had a chance of refuting them, acts in spite of your better experience. Really if our friends will be guided by their delusion and fancies alone, nobody can prevent them from coming to grief.

I am called away suddenly and must conclude.

Ever yours
F. Engels

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Ich kam gegangen
zuo der ouve:

dô was mín *friedel* komen ê. *vriedel*
dô wart ich *empfangen* *emphangen*
hêre frouwe,  
daz ich bin saelic iemer mê.  
kuster mich? wol tüsentsstunt:  
tandaradei  
sêht wie rôt ist mir der munt.  

Dô het er gemachet  
alsô rîche  
von bluomen eine bettestat:  
des wirt noch gelachet  
innecliche,  
kumt iemen an daz selbe pfat.  
bî den rosen er wol mac  
tandaradei  
merken wâ mirz houbet lac.  
Da zer bî mir gelaège,  
wessez iemen  
(nu enwelle* got!) sô schamte ich mich.  
was er mit mir pflaege,  
phlaege  
niemer niemen  
bevinde daz, wan er unt ich,  
unt ein kleinez vogellon -  
tandaradei  
daz mac wol getruwe sîn  
*enwelle = wolle nicht.

Pronunciation:
îe, iu, uo, the accent on first vowel: íe, íu, úo.
ei = ei in Portuguese, Italian, Danish, Russian etc. e+i, not a+i as in Neuhochdeutsch
sch = s+ch same as in Dutch & Greek.
H at end of syllable or before consonant = Swiss ch, nahtegal, schr. nachtegal, lacht.
Z = ts, zz = ss.
Vowels with circumflex long, all others short: tal, not tâl, schamt, not schâmt.
Diphthongs of course long.


Reproduced from the original
Dear Hermann,

Many thanks for your good wishes which, and this goes for you all, I heartily reciprocate. I'm glad to hear that you're all getting on so well and I, too, cannot complain. I put on weight again last year and am now back to 168 English lbs, which is about as heavy as I've ever been, though all of it is firm muscular flesh without any loose adipose tissue. My eyes are also improving; as a rule the foggy season, when the days are shortest, used to be the critical time during which they invariably got worse, but I've come through the present season in better shape than I've known for years and so there's a fair prospect of my being able to return to full-time work before long. Even the doctors won't believe me when I tell them I'm in my seventieth year; they say I look ten or fifteen years younger. Of course all this is simply on the surface and even in my own case may prove deceptive, for all kinds of minor ailments may be lurking underneath and over a period these many little things can add up to quite a lot, but all in all I can't complain and when I see how so many people make their lives an utter misery for nothing and less than nothing and to no purpose whatsoever, I can count myself lucky that I have retained my joie de vivre unimpaired and can laugh at such idiotic behaviour.

But by now you will doubtless have heard enough about my esteemed person to last you for a long time and I too believe that it's high time I stopped.

I duly got your circular about the boys and at once drank a hearty toast all on my own to the health of the new partners.\(^{582}\) It is very wise of you to have brought the boys into the partnership; after all, most of the work fell to them, as did most of the responsibility whenever the two of you were away from Engelskirchen, and it will give them quite a different incentive if their status in the firm corresponds to the work they do. I now advise you and Rudolf\(^{a}\) to devote as much as possible of your well-earned leisure to open air pursuits and, in summer, to travelling (you won't, I imagine, forget to go shooting in the autumn). Just you see how that sets you up.

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\(^{a}\) Rudolf Engels
I was notified by circular of Fritz Boelling’s death (I was about to say August Boelling) and I think I heard about Fritz Osterroth in the same way. August Boelling may have been a pretty frail little chap, but he still managed to live to eighty, though no doubt he was careful not to overdo things towards the end. People like that can get away with it, while we, who enjoy better health, take on more and more work as we grow older, catch some beastly ailment and crack up as a result. That, however, is not altogether a bad thing, and also has its advantages. You at any rate will, in 2 or 3 years’ time, reap the benefit of having reared your own doctor, to whose care you can consign your body, thereby relieving yourself of any further responsibility in that respect also.

I trust Emma enjoyed the New Year’s cake as much as I have the numerous German dainties I have been consuming during the past three weeks over and above the obligatory plum pudding, mince pies, etc. For we now have a gas stove, as our range has ceased to draw and the landlord hasn’t installed a new one. This transition from difficult to easy cooking has put my old housekeeper into a real culinary frenzy and I must now eat my way through the fruits thereof.

Influenza, so-called, which, however, is said to be actually quite different from our old, familiar grippe, has also begun to take hold over here and a number of my acquaintances have already got it. An Englishman who came here for a meal last Sunday is in a state of such trepidation that he always keeps a bottle of ammoniated quinine in his pocket to drink from at table. May it do him good, but I’d rather have influenza than guzzle the bitter, evil-smelling stuff between meat and vegetables and spoil my good wine!

So I trust that all of you will remain in good health and good spirits. My love to Emma, the children, Rudolf and family and yourself.

Ever yours,
Friedrich

First published in: Deutsche Revue, Jg. 46, Bd. III, 1921
Published in English for the first time

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a Walter Engels  –  b Emma Engels  –  c Helene Demuth
Dear Schlüter,

Warmest thanks for your and your wife’s good wishes, most cordially reciprocated by all of us over here. I also received your letter of 1 July,\textsuperscript{584} shortly after that date, likewise the \textit{Commonwealth} with Marx as a gigantic tree and, all round it, the inhabitants of the new communist Jerusalem. Also the article about G. Weerth, but unfortunate only No. 1 and not the final part.

Now as for Reid, I have sent your letter to Tussy and asked her to make inquiries from Champion (\textit{Labour Elector}), but haven’t so far had an answer.\textsuperscript{585} The chaps over here are frightfully dilatory about anything with which they are not immediately concerned and are, besides, exceedingly busy; Tussy may have something to tell me tomorrow, in which case I’ll let you know by the next post.

As regards the matter of John Burns’ trip to America, this would seem to me highly problematical; he cannot really leave this country without making way for his rivals and he also has to be present on the County Council,\textsuperscript{451} since he is the only labour representative there.

The movement’s headlong progress last summer has slackened off a bit. And, best of all, the bourgeois rabble’s mindless sympathy for the labour movement as manifested during the dockers’ strike has also abated and is starting to give way to a far more natural feeling of mistrust and anxiety. During the gas strike in South London,\textsuperscript{577} which the Gas Company forcibly imposed on the workers, the latter have again been left completely in the lurch by the philistines. This is excellent, and I only hope that some day Burns will himself meet with a similar experience in a strike led by him, for in this respect he is subject to all manner of illusions.

On top of that there is, as was only to be expected, all manner of friction, e.g. between gas workers and dockers. But despite all this the masses are in spate and there’s no restraining them. The longer the tide is dammed back, the more violent the irruption will be when it comes. And these unskilled men are a very different proposition from the stick-
lers of the old Trades Unions; not a trace of the old formalist spirit, of the narrow guild outlook of, say, the engineers; on the contrary, a general call for the organisation of all Trades Unions into one brotherhood and for an outright struggle with capital. During the dockers' strike, for instance, there were three engineers at the commercial docks who kept the steam-engine going. Burns and Mann—both are engineers themselves and Burns is on the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineers Trades Union—were asked to induce the men to leave, for in that case the cranes would be unable to work and the Dock Co. be forced to give way. The three engineers refused, nor did the engineers' Executive intervene—hence the long duration of the strike! Again, at the Silvertown Rubber Works—12 weeks' strike—the strike failed because of the engineers, who didn't join in, even doing labourers' work in contravention of their own union's rules! And why? In order to 'limit the supply of workers', these idiots have a rule whereby only those who have served a proper apprenticeship are admitted to their UNION. In this way they have created a host of competitors known as black-legs, who are no less skilled than themselves and who would like to join the union but are forced to remain black-legs because kept out by this pedantic regulation, which today has become quite meaningless. And because they knew that, both in the commercial docks and in Silvertown, they would immediately have been replaced by the said black-legs, they remained where they were, thus themselves becoming black-legs vis-à-vis the strikers. Therein you may see the difference: The new unions stick together—during the present gas strike, the sailors and (steamers') firemen, lightermen, coal carters, etc., are all standing shoulder to shoulder, but here again not the engineers, needless to say; they just carry on working!

However, the old Trades Unions, the big self-opinionated ones, will soon be cut down to size; their mainstay, the London Trades Council, is gradually being worsted by the new unions and, in 2 or 3 years at the most, the Trades Union Congress will itself have been revolutionised. Even at the next one your Broadhursts are going to get the shock of their lives.

The main thing about your revolution in the American socialist teacup is that you have killed off Rosenberg & Co. As such, the German party over there has got to go; it is proving the worst obstacle. The American workers will come along all right but, just like the English, they will go their own way. You can't drum theory into them before the event, but they will soon light upon it as a result of their
own experience, their own blunders and the undesirable consequences thereof—and then it'll be all right. Independent peoples go their own way and the English and their offshoots are the most independent of all. Their insular, stubborn inflexibility may often be irritating but it also ensures that, once they have got going, they will finish what they have begun.

I am pretty well and my eyesight has improved at last, but I'm not allowed to write for more than 3 hours a day (by daylight). Nim is also well. In the Rosher household, first Percy and then Pumps have fallen ill. Aveling has got influenza. In Kentish Town things are going on much as usual to the inevitable accompaniment of tirades from Germany.—The Edes have settled down very well. So have the Fischers.

Tell Sorge he'll be getting a letter one of these days but, having waited for so long, you were first on the list. Cordial regards to your wife and self from Nim and

Your
F. Engels

First published, slightly abridged, in: 

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Published in English in full for the first time

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The seat of the _Sozialdemokrat_ editorial office in London
Dear Friend,

I have been deliberating the matter of the letter of introduction for Buenos Aires. I cannot conceal what has happened from the comrades out there. In so far as I enjoy the workers' trust, this rests upon the assumption that what I tell them is the whole truth and nothing but the truth, no matter what the circumstances.

If I were you, I would prefer not to have any such letter of recommendation. The moment one person out there gets wind of your conviction, a hundred others will get wind of it too, and notably those who would neither read nor give a rap for my testimonial. And then you would be no better off there than you were at home; your conviction would pursue you everywhere. Better a new life under a new name. You are young and, to judge by your photograph, strong—just take courage!

But in order to take care of all eventualities, I enclose a document in which I say in your favour whatever can and may be said with a clear conscience. However, I would again advise you not to make use of it. This may render the struggle more arduous in the early days. But in the long run a complete break with the past cannot but make it easier.

Well, you must be the best judge of what you ought to do. But I hope that none of this will be necessary and that the Court of Appeal will pronounce you innocent.

Very sincerely yours,
F. Engels

Addresses

Vorwärts, Editorial Department; Calle Reconquista 650 nuevo (the streets have old and new numbers) Verein Vorwärts, Calle Commercio 880.

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a See this volume, p.351
Mr Pasquale Martignetti of Benevento (Italy) has corresponded with me regularly for some six years past. Under the most difficult circumstances and with great perseverance he has learned German so as to make German scientific socialism available to his compatriots in translation. He then proceeded to translate, first my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopia zur Wissenschaft* and later my *Ursprung der Familie*, etc., into Italian and to publish the translations after they had been looked over by me. Unfavourable circumstances prevented the publication of his translation of Marx's *Kapital und Lohnarbeit*.

Mr Martignetti was employed as clerk in the Royal Notary's Office—a legal agency—in Benevento. There he was accused of embezzlement and this, or so it seems to me, simply by way of retaliation for his activities as a socialist writer; and Mr Martignetti was eventually sentenced to imprisonment by the Italian stipendiary magistrates of two courts. I have read neither the documents of the case nor the reports of the proceedings, but only the accused man's defence. However, I believe that he was wrongly convicted, and this for the following reasons:

1. Because he was accused only as an accomplice of the chief defendant; the said chief defendant, however, was acquitted whereas Mr Martignetti, who was allegedly only his abettor, was convicted.

2. Because the sums alleged to have been embezzled were first stated to be over 10,000 francs but dwindled as the trial went on until finally only 500 fr. were said to have been embezzled.

3. Because the Prefect of Benevento, a highly placed civil servant, was so convinced of his innocence that he employed him in his office after his dismissal from the Notary's Office and even while the trial was in progress.

4. Again, because he was simply a clerk, no court funds passed through his hands, so that he could not very well have embezzled any.

Whatever the outcome of his trial may be, Mr Martignetti will probably choose to leave Italy and seek out a new home for himself. If such be the case, I hereby authorise him to make use of this, my testimonial, in any way he thinks fit. Should he anywhere encounter German comrades to whom my opinion is not a matter of complete indifference, I would ask them to rest assured that the above is strictly in accordance

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"Socialism: Utopian and Scientific — Origin of the Family — Wage Labour and Capital. In the draft the ensuing sentence reads: 'By engaging in these activities, Mr Martignetti has done signal service to the labour movement, notably in furthering mutual understanding between Italian and German socialists.'"
with the truth and that I have withheld nothing whatsoever. Should they be able to help him find a post in which he could earn an honest living and upon which he could found a new existence, they would be doing a kindness to a man who, in my opinion, has been prosecuted only because of his activities on behalf of the international labour movement.

122, Regent's Park Road, London, N. W.
13 January 1890

Friedrich Engels

First published, in Italian, in: La corrispondenza di Marx i Engels con italiani. 1848-1895, Milano, 1964
Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO ELEANOR MARX-AVELING
IN LONDON

[London, 14 January 1890]

Just received Tuesday 9.30 p.m. – I send it to you – do not think it requires a long reply, at all events I have not time to write one. Please return.590 Hope Edward is better. What does the doctor say?

Yours
F. E.

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Burns has sent us word that he does not know the man concerned,\textsuperscript{a} so the firm is at any rate an obscure one.\textsuperscript{b}

A great deal of flu around – so far we’ve been spared. Otherwise nothing new.

Your

F. E.

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\textsuperscript{a} George W. Reid – \textsuperscript{b} See this volume, p.436
And as soon as I had replied in the negative, you did terminate it. You can hardly deny, that if you intended to convey the idea that the engagement was a mere preliminary to the loan, you could not have done it better. But you now say there was no connection whatever between the two, and of course I am bound to believe you.

Yours sincerely

F. E.


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 23 January 1890

Dear Bebel,

Congratulations on the Elberfeld acquittal and no less on your brilliant handling of the case, which emerged quite clearly despite the bad reporting. It was no small thing to steer your way through it as you did, with a train of 90 accused, including a Röllinghof and, no doubt, a number of other worthless elements: but I don’t suppose that Mr Pinoff will ever want to see you confronting him from the dock again. So that chap is the ultimate of which the Prusso-German Public Prosecutor’s Office is capable. He interprets the law just as Bismarck does the Constitution, i.e. as an undergraduate in a pub interprets the students’ beer drinking ritual—the greater the uproar the better. It’s enough to make a French—not to mention English—lawyer’s hair stand on end.

Today, no doubt, the Anti-Socialist Law will again be debated in Berlin. I think you are right when you say (in the Arbeiter-Zeitung)
that, if Bismarck doesn’t cop it from this Reichstag, he’ll cop it from the
next one; the ever-mounting tide of our votes will break the back of any
and every bourgeois opposition. In this I do not see eye to eye with Ede.
He and Kautsky—they both have something of a bent for ‘higher poli-
tics’—believe that what we should aim for in the next elections is a
majority hostile to the government. As though anything of the sort still
existed among the bourgeois parties in Germany! The men of Progress\(^45\)
will disappear with the suspension of the Anti-Socialist Law; the bour-
geois elements among them will go over to the National Liberals,\(^596\) and
the petty bourgeois and working men to us. That is why they will cry
off every time it looks as though the Anti-Socialist Law might be thrown
out. And in other respects also Bismarck will always obtain a majority;
evén though they may still show some tendency to bridle and jib in the
first year, he’ll talk them round in the second and they are, after all, safe
from their constituents for the next 5 years! But if Bismarck goes off the
rails or otherwise disqualifies himself, it doesn’t really matter what sort
of people (bourgeois, I mean, not Junkers) there are in the Reichstag; let
the wind but shift and they are all equally capable of reviling their idols
of yesterday. On this occasion, therefore, I can see absolutely no reason
for not repaying the Progress people in kind for their infamous behav-
avour in 1887\(^597\) and bringing it home to them that if they exist at all, it is
only by courtesy of ourselves. It was Parnell’s decision in 1886 to get the
Irish in England to vote everywhere against the Liberals and for the
Tories, i.e. to abandon the role of a tame Liberal electorate for the first
time since 1880, which, in the space of 6 weeks, turned Gladstone and
the Liberal leaders into Home Rulers.\(^598\) And if ever something is to be
made of the men of Progress, this can only be done by showing them \(\text{ad oculos}\)^\(^a\)—in the second ballot—that they are dependent upon ourselves.

I am looking forward enormously to the actual elections.\(^595\) For then
our German working men will again show the world what finely
tempered steel they are made of. It’s possible that you’ll have a new
element in the Reichstag—labour representatives who are not as yet
socialists. The movement amongst the miners\(^435\) will have given you an
idea of the way in which the movement is progressing \(\text{over here}\)—a hith-
erto indifferent stratum of the working class, largely proof against agita-
tion, is being galvanised out of its lethargy by having to fight for its
immediate interests and is virtually impelled into the movement by the

\(^a\) plainly
bourgeoisie and the government, which, in present circumstances and provided we don't insist on precipitating matters, means that they are impelled into our arms. It is much the same here, save that they have behind them, not a powerful socialist party, but only small cliques, at variance amongst themselves and for the most part led by ambitious men of letters or poetic dreamers. But here, too, things are proceeding inexorably and it is precisely these people, now coming over to us en masse, who will soon make short work of the cliques and create the unity that is needed.—In our case this new element lends added interest to the elections.

I have just received your Hamburg speech\textsuperscript{600} but shall not be able to read it till after luncheon.

The French are making a collection for your election fund, though I doubt that very much will come of it; the point is that it's an international gesture.

Unless something unforeseen happens, peace would seem assured so far as this year is concerned—thanks to the tremendous advances in technology whereby every new gun, every new type of gunpowder, etc., is already obsolete even before it can be introduced into so much as one army, and thanks to the universal fear of unleashing these vast masses of men and powers of destruction, of which no one can say what their effect would be in practice. Thanks also to the French and the way they have dropped Boulanger, who was in the pay of Russia (they'd put 15 million francs at his disposal), thereby eliminating all prospects of a restoration of the monarchy (that being the only purpose Boulanger was supposed to serve). But neither the Tsar\textsuperscript{a} nor Russia's diplomats care to embark on anything they are not sure of attaining; an alliance with the Republic is to them too dubious—the Orléans would better suit their book.\textsuperscript{601} Nor does the anti-Turkish campaign launched by Gladstone for the benefit of his Russian friends\textsuperscript{602} cut any ice here and, since Gladstone is not yet in office and the Tory government is decidedly pro-German, pro-Austrian and anti-Russian, the Little Father will have to bide his time. But we are indeed sitting upon a live mine and a spark would be enough to set it off.

Our people's Paris daily, already advertised by Liebknecht in German newspapers\textsuperscript{603} has not yet been born—the birth pangs still continue. The matter will probably be decided within the next 2 or 3 weeks. At all

\textsuperscript{a} Alexander III
events, now that we have a group in the Chamber, the outlook is far more promising and in due course the Possibilists and Boulangists will again be vanquished in Paris. In the provinces, we alone of all the socialists reign supreme.

You people will be unlikely to get much money from America too. *Au fond,* a not a bad thing. A genuinely American party is of far greater use to you and the world generally than the few pence you used to get, precisely because the so-called party over there was not a party but a sect, and a purely German sect at that, a branch on foreign soil of the German party and of its specifically Lassallean and outmoded elements in particular. But now the Rosenberg clique has been thrown out and, with it, the greatest obstacle to the development and rise of a genuinely American party.

Cordial regards to yourself and your wife,

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 8 February 1890

Dear Sorge,

Have got your letter of the 14th and 2 postcards re H. Schlüter.

What we shall lose as a result of the official socialists in America going

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a Basically
over to the Nationalists\textsuperscript{503} is, to my mind, scarcely worth considering. If it meant the disintegration of the entire German Socialist Labor Party,\textsuperscript{3} it would be a gain, but we’re unlikely to be so fortunate. For, after all, the really useful elements will eventually come together again, doing so all the sooner for the rapid self-separation of the dross, and will be sufficient, by reason of their superior theoretical insight and experience, to assume the leading role the moment events themselves set the American proletariat in motion. And then you will find that all your years of toil have not been in vain.

The movement over there, just like the one in this country and now, too, in the mining districts of Germany, cannot be produced by exhortation alone. It’s the facts themselves that will have to bring all this home to the chaps, after which, however, things will move fast—fastest, of course, where an organised and theoretically educated section of the proletariat already exists, as in Germany. Today the coal miners belong to us, potentially and of necessity; in the Ruhr, the process is well under way, the Aachen and Saar Basins will follow, then Saxony, then Lower Silesia and, finally, the Wasserpolakken of Upper Silesia.\textsuperscript{605} Considering our party’s position in Germany, all that was needed to call forth an irresistible movement was the impulse arising out of the miners’ own living conditions.

Over here the same thing is happening. The movement, which I now regard as irrepressible, arose out of the dock strike,\textsuperscript{489} out of the sheer necessity of their standing up for themselves. But here again the ground had been so well prepared by the various propaganda campaigns of the past eight years that the men, though not themselves socialists, refused to have any but socialists for their leaders. Now, without themselves being aware of it, they are adopting a theoretically correct course, they drift into it, and the movement is so vigorous that I believe it will survive, without undue damage, the inevitable blunders and the friction between the various trades unions and the leaders resulting therefrom. More about this below.

And that, I think, is what will also happen in America. For now we know that it’s not lectures that will convert the Schlewsing-Holsteiners and their successors in England and America;\textsuperscript{606} that stubborn and presumptuous breed have got to learn by bitter experience. They are doing so increasingly from year to year; but they are ultra-conservative precisely because America is so utterly bourgeois, has absolutely no feudal past and is therefore proud of its purely bourgeois system—and that is why only practice can ride them of their old, traditional, ragbag
of ideas. So if it's to be a mass movement it will have to begin with trades unions, etc., and each successive step will have to be forced on them by defeat. But once the first step beyond the bourgeois outlook has been made, then things will go ahead rapidly like everything else in America, where the natural momentum of the movement, as it gathers speed, will startle the Schleswig-Holstein Anglo-Saxons, normally so sluggish, into a semblance of life whereupon, by reason of its greater mobility, the foreign element in the nation will also prove its worth. The decay of the specifically German party, with its absurdly muddled theoretical notions, its corresponding arrogance and its Lassalleanism is, to my mind, a real blessing. Only when these separatist conspirators have been got out of the way can the fruits of your labours again become manifest. The Anti-Socialist Law\textsuperscript{52} was a misfortune, not for Germany, but for America, whether it sent the last of the louts. While in that country, I was often surprised at encountering so many genuine examples of your lout, who flourishes out there but is extinct in Germany.

Here we are having yet another storm in a tea cup. You will have seen the outcry in the \textit{Labour Elector} on the subject of Parke,\textsuperscript{607} the assistant editor of the Star, who, in a local paper, and à propos the buggery scandals among the aristocracy here, actually accused Lord Euston of pederasty. It was a scurrilous article, but only in a personal sense, the matter being hardly a political one. But it caused a great scandal, the Star took it up and challenged Burns outright and Burns, instead of consulting the committee, disavowed Champion outright in the Star. There was a great rumpus on the committee of the \textit{Labour Elector}, all of whose members were opposed to Champion but each of whom wishes to get into parliament and must look to his own particular interests; nothing, therefore, was decided, which may also have been because they had no power (last autumn Champion told Tussy that the paper belonged to the committee, he being merely a temporary editor, but I doubt whether that was really the entire truth)—in short, Burns and Bateman resigned from the committee on account of this affair (Burns also on account of the chauvinistic article on the Portuguese rumpus),\textsuperscript{608} and this week the entire committee absented itself from the paper. Tussy, too, has now written off Champion, whom she used to provide with international items on France, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Scandinavia—(the crazy stuff about Spain, Portugal, Mexico, etc., is by Cunninghame-Graham, a very honest, very brave but very muddle-headed \textit{ex-ranchman}).

All that the case has proved, so far as I'm concerned, is that Champion did in fact accept Tory money and then, with the opening of
Parliament, found himself under an obligation to do something for the value received. The actual author of the articles is alleged to be our sometime friend of The Hague, Maltman Barry, who is regarded over here as a Tory agent and of whom Jung, Hyndman, etc., tell marvellous if untrue stories of a cock-and-bull nature. But all these gentlemen are behaving stupidly, for Champion has utterly ruined himself in the process and, at a meeting of his own Labour Electoral Association, was shouted down and had to leave the platform under the protection of 2 policemen. Wonderful grist to Hyndman's mill, of course, but I believe both these gentlemen are finished for good. What happens next remains to be seen. But it will no more wreck the movement than did the defeat of the gas stokers in South London. The chaps were too cocky, everything had been made too easy for them, and at this juncture a few checks will do no harm.

In Paris our people are still trying to bring a daily into being. The Possibilist *Parti Ouvrier*, a daily financed by the government, has perished; *on n'a plus besoin de ces messieurs.*

Bax's *Time* is quite an ordinary, middle-class affair and he's terrified of making it socialist. Well, it can't carry on just as it is, but there is still no room here for a *purely* socialist monthly, especially at 1/- a copy. As soon as there's anything interesting in it, I shall send it to you.

Here too we have our Nationalists, the Fabians, a well-meaning gang of eddicated middle-class folk who have refuted Marx with Jevons' worthless vulgar economics—so vulgar that you can make anything of it, including socialism. As in America, its chief object is to convert your *bourgeois* to socialism and so introduce the thing *peacefully* and *constitutionally*. They have brought out a bulky tome on the subject, written by 7 authors.

I trust you are keeping well and the work is becoming easier as you grow accustomed to it.

I am having the same trouble with Percy Rosher as you are with your Adolph, only more so. The laddie has got into such a hole with his mania for speculation that his family and I have had to compromise with his creditors, and now all he can do is try and find some position or other for himself. But it would be better not to mention this to the Schlüters, lest word of it gets back here.

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*a* They no longer have any need of those gentry — *b* *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, London, 1889 — *c* Adolph Sorge Junior
My eyes seem to be improving and I have put on 10 pounds; on the other hand, I have virtually had to give up smoking on account of insomnia, and now find that alcohol sometimes has a similarly disagreeable effect. What bitter irony it would be if I had to become a teetotaller in my old age!

Cordial regards to your wife.a

Your
F. E.

Schorlemmer isn’t allowed to drink either.


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN PLAUEN NEAR DRESDEN

London, 17 February 1890

Dear Bebel,

Karl Kautsky says you are proposing to telegraph to me on the evening of the 20th such results as are known to you, and it occurred to me that I had better let you have some information about the night delivery service here so that you might not err through ignorance and we not get the telegram until the following morning after all. Ede, Fischer and Kautsky all take the view that it would be best to telegraph me, as they will all be here on Thursday evening and, I hope, also Julius.b

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a Katarina Sorge – b Julius Motteler
Details below, as I am still awaiting the information.

For the rest I cannot congratulate your people enough. Yourself, first of all, on the perspicacity with which, in your last-but-one Viennese letter, you smelt out William the Younger's edicts before they had been promulgated,\(^6\) and the whole lot of you not only on the splendid situation in which you have been placed by our opponents—never have things been so favourable on the eve of an election—but also on the new situation which is apparently about to arise in Germany.

From the start I have thought that, because of his thirst for action \textit{qua} efficient new broom, and because of his imperiousness that was bound sooner or later to clash with Bismarck's, William the Younger\(^a\) was better suited to the task of undermining the ostensibly stable system in Germany, destroying the philistines' faith in the government and stability and causing a general state of confusion and uncertainty, than was even the 'noble' Frederick\(^b\) (of whom, by the way, I have here seen a photograph in which he has exactly the same shifty, hereditary, Hohenzollern expression as his half-uncle Willich, son of Prince August, Frederick William II's brother). But I couldn't have expected that he would attend to this with such promptitude and brilliance as he has done. The man is worth more than his weight in gold to us; he need fear no attempts on his life, for shooting him would not only be a crime but a colossal blunder. If the worst comes to the worst, we ought to provide him with a bodyguard against anarchist assininities.

As I see it, the position is as follows: The Christian Social Conservatives have got the whip hand with young William and, since Bismarck can do nothing to prevent this, he is giving the laddie a free rein in the hope that he will get himself into a thorough fix, at which time he, Bismarck, will step into the breach as guardian angel and thereafter be safe from any relapse. Hence Bismarck hopes for the \textit{worst possible} Reichstag, which would soon be ripe for dissolution, thus enabling him once again to invoke the philistines’ fear of the threat posed by the labour movement.

But here there is one thing Bismarck has forgotten, namely that, from the moment the philistine becomes aware of the discord between old Bismarck and young William, the aforesaid philistine will become an unknown quantity so far as Bismarck is concerned. The philistine will still be afraid, more so even than now, if only because he won't know

\(^a\) William II \quad \(^b\) Frederick III
whom to look to for support. For now their own fear will drive the cowardly herd, not together, but apart. Confidence will have been lost, never to return in the same form as before.

From now on all Bismarck’s expedients will avail him less and less. He wants to avenge himself on the National Liberals for having thrown out his expulsion clause. In so doing he will kick away his last, feeble prop. He wants to bring the Centre over onto his side, and in so doing will dissolve the Centre. The Catholic Junkers ardently desire to ally themselves with the Prussian Junkers, but the day that alliance is sealed the Catholic peasants and workers (on the Rhine the bourgeoisie is predominantly Protestant) will cease to be of any use. This breakup of the Centre will benefit no one so much as ourselves; for Germany it is, on a small scale, what the agreement over nationalities was for Austria on a large one—the elimination of the last party structure not resting upon a purely economic basis, in other words, an important factor in the process of clarification, a setting free of labour elements hitherto ideologically enslaved.

The philistine can no longer put his faith in little Willie because he is doing things which the philistine necessarily regards as foolish pranks; he can no longer put his faith in Bismarck because he sees that it’s all up with his (B’s) omnipotence.

What will come of this confusion, seeing how craven our bourgeoisie is, we cannot possibly say. At all events the old order has been smashed for good and can no more be resuscitated than an extinct species. Things are livening up again, and that’s all we require. At first you will be better off, but it’s worth considering whether Puttkamer’s prediction of a greater state of emergency might not eventually be realised. That too would be a step forward—the last, the very last panacea—pretty frightful for you while it lasted, but beyond all doubt heralding our victory. Before then, however, a great deal of water will have flowed down the Rhine.

Since conditions for the elections are favourable to a degree we could never have hoped for, my only fear is that we shall obtain too many seats. Every other party in the Reichstag can have as many jackasses and allow them to perpetrate as many blunders as it can afford to pay for, and nobody gives a damn, whereas we, if we are not to be held cheap, must have nothing but heroes and men of genius. Well, the fact is that we are becoming a great party and must learn to take the consequences.

In Paris the Boulangists have scored yet another victory. It’s all to the good. Paris has been greatly spoiled by the sybaritism of the many
novices in this sphere and by a chauvinism (not only the general French variety, but the specifically Parisian) that is based on the city's great past; the workers are either Possibilists\textsuperscript{19} or Boulangists or Radicals—and the more the provinces thrive, as they are doing by comparison with Paris, the better we shall progress. The provinces have spoiled many a movement set in train by Paris; Paris will never spoil a movement emanating from the provinces.

Well, as regards telegraphing, I shall write to the head office here to say that, \textit{this week}, telegrams should be delivered to me at \textit{any} hour of the night. But if your telegrams are to be of any use, they must arrive here before 1 o'clock in the morning. So if, on Thursday night, you telegraph before 11.30, that will leave 2\frac{1}{4} hours for transmission, allowing for the time difference; but not any later, as it wouldn't be much use. So 11.30 p.m. on Thursday \textit{at the latest}. Ede is going to arrange for telegrams to be sent to us direct from Berlin, Hamburg, and Elberfeld.

But if you have no results to telegraph before 11.30 on Thursday, then it would be better to wait until about midday or 1 o'clock on Friday, when you are bound to know something, and perhaps \textit{again} on Friday night at about 10 or 11; the latter would be desirable whatever happens.

Further, only the \textit{names} of towns where we have won or got into the second ballot. Where there are several constituencies in one town, I suggest the following: For \textit{Hamburg} write Hbg, all 3 seats; for Hamburg one two, write Hbg I and II constituency. Again: All victories first, then all second ballots that we are in; e.g. thus,—victory Berlin four, five, six, Hamburg, Breslau one, Chemnitz, Leipzig Province, etc., second ballot Berlin three, Breslau two, Dresden one, Leipzig city, etc. If that's too long, then: Fifteen victories, seventeen second ballots, etc. And in the \textit{second} telegram: So many victories \textit{all told} and so, etc. second ballots.

This will save money and time.

Cordial regards and 1,200,000 votes.

Your

F. E.

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My dear Laura,

Since last Thursday evening when the telegrams announcing victory came raining in here thick and fast, we are in a constant intoxication of triumph, brought, provisionally at least, to a climax this morning by the news that we had obtained 1,341,500 votes, 587,000 more than 3 years ago. And yet—next Saturday the orgy may begin again, for the stupefaction of all Germany at our success is so enormous, the hatred against the Kartel swindlers so intense, and the time for consideration so short that fresh successes, as unexpected as those of last Thursday, are quite possible, though I for one do not expect many of them.

The 20th February 1890 is the opening day of the German revolution. It may be a couple of years yet until we see a decisive crisis, and it is not impossible that we have to pass through a temporary and severe defeat. But the old stability is gone for ever. That stability rested on the superstition that the triumvirate Bismarck, Moltke, William, was invincible and all-wise. Now William is gone and replaced by a conceited Gardelieutenant, Moltke is pensioned off, and Bismarck is very shaky in his saddle. At the very eve of this election, he and young William had a squabble over the latter’s itching to play the working men’s friend; Bismarck had to give way and took care to let the philistine know he had done so; he himself evidently wished for ‘bad’ elections, in order to give his master a lesson. Well, he has got more than he bargained for, and the two have made it up again for once. But that cannot last. The ‘Second old Fritz only greater’, cannot and will not stand leading by the chancellor’s hand, ‘in Preussen muss der König regieren’—this he takes au sérieux, and the more critical the time, the more divergent will be the views of these two rivals. One thing is certain to the philistine: the man he can trust is losing his power, and the man who holds the power, he cannot trust. Confidence is gone even among the bourgeoisie.

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a The Berlin dialect in the original. This refers to William II — b William II — c the King must rule in Prussia — d in earnest
Now look at the state of parties. The Kartell\textsuperscript{265} has lost a million votes, has had 2½ millions for, 4½ against itself. That ministry of Bismarck's parliamentary power has gone to smash, and all the King's horses and all the King's men cannot put Humpty Dumpty together again. To form a government majority, there are but two parties: the Catholics (centre\textsuperscript{44}) and the Freisinnigen.\textsuperscript{613} The latter, although already burning with the desire to form a fresh cartel, cannot do so—as yet at least—with the Conservatives, but only with the National Liberals,\textsuperscript{596} and that gives no majority. The Centre? Bismarck reckons upon it, and the Catholic Junkers of that party are eager enough to unite with the old Prussian Junkers. But the sole \textit{raison d'être} of the Centre is hatred of Prussia, and just you try and make a Prussian government party out of that! As soon as the Centre becomes anything like that, the Catholic peasantry—its force—break loose, while the 100,000 votes the Centre had less (against 1887) have been taken away by us in the Catholic towns, see Munich, Cologne, Mainz, etc.

So this Reichstag is unmanageable. But Bismarck's last resource, a dissolution, will hardly help him. The confidence in the stability of things being gone, the supreme factor now is the discontent with the oppressive taxes and increasing dearness of living. That is the direct consequence of the fiscal and economic policy of the last 11 years, and by this Bismarck has driven the people right away into our arms. And Michel is rising against that policy. So the next Reichstag might even be worse.

Unless—Bismarck and his master—on this point they will always agree—provoke riot and fighting and crush us before we are too strong, and then alter the constitution. That is evidently what we are drifting to, and the chief danger to be avoided. Our people, you have seen, keep excellent, wonderful discipline; but we may be forced to fight before we are fully prepared—and there is the danger. But when that comes on, there will be other chances in our favour.

Nim's dinner bell—so good-bye for to-day—more about your dogs in more peaceable times—also about Paul's articles.

\textit{En attendant, vive la révolution allemande!}\textsuperscript{a}

Ever yours

F. E.

First published in: \textit{Einheit}, No. 11, Reproduced from the original 1955

\textsuperscript{a} In the meantime, long live the German revolution!
My dear Lafargue,

Election time\(^a\) is over at last. Impossible to do anything amidst such a commotion, such comings and goings and perpetual running of errands. But never mind, for once it's all been worth while. Our working men have made the German Emperor\(^b\) \textit{travailler pour le roi de Prusse}\(^c\) and have sent the \textit{Gaulois} reporter out to Le Perreux.\(^d\)

The worthy William is first and foremost an emperor. One cannot, as you seem to suppose, send a Bismarck packing as simply as all that. Only give the quarrel time to come to a head. William can no more part company so abruptly from the man who compelled the younger man's grandfather\(^d\) to turn himself into a panjandrum, than can Bismarck from the same William whom he, Bismarck, has accustomed to seeing himself as a Frederick II\(^2\). But there is one thing, and one thing only, upon which both will be agreed, and that is to open fire on the Socialists at the earliest opportunity. On all other matters, divergence, and later on, an open breach.

The 20th February marks the beginning of the revolution in Germany,\(^e\) and that is why it is our duty not to let ourselves be prematurely crushed. As yet only one soldier out of four or five is ours—on a war footing, maybe one in three. We are making headway in rural areas, witness the elections in Schleswig-Holstein and, more especially, in Mecklenburg, not to mention the eastern provinces of Prussia.\(^615\) In three or four years' time we shall have won over the farm labourers and hired hands, in other words the staunchest supporters of the status quo, and then Prussia will cease to exist. That is why we must, for the time being, advocate lawful action, and not respond to the provocations they will lavish upon us. For short of a blood-letting, and a pretty rigorous one at that, there will be no saving either for William or Bismarck.

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\(^a\) to the Reichstag – \(^b\) William II – \(^c\) to work for the King of Prussia, i.e. for nothing – \(^d\) William I – \(^e\) See this volume, p.454
These two stalwarts, it is said, are in a blue funk and have no settled plan, while Bismarck is kept pretty busy combatting the innumerable court intrigues of which he is the object.

The petit bourgeois parties will muster on common ground, namely fear of Socialists. But they are no longer the parties they were. The ice is cracking and will soon begin to break up.

As for Russia, she will yet need many millions from France before she is fit to go to war. Her army is equipped with weapons that are completely out of date, and there is still some doubt as to whether Russian soldiers should or should not be issued with repeating rifles; the Russians are extremely steady when fighting in massed formations—which, however, is no longer done; as sharp-shooters they are useless and totally lacking in personal initiative. Besides, where find the officers for all these men in a country without a bourgeoisie?

The April and May numbers of Die Neue Zeit and Time will carry articles of mine on Russian foreign policy. We over here are trying to wean the English Liberals from Gladstone's Russophilia; the time is ripe, for the unheard-of cruelties perpetrated on political prisoners in Siberia have made it almost impossible for the Liberals to continue in this strain. Aren't they talking of it in France? But your bourgeoisie has grown almost as stupid and rotten as in Germany.

As for Time, it is not a Socialist review, quite the contrary; Bax quails at the very thought of the word 'socialism' appearing in its pages. By not replying to his 'reply paid' telegram you have drawn down upon yourself his sovereign displeasure. But it would be a mistake for you to take offence as he has done. Time could not carry an article signed Lafargue too often. Nor could it possibly take one that had appeared in the Nouvelle Revue, just as Mme Adam would not take it if it had already appeared in Time. And as for an arrangement that would ensure simultaneous publication, would Mme Adam really lend herself to that? Do try and be reasonable. The article has been placed with her and in her company it will make a world tour.

Aveling and Tussy intend to publish one article a month by a foreigner. The English public would stomach no more and, since you had had an article in the February number, this gave Bax an excuse to reject a second one, the more so since, a few months from now, nobody

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a F. Engels, 'The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom.' — b P. Lafargue, 'Rousseau et l'Égalité, réponse au professeur Huxley', La Nouvelle Revue, t. 63, 15 mars, 1890 — c P. Lafargue, 'Darwinism on the French stage', Time, February 1890
will be talking about Huxley’s attack on Rousseau. And all this, just because you failed to send the ‘reply paid’! It’s piffling, but that’s Bax all over!

Poor Laura! Let’s hope she has no further dealings with Castelar. He’s a man I find as repellent as I did the handsome Simon von Trier in 1848 whose conversation was wholly made up of SCRAPS taken from Schiller and of whom the Frankfurt Jewesses, young and old, were all enamoured. Thank you for Iglesias’s letter which I shall return in my next. The man Back is a German Russian from the Baltic provinces who, some ten years ago in Geneva, used to bring out a Baltic review\(^a\) (in German) and whom old Becker, for want of anyone better, attempted to convert to Socialism. He has also sent an article to Kautsky on the Spanish party he himself invented, but Kautsky gave me the MS without having printed it. What cheek—a Balto-pseudo-Russian, putting himself at the head of a Spanish party consisting of three officers and no men!

I had wanted to add something about Laura’s dogs, but it’s already five o’clock and the new GONG (a present from Aveling) is summoning us to dinner. Between Laura and Nim, duty pulls in two directions, but my stomach joins in the fray and settles the matter. Nim might scold me, and Laura is far away.

Good wishes to you both,

F. E.


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Translated from the French

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\(^a\) *Baltische föderalist*
Dear Liebknecht,

My congratulations on the 42,000 votes that have made you the premier élu de l’Allemagne.\(^a\) When, in future, you are interrupted by a Kar-, Hell- or any other Junkerdorf\(^b\), your retort can be: ‘It would take a dozen of the likes of you to muster as many constituents as I’ve got. So draw in your horns—if you can!’\(^c\)

After the prolonged intoxication of victory, we over here are sobering down by degrees, but without any unpleasant after-effects. I had hoped for 1,200,000 votes and everyone said I was unduly sanguine; now we see that my figure was too modest.\(^618\) Our lads have behaved quite magnificently, but it’s no more than a beginning and they’ve got a hard fight ahead of them. Our successes in Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg and Pomerania\(^d\) mean that we shall now be making tremendous headway amongst the agricultural labourers of the East. Now that the towns are ours and word of our victories has penetrated to the remotest baronial estates, we shall be able to kindle, in rural areas, a blaze of quite a different order from the flash in the pan of 12 years ago. In three years the agricultural labourers will be ours and with them the crack regiments of the Prussian army. Nor can this be prevented save by one means, the ruthless application of which is now the only point upon which little Willie\(^e\) and Bismarck are still agreed, namely a hail of shot to the inevitable accompaniment of an acute reign of terror. To this end, they will seize upon any pretext and, once Puttkamer’s ‘cannons’\(^611\) have sprayed the streets of a few big towns with shrapnel, there will be a state of siege throughout Germany, the philistine will return to his right mind again and vote blindly as directed, and we shall be crippled for years to come.

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\(^a\) the first among the elected in Germany
\(^b\) A play on words in the original. Engels made up this word by analogy with the names of two Reichstag deputies
\(^c\) A literal rendering of this German expression would be: ‘Withdraw into your foreskin, if you’ve got one.’
\(^d\) See this volume, p.456
\(^e\) William II
This is something we must prevent. We must not, in our triumphal progress, allow ourselves to be diverted from our purpose, we must not spoil our own game or prevent our enemies from doing our work for us. So I agree with you to the extent of saying that, for the present, we should conduct ourselves as peacefully and constitutionally as possible and avoid every pretext for a clash. True, your philippics against the use of force in any form and under any circumstances seem to me inopportune, firstly because none of your opponents would believe you, they are not as stupid as all that, and secondly because your theory would make anarchists even of Marx and myself, since we were never inclined, like good Quakers, to turn the other cheek. This time you have definitely overshot the mark somewhat.

Nieuwenhuis is, to my mind, more or less innocent of the article to which you are replying, according to what we have heard over here, Croll is the crib-biter who refuses to leave you in peace—he’s said to be a trouble-maker par excellence. These people from little countries are our bane in the international field—they are excessively demanding, expect always to be handled with kid gloves while themselves being as rude as they please, and constantly feel themselves slighted because they cannot always play first fiddle; all the trouble and strife at the last congress, both before and during it, was caused by them alone—first the Swiss with their deluded idea that they could get the Possibilists to defect, then the Brussels people, and after them the Dutch. Well, no doubt our German victory will put them more or less on the right track and enable us to be magnanimous.

Will you please let me know in advance when you intend to cross the Channel. We’ve only got one spare room, and in the spring it is often occupied—as at Easter, for instance, by Schorlemmer, while the Lafargues or Louise Kautsky might also be coming; so a bit of management may be necessary to keep it free for you.

Since you specifically give a Dresden address, I can only take it as an indication that I should write to you there.

The Nineteenth Century is, after The Contemporary Review, the most highly thought-of journal in this country—but since I am always confusing the two, I shall not be able to provide details until later today when the Avelings have arrived. Meanwhile, I would simply say: 1. Get them to pay you well, 2. Under English law the article belongs to the journal and the editor can make what alterations he likes unless you have a prior agreement to the contrary. In such a case I stipulate, 1. that the copyright remains vested in me, 2. that no alterations are made without my express consent.
Evening. *The Nineteenth Century* belongs to Mr Knowles: Gladstone sometimes writes for it and for the *Contemporary*, which belongs to Percy Bunting, whom you were taken to see by la Schack. Otherwise I have nothing to add to the above. Knowles is every inch a businessman, so beware.

Regards from Nim, the Avelings, the Edes, Dr Zadek and Mrs Romm-Zadek, likewise Pumps and Percy, all of whom are here.

Your

F. E.

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**ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE**

**AT LE PERREUX**

London, 14 March\(^a\) 1890

My dear Laura,

Last night Bernstein called. We think it best you should write to Bebel asking him for some information. He has the *Parliamentsalmanach* which we have not and a Secretary who might copy out a few extracts. You might say Bernstein and I had suggested this to you.

If you like you might write also direct to

Carl Grillenberger, Weizenstrasse 14, Nürnberg

G. von Vollmar, Schwabing bei München,

J. H. W. Dietz, Furthbachstrasse 12, Stuttgart,

F. Kunert, Red. Der ‘Breslauer Nachrichten’, Breslau\(^b\) and ask them

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\(^a\) In the MS ‘February’ – a mistake \(^b\) Wraclaw
for personal details which no doubt they would be glad to give you. Other addresses we have not got.

I will ask Tussy about that niece of Mohr’s Paul has written about. I have not heard anything about her. Would be curious if you should turn out to be connected with little Abraham, vulgo Alexander, Weill!

Things are getting serious in Germany. The Kreuz-Zeitung, ultra-conservative, declares the Socialist law useless and bad! Well, we shall probably get rid of it, but Puttkamer’s word will then become true: we shall have the major state of siège instead of the minor one, and cannons instead of expulsions.611 Things go so well for us, we never dared to hope half so much, but, but, it will be stirring times and everything depends upon our men not allowing themselves to be provoked into riots. In three years we may have the agricultural labourer, the mainstay of Prussia, and then—feu³!

Ever yours
F. E.

We went to-day up to Highgate. Tussy had been already in the morning, planted Mohr’s and your Mama’s grave with crocus, primroses, hyacinths, etc. very beautifully. If Mohr had lived to see this!


³ fire
London, 30 March 1890. Labriola. Dear Professor,—Please accept my thanks for the pamphlets you were so very good as to send me. I read the first, Del socialismo, with much interest and next week, when I hope to have some leisure, shall go carefully through the second one, that on the philosophy of history. This is a subject in which Marx and I had long taken a special interest. A new contribution from Vico’s mother country and from a scholar conversant with our German philosophers calls for my fullest attention. I should like to take the liberty of sending you in return my little piece of Feuerbach.b

I am also indebted to you for your kind endeavours on behalf of P. Martignetti, which have, I am glad to say, met with their first big success. I have been in correspondence with Mr Martignetti since 1884 and am morally convinced that he is innocent of the actions imputed to him and has fallen victim to a shabby intrigue. Perhaps, when you have occasion, you would convey to Mr Avv. Lollini my most sincere thanks for his willing, able and successful defence of Martignetti. I trust that this magnanimous intervention on the part of you both will succeed in protecting him from undeserved vilification and ruin.

You must forgive me for writing to you in German. Over the last few years, however, my Italian, such as it is, has, alas, grown exceedingly rusty and I dare not mangle the Italian language in front of a master of that beautiful tongue.

Very respectfully yours,

F. E.


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*a I problemi della filosofia della storia... — b Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy — c Advocate*
Dear Friend,

Herewith the letter to Labriola you asked for. As to his *terra libera,* it is in fact altogether too much to expect of the present Italian government that it will allocate property in the colonies to small farmers for themselves to cultivate and not to monopolists, whether companies or individuals. Small-scale farming is the natural and best system for the colonies presently being founded by bourgeois governments, on which point cf Marx, *Capital,* Volume I, last chapter, 'The Modern Theory of Colonisation.' So we socialists can, with a good conscience, support the introduction of the system of small farms into colonies that have already been founded. But whether this will be done is another question. All governments today are so much the creatures and hirelings of financiers and the stock exchange that there's nothing to stop the speculators themselves from gaining control of the colonies in order to exploit them, and no doubt that will also apply in Eritrea. But one can, after all, hit back, even if it's in the shape of a demand that the government should give the emigrant Italian farmers an assurance that they will enjoy the same advantages there as they seek and generally find in Buenos Aires.

I can't discover from the *Messaggero*'s article whether Labriola combines his demand with still further requirements, namely government loans for emigrants to Eritrea, co-operatively run settlements, etc.

Unfortunately I have absolutely no time to spare for revising the translation of *Wage Labour and Capital.* I have had some urgent jobs to do, and must now get back at once to Volume III of *Capital* before events in Germany take a revolutionary turn, as is very possible.

Yours sincerely,

F. Engels

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

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*a* See previous letter  —  
*b* See present edition, Vol. 35, pp.751-64
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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 1 April 1890

Dear Kautsky,

I have just received the Russian Sotsial-Demokrat and have compared my article* with the Neue Zeit. I now find that Mr Dietz has had the impudence to alter without reference to ourselves various passages which he had not even scored in red. Not one of these passages infringes the penal code or contravenes the Anti-Socialist Law; they were, however, too strong for philistine tastes.

Yet I have behaved as decently as possible and have done all I could to make the elimination of harmful matter easier for him. But censorship of this kind, carried out behind my back, is something I won’t stand for from any publisher. I shall therefore write to Dietz expressly forbidding him to print the remainder of the article in any form other than that in which it appears in the proof corrected by me, and by that I mean word for word. What else I shall do remains to be seen. At all events, Mr Dietz has made it impossible for me to send further contributions to a periodical in which one is exposed to this kind of treatment.

Your

F. Engels

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To
Mr J. H. W. Dietz, Stuttgart.

I have just noticed that you have taken the liberty of making various alterations to my article on Russian policy without the consent of myself or of the editors, alterations which are wholly uncalled for, whether from the viewpoint of the penal code or of the Anti-Socialist Law.

I have behaved as decently as possible towards you over this matter. I asked Kautsky to get you to score any passages that struck you as objectionable when you read the proofs. I in turn altered many of the scored passages and sent a request that if you felt further alterations to be advisable, you should write to us, stating your reasons. Since no more objections were forthcoming, I could only assume that the article would appear unaltered.

Instead of that you have altered passages which you had not even scored.

As it is not my habit to put up with this sort of thing from publishers, I hereby forbid you to print the remainder of the article unless it agrees word for word with the proofs corrected by myself and I reserve the right to take any other steps I think fit.

I need hardly say that in future I shall be careful not to write again for a periodical in which one is exposed to things of this nature.

Yours very faithfully,
F. Engels


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a See previous letter — b of the Neue Zeit
My dear Citizen,

As soon as I got your letter, I let Stepniak have the rest of the article (in proof) and, since part of it was slightly damaged, I added the corresponding MS for you to use as a check. I hope that by now it will already have reached you.

Stepniak also gave me a copy of the Review, for which I thank you; I look forward keenly to reading your article and those of Plekhanov.

You are perfectly right; in a publication of this kind all the articles in any given number should be complete in themselves and quite independent of any sequel in the ensuing number. Indeed, I should have acted on that principle had I not been pressed for time.

That it is imperative to combat Narodism, no matter where—whether German, French, English or Russian—I entirely agree. Nevertheless, I believe it would have been more fitting if what I felt impelled to say had been said by a Russian. Admittedly, the partition of Poland, for example, necessarily looks very different when seen from the Russian rather than the Polish standpoint, which last has become that of the West. But I must, after all, take equal account of Polish sentiment. If the Poles lay claim to territory which most Russians regard as inalienably theirs and as being Russian by nationality, it is not for me to decide between them. All I can say is that—or so it seems to me—it is for the populations concerned to decide their fate themselves, just as the Alsatians will have to choose for themselves between Germany and France. Unfortunately, in writing about Russian foreign policy and its effect on Europe, I found it impossible not to mention things which the present generation in Russia regards as ‘internal affairs’ and the impropriety, or apparent impropriety, consists in its being a foreigner rather than a Russian who was thus holding forth. But that was unavoidable.

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a These words are in Russian in the original
If you think it might be of help to write a short note along these lines and to put my name to it, I should be glad if you would insert it wherever you think fit.

I hope that the publication of my article in English will make some impact. The faith of the Liberals in the Czar’s\textsuperscript{a} liberating zeal has been severely shaken just now by the news from Siberia, by Kennan’s book\textsuperscript{610} and by the recent unrest at Russian universities.\textsuperscript{626} That is why I hastened into print, so as to strike while the iron was hot. The diplomats in St. Petersburg were counting on the advent of Gladstone, Czarophil and admirer of the ‘DIVINE FIGURE OF THE NORTH’, as he called Alexander III, to enable them to embark on their next campaign in the East. After the Cretans and Armenians had been unleashed, a diversion in Macedonia might have followed; with France in thrall to the Czar and a benevolent England, they might perhaps have risked yet another step forward, and even the seizure of Czaregrad,\textsuperscript{b} without Germany’s hazarding a war in such unfavourable circumstances. And, Czaregrad once captured, there would be hope of a long spell of chauvinist intoxication of the kind we experienced in Germany after 1866 and 1870.\textsuperscript{267} That is why the resurgence of anti-Czarist sentiment among the English Liberals seems to me so important to our cause; it is most fortunate that Stepniak should be here and thus able to fan the flames.\textsuperscript{627}

Now that a revolutionary movement is under way actually inside Russia, her foreign policy, once invincible, is suffering one setback after another. And that is highly desirable, for the said foreign policy is our most dangerous enemy, and not only ours, but yours. It is the only force to have remained unshaken up till now in Russia where the Czar is losing his hold even over the army, as evidenced by the numerous arrests of officers which prove that Russian officers in the matter of general intelligence and character, are infinitely superior to the Prussians. And as soon as you have partisans and loyal agents in the ranks of the foreign service—you or, come to that, the Constitutionals\textsuperscript{457}—will have won hands down.

Kind regards to Plekhanov,

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

\textsuperscript{a} Alexander III \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{b} Constantinople
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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 April 1890

In great haste. Am sending you *Time* containing my article, *Beware* of the German version in the *Neue Zeit*, which has been shamefully mangled. Will reappear in its correct form in the May issue. Kindly inform Schlüter so as to ensure that the mangled version is not made use of over there in the *Volkszeitung*, say, or elsewhere. In Germany things are going ahead merrily; the débâcle has begun and little Willie will doubtless make certain that it doesn’t come to a standstill again. Schorlemmer is here and sends cordial greetings to you and your wife, as do I.


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*a* See Engels’ letters to Dietz (this volume, p.466) and to Kautsky (this volume, p465) – *b* William II
Dear Comrade,

I fear that there is no chance of your son being taken on as an apprentice in an engineering workshop over here. Thirty or forty years ago, engineering firms used to engage apprentices of this kind and my brother\(^a\) worked as such in Bury near Manchester for a year. He had to pay a premium of one hundred pounds sterling, was enrolled as an apprentice in the Engineers’ Trades Union and in due course received 15 shillings a week. But now that the continental and especially the Germans are competing with the British in the engineering field, they have ceased by and large to accept any more foreigners as apprentices. I shall make further inquiries in Manchester and, if anything more hopeful comes to light, shall get in touch with you straight away.

I’m glad to hear that things are also moving ahead briskly where you are; after the excitements of last summer a certain torpor has set in over here, while at the same time the personal, local and other forms of friction inevitable in England are proliferating again to a greater extent than is desirable. However a practical people like the English and, for that very reason, one that is very terre à terre\(^b\) in its way of going about things, must eventually learn from its own mistakes; it’s the only way here, and then again the movement has already penetrated far too wide sections of the working class for it to be held up more than temporarily by all these squabbles.

The third volume of *Capital* weighs heavily on my conscience; certain parts are in such a state that they won’t be fit for publication until they have been carefully revised and to some extent rearranged and, as you may imagine when so imposing a work is at stake, I shan’t do anything of the kind without the most mature reflection. Once the 5th section is polished off, the two that follow will involve less work; the first four have to be read over, but apart from that are ready for the press. If I could spend a year right away from the day-to-day affairs of

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\(^a\) Emil Engels \(^b\) matter of fact
Dear Kautsky,

A line or two in great haste before the post goes. First of all my heartiest congratulations on your engagement. You have been through a difficult time and to me this news is a sign that you’ve got over it, that you’ve put it behind you. May you find the happiness you expect.

Schorlemmer and Nim also send you their sincerest congratulations.

Thank you for your letter from Stuckart; yesterday I also got one from Dietz, which I answered straight away, saying that I was entirely satisfied and also confirming that, as I had previously told you, I agree to a new edition of the Origin, etc., as part of the Internationale Bibliothek and shall make some additions.

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a Stuttgart – b Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State
Now as to Dietz’s plan to bring you to Stuckart, that is really a matter you must settle between the two of you. Schorlemmer and I were in Kentish Town today, but Ede was out and so I doubt whether I shall be able to consult with him before Sunday. As for myself, all I can say is that I should much prefer to have you here, but if your presence in Stuttgart is really necessary and you are nevertheless able to visit this country for a month or two each year, I must, for better or for worse, content myself with that. The Neue Zeit has become a stronghold which is worth defending to the utmost. And having an influence over Dietz’s publishing business generally, which henceforth will be a more important lever in party life than was the case during the period of oppression, is also à considération. To some extent, naturalisation and a secure berth in Germany can cut both ways, since it means that you would be liable to be thrown out of Austria. And you are also familiar with dear Stuckart and its delights. I shall give the matter further thought to see whether there may not be some other, not immediately apparent, snags and talk it over with Ede on Sunday.

However I wanted to get this line off to you straight away and it’s now 5.25, ergo time for the post.

Your

F. E.

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* worthy of consideration
Dear Sorge,

Letter of 3-6 March received with thanks. The business of Miquel’s letters\textsuperscript{630} is not without considerable snags. ‘Wilhelm’\textsuperscript{a} would also like to have them, only to spring them on the world just at the wrong moment and thus deprive us for good of the hold we have over Miquel. For once the scandal had blown over, Miquel wouldn’t give a fig for us. To me it seems far more important to keep some control over the chap by this means than to raise an unnecessary clamour as a result of which he would elude us and, what’s more, have the pleasure of getting away unscathed. In any case everyone knows he was a member of the League.\textsuperscript{531}

Again, my experience of the American press\textsuperscript{300} has been altogether too startling for me to fall for the bait. If someone on the \textit{Volkszeitung} were to get wind of the fact that the afore mentioned letters were in America, none of those sensation-mongers would have a moment’s rest or repose until they had got hold of them—nor would I willingly subject anyone to such torment and temptation. Besides, how am I to know how long Schlüter will remain with the \textit{Volkszeitung} and whether they mightn’t make the publication of the said letters a condition of his remaining?

In short, I cannot possibly agree to this deal.

In Germany everything’s going better than we could have hoped in our wildest dreams. Young William\textsuperscript{b} is positively \textit{mad}—as if cut out, that is, for the task of thoroughly disrupting the old order, shattering what little confidence remains among the propertied classes as a whole—whether Junkers or bourgeois—and preparing the ground for us in a way even the liberal Frederick III could not have done. His sudden urge to be amiable to the workers—purely Bonapartist and demagogic but adulterated with muddled dreams of a divinely inspired princely

\textsuperscript{a} Wilhelm Liebknecht \quad \textsuperscript{b} William II
mission—makes no impression whatsoever on our chaps, something for which we have the Anti-Socialist Law to thank. Even in 1878 it might still have served some purpose, have created some confusion in our ranks; it could not possibly do so now. Our people have been all too keenly aware of the iron hand of Prussia. A few weaklings—as, for example, Mr Blos and, perhaps, some of the 700,000 who have come to us as new recruits during the past three years—might waver a bit in this respect, but they'll quickly be voted down and, before the year is out, we shall see William wondrously disappointed as regards his power over the workers, whereupon love will turn to rage, and cajolery to persecution. Hence our policy should be to avoid creating any disturbance until the expiry of the Anti-Socialist Law on 30 September; for by then the Reichstag will have dispersed completely, and to declare another state of emergency would scarcely be feasible. But once we have regained our ordinary rights as citizens, you should witness renewed expansion on a scale such as will put in the shade even that which took place on 20 February.

Since Little Willie's amiability towards the workers has as its counterpart an urge for military dictatorship (this shows how the present gang of princes are all turning Bonapartist, nolens volens) and he is all set to shoot people down at the first sign of resistance, it's up to us to see that he doesn't get the chance. As we found during the elections, we have made truly enormous headway in the country, particularly where, besides the big estates, there were, at most, big farmers, i.e. in the East. Three second ballots in Mecklenburg, 2 in Pomerania! The 85,000 votes that accrued between the first official count (1,342,000) and the second (1,427,000) all came from country districts where we were not expected to get any at all. Thus there is a prospect of our soon being able to capture the rural proletariat of the eastern provinces and, with it, the soldiers of the 'crack' Prussian regiments. That will bring down the old order with a vengeance, and we shall govern. But the Prussian generals would have to be greater fools than I suppose for them not to be just as much aware of this as we are, and so they must be dying to stage a ceremonial massacre and thus put us out of harm's way for a while. That, therefore, is our second reason for proceeding in an ostensibly peaceable manner.

A third reason is that the electoral victory has gone to the heads of the masses—particularly in the case of new recruits—and they now believe themselves able to take everything by storm. Unless something is done to check this, all sorts of silly things will happen. And the bourgeois—vide the colliery owners—are doing all they can to encourage and provoke such silliness. For this they not only have their former reasons,
but also the additional one of hoping they may thus put paid to little Willie’s ‘amiability towards the workers’.

I would ask you not to let Schlüter see the passages side-lined above. He tends to act impulsively and then, I know my Volkszeitung people—as journalists they ruthlessly seize upon anything that may be of use. But these matters must not get into the press, either out there or here, at least not into the German papers, and least of all as emanating from myself.

If, in the immediate future, therefore, our party in Germany should seem a trifle placatory—even as regards May Day—you will know the reason why. We are aware that the generals would gladly take advantage of May Day to do some shooting. In Vienna and Paris there is a similar intention.

In the Arbeiter-Zeitung (Vienna), Bebel’s contributions from Germany are of particular importance. I never make up my mind about any point relating to German party tactics before having read Bebel’s views on the subject, either in the Arbeiter-Zeitung or in one of his letters. He is wonderfully perspicacious. It’s a pity that only Germany is known to him from his own observation. This week’s article, ‘Deutschland ohne Bismarck’, is also by him.

You will have had Time (sent a week ago today)a containing my first article on Russian policy.b

My nerves are settling down a bit now that I have turned almost teetotal; in fact, I shall have to go on restricting myself until the autumn. Schorlemmer is still a total abstainer. He and I send our cordial regards to you and your wife. He is staying here over Easter and will go back to Manchester on Monday. Sam Moore is getting on well in Africa; c in a year’s time he will be coming home on 6 months’ leave.

Your

F. E.


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a See this volume, p.469  
b The Foreign Policy of Russian Tzaredom (see this volume, p.469)  
c See this volume, p.336-9
Dear Schmidt,

I am precluded today by lack of time from replying save very briefly to your letters of 25.2 and 1.4, but as the second requires an early answer, I must get on with it today.

I realised as much as a year ago that I should require help with Marx's mss. I therefore proposed that Ede—i.e. Bernstein—and Kautsky should assist me with these, needless to say not without remuneration, and both accepted. Well, so far I have had from Kautsky a copy of part of the ms. of Book IV, mentioned in the preface to Volume II; he has got quite adept at reading the handwriting and still devotes some of his spare time to this. Now there is, in fact, a possibility that he will be leaving London for good, i.e. at any rate for a few years, but in that case, as has already been agreed, his place will probably be taken by Ede, particularly in view of the fact that, though his position might change should the Anti-Socialist Law expire and not be renewed, he might still not be able to return to Germany there and then. As things stand at present, therefore, I could not offer you any real prospect of work in this sphere; but in six months things can change a lot, and I shall be all the happier to bear your kind offer in mind in that I am anxious to familiarise as many properly qualified people as possible with Marx's handwriting—something that can't be done without teachers, of whom I am the only one. For if I were to kick the bucket, as might happen any day, these mss. would otherwise be a book sealed with seven seals and would be subject to guesswork rather than a correct reading. So if a situation should arise in which I lost my present collaborators or otherwise obtained a free hand in this respect, I should at once apply to you and can only hope that you would then still feel inclined to accept; perhaps you will succeed in coming over here notwithstanding and, once you were in this country, much might easily be arranged which, from a distance, appears difficult.

Our electoral victory was indeed astonishing and the success it
scored in the outside world was no less glorious. Bismarck’s victories may have earned us—i.e. the Germans generally—respect as soldiers, but have tended rather to diminish the respect for our personal characters qua Germans; the boot-licking of the bourgeois has seen to the rest: Germans fight well if well commanded, but commanded they must be—never any question of independence, of character, of ability to resist tyranny. Since the elections this has changed. People have seen that the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers do not constitute the German nation; the brilliant victory of the workers after 10 years of oppression, and while subject to that oppression, has impressed people more than Königgrätz and Sedan.\(^6^3\) The world knows that it was we who overthrew Bismarck, and the socialists of all countries are now aware that, like it or not, the movement’s centre of gravity has shifted to Germany. Nor, after all I have experienced, am I at all afraid that our workers will not show themselves equal to this new position. The more recently recruited elements may not yet be sufficiently versed in the correct tactics, but that is something they will soon learn and, whatever is left undone by their older comrades-in-arms, the government will, in its wisdom, surely make good. The attitude adopted by the whole of our press towards the famous edicts\(^6^9\) shows how much spade-work the Anti-Socialist Law had done in this particular. Once bitten twice shy—and something which, in 1878, might for a time have had a somewhat disruptive effect, now cuts absolutely no ice whatever. I know that there are people, even within the new group, who would gladly go half way to meet the amiability manifested towards the workers from on high, but they would be voted down as soon as they opened their mouths. Puttkamer was quite right—the Anti-Socialist Law has had an enormous ‘educative effect’, but not in the way he supposed.

Have you seen a review of your book by Achille Loria of Siena,\(^c\) in Conrad’s Jahrbücher? It was sent me from Italy—maybe indirectly by Loria himself. I know the said Loria; he was over here and he also corresponded with Marx. He speaks German and writes it as in his article—that is to say, badly—and he is the most consummate careerist I have ever met. At one time he believed that world redemption lay in small-scale peasant landownership, but whether he still does, I cannot say. He

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\(^a\) to the Reichstag in Germany  
\(^b\) Social-democratic parliamentary group  
\(^c\) A. Loria, *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx’schen Wertgesetzes*
writes one book after another and plagiarises with an effrontery that would not be possible outside Italy—even in Germany. For instance, a few years ago he wrote a little book in which he proclaimed Marx’s materialist conception of history as his most recent discovery, and sent the thing to me! When Marx died, he wrote and sent me an article in which he maintained that, 1. Marx had based his theory of value on a sophism which he himself had recognised as such (un sofisma consaputo) and 2. Marx had never written Book III of Capital, nor had he ever intended to write it, but had merely referred to it in order to pull everyone’s legs, and knowing full well that the solutions he had promised were quite impossible! Despite all rebuffs and incivilities I can never be quite sure that he will not again pester me with letters or packages; the chap’s impertinence knows no bounds.

Kind regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

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My dear Laura,

At last! a free hour to write a line to you. I am pestered almost to death with letters, verbal and other applications of all sorts, and wish I could shut myself off for a month or so—for I find it impossible to reply to all my letters, much less to do any serious work.

Many thanks for the kind wishes in your poem but I am afraid the Lord on high and the lord below will settle my hash for me some day and find me a place somewhere. But that need not trouble us now.

And now a little business:

1) Will you give me Longuet's address?

2) Will Paul procure me the title, publisher's name, etc. of a pocket edition (cheap) of the Code Napoléon as at present in force, for Sam Moore? (les cinq codes suffiront, civil, procédure civile, pénal, procédure criminelle, de commerce) and price.

3) Enclosed a bill found in last lot of French newspapers.

The Parisian workmen are acting indeed as if they had but one purpose to live for, and that is to prove how utterly undeserved was their revolutionary reputation. It's all very well for Paul to repeat over and over again that they are Boulangists out of pure opposition against the bourgeoisie—but so were those who voted for Louis Bonaparte, and what would our Parisians say if the German workmen, to spite Bismarck and the bourgeoisie, threw themselves blindfold in the arms of young William? It is plainly cutting off your nose to spite your face, and the Parisians have still so much left of their former esprit that they can still back up the worst of all possible causes by the best of all possible reasons.

No, the cause of this surfeit of Boulangism lies deeper. It is Chauvinism. The French Chauvins, after 1871, resolved that history should stand still until Alsace was reconquered. Everything was made subordinate to that. And our friends never had the courage to stand up

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*five statutes will suffice: civil, civil and penal procedure, criminal procedure and commerce*
against this absurdity. There were fellows at the Citoyen and Cri\textsuperscript{a} who howled with the masses against everything German, no matter what, and our friends submitted to that. The consequences are there. The only excuse for Boulangism is la revanche, Alsace reconquered. What not one party in Paris ever dared to oppose, is it a wonder that the Parisian workmen now cling to as a gospel?

But in spite of French patriots, history did not stand still—only France did, after the fall of McMahon\textsuperscript{198} And the necessary consequence of this French patriotic aberration is that the French workmen are now the allies of the Czar\textsuperscript{b} against not only Germany, but against the Russian workmen and revolutionists too! In order to preserve to Paris the position of revolutionary centre, the revolution must be crushed in Russia, for how to reconquer, without the help of the Czar, the leading position belonging to Paris by right?

If the desertion en masse to Boulanger of the French or rather Parisian workmen should cause socialists abroad to consider them as completely déchus,\textsuperscript{c} there would be no cause to be astonished. What else can they expect?

Of course, I should not be so hasty in my judgment. This momentary aberration should not lead me to such a conclusion. But it is the third time that such an aberration recurs since 1789—the first time Napoleon No. 1, the second time Napoleon No. 3 was carried to the top by that wave of aberration, and now it’s a worse creature than either—but fortunately the force of the wave, too, is broken. Anyhow, we must apparently come to the conclusion that the negative side of the Parisian revolutionary character—chauvinistic Bonapartism—is as essential to it as the positive side, and that after every great revolutionary effort, we may have a recrudescence of Bonapartism, of an appeal to a saviour who is to destroy the vile bourgeois qui ont escamoté la révolution et la république\textsuperscript{d} and in whose traps the naïfs ouvriers\textsuperscript{e} have fallen—because, being Parisians, they know everything from birth and by birth, and need not learn like vulgar mortals.

So I shall welcome any revolutionary spurt the Parisians may favour us with, but shall expect them to be again volés\textsuperscript{f} afterwards and then fly to a miracle-performing saviour. For action I hope and trust the Parisians to be as fit as ever, but if they claim to lead with regard to ideas, I shall say thank you.

\textsuperscript{a} Cri du Peuple (see also Engels to Lafargue, 30 October 1882, present edition, Vol. 46) \textsuperscript{b} Alexander III \textsuperscript{c} degraded \textsuperscript{d} Who have done away with the revolution and the Republic \textsuperscript{e} Simple working men \textsuperscript{f} cheated
By the bye Boulanger is so deep down now that the other day Frank Rosher who was in Jersey on business—a boy of 22, and the most conceited snob in London—called on him and was received courteously and both assured each other of their mutual bienveillance et protection!

I hope the 1st of May will not disappoint the expectations of our French friends. If it turns out a success in Paris, it will be a heavy blow to the Possibilists and may mark the beginning of an awakening from Boulangism. The 1st May resolution was the best our congress took. It proves our power all over the world, is a better revival of the International than all formal attempts at reorganization, and shows again which of the two congresses...
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I am afraid I shall not be able to take one of your two dogs. The one is a bitch and Nim objects firmly to have again to do the massacre of the innocents, and the other is a pointer, id est a sporting dog, and there are most absurd laws here with regard to them—I could not take him out to Hampstead without being stopped by the police as a potential poacher; that is the reason why pointers, fox-hounds, setters, etc. are kept only for real sporting purposes and never, as with us on the continent, for private amusement. Voilà ce que c'est que de vivre dans un pays aristocratique.

In Germany we shall have to keep the 1st May as quiet as possible. The military has strict orders to interfere at once and not to wait for requisition from the civil authorities, and the secret police—on the point of being discharged—are straining every nerve to provoke a collision. In fact if the telegrams just to hand by Reuter are worth anything, they are beginning already and have found a few anarchists to provoke some 'outrages'.

Nim says she can't come, her gardening days are over. She has rheumatism in the hip-joint—not much, but there it sticks.

By the bye our Paris friends seem to go all to pieces. There is the Parti socialiste—a paper to work the Municipal elections, that I can conceive as a rational purpose. But then there is Okecki's Autonomie, and then a daily paper, the Combat in Boyer's hands, and now Guesde wants to organize a lithographic correspondence—why this looks like an attempt at gaspillage—they all cry after a daily paper and now they have one they don't seem to use it—or are they all at sixes and sevens? I cannot make it out.

Ever yours,

F. Engels

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a Goodwill and protection — b That's what comes of living in an aristocratic country — c squandering
My dear Citizen,

When I read Beck's article, I had a feeling it might anger you and your friends, and I told Bernstein that, in his place, I would not have published such twaddle. To this, his answer was that he felt he had no right to suppress an article which did, after all, express the views of a fair number of young Russians, people who had no other organ in which to reply, for the benefit of Sozialdemokrat readers, to the article which had preceded it, and that what he had chiefly in mind was to give you an opportunity to answer those criticisms; he added that he would naturally, and with the greatest pleasure, print any reply you cared to send him.636

The position of the Sozialdemokrat vis-à-vis the Russians in the West is somewhat delicate. Needless to say, the paper looks upon you as the allies and particular friends of the German movement, but other socialist groups can also lay claim to some measure of consideration. If they are to communicate with German working men, they are more or less obliged to write to the Sozialdemokrat; should that paper refuse them its hospitality? To do so would be to meddle in the internal affairs of the Russians—something to be avoided at all costs. Consider the internal struggles of the French and Danish Socialists; for as long as it was able, i.e. so long as it was not itself called in question, the
Sozialdemokrat maintained its neutrality vis-à-vis the Possibilitists, as it has continued to do vis-à-vis the two Danish parties, although its sympathies lie entirely with the 'revolutionary' side. And the same thing applies to the Russians; Bernstein has never harboured any ill-will whatsoever towards you, of that you may be assured, but he has an exaggerated sense of justice and equity; and rather than perpetrate one injustice against an enemy or a man he finds uncongenial, he will sooner perpetrate ten against his friends and allies; all his friends criticise him for an impartiality so excessive that it ends up as bias against his allies. This is why he always tends to give the enemy the benefit of the doubt.

Add to that the fact that we are all very much in the dark as regards the various, and far from immutable, groupings which occur among the Russians in the West, so that we are liable at any given moment to drop a brick. Bernstein is much better informed than I am, having had at least some first-hand experience of this kind of thing in Zurich, whereas I, on the contrary, did not know so much as the names, or even suspect the existence of the journals you cite. Bernstein tells me that, in Beck’s letter, he detects the accents of Lavrov’s followers—whether rightly or wrongly, I do not know—but this was one of the reasons which induced him to publish the letter.

He also told me that he had arranged for a translation of Plekhanov’s preface to be sent him from Paris so that he might print it in its entirety; it had arrived, he said, and would appear as soon as possible. He arranged this as soon as he got Beck’s letter, which can only mean that he intended to take advantage of its publication to give Plekhanov another say. I would now suggest that you write a reply to Beck—in French, if you so wish—and send it to me or else direct to the Sozialdemokrat (address 4 Corinne Road, Tufnell Park, London N.).

While you, for your part, may know the said Mr Beck who, outside Russian circles, is quite unknown, and while you may regard entering into debate with him as a somewhat demeaning occupation, this is, after all, the sort of unpleasantness to which one is all too often compelled to submit, as I am only too well aware.

I know from experience what an upheaval is like when it takes place, as now, in the bosom of a small community of the Russians in the West. Everyone knows everyone else, having had with them personal relations of a friendly or hostile nature and, as a result, any development—accompanied as it inevitably is by divisions, schisms and controversies—will assume a wholly personal character. Such things are inherent in any
political emigration, and we had our fill of them between 1849 and 1860. But what I also learned is that the first party to have the moral fibre to rise above that atmosphere of personalities, to refuse to let itself be dominated by the influence of such squabbles, will find itself in consequence at a considerable advantage as compared with the rest. The less vulnerable you are to pinpricks of this kind, the better will you be able to preserve your strength and husband your time for the great struggle. Come to that, what harm can it do you if an article by Beck or by someone else appears in the Sozialdemokrat, provided you can be sure of being able to reply to it fairly and squarely? It would, after all, be impossible to close the columns of the entire Socialist press in the West to your Russian adversaries; and it would surely be to the advantage of the Russian movement itself if it ran its course somewhat more openly before the wider public in the West, rather than covertly, in small, isolated circles which, for that very reason, become hotbeds of intrigue and conspiracy. To inveigle his adversaries out into the open, into the light of day, and to attack them in full view of the public, was one of Marx’s most powerful and most frequently used ploys when confronted by clandestine intrigue.

If you wish to rob your enemies of all desire to swagger in front of the German Socialists, your best way would be to contribute regularly to the Sozialdemokrat and the Neue Zeit. Once the identity of your views with those of the Germans has been thoroughly established and recognised, let the others say what they will—no one will heed them. I am sure that contributions from you would be welcomed with open arms, and was delighted to hear that Plekhanov’s article on Chernyshevsky was to appear in the Neue Zeit.

My cordial regards to Plekhanov, as also to yourself.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

Bernstein is an excellent chap as regards both intelligence and character, but it is typical of him that the measure of the esteem in which he holds you should be the number of attacks he permits others to make upon you in the Sozialdemokrat; the greater his respect for you, the more anxious he is to appear impartial where you are concerned.
Dear Sorge,

I get the *Nationalist* regularly but unfortunately there's not much in it. Just feeble reflections of our Fabians over here. Dreary and shallow as *Dismal Swamp*, but pleased as Punch about the magnanimous magnanimity with which they, *eddicated* middle-class folk, condescend to emancipate the workers who, however, are expected in return to be sweetly submissive and kowtow obediently to the eddicated *cranks* and their *isms*. Let them enjoy their little pleasure while they may; one fine day the movement will efface all this. Indeed, we continentalists are at an advantage in that this sort of thing would not be possible in our case because of the very different effect the French Revolution has had on us.

Today I am also sending you *The People's Press*, which, so far as reports on the new Trades Unions are concerned, has now taken the place of the *Labour Elector*. The latter, as you will have seen, no longer carries any factual news because the workers flatly refuse to have anything further to do with it. Not that this prevents Burns, Mann and others (particularly some of the dockers) from consorting a great deal with Champion on the sly and allowing themselves to be influenced by him. *The People's Press* is edited by a very youthful Fabian named Dell, the second in command being the parson Morris; both, from what I have heard so far, are decent people and most obliging to the gas workers. The
(secret) leader of the gas workers is Tussy and the union is, to all appearances at any rate, far and away the best of the lot. The dockers have been spoiled by the philistines' subventions and are anxious not to blot their copybook with the bourgeois public. Moreover, their secretary, Tillett, is the mortal enemy of the gas workers, whose secretary he vainly strove to become. The dockers and gas workers, large numbers of whom are dockers in the summer and gas workers in winter, really belong together; hence the latter proposed an agreement whereby anyone who was a member of one of the two Unions should not, on changing his job, be forced to join the other. So far this has been rejected by the dockers, who demand that a gas worker who turns docker in the spring should pay his joining fee and membership dues. Hence a lot of unpleasantness. Altogether the dockers are putting up with the hell of a lot from their Executive. The Gas Workers and General Labourers take in all the unskilled workers, and in Ireland the agricultural day labourers are also flocking to join it—to the annoyance of Davitt, who has progressed no further than Henry George and considers, though quite without reason, his domestic Irish policy to be threatened. Here in London, the gas workers south of the Thames have been thoroughly trounced by the South Metropolitan Gas Co., that was all to the good, as they were getting altogether much too cocky and thought they could carry everything before them; in Manchester they suffered a like fate and now they are calming down and starting to consolidate the organisation and fill its coffers. In the Union Tussy represents the girls and women of Silvertown (India Rubber, etc., Works) whose strike she led, and will probably soon take her seat on the London Trades Council.

In a country such as this, with an old political and labour movement, there will always be a vast accumulation of traditionally received rubbish to be gradually got rid of. There are the prejudices, all of which need to be broken down, of the skilled Unions—Engineers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Joiners, Type Compositors, etc., the petty jealousies between individual trades which, fomented in word and deed by the leaders, are surreptitiously exacerbated to the point of outright enmity and strife; there are the incompatible ambitions and the intrigues of the leaders—this one wants to get into Parliament, so does that, the other wants to get on to the County Council or the School Board, yet another to establish the universal centralisation of all workers, and another still to found a newspaper, a club, etc., etc.,—in short, there are endless causes of friction; and, in the midst of it all, the Socialist League, contemptuous of everything that is not downright revolution-
ary (which means here in England as with you in America, everything
that’s not confined to spouting hot air to the exclusion of everything
else), and the Federation,\textsuperscript{62} which continues to behave as if, except for
itself, there were nothing but fools and bunglers, even though the
modicum of support it is regaining is due solely to the vigour of the new
movement. In short, anyone who merely considered the surface of
things would say that all was confusion and personal quarrels. But
\textit{beneath} the surface the movement continues, spreading to ever wider
strata, for the most part precisely those \textit{at the very} base of the hitherto
inert masses, nor is the day far off when those masses will suddenly
discover their identity, when it will dawn on them that it is they who are
these vast dynamic masses and, on that day, short work will be made of
all the shabby tricks and petty quarrels.

 Needless to say, the above details as to persons and momentary differ-
ences are solely for your own information and must not on any account
be allowed to get into the \textit{Volkszeitung}. \textit{Let this be understood once and
for all}—for when Schlüter was over here, he more than once demon-
strated a tendency to take this sort of thing rather too lightly.

I much look forward to the First of May. In Germany the group in the
Reichstag was duty-bound to restrain any excess of zeal. The bourgeois,
the political police, whose ‘bread and butter’ is at stake, the worthy offi-
cers—all are itching for mayhem and slaughter and are seeking any
pretext to persuade young William\textsuperscript{3} that it’s never too soon to shoot. But
this would completely ruin our game. First we have to get rid of the Anti-
Socialist Law,\textsuperscript{52} i.e. survive the 30th of September. And after that our
prospects in Germany will be much too brilliant for us to wreck them
merely for the sake of blowing our own trumpet. Come to that, the
parliamentary group’s proclamation\textsuperscript{640} is bad; it stems from Liebknecht
and the nonsense about a ‘general strike’ was wholly unnecessary. But
either way, our people have been so elated by the 20th of February\textsuperscript{599} that
a certain amount of restraint is necessary if blunders are to be avoided.

In France the First of May \textit{might} be a turning-point, for Paris at any
rate, provided it helps to restore to their right minds the large numbers
of working men who have gone over to Boulangism there. For this, our
people have only themselves to blame. They have never had the courage
to oppose the outcry against the Germans, \textit{qua} Germans, and now in
Paris they are falling victim to chauvinism. Luckily the position is better
in the provinces. But abroad people look only to Paris.

\textsuperscript{a} William II
If the French sent me their stuff, I would send it on to you. But I think they themselves are ashamed of the things. *Well, it’s in the French nature*—defeat is more than they can stomach. The moment they again have a taste of success, all will suddenly change.

Cordial regards to your wife⁴ and yourself.
Likewise to the Schlüters.
Schorlemmer returned to Manchester last Monday. We are both of necessity strict abstainers. *Quelle horreur!*⁵

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN⁶⁴¹

London, 30 April 1890

Dear Sorge

If, next Sunday, a gigantic demonstration for the eight hour day takes place here in London, this will be thanks only to Tussy and Aveling. Tussy represents her Silvertown working women on the council of the Gasworkers’ and General Labourers’ Union and enjoys so much popularity on that Council that no one calls her anything but our mother. The gas workers—the best of the new Unions—were greatly in favour of the 8 hours demonstration for, besides having fought for and secured an 8 hour day for themselves, they had also learnt how insecure in practice is such an achievement, liable as it is to being reversed by the capitalists

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⁴Katharina Sorge — ⁵How awful!
at the first opportunity; for the gas workers as for the Miners, the main thing is that it should be *legally* established.

Thus it was the gasworkers and the Bloomsbury Socialist Society (the best section, which seceded from the Socialist League 2 years ago and of which Lessner, Tussy and Aveling are members) who initiated the thing, and obtained a strong following among the smaller Trades Unions and the Radical Clubs, which are increasingly splitting up into socialist working men’s clubs and middle-class Gladstonian clubs. In all sincerity, they approached the London Trades Council and suggested they take part in the proposed demonstration in Hyde Park. That body (next year, too, will be in our hands), consisting mainly of representatives of the old skilled Trades Unions, realised that there was no avoiding the thing and attempted to gain control of it by a *coup de main*.

In collusion with the Social Democratic Federation (Hyndman), they applied to the Commissioner of Works and reserved Hyde Park for the 4th of May, something the others had as yet failed to do. For whenever a large meeting is to be held in the park, prior notice must be given to the Commissioner of Works, who then stipulates how many platforms may be erected, etc. Since the regulations also prohibit the holding of *any other meeting* at the same time on the same day, these gentlemen imagined they now had the upper hand and, having monopolised the park, would be able to order the original committee about. They had applied for 7 platforms, intending to allow the Social Democratic Federation to have two of them—thus, or so they thought, preserving a semblance of impartiality towards the socialists while at the same time gaining a socialist ally.

Hence they decided that only Trades Societies, *not* political associations (thus excluding the clubs), were to parade with banners and provide speakers. They edited the resolution, omitting all mention of the legal 8 hours day and referring only to the 8 hours to be striven for by means of Trades Union action. Not till they had arranged the procession, the routes to be taken, etc., did they call a meeting of delegates—of Trades Societies only. When this took place, 1. Tussy was not admitted on the grounds that she was not herself employed in the calling she represented! (and yet Mr Shipton, the secretary of the Trades Council, hasn’t done a hand’s turn in his trade for 15 or 16 years!!) 2. An amendment calling for the re-introduction of the legal 8 hours day into the resolution was not allowed to be put to the vote or debated—*this matter having already been settled*! 3. The delegates were given plainly to understand that the Trades Council was the man in possession, that the
Park was his for the 4th of May, and if they did not like it they could leave it alone.

Much wrath and consternation among the delegates of the original committee. The following day the tables were turned, however. Aveling went to the commissioner of Works and told him that, unless the original committee were *simultaneously* awarded a sufficient number of platforms, there would be a set-to; luckily the Tories are in power (the Liberals would have prevaricated and conceded nothing) and cannot afford to make any more enemies amongst the workers—Aveling was awarded seven platforms, and now it was the turn of the gentlemen on the Trades Council to eat humble pie, for a clash *at this juncture* would really have shown how weak they were.

Our committee then buckled to, settling the details of its plans and of the routes to be taken by the procession—these it published forthwith—and thus was first to be ready. Yesterday Aveling and Shipton met and so arranged matters as to preclude all possibility of a clash, which means that Sunday's meeting will be one of the biggest there has ever been.

You may get this published in the *Volkszeitung* and also in the Workmen's Advocate; I should be only too pleased if it were to come back to the gentlemen in *English* from America.

I am now sending you a few *Stars*, which will be comprehensible to you in the light of the above (NB each article as a rule contains news emanating both from our side and from the other lot, in addition to that obtained by the reporters themselves, all of it lumped together indiscriminately).

Further, the May number of *Time*. Also a bundle of *Combats* (belongs to us, Guesde editor-in-chief) and with them the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. The object of the threats of expulsion in Bebel's article is Schippel—one of the chief intriguers and a great adept in sharp practice, whom Liebknecht discovered several years ago and introduced into the party but now mortally detests. Luckily Schippel is a *coward*, like Hyndman.

This is *our first major victory in London* and it shows that *we* now have the masses behind us in this country too. Four strong branches of the Social Democratic Federation, which is to have two platforms of its own, will be marching with us and are represented on our committee. The same applies to many of the skilled trades—the old, traditional leaders side with Shipton and the Trades Council—the majority with us. The whole of the East End is on our side. The masses over here, though not yet socialist, are well on the way there and have already got to the stage
of wanting to have only socialist leaders. The Trades Council is the only labour organisation of note to be still anti-socialist but already includes a socialist minority and, the moment the gas workers—who so far have been kept at arm’s length by all manner of little ruses—get into it, things will begin to move fast. I feel convinced that, after the 4th of May, the movement here will take on an altogether different character, and then you will hear more about Tussy’s public activities. We have shown the intriguers of the Trades Council and the Social Democratic Federation that we are a match for their wiles and ruses and, much though the chaps hate us, they cannot deny the facts. The English proletariat would now at long last appear to be entering the movement en masse and, should this be the case, all the petty intrigues, swindlers and would-be bigwigs will, by this time next year, either have been relegated to the modest position that is their due or else swept away.

Another edition of the Manifesto is now printing; we want to bombard Germany with another 5,000 copies before the demise of the Anti-Socialist Law.52

A superb spring day. In a week’s time the gilliflowers, white and pink may, laburnum and apple blossom will be out—the cherry trees have already been in flower for 5 days.

I trust you and your wife will keep well—cordial regards to you both.

Your
F. E.

Did you know that the Labour Elector had gone bust? It sold 23,000 copies during the dockers’ strike, but was spoilt by Tory money.


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a K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party — b See this volume, pp.446-50
Dear Bebel,

Thank you for your news from Zurich—I am glad that we should have arrived at the same opinion in regard to this point too. Your corroboration was of particular importance to me, the likes of us being so dependent in matters of this sort upon conclusions that are inadequately founded as to feel reluctant to use those unreliable conclusions as a basis for further inferences, let alone actions, without corroboration from an authoritative quarter.

My hearty congratulations to you and your wife on your daughter’s engagement. The fact that it will eventually mean her emigrating to America is certainly most unpleasant for you, though for me it might have the agreeable consequence of our some day making a trip together across the Atlantic. What do you feel about it? I am firmly convinced that you would get over your sea-sickness within 2 or 3 days and quite possibly for good and all. And a sea voyage of that kind is an invaluable antidote to wear and tear—even now, almost two years later, I can still feel the beneficial effects of my jaunt. Moreover, Zadek claims to have discovered a sure remedy for sea-sickness (anti-pyrin is said to be excellent) and, according to medical opinion, only 2 or 3 per cent of all human beings are unable to get used to the motion within 2 or 3 days. So consider the matter.

If you find my article wanting in logic, the fault lies probably more with me than with Blos. To compress such a lengthy and complex matter into less than 2 printed sheets is a difficult feat and I am aware that there are all too many passages in which the thread gets lost and the reasoning is inadequate. In the event of my going into the subject—which is of the greatest importance to us—in rather more detail, some critical notes from you would be very welcome indeed just brief indications as to where you lost the thread and how you think it got snarled up.

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a Frieda Bebel  b F. Engels, The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom
Well, no doubt the bourgeoisie will everywhere have had time enough to sweat out the fear inspired in them by the First of May and to wash the linen they dirtied in consequence. The Daily News correspondent in Berlin, one of the most vociferous Jeremias, complained on the First of May that the workers had made April fools of all and sundry, nor, until 4 days later, did the truth dawn on him that, despite the workers having insistently declared beforehand that all they wanted was a peaceable demonstration, no one had believed them.

You did perfectly right in so arranging things as to preclude the possibility of clashes. After 20 February there is no longer any need for the German workers merely to kick up a row. Under the circumstances Germany was bound to make a more modest showing on the First of May than the others did, and no one thought the worse of you for that, either here or in France. But there is, I think, one lesson to be drawn from the Schippel business, namely the need to ensure that, next time there’s an interregnum between the general elections and the convocation of the Reichstag, the leadership of the parliamentary group is either empowered to continue functioning as before, or is expressly reinstated in office by the newly elected representatives for the period of the interregnum. It could then confidently intervene and also act, if necessary, while the gentlemen in Berlin, who would like to behave Paris-fashion, as though they were natural party leaders, would not be given the opportunity of throwing their weight about prematurely. Always providing that, after 1 October, the organisation stays as it is.

Over here the demonstration on 4 May was quite overwhelming, as the entire bourgeois press actually had to admit. I was on platform 4 (a heavy goods waggion) and could only see part—a fifth, say, or an eighth—of the crowd, but it was one vast sea of faces, as far as the eye could reach. Between 250,000 and 300,000 people, about 3/4 of them demonstrating workers. Aveling, Lafargue and Stepniak spoke from my platform—I was just an onlooker. Lafargue, with his mixture of southern vivacity and excellent English—if spoken with a strong French accent—elicited a storm of applause. So did Stepniak, while Ede, who was on the same platform as Tussy, was accorded a stunning reception. Each of the 7 platforms was 150 metres away from the next, the last ones being 150 metres from the edge of the park, so that our meeting (the one in favour of international legal enforcement of an 8 hours working day)

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a Hyde Park
occupied an area more than 1,200 metres in length and at least 400-500 metres in breadth, the whole being absolutely jam-packed, while beyond it were the 6 platforms of the Trades Council\textsuperscript{587} and the 2 of the Social Democratic Federation,\textsuperscript{62} but with audiences barely half the size of ours. All in all, the biggest meeting that has ever been held here.

And, what's more, a stunning victory, particularly for us. You will have read the details in Ede's report in the Volksblatt.\textsuperscript{648} The Trades Council and the Social Democratic Federation had, or so they thought, done us out of the park for that day, but they were bilked. Aveling persuaded the Commissioner of Public Works to allow us to have 7 platforms in the park as well, though this was, in effect, contrary to regulations. But luckily the Tories were in power and he succeeded in intimidating them by saying that our people would otherwise storm the other lot's platforms. And our meeting was the biggest, the best organised and the most enthusiastic. The vast majority here are already in favour of an eight hours law. Aveling and, even more so, Tussy organised the whole thing, and their position in the movement is now altogether different from what it was. The Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers\textsuperscript{565}—by far the best of the new trade societies—supported them manfully nor, without them, would the thing have been possible. Now it behoves us to keep together the committee that organised our meeting—delegates of Trades Unions, and of radical and socialist clubs—and to make it the centre of the movement over here.\textsuperscript{643} The first moves towards this end will probably be made tonight. Of one thing we may be certain: the workers, the bourgeoisie, the heads of the old, rotten Trades Unions and of the many political and social sects and sub-sects, and the careerists, place-seekers and men of letters intent on exploiting the movement, are well aware that the real socialist mass movement began on the fourth of May. Now the masses are at last on the move and, after a few battles and a certain amount of wavering to and fro, will, just as it happened in Germany, put an end to the personal ambitions and attempts at exploitation of the careerists and to the rivalries of the sects, and will relegate every man to his proper place. And since an international mentality will evolve very strongly in the process, you will soon discover what stuff your new allies are made of. All that the English do in the way of action, agitation or organisation shows that they are much more akin to us than the French, and once everything has got going along the right lines here and the internal friction, unavoidable at the start, has been overcome, you will be able to march alongside these people in truly fine style. What wouldn't I give for Marx to have
witnessed this awakening, he who, on this selfsame English soil, was alive to the minutest symptom! You people can have no conception of the pleasure I have experienced during the past fortnight. And things are coming thick and fast. First Germany in February, then the First of May there and in America, and now this Sunday when, for the first time in 40 years, the voice of the English proletariat rang out once again. I carried my head a couple of inches higher as I climbed down from the old goods waggon.

Regards to your wife and Singer,

Your

F. E.


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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 10 May 1890

My dear Laura,

Only a few lines this busy Saturday—I am awfully behindhand with my correspondence—to thank you for your card and to enclose the £20 cheque I promised Paul. I also send you the People's Press with report of Sunday last. It was tremendous. England at last is stirring, and no mistake. And it was a great victory for us specially, for Tussy and Aveling

a Julie Bebel
THAN ONCE TO PUBLISH THE ARTICLE OF MR LAFARGUE BUT IN VAIN; OUR CENSORS ARE TOO SEVERE ... EXCUSE ME THAT I SEND YOU PER NEXT POST THE MS.; I DO NOT SEND IT DIRECT TO THE AUTHOR SINCE I AM NOT SURE THAT HE RECEIVES MY LETTERS. I HAVE WRITTEN TO HIM TWICE, IN MARCH AND IN APRIL, IN ANSWER TO HIS KIND Sending.'652

Have you had his letters? I shall send you the MS as soon as I get it. You would be well-advised to let him have another, non-suspect, address in Paris where he could send his letters for you, and also not to put your name to your own letters. That is what I do myself, and our correspondence has never been interrupted by such mishaps.

It’s good that your Eight Hours Committee should continue to function—we are doing the same thing here, the Legal Eight Hour Day League is in process of formation, the Committee,643 in particular, will continue to function, and new societies (among them branches of the Dockers Union) are affiliating themselves. Since the question is a completely practical and straightforward one, it might, perhaps, bring back those of your adherents who defected to Boulanger’s camp two years ago. By a strange quirk of history the Parisians, after having upset their digestions with grandiloquent phrases dubbed ideas, have now been reduced to a diet of ‘DR RIDGE’S FOOD FOR INFANTS’, the eight hour day, and suchlike easily digested stuff.

The end of the Boulanger6 is comic indeed. Having been given a kick by universal suffrage, the gallant general passes it on to his ‘committee’653 so that there may be no intermediary between himself and universal suffrage!

Rumour has it that Frank Rosher’s visit gave him the coup de grâce.b After that, he could sink no lower.

Is Laura making preparations to come over here? The month is nearly over.

Give her a kiss from Nim and myself.

Yours,

F. E.

Martignetti has been acquitted.


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Translated from the French

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a Bread-making, here meaning General Boulanger – b See this volume, p.481
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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI
IN BENEVENTO

[London,] 24 May 1890

[Dear friend,]
[Many] congratulations on your [acquit] tal!
What joy for you and your [family, who] must have suffered no less
[than you] did yourself! I immediately wrote a [note of] thanks to A.L
[abriola] and also asked him to thank Lollini.
Now you will be embarking on a new existence, and doing so better
and more hopefully than you would have been able to do on the other
side of the Atlantic.

Yours sincerely yours,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 May 1890

Dear Sorge,
Have received letters of 30 April and 15 May, likewise Volkszeitung
containing passage from my letter. Your statement will be appearing
in the Sozialdemokrat but, when I arrived at the office with your

\(^a\) See this volume, p.488-91
statement yesterday, I found that they already had it there, in print in the Berliner Volksblatt. So Schlüter had sent it off before. That's what I call Schlüter's excess of zeal and what tends to be a bit embarrassing to a chap like me when he turns up at a newspaper office with an allegedly brand new ms. only to find the thing has already appeared in another paper. Not that I've had any other indiscretions to complain of since he's been in America, but I know him from days of yore.

I must now burden you with another piece of gossip about Schlüter which I would not otherwise have thought worth mentioning. But Motteler, a mortal enemy of Schlüter's, who was also responsible for Schlüter's leaving here, has recounted his version of the affair to Jonas and so it is necessary for you, at any rate, to know the true story.

Motteler is a crib-biter of the first water and is very difficult to get on with; he's a faux bonhomme, a Swabian and an unrecognised genius who feels he has been downgraded because, though he was at one time solely responsible for managing the Sozialdemokrat and for party affairs abroad, others had to be appointed alongside himself, things having expanded. Not only is he absolutely reliable in money matters, however, but, more important still, he is generally recognised to be so by the whole of the party, and no one would venture to doubt him. In the post of party treasurer abroad, therefore, he is a most valuable man, and the others can only be glad to have been relieved of that responsibility for so long. Well, should anyone he dislikes happen to join the business, the results will be perpetual squabbling and never-ending persecution. That's what happened, first with Derossi and then with Schlüter, both of whom were hounded out by him. He now brings two charges against Schlüter—first, that he embezzled money. There is absolutely no proof of this save that, in accounts that were over a year old at the time and had already been passed by the auditors, Motteler discovered a sum of 150 marks in respect of which Schlüter had failed to provide either proof of payment or a signed receipt. No one in Germany or over here, save for Motteler, cares a rap about this, for the sums paid out by Motteler himself are said frequently to have been certified only by the entries he made, and the way the chaps run the business, while egregiously pedantic like everything Motteler does, is far from businesslike and accurate. That Schlüter was careless and guilty of small oversights—which he

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*a* speciously benevolent
glossed over in such a way as not himself to be the loser—may well be. But nothing more could be alleged against him.—Again, Schlüter is much given to the pursuit of the Eternal Feminine, and likes variety at that, and it would seem to be a fact that he had flirtations with one or two of the book-binding girls they employed in Zurich and even seduced them. But since there aren’t any girls in the business over here, that no longer applied and the only grounds for quarrelling with Schlüter was Motteler’s ineradicable dislike of him. That’s the whole story and, if Schlüter had only stood up to Motteler a bit more, things might have gradually settled down. We others didn’t make anything of it because the affair of the girls had long been a thing of the past, because Motteler himself had refused to have the matter out with Schlüter in the presence of the party’s auditors, and because the same thing could not have recurred over here.

So if Jonas should start spreading gossip, you will be in possession of the true facts.

Jonas did indeed come to see me, somewhat embarrassed, but found Tussy and Edward Aveling here (it was just after the Hyde Park meeting)\(^{647}\) who gave him a very cool reception (on applying to the Central Committee\(^{643}\) for a journalist’s pass for the meeting, Jonas had already been told by Aveling that he hoped the *Volkszeitung* would be more truthful in its report than heretofore)\(^3\). So he very soon went away again when the Bernsteins had to leave on account of their children. The more elegantly the man tries to dress, the commoner he looks.

One more thing. For the new edition of the Origin etc.\(^a\) I have got to have Morgan’s last work,\(^b\) but cannot go to the British Museum early enough in the morning to compete for a seat in the Reading Room with the novel-readers. I am therefore sending you the enclosed letter for the department concerned, and two copies of the book. The question now is how these things—the letter and 1 copy—should be conveyed, whether direct to the department or through an intermediary who would vouch for me? Aveling believes that Ely in Baltimore would be glad to oblige. You are better acquainted with the chap, and I shall therefore leave it to you to decide what the best procedure would be. In case you should decide on an intermediary, I have included a second copy for him. I also include a note for Ely in case you think fit to use him as an intermediary.

\(^{a}\) Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see present edition, Vol. 26) — \(^{b}\) L. H. Morgan, *Houses and houselife of the American aborigines*
I am very glad that the Volkszeitung and the Workman’s Advocate put in the piece about the preliminaries to the Hyde Park meeting; through doing so they have made possible a rapprochement between the Avelings and the Americans. Even Mr Jonas cannot fail to have realised while here what a blunder he had made when he contented himself with simply parroting the Executive’s accusations against Aveling.

The meeting, by the by, did not mark the end of the matter over here. You will have seen from the last People’s Press that the Central Committee is remaining in existence and is founding a Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League. The constitution has been drafted and will be submitted on 22 June to a delegates’ meeting to which all London labour organisations, radical clubs, etc., have been invited. The constitution demands 1. the implementation of the resolutions of the Paris Congress in so far as these are not yet law in England, 2. such further measures for bringing about the full emancipation of the workers as may be decided upon by the Association, 3. the founding of an independent labour party with its own candidates for all constituencies in which they would stand some chance of getting in. You may publish this.

In the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung (by the next post) there is a longish article of mine about the happenings over here.

Cordial regards to your wife,

Your

F. Engels


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\[May 4 in London\] \[Katharina Sorge\]
Dear Sir,

Unfortunately I cannot do as you ask and write a letter to you for use against Mr Bahr. This would involve me in a public polemic with the same, and for that I should literally have to rob myself of my own time. What I am writing to say, therefore, is solely for your private information.

Moreover, what you describe as the northern women’s movement is totally unknown to me; all I know is a few of Ibsen’s plays, nor could I possibly say whether, or how far, Ibsen can be held responsible for the more or less hysterical lucubrations of middle class and lower middle class female careerists.

Again, the field which we have accustomed ourselves to describe as the woman question is so extensive that nothing of an exhaustive or even moderately satisfactory kind can be said about it within the confines of a letter. But of one thing you may be sure—Marx could never have ‘made such a fuss’ as Bahr asserts he did. He was not as crazy as that.

As regards your attempt to handle the matter in a materialist way, I should say first of all that the materialist method turns into its opposite if, in an historical study, it is used not as a guide but rather as a ready-made pattern in accordance with which one tailors the historical facts. And if Mr Bahr believes he has caught you out in this respect, it seems to me that he may not be altogether unjustified.

You subsume the whole of Norway and everything that happens there under one category, philistinism, and then unhesitatingly and erroneously apply to that Norwegian philistinism your opinion of German philistinism. But here there are two facts which present an insuperable obstacle.

Firstly: When, throughout Europe, the victory over Napoleon turned out to be the victory of reaction over the Revolution, the fear inspired by the latter sufficing only in its cradle, France, to wrest a bourgeois-liberal constitution from the returning legitimists, Norway took occa-
sion to give itself a constitution that was far more democratic than any of its coeals in Europe.

And, secondly, Norway has, during the past 20 years, experienced a literary revival unparallelled in any other country during that period save Russia. Philistine or not, this people has been far more creative than all the rest and is, indeed, putting its stamp on other literature, not least the German.

These facts, in my view, render it necessary to examine Norwegian philistinism in the light of its particular characteristics.

And in so doing you will probably find that a very important distinction emerges. In Germany philistinism was born of a failed revolution, a development that was interrupted and repressed. Its idiosyncratic, abnormally pronounced character made up of cowardice, bigotry, ineptitude, and a total lack of initiative, resulted from the Thirty Years War and the period that ensued—the very time in which practically all the other great nations were experiencing a rapid rise. That character persisted, even after Germany had again been gripped by the historical movement, and was strong enough to imprint itself, more or less as a generalised German type, on all the other social classes in Germany until such time as our working class broke out of these narrow confines. If the German workers are flagrantly ' unpatriotic', it is precisely because they have completely shaken off German philistine bigotry.

Hence German philistinism is not a normal historical phase but a caricature taken to extremes, a form of degeneration, just as your Polish Jew is a caricature of the Jews. The English, French, etc., lower middle class is not at all on the same level as your German lower middle class.

In Norway, on the other hand, the class of small peasants and the lower middle class with a slight admixture of middle class elements—as it existed, say, in England and France in the 17th century—have, for several centuries, constituted the normal state of society. Here there is no question of an archaic state of affairs having been forcibly imposed upon them by the failure of a great movement or by a Thirty Years War. The country has been retarded by its isolation and by its natural circumstances, but its state was commensurate with the conditions of its production, and hence normal. It is only quite recently that large-scale industry has, sporadically and on a very small scale, begun to come into the country, where, however, there is no place for the most powerful lever for the concentration of capital—the stock exchange; and even the tremendous expansion of maritime trade has proved to be a conservative factor. For whereas everywhere else steam is superseding sail, Norway is
enormously increasing the number of its sailing vessels and possesses, if not the largest, then certainly the second largest, fleet of windjammers in the world, most of them owned by small and medium-sized shipping firms, as in England in, say, 1720. But nevertheless this has brought some animation into the old, sluggish existence—animation which finds expression in, among other things, the literary revival.

The Norwegian peasant was never a serf, so that the whole process takes place against an entirely different background as in Castile. The lower middle class Norwegian is the son of a free peasant and, such being the case, is a man compared with the degenerate German philistine. And in the same way the Norwegian lower middle class woman is infinitely superior to the German lower middle class wife. And whatever the failings of, for example, Ibsen's plays, these reflect a world which is, it is true, lower middle and middle class, but utterly different from the German world—a world in which people still have character and initiative and act independently if, by the standards of other countries, often eccentrically. Personally, I would prefer to get to know all I could about things of this sort before passing judgment.

But in return to the above-mentioned sheep, namely Mr Bahr, I can only marvel at the fact that people in Germany take each other so terribly seriously. Wit and humour seem to be more than ever taboo there, and boredom to be a civic duty. Otherwise you would surely have taken a closer look at Mr Bahr's 'woman' from whom all that is 'historically evolved' has been removed. Her skin is historically evolved, for it must perforce be either white or black, yellow, brown or red—hence she cannot have a human skin. Her hair, whether crinkled or woolly, whether straight or curly, whether black, red or blond, is historically evolved. Hence human hair is forbidden her. What, then, remains after you have removed what is historically evolved along with skin and hair, and 'the woman as such appears'? What is revealed? Simply a female ape, anthropopithecus, and may Mr Bahr take her to bed with him, 'purely tangible and perceptible', together with her 'natural instincts'.

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON (NICOLAI-ON)\(^{592}\)

IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, 10 June 1890

My dear sir,

I am in possession of your kind letters of 18th December, 22 January, 24th February and 17th May, as also of Mr. Lafargue’s article returned which was sent back to him. I wrote to him\(^a\) that you had written to him twice in March and April but have not had any positive reply as to whether he received these two letters. His wife who is here at present, cannot from memory tell positively. She regrets very much the change of ownership in the *Northern Review* and desires me to convey to you her and her husband’s thanks for your kind efforts in their interest.

Of the 4th edition *Capital* I am now reading proof-sheets 39-42, there will be less than 50 in all, as the print, though larger, is closer. As soon as out, it will be forwarded to you.

I have had the letters of our author\(^b\) you kindly lent me, copied by typewriter (the author’s youngest daughter\(^c\) did them) and shall now return them to you in a registered letter, unless you instruct me to the contrary.

I thank you very much for your continued and interesting information respecting the economic condition of your great country. Under the smooth surface of political quietude there is as great and as important an economical change going on as in any other European country, to watch which is of the highest interest. The consequences of this economic change must sooner or later develop themselves in other directions too.

We had heard here of the death of N.G.C.\(^d\), and with much sorrow and sympathy. But perhaps it is better so.

Many thanks for your congratulations of 24th February—they have rejoiced more than one.\(^{663}\)

I have been so exceedingly busy, and my eyes, though improving, are still so much affected by reading Russian printing, that I have not as yet been able to read the article in the *Statistical Yearbook*\(^e\) but

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\(^a\) See this volume, p.497  
\(^b\) Marx  
\(^c\) Eleanor Marx-Aveling  
\(^d\) N. G. Chernyshevsky. The initials are written in Russian letters in the original  
\(^e\) This word is written in Russian in the original
shall do so as soon as I find a free moment. The misuse of economic terms, you point out, is a very usual defect of all literatures. Here in England, Rent is applied as well to the payment of the English capitalist farmer to his landlord, as to that of the Irish pauper farmer, who pays a complete tribute composed chiefly of a deduction from his fund of maintenance, earned by his own labour, and only in the smallest consisting of true rent. So the English in India transformed the land-tax paid by the ryot (peasant) to the State into 'rent', and consequently have, in Bengal at least, actually transformed the zamindar (tax-gatherer of the former Indian prince) into a landlord holding a nominal feudal tenure from the Crown exactly as in England, where the Crown is nominal proprietor of all the land, and the great nobles, the real owners, are by juridical fiction supposed to be feudal tenants of the Crown. Similarly when in the beginning of the 17th century the North of Ireland was subjected to direct English dominion, and the English lawyer Sir John Davies found there a rural community with common possession of the land, which was periodically divided amongst the members of the clan who paid a tribute to the chief, Davies declared that tribute at once to be 'rent'. Thus the Scotch lairds—chiefs of clans—profited, since the insurrection of 1745, of this juridical confusion, of the tribute paid to them by the clansmen, with a 'rent' for the lands held by them, in order to transform the whole of the clan-land, the common property of the clan, into their, the lairds', private property; for—said the lawyers, if they were not the landlords, how could they receive rent for that land? And thus this confusion of tribute and rent was the basis of the confiscation of all the lands of the Scottish Highlands for the benefit of a few chiefs of clan who very soon after drove out the old clansmen and replaced them by sheep as described in Capital, chapter 24, 2 (p. 754, 3rd edition). With kind regards

Yours very faithfully

P. W. Rosher.

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London, 14 June 1890

Dear Schlüter,

This is to advise you in much haste that you are welcome to reprint Marx's biography—but I have no time to finish it.\textsuperscript{666} You will find material in, inter alia, Marx's obituary in the \textit{Sozialdemokrat} of March 1883.\textsuperscript{a}

Congratulations on becoming 'chief'.

So far everything is going well over here, as also in Germany, where little Willie\textsuperscript{b} is threatening to abolish universal suffrage—what better could befall us! In any case we're heading quite fast enough either for a world war or for a world revolution—or both.

Kind regards to your wife—I'm glad to hear she's in better health than she was over here.

Your

F. E.

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\textsuperscript{a} Frederick Engels, \textit{Karl Marx's Funeral}  
\textsuperscript{b} William II
Dear Liebknecht,

Hardly a minute goes by without a changement de décoration. Schorlemmer has asked me to join him on a cruise in July—a variety of plans have been submitted for my kind consideration. My doctor tells me I must get away as soon as possible and devote this summer to the betterment of my health so as to be up to the mark again when winter comes. I myself have noticed that my bad nights have also been conducive to bad work and that I shall have to break off as soon as possible. So I can't very well reject the plan out of hand.

On the other hand Laura is pressing Lenchen to accompany her on a fortnight’s trip to Paris, which would be perfectly feasible during my absence and would do the old lady a power of good.

A further consideration is that your Reichstag is still in session and there’s no knowing a fortnight in advance when or whether it will adjourn.

So it could be that in about 10 days’ time I shall take myself off for 3 weeks. I shall in any case be back here by 25-26 July and Lenchen probably a few days before that. So if you could arrange your trip in such a way as to arrive after, say, 21 or 22 July, you would find everything ready for you, and a few days later I myself should also be back.

All this is, of course, provisional for the moment, and I shan’t be able to tell you anything more definite for a day or two, but I thought it as well to inform you immediately of this circumstance; that I shall go is pretty certain, but there’s still some doubt about the details. All that is certain is that I shall be back in London before the end of July and Lenchen before me. None of these plans would keep me away later than the 26th.

So Heligoland is to become German. I really look forward to the outcry of the good Heligolanders, who will fight tooth and nail to prevent their incorporation into the vast barracks of the fatherland. And

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*a change of plan
they have every reason to do so; no sooner has it been annexed than their island will be converted into a large fortress commanding the anchorage to the north-east, and they, poor devils, will be subject to eviction, as though they were so many Irish tenant farmers or, perhaps, Scottish sheep who must make room for deer.

O nay, O nay, enlarge his fatherland they say, a yet not one German from without, therein would make his way. A sea-girt Alsace à la Schleswig-Holstein! That was the only prop still lacking in the German imperial force.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNICHT

IN BERLIN

London, 19 June 1890

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

If I made a reference to your remarks about your being isolated and virtually ostracised in Leipzig, this was perfectly natural. From what you said I was bound to conclude that you found Leipzig insufferable and am glad to learn that such was by no means the case.

As to any other comparison between the merits of Leipzig and the drawbacks of Berlin, this is something I am really unable to discuss, as I don’t know the former at all, while the latter are no more than a distant memory and since those days Berlin is said to have improved quite miraculously, or so the Berliners maintain. However I’m perfectly willing

---
a E. M. Arndt, Des Deutschen Vaterland
to believe you when you say that, from the point of view of family life, Leipzig has immeasurably more to offer than the metropolis of the Brandenburgian Sahara.\textsuperscript{668}

All these, I have written to tell Singer and Liebknecht, are matters which everybody must thrash out with himself, his family and the party and in which we outsiders must acquiesce. However I can only say that I am also firmly of the opinion that Liebknecht's place is in Berlin if the party leadership and the party organ are transferred there. \textit{Whether} or not that happens is not for me to say; I can only express an unauthoritative opinion. But \textit{should} it happen and Liebknecht remain in Leipzig, he would, by so doing, lower himself to the status of a second-class party leader, pension himself off, so to speak, and find himself in a situation in which he could be neither consulted nor heard when an important problem arose—in short, it would be the first step towards resignation and you wouldn't want that.

People like us are tossed around by politics in a quite singular way. When in 1858 Lassalle wanted to bring out a paper with Marx and myself in Berlin, we couldn't actually say no and were prepared to move to the sandy metropolis—fortunately negotiations broke down.\textsuperscript{669} And for me that would have meant terminating my contracts with the firm\textsuperscript{a} and for us both a removal with much more far-reaching consequences than those of a transition from Leipzig to Berlin. If, therefore, circumstances arise which make your removal to the imperial sand-box unavoidable, you can certainly draw comfort, not only from the belated discovery that life there is bearable after all, but also from the certain knowledge that Liebknecht is thereby assuming the position in the party that is his by right and that he has come to the place where he can do full justice to his position.

At all events this business will be decided before very long and it is my hope that, whatever that decision may be, you will in the long run become reconciled to it.

Kindest regards from Nim, Mme Lafargue, the Roshers and

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

\textsuperscript{a} Ermen and Engels
Thank you very much for the many and various items you sent me; I tried to get hold of the no. of the *Daily Telegraph* but did not succeed, having been unable to tell the chaps on which day the article had appeared; they also said the number had probably been sold out. You never get any information out of clerks over here when it’s a question of a transaction to the value of one penny!

Your

F. E.


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

A reply in your own name issued by me would only provoke Mr Hyndman into retorting: it’s not Mr Engels’ opinion we want, but Liebknecht’s own testimony—and, besides, that sort of approach is quite contrary to local custom. As you know, Mr F. Gilles seized on the
affair so as to make capital out of it. If you don't wish to write direct to
Justice, you should send your reply to The People's Press (editor Robert
Dell), 1 Hare Place, Fleet Street, London, E.C.; I am sending you its
latest number.

Searching for lodgings in Berlin must certainly be a pleasant occupa-
tion!

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

[Odde], Friday, 4 July 1890

My dear Laura,

I hope you got as safe to Paris as we did to Norway. We had a very
quiet passage, though lots of people sick, sighted the coast of Norway
yesterday afternoon, and by 6 were between the islands and rocks. Went
up the Harvanger Fiord which leads right into the heart of the country,
and are now at the farthest point, Odde, where we remain until to-
morrow. Had a drive up the valley this morning and only just back; it
rained a little, but not enough to spoil the scenery which is grand. The
sun set yesterday at 10 and there was no real night, only a rather deep
dusk, and red sky in the north. The people are very primitive, but a
sound strong handsome race; they understand my Danish but I cannot
make much of their Norwegian. Here at this place the invaders coming
by this one ship have cleared the place of Norwegian money in change
for English, and the post-office of postage stamps.

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a Richard in the ms
We sail from here to-morrow and shall on Monday be at Trondheim, a good way farther up north. If the scenery does not get worse than what we saw to-day, I shall be quite satisfied. It is in some respects like Switzerland, in others very different. So far the beer is not what one might expect, but I shall reserve judgment until I have seen the towns. This Odde is about twenty houses, including church, hotel, post-office and skolehus. Everything built of timber, although they have about 1,000,000 times more stone than wood.

Well, I hope Nim is well; enjoying herself, and you and Paul are the same. If Mémé was here, she would have plenty to say about my nase, the sun has burnt it so that it cracks at every corner.

So now love to the lot of you and enjoy yourselves.

Ever yours
F. Engels


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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Trondheim, 8 July 1890

We're about to sail for North Cape and I don't want to miss sending you a line from Trondheim. Have just eaten the best lobster I've had in my life and there was some very passable beer to go with it; have also seen a big waterfall. We sail at 9 o'clock, calling first at Tromsö and then at North Cape, after which we return via various Norwegian fjords and arrive back in the Thames on the 26th of this month. The weather has

a a school-house – b Jenny Longuet – c nose
been pretty good up till now, though yesterday was wet, but it's fine again today. I like the people pretty well; the girls wear a kerchief on their heads just as at home, and one feels one must have already run into them at some time or another in the Siebengebirge or the Eifel. But my pen is atrocious and it is only with difficulty that I have scrawled my way as far as this.

Much love to Emma and your children, Rudolf, Mathilde, Hedwig, etc.\textsuperscript{a}

Your
Friedrich

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BORSDDORF NEAR LEIPZIG

Steam Yacht Ceylon
Bergen Roads, 22 July 1890

Dear Liebknecht,

Having safely returned to civilised latitudes after our trip to North Cape—Schorlemmer and I left London in the above vessel on the 1st of this month—I hasten to inform you that we shall be back in London on Saturday the 26th inst. And look forward to seeing you as soon as may be. Come straight away if that suits you, since we shall probably be setting off for the seaside shortly afterwards and intend to inveigle you into joining us;\textsuperscript{673} that will still leave you some time to do what you have to do in London.

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\textsuperscript{a} Emma Engels, Rudolf Engels, Mathilde Engels, Hedwig Engels
The first news to reach us from the outside world is today pinned up in our vessel and reads: The German Social Democracy will reorganize on October 1st and is preparing a plan of organization to be discussed and adopted at a congress in October. Otherwise nothing of any importance—but it's enjoyable to be promptly presented with that news.

As young William was favoring Norway with his presence at the same time, I kept as quiet as possible about my itinerary, lest there should be any police chicanery. On our way home we met the fleet in Molde; 'young Hopeful', however, was not present, having gone off gallivanting in a torpedo boat; he sneaked past us in the Geiranger Fjord, much to the annoyance of the middle-class English gang on board our ship, who would have liked to give three cheers for a real live emperor.

While the sailors in the fleet were splendid chaps, the junior officers and midshipmen differed little from the ensigns of the Prussian guards, their every turn of phrase being of the kind we've known from time immemorial; the senior officers we met in the hotel dressed in mufti were quite different and were in no way distinguishable from ordinary civilians. The predominant accents were those of old Prussia. We nearly died of laughter at the sight of two fat admirals sitting squashed together in a minute Norwegian cab (there was barely room in it for one) as they went to pay their calls (Primrose Hill would accommodate the whole of Molde twice over); all one could see from behind were apuuellettes and tricorns.

It was a very pleasant and very interesting trip and I liked the Norwegians a great deal. Up in Tromsø we visited the Lapps and their reindeer and in Hammerfest saw piles of dried cod—at first I took it to be firewood—and, at North Cape, the famous midnight sun. But there's nothing one gets sick of more quickly than perpetual daylight when for a solid week there's literally no night at all and it's always quite light when one goes to bed.

We sampled the beer conscientiously right up to 71 degrees of latitude; it was good but not so good as the German stuff, and invariably bottled. Only in Trondheim could one actually get draught beer. Here too, by the way, the legislators are much concerned with temperance and it would seem that sales of Bismarck's spirits have been steadily dropping. We shall probably carry out a reconnaissance today to see whether there is a beer hall in Bergen where draught ale may be had.

---

a William II
The train from Gossevangen to Bergen covers 108 kilometres in 4 1/2 hours—24 kilometres per hour! But it passes through rock of all kinds out of which pretty well the whole line had to be blasted.

Up north on the Svartisen, which is one enormous ice field, we walked on a glacier separated from the sea only by the low moraine, i.e. it drops to approximately 100 feet above sea level.

But now it's time for breakfast and I shall close so as to be able to hand this letter in for posting immediately it is over.

Warm regards to your wife and children and to yourself from Schorlemmer and

Your
F. Engels


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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN MOUNT DESERT

[London], 30 July 1890

Schorlemmer and I are home again after our very delightful and very interesting trip to North Cape and Norway generally and, as from Sunday, I shall be able to start sending stuff to you again and make up for arrears. Morgan\(^a\) received with many thanks, the more so as Ely's intervention was avoided. It is always disagreeable to be beholden to an intermediary. The relevant letters\(^b\) have likewise come back and been destroyed.

\(^a\) L. H. Morgan, Houses and houselife of the American aborigines ~ \(^b\) See this volume, pp.499-500
The *People's Press* is also likely to go under in a fortnight's time. It was an attempt by the Fabians\textsuperscript{176} to insinuate themselves into the leadership of the movement—at the same time there was much good will but to an even greater extent a lack of journalistic and business experience on the part of the 2 men actually running it,\textsuperscript{a} with the result that the whole thing has got into a muddle. There'll be an unpleasant hiatus but it will, I trust, lead to the founding of an organ representative of the new *unions*.

Those two battles in Leeds were magnificent.\textsuperscript{677} It was splendid news to be greeted with on our return.

There is also a social democratic organisation in Bergen, but we had neither the time nor the occasion to look it up; I merely saw in the newspapers that it had its own premises and had applied for a licence to sell beer.

Our trip has done us a power of good. Tussy and Edward are themselves off to Norway next week. Regards from Schorlemmer and

Your
F. E.

Also and especially to your wife.

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\textsuperscript{a} Robert Dell and William Morris
My dear Laura,

Here we are again from the icy regions of the North—temperature mostly 10° in cloudy weather, very hot when the sun shone, two flannels and a topcoat not too much on an average! The journey has done us both a world of good, and with a Nachkur* at the seaside I hope to be completely set up again. I found Nim quite enthusiastic about her stay in Paris, she never enjoyed herself so much, and if I am not mistaken and you do not take care, you will have her an annual customer.

We met the German fleet at Molde but young Williamb was not there—he sneak past our steamer later on in the Sunelsvjsfjord in a torpedo boat—so that with the impossibility of getting papers we were out altogether of la grande politique. Fortunately nothing happened worth knowing—the first news at Bergen were about the reorganisation of the German Party after Oct. 1st,52 and on arriving here, the splendid news about the two fights in Leeds677 where young Will Thorne proved himself a leader in battle of both courage and ability. This mode of lawful resistance is very much to be approved of, especially here in England—and it succeeded.

Enclosed I found on my return and opened, but it is for Même.

Cannot anyone in Paris give us any information about that de Lavigerie who here gives as references Baudin, Ferroul, Guesde, the whole of the party in the Chamber and those in the Conseil Municipal? Of course, if none of all these gentlemen will either disavow or acknowledge this man, or give any information about him, what must the people here do? So long as none of his references repudiate him, the people here cannot but take him for genuine. And if afterwards he turns out a black sheep, or does harm to our French friends (for to the people here he can do none), they must blame themselves.

Now I must conclude. You will not want telling that I found an immense heap of correspondence, papers, etc. here and that I have my

\* after-cure — b William II
hands full for some days—so excuse this short note. Have you seen Paul’s Portrait in the *Neue Welt Kalender*—it is very good, so are the other Frenchmen.

Love from Nim, Schorlemmer, 
and Yours ever 
F. Engels

Appendix

1

PAUL LAFARGUE TO NIKOLAION (DANIELSON)
IN ST. PETERSBURG

Le Perreux, 14 December 1889

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter and for the news it contains about my articles: I have still not received anything from the directress of the Review.¹

Engels’ eyes are still ailing: however I think that, thanks to the precautions he is taking, they are better rather than worse. Engels does not like to talk about himself; it is only from third parties that I learn about his state of health which, fortunately, is satisfactory.

He is working at the moment on the 3rd volume;⁶ Kautsky is helping him.⁷ You are familiar with Williams’ cramped handwriting; on the manuscripts it is even worse; since they contain abbreviations which have to be guessed at, crossings-out and innumerable corrections which have to be deciphered; it is as difficult to read as a Greek palimpsest with ligatures. Kautsky reads the manuscript through and makes a copy which Engels then verifies with the other manuscripts. In one of his recent letters, Engels wrote that he was satisfied with this way of working, and that Kautsky was very good at making out Williams’ writing.

Engels has just passed his sixty-ninth birthday and, as he wrote to me, even if one turns the figures upside down, they still read 69; I replied that he had only to wait until he was 99 to become 66 by inversion. It is extraordinary that he is able to work on the publication of Williams’ works, and keep up his vast correspondence with almost all the countries of Europe and America. I do not know if he writes to you in Russian, which he reads fluently, but he insists on corresponding in the language of the

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¹ A. M. Yevreinova  
² of Capital  
³ Marx’s pen-name
person he is writing to. He is a veritable polyglot and knows not only literary languages, but even dialects such as Icelandic, and ancient languages such as Provençal and Catalan. His knowledge of these languages is not superficial; in Spain and Portugal I read letters to friends there who found that they were written in perfect Spanish and Portuguese, and I know that he writes in Italian. There is nothing more difficult than to write in these three sister-languages full of similarities, and not become confused. Engels, however, is a marvellous man, I have never come across such a mind, so young and alert and an erudition so encyclopedic. When one thinks that for more than 20 years he worked as a legal consultant with a Manchester trading establishment, one wonders when he found the time to amass all the knowledge contained inside a head which, be it said, is not very large, in spite of the fact that he is very tall.

I shall pass on to Kautsky what you say about him, and he will be happy, as I am, to learn that his work is appreciated in Russia as it is in Germany and France.

My articles will contain tables to illustrate, it is impossible to engage in comparative and philosophical statistics without illustration. I am sending you one of the tables. If the Review so wishes, I can send the cliches for the tables; but I would prefer it if they had them remade, since I shall extend my research up to 1888, and not 1886. I shall have the engravings made, it will not be very expensive; because they will be reproduced using the photo-engraving method, as was the one which I am sending you.

My best regards
P. Farguale

First published in Russian in: Letopisi marksizma, book II, 1926
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

\(^{a}\) A secret pseudonym of Paul Lafargue which he used in his correspondence.
Notes


2. Marx first thought of the need for an English translation of Das Kapital while working on the manuscript in 1865 (see his letter to Engels of 31 July 1865; present edition, Vol. 42, p172). The English journalist Peter Fox, a member of the General Council of the International, was to look for a publisher. However he died, in 1869, and the matter remained unsettled. The English version of Volume I, edited by Engels, was published by Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co. in January 1887, after Marx's death. The translation was done by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, between mid-1883 and March 1886. Eleanor Marx-Aveling helped prepare the edition. The translation was based on the third German edition of Das Kapital, due account being taken of the French edition and Marx's directions for the English translation, which failed to materialise, planned for late 1877.

3. Between September and December 1886 Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling toured the United States at the invitation of Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America. They gave talks and lectures in a number of cities on the theory and history of socialism, on the working-class movement in Europe and on other themes. After the tour the Executive, which had financed it, accused Aveling of over-expenditure. This charge was taken up by the bourgeois press and used for anti-socialist agitation. The conflict between Aveling and the Executive lasted for several months. Engels took part in settling it. The Socialist Labor Party of the United States (originally called the Workingmen's Party) was set up at the Philadelphia union congress, 19-22 June 1876, through the merger of the US sections of the First International, led by F. A. Sorge and Otto Weydemeyer, with the Lassallean-type Labor Party of Illinois and the Social Democratic Party, led by A. Strasser, A. Gabriel and Peter J. McGuire. It was the first Marxist party in America. However, it failed to win a mass following because of the sectarian policy of its leaders, who wanted no links with the mass organisations of the indigenous US workers, and because of the Lassalleans' prevalence in a number of local branches.


5. In June 1886, a Hague court sentenced F. D. Nieuwenhuis to one year in
prison and a fine of 50 gulden on charges of 'lese majeste' and 'denigration of officials' in the press. Early in January 1887 the conviction was upheld by the Netherlands Supreme Court. The charges were based on two articles by Nieuwenhuis published anonymously in the newspaper Recht voor Allen. He was released from prison on 1 September 1887.

6. In the Mayoral election in New York on 2 November 1886 Henry George, the candidate of the United Labor Party, got 68,110 votes, 31 per cent of the total cast. During the preparation for the municipal election in New York in August 1886, the United Labor Party was founded to rally the workers for joint political action. The initiative came from the New York Central Workers' Union, an association of New York trade unions formed in 1882. Similar parties were set up in many other cities.

7. In November 1886 elections were held to the US Congress and the State legislatures. Led by its parties, the working class achieved substantial success in the elections in New York (see note 6), Chicago and Milwaukee. In Chicago, ten Labor Party candidates were elected to the State Legislative Assembly (one to the Senate and nine to the Lower Chamber). The party's candidate to the US Congress was short of only 64 votes. In Milwaukee, the Labor Party candidate was elected Mayor, one of its men got into the State Senate, six into the Lower Chamber, and one into the US Congress.

8. In his letter of 9 January 1887 Martignetti informed Engels that he was being persecuted for his socialist views and was, as an official of the government notary archives, in danger of dismissal. He asked Engels to help him find employment outside Italy.

9. From November 1850 Engels supervised the Manchester branch of the Ermen and Engels German textile firm. The German side of the enterprise was run by Fr. Engels Sr., with the assistance of Anthony Ermen. The firm's office was in Barmen. In 1860, after his father's death, Engels received £10,000 from his brothers in compensation for his share in the family concern in Engelskirchen, which consolidated his financial and legal standing in the Manchester firm. From June 1864 to June 1869 Engels was a co-owner of the Ermen and Engels firm. After five years in this capacity he withdrew from the firm and devoted himself entirely to party work, scholarship and journalism.


11. In a letter dated 10 December 1886 Kelley-Wischnewetzky asked Engels to write a preface to the American edition of The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844, which she had translated into English. She argued
that Engels' Afterword, written for this edition in February 1886, was out of date (see present edition, Vol. 26), and suggested that the new preface should, above all, contain a critique of Henry George and that the words 'in 1844' should be omitted from the title. In reply to her request Engels wrote the article 'The Labor Movement in America', which was to open the book.

12. Engels' article 'The Labor Movement in America' opened the American edition of his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published in New York in 1887. That same year the article appeared, in Engels' German translation, under the heading 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika', in the *Sozialdemokrat* (10 and 17 June). In July separate prints, in German and English, were distributed in New York. The article was also published as a pamphlet in London (see present edition, Vol. 26) and, in French, in *Le Socialiste* (9, 16 and 23 July). Even before the publication of the book the article was, without Engels' knowledge, translated into German by Alexander Jonas, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, and published in this paper in April 1887. Engels, displeased with the quality of the translation, lodged an official protest.


14. Russo-German rapprochement appeared to be on the cards in early 1887. In the course of negotiations between the two countries, the Russian ambassador, P. Shuvalov, proposed to Bismarck that the 'alliance of three emperors', which was expiring in the summer of 1887, should be resumed, but without Austrian participation. Shuvalov's proposal also envisaged Russia's neutrality in the event of another Franco-German war and a free hand for Russia in the Balkans. Addressing the Reichstag on 11 January 1887, Bismarck urged the need for friendly relations with Russia. An anti-French press campaign, the mobilisation of reservists and other steps on the part of the German government gave rise to fears of an imminent military clash with France (the 'war alarm' in January 1887). However, the Russian government refused to back up Shuvalov's proposals and Bismarck's actions.

15. On 14 January 1887, Bismarck dissolved the Reichstag in view of its refusal to endorse the proposed seven-year military budget (the bill on the sepnate). The elections to the new Reichstag, held on 21 February, were attended by a brutal campaign of terror, directed above all against the Socialist Party. Nevertheless, the Social Democrats polled 763,128 votes (10.1 per cent of the total), 213,038 more than in the 1884 elections. However, owing to the undemocratic additional ballots law the number of Social Democratic deputies declined to 11, as against 24 in the previous Reichstag.
16. In January 1887 the *Daily News* reported that the Bismarck government intended to demand that the French government explain the concentration of French troops on the German border. On 25 January the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine zeitung* emphatically denied this report.


18. On 1 February 1887 Laura Lafargue informed Engels of the conflict that had arisen between Caroline-Rémy Séverine-Guebhard, publisher of the newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple*, on the one hand, and the associate editors of this paper – Jules Guesde, Gabriel Deville, Albert Goullé – on the other. The latter emphatically objected to Séverine’s public pronouncements in defence of the anarchist Duval, convicted on charges of burglary, and to the publication in the paper, as a leader, of an anti-German article by one Bienvenu. They also demanded the dismissal of the journalist Georges de Labruyère, notorious for his Boulangist views (see note 137). As a result of the conflict, almost all leading members of the editorial board withdrew from the *Cri du Peuple*. They started a new paper, the *Voie du peuple*, the first issue of which appeared on 2 February 1887. The paper lasted only a few weeks, the last issue appearing on 17 March.

19. The Possibilists (Broussists) were a reformist trend in the French socialist movement between the 1880s and the early 20th century. Its leaders – Paul Brousse and Benoit Malon – caused a split in the French Workers’ Party (see note 33) in 1882 and formed the Federation of Socialist Workers. Its ideological basis was the theory of municipal socialism. The Possibilists pursued a ‘policy of the possible’ (‘la politique des possibilités’). At the beginning of the 20th century the Possibilists merged with the French Socialist Party.

20. Presumably Engels means the newspaper *Le Citoyen*, of which Jules Guesde was a co-founder. It appeared from 1 October 1881 to 8 March 1884. In October 1882 it merged with the newspaper *La Bataille*, edited by Prosper-Olivier Lissagaray. As a result, the French Workers’ Party (see note 33) lost its influence on the paper.

21. The Socialist League was founded in December 1884 by a group of English socialists who had withdrawn from the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62). The League’s organisers included Eleanor Marx Aveling, Ernest Belfort Bax and William Morris. ‘The Manifesto of the Socialist League’ (see *The Commonweal* No.1, February 1885) stated that its members advocated ‘the principles of Revolutionary International Socialism’ and sought ‘a change in the basis of Society ... which would destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities’. The tasks of the League included the formation of a national socialist party, the conquest of political power through the election of socialists to local government bodies, and the promotion of the trade union and co-operative movement. In the League’s early years its leaders
took an active part in the working-class movement. However, in 1887 the League split into three factions (Anarchist elements, ‘parliamentarists and ‘anti-parliamentarists’). With sectarian tendencies growing stronger, the League gradually distanced itself from the day-to-day struggle of the British workers and finally disintegrated in 1889-90.

22. Radical Clubs began to emerge in London and other cities in the 1870s. They consisted of bourgeois radicals and workers. In the Clubs of London’s poorer areas, such as the East End, the workers predominated. The Clubs criticised the Irish policy of Gladstone’s Liberal government and urged an extension of the suffrage and other democratic reforms. From the early 1880s they engaged in socialist propaganda. In 1885 London’s Radical Clubs united in the Metropolitan Radical Federation.

23. Two French translations of Marx’s The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte were made, almost simultaneously, by the French socialists Paul Lavigne and Edouard Fortin. Fortin’s translation, sent to Engels somewhat earlier (see Engels’ letter to Paul Lavigne of 1 December 1885 in Vol. 47 of the present edition) and edited by Engels at Fortin’s request, was published first in Le Socialiste, the newspaper of the French Workers’ Party, in January-November 1891 and appeared in book form in Lille the same year.

24. This concerns the charges levelled at Aveling by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3). This letter was the first of the many Engels wrote to American and German working-class leaders in defence of Aveling.

25. On 30 December 1886 The New York Herald published an article headlined ‘Aveling’s Unpaid Labor’, containing accusations against Aveling (see note 3). Cabled to London, it was reprinted, abridged, in The Daily Telegraph (1 January 1887) and The Evening Standard (13 January 1887). After the publication of the article in England, Aveling cabled a denial to America, which appeared in The New York Herald on 10 January 1887. An official denial by the Avelings addressed to the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party was published in the Herald on 15 January 1887.

26. This refers to the article ‘Aveling und die Sozialisten’ in the New Yorker Volkszeitung, No. 10, 12 January 1887, which was the first public statement of the charges levelled at Aveling (see note 3). The article was reprinted in the Wochenblatt (weekly supplement) of the New Yorker Volkszeitung on 22 January. As can be seen from F.A. Sorge’s letter to Engels of 28 February 1887 the article was written by Alexander Jonas, the chief editor of the paper.

27. At the end of November 1886 a court in Leipzig sentenced the Social Democratic worker K. Schumann to four years in prison and another eleven people to various prison terms on charges of ‘rebellion’. The pretext for the prosecution was the farewell party given to Schumann by Leipzig workers on 21 September 1886 in connection with his expulsion from the city under
the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52).

28. On 11 November 1887 the US Supreme Court sentenced four leaders of the Chicago Labor Union – Albert K. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer and George Engel – to be hanged. In the spring of 1886 a mass working-class movement for the eight-hour day developed in America’s leading industrial centres (Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St Louis, Boston, Baltimore and Milwaukee). In Chicago, up to 65,000 struck in the early days of May. On 3 May, workers clashed with police at a rally. At another rally, held in Haymarket Square on the following day, an agent provocateur threw a bomb, killing seven policemen and four workers. The police opened fire. Several people were killed and over 200 injured. Many people were arrested, including the leaders of the Chicago Labor Union. Despite the broad campaign in the US and Europe in defence of the four convicted men, they were executed. In commemoration of the Chicago events of 1886, the 1889 International Socialist Congress in Paris proclaimed the 1st of May international workers’ solidarity day.


30. ‘Reptiles’ and ‘the reptile press’ were designations used by left-wing writers for the venal reactionary pro-government press. The ‘reptile fund’ referred to Bismarck’s special fund for bribing periodicals and individual journalists.

31. In her letter of 7 February 1887 Laura Lafargue asked Engels to remind Eleanor of Pyotr Lavrov’s copy of the *Historical Review* and to send her (Laura) the January issue.

32. This refers to the Circular containing accusations against Aveling (see note 3) which was directed by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party to the party’s branches on 7 January 1887. It was signed by Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg, Hermann Walther and others.

33. Engels means the French Workers’ Party (*Parti ouvrier français*), formed at the 1880 Le Havre congress, when a party programme drawn up with Marx’s participation was adopted (see his ‘Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers’ Party’, present edition, Vol. 24). The adoption of the programme led to an aggravation of the inner-party struggle between the Possibilists (see note 19) and the Guesdists (the revolutionary wing), and to a split at the 1882 St Etienne congress. The Guesdists retained the name of the Workers’ Party. They relied for support on the workers of France’s largest industrial centres, in particular those of some big plants in Paris. The struggle to win broad support among the workers was one of the party’s top priorities.

34. On 30 October 1886 Laura Lafargue informed Engels of the publication of the book *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung* by the Austrian sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger. The
author alleged that Marx's economic theory was 'not original'. Some of Marx's conclusions, he maintained, were borrowings from William Thompson and other English Ricardian Utopian Socialists. Engels believed that by attacking Menger directly he would provide him a welcome opportunity for self-advertising. He therefore decided to answer him either in an editorial in Die Neue Zeit or in a review signed by the journal's editor, Karl Kautsky. Poor health prevented Engels from writing the bulk of the text as intended. The article was completed, with his help, by Kautsky. It appeared unsigned, under the title 'Juristen-Sozialismus', in Die Neue Zeit, Vol. 2, 1887 (see present edition, Vol. 2).

35. Engels means diplomatic preparations for the 1866 Austro-Prussian war. Early in March of that year he had secured, through Robert Goltz, the Russian Ambassador to Paris, an undertaking by Napoleon III that France would maintain positive neutrality towards Russia in the event of an Austro-Prussian war. At about the same time, Bismarck conducted talks with the Italian general Giuseppe Goveone in Berlin on forming a Prusso-Italian coalition against Austria. On 8 April 1866 Prussia and Italy signed a treaty establishing a defensive and offensive alliance. It provided for the transfer of Veneto to Italy in the event of victory over Austria.

36. On 14 January 1887 the German Reichstag, by 186 votes to 154, adopted a bill limiting the army contingent to 441,000 persons, with a three-year term of service (the government had insisted on 468,000 for seven years). As a result, the Reichstag was disbanded and new elections held (see note 15). On 11 March 1887 the new Reichstag passed the bill on the septennate despite opposition from the Social Democratic group.

37. This refers to the festival of international brotherhood which was to be held in Paris on 19 February 1887 on the initiative of a number of socialist émigré organisations. German, Scandinavian, Polish and Russian socialists took part. The festival was to protest against the arms drive and war preparations in Europe. At the request of one of the organisers, the Russian socialist émigré Ossip Zetkin, Engels addressed a message to the Organising committee of the festival (see present edition, Vol. 26). It was read out at the festive meeting and published in Le Socialiste on 26 February and, in German translation, in the Sozialdemocrat on 11 March and the New York Socialist on 19 March.

38. Danielson's letter to Engels was dated 22 January (3 February new style) 1887.

39. This is the pseudonym Engels used in his correspondence with Nikolai Danielson. Percy White Rosher was the name of the husband of the niece of Engels's wife.

40. This letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, Correspondance, t. 2 (1887-1890), Paris, Ed. sociales, 1956.
41. On 24 February 1887 the *Voie du peuple*, under the general headline ‘La Révolution en Allemagne. Prise de Berlin’, carried an editorial entitled ‘Victoire!’ devoted to the German Reichstag election of 21 February (see note 15).

42. Engels compares Paul Singer’s success at the Reichstag election to that of the French Radical Edouard Lockroy, who obtained 272,680 votes, more than any other candidate, at the 1885 parliamentary election and was called ‘le premier élu de la France’ (France’s first choice). As can be seen from Singer’s letter of 7 March 1887, Engels congratulated him on the great success.

43. After failing to poll the requisite number of votes at the Reichstag election of 21 February 1887, Wilhelm Liebknecht succeeded in winning a seat in the run-off in Berlin’s Fourth constituency on 30 August 1888 in lieu of Wilhelm Hasenclever, who had dropped out for health reasons.

44. The Centre was a political party of German Catholics formed in June 1870. It expressed the separatist and anti-Prussian sentiments current in West and Southwest Germany. (The seats of its Reichstag deputies were in the centre of the hall, hence the name of the party.) The Centre’s following consisted of socially disparate sections of Catholic clergy, landowners, bourgeois and peasants. Its deputies usually took a noncommittal attitude, manoeuvring between the pro-government parties and the Left opposition groups. Although it opposed the Bismarck government in the mid-1870s and early 1880s, the Centre voted for its measures against the working-class and socialist movement. Engels gave a detailed characterisation of the Centre in his work *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26) and in his article ‘What Now?’ (see Vol. 27).

45. The Party of Progress, founded in June 1861, advocated the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and a liberal Ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Fearing a popular revolution, it did not support the basic democratic demands - universal suffrage and the freedom of the press, association and assembly. In 1866 the Party of Progress split. Its right wing founded the National Liberal Party, which capitulated to the Bismarck government. After the final unification of Germany in 1871, the Progressists continued to describe themselves as an opposition party, but their opposition was purely declaratory. In March 1884 they merged with the left wing of the National Liberals to form the German Free-Thinking Party (*Die Deutsche Freisinnige Partei*).

46. Despite Bismarck’s anti-French press campaign in Alsace Lorraine, which was supported by the clergy, candidates opposing his militarist ambitions were put up in the Reichstag elections. All the fifteen nominees elected were members of the Elsasser (Alsatian) party.

47. This refers to Aveling’s letter of 26 February 1887 which was circulated, in printed form, to the sections of the Socialist Labor Party of North America
and other socialist organisations. It was a detailed answer to the accusations levelled at Aveling by the party’s Executive on 7 January 1887 (see note 32).

48. On 8 February 1887 the *Voie du peuple* began serialising Guy de Maupassant’s novel *Bel Ami*.


50. The second ballot, in eighteen constituencies, brought the Social Democrats another five seats in the Reichstag (Breslau-West, Elberfeld, Frankfurt am Main, Hanover and Solingen).

51. At the end of 1884, Bismarck, seeking to activate Germany’s colonial policy, demanded that the Reichstag should vote an annual subsidy to shipping companies to enable them to operate regular lines to East Asia, Australia and Africa. The left wing of the Social Democratic parliamentary group, led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, came out against the government scheme. The right wing, which made up the majority (Dietz, Frohme, Grillenberger and others), intended to vote for the subsidy, on the pretext that it would help promote international communications. Under pressure from the majority the group decided that the issue was of a non-fundamental nature and every deputy should be free to vote as he chose (see *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 50, 11 December 1884). The sharp critique of the proposed subsidies in *Der Sozialdemokrat* and in resolutions of the party leadership forced the majority of the Social Democratic group to somewhat modify its stand during the discussion of the matter in the Reichstag in March 1885. The group made its support for the subsidies conditional on the adoption of a number of its own proposals. Since the Reichstag rejected these, all Social Democratic deputies voted against the subsidies.

52. The Anti-Socialist law (*Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie*) was introduced by the Bismarck government, with the support of the majority of the Reichstag, on 21 October 1878, as a means of combating the socialist and working-class movement. It imposed a ban on all Social Democratic and working-class organisations and on the socialist and workers’ press; socialist literature was subject to confiscation, and Social Democrats to reprisals. However, under the Constitution, the Social Democratic Party retained its group in parliament. By combining underground activities with the use of legal possibilities, in particular by working to overcome reformist and anarchist tendencies in its own ranks, the party was able to consolidate and expand its influence among the masses. Marx and Engels gave the party leaders considerable help. Under the pressure of the mass working-class movement the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed (1 October 1890). For Engels’ characterisation of the law see his article ‘Bismarck and the German Workers Party’ (present edition, Vol. 24, pp407-09).

54. In his letter of 20 February 1887 Sorge suggested to Engels that Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky should be asked to translate the *ManIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY* into English for publication in the USA. This project did not materialise. An English edition of the Manifesto, in Sam Moore’s translation and edited by Engels, appeared in London in 1888.

55. On 20 February 1887 Sorge informed Engels that the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* was not selling well in the USA, and suggested sending copies of the book to the editors of leading American journals for reviewing.

56. Part of the English edition of Volume I of *Capital* was bought by the American firm Scribner & Welford, which gave the book a new title page, reading *Capital. A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*; from the German by S. Moore and E. Aveling, and edited by Frederick Engels, N.Y., Scribner & Welford, 1887, 2 v.


58. The third, cheap English edition (10s 6d) of Volume I of Capital appeared in London in 1888. Copies of the first two editions (both 1887) were sold at 30s.

59. Engels means the following passage, referring to the socialist Labor Party of North America, in his work ‘The labor movement in America’. ‘This section is a party but in name, for nowhere in America has it up to now, been able actually to take its stand as a political party’ (see present edition, Vol. 26).

60. *Justice*, No. 164, 5 March 1887, carried an item by Wilhelm Ludwig Rosenberg, secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, headlined ‘Letter from America - The Great Strike’, which characterised the longshoremen’s strike in New Jersey as an unmitigated defeat for the workers, incurred through the fault of the Knights of Labor leaders. The party, Rosenberg stressed, must not support this organisation. The Knights of Labor (The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor) was an American workers’ organisation founded in Philadelphia in 1869. Originally a secret society (up to 1878), it included mostly unskilled workers, among them black workers. The Knights’ aim was the promotion of co-operatives and mutual aid societies. They took part in a number of working-class actions, but the organisation’s leadership opposed workers’ participation in political struggle. It forbade members of the organisation to take part in the 1886 general strike; however the rank and file ignored the ban. After the strike the Knights’ influence among the workers began to shrink. Towards the end of
the 1890s the organisation disintegrated.

61. The Central Labor Unions were mass trade union centres of US and foreign workers, both white and black, in a number of American cities in the 1880s. The first was formed in New York in 1882. Many of these centres joined the American Federation of Labor (AFL), set up in December 1886.

62. The Social Democratic Federation was a British socialist organisation, the successor of the Democratic Federation, reformed in August 1884. It consisted of heterogeneous socialist elements, mostly intellectuals, but also politically active workers. The programme of the Federation provided for the collectivisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Its leader, Henry Hyndman, was dictatorial and arbitrary, and his supporters among the Federation's leaders denied the need to work among the trade unions. In contrast to Hyndman, the Federation members grouped round Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris and Tom Mann sought close ties with the mass working-class movement. In December 1884, differences on questions of tactics and international co-operation led to a split in the Federation and the establishment of the independent socialist league (see note 21). In 1885-86 the Federation's branches were active in the movement of the unemployed, in strike struggles and in the campaign for the eight-hour day.

63. In 1886 and 1887 the Social Democratic Federation conducted a broad campaign of agitation among London's unemployed. The church parades were a form of this agitation, practised in early 1887. It was an attempt to address the unemployed from the pulpit. One parade, on 27 February 1887, took place in front of St Paul's Cathedral. During the sermon, parade participants proclaimed socialist slogans. After the service the Social Democratic Federation held three meetings in the streets, the speakers including John Burns, George Bateman and Fielding. However, this form of agitation failed to produce tangible results and was abandoned.

64. From mid-November 1886 to 14 August 1887 August Bebel was in prison in Zwickau. He was one of a group of German Social Democrats (others included Ignaz Auer, Johann Dietz, Georg Vollmar, Karl Frohme) condemned on trumped up charges of belonging to a 'secret union' whose purpose it was to obstruct by illegal means the enforcement of laws and government regulations. The indictment was based on the defendants' participation in the 1883 Copenhagen Social Democratic Party Congress. The court brought in a verdict of not guilty. However, the government appealed to the Imperial Court, which sent the case for re-examination to the Saxony State Court in Freiberg. On 4 August 1886 the latter sentenced the defendants to various prison terms. In the subsequent two and a half years another 55 trials of socialists were staged, resulting in the conviction of 236 people.

65. This refers to Aveling's answer to the article in the New Yorker
Volkszeitung, No. 10, 12 January 1887 (see note 26). The answer was published by the paper on 2 March, Issue 52, 1887, alongside another attack on Aveling, an editorial headlined ‘Affaire Aveling noch einmal’. To this second article Aveling answered by a letter dated 16 March 1887, mentioned here, which, as the rough copy shows, had been written by Engels. It was published on 30 March, in Issue 76.

66. In a letter dated 28 February 1887 Sorge informed Engels that a long statement in support of Aveling, signed by K.H. Muller, had appeared in the Chicago Arbeiterzeitung. Sorge sent Engels a clipping from the paper. On Aveling’s second Circular see note 47.

67. This extract is the last page of Engels’s letter to Hermann Schluter of 19 March 1887. The whereabouts of the letter are unknown. The text is reproduced from a facsimile of a publication in Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender fur 1902, New York, 1901.

68. At the Reichstag elections of 21 February 1887 (see note 15) the Social Democrats obtained 11 seats. Under the existing regulations, 15 mandates were needed to form a faction.

69. No information is available concerning this postcard.

70. Rumours published in the last issue of the Voie du peuple (17 March 1887) caused a quarrel and even an exchange of seconds between Albert Goulle, who contributed to this newspaper, and Georges de Labruyere, a contributor to the Cri du peuple. The two then accused each other of trying to evade the duel. In publishing its version of the incident, the Cri du peuple, while careful to avoid referring to the Voie du peuple by name, suggested that its demise had been due to the lack of readers. On 20 March 1887, Le Radical published Albert Goulle’s and Gabriel Deville’s answer to the Cri du peuple.

71. This presumably refers to an item published in the ‘Topics of the Day’ column of the Weekly Dispatch on 20 March 1887 denying the rumours about the death of William I.

72. On 13 (1) March 1887 a group of members of the Narodnaya Volya (People’s Will), led by Alexander Ulyanov, Lenin’s elder brother, made an attempt on the life of Alexander III in St Petersburg. The police arrested and handed over for trial thirteen people, five of whom, including Alexander Ulyanov, were executed, while the rest were given long prison terms. The official declaration of the tsarist government referred to by Engels maintained that ‘some foreign newspapers’ were exaggerating the role of the constitutional party and that ‘the most influential classes in Russia do not consider that ... the time is ripe for the introduction of constitutional government.’ It also declared that the Russian government was ‘carefully studying state socialism, which is being successfully implemented in Germany by Prince Bismarck’, and expressed the Tsar’s hypocritical regret at ‘the need for costly precautions to safeguard his personal security’.
73. Engels refers to the political crisis in Bulgaria brought about by the overthrow, on 9 August 1886, of Prince Alexander Battenberg by a group of Russophile military conspirators (see note 109). In an attempt to regain the throne, Battenberg sent an obsequious message to Alexander III promising every support to the Tsar’s ‘noble intention to bring Bulgaria out of the grave crisis’. The closing sentence read: ‘Since it was Russia that gave me my Crown, I am prepared to return it into the hands of her sovereign.’

74. Engels is replying to Trier’s letter of 22 March 1887 in which Trier informed him that he was sending the manuscript of his Danish translation of Engels’ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and asked for Engels’ opinion. The translation, revised by Engels, appeared in Copenhagen in 1838.

75. On 25 March 1887 Sorge informed Engels that Hepner had openly protested against the accusations levelled at Aveling (see note 3), describing them as ‘insidious and mean’, but saying that the whole thing could have been avoided had Aveling been ‘more frank’. Sorge also said that according to his information Kautsky did not know what to make of the matter and Liebknecht kept silent.

76. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown.

77. This refers to the attempt on the life of Alexander III which took place on 13 March 1887 (see note 72) and to the widespread rumours that preparations for another attempt, to be staged in Gatchina, had been uncovered on 1 April.

78. Engels means the replacement of recruitment in Russia by conscription. Under the introduction of compulsory military service of 1 January 1874, the entire male population aged 21 to 43, with the exception of natives of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and men belonging to certain peoples of the Caucasus, Siberia, the Volga area and the Arctic regions, were liable for military service in the regular army, the reserve or the militia. The call up was conducted by casting lots. This system was to turn the Russian army into a mass army. However, under the existing autocratic and landlord system, the implementation of universal military service was hampered by the numerous privileges of the propertied classes and the unequal conditions of army service for members of different social strata. As early as 9 January 1877, during the Russo-Turkish war, Engels pointed out that conscription was contributing to the ‘disorganisation’ of the Russian army (see present edition, Vol. 45).

79. At Engels’ request Sorge sent a message to Alexander Jonas, Editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, on 29 March 1887, asking why he was not publishing Edward Aveling’s letter of 16 March 1887 (see note 65).

80. On behalf of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, the translator of Engels’ *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Rachel Foster, Secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association, was trying to find a publisher for
the book in America. On 8 February 1886 the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party, which she had approached for support, set up a special committee to deal with publishers, but the negotiations dragged, and the book was published in May 1887, independently of the Executive.

81. At the insistence of the German authorities the Swiss Federal Council on 18 April 1888 expelled several associate editors of and contributors to the Sozialdemokrat (Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Hermann Schluter and Leonard Tauscher) from the country. Until 22 September the paper continued to appear in Switzerland, edited by the Swiss Social Democrat Conrad Consett. From 1 October 1888 to 27 September 1890 the paper was published in London.

82. Pan-Slavism was a social and political movement predicated on the notion that the Slavonic peoples ought to oppose themselves to other peoples and merge in a single state with tsarist Russia. In Russia itself, Pan-Slavism assumed a reactionary character in the 1830s. The Russian historian Mikhail Pogodin, drawing on official populism, asserted that the Slavs were superior to other nations and that Russia was destined for hegemony in the Slavonic world. The same ideas, with various modifications, were propounded by the Slavophiles in the 1850s and 1860s (see note 187).

83. Nihilists were the extreme wing of the radical movement in Russia in the 1860s, intellectuals who believed in the destruction of existing society and culture. The Nihilists rejected the dominant ideology and morality and fought against religious prejudices. They demanded freedom of the individual and equality for women, and favoured the study of the natural and exact sciences. Towards the end of the 1860s the term practically ceased to be used in polemic literature, but in later years reactionary journalists occasionally applied it to revolutionaries. In West European literature the term was used to denote Russian revolutionaries, including the members of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), in the 1870s and 1880s.

84. After their return from the USA (see note 3) Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling launched a large-scale socialist propaganda campaign in London's Radical Clubs (see note 22). Their purpose was, among other things, to familiarise the British workers with the experience of the US labour movement.

85. At the April 1887 municipal elections in the USA, workers' organisations put up candidates in about 60 cities and succeeded in having them elected in twenty. In Cincinnati (Ohio), Milwaukee and Chicago their candidates failed by a few hundred votes.

86. In the first half of April 1887 the British House of Commons discussed a Crimes Bill for Ireland which was to introduce a simplified judicial procedure for quelling the growing peasant unrest. The executive authorities were to be allowed to outlaw various societies, and members of the judiciary to pass sentence on charges of plotting, illegal assembly, disobedience to the
authorities and the like without a jury. On 11 April 1887 several mass meetings to protest against the Bill were held in Hyde Park, with 100 to 150 thousand people attending. The meetings, held separately by different organisations, were addressed by speakers for the Liberal Party (William Gladstone), the Social Democratic Federation (George Bateman, John Burns, Michael Davitt, John Williams and others), the socialist League (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and others) and other organisations. A report headlined ‘Irish Crimes Bill, Great Demonstration in Hyde Park, Processions and Speeches’, in The Daily Telegraph of 12 April 1887, said that Eleanor Marx-Aveling’s speech was warmly greeted and heard with great interest. Despite the protests the two chambers of parliament passed the bill in July 1887. Beginning 23 July, a state of emergency was introduced on the strength of it, initially in four and ultimately in about 30 counties of Ireland.

87. This letter was first published in English in Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue. Correspondence. 1887-1890, Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.

88. This refers to Marx’s Misère de la philosophie. In 1884 Laura Lafargue failed to reach an agreement on a second French edition of the book. In 1887 Paul Lafargue again conducted negotiations on the matter. However, it was not until 1896, after Engels’s death, that the project materialised (in Paris).

89. This presumably refers to the Avelings’ series of articles, ‘The Labour movement in America’, published between March and May 1887 in the journal Time, which appeared in Swan Sonnenschein’s publishing house in London.

90. Engels means the municipal elections in Paris held on 8 May 1887. Lafargue stood for election in the Fifth arrondissement (Jardin des Plantes). In the first ballot he received 568 votes and was third. In the second, on 15 May, he got 685 votes and was second.

91. After Jules Guesde, Gabriel Deville and other members of the French Workers’ Party had resigned from the editorial board of the Cri du peuple and after the Voie du peuple, the paper they had started, also ceased publication (see note 18), the Party’s weekly La Socialiste likewise closed down (the last issue appeared on 26 March 1887). The Party’s paper resumed publication on 11 June 1887.

92. On 11 April 1887 the European press reported that another conspiracy to assassinate Alexander III had been uncovered. It was to take place during the Tsar’s inspection of a Guards cavalry regiment. These reports were not confirmed (see also notes 72 and 77).

93. This refers to the Peasant Reform of 19 February 1861 (‘Regulations concerning Peasants Emerging from Serf Dependence’). It put an end to serfdom in Russia and brought freedom to about 22.5 million peasants. However, even after the abolition of serfdom some of the former serfs (the
so called temporarily liable peasants) were obliged to do corvee work or pay quit-rent for the use of land. It was not until 28 December 1881 that a law was passed stipulating the obligatory redemption of the peasant plots as of 1 January 1883. Corvee and quit-rent in their open form were abolished, but continued to exist in the shape of the redemption system until the first decade of the 20th century.

94. The American economist Henry George favoured a uniform progressive state tax on land values as an alternative to nationalisation of the land, thus ‘resolving’ all the contradictions of the capitalist system. George’s theory enjoyed wide currency in the USA, England, Ireland and Australia. Engels gave his assessment of George’s agrarian views in ‘The Labour Movement in America’ (present edition, Vol. 26).

95. On 29 May 1887 the third annual conference of the Socialist league (see note 21) was held in London. Delegates from 24 sections attended. The anarchists gained the upper hand; a resolution was adopted saying: ‘This conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action, hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it.

96. This refers to the fresh wave of government reprisals against Social Democrats and the trade unions that swept Germany in 1886, after the third promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (See Note 52). On 11 April 1886 the Prussian minister of the Interior Puttkamer issued a circular on strikes, spearheaded against the trade unions. In the spring of that year the authorities expelled from Berlin the leaders of the city’s stonemasons and disbanded their union with a view to paralysing the building workers’ movement. This was also the lot of three women’s unions and all the district workers’ unions. Workers’ mutual aid funds were being closed down and their assets, like the trade unions’, confiscated by the state. From the beginning of 1878, public meetings in Berlin could only be held with police permission. As a result, 47 meetings, including 33 trade union ones, were banned that month. Similar measures were taken in the provinces. In the early years of the Anti-Socialist Law a number of trumped-up trials of Social Democrats were staged, resulting in the imprisonment of prominent working-class leaders (see notes 27, 64 and 81). During the Reichstag elections (see note 15) the workers’ party was made the object of terrorist attacks.

97. In her letter of 24 April 1887 Laura Lafargue told Engels that she was contributing to the magazine European Correspondent co-owned by the American journalist Theodore Stanton and was being paid extremely irregularly.

99. This refers to the 'Schnaebelé case', a conflict between France and Germany engineered by the Bismarck government. On 20 April 1887 Police Commissioner Schnaebelé, a French border official in Pagny-sur-Moselle, was invited onto German territory, ostensibly for negotiations, and arrested on charges of organising espionage and encouraging young people in Alsace-Lorraine to emigrate from Germany. At the same time, the German ruling quarters launched a virulent anti-French press campaign. This was taken advantage of by French revanchist circles for stepping up anti-German propaganda. However, the governments of Russia, Great Britain and Austria-Hungary refused to support Bismarck. Germany was forced to beat a retreat. On 30 April Schnaebelé was released and the conflict thus settled.


101. In the letter in question Sorge, replying to remarks contained in Engels' letter of 10 March 1887, pointed out that the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party of North America had, by their mistaken tactics, to a considerable extent nullified the successes achieved in the US labour movement by Marx's adherents at the time of the First International.

102. This refers to the English translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party made by Samuel Moore (published in 1888). The three manuscripts mentioned are those of a French translation of Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see note 23), an Italian translation of Marx's Wage Labour and Capital and a Danish translation of Engels's The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (see note 74).


104. An American exhibition opened in London in May 1887, the programme including the show Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

105. In his letter of 29 April 1887 Eduard Bernstein asked Engels and Kautsky to find out, confidentially, whether the Austrian anarchist Joseph Peukert, resident in London, was not, as he, Bernstein, assumed, a police agent. In late 1887 Peukert was exposed.

106. This refers to the London German Workers' Educational Society. It was founded by members of the League of the Just Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer in London in 1840. In 1847 and in 1849-50 Marx and Engels took part in its activities. The Society changed its name in subsequent years. From the 1870s it was called the Communist Workers'
Educational society. Soon after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany (see note 52), the Society was overruled by the faction that rejected the tactics adopted by German Social Democracy for the period of operation of the Law. It opposed combining legal and illegal methods of struggle, objected to the Social Democrats’ use of the Reichstag platform and favoured individual terrorism. In March 1880 a considerable part of the Society’s members formed an independent organisation of their own, retaining the Society’s name. This new Society declared that it would be guided by the principles and tactics of German Social Democracy. The remainder of the members, in particular the followers of Johann Most, stuck to their extreme Left views. They operated under the same name.

107. This refers to data on the state of affairs in the French republic at the time of the conspiracy of the Equals, which Bernstein needed for his Afterword to Gabriel Deville’s book Gracchus Babeuf und die Verschwörung der Gleich von. Translated by Bernstein into German, the book was published, with his Afterword, in the series Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek, in Hottingen-Zurich in 1887. The Conspiracy of the Equals, organised by Babeuf and his followers, aimed at provoking an armed uprising of the plebeian masses against the bourgeois regime of the Directory and establishing a revolutionary dictatorship as a transitional stage on the way to ‘pure democracy’ and ‘egalitarian communism’. The conspiracy was exposed in May 1796. At the end of May 1797 its leaders were executed. Buonarroti’s Conspiration de Babeuf, which Engels mentions later in his letter, was translated into English and published by William O’Brien, a prominent Chartist.

108. Engels’s remarks contained in this paragraph were used in the column ‘Sozialpolitische Rundschau’ of Der Sozialdemocrat, No. 20, 13 May 1887.

109. Engels means the political crisis in Bulgaria in the summer of 1886 created by the overthrow of Prince Alexander Battenberg by a group of military conspirators linked with agents of the Russian Government. The provisional government formed on 9 August was replaced, a few days later, by a pro-Austrian regency. An attempt to re-enthron e Alexander Battenberg failed in the face of open opposition from Russia. In September, the Russian Government dispatched Major General N. V. Kaulbars to Sofia with the task to prepare the ground for the election of a Russian candidate to the Bulgarian throne. However, his mission failed, owing in particular to the stance taken by the West European powers, notably Britain. On 5 November Russia recalled Kaulbars and broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.

110. On 31 March 1887 two Bulgarian émigrés staged an attempt on the life of Mantoff, prefect of the Bulgarian city of Ruschtschuk, in Bucharest for negotiations with the Russian ambassador. Mantoff was seriously injured. On the night of 23 April a bomb was set off in the house of Major Popoff, chief of the Sofia garrison. The attack had been organised by members of
the pro-Russian Liberal Party. The Russophile officer Olimpi Panoff was shot in Bulgaria in February 1887.

111. Kelley-Wischnewetzky had suggested that Engels's article, 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in America' ('The Labour Movement in America'), written as a preface to the US edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, should be issued in the form of separate German and English pamphlets. This was also suggested by Sorge in his letter of 26 April 1887. Engels translated the preface into German himself. The pamphlets appeared in New York in July 1887. Engels's German translation was also published in the *Sozialdemokrat*, Nos 24 and 25; 10 and 17 June 1887.

112. Engels is quoting from Sorge's letter of 26 April 1887. Enclosed in it was a clipping from the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of 25 April with a report on a sitting of the New York Section that had concerned itself with the Aveling case.

113. In his letter of 26 April 1887 Sorge informed Engels that Alexander Jonas, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, had stayed away from the meeting of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party which discussed the Aveling case (see note 3). Sorge also noted that the Executive had dealt itself a mortal blow by its second circular on the matter (see note 98).

114. On 21 May 1887, *Justice*, No. 175, carried an editorial note in the 'Tell Tale Straws' column which gave the following resume of Aveling's latest Letter to the Editor (see *Justice*, No. 174, 14 May 1887): 'The gist of it is that the Board of Supervisors in America exonerate him from all blame, and that Mr. Friedrich Engels, Mr. F. A. Sorge, and Mr. Wilhelm Liebknecht (who writes a letter to that effect) are ready to answer for Dr. Aveling's correct behaviour in the matter of his expenditure on his American trip'.

115. Aveling's answer to the second circular of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party (see note 98) was printed in the form of a pamphlet, containing Aveling's statement of 27 May 1887 (a detailed reply to the charges levelled at him); a statement by Eleanor Marx-Aveling of 24 May, confirming her husband's arguments and adding certain details; a statement by Wilhelm Liebknecht in defence of Aveling of 16 May.

116. Six Possibilists (see note 19), including Paul Brousse, were elected to the Paris Municipal Council in a second ballot on 15 May 1887.

117. On 17 May 1887, in a debate at the French Chamber of Deputies, the budget committee opposed the draft budget for 1888 submitted by Rene Goblet's Radical Cabinet (see note 200). The majority of deputies supported the committee, thus forcing the Cabinet to resign. The government crisis lasted for 13 days. On 30 May 1887 Maurice Rouvier formed a Cabinet composed mostly of Rightists.

118. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads K. Kautsky Esq., 54 Langdon Park Road, Highgate, No 661. The text of the letter is slightly damaged.
119. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads: Herr E. Bernstein, Florstr. 10, Riesbach-Zurich, Switzerland.

120. Engels wrote this letter on a postcard. The address, written by him on the back, reads: Mrs. F. Kelly-Wischnewetzky, 110, East 76th St., New York, U.S. America. For data on the first publication of the letter in English see note 139.

121. An excerpt from this letter was published in English in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 2.

122. Congregationalists (Independents) – adherents of one of the Protestant trends in England. In the 1580s and 1590s they formed the Left wing of the Puritans. Consisting of members of the commercial and fledgling industrial bourgeoisie and the ‘new’ bourgeois nobility, they constituted a radical opposition to absolutism and the Church of England. During the English revolution of the seventeenth century the Congregationalists formed an independent political party, which came to power under Oliver Cromwell at the end of 1648. The Congregationalists rejected every kind of Church deriving from the State. They favoured complete autonomy for every congregation of believers and did not tolerate any coercion in matters of faith.

123. Laura Lafargue’s French translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, revised by Engels, was printed in *Le Socialiste* from 29 August to 7 November 1885. No separate French edition of the *Manifesto* appeared in Engels’s lifetime.

124. The British Association for the Advancement of Science, founded in 1831, still exists. The proceedings of its annual conference are published. The Association issues *The Advancement of Science*, a quarterly journal.


127. Engels means the differences within the Liberal Party and the incipient rapprochement of its Right wing (the Whigs) with the Conservatives. The Right-wing Liberals opposed Home Rule for Ireland. In 1886 they broke away from the Liberal Party and formed the Liberal-Unionist bloc led by Joseph Chamberlain. It favoured retaining the 1801 Union of Ireland with Great Britain and supported the Conservatives on most issues. Unionist Liberals reflected the regrouping of Britain’s ruling classes and their shift to the Right.

128. On 19 March 1883 Sorge had informed Engels that Henry George’s propaganda in America was leading the working-class movement astray and

129. On 8 November 1887 elections to the State legislatures were held in twelve US Federal States. Henry George, who stood for election to the post of Secretary of State in New York State on behalf of the United Labor Party (see note 6), failed.


131. Engels means A Labour Programme, the statement of principles of the North of England Socialist Federation, established by Socialist League (see note 21) member John Mahon and other socialist workers in Northumberland on 30 April 1887. On 14 June Engels received a copy of the programme from Mahon with the request to comment on it. Engels sent his suggestions concerning the introductory part of the programme (see present edition, Vol. 26). They were not put into effect since the Federation only lasted a few months.

132. This letter, like the previous one, is Engels' reply to Mahon. In his covering letter to the programme of the North of England Socialist Federation (see note 131) Mahon set forth a plan for creating a socialist organisation for England and Scotland. This was to be achieved by uniting the various extant socialist societies. The constituent congress which was to discuss the programme, was to be preceded by broad socialist propaganda within the trade unions. Mahon intended to start a special fund for preparing the congress and asked Engels for material assistance.

133. Mahon, who intended to write an essay on the Luddite movement, had asked Engels to recommend him relevant material. The Luddites came out against the introduction of machinery as ruinous to craftsmen. The Luddites were active in the late 18th and early 19th century. They owed their name to Ned Ludd, the legendary journeyman supposed to have been the first to wreck his knitting machine in protest against his master's arbitrariness.

134. The separate edition of Engels's article The Labor Movement in America (see note 12) contains a brief footnote (see present edition, Vol. 26) in which Engels refers to the relevant articles by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling (see note 89). In this connection Engels states his attitude to the anti-Aveling campaign launched by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party (see note 3). The passage to this effect which Engels gives in his letter
is worded in the footnote as follows: 'I am all the more pleased to refer to these excellent articles since this offers me an opportunity simultaneously to reject the wretched slanders concerning the Avelings which the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party has had the impudence to circulate'. The footnote was not reproduced in the separate American edition of this work, but it was included in the separate German edition put out in New York in 1887.

135. Sorge had informed Engels that he had not received the three issues of *Time* containing the Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling's series of articles on their tour of America, which they had sent him.


137. After his resignation from the post of War Minister, General Boulanger continued to whip up a revanchist campaign with the support of the chauvinist elements of different parties, from the radicals to the monarchists. On 8 July 1887, when Boulanger was leaving for Clermont-Ferrand to assume command of the 13th Corps, his supporters staged a chauvinist demonstration at the Lyons railway station. Boulangism was a reactionary movement in France in the mid-1880s, led by ex-War Minister General Boulanger. It urged a revanchist war against Germany to win back Alsace, annexed by Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. In alliance with the monarchists, the Boulangists sought to capitalise on the masses' discontent with the government's policy. Their large-scale demagogic propaganda was especially effective among the lower ranks of the army. France was under the threat of a monarchist coup. Measures taken by the republican government, with the support of the progressive forces led to the collapse of the Boulangist movement. Its leaders fled from France.

138. Engels holidayed in Eastbourne from 23 July to 2 September.


141. On 21 July 1887 Mahon wrote to tell Engels that he no longer trusted Aveling and considered it impossible further to co-operate with him. He did not give any reasons.

142. Aveling and Mahon, along with some other members of the Socialist League, opposed the anarchist policies of its leaders (see note 95).

143. In a letter of 30 July 1887 Kautsky asked Engels to send his signature, a
facsimile of which he wanted to give under Engels’ portrait in the annual *Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender* for 1888, where Kautsky’s article, ‘Friedrich Engels’ was to appear. The article was published, with some addenda and amendments, after Engels’ death, in 1895, in *Vorwärts* (Berlin), under the title ‘Friedrich Engels, sein Leben, sein Wirken, seine Schriften’.

144. Bank Holidays – in 1871 additional holidays were legally introduced for all English banks: Easter and Whit Monday, the first Monday of August and 26 December.


146. The ‘iron law of wages’ was formulated by Ferdinand Lassalle, in the pamphlet *Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig, Zurich*, 1863, pp15-16.

147. Engels means J.M. Baerneither’s book *Die englischen Arbeiterverbande und ihr Recht. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in der Gegenwart*, Bd 1 Tubingen, 1886. The second volume, which was to deal with the English trade unions, was not published.

148. On 27 July 1887 Sorge wrote to tell Engels that Julius Grunzig, associate editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, had asked him for biographical data on Engels, since he intended to write an article on him for the *Pionier* calendar, published by that newspaper.

149. On 16 July 1887 Florence Kelley-Wischnewetsky and her husband, Lazar Wischnewetsky were expelled from the New York section of the Socialist Labor Party of North America for defending Edward Aveling at a section sitting (see note 3).

150. The August 1887 issue of *To-Day* (Vol. 8, No. 45) contained a note by its editor, Hubert Bland, setting forth the contents of Edward Aveling’s circulars on the charges levelled at him by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3). Bland dealt with the charges favourably to Aveling, pointing out that at the bottom of it all was a difference of policy, as Aveling had advocated a line of action which the Executive Committee had disliked.

151. In connection with the death, on 1 August 1887, of the Russian political writer M.N. Katkov, who advocated an anti-German alliance of Russia with French chauvinistic circles, the French bourgeois press published a series of articles eulogising Katkov as a ‘great friend of France’. On the other hand, the socialist press exposed Katkov as a reactionary and champion of the autocracy. In particular, Jules Guesde, in an article headlined ‘Republicains et cosaques’ (*l’Action*, 4 August), pointed out that Katkov was responsible for the Tsarist government’s reprisals against Polish patriots and that revo-
volutionary France must side with the Russian people, fighting for freedom, rather than with official Russia.

152. The elections held in Germany on 21 February 1887 were won by the pro-Bismarck ‘cartel’ – the conservatives of both trends and the National-Liberals (see note 265). The newly formed Reichstag endorsed the septennate demanded by Bismarck (see note 36). It again increased the peacetime complement of the army (by more than 40,000) and sharply raised the import duties on corn, which made it possible to inflate the military budget beyond the special allocations provided by the Reichstag. It was at this time that Bismarck coined one of his most bellicose dictums: ‘We Germans fear God and no one else’. The Schnaebelé case, provoked by Bismarck (see note 99), further exacerbated the chauvinistic and militaristic passions. A real threat of a military conflict arose.


154. Speaking at Epinal on 24 July 1887, the former French prime minister Jules Ferry called Boulanger a ‘général de café-concert’. Boulanger challenged Ferry to a duel, which, however, did not take place, for the seconds could not agree on the terms. On 22 July 1887, the newspaper La France (edited by Francis Laur, a Boulanger supporter) carried an article intended to prove that at the time of the ‘Schnaebelé Affaire’ (see note 99) a group of French monarchist generals incited Boulanger to stage a coup d’état. Replying in the newspaper L’Autorité on 24 July 1887, one of the Bonapartist leaders, Paul de Cassagnac, described this report as a lie. Laur challenged him to a duel, which also failed to come off.

155. Apparently this refers to the biography of Engels, written by Karl Kautsky for the Oesterreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender of 1888.

156. In his letter of 20 August 1887, Bruno Schönlank, a German Social Democrat, told Engels about his intention to dedicate to him, Engels, the book being prepared for the press Die Fürrther Quecksilber-Spiegelbelegen und ihre Arbeiter, of which excerpts had been printed in Neue Zeit, Nos 4, 5 and 6, 1887. The book came off the press in Stuttgart in 1888.

157. Joannes Wedde, the editor of the Hamburg newspaper Bürger-Zeitung, with whom Engels was in correspondence, applied to him with the request to help the FreundschaftsClubs der Zigarren-Sortierer deposit the money, saved up by this alliance (10,000 Reichs marks), in the English bank, so as to protect this sum against a possible confiscation by the authorities. Wedde asked Engels either to deposit this money to his name or help find a man who might mediate in this transaction.

158. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the reverse side: Monsieur P. Lavroff, 32 rue S. Jacques, Paris, France.
159. The report about G. Lopatin’s death proved wrong.

160. In a letter of 28 August 1887, Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky voiced her regret over the fact that Kautsky, to whom the American editor of the Engels-written book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, John Lovell, had sent a considerable number of copies, did not take the trouble to send it to London newspapers and magazines for reviewing.

161. Characterising the resolution of the conference of the United Labor Party of the State of New York, held on 17-19 August 1887, in Syracuse, N.Y. (see note 6) on the expulsion of the Socialists from this party, ostensibly in conformity with its Rules, Henry George declared in his paper *The Standard* that this decision largely furthered the success of his efforts to enlist representatives of the petty bourgeoisie and even big capitalists; as he explained, these social groups would have certainly refused to back the new independent political movement had it involved the Socialists with their ‘doctrine of the class struggle’.

162. The American edition of Marx’s speech on free trade, which he made in Brussels on 9 January 1848 (See present edition, Vol. 6, pp450-65), appeared in Boston in September 1888, in Kelley-Wischnewetzky’s translation. Engels wrote a special preface to this edition – first published in the author’s translation into the German by the magazine *Neue Zeit* No 7, July 1888, under the title ‘Schutzzoll und Freihandel’ and then in the English original, in the latter half of August 1888, in *The Labor Standard* of New York. Appended as an addendum was the slightly abridged version of the ‘Seventh and Last Observation’ from Chapter II (‘The Metaphysics of Political Economy’) of Marx’s work *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp174-78). Kelley-Wischnewetzky suggested that the fourth part of this chapter, ‘Property of Rent’ (*ibid.*, pp197-206) be likewise included in the addendum; she argued that the American anarchists, Benjamin Tucker in particular, raised a noisy publicity campaign in connection with the publication of Proudhon’s works they had undertaken. However, Engels did not find it necessary to include this part.

163. In connection with Engels’ note to a separate edition of his article ‘The Labor Movement in America’ (see note 134), the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party issued a statement published in the newspaper *Sozialist*, No. 35, on 27 August 1887. It expressed surprise that a comrade in such an exposed position as Engels could not expect such ... accusation against a whole number of persons who ... have taken their stand under the circumstances...’ and also claimed that allegedly none of the sections of the party ‘has come out against the National Executive Committee concerning the financial aspect of the matter’.

164. Apparently the reference is to the convention of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see note 3) held on 17-20 September 1887, in Buffalo, NY.
165. The annual 20th Trades Unions Congress, held at Swansea from the 5th to the 12th September 1887, passed a decision to set up an independent labour organisation. A meeting convened for the purpose outlined a programme of this National Labour Association which was to act as a Labour Electoral Committee. Likewise, the Congress adopted a decision on convening, in November 1888, an international labour congress in London. For the first time ever, the Congress adopted resolutions on nationalisation of landed property, and on holding a plebiscite among the trade union members concerning the struggle for an eight-hour working day, along with other resolutions.

166. This letter is a reply to the letter from the editorial secretary of the socialist newspaper Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung, Hugo Koch, of 21 September 1887; Koch had asked Engels whether the rumour of his negative pronouncements about the newspaper was correct.

167. Engels wrote this letter on the letter from Johannes Weiß, written on 9 October 1887, requesting a long-term loan for the completion of his education.

168. On 6 October 1887, Deputy Chief of the French General Staff General Louis Charles Caffarel was dismissed from his post and arrested on a charge of selling Légion d’honneur Orders. The investigation revealed that MP Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of the President of the Republic, Jules Grévy, was one of the chief accomplices of General Caffarel. As a result, General Caffarel was demoted, stripped of his decorations and discharged with disgrace; Grévy had to retire.

169. Engels means the pronouncements made by Emile de Girardin, a French bourgeois journalist and editor of the newspaper La Presse, in 1846 and 1847. E. Girardin accused some of the figures of the July Monarchy and the Guizot Ministry of corruption (selling peer titles, bribery of the press, etc). His exposures had a role to play in exacerbating the domestic political crisis on the eve of the Revolution of 1848. For more details, see Engels’ article ‘The Decline and Approaching Fall of Guizot – Position of the French Bourgeoisie’ (present edition, Vol. 6, pp213-219).

170. Révolution du mépris – a phrase in use during the February Revolution of 1848 in France, when the bourgeois-republican quarters presaged a révolution du mépris (‘revolution of contempt’) for the corrupt regime of the July Monarchy.

171. On 24 September 1887 a group of Frenchmen on a hunting party near the Franco-German border at Raon-sur-Plaine (Vexaincourt), was shot at by a German soldier, R. Kaufmann, from German territory; one of the Frenchmen was killed, and another wounded. Kaufmann said he had taken them for poachers. The German government expressed its regret over the incident and pledged to pay an indemnity to the families of the victims.

172. On 11 June 1887, the newspaper Le Socialiste (2 Série) resumed its publication following a break from March 26; its format was considerably enlarged.
173. Bebel visited Engels as guest in the latter half of October 1887.

174. The Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was in session from the 2nd to the 6th October 1887, at St. Gallen (Switzerland). It was attended by 79 delegates. The congress discussed the following questions: a report of the Reichstag faction of the party, the activity of Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag and the Landtags, the party's attitude to the issue of taxes and customs duties in connection with the steps taken by the government in the social sphere, the party's policy at the last election and at the election to come, the convocation of an international socialist congress, and the attitude to the anarchists. It was stressed in the congress resolutions that in its parliamentary activities, the party was to concentrate on the critique of the government and on the agitation for the principles of Social Democracy; Bismarck's social policies, it was said, had nothing in common with the genuine concern for working people's needs. It was also pointed out that anarchist views were incompatible with the socialist programme. The congress passed a decision to convene an international labour congress in 1888 to consider labour legislation. Most of the delegates upheld the party's revolutionary wing, led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht. The leaders of the opportunist wing found themselves in relative isolation.

175. Home Rule – this refers to the struggle for Irish self-government from the 1870s to the beginning of the 20th century. Although Home Rule provided for an Irish parliament and national bodies of administration, it envisaged supreme power being vested with the British cabinet which retained the administration of foreign, military and customs affairs.

176. The British Fabian Society was founded by democratic minded intellectuals in 1884. This society was named after the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus (3rd century B.C.), who was named Cunctator ('the delay') from his cautious tactics in the war against Hannibal. Playing the leading part in it were Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Bernard Shaw and others. Local organisations of the Fabian society sometimes included working-class members. Rejecting notions of militant class struggle and the revolution, the Fabians believed it was possible to move from capitalism to socialism by means of reforms implemented within the framework of a municipal socialism.

177. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the back – F. A. Sorge Esq., Rochester N.Y., U.S. America.

178. The German Social Democrat Congress held at St. Gallen adopted a decision (along with other resolutions (see note 174)) on convening an international labour congress to consider the issue of labour legislation. Almost simultaneously, a similar decision was passed by the British Trades Unions Congress (see note 165). The trade unions convened their congress in London in November 1888; the German Social Democrats abandoned their
plan and took part in the convening and holding of an international socialist labour congress in Paris on 14-20 July 1889, first suggested by the French Workers' Party (see note 33); it stood at the beginnings of the Second International (see note 473).

179. The reference is to the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) and the Socialist League (see note 21).

180. The full text of this letter is not available. For first publication in English, see note 87.

181. Here the reference is to the Caffarel-Wilson case (see note 168) in which connection Engels recalls the exposures made by the French journalist Emile de Girardin in 1846-47 (see note 169). The journalist Albert Eduard Portalis, referred to in the letter, was the publisher of the newspaper Le XIXe Siècle which was taking a particularly vigorous stand against Wilson, and which published a number of materials compromising him. During the court trial the dossier, entitled Los antécédents financiers des membres du cabinet Rowier, was stolen from Portalis, and an attack was made on Portalis himself.

182. In response to the inquiry of the editorial board of Le XIXe Siècle to the Paris procurator’s office with the demand to give back the documents seized during the search le préfet de police offered copies of the documents but retained the originals on a formal pretext.

183. Mme Limouzin (née Scharnet), a favourite of the former War Minister General Jean Thibaudin, was arrested in connection with the Caffarel case as his intermediary in selling Légion d’honneur Orders.

184. Early in November 1887, Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels about squabbles among some of the members of the Paris branch (agglomération parisienne) of the French Workers’ Party.

185. In view of the frequent meetings of the unemployed from the autumn of 1886 to the spring of 1887, the Chief Constable of London, Charles Warren, banned demonstrations and meetings in Trafalgar Square by his fiat of 8 November, 1887. In reply the Metropolitan Radical Federation (see note 22) appointed Sunday, 13 November 1887, as the day of a rally. On that day Trafalgar Square was cordoned off by the police and soldiers, and nearly all the demonstrators, about a hundred thousand strong, were dispersed with exceptional cruelty on their way to the square. Hundreds of workers sustained injuries in clashes with the police (with three workers receiving deadly wounds); numerous arrests were made. Also taking part in the demonstration was Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who described the events of that day in the Pall Mall Gazette on the 14th of November 1887. 13 November 1887 went down in the history of the British working class movement as ‘Bloody Sunday’.

186. The reference is to the joint meeting of the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, the Labour Emancipation League and the London
Radical Clubs in London on 20 September 1885, in protest against the arrest of Socialist speakers who had addressed rallies in the East End in July-September 1885 when the British Socialists were fighting for freedom of speech ('the free speech struggles against the police suppression of outdoor meetings'). The September 20 rally brought together several thousand who offered resistance to the police trying to arrest the speakers. Several people were detained nonetheless, but they were set free the next day. September 27 saw an even larger demonstration and a rally that adopted a resolution protesting the police actions. Thereupon the authorities ceased their attempts to silence Socialist speakers.

187. Slavophiles (e.g. A. Khomyakov, the brothers Aksakov, I. Kireevsky, Yu. Samarin and others) were a trend in nineteenth-century Russian social and philosophical thought. In the late 1830s-1850s they advanced a theory of Russia's unique path of historical development which, in their opinion, differed from that of Western Europe. Among the characteristic features of their theory were monarchism, a negative attitude to revolution and a leaning towards religious-philosophical conceptions. The Slavophiles met mostly in the literary salons of Moscow.

188. On 10 November 1887, die Deutsche Reichsbank announced, on Bismarck's orders, that it would no longer accept Russian securities as deposits.

189. It was common practice in the book trade for a publishing house to grant a discount to bookstores on wholesale purchases depending on the quantity ordered; for example it might offer about 12 copies, a thirteenth part of the total print, free of charge. Referring to '18 copies – a thirteenth part – free of charge', Engels meant 224 copies of the book sold in Britain.

190. As Conrad Schmidt told Engels in his letter of 22 November 1887, his relatives in Königsberg had been searched on having received a box with books which he, Schmidt, had sent them from Paris during his trip abroad. The police tried to prosecute Schmidt on the grounds that the parcel had contained several numbers of the newspaper Sozialdemokrat which was banned in Germany. He managed to avoid arrest.

191. From the latter half of September 1841, to about 10 October 1842, Engels stayed in Berlin for his tour of duty in an artillery brigade. In his spare time he attended lectures at Berlin University and forged close contacts with left-wing Hegelians, progressive writers and scholars. It was at that time that Engels maintained close ties with East Prussian liberals (Eduard Plottwell and Johann Jacoby). Through them he might have contacted the bourgeois newspaper Königl. Preuß. Staats-Kriegs-und-Friedenszeitung (a progressive paper in the 1840s); however, we have no evidence that Engels really co-operated with the newspaper. 'The restricted intelligence of loyal subjects' ('beschränkter Untertanenverstand') was a phrase coined by the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow; it gained wide currency in Germany.
192. On behalf of Ernst Elsters, preparing a new edition of Heine’s works for publication, C. Schmidt appealed to Engels on 22 November 1887, with the request to clarify some ‘mysterious innuendoes’ made in Heine’s letter to Lassalle on 7 March 1846, which was to be included in that edition. This letter appeared in the second volume of *Heine-Briefwechsel*, München-Berlin, 1917, published by Friedrich Hirth.

193. As a lawyer, Lassalle conducted Countess Sophie Hatzfeldt’s divorce proceedings in 1846-54. In February 1848, he was arrested on a charge of abetting the theft of a casket with documents with intent to present them to the court. Lassalle was held in custody till 11 August 1848, when acquitted by the jury.

194. On 22 November 1887, Conrad Schmidt wrote to Engels that he had read with much interest Volume II of *Das Kapital*; he said if some economic newspaper could accept his article on the Marxian system, he would like to send it to Engels. It must have been Schmidt’s work *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx’schen Werthgesetzes*, Stuttgart, 1889.

195. On 3 December 1887, *The Commonweal* (No. 99) carried an article by Henry Ambrose Barker, ‘The Condition of the Working Classes. I’, which was a précis of the first chapters of Engels’ book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*; this abstract contained extensive quotations from those chapters. There was no continuation of the article.

196. Engels means Kelley-Wischnewetzky’s translation into English of Marx’s speech on free trade (see note 162). Asking Engels to write a preface to the American edition of the Marxian speech, Kelley-Wischnewetzky, in her letter of 24 October 1887, wished the preface to contain a critical evaluation of pronouncements made by the American protectionists.

197. The reference is to the resolution of a presidential crisis in France over the exposure of speculatory machinations committed by Daniel Wilson, son-in-law of President Jules Grévy (see note 168). Under public pressure J. P. Grévy had to tender his resignation on 1 December 1887. Nominated as candidates for the presidency were the moderate republicans M. F. Sadi Carnot, Jules F.C. Ferry, Charles Louis de Freycinet, among others; the ultra Right nominated Félix Gustave Saussier. Ferry’s candidacy elicited sharp protests from left-wing organisations and Paris workers. The Blanquists, headed by Emile Eudes, a former general of the Paris Commune, and Edouard Vaillant, a member of the municipal council, joined hands with the Guesdist (see note 33) and organised several meetings and demonstrations against Ferry’s candidature. After the first round of the election Ferry and Freycinet withdrew their candidacies in Marie François Carnot’s favour, who was then elected president.

198. Pertaining to the coup attempt of 1877 by Marshal Macmahon, President of the Republic, with the aim of restoring a monarchy in France. Yet
Macmahon found no support among the broad popular masses or in the army (among the soldiers and the greater part of commissioned officers), which reflected the republican sentiments of the French peasantry. The parliamentary election of October 1877 brought victory to the republicans, with a bourgeois republican government being formed; in January 1879 Macmahon resigned.

199. Opportunists was the name given in France to the party of moderate bourgeois republicans upon its split in 1881 and the formation of a left-wing party of radicals under Georges Clemenceau. The name was first used in 1877 by Henri Rochefort, a journalist, after the leader of the party, L. Gambetta, had said that reforms were to be implemented at 'an opportune time' ('un temps opportun').

200. The Radicals were a parliamentary group in France in the 1880s and 1890s that emerged from the party of moderate republicans ('Opportunists', see note 199). The Radicals relied chiefly on the petty bourgeoisie and to some extent on the middle bourgeoisie; they upheld the bourgeois-democratic demands: a unicameral system of parliament, separation of the church from the state, a progressive income tax, limitation of the workday, among other social issues. The Radicals were led by George Clemenceau. This group transformed itself into the Republican Party of Radicals and Radical-Socialists (parti républicain radical et radical-socialiste) in 1901.

201. On 4 December 1887, London was the scene of several meetings of the unemployed, organised by the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62). Although significant police reinforcements were moved in, no clashes were reported. For an account of the meetings, see Justice Vol. IV, No. 204, 10 December 1887: The Unemployed Agitation.

202. Such a collection was not published at the time; in 1894 the Social Democratic Publishers Vorwärts released a collection of Engels' works under the title Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat' (1871-75) which comprised all the articles mentioned in the letter with the exception of Refugee Literature IV. Friedrich Hermann Schlüter also suggested that Engels include in the collection some of his articles from Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-Ökonomische Revue, as well as excerpts from his pamphlet The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.

203. Engels replies to F. Schlüter's suggestion to revise three chapters from the second part of Anti-Dühring and have them published as a separate pamphlet. These chapters, under the single title The Theory of Force contained an explanation of materialist views on economics and politics. Engels subsequently changed his plan and decided also to add a fourth chapter on Germany history from 1848 to 1888 and a critique of Bismarck. The proposed title of the pamphlet was The Role of Force in History. Engels wrote this (fourth) chapter somewhat later, at the close of 1887 and in the
first three months of 1888. Having interrupted his work in March 1888, Engels must have never resumed it. This unfinished work of his, an outline of the preface to the pamphlet, the plan of the fourth chapter, as well as the plan of the concluding part of this chapter (this plan delineated the contents of the unfinished part of the work) are published in the present edition, Vol. 26.

204. Engels replies to Paul Lafargue's inquiry in the letter of 25 December 1887, concerning Heinrich Oberwinder, formerly active in the First International, and exposed as an agent of the Prussian police. The exposure was made by Swiss socialists in the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat on 24 December 1887; they had found one of the German émigrés, Christian Haupt, to be Bismarck's agent. Subsequently they uncovered other spies as well, including Heinrich Nonne and Heinrich Oberwinder.

205. The Salvation Army was a religious-philanthropic organisation founded by William Booth of the Church of England in 1865. Subsequently it extended its activities to other countries as well (it adopted the present name in 1878 upon being reorganised after a military model).

206. On 25 December 1887, Paul Lafargue told Engels in jest about Laura's 'new-found talent' as an artist.

207. The following works of Engels were translated into Romanian: The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (the journal Contemporanul Nos. 17-21, 1885, and Nos. 22-24, 1886) (present edition, Vol. 26) and the article The Political Situation in Europe (the journal Revista Socialista No. 2, December 1886) (present edition, Vol. 26, pp 410-17).

208. The author of both pamphlets, published anonymously, was Constantin Dobrogenau-Gherea.

209. The Holy Alliance was an association of European monarchs founded on 26 September 1815, on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries.

210. Règlement organique (1831-32) constitutional acts laying down the socio-political system of the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29. The Règlement, based on a draft framed by P.D. Kiselev, head of the Russian administration, was adopted by an assembly of boyars and clergymen. Legislative power in each of the Principalities was vested in an assembly elected by the big landowners. Executive power was wielded by hospodars, the titled rulers elected for life by representative of the landowners, the clergy and the towns. The Règlement envisaged a number of bourgeois reforms: abolition of internal customs duties, introduction of free trade, and the right of peasants to move from one owner to another. However, in view of the preservation of serfdom and concentration of political power in the hands of the big landowners and boyars, the progressive forces in the Principalities regarded the
Règlement as a symbol of feudal stagnation. Reimposed in 1849 during the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia by Russia and Turkey, the Règlement became invalid with the setting up of an independent Romanian state in the 1860s.

To suppress the revolutionary movement in Wallachia and Moldavia, Russia and Turkey sent in their troops in the summer of 1848. By the Balta-Liman Treaty of 19 April (1 May) 1849, the occupationist regime was to be in force till after the revolutionary threat had been eliminated in full (the foreign troops were withdrawn only in 1851); as a provisional measure, the hospodars were to be appointed by the Turkish Sultan with the consent of the Russian Tsar. Also, Turkey and Russia were to take steps, not excluding another military intervention, in case of repeated revolutionary unrest. In keeping with the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 12 May 1812, virtually all of Bessarabia up to the River Pruth was ceded to Russia. By the Paris Treaty of 1856 Turkey annexed a portion of this territory. However, in accordance with the Berlin treaty of 1878, this part of Bessarabia was ceded back to Russia.


212. In his letter of 11 (23) December 1887, Nikolai Danielson told Engels that Volume IV of Johannes v. Keussler's work *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des bäuerlichen Gemeinbesitzes in Rußland* had come off the press. These four volumes, he pointed out, were the only reliable source of data based on the relevant statistical and economic studies of the Russian zemstvos. Danielson regretted that Keussler undertook his work after only 20 volumes of the total 100-volume edition of the extensive statistical study of the zemstvos had seen print.

213. In the same letter Danielson wrote to Engels about the institution of a State Land Bank for the Nobility in Russia. The State Land Bank for the Nobility was set up in 1885 with the aim of helping the Russian landed proprietors from among the nobility in the maintenance of their estates. The landowners could get loans from this bank on fairly easy terms by mortgaging their land. The tsarist government provided substantial financial assistance to this bank. Loans were issued on a long-term basis and at a lower interest rate than in other Russian banks.

214. The Peasant Land Bank was a state mortgage bank instituted in Russia in 1882 for providing long-term loans to peasant farmers for land purchases. Catering to the interests of the big landowners, the bank charged high interest rates. Its activity resulted in soaring land prices. The land of insolvent real estate owners who failed to pay off the loans on time was auctioned off by the bank or sequestered into its land pool. The Peasant Land Bank was operating in close contact with the State Land Bank for the Nobility set up
in 1885 (see note 213) and became a vehicle of the reactionary agrarian policies pursued by the tsarist government. As a consequence, a significant part of the land found itself in the hands of the rich gentry and the rural bourgeoisie. One sequel to this process was the further stratification of the peasantry.

215. The reference is to ‘marginal utility theory’, the counter of vulgar political economics to the labour theory of value, whereby the value of commodities is deduced from the calculation of their utility and value. The marginal utility theory evolved into a major theoretical system in the 1870s. Its main advocates in the late 19th and early 20th century were Karl Menger, Eugen Böhm-Bawerk (of the Austrian School), William Stanley Jevons, and others. See also Engels’ Preface to Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).

216. In August 1887, Nikolai Danielson informed Engels of Lopatin’s death in the Schlüsselburg Fortress. Engels immediately applied to Lavrov with the request to verify this report. It proved to be wrong.


218. From September 1887 to March 1888, Friedrich A. Sorge lived in Rochester, N.Y., i.e., where his son did.

219. The Bismarck government followed a dual policy with regard to the workers: along with the continued repression (see note 96) it tabled, on 17 November 1881, a new programme of social legislation to be considered in the Reichstag. Although adopted by the Reichstag, this programme was implemented very slowly and inconsistently. In 1883 the Reichstag passed a law on a mandatory sickness insurance, in 1884 a law on old age and disability insurance. The entrepreneurs contributed only a 1/3 to the social insurance fund, with the other 2/3 being drawn from the employees. The issue of a shorter workday and of restrictions on female and child labour was not considered.

220. In view of the expiration of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the Bismarck government tabled a motion (November 1887) to prolong it for another five years and supplement it with some new clauses with stiffer penalties for the promulgation of socialist literature and for membership in Social Democratic unions, to the extent of banishment and deprivation of citizenship (expatriation).

221. The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) was a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France – rivals of the Habsburgs – supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle arena or the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany.
222. Probably Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote in his letter to Engels that in case of a prolongation of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52) he and his family would have to emigrate to America. One of the additional clauses to the law envisaged banishment and deprivation of citizenship (expatriation) for Social Democratic activities (see also note 220).

223. Engels means the leaders of the Socialist Labour Party of North America (see note 3).

224. An allusion to the events of ‘Bloody Sunday’ in London’s Trafalgar Square on 13 November 1887 (see note 185). Among those arrested were the prominent figures in the socialist and trade union movement Robert Cunningham-Graham and John Burns. On 18 January 1888, the two men were sentenced to 6 weeks’ imprisonment. However, they were soon set free under public pressure (see note 246).

225. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the preface to Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe. Dritte Abteilung, Bd. 1, 1929.

226. On 30 December 1887, Hermann Schlüter told Engels about Eduard Bernstein’s request to allow Der Sozialdemokrat to publish the final part of the Engels-written introduction to S. Borkheim’s pamphlet Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten 1806-1807 pending the publication of the pamphlet itself. On 15 January 1888, Der Sozialdemokrat carried the second part of the Engels introduction under the title Was Europa bevorsteht. The booklet was printed in June 1888.

227. The German Social Democratic archives were set up at the Zurich Conference of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany held on 19-21 August 1882. Their purpose was to preserve the manuscripts of prominent figures in the German labour movement (including the works of Marx and Engels), and documents pertaining to the history of Germany and the international working-class movement, and the labour press. The initial site of the archives was Zurich. The first materials were collected by Eduard Bernstein. From April 1883 the archives were in the custody of Hermann Schlüter. In June 1888, following the expulsion of some members of the Sozialdemokrat editorial staff and co-workers from Switzerland (see note 81), the archives were moved to London and, after the abrogation of the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52), to Berlin.

228. In his letter of 30 December 1887, Schlüter wrote to Engels that the book dealers had cut the journal Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue into separate pieces and sold these articles separately as independent works. Meanwhile, longer works of Marx and Engels were printed in instalments in different numbers of the journal.

229. The reference is to the manuscript of The Great Men of the Exile written by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp227-326). At the end of June 1852, Marx passed on the manuscript to the Hungarian émigré, Kossuth’s emissary abroad Janos Bangya, who offered to have it published
in Germany. Later, it turned out that Bangya was a police spy who had handed over the manuscript to the Prussian police. The actions of Bangya, who managed to win Marx's confidence for a time, were unmasked by Marx in his article 'Hirsch's Confessions' written in April 1853 and published in American newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp.40-43). The reference is to the following part of the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp.219-20): Karl Bruhn made slanderous accusations against Marx and Engels by claiming they had allegedly sold the MS of the pamphlet to the Prussian police (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp.117-118).

230. Early in 1887 Pasquale Martignetti, an Italian socialist, approached Engels with the request to help him find work outside Italy as he was being persecuted for his views (see note 8). Engels, through the mediation of Johannes Wedde, editor of the Hamburg-based Social Democratic newspaper *Bürger-Zeitung*, tried to find a job for Martignetti, but failed in his attempt.

231. Martignetti's letter to Engels (dated 3 January 1888) was accompanied by the issue of the journal *Mefistofele*, carrying the first installment of the Italian translation of Engels' biography written by Karl Kautsky. Martignetti intended to continue the publication in this journal of excerpts from Kautsky's work and then have it published in full as a separate pamphlet. For this reason he asked Engels to look through the translations in the *Mefistofele* and send him comments on the translation. The Engels biography was published in the journal between 1 January and 30 November 1888.

232. In February 1886 P. Martignetti sent his Italian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* for Engels to peruse. However, because of his work on the English edition of Volume I of *Capital*, and his eye disease, Engels was unable to read the Italian translation immediately. It was published in Milan only in 1893.

233. The reference is to Engels' article *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp.109-27). The publication of this work, exposing the Prussian Junkers, in the newspaper *Volksstaat* and in the form of a reprint, caused exasperation in government quarters. Therefore the promulgation of Engels' works in Germany was banned.

234. In his letter of 5 February 1888, Paul Lafargue informed Engels about the cessation of the publication of the newspaper *Socialiste*, an organ of the French Workers Party (Guesdists), on 4 February of the same year (see note 33).

235. The debates in the Reichstag about the motion to prolong the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52) in January–February 1888 ended in a defeat for the government. This outcome was largely predetermined by the speeches of August Bebel (30 January and 17 February) and Paul Singer (27 January and 17 February) during the first and the third reading of the draft bill, respectively. Both speakers exposed the provocative activities of the government
which was planting spies in the labour unions. On 17 February 1888, the Reichstag prolonged the law for the last time, but not for a term of five years, as the government had suggested – the action of the law was extended for two years only (until 30 September 1890). The new clauses suggested by the government for the law were not adopted (see note 220).

236. An allusion to the entry of Napoleon's troops into Berlin in 1806 following the defeat of the Prussian forces, at Jena and Auerstedt.

237. An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in the journal The Socialist Review, London 1908, III-VIII.

238. The reference is to a scandal over the criminal actions of Louis Charles Caffarel and Daniel Wilson (see note 168). In 1847, just before the Revolution of 1848, there were many scandalous exposures of cases of corruption involving French statesmen (see note 169). For Révolution du mépris (a revolution of contempt) see note 170.


240. The first American edition of The Manifesto of the Communist Party (reprint of the English translation from the Red Republican) under the title Manifesto of the German Communist Party (without the names of the authors being mentioned) was published by Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly, New York, 30 December 1871.

241. As Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky wrote to Engels, the attitude of the German socialists in New York to his book The Condition of the Working Class in England was tantamount to a boycott. Engels described the Executive of the Socialist Labour Party of North America, with Lassalle's supporters in it, as 'the official German socialists of New York'. (See note 3).

242. The Law and Liberty League was set up on 18 November 1887, after the Trafalgar Square demonstration (see note 185). The League united representatives of labour radical clubs, socialist organisations, trade unions affiliated with the Fabian Society, etc. Active in the League were: Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, William Morris, John Burns, Sidney Webb, and others. The League championed freedom of speech and assembly, and came out for independent representation of working men in Parliament. The League ceased its activities in February 1888 because of the differences among its members.

243. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the language of the original by the journal Die Kommunistische Internationale No. 24, 1931; in Russian it appeared in the journal Kommunisticheski Internatsional, Nos. 19-20, 1931.

244. An allusion to William O'Brien's speech in the House of Commons on 16 February 1888, with scathing criticism of the policy of Arthur Balfour,
Secretary of State for Ireland and nephew of the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Salisbury.

245. Speaking in the Reichstag on 6 February 1888, in debates on a draft bill providing for reorganisation of the German armed forces, Bismarck lauded the pro-German policies of Alexander III in contrast to the anti-German pronouncements of some organs of the Russian press. Still, he spoke in favour of a stronger military might for the German Reich in view of a possible anti-German alliance between France and Russia. By calling Alexander III a ‘Gatchina prisoner’, Engels referred to the fact that, ascending the throne after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by members of the radical organisation Narodnaya Volya (‘People’s will’) on 1 March 1881, Alexander III feared revolutionary action and fresh acts of terrorism, so used to seclude himself in his palace at Gatchina.

246. On 19 February 1888, a big rally was held in London on the occasion of liberation of the socialists Robert Cunninghame-Graham and John Burns, convicted for taking part in the Trafalgar Square demonstration of 13 November 1887 (see note 185).

247. The Commonweal, the organ of the Socialist League, reprinted a list of police agents promulgated in Der Sozialdemokrat under the heading Polizeiagent – Dynamitagenten with 12 police agents in it (see note 204). The newspaper augmented this list without giving cogent proof of the culpability of the persons mentioned, including Theodor Reuß.

248. Landwehr was the army second reserve formed in Prussia during the struggle against Napoleon. In the 1840s it consisted of men under forty who had done three years of active service and had been in the reserve not less than two years. In contrast to the regular army, the Landwehr was called up only in case of extreme necessity (war, or threat of war).

249. The Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the ‘Féne’, a name for the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British Government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals.

250. The Orange Order, named after William III, Prince of Orange, was an organisation set up in Ireland in 1795. The English authorities, the landlords and the Protestant clergy used this organisation to fight the Irish national liberation movement. The Order united English and Irish elements from all strata of society and systematically incited the Protestants against the Irish Catholics. The Orangemen had a particularly great influence in Northern Ireland, where the majority of the population were Protestants.
251. The reference is to the manifesto of Frederick III on the occasion of his ascension to the throne on 12 March 1888. This proclamation — *An mein Volk* (To my people) — was marked by the same date as his message to Chancellor Bismarck.

252. On 18 March 1888, the newspaper *Weekly Dispatch* published the manifestos of Frederick III (‘Letter to Prince Bismarck’, ‘Proclamation of the Emperor’) (see note 251).

253. Engels alludes to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.

254. In his letter to Engels of 18 March 1888, Paul Lafargue expressed his conviction that the only chance of preventing General Boulanger from being elected to the Chamber of Deputies would be to abrogate the balloting procedure ‘according to the lists’, introduced in June 1885 instead of the former procedure providing for voting ‘in small arrondissements’. The new system of balloting, effected in keeping with departmental lists, envisaged integration of small constituencies into larger ones, each corresponding to a department in size. A voter would be offered a list of candidates from various parties, and was supposed to cast his ballot for the overall number of candidates due to be elected as deputies in a given department (proceeding from the ratio: 1 deputy to 700,000 of the population). An absolute majority of votes was needed in the first round for a candidate to be elected, but he could do with a relative majority in the runoff.

255. The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Paris between 1806 and 1810 in tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. It was made of bronze from captured enemy guns and crowned by a statue of Napoleon; the statue was removed during the Restoration but re-erected in 1833. In the spring of 1871, by order of the Paris Commune, the *Vendôme Column* was destroyed as a symbol of militarism.

256. An abridged version of this letter was first published in English (in facsimile) in the book *Literary Heritage* 1932, No.2; and in full it was published in: Marx K., Engels F. *Literature and Art*, New York, Intern. Publ., 1947.

257. Legitimists were the party who supported the French Bourbon dynasty (overthrown in 1792); they represented the interests of the big landed aristocracy and the top clergy; they took shape as a party and assumed this name in 1830, after the second overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. During the Second Republic, the Legitimists, together with the other monarchist parties, formed the Party of Order. Failing to win support from the people under the Second Empire, they confined themselves to marking time and issuing critical pamphlets and were galvanised into action only in 1871, when they joined the general counter-revolutionary onslaught against the Paris Commune.

258. Engels refers to the uprising in Paris of 5-6 June 1832, prepared by the Left Wing of the Republican Party and secret revolutionary societies. The immediate cause of this uprising was the funeral of General Lamarque, who had
been in opposition to the government of Louis Philippe. The revolutionary workmen raised barricades and fought back with great courage and tenacity. One of the barricades, put up in rue Saint-Martin (formerly the site of the Saint-Méri cloister) was among the last to fall. In his novel *Illusions perdues* and story *Les secrets de la Princesse de Cardignan*, Balzac depicted a republican Michel Chrestien who 'died at the walls of the cloister Saint-Méri ('mourut au cloître Saint-Méri'). Balzac called him a 'great statesman who could have changed the face of the world' ('ce grand homme d'Etat, qui peut être eût changé la face du monde').

259. The reference is to Paul Lafargue’s article ‘La langue française avant et après la Révolution’ published in the journal *Nouvelle Revue*, t. 51, 1888, under the nom de plume Fergus. As is apparent from Lafargue’s letter to Engels on 27 November 1887, this article was conceived as part of a larger work in which he intended to look into changes that had occurred in matters of property, philosophy, art, etc., after the French Revolution.

260. *Boustrapa* – nickname of Louis Bonaparte, composed of the first syllables of the names of the places where he and his supporters staged Bonapartist putsches, or coups: Boulogne (August 1840), Strasbourg (October 1846) and Paris (coup d’état of 2 December 1851).

261. An allusion to a scandalous incident involving the British colonel Valentine Baker who had seduced a young girl in a railway carriage and was brought to trial. Engels compared this incident in jest to the rape of Europa when Jupiter, in love with the young Phoenician princess Europa, assumed the form of a white bull to carry her off.

262. For British Association for the Advancement of Science see note 124; for the materials of the discussion mentioned by Engels, see *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Manchester in August and September 1887*, London, 1888, pp885-95. Engels usually familiarised himself with the materials of the Association’s annual meetings by means of publications in the journal *Nature*.

263. The reference is to a bill tabled by Roger Quarles Mills at US Congress in April 1888 on rescinding taxes on raw materials used in industry and on reducing duties on many import items. The bill was not adopted.

264. Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky and her husband, Dr Lazar Wischnewetzky, both expelled from the New York section of the Socialist Labour Party of North America in July 1887 (see note 149), did not agree with the decision of the Executive and pressed for reinstatement of their membership in the party. On 31 March 1888, the newspaper *Wochenblatt der N.Y. Volkszeitung* carried a report on the Executive sittings of 2, 9 and 16 March 1888, which decided first to study the additional evidence before discussing the Wischnewetzkys’ appeal.

265. The Kartell was a coalition of conservative parties – die Deutsch-
Konservative Partei, die Deutsche Reichspartei (Freikonservative) und die Nationalliberale Partei – which was formed after Bismarck had dissolved the Reichstag in January 1887 (see note 15). Supporting the Bismarck government, Kartell won the election of February 1887 by obtaining the largest number of seats in the Reichstag (220). Assisted by the coalition, Bismarck was able to secure the passage of reactionary laws in the interests of the Junkers and the big bourgeoisie (imposition of protectionist tariffs, higher taxes, etc.) (see note 152). However, he could not get the Reichstag to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law. The exacerbation of differences among the parties affiliated with the Kartell and the electoral defeat of 1890, with only 135 seats secured in the Reichstag, resulted in the disintegration of the coalition.

266. A reference to the intended marriage of Victoria, the daughter of Frederick III, to Prince Alexander Battenberg of Bulgaria, who occupied the Bulgarian throne in 1879-86 and steered a policy hostile to Russia. Fearing a worsening of Russo-German relations, Bismarck opposed the marriage.

267. Believing that the Bismarck regime was in for a political crisis, Engels considers, by way of comparison, the landmark stages of the political crisis of the Second Empire in France: The Mexican period of Bonapartism – the abortive armed intervention of France in Mexico (1862-67) with the aim of suppressing the Mexican revolution. The military expedition incurred huge expenses and caused grave damage to the empire of Napoleon III. 1866 – the defeat of Austria in her war against Prussia deprived Napoleon III of an essential ally in the confrontation with Prussia. 1870 – the routing, on 1-2 September, of French troops at Sedan during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. The Sedan debacle speeded up the collapse of the Second Empire and led to the proclamation of a republic in France on 4 September 1870.

268. Engels means Die Erklärung der Sozialdemokratischen Föderation Englands in Sachen des nach London einberufenen internationalen Gewerkschaftskongresses which was published by the newspaper Sozialdemokrat on 14 April 1888. The Declaration came in view of the intended convocation by the British trade unions of an international congress of labour unions in November 1888 (see note 165). The Declaration was a response to the protest of the German Social Democrats against the decision of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Unions Congress of Great Britain (see note 269) on conditions for representation at the Congress: only delegates officially elected by trade unions were to attend. Thereby the German Social Democrats were unable to take part on account of the enforcement of the Anti-Socialist law in Germany. In its Declaration the Social Democratic Federation voiced its discontent at the protest of the German Social Democrats.

269. The reference is to the rapprochement of the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) and the Possibilists (see note 19). Starting in 1884, the Federation, acting through its organ Justice, conducted
a broad campaign in support of the Possibilists; it recognised them as the principal organisation of French Socialists and maintained no relations with the French Workers' Party (see note 33). The Social Democratic Federation was the only socialist organisation to support the Possibilist International Congress in Paris in 1889 (see note 478). An allusion to the Parliamentary Committee, an executive body of The Trades Union Congress of Great Britain formed in 1868 and uniting the British trade unions. As of 1871 the Parliamentary Committee was annually elected by Trades Union Congresses as a steering body of the trade unions in between the congresses. It was designed to nominate trade union MPs, support draft bills tabled in the interests of the trade unions, and prepare regular union congresses. Henry Broadhurst was the parliamentary Committee's Secretary from 1875 to 1890. In 1921 the Parliamentary Committee was replaced with the Trades Union Congress General Council.

270. The Congress of the German Social Democratic Party at St Gallen (see note 174) passed a decision to convene an international labour congress in 1888. However, the party's Executive stated its readiness to refrain from the convocation of that congress and to participate in a congress being convened in London by the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Unions (see note 165). Following its unsuccessful negotiations with the Parliamentary Committee which had stipulated unacceptable conditions for representation of German Social Democracy at the London congress, the party's Executive reverted to the resolution of its congress.

271. Probably the reference is to the work of Johann Georg Eccarius *Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der national-ökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's* republished by the Social Democratic Publishers of Zurich in 1888. Originally written in English for the journal *The Commonweal* (10.11.1866, 27.3.1867), it first appeared in German in 1869 as a pamphlet in Eccarius' translation.

272. In this letter to Engels on 11 April 1888, P. Martignetti said he was offered a job in the archives of the Italian town of Benevento, but had to pass competitive examination to be able to qualify.

273. Engels sent Lafargue's letter on 27 April 1888, addressed to Wilhelm Liebknecht, pertaining to the preparation of an international labour congress. P. Lafargue believed that in this way his letter would reach the addressee the sooner.

274. A brief excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. For the first publication of this letter in English, see note 40.

275. In March-April 1888 a peasant uprising broke out in Romania's central districts. The rebels burned landlords' estates, destroyed promissory notes, and divided bread, cattle and land amongst themselves. The revolts were crushed brutally by the government.
276. This letter was first published in English by the journal *Istorichesko Arkhiv (Historical Archives)*, No. 2, 1956 (the facsimile of the first page) and in full in: F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, T. 2 (1887-1890), Paris, 1956.

277. The French Socialists differed in their attitude to Boulangism (see note 137). Some of them, including P. Lafargue, at first erroneously qualified Boulangism as a ‘popular movement’ with little regard for the aims of this movement and Boulangier’s personality. The Workers’ Party majority with Jules Guesde at the head and the greater part of the Blanquists led by M.E. Vaillant adhered to a policy of non-interference with respect to Boulangism by regarding this movement only as a bourgeois party; they said they were loath to intervene in partisan strife among the bourgeois parties. Yet the sectarian stance of non-interference isolated the party from the popular masses and gravely prejudiced its influence in the home country.

278. The decree adopted by the German Ministry of the Interior on 22 May 1888, prohibited free passage of the French into Alsace and Lorraine. All foreigners crossing into Germany from France were supposed to have passports with a visa from the German embassy in Paris.

279. This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3 (1891-95), Supplement Letters, Moscow, 1963.

280. Engels, at the request of Karl Kautsky, and Eleanor and Edward Aveling, was translating poems by Shelley into German for the Avelings’s article ‘Shelley als Sozialist’, published in the December issue of *Neue Zeit* in 1888.

281. Refers to the voyage of Engels, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and their friend Carl Schorlemmer to the United States where they spent over a month – from 17 August to 19 September 1888. They journeyed from New York to Boston and nearby towns, then on to the Niagara Falls and across Lake Ontario to Canada. Engels made this tour incognito, without meeting German Socialists or representatives of the press.

282. On 12 June 1888, Georges Boulangier addressed the Chamber of Deputies demanding its dissolution and a revision of the Constitution. The head of the government, Charles Floquet, proposed that Boulangier’s demand be turned down and pointed out to the general’s unseemly activities. Accusing Floquet of slander, Boulangier presented the Chairman of the Chamber with a waiver, framed in advance, whereby he relinquished his mandate as a deputy; the matter culminated in a duel in which Boulangier was wounded.

283. Plebiscitary Boulangism was a description that Engels gave to Boulangier’s attempt to obtain a deputy’s mandate from many departments of France. Making use of the voting ‘according to the lists’ (see note 254), Boulangier nominated his candidacy in any department where a deputy’s seat happened to be vacant. As soon as a new vacancy was open, Boulangier relinquished his mandate so as to run for Parliament in another department. Boulangier
hoped that with the aid of such tricks he would appear an elected repre-
sentative of the entire nation. Boulanger's victory at the election of 1889
compelled the French government as early as 31 January 1889 to table a
draft bill on restoring the old system of balloting in electoral constituencies.
This bill was approved and came into effect on 13 February. On 17 July
1889 Parliament passed yet another law whereby no one could be elected
deputy other than in one constituency only.

284. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. On the back was the address: E.
Bernstein Esq., 4, Corinne Road, Tufnell Park, N. London.

285. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He indicated the address on the back:
F. A. Sorge, Hoboken, New Jersey. For the first publication of the letter in
English see note 29.

286. This letter was first published in English in Science and Society, Vol. 2, No.
3, 1938. It was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Adams House,
No. 553, Washington Street, Boston.

287. The reference is to the dissent in the Socialist Labour Party of North
America (see note 3). Speaking of the resignation of the Executive Secretary
Wilhelm Rosenberg, Engels proceeded from a report made by Friedrich
Sorge in his letter of 30 August 1888. The official decision on Rosenberg's
resignation was adopted in September 1889 (see note 501).

288. The letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Adams House,
No.553. Washington Street, Boston.

289. The letter was written on hotel notepaper with a picture of the Niagara Falls
and the address: Spencer House, Niagara Falls, N.Y.

290. Engels stayed in London in July-August 1838 when he accompanied his
father on a business trip to Britain. That was the first trip of the young
Frederick Engels abroad (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp99-100)

291. This letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Richelieu
Hotel, Montreal. For the first English publication, see note 286.

292. This letter was written on a hotel notepaper with the address: Paul Smith's
Fouquet House, Phelps Smith, Manager, Plattsburgh, N.Y. About the first
English publication of the letter, see note 29.

293. This letter was written on hotel notepaper with the address: Broadway,
opposite Bond Street, Julius A. Robinson Prop'r, New York. For the first
English publication of the letter, see note 29.

294. The available rough copy of this and the next letter was written on a single
sheet.

295. In the autumn of 1841 Bruno Bauer, one of the leaders of the Young
Hegelians, was suspended from teaching at Bonn University by Eichhorn,
the Prussian Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine. In
March 1842, he was dismissed from his post as lecturer in theology on
account of his atheistic views and opposition speeches. Bauer's dismissal
evoked sharp protests from radical and liberal intellectuals.
296. Telling Engels about his intention to obtain the post of senior lecturer at Leipzig University, Conrad Schmidt wrote: 'Whether I will succeed in getting a position in Leipzig is doubtful to me in view of the personal attitude of Mr "Thucydides" Roscher to Marx'. Speaking ironically, Marx and Engels called Professor Roscher by the name of the great historian of the ancient Greece, Thucydides, for, as Marx wrote, Herr Professor Roscher had modestly declared himself a Thucydides of political economy (see present edition, Vol. 32, p570). See Roscher's preface to the first edition of his work Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie 1854.

297. On 23 August 1888 Conrad Schmidt wrote to Engels that he was not eligible as lecturer at Halle University on account of his atheist views.

298. In his preface to Volume II of Capital that appeared in 1885 Engels suggested that economists clarify the question 'in which way an equal average rate of profit can and must come about, not only without a violation of the law of value, but on the basis of it' (see present edition, Vol. 36). Marx had offered a solution to this problem in Volume III of Capital on which Engels was working at the time. Having taken an interest in the problem raised by Engels, C. Schmidt was working on the book Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes which came out in 1889. In the review of Volume II of Capital – Die Marx'sche Kapitaltheorie – published by the journal Jahrbücher fur Nationalökonomie und Statistik, new series, Vol. XI, 1885, Wilhelm Lexis likewise raised this problem, though he could offer no solution. Engels made a circumstantial appraisal of these works in his preface to Volume III of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 37).

299. W. Roscher, Geschichte der National-Ökonomie in Deutschland München, 1874, S. 1021-1022. In it Roscher gave an evaluation of the Marxian economic theory.

300. On 20 September 1888 the newspaper New-Yorker Volkszeitung carried Engels' interview with Theodor Cuno (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp626-27), formerly a member of the First International. Acting on the assignment of the editor-in-chief Alexander Jonas who had learned about Engels' sojourn in New York (see note 281), Cuno had the interview published without prior consultations with Engels. In October 1888 this interview was reprinted by Der Sozialdemokrat.

301. A fragment of this latter was first published in English in K Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, The Communist View on Morality, Moscow, Novosti Publishers, 1974.

302. Engels probably meant the leaders of the Fabian Society – Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, Edward Pease (see note 176).

303. Following their abortive attempts in the 1870s to form a party of their own, the Austrian Socialists remained split into several groups for many years. There were also anarchist and moderate radical groups besides the adherents of scientific socialism among them. The above groups were divided on
such issues as the significance and nature of workers’ political activity (specifically, the parliamentary struggle), the makeup of the party, ethnic problems, and so on. A reunification attempt was undertaken in Vienna in the first half of 1887. Of much significance in this respect was a party congress of the Czechoslovak Socialists late in 1887 which passed a decision on forming a single Social Democratic Party. The Austrian Social Democrats held their unity congress from 31 December 1888 to 1 January 1889 at Hainfeld. They put an end to the party’s division into organisations representing separate lands and separate ethnic groups. The party programme adopted by the congress relied on Marxist postulates.

304. Engels intended to write travel notes of his tour of the United states, as shown by an excerpt from Notes on My Journey Through America and Canada (see present edition Vol. 26), as well as by rough notes which Engels wrote in the latter half of September 1888, evidently, aboard the steamship City of New York. In them Engels planned to give his assessment of the country’s social and political life. This intention was not realised.

305. August Bebel intended to write a large work on Wilhelm Weitling in which he also wanted to take up the subject of ‘the social movement of the 1840s’. He applied to Engels with the request to help in the collection of material.

306. Weitlingian communists held to a doctrine of egalitarian utopian communism that gained wide currency among German artisans, especially among tailors in Paris. Being a progressive movement in the early 1840s, before the development of modern Socialist ideas, the Weitling doctrine (with its negation of the need for an active political struggle of the proletariat and its emphasis on sectarian, conspiratorial methods of struggle) became to some extent a hindrance to the growing class consciousness of the German workers. The reactionary characteristics of the Weitling doctrine, gradually taking on a religious-Christian colouring, became increasingly manifest. Weitling’s supporters, always suspicious of ‘scholars’ (i.e. revolutionary intellectuals), would in their practical activities confine themselves to projects involving communes, partially borrowed from Fourier and his followers, and to small-scale experiments like establishing collective canteens, etc. In May 1846 Marx and Engels, with their adherents, broke from Weitling. Engels, living in Paris in 1846-47, had regular and stubborn discussions with workers to explain the backward nature of Weitling’s views.

307. The reference is to German, or ‘true socialism’ which became widespread in Germany in the 1840s, mostly among intellectuals. The ‘true socialists’ – Karl Grün, Moses Hess and Hermann Kriege – substituted the sentimental preaching of love and brotherhood for the ideas of socialism and denied the need for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. Marx and Engels criticised this trend in the following works: The German Ideology (see present edition, Vol. 5), Circular Against Kriege, German Socialism in Verse and Prose and Manifesto of the Communist Party (Vol. 6).

309. This refers to Weitling’s letter to Moses Hess on 31 March 1846, in which he describes the sitting of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee held on 30 March 1846, culminating in its breaking of relations with Marx and Engels. The controversy flared up over the best way of carrying on propaganda in Germany. Marx wanted to prove that calling on the workers to rise up without a proper programme was to deceive them and could result in dire consequences for the entire movement. Pavel Annenkov’s reminiscences of this meeting were originally published in Russian. An excerpt from these reminiscences (one about Annenkov’s meetings with Marx) was reproduced by the journal _Neue Zeit_, No. 5, 1883, under the heading ‘Eine russische Stimme über Karl Marx’.

310. A reference to the two volumes of a quarterly journal the publication of which was negotiated in 1845 and 1846 by a number of Westphalian socialists, the publishers Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel among others. Marx and Engels intended to publish in it their criticism of the German ideology which they started to write in the autumn of 1845. It was also planned to publish a number of polemical works to their colleagues, in the first place those containing criticism of German philosophical literature and the works of the ‘true socialists’. In November 1845 Moses Hess reached agreement with Meyer and Rempel on financing the publication of two volumes of the quarterly. Further negotiations were conducted by Weydemeyer, who visited the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. In a letter to the Committee of 30 April 1846 from Schildesche (Westphalia) he wrote that no headway was being made and proposed that Meyer should form a joint-stock company in Limburg (Holland), as manuscripts of less than 20 printed sheets were subject to preliminary censorship in Germany. He also recommended that Marx should sign a contract with the Brussels publisher and bookseller C.G. Vogler for the distribution of the quarterly and other publications. The contract was not drawn because Vogler could not assume even part of the expenses. Weydemeyer continued his efforts, but succeeded in getting from Meyer only a guarantee for the publication of one volume. However as early as July 1846 Meyer and Rempel refused their promised assistance on the pretext of financial difficulties, the actual reason being differences in principle between Marx and Engels, on the one hand and the champions of ‘true socialism’, on the other, whose views both publishers shared. Marx and Engels did not abandon their hopes of publishing the works, if only by instalments, but their attempts failed. The only chapter of _The German Ideology_ known to be published during their lifetime was Chapter IV of Volume II, which appeared in the journal _Das Westphälische Dampfboot_ in August and September 1847 (publisher of this journal was O.
Lüning). The rest of the existing *German Ideology* was first published in the Soviet Union in 1932.

311. Engels means Weitling’s non-extant work *Allgemeine Denk- und Sprachlehre nebst Grundzügen einer Universal Sprache der Menschheit* which was written in the first half of the 1840s.

312. The fifth and sixth points at the résumé in Weitling’s letter were as follows: ‘5. It is necessary to combat “artisan communism” and “philosophical communism” and to criticise the idea that everything is a fantasy. There should be no propaganda by word, no secret propaganda. The very word propaganda should no longer be used. The realisation of communism is now out of the question. First the bourgeoisie must take the helm’.

313. A reference to L. Stein, *Der Socialismus and Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1842; K. Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien*, Darmstadt, 1845. Marx and Engels made a critique of like publications in *The German Ideology* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp484-530). At the beginning of 1845 Engels and Marx had formed the plan to publish in Germany a ‘Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers’ with a general introduction and commentaries to each issue (see Engels’ letters to Marx of 22-26 February, 7 and 17 March 1845). The draft plan of this publication, drawn up by Marx (see present edition, Vol. 4, p667), shows that it was conceived as a representative series of works of French and English authors. The plan was not carried out because of publishing difficulties, apart from the translation of a few chapters of Fourier’s *Des trois unités externes* (see present edition Vol. 4, pp613-44).

314. Engels was working on Chapter III of Volume III of *Capital* at the time. For more detail, see Engels’ preface to Volume III of *Capital* (present edition, Vol. 37).


316. A reference to P. Lafargue’s article intended for the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* and containing a critique of the views of the Possibilists (see note 19). On Engels’ advice Lafargue abandoned his plan to have it published.

317. Bourses du travail, Labour Exchanges – institutions set up in France largely as local government bodies in major cities, consisting of representatives of various trade unions. Originally they were assisted by state bodies in a bid to divert the workers from the class struggle – not infrequently, in the form of financial aid. The labour exchanges provided jobs for the unemployed and led to the founding of new trade unions.

318. There was a marked trend in the late 1880s toward a rapprochement between part of the Blanquist and the Boulangists. Victor Henri Rochefort, a prominent figure in the Boulangist movement, described Blanquists as ‘our friends’ in pronouncements made for his newspaper *Intransigeant*;
they were nominated with the Boulangists in common electoral lists. A group led by Ernest Roche and Ernest Granger separated itself from the rest of the Blanquists and gave open and vigorous support to General Boulanger.

319. The reference is to the proposed calling of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889. The Possibilists (see note 19) received powers to organise this congress from the 1886-held Paris International Conference which they had sponsored and which involved representatives of the British trade unions, delegates from German Social Democracy, and the workers' parties of Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Sweden and Australia (about this conference, see note 333).

320. The reference is to the London International Congress of Trades Unions held on 6-10 November 1888 at the initiative of the British trade unions. The congress involved trade union representatives of Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy as well as French syndicates aligned with the Possibilists. Stipulating that delegates to this congress should be officially elected by respective trade unions, its organisers thereby deprived the German and Austrian Social Democrats, as well as representatives of the French Workers' Party (the Guesdists), see note 33, of an opportunity to attend. Yet the leaders of the British trade unions failed in their attempts to foist reformist decisions on the congress and isolate it from the Socialists. The congress adopted a number of positive decisions. Thus, the workers were not to confine themselves to forming purely professional organisations – they were to unite into an independent political party as well. One of the resolutions stressed the need to press for legislative regulation of the working day and working conditions. In its most significant decision, the congress resolved to convene an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889; organisation of this congress was entrusted to the Possibilists.

321. The National Congress of French Labour Unions (syndicates) held on 23 October – 4 November 1888 (see note 331) adopted a decision on convening an International Working Men's Congress in Paris in 1889.

322. Troyes was the proposed venue of a convention of the Workers' Party of French Socialist-Revolutionaries (the Possibilists) (see note 19). The organisers of the congress – local party functionaries – invited representatives of the Guesdists to attend as well. However the Paris Possibilists, fearing that the Guesdists might be in a majority, refused to take part (see also note 329).

323. The reference is to Chapters III and IV of Volume III of Capital, (see present edition, Vol. 37).

324. Excerpts from this letter were first published in French in the journal La Pensée, No. 61, 1955. Concerning the first publication of this letter in the language of the original (English), (see note 40).

325. The newspaper Parti Ouvrier, the mouthpiece of the Possibilists (see note
19), on 28 December 1888 carried an article ‘L’Agglomération parisienne’ that accused the Guesdistes of lending support to the Boulangerist movement (see note 277) so as to have Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville in Parliament. The Paris Amalgamation (Agglomération) was the name of the Paris branch of the French Worker’s Party.

326. In her letter to Engels of 27 December 1888 Laura Lafargue wrote that the anti-Boulangism of the Possibilists was similar to their other deception. They used to good advantage the pronouncements of the Guesdistes in support of the international and, specifically, the German working-class movement and, as a result, the latter lost its popularity in Paris. For the Guesdistes’ attitude to Boulangism see note 277.

327. Cadettists was the name by which members of the Société des Droits de L’Homme et du Citoyen were known. The Society was set up on 25 May 1888 by bourgeois radicals and moderate republicans for combating Boulangism. The Possibilists became affiliated with this organisation. Its name came from Rue Cadet, where it was located.

328. In view of the death, on 23 December 1888, of the deputy to the Chamber from Seine-Department, Antoine Auguste Hude, the Prime Minister Floquet fixed a by-election on 27 January 1889.

329. The convention of the French Workers’ Party held in Troyes in December 1888 (see note 322) passed a decision on nominating a socialist as an independent candidacy for the by-election of 27 January 1889. The candidature of Boulé, a labourer and stonemason, was nominated accordingly. This convention also decided to hold an International Socialist Working Men’s Congress in Paris in 1889, thus confirming the decision of the National Congress of the French trade unions (see note 331).


331. The National Congress of the French Trade Unions took place on 23 October-4 November 1888. It represented 272 labour unions – the workers’ syndical chambers and industrial groups. Most of the delegates belonged to the revolutionary wing of the French workers’ movement. The congress had been opened in Bordeaux, but its sessions had to be transferred to Le Bouscat after the police declared the congress disbanded because of a red banner over its rostrum. The congress passed a decision to convene an International Socialist Working Men’s Congress in Paris in 1889 to commemorate the centennial of the French Revolution Also discussed was a general strike, considered to be the only revolutionary way.

332. The funeral of the Paris Commune general Émiles Eudes on 8 August 1888, developed into a mammoth demonstration of the Paris proletariat; its participants carried red flags and posters urging a new commune. This demonstration was dispersed by the police.
333. Engels refers to the Paris International Conference convened by the French Possibilists in 1886 (see note 319). The conference discussed issues related to international labour legislation. Its resolutions denied the need for working-class political struggle.

334. Engels alludes to the Ninth Congress of the Party of the Possibilists at Charleville on 2-8 October 1887. The main issue on the agenda was participation in electoral campaigns.


336. The reference is to the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France, first in May 1814 and then in July 1815. After the defeat of Napoleonic France in the war against the sixth coalition, Napoleon had to abdicate in April 1814, and the Bourbons were restored to power. Louis XVIII became King of France. In March 1815, Napoleon regained power, but his rule did not last long (‘The Hundred Days’). Following his defeat at Waterloo by British and Prussian troops, he again abdicated on 22 June 1815 and Louis XVIII was again restored to the throne (8 July) with the help of the foreign armies.

337. The reference is to the sum assigned by the King in 1825 as compensation for aristocrats whose property had been confiscated during the French Revolution.

338. ‘Tranquillity is the first duty of the citizen’ is a dictum coined by the Prussian minister Schulenburg-Kehnert in his address to the population of Berlin on 17 October 1806 following the defeat at Jena (Le Moniteur universel, No. 304, 31 October, 1806, ‘Prusse’, Berlin, du 18 octobre).

339. In these letters Conrad Schmidt told Engels that his own attempts to obtain a position as a senior lecturer at Leipzig University failed because of his socialist views.

340. As assistant professor at Berlin University, Eugen Dühring, beginning in 1872, criticised the university professors, Hermann Helmholtz in particular, and the University customs in general. Such criticism riled the reactionary faculty which started hounding Dühring. In July 1877 he was deprived of the right to teach at the University. His dismissal sparked vigorous protests from his supporters and was condemned by the public.

341. The reference is to the monographs on the history of Germany’s national economy under the heading Staats- und socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen edited by Gustav Schmoller in 1878-1916, and in co-operation with Max Sering as of 1903. Containing a wealth of factual and historical evidence, these publications offered no theoretical analysis at all. This series mirrored the views of the ‘young historical school’ in Germany’s political economy, a trend led by Schmoller. Its followers thought the chief task of political economy was to collect factual material on the history of the national economy, with theoretical analysis being left to the generations to come.

342. ‘Demagogues’ was the name given to participants in the students’ opposition movement in Germany after the country’s liberation from Napoleonic
rule. The name gained currency after the Karlsbad Conference of Ministers of the German States in August 1819, which adopted a special decision on the persecution of the Demagogues.

343. This letter was first published, abridged in English by the journal *Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 3.

344. In the by-election scheduled for 27 January 1889 in Paris (see notes 328, 329), the following candidacies were nominated: Georges Boulanger – from the Right-wing groups, Edouard Jacques – from the Republican Party (this candidature received support from the Possibilists as well), and the labourer Boulé – from the Workers Party (see note 33) and the Blanquists. In a bitter electoral struggle, General Boulanger received about 250,000 votes, Boulé 7,000 votes.

345. This refers to the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849 in Germany. For greater detail, see Engels’ *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, present edition, Vol. 10, pp147-239.

346. The French Section of 1871 (branche francaise) was formed in London in September of that year by French refugees. The leaders of the Section established close contacts with Bakunin’s followers in Switzerland. The Rules of the French Section of 1871, published in *Qui Vive!*, its official organ, were submitted to the General Council at its extraordinary meeting on 16 October 1871 and referred to a special committee. At the General Council meeting of 17 October, Marx tabled a resolution on behalf of the committee (present edition, Vol. 23, pp24-27), recommending the Section to bring several paragraphs of its Rules into line with the Rules of the International. In its letter of 31 October, signed by A. Avrial, the Section rejected the General Council resolution. This reply was discussed in the commission and at the General Council sitting of 7 November 1871. Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for France, submitted a resolution written by Marx, which was unanimously adopted by the Council (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp37-42). In December 1871, the French Section split up into several groups. The ‘pseudo-General Council’ applies to a group within the British Federal Council; this group, led by John Hales, Hermann Jung and others, refused to act on the decisions of the Hague Congress and was expelled from the International on 30 May 1873.

347. In September 1888 the German Professor Friedrich Heinrich Geffcken had the journal *Deutsche Rundschau* publish excerpts from the diary of the German Emperor Frederick III, a close friend of his. These excerpts, dating back to the time of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, showed Bismarck’s role in the building of the German Empire in an unfavourable light. Bismarck had criminal proceedings initiated against the professor who was charged with high treason. The Reichsgericht acquitted Professor Geffcken on 4 January 1889; on the following day he was released from custody. At about the same time Herbert von Bismarck, the Reichskanzler’s older son,
accused the British diplomat Morier of mediation between Frederick, then the crown prince, and France. Morier countered by publishing his correspondence with Marshal Bazaine of France, through whom he had ostensibly been passing information on the German army. These materials showed up the slanderous nature of the charges. The progressive press viewed the acquittals of Geffcken and Morier as major defeats for Bismarck.

348. In December 1888 a Russian loan with a 4 per cent interest rate was issued in Paris to a sum of 125 million roubles, or about 20 million pound sterling.

349. In connection with an apparent rapprochement between France and Russia, Bismarck initiated negotiations on a defensive alliance with Great Britain in January 1889; these negotiations involved colonial issues as well. Britain and Germany were supporting each other in East Africa in putting down popular uprisings in Uganda and Zanzibar. The British and German navies, acting together, imposed a blockade on the eastern coast of Africa. At a later date, on 1 July 1890, Britain and Germany concluded a treaty which defined a boundary between their possessions in East Africa. In addition, Britain agreed to cede to Germany the strategic island of Heligoland in the North Sea. However, this rapprochement did not result in a solid alliance and imperialist rivalry subsequently led to a sharp deterioration in Anglo-German relations.

350. Lewis Morgan’s book Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization appeared in London in 1877. Marx and Engels thought highly of this work; in 1884 Engels wrote his The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan (see present edition, Vol. 26). Meanwhile, Morgan’s works did not win due recognition among British scholars and were ignored for a long time.

351. At Paul Lafargue’s request Engels approached the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party to learn their opinion concerning the forthcoming International Socialist Working Men’s Congress. In this letter he informed Lafargue about the replies of August Bebel of 8 January 1889 and Wilhelm Liebknecht of 11 January 1889.

352. A preliminary conference, scheduled for 18 January 1889 at Nancy and suggested by representatives of German Social Democracy, did not take place.

353. Engels refers to the manuscript of Theories of Surplus Value, written by Marx in 1862-63 and being the only outline of the concluding, historical-critical part of Capital. Engels could not prepare book IV of Capital in his lifetime: Marx’s MS of Theories of Surplus Values was first published by Karl Kautsky in 1905-10, i.e., after Engels’ death (see present edition, Vol. 38 for a revised version).

354. Louise Kautsky was attending obstetrics classes.

355. Laura Lafargue informed Engels about the termination of the publication of
the Blanquist newspaper *Le Cri du Peuple* and about the foundation of a new organ, the newspaper *Égalité*. Its editorial committee comprised representatives of the revolutionary wing (the Guesdist) – Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Gabriel Deville; the Blanquists were represented by Edouard Vaillant, Ernest Granger and Place; the Possibilists – by Benoît Malon; and the Independent Radicals – by the municipal councillors Alexandre Abel Hovelacque and Boulé. Its first number came out on 8 February 1889. At first *Égalité* carried articles by Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue and other Marxists. But as early as 3 March of the same year the Guesdists and the Blanquists, collaborating on the editorial staff, broke with Jules Roques, an entrepreneur financing the paper (see note 380). From that time on *Égalité* ceased to be an organ of the Socialists.

356. Engels means the coup d’état of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799) when Napoleon Bonaparte imposed a military dictatorship; also, the election, on 10 December 1848, of Louis Bonaparte to the presidency in France. On 12-13 Vendémiaire (4-5 October) 1795, the government troops under General Bonaparte crushed a royalist uprising in Paris.

357. August Bebel’s report, carried in the feature ‘Deutschland’ and marked ‘Aus Norddeutschland, 29, Jänner’, was published anonymously by the newspaper *Gleichheit* No. 5, on 1 February 1889.

358. The reference is to the editorial article ‘Boulanger en Bourgeois Republiek’, carried by the Hague-based newspaper *Recht voor Allen* and to the report filed by Souvarines in *Parijsche Brieven*, XV and published on 1 February 1889.

359. An allusion to the article ‘Que faire?’ (‘What is to be done?’) written by Charles Longuet and published by the newspaper *Égalité* on 10 February 1889. In it he attacked the Radicals (see note 200) for their alliance with the Opportunists (see note 199).

360. A reference to the International Socialist Conference in the Hague convened on 28 February 1889 (see note 385).

361. Atherley Jones was the son of Ernest Jones, one of the leaders of the Chartist revolutionary wing, approached Engels through John Lincoln Mahon and asked for help in publishing his father’s works.

362. The abridged text of this letter was first published in English in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1956.

363. 14 July 1789 – the day of the storming of the Bastille by the popular masses of Paris and the beginning of the French Revolution. On 5-6 October 1789, the popular masses, who had come to Versailles from Paris made King Louis XVI return to the capital from which he had fled. The monarchy in France was toppled on 10 August 1792 as a result of a popular uprising. There was mass unrest in Paris on 2-5 September 1792, caused by an onslaught of foreign interventionist troops. Parisians seized prisons and staged impromptu trials of the inmates: many were executed.
364. A reference to the Commune of Paris in 1789-94. Formally being no more than a body of municipal self-government, the Commune from 1792 actually guided the struggle of the people of Paris in the revolution. The Commune played an active part in the overthrow of the monarchy, in the imposition of a Jacobin dictatorship, in the introduction of a price maximum, in the adoption of a ‘law against suspects’ (i.e. against the counter revolutionaries), etc. Following the overthrow of 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794) most of the Commune members, supporters of Robespierre and his adherents, were executed. The Commune was thereafter abolished.

365. At Fleurus (Belgium) on 26 June 1794, French troops defeated the Austrian army under the Duke of Coburg. This victory enabled the French revolutionary army to enter and occupy Belgium.

366. François Noel (Gracchus) Babeuf was a French revolutionary and advocate of utopian egalitarian communism based on the ideas of natural law.

367. Preparing his notes on Kautsky’s article, Engels translated excerpts from Nikolai Kareyev’s article, ‘Peasants and the Peasant Problem in France’, expressly for the author; Engels gave the full names of the sources which Kareyev had indicated in an abbreviated form.

368. By the Second Partition of Poland (12 /23/ January 1793) Russia gained eastern Byelorussia and the Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper; Prussia acquired Gdansk, Torún, part of Great Poland, Mazovia and of the Kraków province.

369. This refers to the mandates and complaints (cahiers de doléances) sent to deputies of the General States at the time of the French Revolution by representatives of the French ‘third estate’ who were reduced to penury. The General States (États généraux) were the highest body of estate representation in France in a period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century.

370. Constituante – the Constituent Assembly (Assemblée nationale constituante) of France which was in session from 9 July 1789 to 30 September 1791.


372. Engels might have made a mistake by indicating the date, 19 January. He meant the post card of 29 January and the letter of 10 February, sent by Friedrich Sorge, who called Engels’ attention to F. Kelley-Wischnewetzky’s article on child labour, carried by the newspaper The Labour Standard on 19 and 26 January 1889.


375. A reference to Philipp Rappaport's article ‘Über die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika’ published in the journal Die Neue Zeit, No. 2, 1889. In his letter of 10 February 1889 F. Sorge pointed to the poor quality of the article and said it would be better to publish excerpts from Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, The Labour Movement in America (see note 89).

376. The reference is to a series of lectures by Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville (Cours d'Économie Sociale) on Marx; these lectures were arranged by a circle at the Socialist Library of the French Workers' Party on Sundays as of 23 January 1884. Lafargue's series of lectures was called Le Matérialisme économique de Karl Marx. To his second lecture Paul Lafargue gave the following title: Le Milieu naturel. Théorie darwinienne. Gabriel Deville entitled his course of lectures L'Évolution du capital. There were five lectures in all: Genèse du capital, Formation du prolétariat, Coopération et manufacture, Machinisme et grande industrie and Fin du capital. The lectures were published in the press and in separate editions in 1884.

377. Engels refers to the defeat of the Prussians and Saxons at the hands of Napoleon at Jena (14 October 1806).

378. Engels refers to the refusal of the Possibilists to take part in the International Hague Conference (see note 360).

379. An allusion to the request of a group of Possibilists to the Municipal Council of Paris to grant them 50,000 francs for the organisation of an International Working Men's Congress.

380. Jules Roques, the publisher of the newspaper Égalité, fired a group of printing-shop workers who had been paid at rates fixed by the printers' union and had then replaced by non-unionised workmen. The indignant members of the editorial board, the Guesdists and the Blanquists, declared on 3 March 1889 they would leave the editorial board (see also note 355).

381. The materials of P. Lafargue's letter of 5 March 1889 were indeed used in the report Aus Frankreich, Paris, 9 March, 1889 in the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 12, 23 March, 1889, S.2-3.

382. On 5 March 1889, Conrad Schmidt asked Engels to help him come to terms with Otto Meissner with the publication of his monograph Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx'schen Werthgesetzes; this work appeared somewhat later at Stuttgart published by Dietz. Schmidt also wrote about his failure to obtain the position of senior lecturer at Leipzig University because of his socialist views.

383. This refers to the setbacks of Marx and Engels in connection with the publication of their works in those years, specifically, The German Ideology (present edition, Vol. 5).
384. C. Schmidt’s article ‘Das Wertgesetz und Profitrate’ was published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 10, 7 Jhrg. 1889.

385. The International Socialist Conference was held in the Hague on 28 February 1889. It was attended by representatives of the socialist movement of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. The conference was convened at the suggestion of the Social Democratic faction in the German Reichstag with the aim of framing the conditions for the calling of an International Socialist Working Men’s Congress in Paris. The Possibilists refused to attend the conference despite the invitation and did not recognise its decisions. The conference defined the powers of the forthcoming congress, its date and agenda. The International Working Men’s Congress took place on 14 July 1889.

386. A reference to the pamphlet *The International Working Men’s Congress of 1889. A Reply to ‘Justice’*, London 1889. Its original version was written by Eduard Bernstein at Engels’ suggestion in reply to the editorial comment entitled *The German ‘Official’ Social Democrats and the International Congress in Paris* and carried by the newspaper *Justice* on 16 March 1889, No. 270. Having been edited by Engels, the pamphlet appeared in English in London, and then it was published by the German newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* and signed: E. Bernstein.

387. An excerpt from this letter was first published in the journal *La Pensée*, No. 61, 1955. About the first English publication of the letter, see note 77.

388. In the latter half of the 1860s the government of the Second Empire exiled Henri Rochefort to New Caledonia for his virulent attacks against Napoleon III. In the 1880s, being an active supporter of General Boulanger and one of the editors of the newspaper *L’Intransigeant*, he placed it at the disposal of the Boulangists.

389. April 1 – Bismarck’s birthday. Engels refers to April’s Fool Day (1 April).

390. A hint at the ties with the Prussian police and the Bismarck government, incriminating for Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, President of the General Association of German Workers.

391. The French government, alarmed at General Boulanger’s popularity, decided to put him on trial on the pretext of his conspiring in a plot threatening the security of the republic. On 1 April 1889, Boulanger and some of his supporters fled abroad. On 8 April Boulanger was deprived of his parliamentary immunity; and on 14 August 1889, the Supreme Court sentenced him, together with Dillon and Rochefort, who had fled in company with Boulanger, *in absentia*, to banishment.

392. The reference is to Wilhelm Liebknecht’s letter to Charles Bonnier of 26 March 1889, about the need to change the date of an International Socialist Congress or, as an alternative, reaching agreement with the Possibilists. Wilhelm Liebknecht’s letter to Eduard Bernstein has not been found.

393. A reference to Wilhelm Liebknecht’s letters to F. Engels of 20 and 28 March
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dealing with the forthcoming International Congress, in particular, when it
was called, and British representation in it.

394. The resolution of the Hague Conference (see note 385) was published in the
pamphlet *The International Working Men’s Congress of 1889. A Reply to
‘Justice’,* (see note 386).

395. Engels means the Trade Union Committee of Protest Against the
Parliamentary Committee’s Actions With Regard To the Paris International
Working Men’s Congress. The Parliamentary Committee (see note 269)
refused to take part on the pretext of British workers having a shorter work-
ning day and higher wages than the workers of other European countries and
thus not needing any protection of their interests. The newly established
Protest Committee of representatives of many trade unions organised
protest meetings and entered into correspondence with socialist parties
abroad concerning the preparation of the Congress.

396. Wilhelm Liebknecht’s letters of this period are not available. However,
Engels’ letter to P. Lafargue of 10 April 1889 suggests that Liebknecht must
have written to Bernstein.

397. The whereabouts of this letter of Engels is not known but it is apparent
from A. Bebel’s letter to Engels of 14 April 1889 that he had received the
Engels letter.

398. The Workers’ Party of Belgium had its congress at Jolimont on 22 April
1889 (see note 405).

399. The newspaper *Der Sozialist,* the organ of the Socialist Labor Party of
North America, carried the article ‘Zum Internationalen Kongres in Paris’
in its issue of 16 March 1889.

400. In the book series Volks-Bibliothek, with Wilhelm Liebknecht as one of the
editors, his son-in-law, Bruno Geiser, published Maximilian Schlesinger’s
pamphlet *Die soziale Frage,* Breslau 1889. In it Schlesinger attempted to
‘make a critical revision’ of Marxian ideas. Liebknecht did not come
forward with an open protest against this work. Subsequently Liebknecht
dissociated himself from the book, a fact that made Engels indignant.

401. Living in London, E. Bernstein made regular visits to the Fabian Society
meetings at which problems of socialism were being discussed – The Fabian
Society, see note 176.

402. The academic socialists (*die Kathedersozialisten* – literally ‘lectern social-
ists’) were representatives of a trend in German political economy in the
latter third of the 19th century, a response to the growing working-class
movement and the propagation of the ideas of socialism. They used universi-
ity lecterns (*Katheder*) to preach bourgeois reformism under the flag of
socialism and claimed that the state, the German Reich in particular, was
above class, and that with its help the working class would be able to
improve its position through social reforms.

403. *Le Père Duchêne* was a newspaper published at the time of the French
Revolution by the Jacobins (1790-94), as the mouthpiece of genuinely popular interests. The paper got its name from the French folk hero, le père Duchêne, allegedly a real person, who had been defending the oppressed and destitute. The same name was given to newspapers during the revolutions of 1848-49 and 1871. By calling Paul Lafargue ‘le père Duchêne’ ('Father Duchêne), Engels questioned Lafargue's confidence that he could speak out on behalf of all the French Socialists.

404. Engels refers to Guesdis's blunders that led to the closure of the newspapers Égalité and Socialiste. By ‘three Égalités’, Engels means a socialist weekly founded by Jules Guesde in 1877 and published on and off in five series until 1883. In 1886 an attempt was made to resume its publication; but only one issue came out, and the publication of the second Égalité was discontinued. By a ‘third Égalité’, Engels refers to a newspaper appearing in 1889 (see note 355). About Socialiste, see note 234.

405. This refers to a congress of the Workers' Party of Belgium on 22 April 1889 at Jolimont, which decided to send delegates both to the International Working Men's Congress convened by Marxists in Paris and to the congress convened by the Possibilists, contrary to the opinion of the Ghent delegation that opposed the convocation.

406. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown.

407. Apparently Engels means August Bebel's letter of 28 April 1889, about the preparation of the International Socialist Working Men's Congress in Paris and the stand of the German and Dutch Social Democrats with respect to the congress contemplated by the Possibilists.

408. The reference is to the appeal of the German Social Democrats Ignaz Auer and Max Schippel in the German Party press for participation in the Possibilist-sponsored congress. The newspaper Berliner Volks-Tribüne, where Schippel was one of the editors, carried the article ‘Zum Pariser Arbeiterkongres’ in its issue of 27 April 1889. The Berliner Volksblatt came forward with the article ‘Der internationale Arbeiter-kongres’, No. 94, 21 April 1889, pp.1-2. Speaking of Charles Bonnier's reply to these articles, Engels has in mind his article ‘In Sachen des internationalen Arbeiterkongresses’ published by the newspaper Berliner Volksblatt, No. 97, 26 April 1889 in its feature Politische Übersicht.

409. Under the conditions of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the Social Democratic faction in the Reichstag exercised the functions of the party's Executive Board. On 18 May 1889, it issued an appeal to Germany's workmen and urged them to elect their representatives to the International Socialist Workingmen's Congress in Paris, convened by the Marxists. This appeal was published in the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 21, 25 May 1889, p2, (Die sozialdemokratische Fraktion des deutschen Reichstages).

410. The court prosecution of most of the defendants was discontinued due to numerous protests from the workers, and the court proceedings adjourned.
The Elberfeld trial took place in November-December 1889 (see note 569).

411. Wyden (Switzerland) was the venue of the first illegal congress of the German Social Democrats after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52). This congress, held on 20-23 August 1880, denounced the activities of the anarchist group that denied any use of legal methods of struggle and staked all on individual terror. The anarchists embarked on an open struggle against the party leadership. The congress expelled the anarchist leaders Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann from the party ranks. The congress decided in a unanimous voice to amend the second clause of the party's Programme adopted at Gotha in 1875 - a clause stipulating that the party was to prosecute its aims 'by all legal means' - and strike out the word 'legal'. The newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat was endorsed as the party's official organ. About the St Gallen Congress, see note 174.

412. At the Hague Conference (see note 385) some of the delegates, Ferdinand Nieuwenhuis among them, displayed a conciliatory attitude towards the Possibilists.

413. A reference to the Organising Committee for the Convocation of an International Working Men's Congress. Set up in Paris on the eve of 1889, it included representatives of the Syndicates Federation (Boulé, Besset, Féline, Monceau, Roussel), of a group of socialists – members of the Paris Municipal Council (Longuet, Vaillant, etc.) and of a socialist group from the Chamber of Deputies (Ferroul, Planteau). Paul Lafargue and Besset became its secretaries.

414. The circular was written with P. Lafargue's active participation so as to inform the working-class and socialist organisations of all countries about the decision of the Hague Socialist Conference (February 1889) (see note 385) and about the International Working Men's Congress due on 6 May 1889. Lafargue sent the text of the circular to Engels who approved it and translated it into German. Engels also saw about it being published in English. In German the circular was published, in the Engels translation, by the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat on 11 May and, in Wilhelm Liebknecht's translation, by the newspaper Berliner Volksblatt on 10 May; in English, the text of the circular came cut in the form of a leaflet, published by the newspapers Labour Elector on 18 May and by Reynold's Newspaper on 19 May under the heading 'International Workmen's Congress', as well as by The Commonweal on 25 May.

415. Engels cites an excerpt from August Bebel's letter of 30 April 1889.

416. Engels had received a letter from the workmen of Lyon, but, since the signatures and the address were illegible, he asked Lafargue to transcribe them.

417. The International Working Men's Congress must have used the weekly Socialiste as its official organ. This newspaper came out from 20 April to 14 July 1889 as an organ of the Workers' Party. It carried reports relating to the preparation of the Congress.
418. Engels is referring to the expulsion of two Leftwing members (one of whom was Trier) of the Executive Committee of the Danish Socialist Party, because they were opposed to the Socialist Party forming a bloc with Venstre, the Danish liberals, who expressed the interests of major landed proprietors and factory owners.

419. The reference is to the International Trade Union Congress in London (see note 320).

420. On 27 April 1889 the newspaper *Le Proletariat* published an article entitled ‘Au congrès belge’ which subscribed to the Possibilist point of view concerning the preparation of the International socialist Workingmen’s Congress.

421. ‘A Letter to the Editors’ of the newspaper *Labour Elector*, Vol. I, No. 18, published on 4 May 1689 and signed by Bonnier, was written by Engels and sent in at his suggestion. Bonnier was staying in London at the time and taking an active part in the preparation for the International Working Men’s Congress.

422. A reference to an appeal by the Paris Chamber of Labour, urging participation in the Possibilist Congress due in the latter half of July 1889. The authors of this appeal said they were speaking on behalf of 78 trade unions of France that had allegedly agreed to take part. Bonnier’s letter of 4 May 1889 to the editorial board of the newspaper *Labour Elector* said the authors of the appeal had abrogated the right to speak on behalf of the entire working class of France. Engels, the real author of the letter, urged the French socialists not to confine themselves to declarative statements but prove their case by deed and convince the masses by irrefutable facts.

423. A paraphrase of ‘Vous l’avez voulu, George Dandin, vous l’avez voulu’ from Molière’s *George Dandin*.

424. In March 1889 a new external Russian loan was issued to a sum of 175 million gold roubles for the conversion of the older 5 per cent bonds.

425. On 3 May 1889, the newspaper *The Star*, No. 400, published an article entitled *The Paris International Congress*.

426. The reference is to the issues of the newspaper *The Star* of 4 and 7 May 1889. On 7 May the newspaper carried the article ‘The Workingmen’s Party – A Chat with Some Practical Socialists at the Hôtel de Ville’, which contained the attacks on Edouard Vaillant mentioned in the text of the letter.

427. Several Possibilist organisations, dissatisfied with the behaviour of their leaders during the election to the chamber of Deputies on 27 January 1889, and in the course of the preparation for the International Working Men’s Congress, levelled strong criticism at them. In its turn, the leadership of the Possibilist Party on 16 April expelled the group of the 14th arrondissement of Paris from its ranks; late in April 1889 the key organisations of the 13th arrondissement left the Federation of the Possibilists. For more detail, see
the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the 'Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation'* (see note 444).

428. After General Boulanger's flight abroad (see note 391), which actually amounted to his departure from the political arena of France, Jules Ferry, one of the leaders of the moderate bourgeois republicans, developed vigorous political activity with the aim of forming a government of his own. On 6 May 1889, he made a speech at Saint-Dié in defence of the republic. Engels here uses an expression from one of P. Lafargue's letters unknown to us.

429. The text of this letter was written on the last page of Laura Lafargue's letter to Engels of 12 May 1889. L. Lafargue said in her letter she had been unable yet to persuade Vaillant and others to send letters to the newspaper *The Star*; she expressed her doubts about the expediency of such a mode of procedure. Engels replied on 14 May (see the next letter).

430. On 14 May 1889, the newspaper *The Star*, in the section *The People's Post Box* carried *An Invitation*, signed by P. Lafargue, and containing a précis of the circular in connection with the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress in Paris (see note 414).

431. The whereabouts of this letter of Engels is not known.

432. The circular about the convocation of an International Working Men's Congress, written by P. Lafargue and J. Guesde, was sent by the authors to Engels on 14 May, 1889. In June 1889 it was printed in the form of a leaflet in French in Paris and in English in London, and also published in German by the newspapers *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 1 June and *Berliner Volksblatt* on 2 June. The newspaper *The Star* had also printed it on 14 May 1889 in the Feature *The People's Post Box* (in English); the circular likewise appeared in the weekly *Commonweal* on 8 June and also as an appendix to the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the 'Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation'* (see note 444).

433. The reference is to Bonnier's letter published by *The Star* on 15 May 1889, under the heading *The Paris Congress*; it exposed the collusion of the Possibilists with the reactionary wing in the Paris Municipal Council.

434. Engels is referring to E. Aveling's play *Dregs*, staged by the Vaudeville Theatre on 16 May 1889.

435. The German coal miners' strike in the Ruhr was a major event in the German working-class movement of the late 19th century. It began on 3 May 1889 in the Essen and on 4 May in the Helsenkirch coal mining districts; then it spread to the entire Dortmund area. At its height the strike action involved as many as eighty thousand miners. The main demands were: higher wages, an eight-hour working day and recognition of the worker committees. Frightened by the scope of the strike action, government bodies had the entrepreneurs make a promise to fulfil some of the miners' demands. As a result, some of the miners resumed their work in mid May. However, the mine-owners broke their promises, and a meeting of
coal miners’ delegates on 24 May decided to continue the strike action. The threat of reprisals and the new promises made by mine-owners resulted in the termination of the strike in the beginning of June.

436. Engels refers to the piece *Her Father* with the subtitle *Time of Trial*, written by Edward Rose and I. Douglas.


438. The reference is to Henry Hyndman’s note ‘Much Ado About Nothing’ published anonymously by the newspaper *Justice*, No. 279, Vol. VI, on 18 May 1889, in the feature *Critical Chronicle*. While paying tribute to Paul Lafargue’s literary talent, eloquence and charisma, the author attacked the French and German socialists for their ostensibly deliberate action in not inviting the Possibilists to the Hague Conference.

439. In reference to a brief note, bearing no title, carried by the newspaper *Proletariat*, No. 268, 18 May 1889, p1, col. 5, which opened with the following words: ‘Les irlando-guesdo-blanquistes assurent dans leur circulaire a l’étranger que le Danemark leur a donné son adhésion’.

440. In Regent Street on the evening of 18 May 1889 Rochefort met Pilotell, a well-known caricaturist of the Commune days, who boxed his ears. Rochefort drew his revolver, but was disarmed. The matter ended in the English Courts.

441. Henry Hyndman called the Hague Conference (see note 385) a ‘caucus’ in his editorial note ‘Much Ado About Nothing’ (see note 438).

442. In mid March 1889 Wilhelm Liebknecht spent about two weeks in Switzerland as a representative of German Social Democracy; on 17 March 1889, he attended the unveiling of a monument to Johann Becker at the St Georges cemetery near Geneva.

443. The appeal was published by *Labour Elector* on 18 May 1889; yet the paper had nothing to say about William Parnell and about copies of this appeal which he allegedly had.

444. According to *The Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation*, the International Congress of Trade Unions in London (see note 320) voted unanimously to authorise the Possibilists to convene an International Workingmen’s Congress in Paris. The manifesto also claimed that Gabriel Farjat, described as a representative of the ‘French soïdisant Marxists, or Guesdistes’, voted for this resolution. E. Bernstein, in his pamphlet *The International Working Men’s Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation* rebutted these fabrications by proving that as a representative of the French trade unions, not Socialists, Farjat could not vote for this resolution. Subsequently one of the publications released by the Organising Committee for the Convocation of an International Working Men’s Congress in Paris had a special postscript with
Farjat’s statement to the effect that, far from voting for the resolution entrusting the convocation of an International Congress to the Possibilists, he could not do it for the simple reason that the resolution was never put to the vote.

445. Pertaining to the collection of signatures to the circular for the convocation of an International Working Men’s Congress in Paris. Representatives of the Danish Social Democratic Party, who had not attended the Hague Conference (see note 385) but had announced in advance that they agreed with all of its decisions, unexpectedly refused to send delegates to both congresses. Concerning the two trends in the Danish socialist movement, see note 418.

446. P. Lafargue asked Engels to write to Nikolai Danielson (see Lafargue P., F. Engels, 14 May 1889, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, Moscow 1960) and request him to get in touch with the publishers of the *Northern Review*. In 1889, in its issue No. 4, this journal published the Russian translation of Lafargue’s article ‘The Machine as a Factor of Progress’ (see note 468), the final chapter of his major work *Das Proletariat der Handarbeit und Kopfarbeit* published by *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 3, 1888.

447. The reference is to the difficulties in getting the signatures of Russian Socialists to the circular about the convocation of the Paris Congress (see note 432). Lafargue had approached Pyotr Lavrov, with whom he was acquainted, on the matter. Lavrov declined at first by saying that, not being a representative of any particular revolutionary organisation in Russia, he was not entitled to sign. Subsequently he was authorised to do this. However, by that time Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky, Vera Zasulich, Pavel Axelrod and Georgy Plekhanov had given their consent.

448. *The National Labour Electoral Association* – a trade union organisation that succeeded, in 1887, to the Labour Electoral Committee; its aim was to have workmen being elected to Parliament and municipal councils.

449. The expression ‘music of the future’ gained popularity with the publication, in 1861, of Richard Wagner’s letter to Frédéric Villot, the custodian of French museums, under the title: ‘Zukunftsmusik. An einen französischen Freund’ (‘Music of the Future. To a French Friend’).

450. A reference to the pamphlet *The International Working Men’s Congress of 1889, II, A Reply to the ‘Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation’*, London 1889. Its original version was written by Eduard Bernstein on Engels’ initiative in connection with the campaign waged by the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) in support of a Congress convened by the Possibilists in Paris, with the aim of preventing the success of an International Socialist Workingmen’s Congress which the Marxists were to hold. This work was edited by Engels and published as a pamphlet in English.

451. The reference is to the elected council of the London County in charge of taxes, local budget, etc. All persons entitled to take part in parliamentary
elections were eligible to elect county councillors as well as women 30 years of age and older. This reform of local government was implemented in August 1888.

452. The section of the Social Democratic Federation in Battersea; affiliated with the Trade Union Protest Committee (see note 395).

453. The Hague Congress (2-7 September 1872) of the International was the most representative forum of the International Working Men’s Association; taking part were 65 delegates from 15 countries. The Congress reviewed the results of the struggle against the Bakunin anarchists within the International and outlined a programme of action under new conditions obtaining after the Paris Commune. The main decision of the Congress was the endorsement of Resolution IX of the London Conference of 1871 on the political action of the working class, summed up as Article 7a of the General Rules of the International. The Congress also adopted a number of resolutions designed to strengthen the organisational structure of the Workingmen’s Association. The anarchist leaders, Mikhail Bakunin and James Guillaume, were expelled from the International Working Men’s Association. After the Congress, Bakunin and his supporters openly opposed its resolutions, a move that resulted in an actual split of the International.

454. A reference to the congress of the Bakuninist Jura Federation in Sonvillier on 12 November 1871, which adopted the *Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l’Association Internationale des Travailleurs*.

The Sonvillier circular countered the decisions of the London Conference of the International with anarchist dogmas on political indifferentism and complete autonomy of sections; it also calumniated the General Council of the International. The Bakuninists suggested that all federations should demand an immediate congress to revise the General Rules of the International and to condemn the General Council’s actions. About the *Manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation*, see note 444.

455. Engels alludes to the split within the International Working Men’s Association following the Hague Congress of the First International (see note 453). In 1873 the anarchists convened their congress in Geneva which set the stage for an international association of anarchists – an organisation which they would describe as a genuine International Working Men’s Association.

456. Pertaining to C. Schmidt’s letter to F. Engels of 15 April 1889. Seeking a publisher for his work *Die Durchschnittsprofitrate auf Grundlage des Marx’schen Werthgesetzes*; C. Schmidt asked to send him F. Lassalle’s book *Der Criminal-Prozeß wider mich wegen Verleitung zum Cassetten-Diebstahl oder: Die Anklage der moralischen Mitschuld, Köln, 1848*. Schmidt thanked Engels who had offered him to give letters of recommendation to A. Bebel and W. Liebknecht.
457. Engels must have meant representatives of the bourgeois opposition of the latter half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, particularly, the Russian liberal gentry who were playing a significant part in the *zemstvos*. These liberals exhibited much moderation, lack of will and loyalty toward the tsarist autocracy, and sought to come to terms with tsarism through petty reforms. *Zemstvos* were bodies of restricted local self-government introduced in Russia in 1864.

458. On 16 June 1889, August Bebel notified Engels about the receipt of his letter. The whereabouts of the Engels letter is unknown.

459. In his article 'The International Workers’ Congress and the Marxist Clique', Henry Hyndman claimed that the signatures of W. Parnell and S.M. Stepniak were appended without their consent.

460. The letter of Stepniak (S.M. Kravchinsky) was published in the newspaper *Justice*, No. 284, on 22 June 1889.

461. A reference to an article by Arthur Field, an English journalist, in the *Kent Times and Tribune* on the occasion of the International Socialist Congress (see P. Lafargue's letter to F. Engels of 2 June 1889).

462. Apparently, pertaining to P. Lafargue's letter to F. Engels of 18 June, 1889, in a reply to F. Engels' letter of 15 June.

463. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was a federation of labour unions of the United States and Canada, founded in December 1886. The AFL comprised skilled workers by and large, unionised in keeping with the shop principle. In the initial stage of its activity, the AFL had a positive role to play in rallying American workingmen and in the struggle for a law on an eight-hour workday.

464. P. Lafargue asked Engels how true it was that Jean Lavy, a Possibilist delegate elected by school teachers to the London Congress of Trade Unions in November 1888, had not been admitted on account of his being a manual worker.

465. In September 1889 an election to the chamber of Deputies was to be held in France. P. Lafargue suggested nominating his candidacy in the 5th arrondissement of Paris and at Avignon; however, a tentative enquiry showed he would be blackballed. Therefore Lafargue tried to nominate his candidature in the provinces: in Marseilles, Cette and elsewhere, but he suffered a defeat by polling only 6.26 per cent of the votes.

466. W. Parnell's letter was published in the *Labour Elector*, Vol. 1, No. 25, on 22 June 1889 (about the *National Labour Electoral Association*, see note 448).

467. The whereabouts of these letters of Engels is not known.

468. Nikolai Danielson must have referred to articles by P. Lafargue and K. Kautsky published in 1889 in the Russian journal *Northern Review*.

469. On 27 March (8 April) 1889, Nikolai Danielson informed Engels that Hermann Lopatin, gravely ill a few months before, had made a recovery and was in good health at the moment.
470. The whereabouts of the letter is not known.

471. Writing to F. Engels on 2 July 1889, P. Lafargue told him he met at Epernay, in the champagne-producing district, a large number of revolutionary socialist winegrowers, small growers completely ruined by the big champagne manufactures.

472 In these letters P. Martignetti told F. Engels about the outcome of the court trial and about the persecutions he had been subjected to from 1885 for the translation and circulation of F. Engels’ works in Italy. Martignetti said he would leave for Buenos Aires if the sentence was endorsed (see note 230).

473. *The International (Socialist) Working Men’s Congress* was in session in Paris on 14-20 July 1889, on the centennial of the storming of the Bastille. In fact, it became a constituent Congress of the Second International. Taking part were 393 delegates, representing the worker and socialist parties of 20 countries of Europe and America.

The Congress heard the reports of representatives of the socialist parties on the situation in the labour movement in their countries; it outlined the principles of international labour legislation in respective countries by supporting demands for a legislative enactment of an 8-hour working day, prohibition of child labour and steps toward the protection of the work of women and adolescents. The Congress stressed the need of political organisation of the proletariat and of a struggle for implementation of democratic demands of the working class; it spoke out for a disbandment of regular armies and their replacement by armed detachments of the people. It resolved to hold, on 1 May 1890, demonstrations and meetings in support of an 8-hour working day and labour legislation.

474. The International Conference of Miners was held on 18-19 July 1889; it was attended by delegates to both international working men’s congresses which were in session at the time in Paris (see note 473). The Conference discussed reports on the situation of miners’ trade unions and decided to set up an international association of miners’ unions, which was formed in 1890.

475. Engels must have been referring to F. Schlüter’s letter of 1 July 1889 about the labour and trade union movement in North America and about his futile attempts to get a job in American labour newspapers.

476. At that time many German newspapers carried reports about a conversation allegedly held by a correspondent of the London newspaper *Evening News and Post* with Lev Hartman, who said he had been staying for six months in Germany, Austria, France and Switzerland under an assumed name with the aim of organising there an ‘overthrow party’ and that this party was getting ready for big events. At Engels’ request, Sorge turned to Hartman for explanations; the latter refuted such inventions – he said he had not left the United States at the time. Sorge informed Engels about this in his letter of 7 August.
477. In this letter Sorge notified Engels about the sending of the newspaper *Nationalist*, as well as about attempts of Mr and Mrs Wischnewetzky to establish contacts with him.

478. A reference to a campaign by the Possibilists in France, and their supporters from the Social Democratic Federation (see note 62), to discredit the International Working Men's Congress held by the Socialists (see note 473).

Only a few foreign delegates attended the Possibilists Congress held in Paris at the same time as the International Working Men's Congress; the representation of most of its delegates was of a purely fictitious nature.

479. On 18 March 1876, Ferdinand Lingenau, a German socialist who had emigrated to the United States, bequeathed about $7,000 to the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, naming August Bebel, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Bracke, August Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Marx as executors. Upon Lingenau's death in the United States on 4 August 1877, his executors tried to act on his will and have the above sum placed at the party's disposal. Bismarck succeeded in preventing this.

480. Gustave Brocher appealed to Engels and asked for material assistance for V. Smirnov.

481. The reference is to two letters from Sorge in which he confirmed the receipt of the newspapers sent to him by Engels. They reported on a denial, sent to Schlüter, of the assertion of the newspaper *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* about the alleged presence of Engels at the Paris Congress, as well as a denial of the report carried by *The Evening News and Post* on Lev Hartman's trip to Europe (see note 476).

482. The Liberal-Unionists were a J. Chamberlain-led group which in July 1886 broke away from the Liberal Party, because of differences over the draft of Home Rule legislation (April 1886) tabled by the Liberal government for Ireland which provided for a restoration of the autonomous bicameral parliament, with the British government continuing its control over the Irish economy. The Liberal-Unionists came out for the preservation of the Anglo-Irish union which had been in existence from 1801. They made common cause with the Conservative Party and officially joined it several years later.

483. By 'Tory-Socialists' Engels meant the left wing of the Conservative Party; this faction comprised mainly representatives of the big industrial bourgeois and intellectuals (men-of-letters, lawyers, etc).

484. In August 1889 the *Labour Elector* published material on the forthcoming Trades Union Congress at Dundee; its agenda included issues of labour legislation, specifically, a law on an 8-hour working day.

485. Engels referred to events of the 1880s, in particular the arbitrary actions of the Turkish authorities with regard to the Armenian population. A special government commission (Commission of Inquiry) which was dispatched there suggested that victims of the reprisals should go to Constantinople
(Istanbul) to have the conflict settled. However, the Turkish courts failed to settle the conflict. In July 1889 the population of several rural communities in Crete rose in rebellion against the Turkish authorities. This revolt escalated into bloody clashes between the Muslim and Christian populations of the island. The Russian government sent a message to Turkey in which it demanded action on her commitments with respect to the ethnic groups and nationalities inhabiting that country. To restore order, the Turkish government sent Shakir Pasha, a former Turkish ambassador to Russia, as a new ruler of Crete. The bloodshed between the Muslim and Christian communities on the island continued till December 1889. About the Anglo-Prussian union, see note 349.

486. An allusion to Wilhelm Liebknecht’s trip to the United States for agitation purposes, which he undertook with Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling in September-December 1886 (see note 3).

487. A fragment of this letter was first published in English in the collection Marx K., Engels F. On Britain, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, pp. 520-21. An excerpt from this letter was first published by the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat on 31 August 1889, as a leading article entitled “Der Streik der ‘Unqualifizierten’”.

488. A reference to P. Fischer’s letters to F. Engels of 21 and 31 August in which he asked Engels’ permission to translate into German – for the weekly Berliner Volk-Tribune – the article ‘Book of Revelation’ (see present edition, Vol. 26) which Engels had written for the journal Progress; Fischer also asked to mention the collection in Mannheimer Abendzeitung which had published Marx’s article ‘Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction’ (see present edition, Vol. 1).

489. The strike of the London dockers from 12 August to 14 September 1889 was a major event in the chronicle of the British labour movement of the late 19th century. It involved thirty thousand dockers and over thirty thousand – largely unskilled – workers of other trades not affiliated with the trade unions. Displaying tenacity and organisation, the strikers succeeded in their demands for higher wages and better working conditions. The strike contributed to stronger proletarian solidarity (with about £50,000 being donated to the strike fund) and promoted working-class solidarity. It gave rise to the dockers’ union and other trade union organisations uniting a large number of general and unskilled workmen; the ‘new trade unions’ emerged as a result. The text of the excerpts from this letter coincides with some passages from a series of articles by E. Bernstein in the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat (No. 35, 31 August, No. 36, 7 September and No. 37, 14 September 1889) on the London dockers’ strike; these articles were written on F. Engels’ advice.

490. As a result of their strike action (July 1889), the working women of London’s match-making factories won their demands for higher wages.
491. On 8 February 1886, supporters of the protectionist tariffs held a rally in Trafalgar Square. Taking part were also trade union activists of pro-Conservative leanings (S. Peters, T.M. Kelley, W. Kenny and T. Lemon, who were expelled at the Trades Union Congress at Manchester in 1882). The Social Democratic Federation (see note 62) organised a protest meeting and a demonstration of unemployed against the agitation of the Conservatives for protectionist tariffs. The demonstration was joined by lumpen-proletarian elements who started sacking and looting the surrounding shops. Subsequently the police arrested the federation leaders Henry Hyndman, John Burns, Henry Champion and John Williams on charges of inciting riot in their speeches. The court acquitted all the men on 10 April.

492. Engels cites words from the German folk song Prinz Eugen, der adl e Ritter.

493. An excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal La Pensée, No. 61, 1955. In English the text of this letter was first published in full by Labour Monthly, London, 1955, No. 8.

494. Engels refers to the group of Blanquists led by E. Roche and E. Granget that gave open support to General Boulanger.

495. Engels cites the name of V. Hugo's novel Les misérables.

496. The Russian Empress Maria Fyodorovna (wife of emperor Alexander III and mother of the last Russian tsar Nicholas II) was a daughter of the Danish King Christian IX. Her brother Waldemar was married to Louis Philippe's granddaughter, Maria, the Princess of Orléans.


498. Engels alludes to his vacation at Eastbourne from 8 August to 6 September 1889.

499. Another regular Trades Union Congress took place in Dundee (Scotland) at the beginning of September 1889. Both the preparatory stage and the very course of the Congress mirrored the struggle between the old Conservative leadership with Henry Broadhurst at the head (see note 269) and representatives of the new trade unions with broad masses of general and unskilled workers as members. One of the main issues discussed at the Congress related to a legislative enactment of an eight-hour working day. However, the absence of some of the leaders or the new trade unions, because of the
dockers’ strike in London (see note 489), had a negative effect on the overall results. The demand for a law on an 8-hour working day was turned down by 88 votes against 63. Broadhurst and the old leadership managed to retain their position. Yet ultimately Engels’ prediction concerning a victory of the protagonists of the law proved correct: at its next session in Liverpool in September 1890, the Trades Union Congress adopted a resolution in favour of an enactment of an eight-hour working day.

500. Pertaining to the electoral reforms of 1867 and 1884 in England. According to the reform of 1867, in towns the right to vote was granted to house owners and house leaseholders, as well as to tenants with a residence record of not less than a year and paying the rent of not less than £10. In counties the property qualification was reduced to £12 rent per annum, which enabled some of the industrial workers to obtain voting rights. The electoral reform of 1884 extended the provisions of the 1867 reform to rural districts. Consequently, part of the rural population became eligible. Both reforms notwithstanding, the number of voters was only 13 per cent of the entire population. Suffrage was denied to non property owners and women.

501. The reference is to the changes within the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (note 3) that had occurred as of September 1889; these changes reflected the factional struggle in the party ranks. National Secretary W. Rosenberg and several members of the Executive were removed from the leadership. A sequel to the ensuing split was the holding of two separate conventions in Chicago. The convention of 12 October 1889, held by a group of party members who had rallied around the newspaper *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, adopted a new party programme that reflected the views of its progressive wing.

502. George J. Harney’s article ‘The Revolt of the East End’ was published by the newspaper *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* on 26 September 1889. Excerpts from this article were published by the newspaper *Labour Elector*, Vol. II, No. 38, on 28 September 1889, p203, in an editorial note ‘A Voice from the Past’.

503. Engels compares the Fabians (see note 176) to the ‘Nationalists’, representatives of a social movement that emerged in the United States late in the 1880s. ‘Nationalist clubs’ sprung up with the appearance of Edward Bellamy’s utopia *Looking Backward*. The first such club was set up in Boston in 1881; in 1891, the total number exceeded 160. Representatives of the urban middle class constituted the bulk of the membership in these propagandistic clubs. The ‘Nationalists’ set the aim of ridding society of the worst evils of capitalism through nationalisation of production and distribution; they advocated a peaceful development of capitalism into socialism. The nationalist movement had some impact on the further course of socialist thought in the United States.

504. An excerpt from this letter was first published in French by the journal *La
Notes

Pensée, No. 61, 1955. About the full text of the English publication, see note 87.

505. During the International Socialist Working Men’s Congress in Paris (see note 473) 206 French delegates held two separate conferences; this led to the formation of the National Council of the French Workers’ Party (see note 33). Elected to the Council were Guesde, Lafargue and Laine for the practical guidance of the party. The next party congress, convened by the National Council in Lille on 11-12 October 1890, finalised the set-up and the functions of the Council. The report on the setting up of the National Council, referred to by Engels, was published in the Labour Elector, No. 38, on 28 September 1889, under the headline ‘Foreign Notes: France’, p198.

506. The whereabouts of this letter is unknown. It must have been written on 24 September 1889. On 27 September A. Bebel wrote the following in reply: ‘At the moment the proposal is put to the vote whether we should give money for the French election or not. It is also my opinion that the ‘money should certainly be assigned for Guesde’s election if the proposal is endorsed. I have clearly stated that’. It was said in P. Lafargue’s letter to F. Engels of 7 October 1889, that A. Bebel, on a commission from the party leadership, had sent 500 francs for Guesde, and 610 francs for Lafargue.

507. During the International Socialist Working Men’s Congress in July 1889 the German delegates passed 1000 francs to the French delegates as relief for the families of disaster victims at one of the mines of Saint-Etienne.

508. This article by Charles Jaclard – which he wrote for his weekly feature in the newspaper La Voix and which he entitled ‘Lundis socialistes’ – was published on 30 September 1889.

509. A reference to the forthcoming second round of the general and parliamentary election of 1889. The candidates mentioned by Engels gained a majority of votes in the first round and thus were eligible to run in the second.

510. Refers to the unification at Gotha in 1875 of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party set up in 1869 (the Eisenach party) and of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers founded in 1863. The party programme, adopted by the Gotha congress, incorporated as its essential part some of the ideas of the Lassallean agitation concept, a fact that elicited sharp criticism from Marx and Engels.

511. The battle of Austerlitz (Moravia) on 2 December 1805, between the Russo-Austrian and French armies, was won by Napoleon I.

512. W. Liebknecht, while in Paris in September 1889, asked Engels to write to A. Bebel and ask him about monetary aid to the French Workers’ Party in connection with the forthcoming parliamentary elections. W. Liebknecht received the necessary information from P. Lafargue in his letter of 10 August 1889. On 28 September the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat (no. 39) in its editorial on the French elections carried reports from Paris calling on
the German Socialists to display internationalist solidarity and help the French Socialists in securing Guesde's election to the Chamber of Deputies.

513. W. Liebknecht's statement concerning the publication of M. Schlesinger's book *Die soziale Frage* in the Volksbibliothek series (see note 400) was prompted by the article 'Ein sozialdemokratischer Antimarxist' published by the newspaper *Die Kreuz-zeitung* on 18 September 1889 (no. 435). In his statement of 27 September, Liebknecht wrote that the Volksbibliothek had no connection 'with the Social Democratic Party and its Reichstag faction' and that the printing of Schlesinger's book was undertaken without his consent. Liebknecht's statement was published in the newspapers *Berliner Volksblatt* on 29 September and *Der Sozialdemokrat* on 5 October 1889. Carried simultaneously with this statement was one made by A. Bebel on 19 September 1889, refuting the assertion of *Die Kreuz-Zeitung* about the connections of the Volksbibliothek with the Social Democratic faction in the Reichstag and about Schlesinger's membership in the Social Democratic Party.

514. At the general election of 22 September 1889, Georges Boulanger was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the Montmartre constituency of Paris. Yet his election, as well as that of his close associates, Victor Rochefort and Dillon, was overruled by the Minister of the Interior E. Constant on the grounds of all the men having been convicted, *in absentia*, by the Supreme Court and sentenced to banishment (see note 391). The Possibilist Jules Joffrin therefore became deputy in Boulanger's place – Joffrin polled the second largest number of votes, 5,500, in the Montmartre constituency (after Boulanger).


516. The bourgeois republican Jules Ferry, nominated from the department of Vosges, suffered an electoral defeat. Engels mentions an article in *The Daily News* of 8 October 1889, published under the title 'The French Elections. Composition of the New Chamber'.

517. 'The Satisfied' ('Les satisfaits') – the reactionary majority of the French Chamber of Deputies that backed the Guizot government on the eve of the 1848 Revolution. They were called this after saying they were 'satisfied' with the government explanations of corruption among the ruling quarters. This issue was discussed at the Chamber of Deputies in February 1848.

518. Engels referred to the Rue Poitiers Committee, the steering body of a 'Party of Order' which was formed in 1848 as a coalition of two monarchist groups: the Legitimists (adherents of the Bourbon dynasty) and the Orléanists (adherents of the Orléans dynasty). Representing the interests of the big conservative bourgeoisie, this party held a dominating position in the legislative assembly of the Second Republic from 1849 down to the coup d'état of 2 December 1851.
519. Engels wrote these lines on a post card. On the back was the address: F.A. Sorge, Esq., Hoboken N J, US America. About the English publication, see note 343.

520. A reference to a polemic between Friedrich Sorge and Daniel de Leon who shared the views of the ‘Nationalists’ at the time (see note 503).


522. A fragment from this letter was first published in English in the collection Marx K., Engels F., Lenin V. I., Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Int. Publ., New York, 1972, p179.

523. On 19 October 1889, Max Hildebrand wrote to Engels that he had, for more than 15 years, been interested in Europe’s democratic movement. Accordingly, he had studied a number of works, among which of particular interest to him was Max Stirner’s book Der Einzige und Sein Eigenthum. Hildebrand asked Engels for some information on Stirner’s life and suggested that he, Engels, write historical biographies of thinkers representing different ideological trends, provided no such biographies had been written before.

524. As a student of Berlin University, Marx lived in Berlin from the latter half of October 1836 to mid April 1841.

525. Engels refers to his stay in Manchester in 1842-44 where he was studying commercial business at the cotton mill belonging to the firm Ermen & Engels (see note 9).

526. Marx lived in Brussels from February 1845 to the beginning of March 1848 when he was expelled by the Belgian authorities. Engels lived in Brussels, on and off, from early April 1845 to the latter half of March 1848.


528. Engels replies to Hildebrand’s suggestion to write the history of the period preceding the Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. As Hildebrand observed in his letter, Engels was perhaps the only person capable of tackling such a work (see this volume, note 523).

529. O.A. Ellissen, who intended to write a book about Friedrich Lange, had found Engels’ letters in his personal archives. He therefore asked Engels to give him Lange’s letters (addressed to Engels) and allow him to use their correspondence in his book. Engels made the following marginal notes on Ellissen’s letter, ‘The letters are out of order and cannot be made available before the completion, next spring, of Vol. III; then they will be at your disposal. They may be reproduced in full or in part – in the latter case I beg you to give the respective excerpts in their total context’. Einbeck, Okt. 89. Dr O. A. Ellissen wegen Langes Briefe.
530. The reference is to the slogan ‘Fatherland in Danger’ (‘La patrie en danger’) proclaimed by the French Legislative Assembly on 11 July 1792, i.e., during the French Revolution of the late 18th century. The Assembly issued an appeal to the army and the French people in which it called on everybody to rise in the struggle for liberty and Constitution.

531. The Communist League was the first German and international organisation of the proletariat, and was formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The League’s members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In 1849 and 1850, after the defeat or the revolution, the League was reorganised and thus continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which resulted in a split within the league. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the Communist League as an organisation actually ceased its activities in Germany. On 17 November 1852, on a motion from Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

532. On 3 March 1848, a mass demonstration took place in Cologne, called by the local representatives of the Communist League. On behalf of all those taking part, Andreas Gottschalk handed a petition to the town magistrate with demands for democratic freedom and for protection of working men’s rights. The police dispersed this demonstration; A. Gottschalk, Willich and F. Anneke were arrested and brought to trial. However, under a royal pardon, the three men were released from custody on 21 March 1848.

533. On 26 October 1889, W. Liebknecht wrote to Engels and asked if he knew when A. Gottschalk could have made the following statement: ‘I am here on behalf of 20,000 proletarians who do not care at all whether we have a republic or a monarchy’.

534. The Cologne Workers’ Association was a workers’ organisation founded by Andreas Gottschalk on 13 April 1848. The Association was led by the President and the committee, which consisted of representatives of various trades. After Gottschalk’s arrest Moll was elected President. He held this post till a state of siege was proclaimed in Cologne in September 1848, when he had to emigrate under threat of arrest. On 16 October Marx agreed to assume this post temporarily at the request of Association members. In November Röser became acting President and on 28 February 1849, Schapper was elected President and remained at this post until the end of May 1849. The majority of the leading members (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League. During the initial period of its existence, the
Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk who, sharing many of the views of the 'true socialists', ignored the historical tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, carried on the sectarian tactics of boycotting indirect elections to the Federal and Prussian National Assemblies, and came out against supporting democratic candidates in elections. He combined ultra-left phrases with very legalistic methods of struggle (workers' petitions to the Government and the City Council, etc.) and supported the demands of the workers affected by craft prejudices, etc. From the very beginning, Gottschalk's tactics were resisted by the supporters of Marx and Engels. Under their influence, at the end of June a change occurred in the activities of the Workers' Association, which became a centre of revolutionary agitation from the autumn of 1848 onwards, also among the peasants. Members of the Association organised democratic and workers' associations near Cologne, disseminated revolutionary literature, including the 'Demands of the Communist Party in Germany', and studied Marx's writings. The Association maintained close contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations. When, in the spring of 1849, Marx and Engels took steps to organise the advanced workers on a national scale and actually started preparing for the creation of a proletarian party, they relied to a considerable extent on the Cologne Workers' Association.

535. On 26 October 1889, W. Liebknecht informed Engels that he had declined to take part in the publication of the Volksbibliothek (see note 400), a move that incurred significant material losses.

536. This is in reply to P. Martignetti's letter of 30 October 1889, in which he wrote about the sentence passed on him by the Naples court for alleged forgery and destruction of documents, as well as for alleged misappropriation of a sum which, at various stages of the court proceedings, ranged from 15 thousand to 500 liras. Martignetti, sentenced to a prison term of 3 years and 9 months, asked Engels for help in job finding and for advice on what to do under the circumstances - either emigrate and part with his family, or serve his prison term.

537. In his letter of 17 October 1889, A. Bebel criticised the French Socialists for their poor propaganda and organisational work.

538. A reference to the National Council in Bordeaux and the Executive Commission in Troyes, set up in 1888 at a labour unions congress in Bordeaux and at a Workers' Party Congress in Troyes, respectively (see notes 329; 331).

539. During the election campaign of September 1889 the French Workers' Party and the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Blanquists (see note 33) issued a joined manifesto, signed by Guesde, Lafargue and Vaillant and circulated in more than 100 towns.

540. On the eve of the parliamentary election of 1889, E. Protot mounted a campaign of slander against J. Guesde in Marseilles with the aim of prevent-
ing him from being elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Protot accused
Guesde of espionage for the German Government: he claimed that in 1879,
as editor-in-chief of the newspaper Égalité, Guesde had received 4 thousand
francs from Höhberg, allegedly the chief of the German police. Sued by
Guesde for libel, Protot was sentenced to a fine. Under the court decision,
Marseilles and Paris newspapers carried a report about the sentence.

541. P. Lafargue wrote to Engels in his letter of 4 November 1889, about the plan
to set up Socialist factions in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Municipal
Council; this initiative came from J. Guesde, E. Vaillant, G. Deville and P.
Lafargue. He said that if this plan came off, the parliamentary faction should
issue a declaration, stating its independent and socialist stand and setting the
objective of inducing the Chamber of Deputies to give a legal seal to the
decisions of the International Working Men’s Congress of 1889. The unifi-
cation of the Guesdist and the Blanquist into the Socialist Party of France
took body and form at the Rheims Congress of September 1903.

542. In his letter of 17 October 1889, A. Bebel told Engels about I. Auer’s
nervous disease and his stay at Zurich for treatment. The newspaper Der
Sozialdemokrat (19 October, No. 42) reported Auer’s plans to move south
after treatment. In Switzerland Auer had been collecting documents on the
subject ‘The Law on the Socialists in Ten Years’ Time’.

543. The reference is to the letter of J.H. Johnson and G.B. Ellis to F. Engels of
7 November 1889, in which they requested him for the opinions of the
passengers aboard the steamship The City of New York about the perfor-
mane of the ship’s circulating pumps.

544. Mr Boulé, representing the French syndicats, was running as a Socialist
candidate at the by election in Paris in January 1889; thereupon, at a muni-
cipal election in the department of Haute Marne, he nominated his candidacy
as a Boulanger supporter. As a result, he forfeited his post of Secretary of
the Federation of Syndical Chambers in Paris in the autumn of 1889. The
newspaper Le Parti ouvrier exposed Boulé in J. Vidal’s article ‘Exécution
d’un traître’ published on 26 October. The newspaper Intransigeant on 29
October carried E. Roche’s article in Boulé’s defence and, on 2, 3 and 5
November it featured a series of Boulé’s articles on the port workers’ strike
at Bourget.

545. Probably a reference to Le Cri du Travaille (Lisle), Le Salariat (Rouen)
and L’Action sociale (Lyon).

546. Engels had received from Lafargue an article by C. de Paepe; published by
the Belgian press, it contained a report on Nikolai Chernyshevsky’s death.

547. Laura Lafargue made a translation of Béranger’s poem Le Sénateur. Laura
added a postscript to Paul Lafargue’s letter to Engels of 4 November 1889
in which she asked for his opinion about the quality of the translation.

548. In her letter of 14 November 1889, Laura Lafargue told Engels about the
reaction of the French bourgeois press to Christophe Thivrier, a coal miner,
appearing in the Chamber of Deputies in working clothes among the other Socialists.

549. In September-December 1889, there was a strike in Silvertown, a district in London's East End, by workers engaged in the production of underwater cables and rubber articles. The strikers, about three thousand strong, demanded higher pay rates (both hourly and piecework rates), higher pay for overtime and on holidays, as well as higher wages for women and children. Eleanor Marx-Aveling was actively involved in the organisation of this strike, during which she helped form the Women's Branch of the Gas Union. The strike, which continued for nearly three months, ended in failure: the Silvertown workers were supported by other unions, notably the Gas Workers and the Dockers unions.

550. A reference to the siege of Paris by the Prussian army during the Prusso-French War of 1870-71. The siege was on from 19 September 1870 to the signing of an armistice between France and Germany on 28 January 1871.

551. An allusion to the electoral campaign of September-October 1889 in France. Jules Guesde was running for the Chamber of Deputies as a candidate from one of the constituencies in Marseilles but failed to be elected (see also note 465).

552. Engels cites a call to the voters at the end of the Manifesto of the French Workers' Party (see note 33) and the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Blanquists (see note 539).

553. In his letter of 23 October 1889, P. Martignetti asked Engels to recommend him, through P. Lafargue's mediation, to Antonio Labriola. Engels' letter to P. Lafargue is not available now.

554. An abridged text of the letter was first published in English in Marx K. and Engels F., Correspondence, 1846-1895, Lawrence, London 1934, pp457-58. The English version of this letter was published in full in Marx K. and Engels F., Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1955, pp405-407.

555. 9th Thermidor (27-28 July 1794) was the date of a counterrevolutionary coup which brought the big bourgeoisie to power. About the events of 10 August 1792, see note 363.

556. Le Comité de salut public (Committee of Public Safety) was established by the Convention on 6 April 1793; during the Jacobin dictatorship (2 June 1793-27 July 1794) it was the leading body of the revolutionary government in France.

557. The Peace of Basle was concluded on 5 April 1795 between France and Prussia, the latter being a member of the first anti-French coalition. This treaty came as a consequence of the French victories as well as of the differences among the members of the coalition, in particular between Prussia and Austria.

558. The Directory was the regime established in France as a result of the over-
throw of the Jacobin government on 27 July (9 Thermidor) 1794, and the introduction, on 4 November 1795, by the Thermidor Convention, of a new anti-democratic constitution. Supreme executive power was concentrated in the hands of five Directors. The Directory, whose rule was marked by unrestrained profiteering and speculation, continued until the coup d'état of 9 November (18 Brumaire) 1799 leading to the personal rule of General Napoleon Bonaparte.

559. K.F. Keppen’s article ‘Leo’s Geschichte der Revolution’ was published in Die Rheinische Zeitung (Nos. 139, 141 and 142) on 21 and 22 May 1842.

560. The whereabouts of this letter is not known.

561. Engels received N. Danielson’s letter of 26 November in which N. Danielson summed up the gist of the letter sent by the editors of the Russian journal Northern Review to P. Lafargue concerning the intended publication in it of P. Lafargue’s article about the evolution of property.


563. The English translation of a fragment of this letter was first published in Marx K. and Engels F., Correspondence 1846-1895, London, 1934, pp460-62.

564. In these letters F. Sorge aired his views about the split within the Socialist Labor Party of North America.

565. The Gas Workers’ and General Labourers’ Union was the first trade union of general and unskilled workers in the history of the British working-class movement; it was formed late in March – early in April 1889 against the background of the growing strike movement of the 1880s and 1890s. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and E. Aveling did much for the organisation of this union and for its guidance. The Union put forward a demand for a legislative enactment of an eight-hour working day. Within a brief space of time, it gained considerable influence – as many as 100,000 gas workers joined it within a year. It took an active part in organising the London dockers’ strike of 1889 (see note 489).

566. A reference to P. Rappaport’s article in the newspaper Indiana Tribune, sent to Engels by F. Sorge.

567. Hepner participated in the work of the conventions held by two conflicting groups within the Socialist Labor Party of North America in Chicago (see note 3). Sorge remarked in this connection in his letter to Engels of 18 October 1889, that ‘Hepner wanted to play a non-partisan’s part and went to Chicago to attend both conventions so-called’.

568. Writing to Engels on 29 October 1889, Sorge asked if he knew about the fate of a list of Marx’s articles in the New York Daily Tribune which he, Sorge, had given to Marx in 1872, as well as of the clippings from the corresponding numbers of the paper. The list of Marx’s articles for the Tribune had been compiled by Hermann Meier; Sorge had handed it to Marx during their meeting at the Hague Congress of the First International.
569. The Elberfeld trial of members of the German Social Democratic Party took place from 18 November to 30 December 1889. Brought to trial were 87 party members, among them A. Bebel (Reichstag deputy), F. Harm, G. Schumacher, K. Grillenberger and E. Röllinghoff. The aim of this put-up trial – which the Social Democratic press described as a Monster trial and compared to the Cologne trial of the Communist League of 1853, staged by the Prussian police – was to prove the existence of a 'secret alliance' led by the Social Democratic faction of the Reichstag with a far-flung network throughout Germany. About 500 witnesses were summoned to testify. However, the government failed in its attempt to have all the defendants convicted. Forty-three, A. Bebel among them, were acquitted, while the others received prison terms ranging from 14 days to 6 months.

570. The English translation of a fragment of this letter was first published in Marx K., Engels F., On Literature and Art, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1984.

571. A fragment of this letter in English was first published in the collection Marx, Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages, Publishing House, Moscow 1956, pp491-92.

572. Trier, writing to Engels on 8 December 1889, told him about the differences within the Danish Social Democratic Party over the issue of a possible bloc with the bourgeois Left-Radical parties at the forthcoming election to the Riksdag; he also wrote about a controversy between the party leadership and the opposition, involving party members who did not agree with the leaders’ policies.

573. The primogeniture principle was the right of the eldest son in the family or kin to inherit his father’s estate. This was instituted by the feudal law of England, France, Germany and other West European countries in the 11th-13th centuries with the aim of keeping landed estates intact and preventing their fragmentation among many heirs. Only the eldest son was eligible to inherit.

574. A reference to a constitutional conflict in Denmark which began in 1875 and which manifested itself in a struggle between the government and the liberal opposition in Parliament, pressing for constitutional limits to the King’s powers. Financial issues sparked off an acute controversy between the government and the parliamentary majority. Proceeding from Article 49 of the Constitution, according to which no tax could be levied in the absence or a parliamentary decision, the Folketing (lower house) would every now and then, beginning with 1877, reject budget bills tabled by the government. The government responded by introducing a provisional budget – it gave a loose interpretation of Article 25 of the Constitution which empowered the King, if need be, to issue provisional legislative enactments. The conflict continued until 1894 when the government and the liberal opposition came to some sort of settlement.
575. ‘Physical force’ was the name given to one of the two trends in the Chartist movement. In contrast to the other trend, the ‘moral force’ Chartists, it opted for revolutionary methods, for the independence of the Chartist movement and against its subordination to the bourgeois radicals.

576. The General Association of German Workers was set up on 23 May 1863 at a meeting of worker societies in Leipzig. The founding of this political organisation, which included some of the members of the former Communist League (see note 531), contributed to the subsequent progress of the German labour movement and its emancipation from the ideological sway of the liberal bourgeoisie. Lassalle and his followers were agitating for universal suffrage which, as they deemed, could help the working people take on power in the state. A new democratic body politic, as Lassalle and his supporters saw it, was to provide a credit for setting up workers’ production associations (see also note 508).

577. The Gas Workers Strike in South London took place in December 1889, February 1890. It was touched off by the failure of the company owners to honour the earlier agreement on an eight-hour working day, higher wages, and employment priority for unionised workers, members of the Gas Workers’ and General Labourers’ Union (see note 565). Among other things, the strikers demanded that three activists of the Union, dismissed from their job, be reinstated. The strike action did not succeed in the absence of vigorous support from other unions, the dockers’ union in particular.

578. An allusion to W. Liebknecht’s letter of 20 December about the Elberfeld trial and his own difficult conditions.

579. Herewith Engels sent to S.M. Kravchinsky (Stepniak) the first chapter of his work *The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom* (see present edition, Vol. 27) so as to have it published in the Russian literary and political journal *Social Democrat* run by the ‘Emancipation of Labour’ group; among its editors were V.I. Zasulich, G.V. Plekhanov and P.V. Axelrod (see also note 623).

580. In her letter of 31 December 1889, Laura Lafargue complained that for her translation of Walther von der Vogelweide’s poem *Unter der Linden*, she had only an updated edition of the text.

581. Writing to Engels on 24 December 1889, P. Lafargue told him about the French Workers’ Party (see note 33) planning to start a new daily. In keeping with the terms of an entrepreneur who had agreed to finance the newspaper, the editorial staff was supposed to work without remuneration, with the exception of J. Guesde and Quercy. It was somewhat later that this daily was launched. Engels’ letter to C. Bonnier is not available.

582. A reference to the proceedings to have Engels’ nephews – Hermann, Moritz and Emil – made co-owners of the firm Ermen & Engels at Engelskirchen.

583. A fragment of this letter was first published in English in: Marx K. and Engels F., *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, Lawrence, London, 1934, pp463-64.
584. F. Schlüter, in his letter to F. Engels of 12 December 1889, wrote this: ‘Last week I sent you a number of the Commonweal with the image of a tree that had been baptised after our Marx’.

585. In his letter to Engels on 20 December 1889, F. Schlüter asked him to make inquiries about a George Reid, who had come to New York City from London and who was agitating among stevedores and seamen. In Schlüter’s opinion, Reid was acting in the spirit of Hyndman’s sectarian policies: ‘For about three months there has been a certain George G. Reid here who says that he has been sent from London to organise longshoremen and seamen employed in the port ... The longshoremen are beginning to mistrust him. No attempt has been made to learn more about him.’

586. A reference to the Amalgamated Engineers’ Society, founded by W. Newton and W. Allen in 1851 and known as the first trade union of a ‘new type’.

587. The London Trades Council was elected at a conference of trade union delegates held in London in May 1860. The Council headed the London trade unions, numbering many thousands and was fairly influential among the British workers. In the first half of the 1860s it led the British workers’ campaign against intervention in the Civil War in the United States, in defence of Poland and Italy, and later for the legislation of the trade unions. The leaders of the large trade unions played a major role in the Council.

588. Appended to this was a letter of recommendation from Engels; the rough draft of this letter is extant.

589. Refers to the socialist club Vorwärts, founded in Buenos Aires in January 1882 by German socialist émigrés – H. Lalman, A. Kuhn and F. Weber. In 1886 this club launched the newspaper Vorwärts which advocated socialist ideas and called for strike action to secure better working and living conditions.

590. Engels sent the present note to Eleanor Marx-Aveling, together with Bonnier’s letter to Engels of 14 January 1890. Engels sent this letter to Eleanor Aveling at Bonnier’s request. It was a continuation of Bonnier’s talk with Engels about the French Workers’ Party preparing to start a newspaper of its own (see also note 33). This plan only materialised in September 1890, as the party resumed the publication of its weekly newspaper Le Socialiste, which became its central organ. In his letter Bonnier asked Eleanor Marx-Aveling for her comments on the Gas Workers’ strike (see note 577) for the French newspaper Le Cri du travailleur.

591. These lines were on a post card, with the following address at the back: H. Schlüter Esq., 73, First Avenue, New York City, US America.

592. The English version of a fragment from this letter was published in the collection Marx K., Engels F., Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1971.

593. Engels hints at acute differences – which came into the open during the
Elberfeld trial of 1889 – between A. Bebel, the state prosecutor and the defence, as testified by Bebel's speech of 27 December, published in the Freie Presse (Nos. 302 and 303) on 28 and 29 December.

594. Refers to the discussion in the German Reichstag of a draft bill for amending the then effective Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52). The suggested amendments aimed above all at converting the provisional legislation against the Socialists into a permanent law; they provided for more rigorous regulations with respect to periodicals, etc. The draft law also envisaged banishing, for up to a year, all those whose activity might pose 'a threat to public tranquillity and order'. The draft law, discussed at Reichstag sessions on 5 and 6 November 1889, and then again on 22, 23 and 25 January 1890, was turned down by 169 votes versus 98.

595. A reference to A. Bebel's report carried by Die Arbeiter-Zeitung (No. 3) on 17 January 1890, in the feature 'Ausland, Deutschland'; this report was marked: Berlin, 14 January.

596. The National-Liberal Party, the party of the German and, above all, the Prussian bourgeoisie, formed in the autumn of 1866 as a result of the split of the Party of Progress. The policies of the National-Liberals reflected the capitulation of a significant part of the liberal bourgeoisie to Bismarck's Junker government, after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and its subsequent pre-eminence in Germany.

597. During the second balloting of February 1887 at the Reichstag election the supporters of the Party of Progress voted for candidates of the 'Kartell' (see note 265) and thus promoted the victory of a bloc backing the Bismarck government.

598. In April 1886 the Liberal government of W. Gladstone tabled a draft Home Rule Bill in the Commons (see note 175) providing for reinstitution of the bicameral Irish parliament after the late 18th century model; the British government was to retain its control over the country's economy and have a free hand in exercising all foreign policy, military and police functions.

599. Another regular election to the German Reichstag was scheduled for 20 February 1890 (see note 612). Eventually the Social Democratic candidates polled 1,427,298 votes or nearly 20 per cent of the total ballots cast. The Social Democrats could thus claim 35 seats in the Reichstag, which meant an astounding victory for the party.

600. On 20 January 1890 the Socialist leader August Bebel addressed an election rally, many thousand strong. Concluding his speech, he called on all those present to execute their duty on 20 February by electing representatives of the Social Democratic Party to the Reichstag. Bebel's speech was published by the newspaper Hamburger Echo (No.18) on 22 January under the headline 'Reichstagsabgeordneter August Bebel vor seinen Wählern'.

601. The Franco-Russian alliance – a military and political alliance between France and Russia; it took shape against a background of the growing might
of the German Reich and dramatic exacerbation of the Franco-German and Russo-German contradictions. As a first step, France and Russia signed a political agreement on 15 August 1891. The two countries concluded a secret military convention on 15 August 1892.

602. Engels must have meant Gladstone's speech at a Liberal meeting in Chester on 22 January 1890; in it the British statesman censured the actions of the Turkish government in Crete and Armenia (see The Times, 23 January, No. 32, p9, 'Mr Gladstone at Chester').

603. W. Liebknecht's communication was published in Der Sozialdemokrat, No. 1, 4 January 1890, in the regular feature 'Aus Frankreich'. In his letter to Engels of 24 December 1889, P. Lafargue laid down a detailed plan for launching the newspaper.

604. A fragment of this letter was first published in English by The Communist, N-Y 1929, Vol. VIII, No. 5, May, pp263-64.

605. Water-Polacks (Wasserpolacken) – original name of ferrymen on the Oder who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia. Subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles.

606. Speaking of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, Engels means the tribes of Angles, Jutes and Saxons who, in the early centuries A.D., used to populate the southern part of Jutland, a peninsula which, since the 14th century, has come to be known as Schleswig-Holstein.

607. Engels refers to the editorial comments in The Labour Elector (Vol. III, No. 57, 1 February 1890 and Vol. III, No. 56, 25 January 1890), which condemned E. Parke's attacks on Lord Euston. The 1 February issue carried protests from T. Mann, G. Bateman and others. The editors do not have at their disposal the numbers of The Star with the below mentioned materials.

608. In April 1889 a conflict flared up between Portugal and Britain over the latter's influence in some of the East African territories which Portugal regarded as a sphere of its interests. In November 1890 and in May 1891 both countries signed agreements on settling the border disputes. Portugal allowed free passage and ship navigation for the British in their African possessions. The Labour Elector (Vol. III, No. 56, 25 January 1890, p51) carried an article entitled 'True Patriots All'; it justified the policy of the British government.

609. Engels means A. Bebel's report which Die Arbeiter-Zeitung (No. 6) of 7 February 1890, carried in its regular feature 'Ausland: Deutschland'. The report was marked: Berlin, 4 February. The two edicts, promulgated by Emperor William II on 4 February 1890, on the eve of an election to the German Reichstag, actually amounted to a government pre-election programme.

In his first edict, the Emperor instructed the Reichskanzler to appeal to the governments of a number of European countries with the proposal to convene an international conference on a unified labour legislation. (Such a
conference was indeed held in Berlin in March 1890.) In his second edict, addressed to the Ministers of Public Works, Trade and Industry, William II expressed the desire to revise the existing labour legislation with the aim of improving the condition of workers employed at government-run and private enterprises.

610. As the new draft legislation against the Socialists was put to a vote in the Reichstag (see note 52), the deputies from the National Liberal Party voted against the additional clause providing for the banishment from Germany of 'undesirable persons' involved in the revolutionary movement.

611. The reference is to R. Puttkamer's election speech at Stolpe on 31 January 1890, against a repeal of the Anti-Socialist law (see note 52). In it he expressed the hope that the army and the Civil Service, loyal to the government, would be guarantors of order (Ordnung) in Germany. However Puttkamer did not rule out the government having to impose a major state of siege (instead of a 'minor' one). The minor state of 'siege' was envisaged by Clause 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law; the governments of German states, with the consent of the Federal Council, could impose a stage of siege for one year in certain districts and localities. In this case no meeting or assembly could take place without permission of the police; it was forbidden to circulate printed matter in public places; politically unreliable persons were to be deported from a given locality; the right to have or hold arms, their import and sale were prohibited or restricted.

612. 1 March 1890 was the date of the second round of an election to the German Reichstag; the first round was held on 20 February 1890. As many as 20 socialist deputies were elected in the first round, and 15 in the runoff (see also note 599).

613. The reference is to the German Party of Free Thinkers (Freisinnigen) formed in 1884 with the unification of the Party of Progress and the left-wing National-Liberals (see note 45). One of the leaders of the party thus formed was Richter, a Reichstag deputy. Reflecting the interests of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, this party was in opposition to the Bismarck government. The National-Liberals — a right-wing bourgeois political party between 1867 and 1918, first on the Prussian scale and, as of 1871, as an all-German party; one of the bulwarks of the bloc of the Junkers and the bourgeoisie.

614. Engels means the interview by a correspondent of the newspaper Gaulois with P. Lafargue and P. Roche about the attitude of the Socialists to the proposal made by Emperor William II to convene an international conference on unified labour legislation (see note 609). This interview was published on 3 March 1890, in the regular feature 'En Allemagne'.

615. In the course of the election to the German Reichstag, the Social Democrats gained votes in 6 constituencies of Brandenburg, Pomerania (Stettin) and East Prussia; in 3 constituencies of Mecklenburg, and in 4 constituencies of Schleswig-Holstein.
616. The horrible conditions of political exiles in Siberia were described by George Kennan, an American journalist, in his series of articles ‘Siberia and the Exile System’, which he wrote after his journey thither in 1885-86 and which were published by the New York-based journal The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine (Vol. XXXVII, November 1888, No. 1; Vol. XXXIX, April 1890, No. 6, London). In 1889-91 this work was published in separate editions in English, German and Russian.

617. At the election of 20 February 1890, W. Liebknecht polled 42,274 votes in the 6th constituency, while the ‘Free Thinkers’ (see note 613) got 14,195 votes as representatives of the cartel (see note 265) 10,836.

618. At the 20 February election the Social Democratic Party received 664,170 votes more than in 1887.

619. This refers to an article in the Dutch socialist newspaper Recht voor Allen.

620. The main part of this letter, which P. Martignetti had sent to the editorial board of the journal Cuore e critica, was published in Italian in No. 7 of this journal on 16 April 1890, under the heading ‘L’opinione di F. Engels’. This publication was prefaced with the following editorial text: ‘Professor Labriola’s proposal concerning the settlement of the colony of Eritrea is also finding support abroad. After reading the letters of Professors Labriola and Loria in Il Messaggero, Frederick Engels wrote from London on 30 March to our regular contributor P. Martignetti’.

621. A reference to the project to use free land (terra libera) in the Italian colonies, as suggested by Antonio Labriola in his letter to Baccarini. Part of this letter was published on 15 March 1890 by the journal Il Messaggero under the heading ‘La terra a chi la lavora’. Martignetti sent this number of the journal to Engels.

622. Refers to Antonio Labriola’s letter to Achille Loria published by the journal Il Messaggero on 15 March 1890 under the title ‘La terra a chi la lavora – La colonia Eritrea e la questione sociale’. A. Labriola sent this publication to P. Martignetti who, in his turn, forwarded it to E. Engels.

623. The present work was prompted by a proposal for co-operation which Vera Zasulich, on behalf of the editors of the Russian journal Social Democrat, then being prepared for publication in London, addressed to F. Engels (see also V. Zasulich’s letter to F. Engels of 30 January 1890). Complying with this request Engels sent his article to the editorial board for publication in Russian translation; he likewise decided to have it published in other socialist periodicals (see Engels’ letter to V. Zasulich of 3 April 1890 this volume, pp467-69). The first part of this work appeared in February 1890 under the title ‘The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom’. The latter part of the article was published only in August 1890. Meanwhile, the first two parts appeared in the language of the original, German, in the April number of the journal Die Neue Zeit; the editors amended the text without Engels’ knowledge. Thus they softened somewhat the characterisation of the ruling heads of
Russia and Prussia, representatives of the Hohenzollern dynasty, among other things. Engels discovered this editorial tampering as he compared the Russian translation with the German text (see also his letter to J. Dietz of 1 April 1890). The May issue of Die Neue Zeit carried these two parts without amendments, together with the third part. Indicated at the end of this publication was the date Engels had completed the article: London, end of February 1890.

624. In her letter to Engels late in March 1890, Vera Zasulich asked him for the text of the last, third, chapter of the article ‘The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom’ (present edition, Vol. 26) so as to have it published together with the second chapter in Book II of the Social Democrat.

625. The February issue of Social Democrat (1890), which S.M. Stepniak-Kravchinsky passed to Engels, carried V. Zasulich’s article ‘Revolutionaries from the Bourgeois Midst’ and G. Plekhanov’s article ‘N.G. Chernyshevsky’; the second part appeared in the August number of the journal.

626. There was considerable unrest among Moscow University students in November 1867 over the activity of inspectors in conformity with the new university regulations of 1884 (which abolished the university self-rule introduced by the 1863 regulations as well as authorised the Education Minister to appoint or dismiss at his discretion professors and other members of the teaching staff, fix scholarships, grants and other allowances for students, decide on curricula, etc.). At the beginning of December 1887 the student unrest spread to the universities and colleges of Kharkov, Odessa, Kazan and St Petersburg. Police and army units were thrown against the students. Many were expelled from college or university and exiled, and the most active were drafted into penal battalions.

627. Thanks to the active engagement of S.M. Kravchinsky-Stepniak, a ‘Russian Freedom Friends’ Society’ was organised in Britain in 1890; its aim was to enlist support for the Russian revolutionary movement. Between 1891-1900 the Society published the newspaper Free Russia.

628. The district in London where the editorial board of the newspaper Der Sozialdemokrat had its office.


630. In his letter dated 3-6 March 1890, F. Sorge communicated F. Schlueter’s request to Engels to send – for publication in Die New Yorker Volkszeitung – the letters from the National-Liberal J. Miquel, a Reichstag deputy, which he had written to Engels during his membership in the Communist League (see note 531).

631. Engels must have made a mistake by dating C. Schmidt’s letter 25 February. Actually, C. Schmidt wrote to Engels on 26 February and 1 April; in these letters he told him about his possible visit to London and about his plans for
literary work. Schmidt also offered his assistance in the work on Marx’s manuscripts.


633. On 3 July 1866 a decisive battle in the Austro-Prussian War was fought at Königgrätz (Hradec-Kralove), near Sadova. The Austrian troops were defeated. About the battle of Sedan, see note 267.

634. The Napoleonic Code – the code of French civil law, promulgated in 1804, exerted a great influence on legislation in many European and a number of Latin American European countries.

635. The present letter is in reply to V. Zasulich’s letter written around 10 April 1890.

636. Grigori Beck’s article ‘Erwiderung’ ran a sharp critique of G. Plekhanov for his preface to the pamphlet Pytr Alexeyev’s Speech; in it Plekhanov cautioned workers against ‘the false friends’ from among the liberal intelligentsia. Published by Der Sozialdemokrat (No.14, 5 April 1890), this article was written in reply to the report ‘Aus der russischen Bewegung’, carried by the same newspaper (No. 12) on 22 March and signed ZKW. On 26 April 1890, Der Sozialdemokrat (No. 17) published a letter to the editors from Ossipowitch (probably, V. Zasulich’s pseudonym) with a prefatory editor’s note ‘Über die Propaganda unter den russischen Arbeitern’.

637. In her letter Vera Zasulich listed a number of Russian newspapers and magazines published in Switzerland in 1888-89: Svoboda (Freedom), Borba (Struggle), Samoupravlenie (Self-Government) and Svobodnaya Rossia.

638. Dismal Swamp – boggy terrain in Virginia, USA.

639. Michael Davitt – an eminent activist in the Irish national movement and a champion of a union between the working classes of Ireland and England. He supported the struggle of the new trade unions (see note 489) for a law on an eight-hour working day. However, he also suggested setting up independent unions of English and Irish workers at every enterprise; this applied, in particular, to the Gas Workers’ and General Labourers’ Union in London and Ulster (see note 565).

640. The appeal of the Social Democratic parliamentary group in the Reichstag ‘An die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen Deutschland!’ was adopted at its meeting in Halle on 13 April 1890 and published in the newspaper Berliner Volksblatt on 15 April 1890. The appeal contained the party leadership’s reply to the demand by the opposition of ‘Die Jungen’ (‘The Young’, see note 646) to stage a general strike on May 1. The appeal pointed to the danger of such a demand under the conditions of the still operating Anti-Socialist law, after the Reichstag election of 20 February 1890, when all kinds of provocations were possible on the part of the ruling quarters. It appealed instead to German workers to give no support to the idea of a
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general strike and to resort to work stoppages only whenever a serious conflict could be avoided; otherwise it advised the workers not to go beyond holding demonstration and rallies. The May 1 strikes held in some German towns involved about ten per cent of the labour force.

641. Part of this letter, in the language of the original, was first published in Die New Yorker Volkszeitung on 10 May 1890. A fragment of the letter was published in English for the first time in Labour Monthly, 1934, No. 5, pp309-11.

642. The Bloomsbury Socialist Society, which had the local branch of the Socialist League (see note 21) as a nucleus, took form as an independent organisation in August 1888, after breaking with the Socialist League where anarchist elements had gained the upper hand. The Society was led by E. Marx-Aveling and E. Aveling; one of its members was F. Lessner, a friend and associate of Marx and Engels. In subsequent years the Bloomsbury Socialist Society carried on active propaganda and agitation work in London’s East End. It was one of the organisers of the May Day demonstration of 1890. Its representatives were among the Central Committee that organised a meeting in London’s Hyde Park on 4 May 1890 (see note 643).

643. The reference is to the ‘Central Committee of representatives of ‘new trade unions’ and of radical and socialist clubs (about the radical clubs, see note 22) set up for organising the 4 May demonstration in London. The Committee continued its activities in subsequent months in pursuit of the struggle for a law on a eight-hour working day and for implementing the decisions of the socialist International Working Men’s Congress of 1889; it came out for setting up a workingmen’s party. The leader of the Central Committee was E. Aveling, who maintained close contacts with Engels. In July 1890 the Committee gave rise to an organisation which came to be known as ‘The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League’.

644. A. Bebel’s report was published in Die Arbeiter-Zeitung, No. 17, on 25 April 1890 in the regular feature: ‘Ausland. Deutschland’ and marked: ‘Berlin 22 April’.

645. Replying to Engels on 9 April 1890 Bebel said he subscribed to Engels’ opinion about the psychological condition of Emperor William II.

646. Late in March 1890 a group of Berlin Social Democrats, Max Schipple among them, promulgated an appeal under the heading ‘Was soll am 1 Mai geschehen?’ in which it urged workmen to stage a general strike on that day. This appeal epitomised the position of the ‘Young’ – petty bourgeois, semi-anarchist oppositional group within German Social Democracy that took shape in 1890. This group was led by college students and raw litterati (hence the name of the opposition, the ‘Young’) who would arrogate to themselves the role of the party’s theoreticians and leaders – such men as Paul Ernst, Paul Kampfmeyer, Hans Müller, Prune Wille among others. Ignoring the changed situation for the party’s activity after the repeal of the
Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52), the 'Young' denied the legal forms of struggle and opposed Social Democrats taking part in the Reichstag elections and making use of the Reichstag as a political tribune; they would demagogically accuse the party and its Executive of promoting the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and of opportunism, of violating democracy within the party ranks. In October 1891 the Erfurt Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany expelled some of the opposition leaders from the party.

647. A reference to the first May Day demonstration of London workers held on Sunday, 4 May 1890. Despite the attempts of reformist trade union leaders and Henry Hyndman, a Socialist with opportunist leanings, to foist class collaborationist slogans on the demonstration, it showed the readiness of the broadest masses of London workers to wage a struggle for socialist demands. The bulk of the demonstrators – about 200,000 strong – supported the slogans of the British supporters of Marx. Playing the chief role in the demonstration were Gas Workers and the London Dockers, who were the first to launch a struggle in the 1880s for ‘new’ mass trade unions to be set up (see note 489) and for legal eight hours. The demonstration culminated in a huge rally in London’s Hyde Park. For more detail about the first May Day celebration and the demonstration of May 4 in London, see Engels’ article ‘May 4 in London’ (present edition, Vol. 27).

648. E. Bernstein’s report carried in Berliner Volksblatt, No. 103, on 6 May 1890 and marked: London, 4 May.

649. The English text of the present letter was first published in The Labour Monthly, No. 8, 1955.

650. The People’s Press of 10 May 1890, devoted nearly 8 pages to the Hyde Park rally on 4 May (see note 647).


652. Engels cites from Nikolai Danielson’s letter to him, 17 May 1890. The reference is to P. Lafargue’s article about the evolution of property; this article was not published in the Northern Review.

653. This refers to the dissolution of General Boulanger’s National Republican Committee after a major defeat of his supporters at the municipal election in Paris on 27 April, 4 May 1890.

654. The present letter was written on a postcard; the corner of the leaf with a postage stamp is off. The reconstituted parts of the text are enclosed in the brackets.

655. A fragment of this letter in English was first published in Labour Monthly, London 1934, No. 6, p380.

656. A reference to an open letter of F. Sorge and F. Schlüter to A. Sartorius von Waltershausen with a protest against the characterisation of Marx in the
book *Der moderne Sozialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Berlin, 1890. This letter was published by *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 22.

657. A reference to 'The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League' founded in 1890 by a group of British Socialists with E. Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling at the head and with Engels' participation. The League sprang from the Central Committee that organised the first May Day demonstration in Britain in 1890.

658. In view of the publication by the newspaper *Volksstimme* on 16 September 1890 of P. Ernst's article distorting Engels' pronouncements and claiming him to have made common cause with the 'Young' (see note 646), Engels wrote an article entitled 'Reply to Mr Paul Ernst (see present edition, Vol. 27) where he inserted part of the present letter. A fragment from this letter was first published in English in Ibsen, *A Marxist Analysis*, Angel Flores (ed), Critics Group, New York 1937, pp21-24.

659. Engels replies to P. Ernst's letter of 31 May 1890, in which the latter asked for help in his polemics with G. Bahr who had the journal *Die Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, Heft 17, 28 Mai 1890, publish the article 'Zur Frauenfrage. Die Epigonen des Marxismus' which criticised Ernst's article 'Die Frauenfrage und soziale Frage' published by *Die Freie Bühne*, Heft 15, 14 Mai 1890.

660. A reference to *La Charte octroyée* promulgated in 1814 by the French King Louis XVIII and granting a constitutional monarchy. In keeping with this charter, the top of the commercial and financial bourgeoisie were allowed to share power with the nobility.

661. Engels means a Constitution endorsed by the Norwegian Representative Assembly at Eidsvoll in 1814 after the model of the French Constitution of 1791.

662. 'Vaterlandslosen Gesellen' ('Fellows without Fatherland') – a description that Emperor William II gave to the Social Democrats.

663. Danielson congratulated F. Engels on the victory of the German Social Democratic party at the election to the Reichstag on 20 February 1890 (see note 599).

664. On 22 January 1890, N. Danielson sent the *Statistical Yearbook for the Moscow Gubernia for 1889* to Engels and recommended that he read N. Chernenkov's articles in it, 'The Peasant Credit in the Moscow Gubernia in the Light of Correspondents' Reports' and 'Some Data on Peasant Public Loans in the Moscow Gubernia (According to Studies Carried out in 1876-78').

665. The reference is to the revolt of 1745-46 staged by supporters of the royal Stuart dynasty who demanded that the 'Young Pretender', Charles Edward Stuart, ascend to the throne. Regular government troops crushed the rebellion. This set in rapid process the disintegration of the clan system in the Highlands, with land seizure assuming ever broader proportions.
666. Engels replies to F. Schlüter's letter of 3 June 1890 in which he said he had been appointed editor of the annual *Pionier, Illustrierter Volks-Kalender* published by the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. Schlüter asked Engels for permission to publish in it the Marx biography which Engels wrote in 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24) and to supplement this biography by describing the last years of Marx's life.

667. On 1 July 1890, an agreement was signed providing for the transfer of the administration of the Island of Heligoland in the North Sea from Britain to Germany in exchange for Zanzibar and other German colonies in Africa.

668. Die Streusandbüchse (the sandbox) of the German Reich was the name given to the Brandenburger Mark with Berlin as the capital city.

669. A reference to F. Lassalle's proposal to Marx in January 1861 to publish a joint newspaper in Berlin; the preconditions made by Lassalle ruled out Marx's and Engels' participation in the project. About the reasons for the refusal of Marx and Engels to co-operate, see present edition Vol. 41 (Marx to Engels, 29 January 1861, Marx to Engels, 14 February 1861, Marx to Engels, 7 May 1861).

670. In his letter of 13 June 1890, L. Kugelmann asked Engels to send him a *Daily Telegraph* with Kingstone's article on his meeting with Bismarck.

671. Engels wrote these lines on a post card. Indicated on the reverse side was the address: Herrn Reichstagsabg. W. Liebknecht, Fürbringerstr.17, II, Berlin, Germany.

672. Probably W. Liebknecht requested Engels to write a refutation to the newspaper *Justice* over the publication in it, 21 June 1890, No. 336, Vol. VII, of a commentary under the heading 'Make a Note of This!'. In it, with reference to one of the Possibilist leaders, Paul Brousse, as a source, Liebknecht was reported to have made the following statement on behalf of the German Social Democratic Party: 'We are not revolutionaries', and he allegedly said that the German Social Democrats were pinning all hopes on propaganda, not on revolutionary actions. On 28 June 1890, *Justice*, No. 337, Vol. VII, carried F. Gilles' letter to the editorial board 'German Social Democrats still Revolutionists'. Gilles made it clear that even though Liebknecht might have uttered the statement ascribed to him, he could in no way speak on behalf of the party which, at all its congresses, reasserted its loyalty to revolutionary principles. On 2 August 1890, *The People's Press* published explanations from Liebknecht concerning the assertions of *Justice*.

673. In mid August 1890 Engels spent 4 weeks at Folkestone, a small resort near Dover.

674. The first Congress of the German Social Democratic Party after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law (see note 52) took place at Halle on 12-18 October 1890. It was attended by 413 delegates. The congress endorsed the party rules and, at Liebknecht's suggestion, passed a decision on drafting a new Programme to be submitted at the next party congress at Erfurt and on
having this Draft Programme published three months before the congress for discussion at local party organisations and in the press. The Halle Congress likewise considered the issue of the party press and the party’s attitude to strikes and boycotts.

675. Engels means the annual tour of northern countries by Emperor William II; in 1890 it took place between 27 June and 28 July (see also F. Engels’ letter to K. Kautsky of 18 September 1890, present edition, Vol. 49).

676. Engels wrote this letter on a post card. He put down the following address on the back: F.A. Sorge Esq., Hoboken N.Y., US America which someone corrected to: Hoboken N.Y., US America in Mt. Desert, Maine.

677. The owners of the gas enterprises of Leeds demanded that workers be hired for a term of 4 months without a right to participate in strike action during this period. The volume of work done in an 8-hour day was supposed to be 25 per cent higher than what had been performed before, that is, when the working day had been longer. These entrepreneurial conditions, amounting to an actual annihilation of the Gas Workers and General Labourers’ Union and of the hard-won legal working hours, caused anger and counter-action amongst the working men. Early in July 1890 it came to clashes between strikers and blacklegs, the latter being supported by the police. The stubborn resistance of the striking workers made the strike-breakers and troops retreat. The employers had to withdraw their demands. The exploit of one of the heroes or the Leeds strike, Will Thorne, received high praise from Engels who presented him with a copy of the English edition of Volume I of Capital bearing the following dedication: ‘To Will Thorne, the victor of the Leeds with fraternal greetings from Frederick Engels’.

678. K. Kautsky took part in the work on the MS of volume IV of Capital, ‘Theories of Surplus Value’ (see note 353).
Name Index

Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918) – Turkish sultan (1876-1909): 361

Adler, Emma (née Braun) (1858-1935): 457

Adler, Georg (1863-1908) – German economist and journalist, professor at Berlin university from 1900; author of several works on social and political problems: 137

Adler, Victor (1852-1918) – a leader of Austrian Social Democrats; editor of the Arbeiter-Zeitung; delegate to the international socialist workers’ congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893: 323, 354, 375, 376, 413-5, 419

Alexander II (1818-1881) – Emperor of Russia (1855-81): 46, 133


Anneke, Friedrich (1818-1872) – Prussian artillery officer, member of the Communist League; one of the founders and secretary of the Cologne Workers’ Association in 1848; editor of the Neue Kölnische Zeitung; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and the Civil War in the USA (1861-65): 399

Annie – servant of Engels: 181, 198

Aseele, Edward (1856-1938) – Belgian socialist, a founder and leader of the Parti ouvrier Belge (1885); was active in the co-operative movement; journalist; a Vice-President of the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889: 239, 252, 293, 294, 307, 325, 412

Antoine, Jules Dominique (1845-1917) – a French politician, fought in the Franco-Prussian War, deputy to the German Reichstag from Alsace-Lorraine (1881-89); actively supported return of Alsace-Lorraine to France; following General Boulanger’s flight, renounced his deputy mandate and moved to France: 288

Auer, Ignaz (1846-1907) – German Social Democrat, saddlemaker; a leader of the Social Democratic Party; was repeatedly elected (from 1877) to the Reichstag: 301, 311, 334, 404

Aveling, Edward Bibbins (1851-1898) – English journalist, socialist; a translator of Volume I of Capital into English; member of the Social Democratic Federation from 1884, later a founder of the Socialist League (December 1884); an organiser of the mass movement of the unskilled workers and the unemployed in the late 1880s-early 1890s; delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889; Eleanor Marx’s husband: 3, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15-20, 21-2, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 37-9, 41-2, 43-4, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50-1, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 66, 70-2, 73, 74, 76, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88,91, 92, 96, 101, 112, 113, 116, 119, 123, 150, 157, 158,170, 173, 184-5, 186, 192.

Aveling, Eleanor – see Marx-Aveling, Eleanor

Avenel, Georges (1828-1876) – French historian and democratic journalist; author of works on the history of the French Revolution: 58, 248, 413, 414

Axelrod, Pavel Borisovich (1850-1928) – Russian Social Democrat, member of the Emancipation of Labour group from 1883: 331

Babeuf, François Noël (Gracchus) (1760-1797) – French revolutionary, advocate of utopian egalitarian communism, organiser of the conspiracy of equals: 58, 268

Back – Russian émigré in Switzerland, a Baltic German by birth; published a German-language journal in Geneva in the 1880s: 458

Baernreither, Joseph Maria (1845-1925) – Austrian politician, lawyer and journalist, member of the Bohemian Landtag and Austrian Reichstag (from 1885): 89, 101, 104

Bahr, Hermann (1863-1934) – Austrian writer: 503, 505

Baker, Valentine (Baker Pasha) (1827-1887) – English army officer: 169

Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1874) – Russian democratic, journalist; participant in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism; opposed Marxism in the First International; expelled from the International at the Hague Congress of 1872: 335, 338, 394

Balfour, Arthur James, 1st Earl of (1848-1930) – British statesman, MP (1874-1922), Chief Secretary for Ireland (1887-91), leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons (1891-1902, with intervals), Prime Minister (1902-05): 155, 159

Balzac, Honoré de (1799-1850): 167-8, 180, 248

Bangya, János (1817-1868) – Hungarian journalist and officer, participant in the 1848-49 Revolution in Hungary; after its defeat, Kossuth’s emissary abroad and at the same time agent-provocateur; later served in the Turkish army under the name of Mehemed Bey, acting as a Turkish agent in the Caucasus: 142

Bardorf, Josef (1847-1922) – Austrian Social Democrat, a leader of the ‘moderates’, a leader of the United Social Democratic Party from 1876, editor of the Wahrheit: 269

Baron – see Kautsky, Karl

Barry, Maltman (1842-1909) – English journalist, member of the First International, supporter of Marx and Engels at the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-74), contributed to a number of newspapers, The Standard among them: 449

Baslu, Émile Joseph (1854-1928) – French socialist, active trade union member, miner, repeatedly elected to the Chamber of Deputies: 53, 381

Bateman, George – English socialist, printer, member of the Social Democratic Federation: 331, 359, 377, 448

Battenberg, Alexander Joseph (1857-1893) – son of the Prince of Hesse, Prince Alexander I of Bulgaria (1879-86), pursued a pro-Austrian and pro-German policy: 41, 58, 174

Baudin, Eugène (1853-1918) – French socialist, Blanquist, worker at a porcelain factory, member of the
First International, a Communist; after the suppression of the
Commune lived in England (1871-81); returned to France after
amnesty; elected to the Chamber of
Deputies in 1889 and 1893: 381, 383, 384

Bauer, Bruno (1809-1882) – German
idealistic philosopher, Young
Hegelian; author of the works on
the history of Christianity, Radical,
National Liberal after 1866: 220,
249, 393

Bauer, Edgar (1820-1886) – German
journalist, philosopher, Young
Hegelian; emigrated to England after
the 1848-49 Revolution; an official
in Prussia after the 1861 amnesty;
Bruno Bauer’s brother: 393

Bax, Ernest Belfort (1854-1926) –
British socialist, historian, philoso-
pher and journalist; one of the first
exponents of Marxism in England;
active left-wing member of the
Social Democratic Federation; a
founder of the Socialist League; a
publisher of The Commonweal
(from 1884): 11, 70, 78, 88, 93, 108,
262, 264, 269, 310, 328, 387, 417,
418-9, 422, 427, 449, 457, 458

Bebel, Ferdinand August (1840-1913) –
prominent figure in the German and
international working-class move-
ment; turner; member of the First
International, deputy to the North
German (1867-70) and to the
German Reichstag (1871-81 and
from 1883); a founder and leader of
German Social Democracy and the
Second International; friend and
associate of Marx and Engels: 31, 35-
7, 76, 94-5, 98-9, 103, 104, 107, 109,
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407, 427, 443, 450-3, 474, 490, 492-5,
509-10

Bebel, Johanna Caroline Julie (1843-
1910): 35-7

Beck, Grigori – member of People’s
freedom circles in Russia and abroad
in mid-1880s; lived in emigration
from 1886: 482, 483, 484

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886) –
prominent figure in the German and
international working-class move-
ment; brush-maker; took part in the
revolutionary democratic movement
in Germany and Switzerland in the
1830s-40s and the 1848-49 revolu-
tion, active member of the First
International, delegate to the
London Conference (1865) and all
the congresses of the First
International; friend and associate of
Marx and Engels: 322, 458

Beckmann, Johann B. (1739-1811) –
German scientist, author of works
on agriculture, economy and tech-
nology: 74

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932) –
German Social Democrat; journalist,
editor of Der Sozialdemokrat (1881-
90), a leader of the German Social
Democrats; produced a ‘reformist’
revision of Marxism in the latter half
of the 1890s: 57-9, 67, 108, 109, 179,
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483, 484, 493, 494, 501

Bernstein, Regina (Schattner by first
marriage): 193, 198, 200, 257, 259,
260, 426, 438

Besant, Annie (1847-1933) – British
radical, theosophist; participated in
socialist movement for some time; member of the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation in the 1880s; took part in organising the trade union movement of unskilled workers: 74, 76, 108, 152, 183

Beust, Friedrich von (1817-1899) – Prussian army officer, took part in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; after its defeat, emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA; member of the Zurich local section of the International; professor of pedagogics: 85, 88, 108, 185

Bevan, George Phillips (d. 1889) – British economist and statistician:

Binning, Thomas – prominent figure in the English working-class movement; compositor; member of the Socialist League; an organiser of the North of England Socialist Federation (1887): 70

Bismarck (or Bismarck-Schönhausen), Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince von (1815-1898) – Statesman of Prussia and Germany, Ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and to Paris (1862); Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany, introduced the Anti-Socialist Law in 1878: 10, 11, 20, 23, 25, 51, 54, 58, 92, 104, 107, 111, 114, 129, 130, 135, 138, 139, 140-1, 142, 145-7, 151, 155, 160, 162, 165, 171, 174-5, 177-8, 181-2, 185, 190-1, 222, 238, 239, 253, 259, 261-2, 273-4, 283, 287, 337, 349, 355, 419, 423, 443, 444, 451, 452, 454, 455, 456, 457, 459, 475, 477, 479

Bland, Hubert (1856-1914) – British socialist, journalist, a founder of the Fabian Society, its treasurer and member of the Executive Committee up to 1911; member of the Social Democratic Federation: 152

Block – German-born American socialist, Secretary of the German bakers’ trade union and editor of its newspaper: 192

Block, R. – son of the above: 192

Blos, Wilhelm (1849-1927) – German politician and historian; member of Social Democrats from 1872; editor of Der Volksstaat and deputy to the Reichstag: 474, 492

Blum, Robert (1807-1848) – German democrat, journalist; leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna against counter-revolutionary forces in October 1848; shot after the fall of the city: 252

Bonaparte, Napoleon (1769-1821) – Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815): 146, 165, 175, 248, 261, 503


Botta, Carlo Giuseppe Guglielmo (1766-1837) – Italian historian, poet and politician: 179


Boulé – French socialist and active trade union member, Blanquist; stone-cutter; socialist candidate at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in January 1889, delegate to the International Socialist
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Bowen, Paul T. – prominent figure in the American trade union movement, delegate of the Washington trade union organisations to the Possibilist Congress in Paris (1889): 353

Boy er, Antoine Jean Baptiste (Antide) (1850-1918) – French socialist; potter, later office worker; repeatedly elected to the Chamber of Deputies, an organiser of the parliamentary workers' party: 383, 404, 481

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891) – English journalist and politician, Radical, atheist, editor of The National Reformer (from 1860): 71, 78, 113, 152

Braun, Heinrich (1854-1927) – German Social Democrat, a founder of Die Neue Zeit (1883), editor of the Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik and several other press organs: 250, 277, 422

Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph) (1844-1931) – German economist: 230

Brismée, Désiré (1823-1888) – prominent figure in the Belgian democratic and working-class movement; printer; Proudhonist, member of the First International, delegate to its Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses, sided with the Bakunists, later abandoned anarchism; member of the Executive Committee of the Belgian Workers' Party: 177

Broadhurst, Henry (1840-1911) – British politician, a trade union leader; stonemason, later trade union official; Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1875-90), Liberal MP (from 1880), Under-Secretary of State for the Home Office: 104, 177, 333, 334, 360, 377, 437

Brocher, Gustave (1850-1931) – member of the international revolutionary movement, active exponent of atheism; teacher, French by birth; lived in Russia in the late 1860s-early 1870s, associated with the Narodniks (Populists); lived in London in 1874-93 where he met Marx and Engels; sided with anarchists for some time: 358

Brousse, Paul Louis Marie (1840-1912) – French politician; socialist, physician; member of the First International (till 1872); a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune lived in emigration in Spain and Switzerland, sided with the anarchists; after his return to France in 1880 joined the French Workers’ Party, later a leader of the Possibilists: 13, 14, 65, 93, 238, 287, 291, 294, 296, 297, 298, 313, 323, 324, 333, 335, 336, 338, 350, 356

Brun, Karl von (b. 1803) – German journalist, member of the Communist League, expelled in 1850; supporter of the Willich-Schapper group; editor of the Lassallean Nordstern in Hamburg (1861-66): 142

Buhl, Ludwig Heinrich Franz (1814-c. 1882) – German journalist, a Young Hegelian, author of pamphlets in the Patriot series: 393

Bunting, Sir Percy William (1836-1911) – British journalist, publisher of The Contemporary Review (1882-1911), Liberal: 461

Buonarroti, Filippo Michele (1761-1837) – Italian revolutionary, utopian communist, prominent figure in the revolutionary movement in France at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries; François Babeuf’s associate: 58

Burns, John (1858-1943) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the New
Trade Unions in the 1880s, leader of the London dockers' strike (1889); adopted a liberal trade union stand in the 1890s: 66, 141, 156, 330, 331, 334, 359, 360, 369, 370, 376, 377, 389, 390, 418, 420, 431, 436, 437, 442, 448, 485

Burns, William (Willie) – nephew of Lydia Burns (Engels' second wife): 206, 207

Burt, Thomas (1837-1922) – English miner, secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association, MP (1874-1918), supporter of the Liberal Party: 81

Caffarel, Louis Charles (1829-1907) – French general, deputy chief of the General Staff in 1887, was compelled to resign because of involvement in speculation with orders (1887): 107

Campbell, Ellen – American, friend of Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky: 153

Caraccioli, Louis Antoine, Marquis (1721-1803) – French writer and journalist: 269

Carnot, Marie François Sadi (1837-1894) – French statesman, republican, repeatedly held ministerial posts; President of the Republic (1887-94): 123, 197

Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio (1832-1899) – Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of the right-wing Republicans; President of the Republic (September 1873 -January 1874); deputy to the Cortes after the restoration of monarchy in 1874: 458

Cervantes de Saavedra, Miguel (1547-1616): 180

Champion, Henry Hyde (1859-1928) – English socialist, publisher and journalist; member of the Social Democratic Federation till 1887, later a leader of the trade unionist Labour Electoral Association in London; edited and published the

Labour Elector; emigrated in the 1890s to Australia where he took an active part in the working-class movement: 11, 66, 108, 252, 331, 359, 377, 389, 390, 418, 436, 448, 449, 485

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889) – Russian revolutionary democrat, philosopher, writer and literary critic, predecessor of Russian Social Democrats: 484, 506

Christensen, P. – Danish Social Democrat: 307

Clemenceau, Georges (Eugène Benjamin) (1841-1929) – French politician and journalist, Radical leader from the 1880s, editor and publisher of La Justice: 65-6, 109-10, 124, 190, 368

Cloots, Jean Baptiste Baron de (Anacharsis) (1755-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution, Dutchman by birth; close to the left-wing Jacobins, member of the Convention: 413, 414, 415

Cluseret, Gustave Paul (1823-1900) – French politician, member of the First International, sided with the Bakuninists; took part in the revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1879); a Communard; after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and later to the USA; returned to France after amnesty; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1888, sided with socialists; delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889: 383, 385

Cohn, Gustav (1840-1919) – German economist, professor in Zurich from 1875, and at Göttingen university from 1884: 221

Colletta, Pietro (1775-1831) – Italian politician and historian: 179

Conrad, Johannes Ernst (1839-1915) – German economist, professor,
publisher of the Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik and other reference publications containing economic and statistical information: 250, 477

Cornelius, Wilhelm – German journalist; one of Marx’s friends; refugee in London in the 1850s; businessman: 393


Cremer, Sir William Randall (1838-1903) – active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement, member of the General Council of the First International and its General Secretary (1864-66); Liberal MP (from 1885): 65, 81, 158, 418

Creuzer, Georg Friedrich (1771-1858) – German philologist, author of several works on mythology, art and literature of antiquity: 29

Croll, Cornelius (1857-1895) – Dutch Social Democrat, journalist: 460

Cunninghame Graham, Robert Bontine (1852-1936) – Scottish writer and politician; came from an aristocratic family; took part in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s-90s; MP (1886-92), delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889; later prominent in the Scottish national movement: 156, 157, 159, 245, 330, 359, 448

Cuno, Theodor Friedrich (1846-1934) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; engineer; Socialist; fought against anarchists in Italy; organiser of the Milan section of the First International, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); emigrated to the USA where he took part in the International’s activity; a leader of the American labour organisation, The Knights of Labor: 202, 203, 210

Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich (pen-name Nikolai-on) (1844-1918) – Russian economist, journalist; a theoretician of Narodism (Populism) in the 1880s-90s; corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years; translated into Russian (together with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lybavin) volumes I II and III of Marx’s Capital: 26-7, 52, 100, 135-7, 228-30, 319, 331, 346-7, 351-2, 415-6, 497, 506-7, 520

Dante, Alighieri (1265-1321): 364

Danton, Georges Jacques (1759-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution of the late 18th century, leader of the right-wing Jacobins: 268, 414


Daumas, Augustin Honoré (b. 1826) – French politician; mechanic; elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the 1870s-80s, the Senate in the late 1880s; member of the Paris City Council in 1889, sided with the socialist group; delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889: 328

Davies, Sir John (1569-1626) – British statesman, lawyer and poet; attorney-general for Ireland (from 1606); author of several works on the history of Ireland:

Davitt, Michael (1846-1906) – Irish revolutionary democrat, an organiser (1879) and leader of the Land League, champion of the Home Rule in Ireland; MP (1895-99); took part in the English working-class movement: 49, 486

Delahaye, Pierre Louis (b. 1820) – French mechanic, Proudhonist;
member of the First International from 1865; a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International and of the British Federal Council (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871); returned to France in 1879: 192

Dell, Robert Edward (1865-1940) – British journalist, Fabian, editor of *The People's Press*: 485, 513, 518


De Paepe, César (1841-1890) – Belgian socialist; compositor, subsequently physician; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the First International (1865), member of the Belgian Federal Council, delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) Congresses and London Conference (1871) of the First International and the Ghent International Socialist Congress (1877); a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885): 56, 57, 407

Deville, Gabriel Pierre (1854-1940) – French socialist, exponent of Marxism, member of the French Workers' Party, journalist, author of a popular exposition of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889: 41, 79, 107, 180-1, 243, 263, 273, 313, 404, 432

Derossi, Karl (1844-1910) – German Social Democrat, Lassallean; emigrated to Switzerland in 1879 and later to the USA: 500

Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm (1843-1922) – German publisher, Social Democrat, founded the Social Democratic publishing house (1881), deputy to the Reichstag (from 1881): 277, 461, 465, 466, 471, 472,

Dietzgen, Joseph (1828-1888) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tanner; philosopher who independently arrived at dialectical materialism, champion of Marxism; member of the First International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; emigrated to the USA in 1884: 43

Diez, Friedrich Christian (1794-1876) – German linguist, a founder of comparative historical linguistics, author of *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*: 132

Dilke, Margaret Mary (b. 1857) – widow of the British politician and journalist Ashton Wentworth Dilke, owner of the *Weekly Dispatch*: 161

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield from 1876 (1804-1881) – British politician and author, leader of the Conservative Party, Prime Minister (1868) and 1874-80): 118, 120, 153

Douai, Karl Daniel Adolph (1819-1888) – French-born German journalist; democrat, later socialist; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; participated in the American socialist movement; editor of several socialist newspapers, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* among them (1878-88): 21


Dühring, Eugen Karl (1833-1921) – German philosopher, economist, lawyer; socialist; lecturer at Berlin university (1863-77): 249
Dumay, Jean Baptiste (1841-1926) - French mechanic; leader of the Greusot Commune in 1871; sentenced to exile, fled to Switzerland; returned to France after amnesty, member of the Paris City Council from 1887, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-93), Possibilist: 381, 383

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889) - German tailor and journalist, prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, member of the Communist League, member of the General Council of the First International (1864-72), the Council's General Secretary (1867-71); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; supported Marx and Engels up to the Hague Congress of 1872; member of the English trade union movement in the 1870s-80s: 14, 178, 335

Echegaray y Eizaguirre, José (1833-1916) - Spanish playwright, mathematician, engineer and politician, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences from 1866, elected to the Cortes in 1868; Minister of Trade, Finances and Education (1868-74): 321

Eichhoff, Karl Wilhelm (1833-1895) - German socialist and journalist, refugee in London in 1861-66; member of the First International from 1868, one of its first historians; member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany from 1869, editor of several legal workers' papers in the 1880s: 166-7

Ellen - servant of Engels: 368

Ellis, George Billow - representative of an American industrial firm in London: 405

Ellisen, O. Adolph - gymnasium teacher at Einbeck: 395

Ely, Richard Theodore (1854-1943) - American economist, professor of political economy at university of Wisconsin, author: 501, 517


Engels, Hermann Friedrich Theodor (1858-1926) - Hermann Engels' son, manufacturer, a partner in the Ermen & Engels firm:

Estrup, Jacob Brønnum Scavenius (1825-1913) - Danish statesman, Minister of the Interior (1865-69), Finance Minister and Prime Minister (1875-94), Conservative: 423, 424

Eudes, Emile François Désiré (1843-1888) - French revolutionary, Blanquist, general of the National Guard, a Commurand; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; on his return to France after amnesty of 1880 an organiser of the Central Revolutionary Committee of Blanquists: 246

Evreinoff, 497

Farjat, Gabriel (1857-1930) - French socialist, weaver; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); General Secretary of the National Trade Union Federation of France (1886), delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891: 328-9, 332

Faucher, Julius (Jules) (1820-1878) - German journalist, economist, a young Hegelian; a founder of the German party for free trade, emigrant in England in 1850-61, contributed to the Morning Star from 1856; returned to Germany in 1861; member of the Party of Progress, National Liberal from 1866: 393
Ferroul, Joseph Antoine Jean Frédéric Ernest (1853-1921) – French politician, journalist, physician, socialist, member of the French Workers’ Party; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1888-93 and 1899-1902); delegate to the international Socialist workers’ congresses of 1889 and 1891: 383, 385

Ferry, Jules François Camille (1832-1893) – French lawyer, journalist and politician; a leader of moderate republicans; member of the Government of National Defence, Mayor of Paris (1870-71), Prime Minister (1880-81 and 1883-85): 107, 110, 113, 124, 150, 246, 259, 314, 368, 385, 412

Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804-1872) – German philosopher: 463

Field, Arthur (b. 1869) – English socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation, journalist: 342

Fischer, Paul – German Social Democrat, contributed to the Berliner Volks-Tribüne: 364

Fischer, Richard (1855-1926) – German Social Democrat, journalist; composer; Secretary of the Party’s Executive Committee (1890-93), member of the Reichstag (1893-1926), a publisher of Vorwärts: 373, 426, 438, 450

Floquet, Charles Thomas (1828-1896) – French statesman, Radical; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1871-93), repeatedly elected its chairman, Prime Minister (1888-89); was compelled to withdraw from active political work after the exposure in 1892 of his implication in the Panama Canal swindle: 196-7, 261

Fortin, Edouard – French socialist, journalist, member of the French Workers’ Party: 14, 24, 40

Foster, Rachel – American public figure; Secretary of the National Society of Struggle for Women’s Franchise: 55

Fox, Charles James (1749-1806) – English statesman, orator, a Whig leader, Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806): 424

Frankel, Leo (1844-1896) – prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweller; a Communard; member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International, a founder of the General Workers’ Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels: 88

Frederick II (1712-1786) – King of Prussia (1740-86): 273, 456

Frederick III (1831-1888) – King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany (March-June 1888): 111, 114, 138, 140-1, 146, 151, 163, 164-5, 174-5, 177-8, 181, 190, 222, 451, 473

Frederick William IV (1795-1861) – King of Prussia (1840-61): 250

Fréjac (Fréjac de Commentary), Raoul (b. 1849) – French socialist, member of the French Workers’ Party, delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889: 329

Freycinet, Charles Louis de Saulces de (1828-1932) – French statesman and diplomat, moderate republican, repeatedly held ministerial posts, Prime Minister (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92): 124

Frohme, Karl Franz Egon (1850-1933) – German journalist, Social Democrat, Lassallean in the 1870s, later a leader of reformist wing in the German Social Democratic Party, deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-1918), delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889 in Paris: 30

Fullerton, John (1780-1849) – British economist, author of works on money circulation and credit, oppo-
ent of the quantitative theory of money: 347

**Geffcken, Friedrich Heinrich** (1830-1896) – German diplomat and lawyer, author of several works on the history of international law: 253

**Geiser, Bruno** (1846-1896) – German Social Democrat, journalist, editor of *Die Neue Welt*; deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87) where he belonged to the right wing of the Social Democratic group, expelled from the Social Democratic Party in the late 1880s; Wilhelm Liebknecht's son-in-law: 30, 107, 363, 400

**Gély, André** – French socialist, Possibilist: 292

**George, Henry** (1839-1897) – American journalist, economist: 51, 79, 84, 91, 101, 102, 103, 486

**Georgei, Max** – American delegate of the German Workers' Club in Washington to the Possiblist's Congress in Paris (1889): 353

**Gilles, Ferdinand** (born c. 1856) – German journalist, Social Democrat; moved to London in 1886, contributed to the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*; took part in the work of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; exposed as a police agent in 1891: 141, 512-3

**Girardin, Émile de** (1806-1881) – French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse* and *La Liberté*; moderate republican during the 1848-49 Revolution, later Bonapartist: 107, 110-1

**Gladstone, William Ewart** (1809-1898) – British statesman, Tory, later a leader of the Liberal Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94): 108, 113, 253, 360-1, 418, 444, 445, 461, 468

**Goegg, Amand** (1820-1897) – German journalist, democrat, member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the revolution; member of the First International; joined the German Social Democrats in the 1870s: 189

**Gottschalk, Andreas** (1815-1849) – German physician, member of the Communist League's community in Cologne; President of the Cologne Workers' Association in April-June 1848; exponent of 'Left' tendencies in the German working-class movement: 398-9

**Goullé, Albert Frédéric** (1844-1918) – French socialist, member of the First International, journalist, Blanquist, contributed to *Le Cri du Peuple* from 22 February to 23 May 1871 and to the renewed *Cri du Peuple* from October 1883, also to *La Voie du Peuple* in February-March 1887; emigrant in London: 41

**Granger, Ernest Henri** (b. 1844) – French socialist, Blanquist, journalist; a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to England; returned to France after amnesty; joined the Boulangist movement, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889: 397

**Grévy, François Paul Jules** (1807-1891) – French statesman, moderate republican, President of the Republic (1879-87): 107, 110, 113

**Grillenberger, Karl** (1848-1897) – German Social Democrat, worker, later journalist, publisher of several Social Democratic newspapers; deputy to the German Reichstag from 1881; belonged to the right wing of the Social Democratic Party of Germany: 461

**Gronlund, Laurence** (1846-1899) – Danish-born American socialist, journalist; member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor
Party of North America from 1887: 152, 465

Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand (pseudonym Ernst von der Heide) (1817-1887) - German journalist, 'true socialist' in the mid-1840s, democrat during the 1848-49 Revolution; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (left wing); emigrant in Brussels (1850-61); professor in Frankfurt am Main (1862-65) and Vienna (from 1870): 234, 235

Grunzig, Julius (b. 1855) - German Social Democrat, banished from Berlin during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law; emigrated to the USA in the 1880s; contributed to the New Yorker Volkszeitung: 90

Guebhard - French physician, owner of Le Cri du Peuple, Caroline Rémy Séverine's husband: 13

Guesde, Jules (real name Mathieu Jules Basile) (1845-1922) - prominent figure in the French and international working-class and socialist movement; initially republican, sided with the anarchists in the first half of the 1870s; founder (1877) and editor of L'Egalité; a founder of the French Workers' Party (1880); leader of the revolutionary wing in the French socialist movement for a number of years: 13, 75, 93, 243, 263, 273, 313, 330, 377, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384, 385, 388, 397, 403, 411-2, 419, 431, 432, 481, 490, 496

Guillaume-Schack, Gertrud (née Countess Schack) (1845-1905) - German socialist, prominent figure in the women's working-class movement in Germany: 58, 70-2, 73, 76, 77, 78, 83, 84, 120, 156, 409, 461

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874) - French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), in 1847 also Prime Minister: 110, 386

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893) - German physician resident in Manchester, friend of Marx and Engels: 128, 409

Hales, John (b. 1839) - British trade unionist, weaver; member of the General Council of the First International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872; expelled from the International in May 1873: 252

Hardie, James Keir (1856-1915) - prominent figure in the English working-class movement; miner, later journalist; founder and leader of the Scottish Labour Party (from 1888): 318

Harkness, Margaret Elise (pseudonym John Law) - British author, socialist, member of the Social Democratic Federation, contributed to the Justice, wrote stories about workers' life: 166-8, 344, 345, 409

Harney, George Julian (1817-1897) - prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a Chartist leader (left wing); editor of several Chartist papers; lived in the USA from 1863 to 1888 (with intervals); members of the First International; was on friendly terms with Marx and Engels: 208-9, 379, 431

Harney, Mary: 208, 265, 271

Hartmann, Lev Nikolayevich (1850-1913) - Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (Populist), took part in acts of terrorism with the Narodnaya Volya organisation against Alexander II in 1879, after which emigrated to France, later to England and to the USA in 1881: 355, 361, 378

Hasenclever, Wilhelm (1837-1889) - German Social Democrat, journalist, Lassallean; President of the General
Association of German Workers (1871-75); one of the two chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany (1875-76); together with Wilhelm Liebknecht edited Vorwärts (1876-78); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1869-71, 1874-78 and 1879-88): 154

Haupt, Christian – foundryman; German police agent in Geneva from 1880, exposed in 1887: 130

Hawthorne, Nathaniel (1804-1864) – American author: 184

Hébert, Jacques René (1757-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Left-wing Jacobins: 414

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831) – German philosopher: 117-8, 130, 239, 410

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856) – German revolutionary poet: 117-8, 130, 239, 410

Hepner, Adolf (1846-1923) – German Social Democrat, an editor of Der Volksstaat, delegate to the Hague Congress of the First International (1872); member of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party, later emigrated to the USA: 418

Herkner, Heinrich (1863-1932) – German economist: 118

Hess, Moses (1812-1875) – German radical writer, ‘true socialist’ in the mid-1840s, member of the Communist League; after its split joined the Willich-Schapper group; member of the General Association of German workers; member of the First International, delegate to its Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses: 234, 235, 398

Hildebrand, Max – schoolteacher in Berlin, adherent of Max Stirner, collected biographical material about the latter: 393-5

Hoch, Gustav (1862-1942) – German Social Democrat, writer and journalist: 250

Hovelacque, Alexandre Abel (1843-1896) – French linguist, anthropologist and politician, socialist radical, Chairman of the Paris City Council (1889-94), member of the Chamber of Deputies: 261

Howell, George (1833-1910) – British mason, a reformist leader of the British trade unions; former Chartist; member of the General Council of the First International (October 1864 to 1869); Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress, Liberal MP (1885-95): 65, 81, 158

Hunter, William Alexander (1844-1898) – British politician, lawyer, MP (1885-96), liberal, editor of the Weekly Dispatch: 161

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-1895) – English natural scientist, associate of Charles Darwin: 458


Ibsen, Henrik (1828-1906) – Norwegian playwright: 321, 503, 505

Iglesias, Posse Pablo (1850-1925) – prominent figure in the Spanish working-class movement; printer, journalist; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the First International (1871-72), fought against anarchists; a founder of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Spain
(1879), later a leader of its reformist wing; delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889:

Ihring, Ferdinand – employee of the German political police; as an agent provocateur in one of the Berlin workers' societies, assumed the name of Malov in 1885; was exposed in February 1886: 175

Isaacs, Henry Aaron – Lord Mayor of London (1889-90): 418

Jacard, Charles Victor (1843-1903) – French socialist, Blanquist, journalist, member of the First International, a Communard; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated; returned to France after the 1880 amnesty, continued to take part in the socialist movement: 349, 381

Jacques, Edouard Louis Auguste (b. 1828) – French politician, businessman, moderate republican; member of the Paris City Council from 1871; Chairman of the General Council of the Seine Department from 1887; candidate of the united republicans at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in January 1889: 252, 273

Jevons, William Louis Alexandre (1846-1890) – French socialist, mechanic, a Communard; after suppression of the Commune emigrated to England (1871-81); member of the French Workers' Party, a leader of its Possibilist wing; member of the Paris City Council from 1882, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889: 136, 229

Joffrin, Jules Louis Alexandre – 381, 383

Johnson, James – representative of an American industrial firm in London: 405, 449


Jollymeier – see Schorlemmer, Carl


Joos, Joseph – German Social Democrat, emigrant in Zurich and later in London, contributed to Der Sozialdemokrat: 262

Joule, James Prescott (1818-1889) – English physicist, studied electromagnetism and heat, established mechanical equivalent of heat: 230

Jourdan, Jean Baptiste (1762-1833) – French general, Marshal of France from 1804; fought in the war of the French Republic against the first European coalition: 268

Jourde, Antoine (1848-1923) – French tradesman, close to socialists, later joined the Boulangist movement; delegate to several congresses of the French Workers' Party; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1889-1910): 397, 399

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901) – prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, refugee in London; member of the General Council of the First International; sided with the reformist wing of the British Federal Council in 1872; withdrew from the working-class movement after 1877: 252, 335, 349, 449

Jungnitz, Ernst (d. 1848) – German journalist, Left Hegelian, contributed to the Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung: 393

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804) – German philosopher: 340
Kareyev, Nikolai Ivanovich (1850-1931) – Russian historian and journalist, liberal, professor at Warsaw and St. Petersburg universities (1879-84): 266, 267-8, 269-71

Katkov, Mikhail Nikiforovich (1818-1887) – Russian journalist, editor of Moskovskie Vedomosti (1850-55, 1863-87), noted as a leader of the Pan-Slavists: 92, 93

Kaufmann, R. – German soldier: 107

Kautsky, Johann (Hans) (b. 1864) – scene painter, Karl Kautsky’s brother: 225, 226, 235


Kautsky, Minna (née Jaich) (1837-1912) – German author, Karl Kautsky’s mother: 226, 227

Kautsky, Minna (b. 1856) – Karl Kautsky’s sister: 226


Kemn, George (1845-1924) – American journalist, explorer and lecturer: 468

Keussler, Ivan Avgustovich (1843-1896) – Russian economist: 135, 132

Kiselev, Pavel Dmitriyevich (1843-1896) – Russian economist and diplomat, general, chief of the Russian administration in Moldavia and Wallachia (1829-34), permanent member of all secret committees on peasant problems (from 1835), Minister of the Imperial Domains (from 1837); supported moderate reforms: 134

Klein, Julius Leopold (1804-1876) – German playwright and theatre critic, Young Hegelian: 393

Knapp, George Friedrich (1842-1926) – German economist and statistician: 132

Knowles, James Thomas (1831-1908) – British man of letters, publisher and architect, founder and editor (1877-1908) of the magazine Nineteenth Century: 461

Koch, Hugo – German Social Democrat, refugee in London, secretary to the editorial board of the Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung: 105

Köpper, Karl Friedrich (1808-1863) – German radical journalist and historian, Young Hegelian; later specialised in the history of Buddhism; Marx’s friend: 393, 415

Kossuth, Lajos (Louis) (1802-1894) – Hungarian politician, leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; headed the bourgeois-democratic elements in the 1848-49 Revolution and later the Hungarian revolutionary government; after the defeat of the revolution, left Hungary; sought
support among the Bonapartists in the 1850s; opposed formation of the dual monarchy in 1867: 142, 430

Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich (pseudonym Stepniak) (1851-1895) – Russian writer and journalist, revolutionary Narodnik in the 1870s, emigrated after committing a terrorist act against the chief of gendarmes in St Petersburg in 1878; lived in England from 1884: 341, 467, 468, 493

Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich (pseudonym Stepniak) (1851-1895) – Russian writer and journalist, revolutionary Narodnik in the 1870s, emigrated after committing a terrorist act against the chief of gendarmes in St Petersburg in 1878; lived in England from 1884: 341, 467, 468, 493

Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich, Prince (1842-1921) – Russian revolutionary, an ideologist of anarchism, sociologist, geographer and geologist; lived in emigration in 1876-1917: 49, 93

Krüger, Adolf Hermann (born c. 1836) – German police official (1866-90); a chief of the German political police in the 1880s: 130

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902) – German physician, took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, member of the First International, delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; regular correspondent of Marx and Engels (1862-74): 247-8, 428, 512

Kuhlmann, Georg (b. 1812) – agent provocateur of the Austrian government; preached ‘true socialism’ among the German Weitlingian artisans in Switzerland in the 1840s, using religious terminology: 234

Kunert, Fritz (1850-1932) – German Social Democrat, journalist; edited several Social Democratic newspapers in the 1880s-90s; repeatedly elected deputy to the Reichstag (from 1890): 461

Labriola, Antonio (1843-1904) – Italian philosopher and journalist, one of the first exponents of Marxism in Italy: 413, 463, 464, 499

Labruyère, Georges de – French journalist, contributor to Le Cri du Peuple; Boulangist in the late 1880s: 13, 41

Labusquière, John Delille (1852-1939) – French journalist, member of the First International, took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s-90s: 13, 314

Lachize, Jean Benoît (Félix) (b. 1859) – French socialist, member of the French Workers’ Party, Blanquist; weaver; member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1889): 384


Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911) – prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; journalist, author of several works on the theory of Marxism; member of the General Council of the First International (from 1866), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers’ Party (1880): 4, 7, 10-12, 13, 21, 23-5, 29, 40, 47-9, 52, 65, 74, 79, 85, 93, 104, 107, 109-10, 115-7, 124-5, 128, 129-131, 145-7, 150, 160, 164-6, 169-
Lahr, Johanna — German-born British socialist, member of the Socialist League: 327

Lamansky, Vladimir Ivanovich (1833-1914) — Russian Slavonic scholar, professor at St Petersburg University: 114

Lange, Friedrich Albert (1828-1875) — German sociologist, philosopher, democrat; member of the Standing Committee of the Union of German Workers’ Associations (1864-66); member of the First International; professor at Marburg University from 1872: 395

Lankester, Sir Edwin Ray (1847-1929) — English biologist, professor of zoology and comparative anatomy (1874): 189

Lasalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864) — German journalist, lawyer; participated in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder and first President of the General Association of German workers (1863-64); initiator of the Lassallean trend within the German working-class movement: 88, 117-8, 339, 511

Lavigne, Paul — French socialist: 24

Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich (1823-1900) — Russian sociologist, philosopher, revolutionary journalist, an ideologist of Narodism; lived in emigration from 1870; member of the First International, a Communard; editor of the journal Vperyod! (1873-76) and the newspaper Vperyod (1875-76); friend of Marx and Engels: 23, 100, 331

Lavy, Jean Baptiste Aimé (1850-1921) — French socialist, journalist, member of the Paris City Council (from 1887) and of the Chamber of Deputies (1890-98): 345

Lee — American publisher of Marx’s ‘Speech on the Question of Free Trade’: 254

Leitner — member of the Young Hegelian circle ‘The Free’ in Berlin in the 1840s: 393

Leo, Heinrich (1799-1878) — German historian and journalist, champion of conservative political and religious views: 415

Leroux, Pierre (1797-1871) — French writer, utopian socialist, representative of Christian socialism: 9

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910) — prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; refugee in London from 1856, member of the Educational Society of the German Workers in London, of the General Council of the First International (1864-72) and of the British Federal Council; delegate to all the International’s congresses; took part in the socialist movement in England in the 1880s-90s; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 58, 76, 156, 240, 241, 384, 489

Lexis, Wilhelm (1837-1914) — German economist and statistician, professor at Göttingen University (from 1887): 220

Liebknecht, Gertrud (b. 1864) — Wilhelm Liebknecht’s daughter: 38, 373, 375

Liebknecht, Natalie (née Reh) (1835-1909) — Wilhelm Liebknecht’s second wife (from 1868): 119-20, 426-7, 510-11

Liebknecht, Theodor Karl (1870-1948) — Wilhelm Liebknecht’s son; lawyer;
member of the German Social Democratic Party: 373, 375

**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 of the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and to the German Reichstag (from 1874); a founder and leader of the German Social Democratic Party; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76) and *Vorwärts* (1876-78 and 1890-1900); delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 16-17, 28, 31, 37-8, 43-4, 56, 62, 65, 76, 77, 78, 83, 95, 119, 120, 140-1, 154-6, 161-2, 176-8, 181-2, 209, 239, 244, 245, 255, 256, 265, 273, 275, 276, 277, 288, 289-92, 294, 296, 297-8, 299, 303, 304, 305, 306, 308, 311, 313, 314, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325-6, 329, 333, 334, 341, 345, 349, 350, 353, 356, 362-3, 373, 374, 375, 376, 383-4, 397, 398-400, 407, 427, 445, 459-61, 473, 487, 490, 511, 512-3, 515-7

**Limouzin, Adelaide Elise (née Scharnet)** (b. 1846) – French adventurer; was imprisoned for speculation with orders (1888): 111

**Lingenau, Johann Karl Ferdinand** (c. 1814-1877) – German-born American socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA, bequeathed his money to the German Social Democratic Party: 356

**Lissagaray, Hippolyte Prosper Olivier** (1838-1901) – French journalist and historian; left republican; took part in the Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to Belgium and later to England; author of the *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (1876): 12

**Lockroy, Edouard Étienne Antoine Simon** (1838-1913) – French statesman and journalist, radical; held several ministerial posts in the 1880s-90s: 28

**Lollini, Vittorio** – Italian socialist; lawyer: 463, 499

**Longuet, Charles Félix César** (1839-1903) – journalist, socialist; member of the General Council of the First International (1866-67 and 1871-72); member of the Paris Commune; later emigrated to England; joined the Possibilists in the 1880s; member of the Paris City Council in the 1880s-90s; husband of Marx’s daughter Jenny: 11, 12, 40, 160, 164, 196, 198, 227, 264, 281, 313, 328, 349, 387, 388, 390, 396, 404, 479

**Longuet, Edgar** (1879-1950) – prominent figure in the French working-class movement; physician; member of the Socialist Party; son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx’s grandson: 196, 370, 375, 388

**Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric** (Johnny) (1876-1938) – prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; lawyer; later a leader of the French Socialist Party; son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx’s grandson: 196, 370, 375, 388

**Longuet, Marcel** (1881-1949) – son of Jenny and Charles Longuet, Marx’s grandson: 374, 396

**Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich** (1845-1918) – Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, member of the General Council of the First International (1870); one of the translators into Russian of the first volume of Marx’s *Capital*; friend of Marx and Engels: 100, 137, 229, 346

**Loria, Achille**, 477

**Louis Philippe** (1773-1850) – Duke of
Orleans, King of the French (1830-48): 110, 386


Lowrey – partner in William Swan Sonnenschein & Co: 49

Lüning, Otto (1818-1868) – German physician and journalist; ‘true socialist’ in the mid-1840s; editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*; later National Liberal: 234

Macdonald, Alexander (1821-1881) – an English trade union leader, President of the National Miners’ Union (from 1863), MP (from 1874), supporter of a Liberal policy: 81, 192

MacMahon, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta (1808-1893) – French marshal, senator, Bonapartist; fought in the wars of the Second Empire; a butcher of the Paris Commune; President of the third Republic (1873-79): 314, 480

McGlynn, Edward (1837-1900) – American Catholic priest, supporter of Henry George in 1886-87 and a leader of the United Labor Party, excommunicated for this; later broke off with Henry George and was the only leader of that party in 1888-89: 84, 91

Mahon, John Lincoln (1865-1933) – active member of the English working-class movement; mechanic; member of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Federation (1884), member of the Socialist League from December 1884 and its secretary in 1885, an organiser of the North of England Socialist Federation (1887): 70, 80-1, 82-3, 87-8, 186, 265, 271-2

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893) – French socialist, member of the First International, delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland, sided with the Bakunists; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; a leader of the reformist trend in the French Workers’ Party and of the Possibilists’ Party (from 1882): 263, 307

Mandl, Heinrich – Austrian merchant, Social Democrat in the 1880s, contributed to *Die Neue Zeit*: 88

Mann, Tom (1856-1941) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement; mechanical engineer; belonged to the left wing of the Social Democratic Federation (from 1885) and to the Independent Labour Party (from 1893); took an active part in the organisation of a mass movement of unskilled workers and in the formation of their trade unions in the late 1880s; leader of several strikes: 328, 330, 331, 359, 370, 377, 418, 437, 485

Manning, Henry Edward (1808-1892) – British clergyman, archbishop of Westminster from 1868, cardinal from 1875: 418

Marouck, Victor – French journalist, socialist, contributed to *L'Égalité*; joined the Possibilists in the early 1880s: 13

Martignetti, Pasquale (1844-1920) – Italian socialist, translator of Marx’s and Engels’ works into Italian: 5-7, 11, 63-4, 65, 80, 126, 133, 142, 143-4, 178-9, 400-1, 413, 439-41, 463, 464, 498, 499

Marx, Jenny (née von Westphalen) (1814-1881) – Karl Marx’s wife: 462

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Maupassant, Henri René Albert Guy de (1850-1893) – French writer: 12

Mayer, Julius Robert (1814-1878) – German naturalist, one of the first discoverers of the law of conservation and transformation of energy: 230

Meissner, Otto Karl (1819-1902) – publisher in Hamburg, printed Capital and other works by Marx and Engels: 126, 228, 276, 373

Menger, Anton (1841-1906) – Austrian politician, lawyer, professor at Vienna University: 25

Mesa y Leompart, José (1840-1904) – prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement; printer; an organiser of the First International’s sections in Spain; active opponent of anarchists; one of the first exponents of Marxism in Spain and a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (1879); translator into Spanish of several works by Marx and Engels: 53

Meyen, Eduard (1812-1870) – German journalist, democrat, Young Hegelian, emigrant in London, later National Liberal 393

Meyendorf, Baroness von – involved in the Hatzfeldts’ divorce case in the 1840s, friend of Count Edmund von Hatzfeldt: 118

Millerand, Étienne Alexandre (1859-1943) – French politician and statesman, lawyer and journalist, petty-bourgeois radical in the 1880s, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1885; headed opportunistic trend in the French socialist movement in the 1890s: 368, 372

Mills, Roger Quarkes (1832-1911) – American statesman, lawyer, Democrat; member of the House of Representatives (1873-92), Senator (1892-99) from Texas: 172

Miquel, Johannes von (1828-1901) – German lawyer, politician and banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, chief burgomaster of Osnabrück (1865-70, 1876-80); a leader of the right-wing National Liberals from 1867; deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag: 473

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von (1800-1891) – Prussian military leader and writer; general, field marshal (from 1871); Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff: 454

Moore, Samuel (c. 1838-1911) – English
lawyer, member of the First International; translated into English the first volume of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels: 32, 74, 96, 144, 150, 153, 227, 243, 250, 315, 336, 337, 343, 345, 348, 387, 388, 390, 419, 422, 475, 479

Moreau de Jounès, Alexandre (1778-1870) – French economist and statistician; author of several works of statistical research: 266

Morgan, Lewis Henry (1818-1881) – American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society: 254, 501, 517

Morier, Robert Burnett David (1826-1893) – English diplomat; ambassador to St Petersburg (1884-93): 253

Morris, William (1834-1896 – English poet, writer and artist; participant in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s, a leader of the Socialist League (1884-89): 51, 53, 66, 70, 73, 123, 153, 156, 159, 308, 321, 328, 360, 424, 485, 518

Most, Johann Joseph (1846-1906) – participant in the German working-class movement, anarchist; bookbinder; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); emigrated to London (1878) where he published *Die Freiheit*; expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany as anarchist (1880); emigrated to the USA in 1882: 241

Motteler, Emilie: 193, 198, 200, 426

Motteler, Julius (1838-1907) – German Social Democrat; member of the Reichstag (1874-78); émigré in Zurich and then in London during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law; supervised the delivery of *Der Sozialdemokrat* and illegal Social Democratic literature to Germany: 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 198, 200, 221, 272, 365, 419, 426, 450, 500-1

Mügge, Theodor (1806-1861) – German writer and journalist, Young Hegelian: 393

Müller, K.H. – German Social Democrat, emigrant in the USA, contributed to the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*: 38

Murray, Alma – English actress: 196

Musak – teacher in Berlin in the 1840s, Young Hegelian: 393

Nadejde, Ioan (1854-1928) – Romanian journalist, Social Democrat, translator of Engels’ works into Romanian later National Liberal: 132-5, 185

Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873) – Napoleon I’s nephew, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70): 283, 396, 479

Naporra, Rudolph – employee of the German political police, *agent provocateur* among the Polish émigrés in Berlin; exposed in 1888: 175

Nasr-ed-Din (1831-1896) – Shah of Persia (1848-96): 340

Niewenhuys, Ferdinand Domela (1846-1919) – prominent figure in the Dutch working-class movement; a founder of the Dutch Social Democratic Party (1881): 157-8, 301, 306, 345, 349, 370, 373, 460, 470-1,

Nonne, Heinrich – German *agent provocateur*, personally acquainted with Engels, member of the Educational Society of German Workers in London, lived in Paris from the spring of 1883, exposed in 1884: 130

Oberwinder, Heinrich (1846-1914) – participant in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist, Lassalleian in the early 1860s, then sided with the Eisenachers, delegate
to the Basle Congress of the First International (1869); editor of the Volksstimme and Volkswille; left working-class movement in the late 1870s; exposed as a German police spy in the late 1880s: 129-30

O’Brien, William (1852-1928) – Irish politician and journalist, nationalist; publisher of the United Ireland from 1881; MP from 1883: 155, 159

O’Connor, Feargus Edward (1794-1855) – Irish politician and lawyer, a leader of the left-wing Chartist, MP (1832), founder and editor of The Northern Star: 425

Okecki, Alexandre – French politician, close to socialists, editor and publisher of the socialist weekly L’Autonomie: 328, 481

Osteroth, Friedrich (d. 1889) – Frederick Engels’ distant relative: 435

Owen, Robert (1771-1858) – British utopian socialist: 167

Parke, Ernst (b. 1860) – British journalist, editor-in-chief of The Star (from 1888): 448

Parnell, William – British trade union figure, joiner, leader of the Cabinetmakers’ Union; delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1891: 328, 330, 331, 334, 341-2, 346, 444

Paul, Johannes – German cotton merchant in Hamburg, representative of the Paul und Steinberg firm: 63, 64, 80

Pauli, Ida: 196

Pelletan, Charles Camille (1846-1915) – French politician, journalist, editor-in-chief of La Justice from 1880, sided with the left-wing Radicals; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1881-1912): 116

Petersen, Niels Lorenz (1814-1894) – prominent figure in the international working-class movement,

Weitlingean, then member of the Communist League, contributed to Das Volk from 1859; member of the German section of the First International in Paris; a leader of the left wing of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark; delegate to the International Socialist Workers Congress of 1889: 307, 342, 373, 377

Pfänder, Karl (c. 1819-1876) – prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; artist; refugee in London from 1845; member of the Communist League and of the General Council of the First International (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 161

Pfänder, Mrs – 156, 161

Pinoff – Prussian public prosecutor at the Elberfeld trial of the German Social Democrats (1889): 443

Pitt, William (the Younger) (1759-1806) – British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06): 414

Platter, Julius (1844-1923) – Swiss economist and journalist: 221

Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich (1856-1918) – prominent figure in the Russian and international working-class movement; philosopher and exponent of Marxism in Russia, founder of the first Russian Marxist organisation – the Emancipation of Labour group (1883); delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889 and to several other congresses of the Second International; fought against Narodism (Populism) in the 1880s-90s: 331, 467, 468, 483, 484

Popoff – Bulgarian army officer, garrison commander in Sofia in 1887: 58

Portalis, Albert Edouard (1845-1918) – French journalist, owner of Le XIXe Siècle from 1886; supported Boulanger in 1886-88: 110
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: 158, 418

Powderly, Terence Vincent (1849-1924) – American labour leader in the 1870s-80s; mechanic; leader of the Knights of Labor (1879-93); sided with the Republican Party in 1896: 57, 91, 102

Price – employee in the firm William Swan Sonnenschein & Co: 49

Protot, Louis Charles Eugène (1839-1921) – French lawyer, physician and journalist; Blanquist, a Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to Switzerland and then to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; opposed the International and Marxists: 403

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865) – French journalist, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism: 102, 394

Puttkamer, Robert Victor von (1828-1900) – Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1881-88), was a prosecutor of Social Democrats during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law: 118, 138, 155, 156, 159, 160, 170, 175, 451, 459, 462, 477

Pyat, Aimé Félix (1810-1889) – French journalist, playwright and politician, democrat, participant in the 1848 revolution, led a slander campaign against Marx and The First International for several years, deputy to the National Assembly (1871), a Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; published the newspaper *Commune* in September-November 1880: 13, 403

Ranke, Johannes (1836-1916) – German physiologist and anthropologist, professor at Munich University, Conservative from 1889: 268

Ranke, Leopold von (1795-1886) – German historian, professor at Berlin University, ideologist of Prussian Junkers: 229

Rappaport, Philipp – American socialist, contributed to *Die Neue Zeit* in the late 1880s and 1890s: 273, 418

Reeves, William Dobson (c. 1827-1907) – British publisher and bookseller: 121, 122, 123, 150, 152, 188, 216, 254

Reichert, Alexander (1853-1921) – Swiss Social Democrat, lawyer: 306

Reid, George W.: 436, 442

Rempel, Rudolf (1815-1868) – German businessman, ‘true socialist’ in the mid-1840s: 234

Reuss, Carl Theodor – German journalist, agent of the German political police in London in the 1880s, exposed in December 1887: 156, 159-60, 355

Reuter, Heinrich Ludwig Christian Fritz (1810-1874) – German humourist writer and novelist, made Plattdeutsch (Low German) a literary language; for taking part in the students’ movement was sentenced to capital punishment in 1833 which was commuted to a thirty years’ imprisonment, amnestied in 1840: 393

Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de (1758-1794) – prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94): 268, 414

Robinson, A.F. – British socialist, member of the Socialist League: 327

Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay (1830-1913) –
French journalist, writer and politician; left-wing Republican; member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia, fled to England; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880, published L’Intransigeant; monarchist from the late 1880s: 93, 165, 171, 238, 282, 322

Röllinghoff, Ewald – one of the accused at the Elberfeld trial of the German Social Democrats (1889), was exposed as a police agent and sentenced to five months’ imprisonment: 443

Roques, Jules – editor and publisher of L’Égalité (1889-91): 275

Rose, Edward (Baby) (1849-1904) – English playwright: 321

Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig (pseudonym von der Mark) (born c. 1860) – German-born American socialist, journalist; Secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of North America in the 1880s, leader of the Lassallean wing of the party; expelled from the party together with other Lassalleans in 1889: 15, 19, 22, 33, 208, 387, 417, 425, 437, 446

Rosher, Charles – Percy White Rosher’s brother: 94, 409, 442

Rosher, Charles H. – Percy White Rosher’s father: 200, 240

Rosher, Frank – Percy White Rosher’s brother: 481, 498


Rowanet, Armand Gustave (1855-1927) – French socialist, Possibilist, journalist, editor and publisher of La Revue Socialiste (from 1885), member of the Paris City Council (1890-93) and of the Chamber of Deputies from 1893: 307

Rousseau, Jean Jacques (1712-1778) – French philosopher of the Enlightenment: 458

Rowvier, Pierre Maurice (1842-1911) – French statesman, moderate republican; repeatedly held posts of Minister and Premier; when his involvement in the Panama swindle was exposed in 1892, he had to retire and abandon political activity for a time: 107

Rudolf, Franz Karl Joseph (1858-1889) – Austro-Hungarian archduke and crown prince, committed suicide because of a love intrigue with Vetsera, a twenty-year Romanian baroness: 268-9

Rutenberg, Adolph (1808-1869) – German journalist, Young Hegelian; editor of the Rheinische Zeitung in 1842 and of the National-Zeitung in 1848; National Liberal after 1866: 393

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rowtroy, comte de (1760-1825) – French utopian socialist: 167

Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquis of (1830-1903) – British statesman, leader of the Conservatives (from 1881), Secretary of State for India (1866-67 and 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92 and 1895-1902): 108, 155, 253

Scherrer, Heinrich (1847-1919) – Swiss lawyer, Social Democrat: 306, 333

Scheu, Andreas (1844-1927) – a prominent figure in the Austrian and English socialist movement, editor
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of *Die Gleichheit* (1870-74); member of the First International; emigrated to England in 1874; a founder of the Social Democratic Federation: 11, 76

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805) – German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher: 458

Schippel, Max (1859-1928) – German economist and journalist, initially supporter of Rodbertus, Social Democrat from 1886, was close to the Jungen opposition group, deputy to the German Reichstag (1890-1905): 301, 311, 334, 490, 493

Schlesinger, Maximilian (1855-1902) – German journalist, Social Democrat, Lassallean; contributed to a number of newspapers and journals: 298, 299, 325, 363, 383

Schlüter, Anna: 193, 198, 200, 243, 250, 260, 419, 427, 449

Schlüter, Friedrich Hermann (1851-1919) – German Social Democrat, manager of a Social Democratic publishing house in Zurich in the 1880s, a founder of the archives of German Social Democracy, emigrated to the USA in 1889, took part in the socialist movement there; author of several works on the history of English and American working-class movement: 39-49, 125-6, 142, 144-5, 147-9, 163, 179, 185, 187, 190, 191, 194, 198, 199, 200, 221, 233, 234, 243, 249-501, 250, 252, 260, 273, 354, 419, 427, 436-8, 442, 446, 449, 469, 473, 474, 487, 500-1, 508

Schmidt, Conrad (1863-1932) – German economist and philosopher, Social Democrat, was close to Marxism in the 1880s-90s, later became a Neo-Kantian: 85, 117-9, 220-1, 249-51, 276-7, 299-300, 339-41, 391-2, 402, 404, 420-2, 476-8

Schnaebelé, Guillaume (1831-1900) – French police commissar, was arrested on the Franco-German border by the German authorities on the charge of espionage (April 1887), soon released: 54, 58, 259

Schoenlank, Bruno (1859-1901) – German Social Democrat, journalist; deputy to the German Reichstag (from 1893); contributed to the *Vorwärts* in the 1890s: 978


Schorlemmer, Ludwig – Carl Schorlemmer’s brother: 200, 202, 203

Schramm, Carl August (1830-1905) – German Social Democrat, economist; criticised Marxism; withdrew from the Party in the 1880s: 67, 76-7

Schweichel, Robert (pen-name Rosus) (1821-1907) – German writer, literary critic and journalist; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; took an active part in the working-class movement in the late 1860s; contributed to the socialist press, *Die Neue Zeit* in particular: 248

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1875) – German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; editor of *Der Social demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of the German Workers (1867-71); supported Bismarck’s policy of unifying Germany ‘from above’ under Prussia’s supremacy; hindered German workers’ affiliation to the First International; fought against the Social Democratic Workers’ Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872): 425
Senegas, Martial – French socialist; printer and lithographer, member of the Chamber of Deputies from the French Workers’ Party (from 1889): 408

Séraphine – the Lafargues’ servant: 368

Séverine, Caroline Rémy (by marriage Guebhard) (1855-1929) – French journalist; took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s; chief of Le Cri du Peuple in 1886-88; Boulangerist in the late 1880s: 13, 14

Shakir-Pasha – Turkish statesman, general, ambassador to Russia (1879-81), governor of Crete (1889): 360

Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792-1822) – English poet: 193

Shepard – American publisher of Marx’s Speech on the Question of Free Trade: 254

Shevich, Sergei Yegorovich (1843-1911) – Russian-bred American socialist; an editor of the New Yorker Volkszeitung in the 1870s-80s; editor of the newspaper Leader from 1886: 38, 39, 417

Shipton, George Ball (1839-1911) – trade union leader, founder and secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Housepainters and Decorators; editor of The Labour Standard (1881-85); Secretary of the London Trades Council (1872-96): 333, 360, 489, 490

Singer, Paul (1844-1911) – prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the German Social Democrats; member of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party (from 1878); deputy to the German Reichstag (1884-1911); member (from 1887) and Chairman (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany: 28, 32, 35, 67, 72, 76, 107, 150, 159, 277, 290, 373, 511

Smirnov, Valerian Nikolayevich (pseudonym Doctor Noel) (1848-1900) – Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (Populist); physician; in the early 1870s emigrated to Zurich and later to London, Paris and Bern; member of the First International; an editor of the newspaper and journal Vperyod!: 358

Smith (Smith Headingley), Adolphe (Adolphus) (1846-1924) – British socialist, journalist; member of the Social Democratic Federation from the 1880s, close to the French Possibilists, opposed Marx and his associates: 239, 252, 264, 308, 310, 313, 316, 407

Soetbeer, George Adolf (1814-1892) – German economist and statistician: 247, 376


Sorge, Adolphe (1855-1907) – Friedrich Adolph Sorge’s son; mechanical engineer: 449

Sorge, Friedrich Adolph (1828-1906) – prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement; German teacher; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA in 1852; founder of the American sections of the First International; Secretary of the Federal Council; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary (1872-74) of the General Council in New York; a founder of the Socialist Labor Party of North American (1876); active exponent of Marxism; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 3, 16, 21-3, 29-31, 37-9, 43-7, 50-1, 55-7, 60, 61-3, 69-72, 78-9, 81-4, 90-2, 103-4, 109, 121, 138-40, 149-152, 152, 173, 183, 195, 201-2, 206, 207-8, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215,

Sorge, Katharina: 216, 254

Speyer, Karl (b. 1845) – German joiner; secretary of the Educational Society of German workers in London in the 1860s, member of the General Council of the First International in London from 1870 and later in New York: 240

Stanton, Theodore (1851-1925) – American journalist, represented several American newspapers publishing houses in Europe in the early 1880s; published European Correspondent in Paris (1886-87): 53

Stead, William Thomas (1849-1912) – English journalist, Liberal; editor of The Pall Mall Gazette (1883-89): 128, 185

Stebeley – owner of the confectionery in Berlin where members of The Free group used to meet in the 1840s: 393

Stein, Lorenz von (1815-1890) – German economist and sociologist, lawyer, professor in Vienna (1855-85): 235

Stepniak – see Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882) – Prussian police official; chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of and principal witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and the Franco-Prussian (1870-71) war was chief of the military police and of the German intelligence and counter-intelligence in France: 142, 193

Stirner-Schmidt, Marie Wilhelmine (née Dähnhardt) (1818-1902) – Max Stirner’s wife (1843-47): 394

Stirner, Max (real name Schmidt, Johann Caspar) (1806-1856) – German philosopher, Young Hegelian, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism: 393-4

Sybel, Heinrich von (1817-1895) – German historian and politician; National Liberal (from 1867); member of the Erfurt Parliament (1850) and of the North German Reichstag (1867); representative of the ‘Prussian school’ of German historians; an ideologist of unifying Germany ‘from above’ under Prussia’s supremacy; director of the Prussian state archives (1875-95): 268

Szeliga – see Zychlinsky, Frankz Zychlin von

Szeps, Moriz (1834-1902) – Austrian journalist, Liberal, editor and publisher of the Neues Wiener Tagblatt from 1867: 129

Taine, Hippolyte Adolphe (1828-1893) – French historian, philosopher, art critic and literary specialist, representative of the ‘cultural and historical school’: 248, 266

Tauscher, Leonhard (1840-1914) – German Social Democrat, composer; during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law took part in bringing out Der Sozialdemokrat in Zurich and then in London; later an editor of Social Democratic periodicals in Stuttgart: 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 198,200, 221, 243, 250

Teste, Jean Baptiste (1780-1852) – French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade, Justice and Public Works during the July monarchy; tried for bribery and malpractices: 110

Thibault, Jean (1822-1905) – French politician, general, War Minister in 1883; charged with speculation with orders (1887), and was forced to retire (1888): 111

Thiers, Adolph (1797-1877) – French
historian and statesman: 386
Thivier, Christophe (1841-1895) – prominent figure in the English working-class movement, member of the Social Democratic Federation; an organiser of the mass movement of the unskilled workers in the late 1880s and early 1890s; General Secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland: 381, 384, 408
Thorne, William James – 519
Tillet, Benjamin (Ben) (1860-1943) – British politician, socialist, an organiser and leader of the new trade unions, later one of the founders of the Labour Party; General Secretary of the Dock, Wharf, Riversides and General Labourers’ Union of Great Britain and Ireland: 377, 486
Toqueville, Alexis Charles Henri Maurice Clérel de (1805-1859) – French liberal historian and statesman, legitimist and supporter of constitutional monarchy: 266
Tooke, Thomas (1774-1858) – English classical political economist: 347, 352, 416
Trier, Gerson Georg (1851-1918) – Danish Social Democrat, a leader of the left wing in the Social Democratic Party of Denmark; teacher; fought against the reformist policy of the Party’s opportunist wing; translator of Engels’ works into Danish: 42-3, 307, 342, 373, 377, 423-5
Trübner – booktrade agent: 68, 101
Tucker, Benjamin Rickeson (1854-1939) – American journalist, anarchist, founder and editor of a number of anarchist publications: 102
Vaillant, Marie Édouard (1840-1915) – French engineer, naturalist and physician; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune, of the National Guard’s Central Committee, of the General Council of the First International (1871-72) and of the Paris City Council (from 1884); 139-40, 150, 244, 264, 262, 273, 281, 313, 315, 328, 350, 369, 397, 404, 411
Van Beveren, Edmond – Belgian socialist: 239, 253
Vartout – see Caraccioli, Louis Antoine
Vico, Giambattista (1668-1744) – Italian sociologist, philosopher, lawyer, professor of rhetoric at Naples University; court historiographer: 463
Victoria (full name Alexandrina Victoria) (1819-1901) – Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901): 175
Victoria Adelaide Marie Louise (1840-1901) – eldest daughter of Queen Victoria of Great Britain, wife (from 1858) of Frederick III, Prussian King and German Emperor; Empress (1888); after her husband’s death (1888) bore the name Frederic: 165, 174, 175
Viereck, Louis (1851-1921) – German Social Democrat; publisher and journalist; a leader of the reformist wing in the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany in the latter half of the 1870s; member of the German Reichstag (1884-87); dismissed from all responsible Party posts by decision of the St Gallen Congress (1887); withdrew from the socialist movement after 1888; emigrated to America in 1890: 30, 93, 107, 162
Virchow, Rudolf (1821-1902) – German naturalist, archaeologist and politician; founder of modern pathological anatomy and cellular pathology; a founder and leader of the Party of Progress (1861-84): 175
Vizetelly, Henry (1820-1894) – British writer, translator and book publisher: 166
Volders, Jean (1855-1896) – Belgian socialist, journalist, a founder of the
Parti ouvrier Belge, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893: 293

Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von (1850-1922) – German Social Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of the German Social Democrats; editor of Der Sozialdemokrat (1879-80); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-87 and 1890-1918) and to the Bavarian Landtag: 461

Wachenhusen, Hans (1823-1898) – German journalist and writer: 393

Waldeck, Julius – German physician, belonged to 'The Free', a Young Hegelian circle in Berlin in the 1840s: 393

Waldoyer, Wilhelm (1836-1921) – German anatomist: 173

Walter, F. – German bookseller in London: 241-2

Walther, Hermann – German Social Democrat, emigrant in the USA from the early 1880s, member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of North America:

Walther von der Vogelweide (c. 1170-c. 1230): 430, 432-3

Warren, Sir Charles (1840-1927) – British military engineer and colonial official, chief of the London police (1886-88), one of those who organised the massacre of the workers' demonstration in London on 13 November 1887: 141

Webb, Sidney James, 1st Baron Passfield (1859-1947) – British politician and public figure; lawyer, sociologist and economist; worked in various ministries concerned with economy and law (1878-91); a founder of the Fabian Society (1884); together with his wife Beatrice Webb wrote several works on the history and theory of the working-class movement in Britain: 298

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Wolff, Wilhelm (Lupus) (1809-1864) — German proletarian revolutionary, teacher; member of the Central Authority of the Communist League (from March 1848), an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England; friend and associate of Marx and Engels: 392

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The Judge – a humorous weekly published in New York from 1881 to September 1938; expressed republican views: 180

Die junge Generation – a German monthly expounding utopian egalitarian communism, published by Wilhelm Weitling in Switzerland from January 1842 to May 1843; appeared as Der Hülferuf der deutschen Jugend up to 1842: 233


Kölnische Zeitung – a German daily published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; it voiced the interests of the National Liberal Party in last three decades of the 19th century: 118

Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung – a German paper published under this title in Königsberg from 1850; the paper was founded in 1752 and appeared up to 1850 as Königlich-Preußische Zeitung: 117

The Labor Standard – a socialist weekly published in New York in 1876-1900; Frederick Engels contributed to it in the 1870s: 272


Il Messaggero – a semi-official daily, founded in 1878, appeared in Rome: 464

Muncitorul or Muncitoriu – a Romanian workers’ weekly published in Jassy from November 1887 to August 1889: 306

Nationalist – an American reformist magazine of the national clubs which advocated peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism; it was published in Boston from 1889 to 1891: 485

The National Reformer – a radical weekly published in London from 1860 to 1893: 152

National-Zeitung – a daily of the National Liberal Party published under this title in Berlin from 1848 to 1915: 393


Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue – a theoretical journal of the Communist League founded by Marx and Engels in December 1849 and published by them up to November 1850: 126, 142, 339, 392, 399

Neue Welt Kalender – a German yearly
published in Stuttgart (1883-1914), put out by the editors of the socialist journal *Die Neue Welt*: 520

*Neue Wiener Tagblatt. Demokratisches Organ* – an Austrian newspaper published in Vienna from 1867 to 1945: 129

*Die Neue Zeit* – a theoretical journal of the German Social Democrats, published in Stuttgart monthly from 1883 to October 1890 and then weekly till autumn 1923. It was edited by Karl Kautsky from 1883 to October 1917 and by Heinrich Cunow from October 1917 to autumn 1923. It carried a few of Engels’ articles in 1885-94: 25, 132, 133, 185, 233, 266, 392, 422, 457, 465, 469, 473, 475, 487, 490, 498, 500, 502

*New York Daily Tribune* – a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley and published from 1841 to 1924, a press organ of the American Left-wing Whigs till the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; it fought against slavery in the 1840s-50s; Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862: 419


*The New York Daily Tribune* – a daily of the Republican Party published from 1835 to 1924: 1, 18, 21, 38, 208


*La Nouvelle Revue* – a bourgeois-republican journal founded by Juliette Adam and published in Paris from 1879: 170, 457

*Northern Review* – a liberal Russian journal, 346, 415-6, 467, 497-8, 506, 520, 521

*Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender* – a socialist yearly published in Wiener Neustadt, Vienna and Brünn from 1874 to 1930: 109

*Our Corner* – a Fabian monthly edited by Annie Besant and published in London in 1883-88: 152, 183

*The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review* – a daily published in London from 1865 to 1920; it expressed conservative views in the 1860s-70s: 112, 123, 128, 152, 159, 161, 410

*Le Parti Ouvrier* – a newspaper of the Possibilists, founded in Paris in March 1888: 24, 243, 322, 449

*Le Parti Socialiste. Organe du Comité Révolutionnaire Central* – a Blanquist weekly published in Paris from 1890 to 1898: 481

*The People’s Paper* – a weekly of the revolutionary Chartists, published by Ernest Jones in London in 1852-58; Marx and Engels contributed to it from October 1852 to December 1856: 272

*The People’s Press* – a British workers’ weekly, press organ of the new trade unions, published in London from March 1890 to February 1891: 485, 495, 502, 513, 518

*Philadelphia Tageblatt* – an American German language socialist daily, a trade union newspaper published from November 1877 to 1943: 249

*Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalendar* – an American German language yearly published by the editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* in New York from 1883 to 1904: 379
Le Prolétariat – a French weekly, an official press organ of the Possibilist Socialist Workers’ Federation of France; published under this title in Paris from 5 April 1884 to 25 October 1890: 146, 307, 322

Puck – an American humorist weekly published in New York from 1877 to 1918: 130

Le Radical – a radical daily published in Paris from 1881 to 1928: 41

Recht voor Allen – a Dutch socialist newspaper founded by Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis in Amsterdam in 1879 and published till 1900: 262, 306

Revista Sociala – Romanian journal published in Jassy from 1884 to 1887 under the editorship of Ioan Nadejde: 21, 24, 132

Revue der Neue Rheinischen Zeitung – see Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue


Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe – a German daily published in Cologne from 1 January 1842 to 31 March 1843; Marx contributed to it from April 1842 and became one of its editors in October of the same year: 393, 415

Russkiye Vedomosti – a Russian journal, 230

The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art – a conservative weekly published in London from 1855 to 1938: 155, 161

Socialdemokraten – central organ of the Danish Social Democratic Party; published daily under this title in Copenhagen from 1872 to 1959: 306, 307

El Socialista – a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Spain published in Madrid from 1885: 53, 380

Sotsial Demokrat – Russian social democratic journal, 465

Le Socialiste. Organe Central du Party Ouvrier – a weekly founded by Jules Guesde in Paris in 1885, till September 1890 appeared with intervals; up to 1902 press organ of the Workers’ Party, from 1902 to 1905 of the Socialist Party of France, from 1905 to 1915 of the French Socialist Party; Engels contributed to it in the 1880s-90s: 13, 21, 24, 44, 74, 79, 93, 107, 114, 131, 146, 150, 245, 284, 300


Der Sozialist – a German language weekly of the Socialist Labor Party of North America published in New York from 1885 to 1892: 38, 102, 208, 249, 293, 306


Statistical Yearbook – a Russian statistical journal, 506-7

The Star – a daily of the Liberal Party, published in London from 1888; initially it was close to the Social Democratic Federation: 310, 312-3,
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315-6, 318, 321, 322, 328, 354, 448, 490

_Stanislaus Tageblatt. Den Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidmet_ – an American German language socialist paper published under this title from April 1888 to 1897.

_The Sun_ – a radical weekly published in London from 1888 to 1890: 322

_Time_ – a monthly close to socialists published in London from 1879 to 1891: 56, 83, 418-0, 422, 449, 457, 469, 475, 490

_To-Day_ – a socialist monthly published in London from April 1883 to 1886; its editor was Henry Mayers Hyndman: 1, 29, 56, 72, 91, 121, 140, 152, 183, 222

_Tribune_ – see _New York Tribune_

_La Voie du Peuple_ – a socialist daily published in Paris from 2 to 8 February and 18 February to 17 March 1887; its editors were Gabriel Pierre Deville, Jules Guesde and others: 13, 23, 27, 29, 41, 372

_La Voix_ – a radical republican daily published in Paris in August–November 1889: 381

_Volksblatt_ – see _Berliner Volksblatt_

_Volks Tribüne_ – see _Berliner Volks Tribüne_

_Volkswille_ – an Austrian workers’ weekly published in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874; its editors-in-chief were Andreas Scheu and Heinrich Oberwindt: 129

_Volkszeitung_ – see _New Yorker Volkszeitung_

_Vooruit. Organ der Belgische werkliezenpartij_ – a Belgian socialist daily of the Ghent workers’ co-operative, published in Fleming in Ghent from 1884 to 1928; its editor was Eduard Anseel: 307

_Vorwärts_ – an Argentinean German language newspaper published in Buenos Aires from 1886; it expounded socialism: 307

_Weekly Dispatch_ – a newspaper published under this title in London from 1801 to 1928; expressed radical views in the 1880s: 41, 58, 123, 152, 161, 164, 264

_Workmen’s Advocate_ – a weekly of the Socialist Labor Party of North America published in New York from 1885 to March 1891; its editor was Daniel De Leon: 387, 502