Dear Schmidt,

On the strength of your letter of 12 December we drank a toast on the 19th of the same month to you and your young wife and on the following day, Sunday, after we had had a meal with the Avelings, this was solemnly affirmed by us all in a fine 1868 port. I trust you are now comfortably settled in Zurich and have found that living with another is preferable to living alone.

Very many thanks for your anti-Wolf article. However it also compelled me to read Wolf's opus which I had quietly laid aside in my bookcase against a rainy day. Since the chap takes the view that the sole purpose of the German language is to conceal the emptiness of his mind, the perusal of this rubbish has been something of a job, though one soon discovers the void that lies behind it. You have stated the main points quite correctly and lucidly and were perfectly right to ignore the unessentials, all of which were put in, of course, simply for the purpose of getting the reader so snarled up that he overlooks the chief flaw. That the man has an aptitude for economic folly amounting to genius I already knew, having read an article of his in the Neue Freie Presse in which he seeks to put the Viennese bourgeois into an even worse state of confusion that they are in already. But this time he has exceeded even my expectations.

Let us reduce his argument to mathematical terms: $C_1$, $C_2$, two aggregate capitals whose respective variable components $= v_1$, $v_2$, and whose respective quantities of surplus value $= s_1$ and $s_2$. Given an equal rate of profit for both (profit and surplus value being provisionally taken to be equal), it may therefore be said that

$$
C_1 : C_2 = s_1 : s_2, \quad \text{therefore} \quad \frac{C_1}{s_1} = \frac{C_2}{s_2}.
$$

On this assumption we must now establish the necessary rate of

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*J. Wolf, *Das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate bei Marx.*
surplus value, i.e. we multiply one side of the equation by $\frac{v_1}{v_1} = 1$ and the other by $\frac{v_2}{v_2} = 1$; thus

$$\frac{C_1}{s_1} \times \frac{v_1}{v_1} = \frac{C_2}{s_2} \times \frac{v_2}{v_2}$$

If we bring the respective factors over to the other side of the equation, thereby inverting the fraction, we have

$$\frac{C_1}{v_1} \times \frac{s_2}{v_2} = \frac{C_2}{v_1} \times \frac{s_1}{v_2} \quad \text{or} \quad \frac{C_1}{v_1} : \frac{C_2}{v_2} = \frac{s_1}{v_1} : \frac{s_2}{v_2},$$

or, in order to produce Wolf’s equal rate of profit, the rates of surplus value must be in proportion to the respective aggregate capitals divided by their respective variable components. If they are not, Wolf’s equal rate of profit falls to the ground. But that they 1. can be and 2. always must be—this was the economic fact that it was up to Mr Wolf to prove. Instead he gives us a deduction in which the point to be proved appears as an assumption. For the equation of the rate of surplus value as set forth is simply another form of the equation of the equal rate of profit.

Example: $C_1 = 100, \quad v_1 = 40, \quad s_1 = 10$

$C_2 = 100, \quad v_2 = 10, \quad s_2 = 10$

$$\frac{C_1}{v_1} : \frac{C_2}{v_2} = \frac{s_1}{v_1} : \frac{s_2}{v_2}$$

$$\begin{align*}
100 : 10 & = 10 : 10 \\
40 : 10 & = 40 : 10
\end{align*}$$

which is correct.

Now it really seems to me that you go a bit too far when you claim absolute uniformity of rates of surplus value for large-scale production as a whole. The economic levers which impose uniformity upon the rate of profit are, I think, much stronger and more rapid in their

\[a\] [s_1 in the ms.]
effect than those whose pressure equalises the rates of surplus value. However the tendency is there and the differences are negligible in practice. All economic laws are, in the end, merely the expression of mutually incompatible tendencies which gradually assert themselves.

Mr. J. Wolf is in for a pleasant surprise when the turn of the preface to Volume III\(^a\) comes round.

I'm extraordinarily glad that you have made such an encouraging start as a lecturer and trust it will so continue. It will give particular pleasure to Mr Wolf—serve him right.

It's certainly a very good thing that some of those student gentlemen of yours who have looked askance at the transactions of the party should now be resuming their studies. The more they learn, the more tolerant they will be towards people who hold really responsible positions and try to fill them conscientiously, and in time they will also probably realise that, if an important goal is to be attained and the immense army necessary to its attainment kept together, they must concentrate on the main issue and not allow themselves to be led astray by irrelevant squabbles. They may also discover that the ‘education’, by which they set so much store vis-à-vis the working man, still leaves a great deal to be desired and that the working man already possesses instinctively, ‘immediately’ à la Hegel, what they could only dig into themselves at the cost of much toil. But the shameful business of ‘Jungen’ at Erfurt was truly deplorable\(^301\) and their newspaper,\(^b\) from what I have seen of it, is no more than a feeble imitation of the anarchist autonomy over here.

If you become ‘bogged down’ in Hegel, do not be discouraged; six months later you will discover firm stepping-stones in that self-same bog and be able to get across it without trouble. In Hegel the coherent sequence of stages in the development of a notion is part of the system, of what is transient, and I consider that this is where he is at his weakest—if also at his Wittiest for at every difficult point he has recourse to a witticism: positive and negative fall to the ground and hence lead on to the category ‘ground’\(^c\) (Encyklopädie\(^d\)). Obviously this would require a different rendering for each language. Try trans-

\(^a\) of Capital—\(^b\) Der Sozialist—\(^c\) A pun in the original: zu Grunde gehen—to perish; Grund—ground.\(^d\) G. W. F. Hegel, Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse, Theil I: Die Logik, § 120.
lating the sequence in the *Lehre vom Wesen* into another language and you'll find the transitions for the most part impossible.

Many regards from

Yours,

F. Engels

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**ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS**

**IN BARMEN**

London, 4 February 1892

Dear Hermann,

On 1-2 February I received prompt payment of £30 on demand from Pferdmenges & Co., for which very many thanks; the money certainly came in most handy, for after the Christmas expenditure January and February are always a lean time for me and I have to economise. I take it the firm doesn't require an official receipt?

Many thanks too for your information about the Schaaffhausens.\(^a\) I don't intend to get rid of them for the time being, but there is always the possibility that other companies over here might make me an allotment of shares at par which would give me a higher return and I wanted to know how to set about things should that happen.

I was very glad to hear all the news from home and to know that on the whole everyone is getting on so well. I am delighted to learn that Hedwig\(^b\) intends to write to me again some time. When you next see her please tell her that I have chalked that up on my slate and shall hold her to her word.

And now I must say how very grateful I am for the pictures. You all certainly look pretty sprightly still, especially Emma,\(^c\) nor have

\(^a\) See this volume, p. 339. \(^b\) Hedwig Boelling \(^c\) Emma Engels
you yourself become more saturnine than you were years ago. Heaven knows, you and I always look so terribly serious in our photographs. I am getting my own back by enclosing two of myself which admittedly were taken a year ago (February 1891) but I don’t think I have changed much since then—if the others want any they are very welcome to them, provided they reciprocate.

I don’t know whether your procedure regarding the declaration of income-for-taxation-purposes has (a 13-syllable word!) varies very much from ours, but over here it is what we have been used to for the past 40 years or more and, between ourselves, I have yet to come across a case in which a firm makes a true declaration of income; as a rule it is understated by 30%, 40%, 50% and more. All this is allowed to pass, for immediately the authorities start making trouble with a firm on account of underdeclaration and demand that it produce its books—which they are entitled to do—there is a general outcry from the mercantile world at such inquisitorial goings-on and the entire press is up in arms. The only thing the authorities can do in practice is increase the assessment at their own discretion. If the firm concerned then refuses to accept it, it must produce its books. As often as not that is allowed to pass, but should the authorities adopt this stratagem with the wrong firm, namely a firm whose earnings for the current year have, for once, actually been at a rate no higher than that declared in previous years—then the uproar breaks out again. Traders, therefore, have a measure of protection, but we poor rentiers are made to bleed, for 1. tax on our dividends, mortgage interest, etc., is actually deducted before we receive the money and 2. woe betide us if we have any other sources of income and do not voluntarily notify the taxation authorities of them, if, indeed, we don’t literally ram this notification down their throats. The £18 or £24 which must be expressly notified each year in respect of my income over there cause me more trouble than all the rest put together—so far as tax is concerned. So I should be most grateful if you would send me my statement as early as possible. We get the forms on 1 May and have to return them completed on the 20th and, in the event of my being messed

* Einkommensteuerdeklarationsverfahren in the original.
about, I shall have to produce that particular statement as evidence, so it has got to tally.

With love to you all in Upper and Lower Barmen.

Your old
Friedrich

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ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI
IN MILAN

London, 6 February 1892
122 Regent’s Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Se io lo conosco,\(^a\) the illustrious Bovio? \(^{409}\) Ma dopo molti anni, dopo la vecchia Internazionale,\(^b\) when I encountered his articles at every turn in Italian socialist literature. At the time, I used to read them, and the more I read the less clear they became — ho capi nagott.\(^c\) To use his own words, non ricordo tempo più confusionario.\(^d\) To make things worse, in the end I did not know which of the two of us, he or I, was the confusionario.\(^e\) However, on the whole, he is a good fellow, a pedant, it is true, but a generous and amiable one (which is never the case with our German pedants) and, as you say, a Victor Hugo type, a grandiose character, a man of broad views, who reconciles you with his personality, even if you fight the party which he supports. I quite understand that he should be idolised by your youth. If I were young,

\(^a\) Do I know him.\(^b\) I do, I have known him for many years, ever since the old International.\(^c\) indeed, I couldn’t make tail or head of them.\(^d\) I cannot remember a time more muddleheaded.\(^e\) muddleheaded
I would be mad about him, I would worship him, but unfortunately I am 71, not 17.

This is my answer. Naturally it is slightly touched with irony—without which I would be unable to communicate with him—but, I hope, it is a civil answer. Would you be so kind as to translate it into Italian?

_Sempre suo_

F. Engels

Dear Citizen Mendelson,

Herewith the preface. It isn't very much but unfortunately it's all I can let you have at the moment. By the time the new edition of the _Manifesto_ is published, I hope to know enough of your language to have no difficulty in keeping up with the Polish working men's movement and shall then be able to speak more knowledgeably about it.

I am sending you by the same post two American papers relating to S. Padlewski's suicide.

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*a* Ever yours - *b* F. Engels, 'Preface to the Polish Edition (1892) of the _Manifesto of the Communist Party_. - *c* New Yorker Volkszeitung and The Sun
Kindly convey my compliments, as also those of Mrs Kautsky, to your wife.¹

Yours sincerely,

F. E.


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ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

IN MILAN

London, 13 February 1892

Splendid! Many thanks.¹⁰⁹

Cheerio.

F. E.

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Translated from the Italian
Published in English for the first time

¹ Maria Mendelson
My dear Edward,

It was a perfectly understood thing that I was to revise your translation\(^a\) in the ms. and that, having done so, I should give it the character of an authorized translation by writing a new preface to it.\(^b\)

After the action taken by Messrs Swan Sonnenschein & Co. without consultation with either of us, and in direct contravention to the above understanding, I am bound to reconsider my position.

Your translation being made with the knowledge that I would revise it, is necessarily but a rough draft; moreover, you, as translator, would feel bound to stick to the letter of the original, when I, as the author, might deviate more or less from it and thus make the book read not as a translation but as an original work. To revise not the ms. but paged proofs in this spirit, would imply, more or less, the up-setting of the paging.

Now, as far as I can see at present, there are but two courses open to me:

Either I revise the proofs in full liberty, exactly as I would have revised your ms., regardless of the expense this may occasion. In that case our original understanding holds good, the translation is authorized by me, and I write a preface. In that case we must have four more copies of proofs at least, and revise afterwards.

Or, I am to respect the proof-sheets, as far as the paging is concerned, and merely to make verbal changes within the limits of each page. In that case I will do my best to make the translation as good as I can, but I must decline being in any way connected with it before the public, and reserve to me the right of publicly declining any responsibility for it if such would be imputed to me.

As a matter of course, the expense caused in either case would have

\(^a\) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. See also this volume, p. 359. - \(^b\) F. Engels, ‘Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*'.

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**ENGELS TO EDWARD AVELING**

**IN LONDON**

[Draft]

[London, first half of February 1892]
Dear Hermann,

It will be perfectly all right if you send me the statement before 30 April, in which case perhaps you would be good enough to notify me by postcard when the relevant dividends have been paid in and how much they amount to. That is the best way of dealing with it.

Since yesterday we have been having glorious German winter weather, cold and snowy. I was in Richmond today, visiting an old friend who is ill, and then in town. The weather has really toned up my nerves and the Pschorrbräu I drank afterwards tasted marvellous.

Love to Emma and all the others.

Your
Friedrich

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See this volume, p. 359. - George Julian Harney - Emma Engels
Dear Victor,

I was on the point of replying the other day to the letter you wrote me from Salo, when I was badly balked. Owing to the publisher's malice, stupidity, or both, Aveling's translation of my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*, which I was supposed to revise while still in manuscript form, had already been set up and came to me in complete, made-up, paginated proof. In view of the law in this country which delivers up the author to the publisher bound hand and foot, I ran the risk of the thing coming before the public as it stood and thus of incurring discredit, for the ms. was only a rough draft. So everything else had to be left undone until the thing had been revised and the publisher persuaded by devious means to reconcile himself to the expenses for which he himself was to blame. Well, the worst is now over, and the first person to be sent a reply will be you.

We were overjoyed to learn that your wife is better and that her recovery may be confidently anticipated. You have enough work, trials and tribulations as it is, and the Austrian movement is in far too great need of every ounce of your strength for us not to have given a sigh of relief on hearing that the worst of your worries was over, in this respect at any rate. But you will, I hope, permit us to rejoice, not only as party members but also as your personal friends, at the prospect that, having made a complete recovery, your wife will shortly be restored to you and that so fine a woman as your Emma is not to suffer the terrible fate which for a moment seemed to hang over her.

But if in the circumstances you succumbed to a mood which you yourself describe as dejected, it is only too understandable. Meanwhile circumstances have, it seems, helped you Austrians out of the deadlock which you had feared, and with good reason. The proposed haphazard reconstruction of Greater Vienna provided you with an opportunity upon which you, with your habitual flair, instantly seized and duly exploited in accordance with the model originally

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* Swan Sonnenschein  
* Socialism: Utopian and Scientific  
* Emma Adler
placed before the Paris Municipal Council by Vaillant and our chaps.\(^{411}\) (The Possibilists\(^{3}\) did no more than hasten its passage through the Municipal Council by selling themselves to the bourgeois Radicals\(^{147}\) in return for services rendered in other spheres thus, in their low cunning, doing us a service and, what’s more, paving the way for their own destruction.) So in what direction I am supposed to give you the ‘fillip’ requested, if not actually demanded, of me in a letter to Louise, I fail to see. The French have a peculiar knack of giving the right political form to demands of this kind, and that is what happened in this case. In this country, too, some of the French demands have been adopted by the London County Council, while others figure in the electoral manifestos of every Labour candidate.\(^{412}\) See *The Workman’s Times* of the past three weeks. Since the elections to the County Council are to take place on 5 March, these manifestos are playing an important role just now, and *The Workman’s Times*, which I hope you get regularly, will thus provide you with propaganda material of all kinds. And the business ought to be exploited to the utmost, first in the interests of agitation generally and of potential individual victories, and secondly and more particularly in order to eliminate the otherwise inevitable hostility between the workers of Vienna and the starveling coolie and sweated labour imported from abroad. This is a point you brought out particularly well.

You will eventually get your daily paper, but it must in the main be your own creation. Considering the nature of your press laws, the step from weekly to daily would seem to me a very big one for which long, robust legs are required, and one which would also make you more vulnerable than ever to a government intent on ruining you by means of fines and legal costs. This is fresh proof of your government’s cunning — always greater in small matters. The Prussians are too stupid for that sort of thing, relying as they do on brute force, while your politicians are stupid only when it comes to doing anything big. Personally, I rather doubt whether, in view of the fines you would incur, you would be able to keep a daily going for as much as six months and, were it to collapse, the defeat would be hard to get over.

But in order to do my bit for the Austrians, and since all my fees from stuff issued by the Vorwärts Publishers find their way willy-nilly into *German* party funds, I have decided that all fees from the stuff published by Dietz should go to you people and have instructed him accordingly.\(^{153}\)
I feel sorry for Rudolf Meyer; to judge by your account and the news since received about his staying in Moravia instead of Palermo, he must be in a very poor way with his diabetes. For all his astonishing and often comical megalomania, he is the only Conservative to have risked anything for his social demagogic schemes and socialist sympathies and to have gone into exile because of them. And while in exile he has discovered that, though the Austrian and French aristocrats might be far more gentlemanly in social intercourse than the rotten Prussian Junkers, they are no less tenacious in the pursuit of their rents, ambitions, etc. Things have come to such a pass that he, the only remaining genuine Conservative, is now vainly searching for men with whom he might found a genuine Conservative party.

For the rest, affairs are taking a critical turn. In the German Reichstag a considerable crisis is brewing. Little Willie, it seems, wishes for once to put his *regis voluntas* to the test and is actually driving the deplorable members of the National Liberal Party into the arms of the opposition; already there are signs of conflict. In addition, there is a ministerial crisis in France which is of great importance to us because Constans is rabidly anti-working class and his fall will bring about a number of changes in domestic affairs; also because the recurrence of instability in French government circles is very unwelcome to the Russian alliance which is in any case on its last legs.

The enclosed appeared in the *Critica Sociale*.b

Louise sends you the enclosed. She has spent the whole day disengaging oxygen — on paper; she is studying chemistry under circumstances aggravated by the English textbooks and the absence of experiments...c


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a William II · b F. Engels, 'Reply to the Honourable Giovanni Bovio'. · c The end of the letter is missing.
London, 19 February 1892

Dear August,

First of all, my heartfelt congratulations on your birthday and many happy returns of the day, as they say over here; likewise on your 25th anniversary in Parliament and/or your silver wedding with parliamentarianism, which falls due very shortly. Well, you could hardly have chosen a better time to show the chaps what an asset you are to them, and it gave us over here a great deal of pleasure.

Things are really coming to a head in Germany, indeed must have gone pretty far if the National Liberals repeatedly evince strong oppositional tendencies and Richter can dream of a German 'great Liberal Party'. A capitalist society which has not yet subordinated the state to itself formally which has left real government in the hands of an hereditary, monarchical-bureaucratic-Junker caste and must rest content if, by and large, its own interests nevertheless ultimately prevail — such a society, as situated in Germany, fluctuates between two tendencies — firstly the alliance of all official and propertied social classes against the proletariat; this tendency ultimately leads to the formation of the 'one reactionary mass' and, if things go smoothly, will ultimately retain the upper hand. Secondly there is a tendency which is for ever reviving the old conflict, cravenly left unresolved, between the monarchy with its absolutist throw-backs, the landed aristocracy and the bureaucracy, which deems itself above all party, and, in opposition to all these, the industrial bourgeoisie whose material interests are impinged upon daily and hourly by the above outmoded elements. Which of these two tendencies will momentarily prevail will be determined by personal, local, etc., contingencies. Just now in Germany, the second would seem to be gaining the ascendancy, in which case the industrial magnates à la Stumm and the shareholders of industrial concerns will, of course, mainly side with outmoded reaction. However, this pale reflection of the old conflict of 1848, now resuscitated for the umpteenth time, can become serious only if the government and the landed aristocracy, presuming on
their past successes, do something quite crazy. Not that I regard this as out of the question, since the curious personal aspirations up on high are lent support by the growing conviction of the Junkers that industry will not long be capable of sustaining the tariffs on raw materials and foodstuffs. But the lengths to which this conflict will be taken depends, as I have said, on personal contingencies.

One of its characteristic features is the time-honoured practice of belabouring the load in place of (or rather along with) the donkey. They belabour Social-Democracy but at the same time bring down a shower of blows on the bourgeoisie, politically at first, by attacking the liberal principles it has ostentatiously flaunted for the past 60 years and its direct if negligible share in the administration; and later, if all goes well, also economically, by sacrificing its interests to those of landed property.

So a strong swing to the Right would now appear to be in progress, having for pretext the necessity of keeping back our advance. In what way can it affect us?

1. Anti-Socialist Law? We overcame that and to do so now, when we are morally 100% and materially at least 50% stronger than on 1 October 1890, would be child’s play. Nor would it be very likely to secure a majority.

2. Reactionary amendments to the laws against the press, association and assembly? Would be unacceptable to the Centre and impossible without it. To form a majority with 93 Conservatives of both factions and 42 National Liberals would require 66 men of the Centre. If they went over, that would be the end of the Centre—a not unsatisfactory result. That and the colossal fury such retrograde measures would evoke in the people would more than compensate for the coercion we should have to endure.

3. Restriction of the suffrage and of the secret ballot? Completely out of the question so far as the Centre is concerned; the Clericals aren’t so stupid as to cut their own throats. And without the Centre they would again be short of some 60 or 70 votes.

4. Coups d’état? No good because of the princes. Any infringement of the Constitution would threaten the Empire with dissolution, and release individual princes from all obligations thereto. And even if they could all be won over in such a case (which would never happen), the assent of their immediate heirs—most of them minors!—would

* The Anti-Socialist Law was valid until 1 October 1890.
be necessary to ensure the stability of the Empire. Out of the question, therefore.

5. Thus the only remaining possibility would seem to lie in increasingly rigorous administrative, police and legal measures, as foreshadowed in the outrageous sentence passed on Peus. But we shall survive them and will soon learn to organise ourselves accordingly. They might even go one better and declare an ordinary state of emergency, but this would constitute a hazard only in the first few weeks; later on it would automatically fall into desuetude, quite apart from the fact that it could only be proclaimed for this or that part of the Empire; moreover the bourgeois would also tire of it, and thus perhaps be driven still further into opposition.

So unless our Prussian masters hit on other inventions of quite a new and brilliant kind—as it were intellectual and moral machine guns and Maxims—they may be able to harass us, but will always do us more good than harm. A bit of undisguised Junker rule would do no harm! But I'm rather afraid our chaps may not have enough backbone; ambitions and to spare but insufficient staying-power, for the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. The sad thing about Germany is that both sides, Junkers no less than bourgeois, are so deplorably supine.

Last night I read with real delight the anti-Stumm speech you made on Friday 12 February; it was a splendid piece of improvisation and one can see how successful it was. I also look forward immensely to reading the military speech which came today.

We were very pleased by your announcement that you would be here round about the 10th or 11th of April—everything is ready for you and, should Schorlemmer turn up, we can accommodate him as well; that has been seen to. You are pretty sure to be given lobster mayonnaise again after the letter Louise got from you today; I had already hatched a little plan of my own to that end, though this will presumably no longer be needed. But I shall assume responsibility for the oysters and likewise for the choice of drinks. Luckily Louise revels in these two delicacies just as much as you and I do and, on such a basis, agreement can always be reached. That she is a witch she is herself aware and is not a little proud of the fact for, or so she says, in Vienna all witches are attractive. And, between you and me, I don't believe that, were she not a witch, you and I would get on so well with her.

Now as regards Otto Wigand, I can only repeat that, until the
completion of Volume III of *Capital*, I cannot take on anything that might involve me in work. As it is, I am held back quite enough by the letters that daily come pouring in from all over the world and by other current business, so I do beg you to let me get this load off my shoulders at long last, thereby regaining some liberty of action. And I have just got to a section which, if I am to finish it, demands that I have a few months completely free of interruptions. If Dietz cares to discuss the matter personally with Wigand,\(^a\) without in any way committing me, then let him, if he thinks anything is to be gained thereby. He can say he has reason to believe that I think he, Dietz, has better sales facilities for a new edition than Wigand, and that I am inclined to entrust publication to him, Dietz, provided he can come to an agreement with Wigand. Only I cannot 1. declare myself committed in advance by anything Dietz may say to Wigand, nor can 1, 2. send him to Wigand as my representative. Semi-officially but not officially! He should sound him out and, if the terms suit him (and are such as to leave me, i.e. for party purposes, a fee commensurate with the circumstances), should go ahead, in which case I should certainly not leave him in the lurch. But I don’t want to find myself between two stools — i.e. an unwilling Wigand and a hamstrung Dietz!

It’s a real joy to know that things are livening up again. Who can tell whether, with passions running so high, your Reichstag and the French Chamber won’t both be dissolved? And what could be better for us? What I fail to understand, however, is that now, when really decisive battles are being fought in the Reichstag, Liebknecht should remain squatting in his Dresden froggery.\(^b\) I myself would be willing to sacrifice ten Saxon mandates for the right to say a word in the Reichstag just now.

Anyway, who can tell whether we aren’t both being accused in more timorous party circles of having spoken out of turn and conjured up the threat of reactionary measures? That my article in the *Neue Zeit*\(^c\) found its mark is evident from the obstinate silence of the bourgeois and ministerial press which otherwise is so ready to attack anything like that. It has since appeared in Italian, Polish and Romanian and in Italy has involved me in a polemic with that benign old jackass Bovio.\(^d\)

Unfortunately I shall not be able to reply to Mrs Julie’s\(^e\) kind letter

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 345-46. \(^b\) in the Saxon Landtag. \(^c\) F. Engels, ‘Socialism in Germany’. \(^d\) See this volume, p. 334. \(^e\) Bebel
today, having spent the whole of this morning in conference with Aveling, sorting out his translation of *Entwicklung des Sozialismus* and, if this letter is to reach you on Monday, it will have to be sent off today, Saturday. However, I shall make good the omission at the first opportunity and in the meantime can only repeat how much we regret we shan’t be seeing her here also. Well, it’s something we can still look forward to.

Warm regards,

Your
F.E.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 March 1892

My dear Laura,

Today I can do no more than fulfil my promise to Paul and send you the enclosed cheque for the rent—£15—made out in your name, so that Paul’s absence need not cause any delay. I have received your letter and shall reply in a few days—I am overwhelmed with work—Sonnenschein has by some blunder sent the rough draft of Edward’s translation of my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus* to press and now all the work of revising that rough draft falls upon me, and of course has to be done quick.—Then Percy was here all week, left yesterday, then other interferences with work—today Tussy has

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gone on *Union*[^1][^2] work to Plymouth and Edward will be all day with us, so I must get this letter closed and off before he comes.

I am glad of the news about the ‘Daily’[^3] and this time it may turn out a success, if our friends take the proper precautions not to be turned out again the very moment the paper begins to pay.[^4] But things are better now, there is a power behind them now and that makes a difference—only they ought to take care to secure their position in the paper for all that.

I should be glad if Paul would let me know something of the position of the various socialist and ‘Auch-Sozialisten’[^5] groups in the Chamber—the Blanquist, Possibilists,[^3] Millerand lot,[^6] and the ex-Boulangists. I see in yesterday’s *Intransigeant* that Paul and Ferroul attended a meeting composed chiefly of the *Blanquist Boulangists*, and, if he works together with them, it’s 100 to 1 that Hyndman will attack them in *Justice*, and anyhow the subject is sure to be discussed here and interpellations to come to me—so I ought to be prepared!

In my next you will also very probably receive a dunning letter from Louise for more contributions to the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung*.

Love to all your numerous family

Ever yours,

F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 5 March 1892

Dear Baron,

Your ms.[^7]^3 goes off by *registered* mail today. I have only been able to read the first 16 pages. If I were you I should omit the better part

[^1]: *Union*
[^2]: work to Plymouth and Edward will be all day with us, so I must get this letter closed and off before he comes.
[^3]: ‘Daily’[^3]
[^4]: But things are better now, there is a power behind them now and that makes a difference—only they ought to take care to secure their position in the paper for all that.
[^5]: ‘Auch-Sozialisten’[^5]
[^6]: Millerand lot,[^6]
[^7]: goes off by *registered* mail today. I have only been able to read the first 16 pages. If I were you I should omit the better part

[^3]: *Le Socialiste*
[^5]: ‘partly socialist’
of this introduction. The reasons why a programme should have a commentary, etc., etc., in short, all those reflections of yours about why the pamphlet was written, only serve to weaken the impact and deter the reader from persevering. You must plunge straight into it—you could have no better justification. I cannot give an opinion of the way the rest, the major part, is arranged. So overwhelmed am I by work of all kinds that I don't know whether I'm coming or going. Nothing but trifles, but quite scandalously time-consuming. I long to have time for Volume III\(^a\) and every day am invariably robbed of it. Well, we shall get round to it some time or other.

Ten copies of *Neue Zeit* containing my article\(^b\) received with thanks. Simply amend the name Hodgskin and the figure 1824 in the next edition, and include a note saying that in the original these read such and such, *obviously a slip of the pen or printer's error*.\(^{424}\)

Menger is a jackass and will so remain. His critique of bourgeois law\(^c\) is throughout nothing but a vindication of the 'police state' as opposed to the 'constitutional state'. True, the law, especially bourgeois law, is stricter and more rigorous than police despotism which may sometimes appear humane precisely because it is despotic. If I had the time, I should soon put paid to this empty talk which is possible only in backward countries such as Germany and Austria.

I am glad you are agreeable to the Luther idea.\(^d\) There's no rush.

Cunow's letter returned with thanks. I look forward to seeing the ideas he has worked out about class.\(^{425}\) He has made some very nice discoveries about the Peruvian gens. He had sent me the stuff and I thanked him for it.

You will also be getting the Peruvian community system\(^{224}\) — I have just looked at it.

I don’t think you are in any danger for the time being. So changeable and multifarious are the cravings in Berlin that none could really be satisfied; now all at once it's the liberal bourgeois who's the *bête noire*. Liberalism is at the root of all socialism, so if one is to act *radically* one has got to smash liberalism, whereupon socialism will automatically wither away. For the present we may observe this exceptionally cunning manoeuvre with quiet amusement. Once the liberal philistines have been driven wild—and they are, it seems, really being whipped into a fury willy-nilly—then there’ll be no more false

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\(^a\) of *Capital* - \(^b\) ‘Der Sozialismus in Deutschland’ - \(^c\) A. Menger, *Das bürgerliche Recht und die besitzlosen Volksklassen*. - \(^d\) See this volume, pp. 342-43.
alarms so far as we are concerned. Apart from the fact that in Germany there are also rulers to whom this wind from Berlin provides the not unwelcome opportunity of currying favour at little expense and thus extracting capital for particularism and reserved rights.\textsuperscript{426}

When the street rioting began in Berlin\textsuperscript{427} I was somewhat concerned lest it result in the ardently desired fusillade, but when the rowdies cheered young William,\textsuperscript{a} thereby placating him, I knew that all was well — but just let the Kölner Zeitung be locked up\textsuperscript{428} along with Peus,\textsuperscript{420} and we may well see some fun.

So in my view, in so far as there is any danger, it is primarily confined to Prussia, and the greater it becomes there, the better off you people in the small states will be.

Now I have got to write to Sorge\textsuperscript{b} — the American mail goes today — SO FAREWELL. Aveling, who has just come in, sends his best wishes. Regards from one household to the other.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE\textsuperscript{357}

IN HOBOKEN

London, 5 March 1892

Dear Sorge,

Have received your letters of 15, 22 and 29 January and postcards of 2, 4 and 13 February. Also the newspapers re Anna.\textsuperscript{c} The latter has evidently succumbed to that fashionable complaint, megalomania. It’s strange; these sort of people, the Hartmanns \textit{et al}, are fit for one

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\textsuperscript{a} William II - \textsuperscript{b} See next letter. - \textsuperscript{c} Stanislaw Padlewski
deed — GOOD, BAD OR INDIFFERENT — and, once that’s done, are good for noth

Though I haven’t alas had time to read your last article in the *Neue Zeit*, I must get round to doing so since it’s only with your help that I can follow developments in America without going astray.

I am terribly overburdened with all kinds of tasks and tiresome odds and ends. You ought to see the mass of German, French, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Russian, Danish, American, English and, now and again, Romanian newspapers I get and must at any rate glance at if I am to keep *au courant* with the movement. Not to mention genuine tasks which swallow up the rest of my time. And the correspondence! I’ve got backlog enough to last me a week. And then I’m supposed to complete Volume III. It’s appalling. But it will be managed somehow. Only you people must be patient if I sometimes allow my correspondence to lapse.

In France things are going very well. Lafargue is using his expense allowance and his free railway pass to travel all over the place, from Lille to Toulouse, agitating and this with brilliant success. All the other socialist factions have been pushed into the background by ours and even in Paris the Possibilists are continuing to beat a retreat, thanks to their internal squabbles and to vigorous action on the part of our own people. They again have in mind a daily journal as party organ, and this would now stand a better chance. It’s capital that Constans should have been sacked from the Ministry of the Interior; the chap was determined to provoke fusillades, by violence, and we can do without them. Since our May Day demonstration coincides with the municipal elections throughout France, shooting is a luxury no minister could permit himself unless, like Constans, he was banking on a nine days’ wonder.

Here the bickering continues as before, but nevertheless the cause is making headway in true Anglo-Saxon fashion, slowly but surely. Everything always subsides into small individual battles which cannot be assessed until actually resolved. At the moment these concern the May Day celebrations. On the one side our people, on the other, in opposition to us, the *Trades Council* (the stuffier *Trades Unions*) and the *Social Democratic Federation*; the two enemies of yesteryear have been forced to club together against us, which is in itself a vic-

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*a* In the original: *nix mehr ze wolle* (South-German dialect) - *b* F. A. Sorge, ‘Das Programm der Geldreformer in den Vereinigten Staaten’ - *c* of *Capital*
We are in possession of Hyde Park and possession is nine points of the law. How things will turn out remains to be seen. On our side we shall probably have the gasworkers, a number of the smaller unions and the radical clubs (almost wholly working class) — what happens next must remain to be seen.

And now for Germany. Things are going so swimmingly there that we couldn’t wish for anything better, although we shall no doubt experience some pretty hard knocks in the near future. From the outset Little Willie has been a prime example of a ‘last of the line’ with a singular aptitude for ruining the dynasty and monarchy. But now his madness has taken on an acute form and his megalomania is such that he can neither sleep nor hold his tongue. As luck would have it, the regis voluntas which, at the drop of a hat, would become suprema lex, is directed against us one day and the Liberals the next, and now he has actually discovered that it’s the Liberals, whose progeny we are, that are the source of all evil — he’s been taught as much by his clerical friends. And now he’s prosecuting the Kölnische Zeitung for lèse-majesté and will not rest content until he has hounded your tame German philistine into the opposition. What more could we ask? A month ago, when Stumm’s speech was heard in the Reichstag, it was still possible to envisage the re-introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law but that is no longer the case, for William is more incensed by the opposition of the bourgeoisie to his bill for the clericalisation of primary schools than by all the Social-Democrats put together, and would sooner leave us alone than make any concessions to the other fellows. In both chambers it is, in fact, from the bourgeois parties that he encounters most opposition, not from our 35 members in the Reichstag; in the Prussian chamber we have no seats at all. Nevertheless, we, too, may run into some heavy weather — yet what could be better than for the Crown to place itself in an impossible position vis-à-vis the middle classes and the workers at one and the same time? The ministers are all second-rate or third-rate men, Caprivi is a staunch lout but unequal to his task, nor does Miquel grow any the wiser for his perpetual cheese-paring. In short, at this rate a crisis may be in the offing. In Prussia and in the Prusso-German Empire people cannot as in Bavaria afford to go on for years putting up with a demented monarch and I shouldn’t be surprised if, some time soon, they didn’t erect a special madhouse for Little Willie. And then there’d be a Regency, which is exactly what we’ve been needing.

a William II - b Ludwig II
As regards Russia and *la haute politique*, I have nothing to add to my article in the *Neue Zeit*.

Warm regards from Aveling, who happens to be here just now—Tussy is off agitating in Plymouth. Louise will enclose a short note. Warm regards to your wife, and look after yourselves.

Your

F.E.


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL. 8 MARCH 1892

IN BERLIN

London, 8 March 1892

Dear August,

We were all very glad to hear that your parliamentary anniversary was such a jolly occasion. So far as the address is concerned, I did, as requested, certainly send off a draft which—since I had to take account of the wishes, specific but unknown to me, of a parliamentary group most of whose 35 members were likewise personally unknown to me—seemed to me distinctly flat nor, till that moment, had I heard anything about either it or its fate. The French wrote one for you, published in today’s *Socialiste*, in which they could let themselves go a bit more.

So Liebknecht has been chucked out of the Dresden froggery. Considering how petty those philistines are, little else was to be ex-

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a high politics - b ’Der Sozialismus in Deutschland’ - c Katharina Sorge
pected. Pretexts are never wanting and, while the affair may have accorded their vindictiveness some small personal satisfaction, the jackasses have derived no advantage whatever therefrom. The Vorwärts, by the by, has shown a marked improvement of late.

I am glad that the rumpuses in Berlin are over and that our people have held themselves so strictly aloof.427 There might very well have been a bit of shooting and that would have sufficed to make things awkward for us in all kinds of ways. Had there been shooting in Berlin, the National Liberals414 would have been quite capable of enthusiastically supporting the Elementary School Bill431 while the hitherto indeterminate anger of certain people would finally have been directed against ourselves. The one reactionary mass,322 which is looming larger every day, is not much use to us as yet; so long as we cannot actively make history ourselves, our interests demand that historical developments should not stand still, and to that end it is necessary that the bourgeois parties remain at loggerheads. And here the present regime is invaluable in that it provides that very situation for us. But if the shooting starts too soon, i.e. before the old parties have become more closely locked in combat, it might drive them to seek a reconciliation with each other and to form a united front against us. It will happen some time, as surely as eggs is eggs and, if it happens when we are, say, twice as strong as at present, it will no longer matter very much. Though even were it to happen now, the exercise of personal power would undoubtedly see to it that the opponents fell out with each other again. But it’s better to be on the safe side. Things are going so famously now that we can only hope they’ll be allowed to proceed without interruption.

However, unemployment might well get worse next year. For protectionism has had exactly the same effect as free trade—the flooding of individual national markets and this almost everywhere, though it’s not so bad over here as where you are. But in this country where we have come through two or three insidious little crises since 1867, we would at last seem to be heading for another acute one. The enormous cotton crops of the past 2 or 3 years (up to 9 million or more bales a year) have depressed prices to the same extent as in the worst days of the 1846 crisis, and are thus exerting tremendous pressure on production which means that the manufacturers here are having to overproduce because of overproduction by the American planters! At the same time they are steadily losing money because the falling price of raw materials invariably means that their product,
spun from expensive cotton, has already fallen in value by the time it reaches the market. Indeed, that is the reason for the cries of distress emanating from the German and Alsatian cotton spinners, though no one has said anything about this in the Reichstag. Nor are other branches of industry faring much better over here. For the past 15 months there has been a marked decline in railway revenues and in the export of industrial goods so that in this country, too, the outlook for next winter is pretty bleak. No improvement can really be looked for in continental countries that have protective tariffs and, even though trade agreements might bring momentary relief, this will be offset before the year is out. And if next winter the same rumpus, but on a larger scale, recurs in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome and Madrid and finds an echo in London and New York, a still more serious situation might arise. On the other hand, it’s a blessing that Paris and London, at any rate, have municipal councils that are all too aware of their dependence on the Labour vote, and are the less inclined to put up any serious resistance to demands, realisable even today, such as employment on public works, shorter working hours, wages in accordance with trades union demands, etc., etc., in that these represent the best means of safeguarding the masses against worse socialist—genuinely socialist—heresies. It remains to be seen whether the municipal councillors of Berlin and Vienna, who owe their election to a suffrage that is based on class and property, are forced nolentes volentes, a to flounder along in their wake.

Yesterday’s Standard carried a telegram from St Petersburg according to which, after William’s b speech in the Brandenburg Landtag, one of the gentlemen pointed out that the ‘glory’ to which he had alluded was opposed by, inter alia, Russia. Whereat William replied: ‘I shall pulverize Russia’, or words to that effect. Shuvalov, it seems, got to hear of this and, having assured himself of the authenticity of the report, passed it on to his Emperor. Whereupon Alexander promptly sought occasion to reprimand Schweinitz, instructing him to tell his Emperor that ‘should he again feel the urge to pulverise Russia, I shall have the pleasure of sending half a million soldiers across his borders’.

On Saturday c Russia won a victory here in London which, however, will no longer be of any use to it. In the County Council elections (in London what is known elsewhere as a municipal council is called County Council) the Liberals scored a resounding victory and

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a willy-nilley  b William II  c 5 March
there is no longer any doubt—if indeed there ever was—that, after the next parliamentary elections, Gladstone will come to power. But Gladstone is fanatically pro-Russian, anti-Turk and anti-Austrian, and his accession would provide Alexander with a further incentive for war since it would mean England's benevolent neutrality, not to mention English pressure on Italy to keep her neutral as well. The famine and the internal conflicts which we may hope it will evoke in Russia will redress the balance—provided, that is, nothing silly is done on either side of the Russian border, a possibility which can never entirely be excluded.

For the rest, and so far as this country is concerned, the Liberal victory is not a bad thing. The Conservatives aren't up to much unless they have at their head a chap like Disraeli capable of leading the whole party by the nose and getting it to do the opposite of what it actually intended. The present leaders are nothing but fools and coxcombs who allow the local party leaders, i.e. the stupidest men on earth, to dictate what their programme should be. Moreover 6 years in office have exhausted and staled them. So there has got to be a change and that is what the whole of this farce ultimately boils down to.

Ede tells me he has had a letter from Mehring saying that neither the Neue Zeit nor the Vorwärts nor any other party newspaper has taken the slightest notice of his anti-Richter; he considers this inexcusable, feels inclined to give up politics altogether, etc. I can see that, to an author accustomed to literary pretentiousness—this is not to imply any blame, for in the bourgeois press, even at its most literary, that sort of thing is not only the rule but a sine qua non—I can see, then, that to a man like this, who has grown up in the non-Social-Democratic press, these Social-Democratic customs could be highly objectionable. But then we should all of us have to raise our voices in complaint, for the same thing is done to you and me and all the rest. None the less, and however unpleasant it may sometimes be for the individual, I consider this haughty indifference on the part of our press to be one of its greatest merits. Mehring's stuff will be bought and read even if the Vorwärts doesn't puff and it is better not to boost anything than to boost the masses of party trash which, worse luck, are also launched upon the world. And if any one thing were

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to be singled out, 'equal rights for all' would be demanded for everything else, in accordance with time-honoured democratic custom. That being so, I would rather put up with the equal right of being passed over in silence.

But there is one thing your chaps might do — come to an equitable arrangement with Mehring's publisher as regards regular and frequent advertising. That, however, is another example of the total lack of business sense which is congenital to our newspapermen.

I recently got hold of a copy of the 3rd edition of Mehring's *Deutsche Socialdemokratie* and took a look at the historical part. I should say that, in *Kapital und Presse*, he skates rather lightly over this incident.\(^{435}\) But it's all one to us and we've got nothing to reproach him with; whether he's got anything to reproach himself with is his own affair and no concern of ours. In his place I should have admitted my change of heart quite openly, since there's nothing whatever for him to be ashamed of and it would have saved him a great deal of time, vexation and strife. It would, by the by, be absurd for him seriously to consider withdrawing from politics since he would thereby only be doing the ruling powers and the bourgeoisie a service; his leaders in the *Neue Zeit* are indeed really first-rate and we eagerly await the appearance of each one. Such verve should not be allowed to wither away or be wasted on rotten belletrists.

We all liked Siegel very much. He is yet another of those German working men whom one would be proud to be seen with in any company. The fact that he left in order to escape quite exceptionally rigorous and systematic persecution is in no way reprehensible. It's just because they are only now entering the movement that the miners are being persecuted with especial rigour, nor can the victims in any way rely on the support of their fellow workers — and for the same reason solidarity has not yet gained general recognition. Cunninghame-Graham and Keir Hardie have procured work for him in Scotland and his family is following him there. The company he is working for are advancing him the money and deducting it from his wages. Now, it's not going to be easy for him to repay this. I have given him five pounds for the journey to Scotland and to help him settle in, but cannot well do more. Would it not be appropriate for you people to grant him a subsidy of, say, 100 or 150 marks? I have read the letters Schröder wrote him and there seems small likelihood of his getting anything from that quarter.\(^{436}\) Think the matter over.

From the enclosed chit from the Witch's kitchen you will see that
your lobster mayonnaise will, 'by virtue of the true elapse' of time (to use Arnold Ruge's words) put in an appearance only to disappear a moment later. Let us hope this dialectical process will then be crowned by a smoothly functioning negation of the negation.

Cordial regards.

Your
F. E.

The 10th of April is Palm Sunday. You should leave no later than the 8th, in which case you would be here by the evening of Saturday the 9th at the latest. That would be the best and most convenient arrangement. You won’t be needed for the Queen’s Speech. So we shall expect you here on the 9th.


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ENGELS TO JULIE BEBEL\(^{231}\)

IN BERLIN

London, 8 March 1892

Dear Mrs Bebel,

Unfortunately I have only today got round to answering your kind letter of 18 February, though at the same time I am sad to note that you have definitely decided to give your daughter\(^a\) at St Gallen rather than us the pleasure of your company. Well, we can’t blame you for preferring to visit Mrs Simon and console ourselves with the hope and the firm expectation that we shall be all the more certain of seeing you here in the spring (or summer?) of 1893. For in summer our fireplaces are screened off, plum puddings strictly forbidden, fogs only occur very rarely and so you’ll see England looking her best,

\(^a\) Frieda Simon
even though a malicious Frenchman once said that the English summer amounts to nothing more than three very hot days and a thunderstorm, after which it is all over. Next year I trust you will give us an opportunity to prove that this is a wilful exaggeration. You will also find that you can get on perfectly well over here, even though you speak no English.

But whether I come to Germany, as you surmise, will depend on all kinds of things over which, in view of these critical and changeable times, I have no control. Gone are the good old days of the new course’s calf love for anyone who aroused Bismarck’s wrath, and there is no knowing what may not happen between now and the summer. So for the time being I shall leave everything in the lap of the gods and wait and see where fate may lead me this summer, whether to Germany, to Norway, to the Canary Islands, where they would also like to see me, or somewhere else. My one regret, should there be no real prospect of my making a pleasant summer visit to Germany, would be to miss yet another chance of making your personal acquaintance. I do so long to set eyes once again on a real, honest to goodness German proletarian woman, which is how people have always described you to me. My wife was also of genuine Irish proletarian blood and her passionate feeling for her class, a feeling that was inborn, was of immeasurably greater value to me and has been a greater standby at all critical junctures than anything of which the priggishness and sophistry of the ‘heedicated’ and ‘sensitive’ daughters of the bourgeois might have been capable. But my wife has now been dead for twelve years and more, while August is fortunate enough to have you still at his side; that is the difference.

Louise has just written another quite outrageous letter to August. You have absolutely no conception of how cocky the little woman has become now that she is once again standing on her own feet. You ought to be here sometime when we take our morning glass of Pilsner beer, and listen to our laughter and the kind of nonsense we talk. I’m happy that I can still join in such youthful tomfoolery; after all, one ages in so many ways that it is a real joy to find one has not yet lost the ability to laugh. And I really cannot thank Louise enough for all she is doing to ensure that my old Rhinelander’s joie de vivre doesn’t

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*a* Lizzy Burns. *b* In the original: *jebildeten* and *jefühlsvollen* (Berlin dialect).
My dear Laura,

I have a whole heap of your letters before me, such a heap that I hardly dare look at it without being ashamed of myself—but you have no idea how I have been worked, interrupted, *tracassé, embêté*\(^a\) etc. etc. by all sorts of people. My best working time—January to April—has been frittered away and I have not had a moment to even look at the 3rd volume\(^b\) which I was determined to advance a good bit—and over the critical point—by Easter. All vanity of vanities. Now, my time up to a week after Easter is already engaged (by 10 April I shall have Bebel here for a fortnight or so, before that time I must go to Ryde to see Pumps who has had a sore time of it, Percy had 1) influenza, 2) pneumonia and 3) and last is now laid up with pleurisy) and it will cost a damned effort of energy and a determination to reply to no letters whatever and do no work for no matter whom if I want to use May and June for the 3rd volume.

But damn all this, you don’t want to hear my grumbling. I am glad there are prospects of a daily paper for Paris,\(^423\) that will make up for many a mishap in other parts of the world. Though mishaps to our party are getting few and far between, unless we provoke them ourselves. We have such capital allies. Young William\(^c\) brags about his

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\(^a\) harassed, annoyed
\(^b\) of *Capital*
\(^c\) William II
ally God who so arranged all things from the creat[ion of the] a world, that they must turn out to the grea[test] glory of the Prussian monarchy in general and young William in particular. But the poor boy does not see that all the time he is a better ally to us than God ever was or will be to him; and even if he was to see it, he could not help it, it’s the nature of the beast!

My article b of the Almanach c and Neue Zeit has now been translated into Italian (Critica Sociale — got me into a row with that confusionario l’illustré d Bovio e), Roumanian (Revista Socială e) Polish (Przedświt) and English (New York People).

We have just come back (3.30 p.m.) from Highgate, the cemetery is in a disgusting state of soft clay, we had half a hundredweight sticking to each foot. On the grave Tussy (I suppose) had planted a small cypress, and one of the old crocus bulbs has come out in flower. The sprig of ivy which Motteler had brought from Ulrich von Hutten’s grave on Ufnau Island in the Lake of Zürich, and which we planted after poor Nimmy’s burial, having trained it on our balcony, had already been robbed of its best part last summer, but what is left, now grows well and is rooted deeply in the soil, so that no further desecration is possible.

Here we are also busy about the 1st of May. It is a beautiful play of intrigues woven and cut to pieces and woven afresh, Penelopean fashion. The 8 Hours Committee 200 (Edward, Tussy and their friends) tried to be first in the field but the Trades Council, 196 that reactionary relic[t of the] Old Trades Unions, was out before them. Now the Trades Council and the S. D. F. 29 are for the [nonce] friends, as against all the rest; at present they do not compete one with the other, and have common interests in putting down all ‘outsiders’. So when the 8 Hours Committee proposed to act with the Trades Council, in the same way as last year, they got a complete rebuff. But then the 8 Hours Committee secured the Park for themselves, before the Trades Council had thought of it, and then again offered co-operation with the Trades Council which was again haughtily declined. Then both bodies addressed the Metropolitan Radical Federation (of Radical clubs 430) to co-operate with them; and the M. R. F. decided to mediate, but under all circumstances to act with the 8 Hours Committee to whom the whole movement from the origin was due. So that the

a Manuscript damaged. b ‘Socialism in Germany’. c Almanach du Parti Ouvrier. d notorious muddlehead. e See this volume, p. 354. f Hyde Park (see also this volume, pp. 370-71.)
Trades Council and the Social-Democratic Federation, as usual overestimating their strength, have put themselves in an awkward position: either they must knuckle under, or have a separate demonstration, and bear the responsibility of the split. At all events our demonstration is now an assured success, whatever the others may do.

Hyndman gets more foolish every day. His blind hatred of the Germans makes him support the Berlin ‘Unabhängige’ and keep as his German chief of staff that outrageous scamp Gilles who is evidently in the pay of the German Embassy and has been, with a lot of malcontents, turned out of the German Communist Club here (our old ‘Verein’). So that he has now lost even the little foreign support he had; in Germany they used to have some little regard to his position as leader of at least a section of English socialists, but he has forfeited that; in France his friends Brousse and Co. are so down, that even Hyndman himself had to protest against their ‘hygienic’ programme for their next congress. One does long for a good strong breath of revolutionary air to sweep away all these pettifogging Jammerkerle—but it is coming, slowly, slowly as everything does come among these ‘verdammten’ Schleswig-Holsteiners’ (as Marx called the English) but when it comes it is safe.

I intended to enclose a line to Paul. I had a letter from him from Marseilles—but it’s getting dinner-time, and I am afraid of being stopped in the midst of it. I am afraid their new alliance with Granger and Co. will not turn out to their satisfaction. First of all, these men have shown that they are absolutely un[reliable] when they passed over to Boulanger, and we can only expect being betrayed by them on the first occasion. Secondly, Paul says we must reap where Boulanger has sown. Exactly so, but reap the masses and discard the leaders, as the plan was with the Possibilists; but these leaders have no masses behind them, and are themselves highly undesirable bedfellows. Thirdly, they have crept into the Chambre under false pretences and are sure to be kicked out next election, so that it seems to me our friends are leaning upon an already broken reed. And as to foreign policy, fourthly, these men are pledged Chauvinists—otherwise they could not have got elected—and if Paul and friends form a party with them, they may be outvoted, kicked out, or driven to a split on the first occasion. I hope I may be wrong, but I am afraid I am not. The passage to Boulanger of these fellows was an unpardonable trea-

\[a\] Independents - \[b\] Society - \[c\] miserable people - \[d\] damned
son, and I'd rather have Vaillant than the whole lot of them — indeed I thought it a blessing that they had made themselves impossible.

Louise will write to you as soon as possible. She has been rather out of sorts for the last 8 days and is only just coming round again. Tomorrow I must go to see old Harney at Richmond where he is ill with the windpipe and his rheumatic gout. And then you want me to say something to the Parisians about the 18 March.** I'll be hanged if I know what! *Mais nous verrons!* Ever yours affectionately,

F. E.

[Ki]nd regards from Louise.


Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 15 March 1892

Dear Sir,

I am almost ashamed to reply to your kind and interesting letters of the 12 and 21 November last. But I have been so overwhelmed with work, and I find that writing by gaslight is still so hurtful to my eyes (which otherwise keep quite serviceable) that this extra work and the shortness of daylight during our winter must be my excuse.

You are passing indeed through a momentous period for your country, the full importance of which can hardly be overestimated. From your letters it seems to me that you look upon the present неурожай* not as an accident, but as the necessary result, as one of the unavoidable concomitants of the economic development entered upon by Russia since 1861.** And that is my opinion too, as far as one can judge from a distance. With the year 1861 Russia entered

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*a But we shall see! - *b* crop failure (Russ.)
upon the development, on a scale worthy of a great nation, of Modern Industry. The conviction ripened that now-a-days no country can take a befitting rank among civilised nations without possessing steam-driven industrial machinery and providing, to a great extent at least, for its own wants of manufactured goods. And upon that conviction Russia has acted, and acted with great energy. That she surrounded herself with a rampart of protective duties, was but too natural, English competition forced that policy upon almost every great country, even Germany, where *une grande industrie* had successfully developed under *almost absolute free trade*, joined the chorus and turned protectionist, merely to accelerate the process of what Bismarck called *die Züchtung von Millionären*. And if Germany entered upon this course even without any necessity, who can blame Russia for doing what to her *was* a necessity, as soon as the new industrial course was once determined upon?

To some extent your present situation appears to me to find a parallel in that of France under Louis XIV. There, too, manufactures were placed in a condition of vitality by Colbert's protective system; and within 20 or 30 years, it was found out that a national manufacturing industry, under the circumstances then existing, can be created only at the expense of the peasantry. The *Naturalwirtschaft* of the peasants was broken up and supplanted by the *Geldwirtschaft*, the home market was created and, at the same time, nearly destroyed again, at least for the time, by this process and the unprecedented violence with which economic necessity enforced itself, and by the increased taxation in money and in men, necessitated, then, by the introduction of standing armies by conscription, as it is now-a-days necessitated by the introduction of the Prussian military system of universal army service. And when at last a crop or two failed, then arose that universal state of discomfort all over the country which we find depicted in Boisguillebert and Marshal Vauban.

But there is one immense difference: The difference between old 'Manufaktur' and modern 'grande industrie' which (in the action upon the peasant, the agricultural producer on a small scale and with his own means of production) is as the difference between the old smooth-bore flint-musket of 1680 and the modern repeating rifle, ca-

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[a] raising of millionaires -
[b] subsistence economy -
[c] money economy -
libre 7.50 millimetres, of 1892. And moreover, whereas in 1680 agriculture on a small scale was still the normal mode of production, and large estate-farming could only be a rising exception, but always an exception, large farming with machinery is now the rule and becomes more and more the only possible mode of agricultural production. So that the peasant today appears to be doomed.

You remember what our author said in the letter on Joukowski— that if the line entered upon in 1861 was persevered in, the peasants' община must go to ruin. That seems to me to be in course of fulfilment just now. The moment seems getting near, at least in some districts, where the whole of the old social institutions of Russian peasant life not only lose their value to the individual peasant but become a fetter, exactly as they have done in former times in Western Europe. I am afraid we shall have to treat the община as a dream of the past, and reckon, in future, with a capitalist Russia. No doubt a great chance is thus being lost, but against economic facts there is no help. The only curious thing is that the very men in Russia who never tire of defending the invaluable superiority of Russian primitive institutions as compared with those of the rotten Occident, are doing their very best to destroy those primitive institutions and to replace them by those of the rotten Occident!

But if the Russian peasant is doomed to be transformed into a proletarian, industrial or agricultural, the помещик does appear to be doomed too. From what I gather, this class is even more in debt than the peasants, and has to sell out gradually. And between the two seem to step in a new class of landowners, village кулаки or town-bourgeois—the fathers of, perhaps, a future Russian landed aristocracy??

The failure of last year's crop has brought all this out into glaring daylight. And I am quite of your opinion that the causes are entirely social. As to deforestation, that is as essentially, as is the ruin of the peasants, a vital condition of bourgeois society. No European 'civilised' country but has felt it, and America,* and no doubt Russia, too, feels it at this moment. Thus deforestation, in my eyes, is essentially

* In America I have seen it myself 4 years ago. There great efforts are made to counteract its effects and redress the mistake.

a K. Marx, 'Letter to Otechestvennije Zapiski.' b commune (Russ.) c landowner (Russ.)
a social factor as well as a social result. But it is also a very common pretext for interested parties, to devolve the blame for economic mishaps upon a cause which apparently nobody can be made responsible for.

The failure of the crop, in my opinion, has only made patent, what was there already latent. But it has terribly accelerated the velocity of the process going on. The peasant, at seed-time this spring, will be infinitely weaker than he was at seed-time last autumn. And he will be called upon to recover strength under far more unfavourable circumstances. A pauper, over head and ears in debt, no cattle, what can he do— even in the places where he has got through the winter without having to leave his land? It therefore seems to me that it will take years before this calamity is completely overcome, and that when that point is reached, Russia will be a very different country from what she was even on 1 January 1891. And we will have to console ourselves with the idea that all this in the end must serve the cause of human progress.

I sent you last autumn a little book: Ursprung der Familie,\(^a\) 4th edition, it was registered and my address outside on the wrapper, as it did not come back I hope you have received it.

I thank you very much for the many papers and reviews sent — the one of Mendelejff's\(^b\) was especially interesting. But I regret I cannot just now give to them all the attention they deserve, owing to hard work. How fast I was with extra work, you will conceive when I tell you that from New Year to now — generally my quietest time — I have not been able to give one minute to 3rd volume.\(^c\)

Your congratulations were duly forwarded to Paris.\(^d\)\(^e\)

With kind regards ever yours

P. W. Rosher\(^d\)

No news from our mutual\(^e\)?

First published, in Russian, in Minvushe\(y\)e Reproduced from the original gody, No. 2, St Petersburg, 1908

\(^a\) The Origin of the Family...\(^b\) Д. И. Менделеев, Толковый тариф о или изслёдованиё о развитии промышленности России в связи с её общим таможенным тарифом 1891 го-
\(^d\) of Capital\(^e\) Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym - Hermann Lopatin
Dear August,

Today I have a request, namely that you send me the stenographic report of the session at which our chaps spoke about Alsace-Lorraine and Singer apparently made a statement on the same subject on behalf of the parliamentary group. I'm sure to be questioned about it and should therefore like to be in possession of the precise facts.

Over here the usual struggle has begun again in regard to May Day, but so far the outlook is favourable. What I am about to tell you must not appear in the 'Vorwärts', for Gilles will interpret and manipulate it in his own way for Hyndman's benefit — i.e. in order to sing the praises of the Independents and malign the parliamentary group and, since the struggle has still to be decided, anything that might be published could be used against us.

Well, the original 'LEgal 8 Hours Committee', presided over by Aveling, and the Trades Council under Shipton (presently allied with Hyndman and the Social Democratic Federation) tackled the matter almost simultaneously. The 8 Hours Committee invited the Trades Council to act in concert with them, as happened last year, but was rejected with contumely. At the same time it approached the Metropolitan Radical Federation (comprising more than 50 radically 'labour' and partly socialist clubs), whereupon the latter was approached by the Trades Council. In the meantime Aveling had played the same trick on the Trades Council as they had played on him 2 years before and secured first right to the Park. Having assured itself of the Park, the 8 Hours Committee actually made a further approach to the Trades Council but was again rejected with contumely. Immediately afterwards, however, the Metropolitan Radical Federation, which on several occasions had also been treated by the Trades Council in a high-handed way (last year the Trades Council admitted only Trades Union people, not club speakers, to the plat-
forms they had been allotted) resolved that, whatever happened, it
should join forces with the 8 Hours Committee, but that there should
be one more attempt at reconciliation with the Trades Council. The
8 Hours Committee met on Sunday when it was agreed with the
Metropolitan Radical Federation that the latter should make this at-
ttempt, after which a decision would be taken on further action. That
is how matters stand. Up till now the 8 Hours Committee has been in
a vastly superior position. It has the Park, the Gasworkers, a whole
number of small East End unions and the Radical Clubs—in short,
a number at least twice as large as that which supports the Trades
Council and Hyndman's Federation. For the moment the latter is
keeping as quiet as a mouse and letting the Trades Council do its
work for it. Provided there are no blunders or indiscretions, the
Trades Council will either have to back down or, as was the case 2
years ago, play second fiddle at the demonstration, and an ill-tem-
pered fiddle at that.

I have now read Mehring's 'Lessing-Legende' in the Neue Zeit and
derived much pleasure from it. It is a really excellent work. There is
much that I should have accounted for differently or toned down
a bit, but all in all he has hit the nail on the head. It is truly a pleasure
to see that the materialist view of history, which for the past 20 years
has—as a rule—had to pay the price of being used as vainglorious
rhetoric in the writings of our younger party members, is at last be-
inning to be put to the use for which it was originally intended, i.e.
as a guide for the student of history. Kautsky and Ede have produced
some very nice stuff in this line but Mehring has made a much closer
study of his special subject, namely Prussia's small segment of Ger-
man history, and generally takes a less blinkered view; above all he
expresses himself more positively and precisely. I hope the work will
be published on its own as soon as it has finished appearing in the
Neue Zeit. Never, to my knowledge, has the citadel of the Prussian
legend been besieged so well and so forthrightly: for Lessing read old
Fritz. And it is vitally necessary to demolish the Prussian legend be-
fore Prussia is able to vanish into Germany. As regards the precondi-
tions for Prussia east of the Elbe in German as well as in European and
world history, I should sometimes have expressed myself differently
but these are things which in fact Mehring merely touched upon.

But now I must go and eat so that the Witch can get on with her

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a 13 March  b Frederick II
Witch’s Latin. As to the East End business,\(^447\) you mustn’t let it worry you too much; I don’t think that anything dangerous is being planned.

Warm regards to Mrs Julie\(^a\) and yourself.

Your
F.E.

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Engels to Filippo Turati

[London,] 18 March 1892

Dear Citizen Turati,

Thank you for the two copies of the illustrious one’s\(^448\) reply which you were kind enough to send me. Needless to say, I have no intention of letting him have an answer, for if he didn’t mean to discuss and didn’t discuss the German Socialists, what were his reasons for quoting my article\(^b\) and appending his comments to his quotations? It’s more incoherent than ever, but to be charitable, one must suppose that he had totally forgotten what he had written in the Tribuna.\(^449\)

Kind regards,
F.E.

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\(^a\) Julie Bebel - \(^b\) ‘L’imminente trionfo del socialismo in Germania’
Dear Baron,

Yesterday evening I sent back to you the preface duly corrected and I also added a couple of lines to the 2nd edition. I think that should do. The old preface will still serve the purpose of preventing the resurrection of the Rodbertus nonsense which, like any article of fashion, has a tendency to keep recurring. It certainly acted remarkably quickly, though it is no credit to me if the great men pitted against us are the sort of chaps who can be done to death in two prefaces. Besides, the economic arguments set out therein will still do the Germans some good; the awkwardness of many of our people when engaged in economic polemics is curious though hardly edifying.

Congratulations on the birth after a difficult confinement of your pamphlet on the programme. The child will get on in the world all right. A new popular digest is always most useful; people’s speeches frequently make one realise how necessary such refresher courses are; and a fat tome is the last thing they are either willing or able to read.

Rather than complain about the carelessness of German writers, you should adopt the principle of marking with coloured ink such articles as you intend to accept and returning them to the authors for correction; then they would soon mend their ways. Obviously if the editors are so obliging as to place their own style at the author’s disposal, he will become more and more slovenly.

I can understand your complaining about your correspondence, for you speak to a fellow sufferer. But then you are also an editor, which I am not, and are entitled to confine yourself exclusively to business matters — after all, anything more you do is for your own personal pleasure — and that is precisely what is denied me.

Apropos, I did not read Marx’s article on Proudhon from the Berlin Social-Demokrat in proof; I had no time.

As regards Adler, you learned rather more from Dietz than
I did. I therefore passed on your comments to Louise and asked her to prepare a memorandum on the affair for your own use — this I enclose. From her discretion towards me I gather, as no doubt you will, too, that this is a case which calls for the utmost discretion on the part of us all and where any incautious revelation could have the most dire consequences. Unfortunately, in a case like this, there are so many people who sympathise that out of sheer sympathy they are incapable of keeping their mouths shut. It's already quite bad enough that the affair should have been bandied about so freely in Berlin.

_The Condition of the Working-Class_ has at last come out over here. Unfortunately I have no copies to send you but have arranged for the _Neue Zeit_ to be recommended to S. Sonnenschein & Co. _Socialism: Utopian and Scientific_ is also finished, as far as it goes, but since the little book has turned out to be much too meagre for its price of 2s. 6d. (though the jackass of a publisher knew this from the beginning!), I am to swell it out with a long preface. Well, we shall see. That, however, will be the last of my own jobs, after which I shall then get on with Volume III. I have had word from Petersburg (this is between ourselves) that the _Origin of the Family_ will probably be appearing in Russian shortly. The article on 'socialism in Germany' has now come out in Italian, Romanian (_Critica Sociala_), English (_The People_, New York) and Polish (_Przedświt_, here), the last two having been taken from the _Neue Zeit_.

Kindest regards from one household to the other.

Your

General

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Dear Friend,

I can no longer lay my hands on the issue of *Lotta* you mentioned in your postcard of the 26th, but in any case it would in my view be a mistake and an offence against the best interests of the party were a socialist to give the first subaltern who came along the opportunity of killing him. By employing what for them would be the perfectly safe method of duelling with a socialist, it would be an easy matter for young officers to gain not only a great reputation for dash, but also rapid promotion, and, what's more, make away with our best people. We ought not to let ourselves in for that kind of thing.

Circumstances might arise in which even our own people might find that a duel was unavoidable; a French or Italian deputy might be forced to engage in a political duel should the refusal of a challenge be more injurious to the party than its acceptance, especially if it was our own deputy who was responsible for the affront. But to agree to a duel or even provoke one except in cases of dire necessity is, to my mind, absurd.

I am sending you the English translation of my *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* which has just come out. I trust it will be of use to you in your English studies.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time

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* Lotta di classe
Dear Schlüter,

First of all I must thank you for the letter you sent me last year, which provided me with so much valuable information. Unfortunately I cannot repay you in the same coin. By and large enough can be learned about the general political situation in Europe from a carefully selected reading of the newspapers and in order to allow time for my work it behoves me to keep myself out of the internal affairs of individual socialist parties as much as possible, otherwise I should never get anything done. I cannot therefore give you any information about the sequence of events inside the parties in the various countries in so far as these take the form of squabbles amongst the leaders, as is usually the case, for even the little that I do know about it has as often as not been told me only on condition that I keep my mouth shut.

Had I known that the *Figaro* article would have interested you people over there, I should have let you have it, for I was sent one by Lafargue. It has long since gone astray, departed into limbo, so I shall write to Paris but hardly imagine I shall be able to unearth another copy or get any real information out of Lafargue who has doubtless long since forgotten about it. Since his election he has been travelling indefatigably all over France on his free ticket, agitating and propagating (I don't mean the race) evidently with great success. May Day — since it coincides with the municipal elections to be held throughout France except Paris — will on this occasion be a highly critical day for the French; they are spurred on by the ambition to emulate the Germans.

It seems to me that in America your great stumbling-block consists in the exceptional position of the native-born working man. Before 1848 one cannot speak of an established, native-born working class except by way of an exception; the few who constituted its beginnings in the cities of the east could always hope to become farmers or bour-
bourgeois. Such a class has now come into being and has also largely organised itself along trades union lines. But it still adopts an aristocratic attitude and whenever possible leaves the ordinary, ill-paid occupations to immigrants of whom only a small proportion enter the aristocratic trades. These immigrants, however, are split up into nationalities which understand neither each other nor, for the most part, the language of the country. And over there your bourgeoisie is far more adept than the Austrian government at playing off one nationality against another—Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irishmen, and each against the other so that in New York the workers' living standards vary, or so I understand, to an extent unheard of elsewhere. And on top of that you have the complete indifference of a society, which has grown up without any of the easy-going background of feudalism and upon a purely capitalist basis, towards human beings who have fallen victim to the competitive struggle;

there will be plenty more, and more than we want, of these damned Dutchmen, a Irishmen, Italians, Jews and Hungarians — and in addition, standing in the background, you have John Chinaman who far outdoes them all in his ability to live on next to nothing.

In such a country repeated endeavours followed by no less certain set-backs are inevitable. Except that the endeavours grow more and more strenuous and the repulses less and less crippling, so that on the whole the cause nevertheless advances. But one thing I regard as certain, namely that the purely bourgeois basis without any pre-bourgeois humbug behind it, and the correspondingly colossal vigour of a development which manifests itself despite the insane lengths to which the present system of protective tariffs has been taken,\textsuperscript{338} will one day bring about a change that will astonish the whole world. Once the Americans get going it will be with a vigour and ferocity that will make us in Europe look like babes in arms by comparison.

With kindest regards.

Your
F. Engels

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\textsuperscript{a} This is how Germans were called in the USA.
Dear Schlüter,

A woman does not usually lift a finger and hence only becomes affable when she wants something. What I should now like to have is some authentic information on the bourgeois women's movement in America, i.e. their relative privileges and voting rights in the various states as regards not only school or municipal elections but also political suffrage, etc. I, or rather the General on my behalf, gets through Sorge the 2 most prominent women's rights papers, Woman's Journal and Woman's Tribune. But I need more, I need a brief, concise but historically complete account of the struggle to attain women's civil rights, not the dreadful, dreary catchphrases of the female pioneers of women's civil rights. The book which you...


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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 4 April 1892

My dear Laura,

Today but two words to ask you to look after the Éclair.—On Friday morning all of a sudden Émile Massard came down upon me with a demand for an interview for that iridescent paper. As he promised to submit the ms. to my correction, and as I thought to be thereby able to put a flea in the ear of the Parisian gogo, I consented. Yesterday I looked over the ms. and almost entirely recast it. Would you be good enough to send me about 4-6 copies of the paper as soon as it appears? If correct I shall want them for various regions, if incorrect, I shall at once protest against the breach of faith.

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a The end of the letter is missing. b 1 April c juggins
Anyhow this new experience with the eternal interviewing nuisance will help me to refuse in future, as I always have to do the real work (from 11 to 3 yesterday, instead of being out this warm weather) and even then it’s not what I want and does not bring out my ideas. Damn the lot of them.

I was in Ryde for a week,\textsuperscript{457} has done me good. Pumps and the children are well, Percy has had influenza, pneumonia, pleurisy, inflamed throat, etc., one after the other and is only just recovering.

I am busy with an infernal preface\textsuperscript{a} for the never-to-be-satisfied Swan Sonnenschein and Co. and that, as it will be long, will take me all week. As soon as finished you get a long letter.

Salut to the travelling parliamentarian\textsuperscript{b} who is not only a peripatetic grass widower but also a grasshopper, and love from Louise and yours

everlasting old
General

Next week we expect Bebel here unless stopped by ill health — he seems a deal out of sorts by overwork and overexcitement.


\textsuperscript{a} F. Engels, ‘Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific’. \textsuperscript{b} Paul Lafargue
Dear Citizen,

I have just received your letter of the 7th inst. (postmarked yesterday). I am still awaiting the pamphlet\(^a\) you were good enough to send me. I shall read it with interest. But I greatly regret that it will be impossible for me to render you the service you ask of me.\(^{458}\) In the first place, if I were to write on your behalf a criticism of your work for publication, courtesy might, perhaps, preclude my speaking freely. Moreover, whatever I might do for you I should also be obliged to do for every other \textit{bona fide} socialist, be he French, German, English, Italian, Spanish, Danish, etc., etc., and what would that lead to? I shouldn’t have a single moment to call my own. And more important than any other consideration is the fact that I have before me a very difficult task which has been weighing on my conscience for years, namely the editing of Volume III of Marx’s \textit{Capital}. Several months ago I made a resolution not to take on any additional work whatsoever until I had discharged this urgent duty.

Yours sincerely

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\(^a\) H. Brissac, \textit{La Société collectiviste}. 


Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time
Dear August,

I must say it was a damnable disappointment when your telegram arrived. Well, illness is something that can’t be helped, and I only hope you had so far recovered as to manage the journey all right and that you are now enjoying the benefits of the mountain air. On the other hand you’re now duty-bound to bring Mrs Julie\(^a\) with you in May—something towards which I have done my bit in the enclosed note which I beg you to endorse in the strongest terms.

As regards the Parisians, two men turned up here before your letter had arrived. I arranged for them to come again the next day, Wednesday,\(^b\) for I felt sure your letter would have arrived by then. When it came, I went to see Julius\(^c\) and Louise went to see one of the men—somewhere at the back of beyond—but found no one and left a written message. At last, on Thursday evening, one of them turned up (the other having already departed on Wednesday morning), told me that, because of certain circumstances, the matter had been postponed, and said they hoped to manage without the assistance of you people to whom they would have recourse only in case of extreme need. We’ll discuss it further when you come over. It isn’t urgent.\(^{459}\)

Why, on leaving St Gallen, you should first want to return to the imperial sand box,\(^d\) we cannot understand. Once there, you’ll resume your drudgery, day after day will go by and your health will begin to suffer again, whereupon the doctor will come and you’ll be unceremoniously bundled off to Karlsbad\(^e\) after all. I’m a passionate advocate of Karlsbad—for other people that is, not for myself—because I saw how it put Marx to rights again\(^{460}\); had he been able to take advantage of it eight years earlier, he might still be alive today. It is wonderfully effective for all disorders of the stomach and liver and I would strongly advise you to take these capital waters (capital because it yields physiological surplus value for you and economic sur-

\(^{a}\) Julie Bebel  
\(^{b}\) 13 April  
\(^{c}\) Motteler  
\(^{d}\) Berlin  
\(^{e}\) Karlový Vary
plus value for the landlords of Karlsbad) for 4 or 6 weeks in June, when Dr Fleckles, Marx's and Tussy’s friend — she will tell you about him — will provide what other entertainment you need; he is one of the wittiest men in Europe.

I should have written to you before, but in order to avoid odious slander, I have had to write a most odious foreword.\textsuperscript{a} It’s a typical English affair. Aveling translates my *Entwicklung des Sozialismus* for a Social Series of which each volume costs 2.50 marks. I say it’s a swindle to sell the little thing at that price. No, says Aveling; the chap — the publisher — is quite aware of what he’s doing — one booklet is too fat, the other too slim, and it ultimately averages out (particularly for anyone who happens to find nothing of interest except in the slim volumes). Moreover, the publisher, having seen the German original, knows all about it. Well and good. The thing’s completed and, by dint of tremendous leading of type, they have managed to make some 117 pages of it. Now the publisher — he’s called Sonnenschein\textsuperscript{b} but at times seems unable to see, however bright the sunshine may be — discovers that it’s insufficient after all and asks me to write a good, long foreword. Well, it’s not as straightforward as all that. For the first time I have got, as it were, to put myself on show before the heddicated\textsuperscript{c} British public, and it requires some thought. Anyway, what emerged was a long dissertation about this, that and t’other, through which ran a consistent leitmotif — scathing mockery of the British bourgeoisie. I look forward to seeing what the British philistine will have to say about it. I shall let the *Neue Zeit* have it in German\textsuperscript{46} and hope it will amuse you all.

Well, to avoid missing the post, Louise and I would ask you to give our regards to Frieda\textsuperscript{d} and Simon — perhaps they too will come to London some time? — while remaining

Yours, etc., or not etc., as the case may be,

F. E.

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\textsuperscript{a} An untranslatable pun, *Nachrede*—slander and *Vorrede*—foreword.\textsuperscript{b} Sunshine.\textsuperscript{c} In the original: *jebildeten* (Berlin dialect).\textsuperscript{d} Bebel’s daughter, married to Ferdinand B. Simon.
My dear Laura,

At last — *ouf, je respire*! When Sonnenschein saw that Edward’s translation of *Socialisme Utopique etc.* after all possible leading of type did look awfully meagre for a 2/6 book (what I told him from the beginning) he insisted on my writing a lengthy preface. And as I *had* promised to write a preface, and had various matters on my mind which I felt a liking to explain to the British philistine, I set to work, and at last, it is done. It’s I dare say about half as long as the whole book, and had to be done carefully, for the British philistine hates being made fun of by foreigners, yet I could not help it.

By the bye, have you heard anything of Ravé and his translation? the thing ought to be out by this time.

Now to your last letter. I think that these two things ought to be kept separated: 1) our relations to the Blanquists’ old school, and 2) those to the Boulanger-Blanquists.

First. I cannot help thinking that our differences with Vaillant began last April, and that our people are not quite blameless. At that time Vaillant and we pulled together, the Allemanists being third party, and wanting a full recognition by us. Then, our people, without consulting the Blanquists, started the plan of processions to the *Mairies* and Palais Bourbon with deputations to interview the *élus.* To that the Blanquists naturally objected as they would not meet their *traitres.* But our people insisted, and thus, as far as I can see, *drove* the Blanquists into the alliance with the Allemanists. It strikes me our people in that case did a bit of rather sharp practice which after all availed them nothing, for the whole plan fell through.

What happened since, I know very little of, but no doubt, this final

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*a* I can breathe. - *b* See this volume, pp. 183, 189 and 190. - *c* the premises of the Chamber of Deputies - *d* deputies - *e* traitors
cause of mistrust between the Blanquisists and our people once established, it would be easy for the tag-rag and bobtail of the Blanquisists, the Allemanists helping, to widen the breach and to fortify the alliance between Blanquisists and Allemanists, which again set us down in a hopeless minority in Paris. Now that would be no great misfortune provided we conquered in the provinces, and for that purpose Paul and Guesde have worked splendidly and we may expect, I hope, great successes on 1st May, and let Blanquisists and Allemanists cuire dans leur jus.

But then comes this alliance with the ex-Boulangists of the Chamber. As I said before, when the masses have been led into such a glaring mistake as that was with Boulanger, the break-up of the delusion makes them all the fitter for listening to sense, and coming round to us. That inheritance of Boulangism we were entitled to. But it appears to me, that it is a very different thing to accept, at the same time, the leaders of that movement, and not as private individuals, but at their own valuation and with the rank they held in the Boulangist crew. I cannot help holding in considerable contempt the men that allowed themselves to fall into that trap — on no matter what pretext. There is nothing that has damaged the reputation of the French, abroad, so much as this infatuation for a new saviour of society, and such a one! And had it been the bourgeois alone — but the great mass of the working class too went down on their knees before this windbag! What reliance can anyone in his senses place on the men that cast in their lot with this jouisseur who intrigued with extreme Republicans, Clericals, Monarchists all at once and must have been quite as much of a 'constitutional liar' as S. Sonnenschein said to Bax he, Sonnenschein, was! These men must be either deficient in character or in intellect or both, and certainly not worth having. What possible good can they be to us?

1) We cannot rely on them for a day.

2) If we form a party with them in the Chamber, they outnumber us and can pass the most absurd resolutions over our heads which we must either be bound by, or else secede again from them — which leaves us in a worse position than before. If I am to knuckle under a majority, after all I'd rather do so to one commanded by Vaillant, than to one led by Granger and Co.

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*a stew in their own juice - b See this volume, pp. 381-82. - c bon viveur*
3) As all these men got into Parliament on false pretences, they are almost sure to be kicked out next election — so was it worth while for us to identify ourselves with them?

And if Argyriades raves against the Germans, how about Rochefort and his paper\textsuperscript{a} which evidently receives Russian money (at least some of the rédacteurs) and Russian articles?

The breach with the Blanquists' old school may have been unavoidable, and may be swallowed; but I do fail to see the slightest real advantage that can accrue to us from an alliance with the ex-Boulangist Radicals in the Chamber. Have we not, for the mere show of a group of some 25 men in Parliament, sacrificed very serious future chances?

However the thing is done and cannot be helped. I only hope our friends will not place too much confidence in their new allies. And I believe our party in France is now strong enough to bear without serious damage the consequences of a mistake or two.

That our new allies do not bring us any real strength in Paris, is shown by the fact that Paul and Guesde both go to the North on May 1st, which seems tantamount to our leaving the 1st of May in Paris entirely to the Blanquists and Possibilists.\textsuperscript{3} As I said before, there would be no great harm in that, if we can beat them in the provinces; but if our new allies are not strong in Paris, where in the name of dickens are they strong?

Your article on the religious interference in factories seems to have been too much for the Austrian press law practice. Your last one on night-work\textsuperscript{b} has appeared — Louise requests you not to blame her for one or two blunders they have put in in Vienna.

We expected Bebel here for Easter, but he fell ill (catarrh of the stomach and intestine) and was stopped by the doctor. He expects to come about middle of May. This is the third attack within a year and he has received a serious warning from the doctor — a specialist. He wants him to go to Karlsbad,\textsuperscript{c} which I think would set him up again.

John Bull showed himself yesterday again in all his brutality at Hampstead Heath station, about 5 o'clock, rain threatening, a crowd rushed down the steps, and crushed eight people to death, mostly

\textsuperscript{a} L'\textit{Intransigeant} - \textsuperscript{b} L. Lafargue, ‘Nachtarbeit für die Frauen in Frankreich’, \textit{Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung}, No. 8, 15 April 1892. - \textsuperscript{c} Karlový Vary
women and children, injuring a dozen more. Imagine a French crowd being guilty of that!

Ever yours,

F. Engels

Love from Louise.

How about a delegate or two to May 1st here? The Possibilists will have two men here (see Chronicle we sent you with Adolph Smith’s letter to Shipton *63*). Edward wrote to you about it, if you cannot send a man, try to delegate Bonnier from the Conseil National of the Party and to send a letter. Don’t allow the Possibilists to walk over the course as the representatives of France. But let it be done officially.*64*

First published, in Russian, in Istonchesky arkhir, No. 2, Moscow, 1956

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 20 April 1892

Dear Baron,

Needless to say you will be getting the introduction to the English version of *Sozialismus etc.* in German of course; it’s got to come out and where else could I get anything as long as this published except in the *Neue Zeit*? It went off yesterday and so, until the proofs arrive, I shall be *hors de combat*. It’s so infernally long because I’ve made it the vehicle for all sorts of old grudges against the English bourgeois and look forward to seeing what the British philistine has to say about it.

We over here are at last clear about what is to happen on May Day — or rather the reverse of clear. The Trades Council*196* and the Social Democratic Federation*29* have done their utmost to ensure

that on this occasion matters should be placed completely in their hands and, above all, that the Eight Hours League be totally excluded. For just now the Social Democratic Federation is working hand in glove with the most reactionary elements—Shipton, etc.—in the Trades Council, to which body it is wholly subordinating itself so far as the May Day demonstration is concerned; the Trades Council is to conduct the campaign against the independent elements in the East End, while the Social Democratic Federation hopes to reap the fruits thereof. Those elements they sought to get rid of have, of course, found a rallying point in the Avelings, the latter’s mainstay being 1. the Gasworkers Union, 2. the Metropolitan Radical Federation, 3. a number of the smaller unions who would rather make their mark in the Eight Hours League that be forced to play second fiddle to the old, petty-bourgeois-minded unions in the Trades Council. There was a great deal of manoeuvring on both sides and, at a meeting of delegates from London’s labour organisations—in which, of course, the majority was rigged—, the Trades Council succeeded in assuming control of the demonstration. Nevertheless, although it had previously decided not to enter into any negotiations with the Eight Hours League, it had to climb down and admit into the Executive Committee first 1 and then 2 delegates from the Eight Hours League, besides placing two platforms in the Park at the latter’s disposal. In addition the Metropolitan Radical Federation likewise has a couple, which are also ours, whereas the Social Democratic Federation only has two.

Now the eight-hour day advocated by the majority on the Trades Council merely implies payment of the ordinary wage for 8 hours, any work over and above this being payable as overtime at one and a half times or twice the ordinary rate; thus the eight hour day advocated by these people is quite different from our own, which means that in the course of this year, after May Day, the conflict will flare up in real earnest and be fought out anew. Such is the issue that will at long last receive an airing over here. So don’t allow yourself to be hoodwinked by anything anyone from the Vorwärts, etc., may say about May Day here; from our point of view the whole thing’s a swindle; it’s an eight hour day in a Pickwickian sense, as is bound to come out in the long run, whereupon the equivocal situation from which both the Social

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a Hyde Park
DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION and the FABIANs are profiting will cease to exist.

You should make use of The Workman's Times only for its factual material. The editor is a provincial who is relapsing into belletrism, is anxious to keep in with everyone and both talks and accepts a great deal of bosh. But the reports are all done by working men, STUPID though the 'ERRAND BOY' and his mother, the 'MARXIAN' (an out-and-out duffer), and the 'PROLETARIAN', etc., may be.*

Mother Wischnewetzky has had to suffer all manner of rough treatment at her husband's hands, has got divorced, calls herself Mrs Kelley again and lives in Chicago with her 3 children of whom she is the legal custodian.

I wonder very much what results our Frenchmen will obtain in the municipal elections on 1 May. It will be the first time they have been really put to the test.

Regards from one household to the other.

Your

F. E.


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

IN BENEVENTO

London, 21 April 1892

Dear Friend,

I am sorry that I cannot send you a German copy of the Condition of the Working Class. The book has not been in the book-

* The Workman's Times has amalgamated with the former Trade Unionist and Nash, of whom you know, has become one of its editors. Thus the influence of Toynbee Hall, of which you also know, has gained a footing there.

shops for the past 16 years and even old, second-hand copies are offered only very rarely in dealers' catalogues and are extremely dear (30-40 marks!). I intend to bring out a new edition as soon as I have completed Volume III of Marx's *Capital*.

I am pleased to see from your translation of the English preface in the *Critica Sociale* that your English has progressed by leaps and bounds. However, I wouldn't advise you to translate the book from the English text; the translation is very clumsy and full of Americanisms, not all of which I have been able to eliminate.

Once you have got to the stage of being able to translate English rapidly and without a dictionary, let's hope that Labriola, Turati or some other friend will succeed in finding literary work for you so that you may at last get away from the poverty and isolation of Benevento. If only you could leave it and go to Rome or Milan, you would undoubtedly find something fairly quickly.

My preface was not at all easy to translate, containing as it did a number of expressions for which no definition, at any rate in the sense used by me, is to be found in the dictionary.

I cannot thank you enough for the assiduity with which you translate my works, thereby rendering a great service, not only to myself, but also to international relations between Italian and German socialists. You will shortly be getting something else from me, namely the English edition of *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus* with a long new introduction which is to appear in German in the *Neue Zeit*.

From the outset Fantuzzi seemed a sham to me. You would, I think, be well-advised to ask him to return the mss and corrected proofs, for who knows whether he has any intention of printing anything else.

Very sincerely yours,

F. Engels

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First published, in the language of the original (German), in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964

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

Dear Mr Dietz,

Herewith a brief note in case you should wish to place the same before O. Wigand.\footnote{See next letter.}

Once the preliminaries have been settled, printing could begin, providing you agree that the book should appear, not only unaltered, but also without any addition save for a new preface and at most an occasional note. In that case you could send me the proofs in galley form and I should insert the annotations (footnotes) that were required.

Since the English edition has just come out, I have been able to satisfy myself that nothing more than this is required. A series of notes or an appendix such as would bring the book up to date would double its size, demand a year's study (which I cannot afford) and thus delay publication indefinitely. Moreover, Capital, Volume I, does the job perfectly adequately. Today the book is an historical document describing a certain stage of development and that is enough, the more so since in Germany we have reached much the same sort of stage today. Anything that needs to be said about this will be said in the preface.

Have you got a copy from which it can be printed?

The English edition (i.e. the one newly published over here, a reprint of the American edition) has now come out.

Awaiting your esteemed reply, I remain, yours most cordially

F. Engels


Printed according to the original
Dear Mr Dietz,

I beg to acknowledge your esteemed favour of the 20th inst. I also agree that you should, with Mr Otto Wigand’s consent, arrange for the publication of the *Condition of the Working-Class in England* in your Internationale Bibliothek on terms which remain to be settled in detail between ourselves.

I therefore look forward to seeing your proposals on the same and remain

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels


Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
Dear Mr Dietz,

I agree to the terms proposed in your esteemed favour of yesterday’s date and shall later be sending you instructions regarding the amount of the fee.

If I understand you aright, we are also agreed that, while the book is to be published as it stands, I am to write 1. a new preface and 2. a brief footnote here and there as required to make the book intelligible, not bring it up to date.

This does not require express confirmation, provided my assumption is correct.

I have kept a reserve copy for printing purposes and am sending you this by registered book post.

With cordial regards,

Yours faithfully,

F. Engels


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

Dear Mr Petersen,

I understand that it is possible even in prison for you to receive letters, and so I could not refrain from expressing to you my genuine

* 26 April in the ms.
sympathy on your conviction and imprisonment. Things are now much the same in Denmark as in other countries: where others are acquitted, a socialist is found guilty, and where others are given a month in prison, a socialist gets a year or several years, and hard labour into the bargain. This is proof that they fear us more and more, but it makes it no less unfortunate for those who are the victims of reaction.

Many thanks also for sending me *Arbejderen*. As I only rarely see *Social-Demokraten*, your paper has been my sole source of information as far as the situation in Denmark is concerned, and that has made it even more welcome to me.

The May Day festival went off well. I wish that you had been able to see the 600,000 people who were in Hyde Park the day before yesterday. Every year the May Day parade becomes more impressive, showing that the time is fast approaching when we shall be strong enough to let things come to a decisive battle.

And now farewell. I hope that you are no worse off than German comrades usually are on similar occasions, so that it is at least bearable. It can scarcely be as bad as in England and America, or as good as in Paris in Sainte Pélagie. In any case we all hope that you will leave prison with your health unimpaired and that you will be fit enough to be with us on the next May Day.

With best wishes from Mrs Kautsky and me myself,

Yours, as ever,

F. Engels

First published, in Danish, in *Arbejderen*, No. 28, Copenhagen, 1892

Printed according to the newspaper
Translated from the Danish
Published in English for the first time
Dear Mr Dietz,

In response to your favour of 28 April an unbound copy of the *Condition of the Working-Class in England* went off to you on the 2nd inst. *by registered mail*, done up in a strong wrapper; I trust you have received it.

From what you say, it is not clear *how much* of a free hand Wigand has given you as regards publication in the Internationale Bibliothek — whether for one edition of a stipulated size or for as many, over as long a period, as you and I may agree. To judge by your afore-mentioned letter, the latter would appear to be the case. I would be much obliged if you could let me have further details; in matters of business it is important for me to know what my position is.

Cordial regards,

Yours,

F. Engels


Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first time
ENGELS TO LAURA LA FARGUE
AT LE PERREUX

London, 5 May 1892

My dear Laura,

A few lines in a hurry. What was intended as a defeat for us here, has ended in a veritable triumph.\(^a\)\(^b\) We had only two platforms on Sunday,\(^a\) but they were the only ones that drew, both public and press. You will have seen our involuntary caricatures in the *Daily Graphic* I sent you.\(^a\)^72 Platform No. 14, the international platform, was the great success of the day. By a conspicuous piece of good luck, Roussel of the *Bourse du travail*\(^b\)\(^5\)\(^7\) was, it seems, sent out of the way of Prudent Dervillers and Argyriades by them and Adolphe Smith and came on our platform, so that we had *two* Frenchmen,\(^c\) two Russians,\(^d\) a German, Bernstein, an Austrian, Louise, a Pole, Mendelson and a Jew,\(^e\) besides *la Española* Mrs C. Graham and the Britishers.\(^f\)

The demonstration itself was immense, even compared with the two previous ones, and showed that things are moving here, though they move in that peculiar roundabout way in which the English delight.

In the evening we had the Mendelsons, Bernsteins, Tussy and Edward of course, and Bonnier brought Roussel, we were very jolly, had a Maibowle, and fat Roussel was effusively delighted, while Argyriades and Co. owned next morning to him, they had been bored to death in the company where they had, or rather had been, moved (*sans calembour*\(^g\)!)

I am very anxiously awaiting the *Socialiste* to learn something about our electoral successes on May 1st in France,\(^4\)\(^2\)^9 the papers you sent me do not contain anything to go by, and surely if we had not secured majorities, we must have got in at least some minorities.

Anyhow I am glad the thing passed off quietly everywhere. The

\(^a\) 1 May - \(^b\) Labour Stock-Exchange - \(^c\) Paul Lafargue and Ferdinand Roussel - \(^d\) Felix Volkovsky and Sergei Stepnyak-Kravchinsky - \(^e\) Shajer - \(^f\) Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, William Morris, Thomas Mann, Peter Curran and others - \(^g\) this is not a pun
idea that the 1st of May is to be a day of rows and riots is a mere trap set by the bourgeois and we have no interest whatever to fall into that trap. We want to show our strength, that's all, as to when we are to use that strength, that's our business, not that of our opponents, if we can help it.

Thanks for the papers—Dinner Bell! I have Pumps, Percy and family here, so cannot write much, must take them out to see some of the sights they have missed so long in the Isle of Wight. They send their kindest regards to you and Paul. Ditto from Louise.

Ever yours,

F. Engels


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 7 May 1892

Dear August,

So we can expect to see you here on Saturday,\(^a\) a week today.\(^b\) Let's hope you instil so much confidence into Paulus\(^b\) while afloat that he will regard the crossing via Ostend as a trial trip for the crossing to Chicago.\(^4\) For if he plucks up enough courage, he could go straight on to Chicago by water all the way—from Liverpool to Montreal on the St Lawrence and thence through the Great Lakes, after which he would for ever be immune; for on the big, inland lakes even the most seasoned old salts are sea-sick and, when the four of us survived a storm on Lake Erie without being affected in that way,\(^4\) we were regarded as prodigies by the entire company.

But if you imagine I now intend to reply to your three letters in detail and in writing, you are mistaken. Louise has just come back from

\(^a\) 14 May \(^b\) Paul Singer
town bringing with her a tremendous thirst, so that we have ventured on a second mid-morning glass of beer and are in exceedingly merry mood. For it is very warm outdoors and hence we must, to use a Prussian expression, bring about a change.

You will be meeting Mendelson and his wife who were here last Sunday and will also be able to go and converse with them at their house.

The fact that we had good weather for May Day and you did not, serves you right. You should have been over here and then you'd have been able to see what it looks like when 600,000 people foregather in one place; it was really tremendous; and an impression like that leaves one in no state to sustain even such criticism as is called for by the deplorable scheming and squabbling before the event, and yet sustain it one must.

When you come over here, your doctor's orders will safeguard you against any sort of public speechifying, always assuming that you yourself abide by the said orders. You know how it is — anyone who lets himself be talked round on just one occasion, is lost for good and all.

Laura Lafargue writes to say that, while our chaps have so far been victorious in the French municipal elections at a number of places, the real results, because of the second ballot, won't be known until next week. So far I haven't seen much about it in the press.

Well, mind you bring with you a pair of good horny hands; we have already written to the Board of Works, instructing them to put at our disposal sufficient ancient trees in the parks of London to enable you to uproot at least one a day for your breakfast.

Cordial regards from Louise.

Your
F. E.


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

a Maria Mendelson
Dear Mr Dietz,

I am in complete agreement with your proposal of the 9th inst. I for my part concede you the right, in so far as it is within my competence, to print 10,000 copies, in return for which you are to pay me the following fees:

for 2,500 copies M. 500 in the autumn of 1892, after printing;
“ 2,500 “ “ 500 in the New Year of 1893;
“ 5,000 “ “ 1,000 after printing this second half, but not later than 6 months after printing has begun.

In view of your agreement with Wigand which is, after all, still very vague, I think you have chosen the right procedure. Whether you now stipulate one edition or decide to do several is your own affair. I of course am much more concerned with placing the work before the public again than with the kudos of having numerous editions.

With cordial regards,

Yours,

F. Engels
Dear Citizen Mendelson,

Sorge has written from New York to say that, of the ten pounds (five of them from you) we sent him for Anna,° he still has 19 dollars 64 cents left; he has returned me this sum, namely £ 4. 8s., by postal order. I am therefore sending you herewith a cheque for £ 2. 4s. for your half.

Our friends Bebel and Singer arrive tomorrow and Bebel in particular has expressed a desire to see you — you and Mrs Mendelson. Perhaps you might care to do us the pleasure of having supper with us here on Sunday evening. If, by chance, you are engaged for Sunday, would you be so good as to fix a day and time when we could come and see you at your house.

With many good wishes from both Mrs Kautsky and me to Mrs Mendelson and yourself.

F. Engels


° Stanislaw Padlewski
Dear Kautsky,

You will have got the postcard about Werner-Weiler. Meyer told me directly after the Edinburgh Congress that he had spotted Weiler there.

To apply that epithet to me was really very silly. You would be doing a kindness to me and certainly to others as well, if you pointed out to him, at any rate for his future guidance, that he must accustom himself to our less grandiose terminology, failing which you will have to correct his stuff accordingly.

Hirsch is in Frankfurt all right and Meyer is in his debt since at Meyer's request he used to shout out at appropriate moments the admonition: 'Mr Meyer, you ought not to drink so much.' It was the funniest bosom friendship between a Jew — and what an archetypal Jew! — and an anti-Semite I have ever known. It still makes me laugh, just writing about it.

Now as to the business of Louise, I should, if I were you, let the matter rest. That she bears your name is the result of your own voluntary action. That you are no longer together is likewise the result of your own initiative. That there is a possibility of mistaken identity is again entirely your own doing. She is now using the only name she is entitled to bear under Austrian law and I can see absolutely no reason why she should evade that necessity.

Let me be perfectly frank with you. All of us here, not least myself, have grown very fond of Louise, as was already the case when you were over here together. When the business of the divorce began, she behaved from beginning to end with a magnanimity we could not admire too greatly and, since arriving in this country, she has become so dear to me that I regard her just as I do Pumps, Tussy or Laura, just as though she were my own child. When you were here, she showed you that she bore you no grudge whatsoever. But enough is enough.
Nobody can expect her to bear whatever unpleasant consequences may arise from your actions. Were you to put to her what you told me in your letter and were she to come and ask my advice, my answer would be an uncompromising 'No!' 

Mistaken identity has also occurred on the other side, but she merely laughed about it. And supposing she did oblige you, what would be the result? Louise Kautsky and Luise Kautsky would be joined on the stage by yet a third Louise Strasser-Kautsky whereupon the comedy of errors would degenerate into pure farce. It would be of no help to you, while she would have to go into long explanations with all and sundry about the how, the who, the when and the wherefore.

So as I have said, let sleeping dogs lie. Your having parted is really quite a good thing and Louise is perfectly content with this state of affairs. But no one will ever be able to undo what you have done and it is you, after all, who must bear the consequences. And this particular consequence is really not so trying as to warrant any sort of fuss being made about it.

Tussy is of the same opinion and August, to whom I have shown both your letter and the foregoing,\(^4\)\(^7\)\(^3\) is fully in agreement with it.

So don't worry, the whole thing will automatically right itself.

Your old friend,

F. Engels

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Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time
Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

Not long ago I received the same curious letter from Carl a as you did, whereupon I approached his physician, Dr Gumpert, an old friend of Marx’s and mine. He said that over a period there had been considerable changes in Carl’s physical condition — as we had all noticed, added to which he had had a bout of influenza in the spring followed by all kinds of unpleasant after-effects. What struck him most of all was the very considerable time his system was taking to recoup the strength it had lost. It was not yet possible, he said, to diagnose any specific illness, but something appeared to be wrong and he would write again as soon as he had something more definite to tell me. Meanwhile there was no necessity for me to come to Manchester, as I had offered to do, nor did he himself wish it.

I haven’t seen Carl since last summer; he was unable to come for Christmas on account of tinnitus which bothers him a great deal during lectures and examinations and is, he says, always aggravated by a trip to London. At Easter he went down with influenza and once again everything fell through. Dr Gumpert now says that, as soon as his condition permits, he will send him away from the smoke of Manchester. We may perhaps go somewhere together where the air is better, although I can’t say anything about that yet.

I believe it would be best if you didn’t let Carl know that we correspond about his health, for he seems to be very touchy. It would, I think, be best if you were again to write to him every now and then, giving him news from home and asking for news of himself. I shall be hearing from Gumpert from time to time, as promised, and shall then pass the information on to you with or without prompting.

August is over here and is staying with us. Paul the Stout b is also here, staying with the Bernsteins.473 August is not available at this

a Carl Schorlemmer  b Paul Singer
moment, otherwise he would certainly have sent you his greetings; Mrs Kautsky warmly reciprocates your good wishes and I, too, should like to send you mine and would ask you to pass on my kindest regards to the rest of your family.

Yours,
F. Engels

My niece Mrs Rosher, known as Pumps, is also here and sends her best wishes to you all.


ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER
IN VIENNA

London, 19 May 1892

Dear Victor,

I have reached an understanding with Dietz and he with Wigand in regard to a new edition of the Condition of the Working-Class in England, the initial benefit of which will be a fee of 1,000 marks. Dietz promises to pay 1/2 in the autumn and 1/2 in the New Year of 1893 but August, who is over here, believes we can get at least part of it out of him even sooner. Also an additional fee of some sort for Neue Zeit articles. Now I should like to pass this on to you Austrians but would take the liberty of making a few stipulations regarding its use; these I have discussed with August who agrees to them.

For even though I may be unfamiliar with the details, I know well enough for practical purposes that your activities on behalf of the Austrian party are being continually hampered by the inability of that self-same party to secure for you the material position that would permit you to devote all your time and energy to the cause. I also know
that the misfortunes you have met with of late have involved you in expenditure and that the party is unable to offer you the means with which to meet it. So I regard it as one of the prime conditions for the continued growth of the Austrian movement that you should be given an opportunity firstly to weather the present period of exceptional expenditure and, secondly, to secure for yourself, if possible, the necessary increase in pay which cannot yet be provided over there. The former is the more essential, but the latter is bound up with it. I should now like to put a suggestion to you, namely that the above fees should be placed at your disposal for either the former or the latter purpose or both — how they are to be used will then depend entirely on circumstances which you alone will be competent to judge. I need hardly add that there would then be no grounds for acknowledging in public, say, receipt of these sums.

I trust you will do me the pleasure of accepting my proposal. I know from my own experience, even though that was long ago, how greatly one's ability to work, will to work and time for work is restricted by the economic struggle for existence and we three\(^a\) here are all of the opinion that you can do the Austrian party no greater service than to fall in with this little scheme.

Your May Day celebrations made a very good impression over here, the more so since Paris did not in fact participate this year as a result of the squabbles going on there. However Lafargue writes to say that in 22 places (the biggest being Roubaix and Marseilles where we got everyone home) we gained a majority on the city council — four hundred seats in the first ballot and a further 200 in the second.\(^{429}\) The effect this has had can be gathered from the Orleanist Soleil which I am sending you.

Many regards, then, from

Your

F. Engels

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\(^a\) Frederick Engels, August Bebel and Paul Singer


 Printed according to the book

Published in English for the first time
Herr Friedrich Engels
in London

wird von den Unterzeichneten eingeladen, dem

Sozialdemokratischen Parteikongreß
als Gaß
beizutreten, welcher am 5., 6., 7. und 8., eventuell auch 9. Juni 1892 im Saal
„In den drei Tageln“, Wien, IV. Große Neustadt 15, abgehalten wird.

Die Zusammenkunft ist auf Grund des § 2 des Verfassungsgesetzes einberufen und
ist darum der Partei nur gegen Vorliegen dieser Stätte gebühren. Unverlangen zulässig
ist unzulässig.

Im Mai 1892.

Die Obmann: Eduard Peyer, Brünn; Johann Hesel, Graz;
Heinrich Engelsch, Keßau; Anton Mankofsky, Jędrzej;
Ferdinand Leiherr, Wien; Johann Volefs, Wien.

To the Congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party.
Invitation sent to Engels. 1892
Engels to Lafargue. 19 May 1892

My dear Lafargue,

What a rottenly organised statistical service you have over there! In Germany we should have had the results 3-4 days after the 2nd ballot, whereas such information as is to be found in the Socialiste of the 15th is barely accurate and largely incomplete. But that will come in time. You’ll discover that nothing fires the imagination of the masses more than a splendid, well set out array of figures announcing electoral victories. In particular this is of prime importance when it comes to making workmen realise the extent to which universal suffrage lends strength to their arm. Don’t forget to complete your statistics for 1 May 1892 — for comparison with the figures for the '93 parliamentary elections when they come out. If things improve, and of that I am convinced, you will see how effective it can be when friends and enemies alike are able to ascertain what advances have been made, how much ground has been won, in a year.

After all, the winning of 22 councils and 600 seats is not to be sneezed at! And the Soleil which you sent me and which, now that Bebel has finished with it here, is on its way to Adler in Vienna, confirms as much in distinctly peevish terms. Bravo!

Now what have the others gained, the Broussists, Allemanists, Blanquists? The first must have had some success or lack of it at Chattellerault etc. etc., the second in the Ardennes, the Blanquists in Le Cher. Or did you include them in your list?

I congratulate you most of all on the fact that in France, too, Lasalle’s ‘single, compact, reactionary mass’, the all-party coalition opposed to the Socialists, is beginning to take shape. In Germany we have had this for years and in the big industrial centres the anti-Socialist mass is already mustering its forces for the 1st ballot so as to bar our way. The whole of Germany’s official history, if we disregard the influence of young William’s entourage, a most heterogeneous

\[\text{See this volume, p. 420.} \quad \text{William II}\]
camarilla which leads him a pretty dance, is shaped, on the one hand, by Socialist influence which is causing the bourgeois parties to combine into one large party of straightforward resistance and, on the other, by the interplay of divergent interests amongst those parties, which draws them apart from one another. The Reichstag’s legislation is simply the product, the result, of the conflict between these two opposing currents, the second of which, the disintegrative current, is gradually dwindling to a trickle.

Well, the same old game is beginning in France. There is no better sign of progress, for it shows that they fear you, not as a riotous force liable to act on the spur of the moment, but as a regular, organised, political force.

I have had misgivings similar to those you express about the inexperience of the new councillors. After the wholesale replacement of an administration there is a period of between 6 and 10 months when the seats of power are occupied by the council’s permanent employees who are quite prepared to let their new masters burn their fingers in experiments of a more or less dangerous nature. This is particularly the case where the new incumbents are Socialists. They should be advised to bide their time until they feel they can stand on their own feet in their new surroundings. Otherwise the old reactionary officials will wreck everything, and the blame will fall on our people.

As for the daily newspaper, a fresh start must be made. I hope you will succeed better next time. In any case, you will be able to set up your editorial headquarters. Are you going to have a ‘political editor’—Guesde?

Have you really formed a group in the Chamber or is the matter still up in the air?

A thousand greetings from Louise and Bebel to Laura and you. Give her a hug in my behalf and tell her that as soon as the telephone has been properly installed, I will use it to have a cask of Pilsner sent to her.

Yours,
F. E.

Singer too is here, he is staying with the Bernsteins.

Louise says she wishes Laura would telephone her an article for Vienna.

I have just received a letter from Gumpert on Schorlemmer. You will know that the latter has been physically and mentally sick for
4 years now. In the last two years he has been unable to come here either for Christmas or for Easter. Last year, when we were to go on a sea voyage round the British Isles, he was put out of action within the first 24 hours. Recently he wrote his brother and me to tell us not to write him since he was unable to answer. In reply to my enquiry Gumpert informed me that he found Schorlemmer extremely feeble after what was a rather light case of influenza. Today he has written to tell me that this feebleness, physical and intellectual, is growing worse daily, that it is, in fact, senility pure and simple, that he had made him draw up his will, that he fears that within a very short time Schorlemmer's mental powers will be gone, and that the end is approaching. Poor devil! A talent of the first order fading away. You would not have recognised him had you seen him during these last few years—all his vivacity and good spirits are gone, he no longer takes an interest in anything. I am writing to his brother—he will be desperate. Imagine Schorlemmer dying of senility while his mother lives on in good health!


Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

London, 19 May 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I have just had a letter from Dr Gumpert who says that Carl's condition has unfortunately changed for the worse. He tells me that Carl has become weaker and also less mentally alert, while the symptoms of paralysis in the left arm have grown steadily more marked over the past week. He very much doubts whether he will improve

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a Ludwig Schorlemmer b Carl Schorlemmer
sufficiently to be able to get away from Manchester to some place where he could build up his strength and breathe fresh air. Moreover his mental condition indicated so great a deterioration of his faculties that he (Gumpert) felt it essential to obtain from him the particulars required for a will; this was to have been drawn up by a solicitor yesterday and signed by Carl today. Apparently Carl is exceedingly apathetic and listless and expresses no desire whatever to receive any of his friends and Dr Gumpert has explicitly told me that, if I write to a member of his family in Germany, I am simply to say 'that no purpose would be served by any of the family's coming over'.

I hasten to inform you of this by the first post. I shall also write to Gumpert asking for further reports and, each time I get one, shall at once tell you what it says. Unfortunately the outlook is now very depressing and, since Gumpert is a highly skilled and, especially in diagnosis, highly experienced doctor, I fear we must be prepared for the worst. What will your poor old mother say, now that yet another of her sons is mortally ill? 482

With warm regards,

Yours,

F. Engels


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Published in English for the first time

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ENGLERS TO PAUL AND
LAURA LAFARGUE
AT LE PERREUX

London, 27 May 1892

My dear Lafargue,

I congratulate you on your success. With your daily now under way 423 (unless you get thrown out again, which would be your fault
entirely this time), and with the provinces to back you, you will conquer Paris under the noses of the Possibilo-Blanquists.

Bebel and Singer are here. This morning I had a talk with Bebel on the subject of a German correspondent. If you haven’t yet written to Berlin about this matter, we would ask you not to do so for the moment, but in the meantime to let us know what kind of information you require—reports on the situation in general and on that of the Party in particular?

As for me, I can only say that if you could get Bebel to act as your correspondent you would have reports of the utmost value. At the time of the Anti-Socialist Law Bebel wrote a weekly report for Adler’s Arbeiter-Zeitung in Vienna. Those reports were such that, before forming a definite opinion on an important fact or an important matter affecting Germany at that time, I would always try to read what Bebel had to say in his articles. It was clear, concise, to the point and always accurate.

Bebel would write in German and Laura would, I trust, translate. You would have facts, whereas all you would get out of Liebknecht would be hot air. And Liebknecht would pride himself on writing to you in French. You would correct his style and he would tell you that you had mangled his facts and ideas.

I shall write to Ravé as soon as I have received and read Roy’s translation. It’s a ticklish matter and I shouldn’t like Laura’s work to be wasted. What I have read of it is decidedly better than Roy’s translation. And then there’s the question of a publisher! Has he got one? As for Ravé’s promises, which he hasn’t kept, he excuses himself on the grounds that he has been held up by the additions to the fourth edition. Anyway it’s a pretty unpleasant business, which I can’t really fathom at this moment. However we shall see.

*Now my dear Löhr a few words with you. In that new daily paper you are an absolutely necessary factor. If the thing is to be superior to the usual run of Parisian dailies, there must be somebody who follows closely from day to day, and reports on, from time to time, the English and German movement. And you are the only person in toute la belle France who can do this. I have no doubt that you are perfectly ready to undertake this work, which fortunately can be done

* the whole fair country of France
very comfortably at Le Perreux, as it will not matter a bit whether these news, generally, are published a day sooner or a day later. But what I want to drive into you, poking your ribs with both my forefingers, is that you must be a regular member of the rédaction\(^a\) and paid accordingly. Paul is too much of an hidalgo to think of, or to press, such matters, but 'it mun be done' as they say in Lancashire, and I think it is my duty to call your and Paul’s attention to it. The subject is too important to be neglected, and it will not be properly treated unless you are rédactrice du Socialiste quotidien\(^b\) and charged with that special branch.

Bebel and Louise send their kindest regards.

Ever yours,*

F. E.

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Published according to the original

Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO AUGUST SIEGEL

IN MUIRKIRK

London, 28 May 1892
122 Regent’s Park Road, N. W.

Dear Comrade,

Mrs Aveling got back safe and sound on Saturday when we were glad to hear that the business had been settled so quickly and satisfactorily. Naturally it was not your fault that the colliery manager should have duped you, but let that serve as a warning never to reach a final settlement with the colliery management without having first consulted the Scottish miners and us down here. In this country the Ger-

\(^a\) editorial staff\(^b\) editress of the daily Socialiste
mans are now reputed, not without some justification, to depress wages and provide blackleg labour more than any other nation and that is why Messrs Burt, Fenwick, etc., were determined not to find you work over here. Were the Germans in Muirkirk now to do anything at all that might serve to support this old anti-German prejudice, it would represent a most serious threat to international relations between Germans and Englishmen generally, and this applies not merely to the miners, but to the workers in all branches of industry. So if you wish to continue operating in the spirit of the labour cause, you must do your best to learn enough English to enable you to talk things over with the Scots without risk of misunderstandings and to keep in daily, and if possible hourly, touch with the Scottish workers. You will find the Scottish workers very honest, very stalwart and, provided only that you can talk things over properly with them, very reliable, so it behoves you to get on really friendly terms with them. The colliery managements, on the other hand, are much more artful and mendacious than in Germany and thrice as experienced when it comes to exploitation. But until you feel really confident about your English it would definitely be advisable for you to write in German to Mrs Aveling, 65 Chancery Lane, London, W. C. whenever you are in doubt about anything. She will be glad to place her experience of labour relations over here at your disposal.

It was fortunate that we had two Reichstag deputies and members of the Party Executive over here at that particular moment, as they were able to intervene at once and advance the necessary funds. Otherwise the affair might have ended unpleasantly and brought great discredit on German workers throughout this country.

Mrs Aveling will also have told you that people in Germany are saying Schröder induced you to leave by citing all kinds of inaccurate reports and that as a result you threw away an excellent position, although the danger was not nearly so great as people would have you believe. I must say that I had suspected as much all along and should be very happy were a man like you not to be entirely lost to the German miners' movement. After all, you would be pretty sure of a Reichstag mandate and if, in course of time, you were to return and then, after a month or two in jug, do your best to keep the German miners on the right lines, it could only be to our advantage.

You will be getting some newspapers shortly.
Warm regards from Mrs Kautsky and myself to your wife, about whom Mrs Aveling has told us a great many nice things, and to you yourself.

Yours,
F. Engels

I don't mean, of course, that you should return to Germany this very instant; on the contrary it will be extremely useful if you acquire an intimate knowledge of labour relations over here and then, drawing on your own experience, point out to the Germans how much better off they would be, even in a capitalist economy, if only they stood up for themselves.


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ENGELS TO SIR HENRY
ENFIELD ROSCOE
IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 May [1892]

Dear Sir Henry,

Many thanks for your note of yesterday. Gumpert has in fact given me a full report of the consultation with Dreschfeld, whom already 3 or 4 weeks ago he had proposed to Schorlemmer to call in, but Schorlemmer would not hear of it. As both medical men agree perfectly in their diagnosis, I am afraid there is but little hope left to us.

I have my friend Bebel of the German Reichstag here staying with me until middle of next week, and intend driving over to Manchester about Thursday unless called before by Gumpert.
If I do not reciprocate the style of address employed in your note, it is simply because that note is in the handwriting of a third party, and therefore an unintentional mistake not quite excluded.

Yours truly


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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

London, 28 May 1892

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I am not, alas, in a position to give you any better news today. Not only has Carl's debility, both physical and mental, not diminished; it has actually increased, for which reason Gumpert has called in another physician, Dr Julius Dreschfeld of Mannheim, who is professor of medicine at Owens College and is a great personal friend of Carl's. Unfortunately the opinion of this distinguished medical man is exactly the same as Gumpert's, namely that Carl's strength is gradually failing and that there is probably very little hope of his recovery. Since last Saturday Gumpert has kept him wholly confined to bed and has engaged a hospital nurse for him with whose work he declares himself completely satisfied. I myself propose, unless called before by Gumpert, to travel down to Manchester next Wednesday or Thursday when, having seen for myself how things are, I should have more to tell you. But if Gumpert sends for me before then, I shall, of course, go down at once.

Bebel is still here and will be returning home with Singer in the middle of next week. While here he has rallied very well, as was indeed essential for he was in fact very much run down. However, the doctor has forbidden him to speak in public for the next few months.

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a Carl Schorlemmer
And Bebel's strength has got to be spared—he's such a splendid chap and we shall never get another like him.

In about three weeks' time our chaps in Paris will have a big daily that will be able to bear comparison with the best newspapers; it is to be under the control of Guesde and Lafargue.423

Mrs Kautsky joins me in sending kind regards to your mother and to the rest of the family.

Yours,
F. Engels

Carl has made his will in which he leaves everything to his mother. Should you receive inquiries from England regarding Carl's manuscripts, I would most strongly advise you to make no promises of any kind before finding out what is involved from Dr Gumpert, myself or someone else whom you know well.


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ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

London, 5 June 1892

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I arrived back from Manchester yesterday evening 485 and am sorry to say that I cannot give you any better news of Carl. He is in bed and very apathetic, wants peace and quiet, but otherwise suffers no pain at all; he is not quite clear in the head and his memory often fails him, besides which he frequently misunderstands what is being said to him. I visited him six times, never for longer than five or ten minutes which is about as much as he can stand.

a Carl Schorlemmer
I can now tell you something I have withheld from you hitherto, namely that in the past week or so he has been found beyond doubt to have developed a carcinogenic tumour of the right lung extending pretty much over the whole of the upper third of the organ. In consequence of the pressure of this tumour on the nerve ends and the larger blood vessels, the activity of the brain is impaired and the right arm paralysed and swollen. The existence of this tumour explains the earlier symptoms—the intense debility following his influenza and the failure to overcome that debility. But unhappily the discovery of the cause deprives us of all hope that he may recover and now all we can wish is that the painless condition he is now in persists until the end. Gumpert says this could come at any moment, though again Carl might, in the absence of any complications, continue in his present state but growing steadily weaker for several more weeks and possibly even longer.

I have made sure that he is well looked after. The hospital nurse obtained for him by Gumpert appears to know her business properly and to be taking great care of him, quite unlike the London nurses, my experience of whom has not been exactly happy. Also the owners of the house where he has been living for the past fourteen years are doing everything that lies within their power. The landlord showed me his fairly voluminous mss and promised me faithfully that he would hand them over to Carl's executors and to no one else. I spoke to one of these two executors, a chemist and an old friend of ours, and told him what I thought should be done first—at the very outset—to safeguard the manuscripts and the interests of the heirs thereto; he was in full accord with me, so that in that respect my mind is at rest. Since there are people about who would not be averse to pluming themselves with Carl's feathers and have, indeed, already made some attempt in that direction, I thought I ought to do all I could to frustrate them. More about this anon.

Should you or any other member of your family wish to set your minds at rest by coming over here and seeing with your own eyes how Carl is faring, Dr Gumpert would gladly do anything to make matters easier for you in Manchester, as I would here.

We have discovered that a niece of yours from Bordeaux is here in London, but have been unable to get her address out of Carl; would

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*Philipp Klepsch and Ludwig Siebold - Ludwig Siebold*
you be so good as to let us have it? We might be able to be of some use to the young lady.

I would also ask you to be so kind as to write at once (in German) to Dr Gumpert, whose address I give below, to say whether a telegram addressed to Ludwig Schorlemmer, Darmstadt, would reach you or whether a more detailed address is necessary and, if so, what it is.

With kind regards to your mother and to your whole family, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

Dr Gumpert,
203 High Street, Oxford Road,
Manchester, England

Bebel and Singer went back to Germany on Wednesday.¹
Mrs Kautsky likewise sends her most cordial regards.

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
AT LE PERREUX

London, 9 June 1892

My dear Löhr,

Your silence and Paul’s is ominous—no news of any agreement signed on June 1st—are your intelligent capitalists after all recalcitrant? In the meantime Bax who is editor of Justice for 2 months, heard of your paper⁴²³ at Mottelers, where he met Bebel, Singer and our

¹ 1 June
lot, and in spite of our precautions, cautions and remonstrances, has blabbed it out in last No.\(^4\)\(^8\)\(^8\)

Well, I am likely to wait until I get news from you, fortunately the weather is so hot, that waiting is not so very difficult, and rather less so than any more active proceeding—in the meantime I am in the agreeable position to hand you a little cash viz. £2.18.4, one third of £8.15.- proceeds of 180 Marks sent by Dietz as share of honorarium, for Marx's heirs, of the German edition of the *Misère de la Philosophie*. The translators\(^a\) have all at once come to the consciousness that, for the first edition of that work, Mohr's heirs were not paid anything, so I was called upon to say what they were to have for both editions now on the coming out of the 2nd edition. After some correspondence we agreed that of the 300 Marks paid for the second, the two translators were to have \(2/5 = 120\) M. and the heirs 180 Marks = \(3/5\), which I believe is fair enough.\(^b\) So herewith your cheque.

Tussy is in Plymouth for Gas Workers Annual Conference,\(^4\)\(^8\)\(^9\) and Edward goes from there to Aberdeen, on an invitation to preach.\(^4\)\(^9\)\(^0\)

I was in Manchester last week.\(^4\)\(^8\)\(^5\) Poor Schorlemmer is dying. You know how changed he has been since that fall on boards the Flushing steamer which prevented his coming to Paris with Nimmy and Pumps. For the last two Christmases he could not come here. Even Easter he stopped at home and at last sent a letter: don't write, as I cannot reply! Then I wrote to Gumpert and learnt that he was getting weaker and that percussion brought out a dullness over the upper third of the right lung which, all other possibilities being excluded by the other symptoms, indicated the formation of a tumour. This diagnosis has turned out only too correct. Partial paralysis, oedema and low temperature of the right arm have set in in consequence of the pressure of the tumour on the *vena cava* and the *plexus brachialis*, while the left arm is relatively and the lower extremities perfectly free from these symptoms. His brain, too, is not quite clear, and sometimes very confused. At the same time he suffers no pain, hardly any uneasiness, and is gradually getting weaker. Gumpert thinks he may last some weeks yet, but may go off quite suddenly if any complication arises. It was impossible to converse with him more than 5-8 minutes, he wants rest, peace and quietness, and does not

\(^a\) Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky - \(^b\) See this volume, pp. 199 and 273.
take any interest in anything. I hope he will be spared any sufferings. His mother is still alive, she is 81 years old.

Well, my dear girl, do give us news, even if they are not exactly what you would like them to be, we want to know what is going on.

Vaillant called here on Monday morning, but evaded all further invitations or occasions for meeting me, I shall try to find out what brought him here.

We had Bebel and Singer here for a fortnight, and were very jolly. You will have received the Pall Mall interview we sent you.

We also send you the Elend der Philosophie, 2nd edition.

Love from Louise, who would be thankful for an article,

and yours affectionately

F. Engels

Ditto to M. le député.


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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

London, 11 June 1892

Dear Baron,

I would have written to you about Schorlemmer before now had I not wished to go and see for myself first. This I did only last week, after August and Paul had left for home on Wednesday, I went down to Manchester that same day. I had already heard from Gumpert, who is treating him, that he was confined to bed, was quite apathetic and was probably suffering from a carcinogenic tumour of

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a Poverty of Philosophy - b Paul Lafargue - c 1 June
the right lung. And so I found him, unresponsive, totally incurious, but entirely free from pain; at the same time his faculties were clouded and he often supposed himself to be somewhere else. More than 5 to 10 minutes’ conversation (when for the most part he mechanically repeated what the other person said) was too much for him and rest was what he needed most. The tumour of the lung continuing to develop, there was a marked dullness on percussion, while pressure on the large blood vessels and on the plexus also produced, on the one hand, impaired activity of the brain and, on the other, paralysis and oedema of the right arm. While there is no oedema of the legs, they are exceedingly weak, the muscles being relaxed and wasted. He might last out for a few weeks in this condition, but again might be carried off any day by some complication or other. There is, of course, no hope. I have told his family as much as they need to know, and have made provisions for the safeguarding of his fairly extensive mss; this may give rise to some interesting arguments. Gumpert got him to make his will before it was too late.

So that’s another of our best chaps on the way out. He had not been his old self for four years or more, and had increasingly lost interest in anything not immediately connected with his work, the mere pursuit of which cost him considerable labour. Moreover, he was often testy because of increasing deafness and a susceptibility to the draughts and chills by which that deafness was instantly aggravated. Last year I made one more attempt to induce him to take a sea trip to Scotland and Ireland, but before twenty-four hours were out he was laid low by relatively minor adversities and we had to abandon the project. The tumour of the lung, now plainly distinguishable, explains much of this, and likewise his debility after the bout of influenza last March, which marked the beginning of his final illness.

My translation of the introduction to the English version of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific is now finished; as soon as the book comes out (and why it isn’t already out I cannot think), I shall send you the introduction for the Neue Zeit. In the meantime I am sending you the Italian translation of the same book in the second edition published in Milan.

This country is swarming with congresses. On Thursday Tussy and Aveling returned from the Gasworkers’ Congress in Plymouth where they couldn’t have set a better example to the trade.

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\(a\) ‘left’ in the ms.  
\(b\) 9 June
UNIONISTS of the old stamp. A *Liberal* candidate, having given £10 towards a gasworkers’ strike, or rather towards that of one of their factory workers’ sections, asked to be admitted to the congress as an unofficial guest, a request ordinarily granted as a matter of course. The gasworkers, however, said *quod non,* they wanted no truck with middle-class candidates, and the man had no *locus standi* at their congress.

We’ve also got the miners over here.492 The day before yesterday the Germans, including a český *tovaryš,* came to call on me. It was particularly unfortunate that Tussy shouldn’t have been here to interpret and advise; I need tell you no more than that the chaps had fallen into the clutches of Julius, who failed to understand anything that went on either in English or in French and, though unacquainted with conditions and people over here, had to pretend he understood everything and was acquainted with everyone, thus isolating the chaps almost completely. On top of that, they had with them an Anglicised German who cannot speak either language and is hand in glove with the old *trades unions.* Fortunately the Avelings were present on the last and most important day. The ignominity of the English is plain for all to see: The Continentals are demanding 8 hours for *everyone* employed in the mines, the English ask it only for those working underground! That has now been established and the vainglory of the English about their superior *trades union organisation* has been punctured by themselves.

Kindest regards from

Your

General


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*a* no -b* place -c* Czech comrade -d* Julius Motteler
ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER
IN DARMSTADT

London, 16 June 1892

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I have received your letter of the 7th this month and have also heard from Gumpert who tells me he has had a line or two from you. Of Carl he further says:

‘As before, he suffers no pain at all, takes enough nourishment and sleeps well on the whole. During the past few days his faculties have been very clouded and he often forgets what has just happened.’

Otherwise there was no change. Not having heard from Gumpert since, I cannot be sure whether or not there has been any material change, but thought I would allay your anxiety by passing on the above note.

With cordial regards, in which I am joined by Mrs Kautsky, to you and all your family.

Yours,

F. Engels


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\(^{\text{9}}\) Carl Schorlemmer
London, 18 June 1892

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your very interesting letters of 24 March, 30 April and 18 May, and to ask your pardon for not replying to them sooner. But I have been extremely busy, so much so that I have not been able to devote one moment to III volume—a—next week however I hope to return to it.

I believe that in reality we both agree perfectly as to the facts, and the bearing of these facts, which constitute the present economic condition of your country. Only you seem to have taken sundry ironical expressions of my last letter as if they were seriously meant—especially what I said about sundry things serving in the end the cause of human progress. There is in reality no fact within history which does not serve human progress in one way or another, but it is after all an awfully round-about way. And so it may be with the present economic transformation of your country.

The fact I especially wanted to lay stress upon, is that the неупорядочая, to use the official expression, of last year, is not an isolated and accidental occurrence, but a necessary consequence of the whole development since the close of the Crimean War, that it is a result of the passage from communal agriculture and domestic patriarchal industry to modern industry; and that it seems to me that this transformation must in the long run endanger the existence of the agricultural община and introduce the capitalist system in agriculture too.

I conclude from your letters that, as to these facts themselves, you are agreed with me; as to the question whether we like them or not, that is another thing, and whether we do like them or not, the facts will continue to exist all the same. The more we leave our likings and dislikings out of the question, the better we shall be able to judge of the facts themselves and of their consequences.

There can be no doubt, but that the present sudden growth of modern ‘grosse Industrie’ in Russia has been caused by artificial
means, prohibitive duties, state subventions etc. The same has taken
place in France, where the prohibitive system has existed ever since
Colbert, in Spain, in Italy and, since 1878, even in Germany; al-
though that country had almost completed its industrial transfor-
mation when, in 1878, the protective duties were introduced in order to
enable the capitalists to compel their inland customers to pay them
such high prices as would enable them to sell, abroad, for less than
cost price. And America has done exactly the same, in order to
shorten the period during which American manufacturers would not be
in a position to compete on equal terms with England. That America,
France, Germany and even Austria will be enabled to arrive at con-
ditions where they can successfully fight English competition in the
open market of the world at least in a number of important articles, of
that I have no doubt. Already now France, America and Germany
have broken the industrial monopoly of England to a certain extent,
which is felt here very much. Will Russia be able to attain the same
position? Of that I have my doubts, as Russia, like Italy, suffers from
the absence of coal in industrially favourable localities, and more-
over, as you develop so well in yours of 12 (24) March, has quite differ-ent historical conditions to contend with. But then we have the other
question to answer: Could Russia, in the year 1890, have existed and
held its own in the world, as a purely agricultural country, living
upon the export of her corn and buying foreign industrial products
with it? And there I believe we can safely reply: no. A nation of 100
millions that plays an important part in the history of the world,
could not, under the present economic and industrial conditions, con-
tinue in the state in which Russia was up to the Crimean War. The
introduction of steam engines and working machinery, the attempt to
manufacture textile and metal products by modern means of produc-
tion, at least for home consumption, must have been made sooner or
later, but at all events at some period between 1856 and 1880. Had it
not been made, your domestic patriarchal industry would have been
destroyed all the same by English machine competition, and the end
would have been—India, a country economically subject to the great
central workshop, England. And even India has reacted by protec-
tive duties against English cotton goods; and all the rest of the British
colonies, no sooner had they obtained self-government, than they
protected their home manufactures against the overwhelming com-
petition of the mother country. English interested writers cannot
make it out, that their own free-trade example should be repudiated everywhere, and protective duties set up in return. Of course, they dare not see, that this, now almost universal, protective system is a—more or less intelligent and in some cases absolutely stupid—means of self-defence against this very English Free Trade, which brought the English manufacturing monopoly to its greatest height. (Stupid for instance in the case of Germany which had become a great industrial country under Free Trade and where protection is extended to agricultural produce and raw materials, thus raising cost of industrial production!) I do not consider this universal recurrence to protection as a mere accident, but as a reaction against the unbearable industrial monopoly of England; the form of this reaction, as I said, may be inadequate and even worse, but the historical necessity of such a reaction seems to me clear and evident.

All governments, be they ever so absolute, are en dernier lieu but the executors of the economic necessities of the national situation. They may do this in various ways, good, bad and indifferent; they may accelerate or retard the economic development and its political and juridical consequences, but in the long run they must follow it. Whether the means by which the industrial revolution has been carried out in Russia, have been the best for the purpose, is a question by itself which it would lead too far to discuss. For my purpose it is sufficient if I can prove that this industrial revolution, in itself, was unavoidable.

What you say about the necessary accompaniments of such tremendous economic changes, is quite correct, but it applies more or less to all countries that have gone or are going through the same process. Exhaustion of the soil—vide America; deforestation—vide England, France, and at the present moment Germany and America; change of climate, drying-up of rivers is probably greater in Russia than anywhere else on account of the level nature of the country that supplies these enormous rivers with water, and the absence of an Alpine snow-reservoir such as feeds the Rhine, Danube, Rhône and Po. The destruction of the old conditions of agriculture, the gradual transition to capitalistic farming on large farms, are processes which are completed in England and East Germany and now proceeding everywhere else. And it seems to me evident that la grande industrie en Russie tuera la commune agricole, unless other great changes occur

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\[a\] in the end-\[b\] Russian big industry will do away with the agricultural commune
which may preserve the община. The question is, will there be time for such a change in public opinion in Russia, as will make it possible, to graft modern industry and modern agriculture upon the община and at the same time to modify the latter in such a way that it may become a fit and proper instrument for the organization of this modern production and for the transformation of such production from a capitalistic to a socialised form? You will admit that to even think of carrying out such a change, a tremendous progress has first to be made by the public opinion of your country. Will there be time to effect this, before capitalistic production, aided by the effects of the present crisis, undermines the община too deeply? I have no doubt whatever that in a good many districts the община has recovered from the blow it received in 1861 (as described by V. V. 495). But will it be able to resist the incessant blows dealt to it by the industrial transformation, by rampant capitalism, by the destruction of domestic industry, by the absence of communal rights of pasture and woods, by the transformation of the peasants’ Naturalwirtschaft into Geldwirtschaft, by the growing wealth and power of кулаки and мирское дѣй?

I have to thank you too for the books you were kind enough to send me, especially Kablukov and Karyshev. At the present moment I am so overworked that I have not been able, for 6 months, to read through one single book in any language; I keep your books for my time of rest in August. What you say about Kablukov seems to me perfectly correct, as far as I can follow it without reading the book itself. The agricultural labourer who has no land of his own, no hired land, finds employment for only a portion of the year, and if he is paid for this work only, must starve the whole unemployed time, unless he has other kinds of work to do during that time, but modern capitalist production takes every chance of such work from him. This difficulty is got over, as far as possible, in the following way in Western and Central Europe: 1) the farming capitalist or landowner keeps a portion of the labourers, all the year round, on his farm and feeds them as much as possible with its products, so as to spend but little actual money. This is done to a great extent in North East Germany, in a lesser degree here in England, where however the climate admits of

\[ a \text{ commune (Russ.)} - b \text{ subsistence economy} - c \text{ money economy} - d \text{ kulaks (Russ.)} -
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\[ e \text{ bloodsuckers (Russ.)} - f \text{ Н. [А.] Каблуковъ, Вопросъ о рабочихъ въ сельскомъ хозяйстѣ; Н. [А.] Катьшевъ, Крестьянскія вѣдомыя аренды.} \]
a good deal of agricultural work being carried on in winter. Moreover, in capitalist farming, there is a good deal of work to be done on a farm even in winter.—2) Whatever is still required to keep the agricultural labourers alive, and only just alive, during winter, is often enough procured by the work of the women and children in a fresh kind of domestic industry (see Capital, I vol., ch. 13, 8, d\(^a\)). This is the case in the South and West of England, and for the small peasantry, in Ireland and Germany.—Of course, while the transformation is proceeding, the disastrous effects of the separation of agriculture from domestic patriarchal manufacture are most striking, and that is the case with you just now.

This letter is already getting too long for me to enter into the details of yours of 18th May, but it seems to me that there too your facts prove the ruin of the peasantry and with that, also, at least for a time, the exhaustion of the soil. I quite agree with you that both these things are now proceeding with increasing rapidity. If the present system continues the end must be the ruin of both помецки\(^b\) and мужики\(^c\), and the rise of a new class of bourgeois landed proprietors. But there is another side to the question which I am afraid Вестикиъ Финансовъ\(^d\) does not engross upon. That is the state of the public finances. The last loan in Paris (1891) was to bring 20 millions £ st. They were oversubscribed several times, but the report goes here that in reality only 12 millions were paid up, and 8 millions never reached the Petersburg exchequer.\(^{302}\) If that happened in France after Cronstadt,\(^{288}\) what is to happen when the next loan has to be negotiated? And can that new loan be long delayed after the tremendous sacrifices that were forced on the treasury by the неурожай\(^c\)? Vyshnegradsy serait-il Calonne, et y aurait-il un Necker après lui?\(^f\)

Very sincerely yours,

P. W. Rosher\(^g\)

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\(^{a}\) See present edition, Vol. 35.\(^b\) landowners (Russ.)\(^c\) peasants\(^d\) Financial Courier\(^c\) crop failure (Russ.)\(^f\) Will Vyshnegradsky prove to be Calonne, and will there be a Necker after him?\(^g\) Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym
Dear Sorge,

I don't know whether I have already acknowledged receipt of your letter with money order postmarked 28 April and your card of 3 May; what with so much correspondence and other unforeseen events, I am somewhat at sea. The money arrived all right and I have repaid Mendelson the half that was due to him.497 During the second half of May we had Bebel here, likewise Singer who stayed with the Bernsteins.474 We had a very jolly time and discussed everything there was to discuss relevant to the German movement. I am in complete accord with Bebel; we see eye to eye about almost everything and, if not, are quickly agreed, as indeed has been the case for years with this clear-sighted man who not only sees things as they really are but has also acquired a remarkable grasp of theory. Nor has he ever been any trouble to me. Singer possesses considerable practical vision and dexterity in his own sphere but if he departs from it, he's apt to blunder; however, in this respect he is perfectly willing to be guided by Bebel whose superiority he freely acknowledges. Both men have not only realised, but have learnt from practical experience, that Liebknecht is only fit for the scrapheap and has become a positive impediment to the party. He has been marking time for years, whereas the party has made tremendous strides — also in the field of theory, as all its literature (even the smaller newspapers, somewhat to my surprise) goes to show. This had been known to me for a long time, but what could I do? Upon the abolition of the Anti-Socialist Law,11 Liebknecht was, quite ineluctably, editor of the Vorwärts which he now edits atrociously, and the worst of it is that they can't get rid of him without wreaking more havoc than he is doing already. I have advised them to pension him off as decently as they can but, aside from any other difficulties, he will dig his heels in. Well, we shall just have to let things take their course; luckily the party is now
robust enough to withstand a good deal of stress, and in the end things will resolve themselves one way or the other.

The above is, of course, written in the strictest confidence and solely for your own consumption. You will realise to what lengths things have gone when I tell you that Liebknecht considers all the members of the Party Executive to be enemies who are intriguing against him—save, perhaps, for Singer who, however, sees just as plainly as anyone else what the position is. I feel sorry for Liebknecht, but I have seen this coming for years and he has only his own pig-headedness to blame. Any of our people would gladly make him a bridge of gold and we can only hope that he will eventually realise this.

The German and Austrian miners' delegates to the international congress here have been to see me a couple of times—two Westphalians, a Rhinelander from the Saar, a Saxon and a Czech. For the most part good, sound men just as Siegel, who is now working in Scotland, was a good, sound chap. The miners make a splendid addition to our ranks—all sturdy chaps and most of them ex-soldiers and enfranchised. The only snag lies in the many Wasserpolacken and other Poles (Dortmund district 22,000, Essen district 16-18,000), Ultramontanes to a man and stupid as they come, but it's only a transitory ill; in the long run they too will become involved and will then constitute a disaffected element in Upper Silesia, Posen and West Prussia.

I look forward to hearing more about the gerrymandering in your presidential elections. Never before have I had such an opportunity to observe the modus operandi and this time I shall be on the qui vive. Having once thoroughly investigated the thing, one would know what was happening on subsequent occasions.

I have not yet written to Dietz about your business, firstly because your articles are not yet ready, secondly because I have been having to correspond with him about his new edition, now shortly due, of the Condition of the Working-Class in England and didn't want to get the two things mixed up, thirdly because Bebel told me that he, Dietz, had not done very well out of republishing stuff from the Neue Zeit, and fourthly because I may very possibly be going to Stuttgart with Bebel in August, when I should see Dietz in person. However, I feel sure that someone will be glad to publish your work, particular-

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\[a\] Polish name: Poznań
\[b\] method of operation
\[c\] F. Engels, Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England, Stuttgart, 1892.
\[d\] See this volume, pp. 489-92.
ly if you include some new material and thus make it a third or half as long again. Should I fail to arrange things with Dietz (though I’m sure I won’t), the Vorwärts book publishers in Berlin would take it. In my view, the additional bits should primarily aim at supplementing the factual material, while in the book you would be able to express yourself more freely about the follies of the German Socialist Labor Party than you might have deemed advisable in the Neue Zeit.

I am glad that your wife is getting better. Here too the winter has taken a heavy toll, notably as a result of influenza. Our friend Schorlemmer never recovered from his attack and now has cancer of the lung so that he’s unlikely ever to get up again. A fortnight ago when I visited him, the poor chap’s physical and mental powers were failing him and he was confined to bed, but luckily he feels no pain and we can only hope that this will last up till the end which, alas, cannot be far off.

Warm regards to you and your wife from Louise and

Your

F. Engels

I have several times heard from Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky.


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* Katharina Sorge
Dear August,

Herewith the *Judenflinten* under sealed cover, for if sent by book post they might well be confiscated.

Schorlemmer is still so-so. I found him weak, apathetic, his faculties slightly clouded, but not otherwise in pain. Gumpert writes to say that the lung tumour is growing slowly but surely, with (due to pressure on the big arteries which should carry back the blood from the upper part of the body to the heart) a concomitant disturbance of cerebral activity; also apathy and loss of memory. He is still taking sufficient nourishment, however, so that, barring accidents, things might go on as they are for some little while.

The fact that Warken is still holding his own in the *Saar* ought not to surprise you in view of the fact that Schröder is able to hold his own in the *Ruhr*. I wrote a line or two to Siegel telling him what Bunte had said to you about his flight. Siegel sent that letter to Schröder along with a wholly guileless letter of his own saying that Bunte had been caught embezzling money, and Schröder gave me both of them—Siegel’s and my own—to read. Whether it’s true about Bunte I don’t know. At all events you can see that Schröder is still firmly in the saddle. In the case of so young a movement as that of the miners, one ought always to consider carefully whether it wouldn’t be better to give untried johnnies like Schröder and Warken enough rope to hang themselves, or at any rate enough to provide us with definite, tangible evidence against them. And there’s really nothing new in that, for wherever the movement arises anew the first leaders to push their way to the fore are more often than not place-seekers and blackguards.

Bax is now editor of *Justice* and will remain so until the end of July; and it is now a decent paper; yesterday it gave a decent mention to Aveling’s speeches in Aberdeen, while internecine strife (i.e. indirectly Hyndman himself) was condemned. Indeed, yesterday Bax

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*See this volume, p. 429.*
came hurrying round here in order to get his pat on the back, as the Witch, with her keen nose for such things, had prophesied the moment she set eyes on the paper. What Hyndman actually has in view is not yet very clear to me. Most likely he realises that he's been compromised by his previous policy and that a change of front is called for. His paper is running at a loss, his Social Democratic Federation isn't getting anything like its share in the general growth of the movement over here—a share which would entitle it to take over the leadership; nor is it succeeding in its rivalry with the Fabians—on the contrary, it has been left in the lurch, and will continue to be so left, by its foreign allies Brousse and Gilles. In short, he might well deem it advisable to turn elsewhere and seek a rapprochement with us. That would be very far from pleasant for, as I have told anybody who was prepared to listen, I would far sooner have Hyndman for an enemy (when he is virtually powerless) than for a friend (when one has to keep a constant and very time-consuming watch on him). Another thing that may have impelled him to adopt this course is the total loss of any electoral prospects in Chelsea from which he proposed to oust Sir Charles Dilke but where Quelch, the test candidate put forward by Hyndman in the County Council elections, polled only 153 votes, since which time he has abandoned all hope. At all events Hyndman will find it difficult in August to resume the old attitude so publicly disavowed by Bax in the self-same paper, nor could or should he do so if he wishes to compete successfully with the Fabians. Well, we shall see.

Over here we are already in the thick of the electoral fray and the Tories and Liberal Unionists are proferring an abundance of money so as to provide Labour candidates with cash and thereby enable them to steal votes from the Liberals. Champion, one of the Tories' chief agents in this respect, offered Aveling the means to contest Labouchère's seat in Northampton but needless to say Aveling refused. These financial blandishments have put the Labour leaders into a state of tremendous excitation and such of the good fellows as think they can get something out of it are tussling with their consciences in an attempt to convince the latter that there is after all some honest way of accepting Tory money without blushing, though admittedly the blushing is mainly due to the fear of eventually doing themselves more harm than good. Knowing the extent to which all political life over here is riddled with parliamentary corruption, one can only wonder that the chaps should feel even this modicum of shame.
True, the Horlacherliesl is closely related to the Witch; nevertheless, I still prefer the latter. Greatly though Anzengruber may on occasion idealise his Austrian peasant, and uncommonly restricted though the background may be against which his excellent dramas take place, nevertheless one is painfully aware of the separation of that splendid race from the rest of Germany and of the necessity for reunification which, however, only we are capable of bringing about.

Well, I wish I could drop Mrs Julie, honorary bookkeeper, a couple of lines to thank her for her last letters which have, alas, not yet had an answer, but I am up to my eyes in work. I have two more long and somewhat ticklish letters to write after which I intend at long last to get down to Volume III. Hence I have got to put on one side all the correspondence that merely gives me pleasure and devote myself solely to business matters. So be my advocate with your wife and don’t let her be too angry with me. I shall make up for it, if possible before I come to Berlin, but otherwise when I get there; I look forward so much to meeting her and know in advance that we shall get on very well. So warm regards to her and yourself from both of us.

Your old
General


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¹ A personage from Ludvig Anzengruber’s comedy *G’wissenswurm*.
² Julie Bebel
³ of *Capital*
Dear Baron,

As regards the business of the name, you misunderstand me if you imagine that I looked upon Louise’s acceptance of your proposal as a sacrifice she would be making on your behalf. What I wished to imply was that in my view a request of that kind ought not in the circumstances to have emanated from you. So far as you are concerned, Louise has unquestionably done more than anybody could have asked of her, on top of which she received you over here in a way that evidently came as a surprise to you yourself, and re-established you both on a footing that made social intercourse possible without embarrassment or constraint, both between the two of you and between us and yourselves. So why go and drag up the old business again for the sake of something so trivial? A divorced woman’s social position is quite bad enough in any case, for if she is to rehabilitate herself, she must, in accordance with present-day ideas, show proof to all and sundry that she is not the ‘guilty party’. And don’t you see that a divorced woman must feel deeply hurt if the man from whom she is divorced demands that she bear in public, not her lawful name, but another which, furthermore, he presents to her cut and dried?

I know nothing about the practice of divorced women to which you refer. All I know is that Johanna, née Mockel, later wife of Matthieu (whom she divorced), and subsequently of Kinkel, used no other name than J. Matthieu from the time of her divorce up till her marriage to Kinkel and that all her published songs, etc., appeared under that name.

As to la Schack, she simply made use of the aristocratic privilege conferred on her by the Prussian Civil code. Part II, Title I, § 740 reads:

‘If she (the divorced woman) has not been held to be the guilty party, she may revert to the higher rank she bore before her marriage.’

And § 741:
'In general the woman may choose, especially in the case of § 740, whether she wishes to reassume her former maiden name or her deceased husband’s name.'

Even should la Schack have become or remained a Swiss, she could assert this right in Prussia and invoke it outside Prussia.

La Wischnewetzky never dropped the name of Kelley; if she has now dropped the Wischnewetzky, she was able to do so because in America they base themselves on English common law, according to which a man’s name is what he is known by, as Sam Moore would say, and may be changed at will.

So none of this applies to Louise who, as it happens, is committed to the Austrian police state which will not permit her to bear any name other than your own.

But why on earth should Louise now be expected to oblige you by bearing in public a name other than her lawful one? Does that mean that every female Kautsky who appears in public must necessarily be your wife? And since the world is in any case unfamiliar with your present wife’s Christian name, a ought not your mother b also to individualise herself by using a different name to indicate that she is not your wife? The world is divided into two parts — those who know your wife and those who don’t. The former know that the London Louise Kautsky, the Louise Kautsky of the Arbeiter- and the Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung, is not your wife, while the latter will be in no way enlightened as to this by the proposed change of name, since they cannot know what your wife was ‘née’.

I have informed Louise that you have told me the matter is dead and buried so far as you are concerned. I fear that so far as she is concerned that is not the case. I fear that by dragging up this business you have awakened so many memories that it will not be so easy to bury them again. By demanding what you did you have wounded Louise deeply, so deeply, I fear, that you will be unable to make amends. She has constantly nursed that wound and now intends to write to you herself.

Sonnenschein doesn’t want to do anything about the English Entwicklung c until after the election.504 But then comes the silly season over here, so nothing can really materialise until the end of September. I shall therefore again write to Sonnenschein asking for definite information and shall then send you the ms,461 which you can have

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a Louise - b Minna Kautsky - c F. Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.
set provisionally but *not publish* before the date of which I shall also then inform you.

I have heard nothing further about poor Schorlemmer; whatever has happened, there has been no significant change.

Very many thanks for your information *re* Sorge-Dietz. It was important to me because Sorge has not yet reported on the progress of the negotiations being conducted through you and I had to know about this before I myself could do anything. Dietz is much too preoccupied with selling in bulk. If he wishes to be the publisher of the *scientific* socialists, he must set up a section where there is also room for books which sell more slowly, otherwise we must find someone else. Genuinely scientific literature cannot reach sales in the tens of thousands and the *publisher* must arrange things accordingly.

Much confusion still prevails in the elections here. Nevertheless the Liberals are being taught their *first* lesson by Labour.

Your

General
ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY
IN STUTTGART

[London,] 27 June 1892

Our good Schorlemmer died peacefully this morning. I'm going down tomorrow.⁵⁰⁷

There will be an obituary in the Vorwärts.¹

Your
F. E.


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ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER
IN DARMSTADT

Manchester, 30 June 1892
203 High Street, Oxford Road

Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

The first news of Carl's death on the 27th of this month will already have reached you from Gumpert. I got here yesterday ⁵⁰⁷ and learnt that a post-mortem had been carried out at the request of the doctors and that the earlier diagnosis — cancer of the right lung — had been fully confirmed by the findings. In accordance with the wishes of the faculty who, along with the students, would like to attend but would be prevented from so doing by an important examination on Thursday, the funeral will not take place until Friday ² at 11.30 a.m. Gumpert has already seen to the wreath you ordered by telegram and its

¹ F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', Vorwärts, No. 153, 3 July 1892. ² 1 July
ribbon will bear the words: 'To their dear Carl—his mother, brothers and sisters.'

I myself shall be laying a wreath on behalf of the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party.

This afternoon I put his papers into some sort of order, in so far as they have to do with business matters, so that I shall be able to discuss the more important points with the executors. I have also put his manuscripts in order so far as I could; there is a fair number of them, but I dare say a good many are already in print.

I did not see Carl again. By the time I got there this morning the coffin had already been screwed down.

There is one matter upon which you may all set your minds completely at rest—nowhere could he have received better care than the care that was given to him and no one could possibly have had a more painless illness or a more peaceful end. It only remains for us to keep his memory alive in our hearts and in the world at large. Tomorrow I shall send an obituary to the Vorwärts. The excellent obituary in the Manchester Guardian which Gumpert sent you was by Dr Schuster, a former student of his and more recently a colleague as lecturer in physics.

So good-bye for today. You will be with us in spirit on Friday and I shall certainly be thinking of his mother, brothers and sisters. It is a grievous and bitter loss to us all, but was a foregone conclusion months ago. With that we must console ourselves.

With warm regards to your mother and all his brothers and sisters.

Yours,

F. Engels

I shall write again after the funeral.


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Dear Mr Schorlemmer,

I am writing to you directly after Carl’s a funeral which took place this morning. It was an imposing procession, first the carriages with personal friends, including the executors, b Dr Gumpert and Carl’s landlord, then the faculty of Owens College, c virtually all of whom were represented, also Roscoe, then a large number of his students past and present. The executors had asked Mr Steintal, a Unitarian (akin to our Free Congregations d e) minister to conduct the burial service and say a few words at the graveside, which in fact he did most impressively — he was a good friend of Carl’s. If the address doesn’t appear in tomorrow’s papers, Gumpert will send you a copy of it. Numerous very beautiful wreaths had been sent; apart from those from the family and the Party Executive in Berlin there was one huge and most beautiful wreath bearing the inscription: ‘From the Germans in Manchester to their Illustrious Compatriot’; also one from his former students, one from the students of his last course, from his colleagues, etc.

I was asked on arrival whether I had any objections to the proposed arrangements for a funeral of this kind, maintaining as it did at least a semblance of Church practice. They felt that this was how they could best conform to the wishes of the family. I cannot say that I was particularly delighted with the plan, but circumstances being what they are here in Manchester, I had no alternative but to reply that it was up to the executors to decide and that if the ceremony was to be performed in a conventional setting, then Steintal was undoubtedly by far the best man for it and he did, in fact, acquit himself quite admirably. Had I protested I might perhaps have been respon-

a Carl Schorlemmer, b Philipp Klepsch and Ludwig Siebold
sible for a wholly uneclesiastical funeral. But in the first place I did not know whether this would have been acceptable to *all* the members of your family. Secondly, the entire responsibility would in that case have devolved upon myself; *I* alone would have had to speak and the emphasis would not have been on Schorlemmer the chemist but on Schorlemmer the Social-Democrat and in the circumstances it was certainly preferable to play down the Social-Democrat in order that the chemist might be given his full due. The entire English bourgeois press would have said that I had exploited Carl’s death for the purpose of a pointless and useless socialist demonstration in front of an audience that felt cool if not actually hostile towards *me* and towards socialism, yet was compelled to keep silent out of respect for the open grave. And since *I* dislike all demonstrations, however unavoidable, it would have been utterly repugnant to me to allow the funeral of a dear friend to degenerate into an intrusive demonstration. It would of course have been different had Carl himself made stipulations in his will. However the scarlet bows bearing the inscription ‘From the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party’ were eloquent enough; they stood out in garish contrast to the white flowers and bows of the other wreaths and were in any case grossly at variance with British custom.

I have today shown Mr Philipp Klepsch, one of the executors (both are German), all the papers. We settled one or two further matters and discussed the more important points, which means that I can return to London tomorrow.

The will must now be registered at the Court of Probate and estate duty will have to be paid. Not until then can anything further be done.

I have arranged with Mr Klepsch that family letters should be returned to you. If you have any wishes regarding other mementoes, perhaps you would write to him,

Ph. Klepsch,


In case you might want them, I also suggested that he should keep for you the various writings Marx and I inscribed and presented to him.
As regards the manuscripts and publishers' contracts, more anon. Warm regards to your mother and the whole family.

Yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO STANISŁAW MENDELSOHN
IN LONDON

[London,] 4 July 1892
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

I have this minute received a letter from Bebel with a communication for you, which I am sending on at once.\textsuperscript{509} I trust you will receive the money through the Deutshe Bank (which has, I believe, a branch here in London) and that you will be able to decipher Bebel's writing. If not, perhaps you might care to return me the letter so that I can transcribe it into characters of a more international nature.

My compliments, as also those of Mrs Kautsky, to Mrs Mendelson.\textsuperscript{a}

Yours ever,
F. Engels

Bebel was not immediately able to lay his hands on your address, which is why he sent the bank's statement of sale to me.

\textsuperscript{a} Maria Mendelson
Dear August,

You forbid me to write to you, i.e. I am to give up the only correspondence I always find enjoyable and, instead, hammer away at the letters which bore me. But I'm not going to do it simply to oblige you.

And even if I were so docile, the *Vorwärts*’ colossal howlers about the elections over here would make me fly off the handle. To say nothing about it would be really too deplorable. For the *Vorwärts* has now actually succeeded in transforming South Paddington into a *rural district* of London—South Paddington which is situated right in the middle of the town, slightly to the north of Hyde Park and west of Regent’s Park, and in which the only rural districts are a couple of green squares—about as rural as the Dönhoffplatz!

The England of the *Vorwärts* exists only in the imagination of the writer. The view that the Tories of today are more favourable to the workers than are the Liberals is the reverse of the truth. On the contrary, all the Manchesterer prejudices of the Liberals of 1850 are today articles of faith only to the Tories, while the Liberals know very well that if they are to survive as a party they must capture the Labour vote. Because they are jackasses, the Tories can, from time to time, be induced by an outstanding man such as Disraeli to carry out a bold coup of which the Liberals would not be capable; but in the absence of an outstanding man it’s the jackasses among them who rule the roost, as at present. The Tories are no longer simply the tail of the big landowners, as they were up till 1850, for between 1855 and 1870 the sons of the Cobdens, Brights, etc., of the upper middle classes and the Anti-Corn Law men, have one and all gone over to the Tory camp, and the strength of the Liberals now lies in the dis-

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* a square in the centre of Berlin
senting middle and lower middle classes. And, since Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1886, the last remnants of the Whigs and the old Liberals (middle-class and university men) have gone over to the Tory camp (as dissident or Unionist Liberals).

Hence the need the Liberals face of making apparent or real concessions — primarily the former — to the workers. And nevertheless they are too stupid to know where to begin, many of them being, after all, still too hidebound by their antecedents.

So far the elections have proceeded as if in response to our orders. The Liberals are obtaining a slender majority and in many places are actually losing votes by comparison with the last election; thus there has so far been no sign of the great Liberal wave that was to sweep across England. Today is a very important day and the results will probably be decisive; should the Liberals score a brilliant victory today, the vacillating philistine — by no means a rare animal — will be driven over onto their side and that will give them the upper hand. What we need is a moderate Liberal majority (including the Irish) so that Gladstone is dependent on the Irish over here — otherwise, if able to exist without them, he is sure to do the dirty on them.

But it's capital that Keir Hardie, the Labour candidate in West Ham in the East End of London, — one of the few who did not take any money from the Liberals and did not therefore place himself under an obligation to them — should so far be the only one to have turned a Conservative majority of over 300 in the last election into an anti-Conservative majority of 1,200. Excellent, too, that elsewhere — in Aberdeen, etc. — the Labour candidates who stood against Liberals and Conservatives should have obtained anything up to a thousand votes. The Independent Labour Party is casting its shadow before it.

There are three kinds of Labour candidate here:

1. Those who were paid by the Tories to filch Liberal votes. Nearly all of these will fail and know it.

2. Those who take Liberal money and are bound to serve the Liberals. These are mostly put up in places where there is no prospect of their getting in, and amongst their number there are also men who, like the miners' candidates, are Liberals by nature.

3. The genuine Labour candidates, who are acting off their own bat and do not ask themselves whether they are standing against Liberals or Tories. Of these, the Liberals accept the ones they have
to (Keir Hardie and Burns) and try to undermine the others. In Scotland there are many such candidates, though it’s difficult to say what their chances are. Goodbye and warm regards to your wife.a

Your old friend,

F. E.


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

Engels to Kautsky. 5 July 1892

London, 5 July 1892

Dear Baron,

I got back from Manchester on Saturday, Schorlemmer having been buried on Friday. Should you want an obituary for the Neue Zeit, the man to look out for would be a chemist who would be able to give a comprehensible account of his discoveries and his importance to science. This would certainly be excellent, but in addition the man would have to be familiar with the history of organic chemistry in the fifties and sixties.

I agree that I owe you an explanation as to how Louise found out about your intended proposal. After getting your letter of 13 May, and although from the first I had taken the view that there was no reason why Louise should fall in with your idea, I nevertheless thought fit to sound her out. I asked her, as though, mind you, it was my idea, whether it mightn’t be a good thing, so as to avoid confusion, to add her maiden name to her married one, as is often done in Western Germany and Switzerland, even by married persons of both sexes. She looked at me inquiringly before replying: ‘You needn’t

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a Julie Bebel - b 2 July
bother; I know who’s behind this — it’s Karl and he’s been egged on by his mother.’ Nor could I persuade her otherwise. On the contrary, a little while later she told this to Gine as an established fact, whereupon Gine told her quite innocently and naturally, as almost anyone would have done under the circumstances, that you had likewise written to Ede about it, whereupon the two of them discussed the matter.

When Louise later remonstrated with me about this, I had really no alternative but to read out to her the relevant passage in your letter of 13 May which did at least put an end to any further conjectures and speculations and to that extent could only have a soothing effect. Besides, that particular passage looked to me as though it had been expressly written in such a way that it could, if necessary, be shown to Louise.

Such was the course of events. Not that I am in any way dissatisfied with it. For once you had suggested I consult Tussy and had at the same time written to Ede on the subject, one thing was plain, namely that if four people who, as it were, consorted daily with Louise were in the know, not many months would elapse before one of them let the cat out of the bag in her presence and that would have made matters ten times worse, for then she would have said: ‘So that’s how you people settle my affairs behind my back — affairs which concern only myself, etc.’

To be sure, Louise read me the letter she wrote you, or rather the draft thereof after it had gone off. It has shown me yet again that a third party should never intervene in the private affairs of married or erstwhile married couples since he can never know enough about the antecedents. For instance, it was only from this I learnt that, when your divorce was first mooted, you two had already discussed and decided upon the name to be used by Louise. If this is true, and I have no reason to suppose anything else, then I am sorry not to have known about it before. For in that case I should have immediately, and without reference to anyone else, have urged you at all costs to let sleeping dogs lie.

So as you see, Louise alone was responsible for her letter, as your familiarity with her independence of mind would be enough to tell you without specific assurances on my part. As for giving you my opin-

\[a\] Regina Bernstein - [b] Eduard Bernstein
ion of that letter, I do not regard myself as either called upon or competent to do so, this being a private matter between two divorced people. All I can say is that what has happened affects neither my relations with Louise nor those with you.

I am today sending you the introduction in German by *registered* book post. Sonnenschein doesn’t want the book to come out before September, so please don’t put the thing in the *Neue Zeit* before 1 September; after that date it will be all one to me — the fool has kept me waiting long enough. Unfortunately the German is a pale reflection; the English is far livelier and you will like it better.

Many thanks for the information re Sorge. I shall attend to this as soon as I have a moment to spare.

So far the elections over here have gone off capitaly. The Liberals are winning, but if things go on as they are today, they’ll get only a *slender* majority, i.e. they will remain dependent on the Irish, which is a good thing, otherwise Gladstone would do the dirty on them again and the Irish question be perpetuated. While yesterday’s polls showed a swing in favour of the Liberals, there was no trace of the powerful, all-engulfing Liberal wave that the Gladstonians were counting on. Indeed, the incipient *labour party* is already proving a thorn in the flesh of the Liberals. The *only* candidate to have achieved a striking swing in the latter’s favour is Keir Hardie in South West Ham, one of the few Labour candidates not to have taken any money from the Liberals or to have submitted to Liberal discipline. On the other hand Labour candidates in other places, in so far as they were competing with Liberals, deprived the latter of a great many votes and likewise gave them a portent of things to come. This will, I hope, be the last election contested by the two official parties only; next time the workers will play a very different sort of role.

Your
General

*Printed according to the original Published in English for the first time*.
Dear August,

Here be I again, as you can see. With my obituary of Schorlemmer, I enclosed a note to the *Vorwärts* asking them to send me 12 copies of that edition — i.e. only the page the thing was in, not all the supplements and such. I need these copies for people in Manchester and for leading chemists over here who ought to know where, outside of chemistry, Schorlemmer’s allegiance lay. Needless to say, I have not had a single copy. Would you tell the chaps — the note may have been completely overlooked — that important party interests are at stake, and that they should send me what I asked before it is too late and the public over here has turned its attention elsewhere.

The elections here have proved a disappointment for the Liberals. So far they have gained 9 votes, i.e. the government’s majority has been reduced from 68 to 50 (68 − 9 = 59 Tories; 0 + 9 Liberals = 9; 59 − 9 = 50 at the poll). Yesterday’s elections didn’t bring them a single gain, but with 25 more votes, the 50 − 25 would be cancelled out by the + 25, and it would be simply splendid if neither the Right nor the Left were to end up with a proper majority. However, the Liberals are likely to obtain a small majority and even that wouldn’t be too bad.

Your Bismarck rumpus gets nicer every day — the fellow must be quite mad. According to today’s telegram he’s absolutely intent on getting Caprivi’s scalp. Well, we may see some fun. If only our papers weren’t always pointing out that it’s really a case for the courts! Must we really play the bureaucrat, policeman and public prosecutor like our opponents? Couldn’t we, just for once, allow that old, broken-winded jackass Bismarck to make a fool of himself to his heart’s content? And wouldn’t three days in jug turn him into a martyr? It is almost beyond belief how ultra-Prussian the chaps are!

The *Vorwärts* has gone quite insane. Today it says that England,

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*a* In the original: *mir sein* (Saxon dialect).  
*b* F. Engels, ‘Carl Schorlemmer’, *Vorwärts*, No. 153, 3 July 1892.
Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the colonies and India are all of them called Great Britain\textsuperscript{517}! But that name comprises only England, Wales and Scotland—\textit{not even Ireland}, let alone anything else (the official title is \textbf{The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland}). Are the fellows absolutely intent on making a universal laughing-stock of themselves and of us?

Downstairs the Witch is contemplating a baby belonging to our former housemaid, and so deeply has she been engrossed for the past two hours in this act of worship that I can’t winkle her out to send you her greetings. So unless she turns up at the last minute before the post goes, I shall have to send you and Mrs Julie\textsuperscript{a} my warmest regards all on my own.

Your old friend,

F. E.

\textbf{[From Louise Kautsky]}

The General is only testifying to his own inadequacy for if, as he maintains, the baby-worship went on for two hours, he must have spent a full two hours writing the letter; an interpretation more flattering to me would be that, even though it was you he was writing to, the time seemed so long to him. However that may be, the child has gone, as you see, so that I can myself send my love to Mrs Julie who, of you three, is certainly best able to understand the attraction exerted by children. Same to you.

\textit{The Witch}

\textbf{[From Engels]}

\textbf{How fanciful of the Witch to say (as she does) that I have spent two hours writing this letter. I was doing a very difficult legal task for Schorlemmer’s executors\textsuperscript{b} on the subject of his literary estate, while she was giving the baby her fingers to suck. So it must have sucked away all her wits!}

\textbf{[From Louise Kautsky]}

\textquote{I’ve never heard the likes of it—the baby’s sucking from my finger the wisdom which enabled the General to write his legal piece—blessed is he who believes.}

\textbf{[From Engels]}

She has to have the last word.

\textsuperscript{a} Julie Bebel \textsuperscript{b} Philipp Klepsch and Ludwig Siebold
[From Louise Kautsky]

Written word.

[From Engels]

\[\text{Nichevo.}\]


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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO JOHN BURNS

AT BATTERSEA\(^b\)

[Telegram]\(^{54}\)

London, 6 July 1892

122, Regent’s Park Road, N. W.

Wish you success and victory

Engels

Kautsky

Burns 108 Lavender Hill Battersea


Printed according to the telegraph form

Published in English for the first time

\(^a\) Engels gives the Russian word ‘ничео’ (‘not bad’) in Latin letters.- \(^b\) district of London
Dear August,

This is what comes of your forbidding me to write to you! Yet another letter. The obituary numbers of the *Vorwärts* turned up this morning, so all is well in that quarter.

The elections are going swimmingly.

1. The Liberal victories are such minor ones and so much offset by counter-victories and other unmistakable symptoms (diminished majorities, often to the extent of being virtually non-existent, etc.) that the next parliament is likely to show at most a narrow majority for Gladstone, and maybe none at all (i.e. practically none at all) either for him or for the Tories. That would mean early dissolution and another election, but also *preparations* for the latter in the shape of legislation which would ensure extra votes for the Liberals, and those could only be new Labour votes. In fact even were the Tories to remain at the helm—which hardly seems likely—they would have to try and strengthen their position by acquiring additional votes and these again they could only get from the workers. So there's a prospect of 1. a cessation of the harassment which has hitherto made it difficult for individual workers to assert their right to the universal suffrage they have been conceded and 2. social measures favourable to the workers.

The Liberals have won 16 of their opponents' seats: the last government majority was 68. If you take away the 16 seats lost and also the above 16 won from their opponents, you get 32. That still leaves a Tory majority of 36. So if another 18 seats are won, the parties will be all square. I believe that a few more will be won; the so-called country boroughs are those in which opposition to the feudal pressure exerted by the big country landowners is strongest and where the lower middle classes do not therefore, as here in London and in other large towns, vote Conservative out of opposition to the now enfran-

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* F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Vorwärts*. No. 153, 3 July 1892. See also this volume, p. 464.
chised workers and out of philistine habit. Gladstone might quite likely obtain a majority of 20, including, of course, the Irish, and he won't be able to govern with that. The Irish are bound to demand Home Rule and a majority of 20 won't enable him to put that through in the teeth of the Upper House. And that will mean a rumpus.

2. The only startling victories are those of the new Labour Party. Keir Hardie has turned what was, in the last elections, a Tory majority of 300 into a majority of 1,200 for himself. John Burns — whose Liberal predecessor had a majority of 186 — has got one of 1,560. And in Middlesbrough (the iron-working district of Yorkshire) Wilson, Secretary of the Union of Seamen and Coal Trimmers — a careerist but pledged neck and crop to the new unionism, 520 obtained 4,691 votes, thus beating the Liberals (4,062) and the Tory (3,333). The measly Liberal majorities look pitiful by comparison.

3. In three places where a Labour candidature, etc., was both opposite and had been properly prepared for in advance, the Labour candidates were in fact beaten, but they also caused the downfall of the Liberals.

In Salford, Hall, Labour, obtained 553 votes but the Liberal was beaten by only 37.

In Glasgow (Camlachie) Cunninghame-Graham was beaten (906 votes), but so was the Liberal who needed 371 votes to obtain a majority.

In Glasgow (Tradeston) the Labour candidate Burleigh (in other respects a ne'er-do-well) got 783 votes while the Liberal got 169 fewer than the Tory.

What's more, in a number of other places (Aberdeen, Glasgow — College —, Bradford), though the Liberals did in fact win, they nevertheless forfeited anything from 990 to 2,749 votes to Labour candidates standing against both parties, which means that next time Labour will constitute a direct threat.

In short, the Labour Party has proclaimed itself clearly and unmistakably and that means that next time both the old parties will have to make it offers of alliance. The Tories may be ruled out so long as they are led by the present jackasses. But the Liberals are bound to make an approach. And likewise the Irish. When Parnell was sent to Coventry over the absurd affair of the divorce, he suddenly turned pro-Labour, and so will the Irish gents in Parliament when they realise it is only Labour that can procure them Home Rule. Then the compromising will begin, and then, too, the Fabians 87 — in these
elections conspicuous by their absence — will again put in an appearance, but over here that sort of thing just can’t be avoided. However, we’re making progress, as you can see, and that’s the main thing.

By a splendid quirk of history, both of the two old parties have now got to appeal to Labour and make concessions to Labour if they want to retain or take the helm, and at the same time each of them senses that by so doing they are giving a leg up to their own successors. And yet they can’t help it! What is our little jest compared with the colossal jest now emerging from the turn history is taking?

Many regards from Louise and myself to Mrs Julie and yourself.

Your

F. E.

If you write to Shaw you might recommend Conrad Schmidt’s article in the Neue Zeit as a refutation of their ‘AUSTRIAN THEORY OF VALUE’.  


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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 7 July 1892

My dear Laura,

I went at once to Manchester on the telegram of Schorlemmer’s death, on Friday last week 1st July we buried him and on Saturday I returned. The last weeks of his life he remained in the same half-conscious and very oblivious, but absolutely painless state in which I had found him when there in the beginning of June, and on Monday morning 27th June he expired quietly and without any

\(^a\) Julie Bebel-\(^b\) C. Schmidt, ‘Die psychologische Richtung in der neueren National-Oekonomie’, Die Neue Zeit, 10 Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 40, 41.-\(^c\) In the original ‘29 June’, which is a slip of the pen.
struggle. A post mortem entirely confirmed the diagnosis of Gumpert: a carcinomatous tumour in the right lung, of the size of a small orange, sufficient, by its pressure on the vena cava and the plexus brachialis to account for the deficient action of the brain and the partial paralysis and oedema of the right arm. The large vein of that arm contained a considerable thrombus, there were distinct though small carcinomatous places in the brain, and the heart was beginning to show fatty degeneration. Under these circumstances we may congratulate ourselves that he was spared longer and perhaps acute sufferings.

Gumpert had got him in May already to make a will, he left everything to his mother. The manuscripts he left may cause some trouble. The most interesting one is on the history of chemistry, 1) Ancients, 2) Alchemy, 3) Jatrochemistry, \(^{523}\) up to the 17th century; a fragment of the 3rd part not completed, but still full of new views and discoveries. Then a lot of work on organic chemistry. But as he has two works in the press at the same time: 1) his own organic chemistry, 2) his and Roscoe's big book \(^{a}\); — it will be pretty hard to distinguish which belongs to which. One of his executors is a chemist (Siebold) but hardly knows enough about the theory of the science to distinguish. And Roscoe's red-hot after the ms., as he knows too well that he cannot finish the book. I have told the executors in my opinion they might let Roscoe have what belongs to the Roscoe-Schorlemmer book on binding himself to let the heirs participate in the profits of the pending volume (German and English) in the same way as Schorlemmer himself would have done. As Roscoe was elected yesterday for Manchester, he will no doubt pounce upon the executors at once, so I wrote them yesterday giving a full account of what I considered ought to be done in the matter.

A short notice I wrote in the Vorwärts\(^{b}\) I send you today.

Here we are in the midst of the elections.\(^504\) They go remarkably well for us — under the circumstances. First, the immense Liberal Wave which was to carry Gladstone triumphantly to power, is all bosh. He will probably get a small majority, and it is not even certain whether there will be a majority for anybody. This will make both official parties dependent, for the next election, which may come very soon, upon the working men. Secondly the new working-class move-

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\(^{b}\) F. Engels, 'Carl Schorlemmer', *Vorwärts*, No. 153, 3 July 1892.
ment enters Parliament triumphantly. On Monday a Keir Hardie was elected with 1,200 majority in the East-End (West Ham)—last member a Tory b with 300 majority! Yesterday John Burns at Battersea with 1,600 majority—last member a bourgeois Liberal c with only 186 majority. And then at Middlesborough in Yorkshire J. H. Wilson, secretary of the Sailors and Firemen’s Union (a Streber d but deeply engaged and mortgaged to new Unionism e f g) beat both a Liberal and a Tory! These are the only éclatant victories in the whole election and all gained by working men: in two cases the Liberals dared not oppose one of their own, and in the third when they did, they were battus à plate couture e. And third: wherever a working man’s candidature had been well selected and prepared, it either considerably diminished the Liberal majority, so as to warn them to be more careful and not to risk losing the seat next time, or it made the Liberals lose the seat. Thus in 2 divisions of Glasgow, Cunninghame-Graham was beaten, but so was his Liberal competitor. Thus in Salford, Hall, an S. D.F. h man, but said to be good, had only 554 votes, but these deprived the Liberal of his seat. And thus, 3 Liberal seats lost merely because they would thrust bourgeois members upon working-class constituencies.

The election has done already what I maintained was all we had a right to expect from it: give fair and unmistakable warning to the Liberals that the Independent Working Men’s Party i j was approaching, that it cast its shadow before it, and that this was to be the last general election carried on between two parties only, the Ins and the Outs. And therefore I am quite satisfied, especially so, as we shall get a parliament with which no stable government is possible.

From your silence I conclude that Bonnier is right when he writes to Tussy [:] le journal pend toujours à un fil j k l. Let us hope the fil l will not snap but on the contrary grow into a rope and even a hawser.

Love from Louise. Prosperity and eloquence to M. le député k.

Ever yours

F. Engels


a 4 July b Georges Banes c O. W. Morgan d careerist e beaten hollow f The paper is in a perilous state g thread h Paul Lafargue
DEAR CITIZEN,

I have received the Almanach de la Question Sociale for 1891 and '92, for which I send you my thanks.

You hope to be able to number me amongst your contributors for 1893. However I see that, without my knowledge, you have already named me as a contributor for 1892.\(^5\)\(^2\)\(^4\) If there is to be a contribution from me to the 1893 Almanach, it will, I fear, be an involuntary contribution as before. A month ago, when our friends in Austria asked me for an article for their yearbook,\(^a\) I had to tell them

1. that I was unable to undertake any further work, whether large or small, until I had seen to the publication of Vol. III of Marx's Capital, which is now ten years overdue;

2. that a contribution to this or that Socialist yearbook would, in the interests of impartiality, necessitate my contributing to most of the remainder and that accordingly my time would no longer be my own.

True, I made an exception last year in the case of the French Almanach du Parti Ouvrier.\(^5\)\(^2\)\(^5\) But on that occasion it would have been dangerous to hold back. That was the time when at Kronstadt\(^2\)\(^8\)\(^8\) the official French republic kow-towed to the Tsar,\(^b\) the hereditary leader of European reaction. War was imminent and in my view was prevented only by the famine in Russia. At that critical juncture it was up to me to do all in my power to remove any possibility of a mis-

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\(^a\) Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender - \(^b\) Alexander III
engels to Hermann Engels. 12 July 1892

understanding between French and German working men. I took advantage of the occasion and spoke up; that is all.


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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS
IN BARMEN

London, 12 July 1892

Dear Hermann,

Thank you very much for your letter of 23 June. The Schaafhausen dividend has been debited to you—many thanks. I hope you enjoy your Italian trip; I shall probably go there myself some time.

Today I am just writing to ask which of you is going to be in Engelskirchen on or about the 10th or 12th August, and whether you could do with me there for a couple of days round about that time. I shall probably be paying another visit to the Continent then and, although unlikely to take in Barmen, should like for once to get another breath of Engelskirchen air. I’d be glad if you wouldn’t mention this unless you have to or else certain people might expect me to go to Barmen as well, and that might not fit in with my other plans.

For the rest, all is well with me but I too am beginning to feel the need for relaxation. That’s the trouble with London; in July it becomes sultry and unbearable and one longs to get right away from it.

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a In the original there follows a phrase ‘I spoke to the French proletariat’, which is crossed out. 

b See this volume, pp. 339 and 352.
Dear Ede,

Your and Gine's postcard of 24 June 1892 (I reproduce the postmark for want of any other date) and letter of 2 July have reached me safely. I feel sure that the prospects for your harvest have improved to such an extent that you are now worth, not 50 raps but 1 franc, and, since the value of money—whether paid or not—does after all represent ± physical labour, I am equally sure that your health can only benefit from your haymaking. But why you sweat physically in the heat of the afternoon and mentally in the cool of the morning is not very clear unless it's a slimming cure you are after and of that, after all, you have no need. However, you are now in Zurich, so that all these comments will arrive after the event and your haymaking will presumably have given way to *nutrimentum spiritus* (to stick to old Fritz's Latin) in the museum or the Tonhalle or whatever the places are called there. But you should take *spiritus* in the form *vini aut cerevisiae* rather than in that of more abstract spiritual material, otherwise it won't be a real summer holiday. As for what's happening in the English elections, the *Vorwärts* is in any case far better informed than the two of us put together.

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*a* Emma Engels, *b* more or less, *c* spiritual nourishment, *d* Frederick II, *e* of wine or beer, *f* See this volume, pp. 459-60 and 464.
Bax's editorship of Justice would seem to be over. After the one number, in which he radically changed the paper's tone, there was a hitch; the tone reverted—at any rate in the negative sense of ignoring the movement in France, Germany, etc.—to what it had been, even though the earlier onslaughts were not resumed. But the last number is again Hyndman all over; Keir Hardie is attacked, Burns ignored and all the leading articles are supplied by Hyndman. Over here it is said that Bax's attack on Stanley of Africa (who suddenly turned up in North Lambeth to oppose the Gladstonians as Unionist candidate) has brought about a breach between him and Hyndman and that Hyndman has led the Social Democratic Federation in a fervent pro-Stanley campaign in the latter's constituency. I am passing this on to you as related to me. No doubt you will be seeing Bax in Zurich in about a fortnight's time but whether, having resigned from the editorship of Justice, he will pay me a call before then, I cannot say.

Typical characteristics of the elections are: 1. A complete lack of enthusiasm for Home Rule in England.

2. The granting of suffrage to working men has driven vast numbers of petty bourgeois into the Conservative camp, at any rate in the larger cities. Your petty bourgeois is beginning to be afraid of the workers, or at any rate does not want to be mistaken for one of them; Conservative is respectable and hence he votes against Gladstone.

3. The strength of the Liberal Party lies in the middle and lower middle classes of the smaller towns and counties where the pressure exerted by the semi-feudal landowners and the High Church clergy is still a force to be reckoned with. In the larger cities even the dissenters, traditional mainstay of the Liberal Party, are beginning to vacillate—cf. for instance Birmingham.

4. Now that the two bourgeois parties are on an almost exactly equal footing (today of 3,300,000 votes cast, the opposition's majority over the government amounts in all to no more than about 76,000), it is Labour which is beginning to call the tune. And only in the election of Labour candidates—Keir Hardie, Burns, Wilson and others—was there any show of enthusiasm. Even before the elections I had said that these would be the last to be fought out between the two official parties, but that they would give the Liberals a foretaste of

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*a See this volume, pp. 448-49. *b district of London. *c See this volume, p. 463.
things to come. As has happened in full measure. Even at the next elections the Labour Party will put up quite a different show. The current elections must have filled it with confidence in its own strength.

5. The new Parliament is a provisional one. Gladstone will not get a majority without the support of the Irish and Labour members, which means an early dissolution. So much the better.

Apropos. Tussy intends to send the Neue Zeit an article on the elections in which, however, only such internal matters will be discussed as could be known to someone over here, and then not to all and sundry. So don’t let it deter you from writing in the Neue Zeit about the general results as you see them. Her information, on the other hand, consists of specific facts relating to the skulduggery of the various parties, something quite different to what you will be writing.

Warm regards from Louise and myself to both of you.

Your

F. E.


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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE

AT LE PERREUX

London, 22 July 1892

My dear Lafargue,

Let’s hope that this time the Battle of Eylau will not, like its predecessor, be a drawn battle and that whatever Mr Weinschenk decants for you will be wine of a respectable sort. I begin to understand

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a E. Aveling and E. Marx-Aveling, ‘Die Wahlen in Großbritannien’, Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 45. b A pun in the original: verser means ‘to decant’ and ‘to invest capital’, Weinschenk is a surname and also means ‘vintner’.
French anti-Semitism when I see how these Jews of Polish origin with German names are insinuating themselves everywhere, claiming everything as their own, pushing themselves forward even to the extent of shaping public opinion in the City of Light, a city of which your Parisian simpleton is so proud that he believes it to be the supreme power in the universe.

At all events, it's not a symptom to be overlooked if these gentlemen are now of the opinion that a socialist newspaper is a sound investment. We're quoted on the Stock Exchange! That really is a sign of progress.

I believe Millerand is right in advising you to deposit 25 or, better still, 50 thousand fr. in your name at a good bank. That is the only guarantee, but take care that the bank places it to your credit without any conditions. They should send you a formal letter, stating that the sum of... has been placed to your credit and that you are at liberty to dispose of it whenever you wish. Moreover, in the contract with you and Guesde, Weinschenk should authorise you to withdraw this sum in the event of his breaking the contract. For otherwise the private contract between him and the two of you would not be binding on the company to be floated — unless the latter had expressly accepted it. But these are legal niceties and Millerand will doubtless advise you properly.

As regards the cholera, it is virtually certain to arrive here. Meanwhile it is completing the work of peace begun in 1891 by the famine in Russia. b What is beyond my comprehension is the stupidity of your French bourgeois who evidently believes that Russia is a power capable of doing anything whatever for France. If he had only a modicum of common sense he would see that at this moment the alliance with France is absolutely indispensable to Russia and that whatever France wanted, Russia would have to concede. But in all western countries the attitude of our official politicians to Russia is stupid beyond belief. France, in the shape of her army, has all the safeguards she needs. I have been reading an article by an English officer, not one of your generals of the old school, who owe their promotion to their ignorance, but a colonel who knows his business and who speaks of the French army with an envy that is genuinely felt — he is envious because he knows that the advantages it enjoys are impracticable in England by reason of the fundamental difference between the two mil-

a Paris- b See this volume, pp. 242, 343-44 and 374-75.
itary institutions. But he says that the French army is truly democratic—in the regiments, namely its vital organisation—that officers and men respect one another and work together towards the same end, that all ranks know their trade, that even the territorials have made better soldiers than might have been expected, that real discipline is excellent and based on the good will of all, that military training is confined to things which are really necessary in war, but that within those limits such training is perfectly adequate, and that all superfluous parades are rigidly eschewed. In short, if you except the better training received by the French, it is a description of the Prussian army as reorganised after 1807 under Scharnhorst and that's the greatest compliment one could pay the French army. I'm beginning to believe that battalion for battalion it's just as good as the German army, if not better. The Germans' superiority lies in the large number of officers on the reserve, the superiority of the French in the good relationship between the men and their officers. In our case the men are shamefully ill treated.

You are right. Next week I am off to Ryde. Louise departs next Sunday for Vienna and I shall probably depart on Wednesday. So if you write after Tuesday, the address is: The Firs, Brading Road, Ryde.

I trust Laura is well; we haven't heard a word from her. Since distance precludes my giving her a kiss, give her a kiss on my behalf.

My regards, Mr Wandering Jew,

F. E.
Engels to Bebel. 23 July 1892

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN BERLIN

London, 23 July 1892

Dear August,

With your usual perspicacity you rightly guessed that I would be sending you this letter via the Witch. So to begin with let me thank you for the Imperial and Royal Railway Timetable and assure you that I shall set my ‘new course’ by the above right royal document. I have already fathomed a few of the mysterious signs and wonders to be found therein and within the next fortnight hope to get to the bottom of them all, thereby ensuring that I don’t find myself stuck anywhere.

Well, my plans are as follows: Next Wednesday I go to Pumps in Ryde whither all letters will be forwarded. Shall stay there until about 10-15 August, depending on circumstances, for I am awaiting a letter from Barmen, the contents of which will determine the day of departure. I shan’t go to Barmen, as I have so many nephews and nieces there that duty visits alone would take more than a fortnight. But I want to spend a few days in Engelskirchen where my brothers go in turn for the summer holidays. Thence, on or about the 18th or 19th, to Zurich where I must pay a visit I have been promising for years to my cousin Mrs Beust and family. I shall let you know as soon as I arrive and shall then go on to St Gallen on the 24th or 25th. If you fetch me, so much the better. We would then set out for Stuckert on the Neckar’s banks, pick up Uncle Georg and carry on to Munich and — via the Alps if possible — to Vienna, etc. She will be able to tell you the rest by word of mouth (I don’t mean Mrs Beust who is the grammatical subject but the Witch who is in any case a most un-grammatical one).

According to Tussy, the elections here in the East End of London have aroused wild enthusiasm. The workers have at last realised that they are capable of something if only they have the will. The Liberal spell has been broken and, what’s more, correspondents from

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\(^a\) 27 July \(^b\) See this volume, p. 473. \(^c\) Stuttgart
far and wide have been proclaiming in the *Workman's Times* that an 
Independent Labour Party is all that is needed. Facts and facts alone 
are what impress hard-headed John Bull and these cannot fail to 
do so.

The Vollmariad provides further proof that the man has com-
pletely lost touch with the Party. A break with him is bound to 
come, probably this year or next; he seems intent on ramming state so-
cialist inanities down the Party's throat. But since he is an artful in-
triguer and since I have had wide experience of campaigning against 
people of this sort—Marx and I often made tactical blunders when 
confronted by this kind and had to pay dearly for it—I shall now 
take the liberty of offering you a few tips.

What these people are mainly after is to put us formally in the 
wrong and that we must prevent. Otherwise they'll keep harping on 
this side-issue in order to obscure the main issue of whose weakness 
they are aware. So be careful what you say both in public and in pri-
vate. You will have noticed how cleverly the fellow made use of your 
remark about Liebknecht so as to foment trouble between 
him (Liebknecht) and yourself—after all he is perfectly well 
aware of your attitude to one another!—and thus place you in a 
quandary.

Secondly, since it is important to them to obscure the main issue, 
you must avoid giving them any cause to do so; any side-issue they 
may raise should be dealt with as briefly and conclusively as possible 
so that it is disposed of once and for all. As for yourself, however, you 
must if at all possible ignore all side-issues or red herrings that may 
arise, whatever the temptations. Otherwise the debate will range ever 
wider and the original bone of contention will gradually disappear 
from view. In which case there will no longer be any chance of a 
decisive victory. So far as the intriguers are concerned, that might 
be success enough, but for us, at any rate, it would be a moral 
defeat.

Thirdly, it follows from 1. and 2. that, when confronted by such 
people, purely defensive tactics are best until such time as they land 
themselves in a real predicament—then you open up with short, 
devastating artillery bombardment before going in with the bayonet 
for the coup de grâce. Here, as nowhere else, it is a matter of husban-
ding one's ammunition and reserves until the last moment.

Every time we departed from these rules when fighting the Baku-
ininists, Proudhonists, German academics and other such riff-raff, we
had to suffer for it and that is why I now submit them to you again for your consideration.

Well, warm regards to yourself and Mrs Julie\(^a\) from

Your

General

Siegel’s last letter is enclosed at his request.

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**ENGLIS TO REGINA BERNSTEIN**

**IN ZURICH**

London, 25 July 1892

Dear Gine,

We were delighted to get your and Ede’s letter and showed it to Tussy yesterday. From the picture the château\(^b\) has the appearance of a really splendid little castle; a garden restaurant for some 500 people and, next to a couple of giant poplars, a few mysterious trees that look like unassuming palms; on the slope below the vines whence comes the sour wine.\(^c\) Still, one gets used to that too and in any case it’s better than London ale, while the air up there must be a lot better than in Highgate. I’m glad it’s doing Ede good and that you can hope to bring him back with his nerves functioning in such a way that he is no longer conscious of them.

Here too the summer holidays have started. Louise left for Cologne yesterday afternoon and by now—5 p.m.—will doubtless be very close to Berlin. The day after tomorrow I set off for a fortnight’s stay with Pumps,\(^3\) after which I shall pay another visit to the dear fatherland about the time you will be preparing to leave; indeed it is not

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\(^a\) Julie Bebel. \(^b\) In the original: Schlössli (Swiss dialect). \(^c\) In the original: sure Wichimml (Swiss dialect).
impossible that I may venture as far as Zurich shortly after you have gone — that, however, is entirely between ourselves. But why did you buy those confounded return tickets? They are the main obstacle that prevents us from sauntering along the lake together. I'm glad to hear that your mama is still such a doughty mountaineer. If I really do get to Berlin — alas, the dream is far too beautiful for one to believe it might come true — I shall in any case see her there.

Tell Ede that Louise was so overwhelmed on hearing that he had said Massel and Broche\(^a\) three times on her behalf that I had to administer a potent draught of cognac before she set off on her journey to help her recover from the shock.

What follows next is for Ede. Namely, in the first place, Tussy's and Edward's article\(^b\) was ready by Sunday (a week ago yesterday) and was sent off to Stuckert.\(^c\)

Secondly, our successes in the elections\(^504\) have now been generally acknowledged over here. The present situation is that, in view of the marked preponderance of the Radical wing in his party, Gladstone must largely rejuvenate his cabinet if it is to survive;

further, that his Home Rule Bill will at once be thrown out by the Upper House;

but that to be able to dissolve with any certainty of success, he must at the same time introduce One Man One Vote by drawing up a sensible electoral register which will ensure the workers do in fact get what was promised them on paper in general terms in 1867 and 1884 but was subsequently retracted in matters of detail,\(^519\) i.e. a 1-1\(^1\frac{1}{2}\) million increase in the Labour electorate — and perhaps a Second Ballot;

and that not until this has gone through will he dissolve.

So it is a splendid situation so far as we are concerned.

Many regards to Ede and you yourself,

Yours
General

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\(a\) good fortune and blessings -\(^b\) E. Aveling and E. Marx-Aveling, 'Die Wahlen in Großbritannien', Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 45. -\(^c\) Stuttgart
Dear Friend,

I have not replied to your letter of 13 May sooner because I wished to include with my reply a material token of my sympathy. At the time, however, I myself was short of funds and it is only now that I find myself in a position to send you the enclosed money-order for three pounds sterling. I know only too well that your troubles all derive from the struggle for existence and I'm only sorry that I cannot do more to make that struggle easier for you.

Meanwhile I'm glad to learn from your letter of 1 July that your health is improving and that there is no longer any fear of the neurasthenia that was threatening to take hold. I hope the improvement will continue, so that you will soon be able to look round for remunerative employment again.

I shall ask Aveling tomorrow about the Students' Marx; he is unlikely to raise any objections.\(^{534}\)

You will have heard that in the elections\(^{504}\) here we scored positive triumphs over both the old parties and that even where we lost we gave the Liberals a taste of our power. The movement is gaining more and more ground, thanks in particular to the resolution regarding eight hours demonstrations adopted by the Paris Congress.\(^{51}\) The First of May has 'fait merveille',\(^ a \) immeasurably more so than did the Chassepots at Mentana,\(^ {535} \) which have long since been consigned to the scrapheap.

With sincere regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

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\(^ a \) worked marvels
London, 25 July 1892

My dear Schorlemmer,

Do please let us drop the ceremonious ‘Mr’ in future. I’m glad you were satisfied with the obituary in the Vorwärts. I had to write it in great haste and without any external aids on the afternoon before the funeral. Had I been able to wait until I got back to London I could have gone into greater detail. But in cases like these one must work exactly like a journalist, i.e. quickly, making do with the material to hand.

Justice, the English Socialist paper, also published an excerpt from the obituary. This paper is the organ of Mr Hyndman who is in personal control of the Social Democratic Federation, a society that is Marxist in principle and anti-Marxist in practice. Hyndman is a petty-minded intriguer who looks down on the German party with indescribable envy because his little society is incapable of achieving what our own people can pull off without a second thought and who therefore allies himself with anyone who opposes the German party—over here with the noble Gilles, for example, with the French Possibilists of Broussian persuasion, etc. Two months ago, however, he stepped down as editor in favour of Bax who is a talented and in other respects decent fellow with a complete mastery of German, and who often visits me and the Avelings. Hyndman hoped that he would thereby get him into his clutches, but apparently Bax has decided that there is nothing doing in that quarter so far as he is concerned—at all events it was he who published the notice in the last number he edited; he knew Carl very well and often used to meet him at my house and elsewhere.—Shall try and send you the number.

But now I had better speak to you about one or two business mat-

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a F. Engels, ‘Carl Schorlemmer’, Vorwärts, No. 153, 3 July 1892. b Carl Schorlemmer
ters connected with the estate, as will probably be some time before you hear from Manchester.

In accordance with the law over here, every will must be deposited with the Court of Probate where anyone may inspect it on payment of one shilling = 1 M. But before it gets as far as that, it must be approved by the Court of Probate and estate duty must be deducted and paid, the amount in your case being 1% or 3% — I cannot say exactly which — of the gross assets. The executors must swear to the value of the estate they have declared, and all in all this is the kind of case that requires the attention of a solicitor from start to finish if one is not to be atrociously rooked. So you will doubtless have to be patient a little longer and will also have to reckon on expenses that are very high by German standards. That, however, is inevitable.

The books, etc, he left will fetch little when sold. The chief items in the estate consist in cash on deposit at the bank and the copyrights.

The former will amount to about £1,800 from which must be deducted the cost of the funeral, current petty debts, estate duty, court and solicitor's expenses, etc., which may amount in all to between £200 and £250; I am unable to assess it from here, but it's nevertheless my opinion that you can reckon on a net sum of at least £1,500 = 30,000 marks.

So far as works on chemistry are concerned, the value of the book rights is only of very limited duration. Science is making such rapid strides that things become outdated in a year or two unless they are constantly revised. And then again the death of an important chemist always provides younger men of varying quality with an opportunity to take upon themselves the preparation of new editions, which also means that they receive most of the profit. The same thing will happen here. The executors are consulting me in the course of their negotiations, likewise Gumpert, so we may be sure that nothing precipitate will be done. Moreover I have backed them up in their view that nothing final should be decided in this respect without the consent of the family. That is not only their duty but also an excellent way of bringing pressure to bear on the opposing side. The latter, publishers no less than collaborators such as Roscoe, is in a hurry to bring mat-
ters to a conclusion, while the executors, on the other hand, have plenty of time and can therefore wait for these people to approach them and contribute towards a quick settlement by making this or that further concession. So here too it would be in your own interest not to press for a quick settlement.

I hear from Gumpert that you have written and told him your mother is unwell and has taken to her bed. I hope for the best but she is very old and Carl’s death will have hit her very very hard. But I hope that despite everything you will be able to send me better news before long.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels


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ENGLERS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AL LE PERREUX

London, 26 July 1892

My dear Laura,

I receive this minute, 9.45 evening—Sonnenschein’s account which results in £5.9.2., 3/5-ths of which go to Mohr’s heirs, that is £1.1.10 each, of which cheque enclosed.

I hear from Tussy that you are very much out of sorts just now, hope you will mend soon!
To-morrow I am off to Ryde for a fortnight,\textsuperscript{530} address:

F. E.
The Firs, Brading Road, Ryde

Louise left on Sunday\textsuperscript{a} for Austria.

Ever yours,
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO LUDWIG SCHORLEMMER

IN DARMSTADT

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 28 July 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

My dear Schorlemmer,

I had hardly expected that my forebodings about your mother would be realised so soon. But the blow she suffered from Carl's\textsuperscript{b} death must nevertheless have been too much for the old lady, ailing and debilitated as she was; on the other hand she was certainly still too mentally alert for the news to have been concealed from her. So one family misfortune has been followed by another and we can only hope that this will be the last. I can sympathise only too well with you in your loss, for eighteen years ago I too lost my mother,\textsuperscript{c} who was then 77, and I know what a peculiar bond is formed among the members of a large family by the maternal home and how irreplaceable this is, however united the children may be. The maternal home keeps the whole of that same younger generation together as one

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{a} 24 July \textsuperscript{b} Carl Schorlemmer \textsuperscript{c} Elisabeth Franziska Engels
\end{flushright}
large family. Once the mother dies, each of these younger families feels much more independent and involuntarily tends to draw apart from the others. That is in the natural course of things but it is a drastic change none the less and when, in my case as in yours, the mother outlives the father by many years, this makes the added loss of the mother doubly distressing.

Please convey my sincere condolences to your brothers and their families.

To you yourself I send my wishes for your daughter’s speedy and complete recovery.

I arrived here yesterday to spend ten days or so with my niece. She also knew your mother and would like to add a line or two.

Yours very sincerely,
F. Engels

[From Mary Ellen Rosher]

I cannot let this letter from my uncle go off without sending to you and all your family my condolences on the death of your dear mother. With warm regards to you all from

Yours,
Ellen Rosher


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Dear Hermann,

Very many thanks for your letters. I'm sorry that my plans should have clashed to some extent with yours, but because of other arrangements I was more or less tied to a fixed date and could not very well upset these so long as there was no positive word from you. Everything is now in order and, unless I advise you to the contrary, I shall arrive on the 12th (probably by the first train from Cologne) and shall in any case telegraph from there.

I have been here since yesterday and intend to stay until the 9th, or at any rate the 8th, of August.\textsuperscript{530} The weather is magnificent, cloudless sky, temperature 16-17 Réaumur, a fresh easterly wind, flowers and beautiful trees outside my window, wonderful air, barely a kilometre from the sea though nearly 200 ft above it, and with hills and coppices all around.

So here's to our meeting. Meanwhile my love to Emma\textsuperscript{a} and the children.

Your old
Friedrich

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\textsuperscript{a} Hermann Engels' wife
Dear August,

Your card received this morning. My dear fellow, the whole thing has fallen through and I am the odd man out! My old trouble, which obliges me to wear a complicated bandage and about which I have told you various details, has reared its head again after five years of inactivity and all at once completely crippled me. I had already suspected something of the kind during your visit, but it was so insignificant that I paid no attention to it, thinking that, as it had often done on previous occasions, it would finally clear up of its own accord here in the sea air. On Saturday I walked about $1 \frac{3}{4}$ kilometres, rested for half an hour or so and then came back — a mere $3 \frac{1}{2}$ km in all — and by the evening realised that the crisis was upon me and that instead of going to Germany I should have to spend a month here, resting and abstaining from alcohol, if I was to get myself up to the mark again. At this moment I should merely have to walk a thousand paces to be banished to a sofa for 8 or 10 days. Thus do the best laid plans come to nothing!

As to the cause, all I can say is that since last August I have been addressing myself to the bottle more liberally than for many years and that the accumulated effect eventually brought about this result. Anyhow, I can find no other explanation for the thing, especially since it is a condition of the cure that one must abstain from alcohol during such time as symptoms of localised inflammation are noticeable. How delighted your son-in-law will be! — though the conclusion he'll doubtless draw will not be shared by me.

At any rate I am totally incapable of making the projected trip in this condition. At most I might get as far as my brothers in Engelskirchen, but certainly not Zurich and so, despite this rotten bit of luck, I cannot but congratulate myself that the attack did not happen on

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* a 6 August  
* b Ferdinand Simon
my travels, leaving me completely *hors de combat* in a foreign land. Now I can at least doctor myself here at Pumps' and in a month's time I shall, I imagine, be fairly mobile again. The thing is of no consequence, save for the tedium; I have weathered it three or four times already and am familiar with the treatment, the more so through having devised it myself as a result of my own experience, since the good doctors were, with one exception, and he is dead, all of them utterly mystified by the case.

I at once wrote to Louise yesterday, telling her that she should make no changes whatever in her plans and on no account hasten her return even by so much as a day.\(^{153}\) However it is highly probable that you, like her, will now prefer to make other arrangements, in which case you will have to resume your correspondence about it.

Tell your wife and daughter\(^{a}\) that I am doubly sorry that, as a result of what has happened, I shall be deprived of the pleasure of making their personal acquaintance as also that of your son-in-law. But to postpone is not to put off for ever, and the bitter experience of the present year will make me a wiser man in the next when, I trust, I shall still be alive and once again nimble on my pins. And then we shall make the same trip, if not an even better one.

My address up till the end of August will be as on the letterhead. Rosher's name is not necessary, but letters will be delayed unless addressed to The Firs, Brading Road.

So my warm regards to you all, and do please drink to my recovery. Since I am now abstaining in his stead, Dr Simon might even permit himself a sip for once!

Your old friend

F. Engels

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\(^a\) Julie Bebel and Frieda Simon
ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS
IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Ryde, 8 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear Hermann,

After all the preparations and letter writing, my trip has finally fallen through. The old trouble with my groin, which originally began when I came down with my horse while out fox hunting and which became bothersome ten years ago but lay dormant during the latter five, has suddenly sprung to life again. The bandages are no longer of any use and after walking about 2 English miles = 3 kilometres last Saturday\(^a\) I was pretty well incapable of going any further. I know what to do. For the next month I must take a complete rest and abstain from beer and wine, after which all will be well, but travelling is out of the question. I wrote yesterday to Rudolf\(^b\) in Barmen,\(^{153}\) but am sending this note to Engelskrichen today in case you are still there.

I’m terribly sorry that things should have turned out in this way. But it can’t be helped and I must resign myself. So I shall be staying here (address overleaf) until the end of August.\(^{530}\)

Time for the post. Much love to you all. In haste.

Your
Friedrich

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\(^a\) 6 August·\(^b\) Engels
Dear Baron,

Herewith the proofs, returned with thanks.\(^{537}\)

August will already have told you that my trip to Germany has fallen through. The after-effects of the old trouble, which laid me up 9 years ago when you came to visit me on my birthday, have once more asserted themselves and at just the wrong time so that I have got to lie here on the sofa instead of tippling with you. Luckily I can breathe good sea air here — the house is right out in the country, high up, with a view of the sea — and this, together with rest and abstinence from alcohol will no doubt set me on my legs again within 3 or 4 weeks. But it's a pity it should have happened just now. Well, to postpone isn't to put off indefinitely.

Thank you for your book\(^{a}\) — unfortunately I have so far been prevented from reading it by the upsets of the past few days.

A pity that the bits in Tussy's article about the Social Democratic Federation\(^{29}\) and the Fabians\(^{87}\) and also about Taylor's candidature,\(^{b}\) didn't go in.\(^{538}\) I saw these in ms. after the event and they are virtually indispensable if you are to have a complete picture of the elections. The total collapse of the Social Democratic Federation the moment it was really put to the test was significant in view of the boasting which that 'one and only' Social-Democratic organisation and One True Church has for years indulged in. I don't know whether you saw Bax in Zurich, but he's a very indifferent authority on the Social Democratic Federation. He edited Justice for 6 weeks and got rid of all its many vulgarisms but was wholly incapable (for otherwise he would surely have done so) of giving the paper a character that was anything but sectarian. For the Social Democratic Federation is in fact a sect pure and simple. It has ossified Marxism into a hard and fast dogma and, by repudiating any labour movement that isn't

\(^{a}\) K. Kautsky, *Das Erfurter Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Theil erläutert.*\(^{b}\) See this volume, pp. 497 and 515.
orthodox Marxist (and, what's more, Marxist in a very wrong-headed way)—i.e. pursuing a policy exactly the reverse of that recommended by the Manifesto, has put itself in such a position that it can never become anything other than a sect. There were many reasons why Bax should have got into touch with these people again, but if they go on as they are it won’t be long before he discovers that they are trying to exploit him politically and financially and that he is unable to assume any responsibility for them. But that’s something he will have to learn from personal experience; for the time being he has so far compromised himself as to be obliged in some measure to be their advocate. Come to that, Bax is completely out of touch with the workers as such.

The Fabians have become a real stumbling-block, tailing along behind the big Liberal Party on the pretext, so they say, of imposing their candidates upon it. They may pull this off for a time in the case of the County Council, where they can dabble in Possibilist programmes of municipal reform, but even there the pious sham will pass muster only until such time as it is rumble by the middle classes. In the case of parliamentary elections none of this applies, for here the Liberals will give the Fabians, like all other self-styled Labour candidates, only such constituencies as are hopeless. If one wants to impose Labour candidates upon the Liberals, it must be done after the manner of Burns and Keir Hardie, by holding a pistol to their heads, and not after the manner of the Fabians, by sucking up to them under false pretences. Fortunately the call for an Independent Labour Party is now already so loud and so general that even the bland inducements of Fabian cajolery and Fabian cash will eventually be overcome.

Burgess, the Workman's Times man, now proposes to found an Independent Labour Party himself—yet another competitor for the other two! Burgess is a vain, ambitious Johnny, hitherto most unreliable. Whether and to what extent he will make out remains to be seen. At all events his present action is a straw in the wind.

A very good bit of news: So proud were the factory workers of the North of their old Ten Hours Bill that it was largely they who opposed the eight hour day (cf. Newcastle Trades Union Congress). This is now changing; the masses are gradually being converted to 8 hours while the leaders with their 10 hours are beginning to find themselves

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* The Manifesto of the Communist Party - the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society
out on a limb. This will no doubt be more or less in evidence at this year’s Trades Union congress.540

The Avelings have gone to Norway. Just before they left, Tussy got a letter from Greulich in which the latter requested her on behalf of the Zurich International Congress Committee 541 to oblige them with an English draft of the invitation to the English Trades Union Congress, and to translate all their other stuff into English. So Mr Seidel’s machinations, aimed at getting the confounded Marxists cold-shouldered on that occasion (which could only have led to the installation of Mr Adolphe Smith Headingley), would seem to have been happily nipped in the bud.

Pumps and Percy send their kindest regards.

Your
F. E.


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN BERLIN

Ryde, 14 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear August,

I share your hope that by the beginning of September I shall have so far recovered as to be able to travel at least as far as Berlin. Should this be the case, I shall without fail pay a flying visit to Berlin — my sole destination in fact, for by then the Engelskirchen folk will have dispersed to the four winds.

The only question is whether it is going to be possible. And of that I cannot as yet give you any idea. I know from experience that in
such cases 3 or 4 weeks’ rest is absolutely essential if I am to recover my mobility, and any premature exertion or excessive exercise, however slight, will set me back by a week or a fortnight. But unfortunately one cannot tell until it’s too late whether the exertion is premature or the exercise excessive.

On top of that I am, after all, 5 or 6 years older than I was at the time of the last bout, and have undeniably allowed more alcohol to pass through the inner man this year than I normally do in three. So I shall have to resign myself to a somewhat longer cure, even if the inflammatory symptoms have not resulted in any organic changes in the shape of adhesions or lesions or scarring.

At all events it will not be until very late in the day that I shall be able to tell from observations what the position is. You must keep me properly informed of the addresses at which my letters and, if needs be, telegrams, can reach you, especially in the case of Vienna, and how long you propose to stay there, so that Louise doesn’t leave for London at the same time as I for Berlin.

Last Monday\(^a\) and Tuesday I was in London where I saw the Ave-lings and put my house in order. Thus the cure was interrupted until Wednesday. Now I am lying absolutely still and, of course, feel correspondingly better. I hope in a week’s time to be able with impunity to allow myself at least a *modicum* of exercise. I shall let you have a bulletin as soon as there is anything to report.

Needless to say, I shall now have to observe ‘sobriety and moderation’ in regard to alcohol. I had indeed been surprised at my continued ability to tolerate the stuff so well, and had grown overconfident as a result. Well, we must hope that the consequences do not persist too long. I must revert to my former principle of abstaining for a fortnight or a month every so often. Not that I regard abstaining from drink as any more of a hardship than refraining from smoking, provided there is good reason for it.

I have not had an answer from Louise to the letter I wrote to her a week ago today.\(^{153}\) The Sunday postal arrangements over here are abominable.

One good piece of news: Mr Seidel’s intrigues, aimed at preventing the accursed Marxists from having any say in the preparations for the Zurich Congress,\(^{541}\) would seem definitely to have misfired.

Greulich wrote to Tussy on behalf of the Zurich Committee re-

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\(^a\) 8 August
questing her to draft a letter of invitation to the English Trades Union Congress and also to do their English translations. The letter arrived when the Avelings were on the point of leaving for Norway and Tussy, of course, immediately drafted the invitation, and generally placed herself at the committee’s disposal; she sent me Greulich’s letter when she was actually on board the steamer.

And now for another: a period of slack trade and the manufacturers’ threats to knock 10 per cent off wages has suddenly cured the Lancashire cotton operatives of their enthusiasm for 10 hours and opened their eyes to the advantages of the 8 hour day. Even the leaders are already said to have switched horses. Thus the 8 hour day has triumphed in England. The resistance of those factory hands who enjoyed the protection of the 10 hour day was the principal weapon in the bourgeois arsenal. They’ll lose it, come the September congress.

K. Kautsky did not make use of the enclosed passages from the Avelings’ article in the Neue Zeit. When he wrote, he said this had had to be done for technical reasons; may be, but again it may have had something to do with Ede’s comical respect for the Fabians and Bax’s (he’s in Zurich) interest in the Social Democratic Federation. At all events, you’ll find the passages interesting and they form an essential part of the overall picture.

You might get the Vorwärts to print the following questions:

1. Is it true that the ‘Independents’ in London, i.e. those who were thrown out of the Communist Workers’ Educational Society, have founded a club and rented Grafton Hall, a large building in Fitzroy Square, for the purpose?

2. That to help raise the considerable sum required for this, Mr Baginski, who earns at most £3 a week, made a contribution of £500 sterling = 10,000 marks?

3. That Mr Hochgürtel, likewise a working man, contributed another £500 and that, to the question as to where he had got the money, he returned the strange reply that he had divorced his wife, and thus obtained her money?

4. That the brewer who supplies beer to the club advanced another £1,200?
5. If all this be true, where did this money come from and who provided the brewer with the collateral without which no one would be so stupid as to advance so large a sum?

Warm regards to your wife\(^a\) and children,

Your

F.E.

The Roshers send their kindest regards.

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ENGELS TO REGINA BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

The Firs, Brading Road,
Ryde, England (that suffices)
15 August 1892

Dear Gine,

I and all the rest of us here are very sorry that your summer holiday should have been so sadly disrupted, but we all of us hope that all danger is now past, for otherwise I should certainly have heard from you. Unfortunately, my projected trip has also been completely ruined; just when I was about to get ready, I detected the unmistakable symptoms of an old disorder which I thought I had got the better of five years ago and which precluded all exercise for at least a fortnight if not a month. So I have got to remain stuck here in Ryde,\(^{530}\) but first I had to spend a couple of days in London to put all my affairs in order there, and this, together with the many letters arising out of the 'catastrophe ordained by God', has so flummoxed me that I have not been able to write to you until today.

I can well believe that Ernst\(^b\) is very down as a result of typhoid.

\(^a\) Julie Bebel\(^-\) \(b\) Ernst Schattner
Do give him time to recover completely before letting him go back to the exertions of school. But you have so many doctors on both sides of the family that I really ought to keep my mouth shut.

Since I have been here, we have been having marvellous weather and I am able to spend nearly all day, usually until 6 or 7 o’clock, sitting out in the garden in an armchair; there have been only 2 wet days in almost three weeks. Let us hope it lasts, since fresh air, along with rest, is my best medicine.

I am glad to hear that Ede is to make, or is already making, one more excursion into the Alps. He undoubtedly needs it, although it was with great pleasure that I saw from the *Neue Zeit* that he was his old self again.\(^{542}\) His critique of Proudhon is *very nice indeed*, and his sense of humour is also returning. But it’s better to be safe than sorry, i.e. to get properly well while he’s got the chance, and thoroughly shake off his vexation over the Lassalle business\(^a\) which was, after all, at the root of the whole thing. And you, too, ought to have a spell in which to recover from the difficult days and nights which have wrought such havoc with the peace and quiet of your holiday.

In other respects all is well here — that is, Pumps is as well as ‘circumstances’ allow, the event being expected in October. The children are far healthier than they used to be in London. This is a very large family: 2 dogs, 3 cats, a canary, a rabbit, two guinea pigs, a cock and 14 hens.

Many regards from the Roshers and especially from myself to you and Ede and Ernst.

Your old friend,

The General

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 253-54, 316.
ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER

IN LUNZ

Ryde, England, 19 August 1892
The Firs, Brading Road

Dear Victor,

That's what comes of exuberance. Instead of gallivanting round with you and yours in Lunz or Vienna, I have got to stay here in Ryde, miserably cossetting what Heine called 'my not altogether healthy body'; though walking and drinking are forbidden, boredom evidently is not. I had so very much looked forward to seeing Vienna at last, to being with you and all the others and, in particular, to becoming personally acquainted with your wife a and children, and now this confounded business crops up. Besides, I had also intended to obtain the opinion of a Viennese or — possibly also — a Berlin doctor on this somewhat obscure case and to ask you, after acquainting you with the facts, which specialist you would recommend. For over here there are as many medical faculties as there are hospitals, and the only men whom family doctors recommend are those from the hospital where they themselves did their training; this is not altogether a bad thing because they are the men they know best, but it narrows down the field of possible consultants very considerably and reduces the medical world of London to the dimensions of a small German university town. Accordingly, this sudden relapse is, in addition, positively detrimental to me.

Well, if there's one consolation — it is that to postpone is not to defer indefinitely, and what has misfired one year may perhaps come off the next. At all events this has taught me a lesson which I shall not soon forget. To be completely done out of my summer trip — and what a trip! — is bad enough and I shall have cause enough to rue it this winter, for I know all too well that the slight change of air from London to Ryde does not have anything like the same effect on my old carcase as a trip to the Continent and to the Alps in particular. My health will not be as good this year as it was after the trips I made, first to America, then to Norway and, last year, to

a Emma Adler
Scotland and Ireland. But I hope we’ll get over it, in which case we shall definitely fix things up next year. For I have got to go to Vienna and, if possible, also to the Austrian Alps; the Swiss Alps harbour too many Swiss and have already been turned into too much of a showplace, so I really would prefer Anzengrubler’s peasants. And, by then, or so I hope, I should find you and your wife in perfect health, while I myself would again be in case to go climbing about in the mountains. Until next year, then!

While here I’ve been dabbling in early Christianity and am reading Renan \( a \) and the Bible. \( b \) Though shockingly superficial, Renan is a man of the world and as such his outlook is wider than that of the German scholastic theologians. Otherwise his book is a novel and what he said of Philostratus is equally applicable to himself, namely that it could be used as an historical source in the same way as, say, the novels of Alexandre Dumas \( père \) could be used as a source on the period of the Fronde. \( c \) In matters of detail I have caught him making the most shocking howlers. Moreover, he plagiarises the Germans with unparalleled effrontery.

Louise will have passed on to you the information I sent her the day before yesterday about the cotton operatives in Lancashire and their sudden conversion to the eight hour day. \( d \) The same sort of thing is happening daily. Yesterday meetings of delegates representing entire districts again voted unanimously in favour of the 48 hour week, while in other districts the motion was carried in all cases with a majority, usually of two thirds. This has finally broken the back of the opposition in the working class.

The Russians are unfortunate. First they have a famine which will recur again this year, if in more chronic form, and then the cholera. And now, when their friend Gladstone has come to the helm here, he has to appoint Rosebery, who refuses to have any truck with Gladstone’s Russophila, as his Foreign Secretary.

August wants me to go to Berlin if at all possible. Well, I should like to, but can it be done? For the past ten days I have hardly set foot outside the garden gate and don’t yet know whether I am really on the mend. For the fact is that, if I bestir myself just a little too soon or a little too much, I may find myself back where I started. And I have got to make up my mind in ten days or a fortnight at the latest — well, we shall see.

\( a \) E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du christianisme.* \( b \) See this volume, pp. 497, 503-04.
So give my regards to all our friends and above all to your wife and children, and tell them how sorry I am not to have been able to come over this year. But next year I hope to make up for it. And warm regards to yourself from your crippled old F.E.

I shall be staying here at least until the 31st of this month.530


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN ST GALLEN

Ryde, 20 August 1892

Dear August,

Your letter of the 17th arrived this morning. I am replying at once because, tomorrow being Sunday and this being England, there would otherwise be no certainty of my note reaching you while you are still in St. Gallen. For I wanted to ask you to observe caution vis-à-vis K. Kautsky in regard to Ede. The latter is definitely on the mend, as his article in the Neue Zeit goes to show,542 and we must do nothing that might interfere with this. Where his friendship with Ede is concerned, K. Kautsky isn't exactly the soul of discretion and should his letters suggest to Ede that we were secretly conspiring to counteract his enthusiasm for Fabianism,87 it might bring about a serious relapse. Neurasthenics are mistrustful, and in my view his vexation over the Lassalle business3 was not only the first symptom of his illness but also quite definitely the cause of its onset. So we must see that there isn't a recurrence. I also suspect that his unduly high opi-

See this volume, pp. 253-54, 316.
nion of the Fabians is partly attributable to his illness and that this will subside provided we don't keep harping on the subject.

Yesterday at long last a letter arrived from the Witch in which she grumbles about my not coming. But how could I help it? And what would she have said if I had been stricken down in Engelskirchen or Zurich, as I surely would have been had I set out? And far worse stricken than here, where I could deal with the thing in good time. She also tells me that, whatever happens, she will accompany you to Berlin.

I am very glad that I need not embark on the journey, if it comes off, before 7 September. That gives me a whole month's rest, by which time I hope I'll be fit to travel again. Since yesterday I have at last noted signs of improvement — very slight, but something at any rate. So we shall have to see.

Apropos — have we still got lawyers in Cologne who are members of the party? I still don't quite trust my Prussians and if I had the address of one such I should be armed against all eventualities.

I was very distressed by what you wrote and told me about Victor.\(^{547}\) Let's hope you'll be able to find some solution. His wife's health also depends on this — worry about the future is said to have been largely responsible for her illness. I had no idea that things were so bad. But the Austrians are like the French and Irish, none of whom are capable of collecting contributions regularly. What is asserting itself here is the Celtic blood of their forebears, the Norici,\(^{548}\) who were first Romanised and then Germanised. If you want to get an idea of how the General Council of the International fared with the French and their contributions, you should read Paul's two Epistles — especially the second — to the Corinthians,\(^a\) throughout which he complains that les cotisations ne rentrent pas.\(^b\)

Couldn't you vote the Austrian party a regular subsidy on condition that it goes to Victor? He would, after all, soon be kicked out of Germany since, unlike K. Kautsky, he'd be obliged to work, not on a learned journal\(^c\) but on a propagandist paper.

The Lancashire cotton operatives are almost literally falling over each other to vote for the 8-hour day (48-hour week). Today the delegates are meeting in Manchester. Yesterday in Preston, there were 3,600 for and 600 against. But this is a question that Lancashire will

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\(^a\) 2 Corinthians, Ch. 7-9.\(^b\) the contributions are not coming in.\(^c\) Die Neue Zeit
decide for the rest of England because last year it was still the seat of concerted opposition.

It was Mrs Croesel (she's even better than her husband) who told Tussy the stories about the London Independents' Club. But no harm will be done if we save the thing up until we are all back in London again. As regards the source of the money, there might still be some interest left over from the Guelph funds, and the stupidity of the police is beyond all bounds. At all events, Gilles had and may still have a great deal of money at his disposal. The other chaps are his men of straw.

Today comes the pleasing news that William refuses to have any truck with the proposal for a two-year period of military service. But since this carrot has already been dangled before the noses of the philistines, even the National Liberals will find it hard to relinquish it. And this means better chances for a dissolution of the Reichstag.

What pitiful creatures these German bourgeois are! With the government's financial requirements increasing year by year, they could no be better placed to purchase a concession of political power in return for each grant of supply, as the English have been doing in a small way from time immemorial. But they don't want to; they leave all the power in the hands of the government and are content to haggle over a few paltry pence.

Cordial regards to Mrs Julie and to Mrs Frieda and husband.

Your old friend,

F. E.

The Roshers send their kindest regards.

I shall be staying here at any rate until the 31st.


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a See this volume, pp. 497-98. - b William II - c Julie Bebel - d Frieda and Ferdinand Simon
My dear Laura,

I had hoped to hear from you how the preparations for the great event are progressing, as the day of October 1 is drawing near; and especially would it interest me to learn that the fr. 25,000 — the guarantee-fund that business is meant — have been paid in to the Crédit Lyonnais. But perhaps I shall now hear in a few days, the sacramental date of the 20 Août with its 250,000 en espèces et tout l'outillage, having passed.

I have had an attack of my old complaint which from 1883 to 1887 laid me up lame from time to time, and had left me pretty well undisturbed for five years. Unfortunately at the wrong time it returned. I was to have left about 10 days ago, gone to Zürich to see the Beusts, thence with Bebel who is at St Gallen, to Stuttgart, Munich, Vienna, where we were to take up Louise and go to Berlin, and thence return to London. All this ist ins Wasser gefallen. Bebel will have to do the Vienna trip alone, but wants me to come at least to Berlin if possible. Now as I am gradually mending, it is not quite impossible that I should be in a condition to undertake that bit of a journey. But so far I cannot tell, I want at the very least another fortnight’s rest. Fortunately the fine weather allows me to spend all my lame time in the garden, and the splendid air here does me a deal of good.

Tussy, just before she was off for Norway, had a letter from Greulich, in the name of the Zürich Congress Committee, asking her to send them a draft invitation, for the International Congress, to the Glasgow Trades Union Congress, and to do all their English translation work. I suppose you know that some months ago Seidel intrigued to have this job given to one who was not connected with the damned Marxists. Louise in Berlin on her road to Vienna told Bebel, and Bebel at once wrote to Zürich, and this is the result.

\[a\] August \[b\] in cash and all the equipment \[c\] failed to come off
I have to shut up. It's dinner-time, and the cloth must be laid where I write. Immediately after dinner the mail-boxes are cleared (3 p.m.). So gehab dich wohl! \(^a\) When shall we see you again here in England? I hope this autumn even if you cannot bring the député-directeur politique \(^b\) with you.

Pumps, Percy and the little ones send their love.

Ever yours,

F. Engels

Hope you had my last with Louise Kautsky's Vienna address. \(^{153}\)

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ENGELS TO PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI \(^{553}\)

IN BENEVENTO

Ryde, 22 August 1892

...I imagine there must be some error in regard to the Duchess, \(^c\) nata \(^d\) Leffler. I have never heard Mrs E. Marx-Aveling mention that lady. At this moment Mrs Aveling is in Norway; on her return I shall ask her and then send you further news.

Yours,

F. Engels

(London address still holds good.)

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\(^a\) keep well and healthy \(^b\) Paul Lafargue \(^c\) di Caianiello \(^d\) née
Dear Sorge,

If I have not yet begun negotiations with Dietz regarding your book, it is because I was prevented by the following circumstances:

I had arranged with L. Kautsky, who is in Vienna, and with Bebel, who is staying with his son-in-law in St Gallen, that at the end of this month Bebel and I should go to Stuttgart together and thence to Berlin via Vienna, where we were to collect Louise Kautsky and take her with us. While in Stuttgart I had intended to settle the matter verbally with Dietz.

Now during my stay here in Ryde with Pumps, the old trouble in my groin, which had ceased to bother me for five years past, has suddenly made itself felt again — and to such good purpose that for the past twelve days or so I have been crippled and unable to move. This put paid to my journey and now, although I am visibly better, I don’t know whether I shall be in good enough shape to undertake a shorter tour. In any case I should not take in Stuttgart and hence shall shortly begin negotiations with Dietz by letter — as soon, that is, as I know that he hasn’t gone off on a lightning tour with Bebel. The matter as such is already settled; all we are concerned with are the details, so you can go ahead with your addenda and the more comprehensive you make them the better. Notably, should you propose to do a more detailed account of the post-1870 period, you might well include the vicissitudes of the professedly socialist (German) party and the blunders it has made. For you should remember that you are writing for a public that knows nothing whatever about transatlantic matters and has got to be told what’s what. And even if this elicits a snarl from the worthy leaders in New York and Cincinnati, it needn’t worry you, for after all you have long been used to that sort of thing.

Here is a piece of news which you must keep secret, above all from

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*Ferdinand Simon
the gentlemen of the press, until I write and tell you more. Guesde and Lafargue have signed a contract with some capitalists whereby they are to bring out a daily in the grand manner and be its directeurs politiques. 500 000 fr. are to be expended on it and it is to appear on 1 October. 423 But being always somewhat sceptical in such matters and not having heard from Paris lately, I feel that something may yet intervene and that’s why nothing whatever must get into the papers.

As you will have seen from the municipal elections in May 428 and the departmental elections in July, 554 the French are increasingly following in the footsteps of the Germans and learning to make use of universal suffrage instead of inveighing against it. And the cause is proving a great draw. At the Marseilles Congress 555 the ‘Marxists’ will acquire a standing such as they have never had before.

Add to which the splendid progress made here in England. The elections were a great success. 504 You will have noticed how different the tone of the Workman’s Times has been since the beginning of July, and how Mr Burgess (Autolycus) is already attempting to found a separate ‘INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY’ under his own leadership, alongside the one which the SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION 29 claims to lead. You will have gleaned the essentials from Louise Kautsky’s 556 and Tussy’s 338 articles in the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung and the Neue Zeit and will find a certain amount more in the preface to the new edition of the Condition of the Working Class in England 4 which I shall be sending you as soon as I get back to London. The TRADES UNION Congress to be held in Glasgow in a fortnight’s time 540 will mark a great step forward: 1. because of the impact of the elections which has been all the greater in that the PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE 557 elected last year in Newcastle, 298 and consisting oddly enough entirely of former OLD UNIONISTS, has treated with disdain all the political resolutions of the self-same Congress, and has implemented none of them; and 2. because of the conversion of the textile workers who, last year, went to make up the bulk of the opposition to the 8-hour day but have now, because of the poor state of trade, suddenly and en masse declared themselves in favour of 8 hours. Last week the whole of Lancashire voted in all districts for 8 hours instead of 10, usually by a very big

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majority. In short, here too the cause is going ahead quite famously and next year, not only Austria and France, but also England, will be marching behind Germany, which in turn cannot fail to have the desired effect on your Anglo-Americans, particularly if your militia does a bit more shooting, by finally purging the chaps of some of their republican and great country arrogance.

In Germany everything is going splendidly; if you follow the party news in the Vorwärts you will see that we are making tremendous headway amongst the rural population—*even in the east* where it is most necessary.

And now you want me to tell you whether I shall be coming over next year. It's not out of the question, though it certainly won't be in the heat of July and August—one August in New York was quite enough for me.⁴⁴¹ Bebel is thinking of visiting America after the Zurich Congress,⁵⁴¹ i.e. in September or October. If he does, I might accompany him. But these are castles in the air. For, as you can see, even the plan I made for this year fell through a fortnight after it had been definitely decided upon, so how can I be expected to make plans a whole year in advance?

I realised long ago that some time you'd find it necessary to break with that madman Hepner. The man's got a mass of bees in his bonnet and either learns nothing or else gets it all wrong.

Cordial regards to your wife.ᵃ

Your
F. E.

My regards to Schlüter also.

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ᵃ Katharina Sorge


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Dear August,

Your letter dated 23, St Gallen, arrived this morning. I know perfectly well that the Prussians cannot do me any serious harm, but better safe than sorry and one never knows what chicanery those gents may not get up to. Some bright busybody of a policeman might at any time take it into his head to make things awkward for me under some bogus pretext or other and, perhaps, improve the shining hour by getting hold of certain letters from Miquel to Marx. And, as you know, the Prussians make it a rule not to humiliate in public any official who commits a blunder, but at most quietly to haul him over the coals after having publicly whitewashed what he has done.

By the by, my projected journey is once more very much in the air. During the last day or two I have once or twice ambled along to the nearest post office some three hundred paces from the house and this trial of strength has again resulted in a total if temporary inability to walk more than a few steps, extraordinary sensitivity to pressure from the bandage in the inguinal region, etc.—which means that I’m laid up again. Today there is some improvement as a result of my having rested, but whether, in the 13 days between now and the 7th, things will have improved enough for me to be able to undertake the trip is, I think, very questionable. Well, we shall see.

No further news from Louise. On the other hand, I was delighted to hear from Dietz that, at your request, he had paid the second instalment of the fee for the Condition, namely 500 M., to Victor. At the beginning of September there is going to be something else of mine in the Neue Zeit, the fee for which will be paid to Victor, and I have like-
wise instructed Dietz to pay him all balances accruing to me with his firm. I have got to finish the third volume of *Capital* this winter and then, having rid myself of that burden, I shall be able to earn some more money again.

You are perfectly right about it's being sheer madness for the government to make the military estimates an occasion for dissolving the Reichstag, should the two year period of military service be turned down.\(^a\) Nevertheless we cannot exclude the possibility that something of the kind may happen — considering the nature of the ‘determining’ factors in the German Empire today.

That Russia cannot go to war in Europe is evident from her activities in Central Asia — the other horn of her dilemma.\(^558\) And there she is being very foolish. It will not intimidate the British but arouse their wrath and make it impossible for Mr Gladstone to give free rein to his Russophilia. While Gladstone might be prepared to sacrifice Constantinople, he could in no circumstances tolerate a threat to India; that would never do.

To me, the Isle of Wight seems intolerably boring when I think of you setting out alone on the journey on which I should have accompanied you. And then Louise goes and imagines I'm only shamming sick! Instead of sending this letter to Lunz, I should a thousand times rather have come in person. Today is the 15th day I have been confined to this little house and garden as to a prison, having in the last four days only made three excursions of three hundred paces down the road — with the result that I am again under the most stringent house and garden arrest. Today there is a flower show on the pier and tomorrow a regatta, and all the Pumpses will be going, while I shall have to stick at home — what a thrill! The only thing I am really glad about is that this trouble didn't come upon me while I was on my travels — that really would have been a pretty kettle of fish.

Well, give my regards to Victor and to his wife\(^b\) and children; likewise to the Witch who will, I presume, have written to me in the meantime, and tell them all how very sorry I am not to be able to

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 504.\(^b\) Emma Adler
come out and join you. But next year, if I am still alive, I shall assuredly come.

Your
F. E.

ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER
IN LUNZ
Ryde, 30 August 1892

Dear Victor,

I was unable to reply yesterday to all the points in your letter, partly because there was no room on the page, partly because I had no time—our mid-day meal is at 2 and the post goes at 3. But now that sweet, impatient Oberdöbling\(^a\) has sent me a postcard pestering me for a letter, I can write to you today about the rest.

What you say about tactics is only too true.\(^{559}\) But there are all too many who, for convenience sake and to save themselves the trouble of racking their brains, would like to carry on indefinitely employing tactics that are appropriate only to the moment. We don't fashion our tactics out of nothing, but out of changing circumstances. In our present situation we must all too often allow our opponents to dictate them to us.

You are also right about the Independents.\(^{560}\) I still recall the years—at the time I was still corresponding officially with Liebknecht—when I had to engage in a ceaseless struggle against the all-pervading, typically German petty bourgeois mentality. By and large we are safely over that in Imperial Germany, but as for the petty bourgeois in the parliamentary group, what a crew!—and more and

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\(^a\) Louise Kautsky (Oberdöbling forms part of Vienna).
more keep on arriving. In circumstances such as these a workers' party has no choice other than between the working man who is promptly made to suffer for it, in which case he readily deteriorates into a party pensioner, and the petty bourgeois who, though self-supporting, brings discredit on the party. And by comparison with them your Independent is a pearl beyond price.

What you say about the rapid industrial advance of Austria and Hungary has pleased me immensely. That is the only solid basis for the advancement of our movement. And it is also the only good aspect of protectionism—at any rate in the case of most of the continental countries and of America. Large-scale industry, big capitalists and large masses of the proletarians are being artificially nurtured, the centralisation of capital is being speeded up and the middle classes destroyed. In Germany protective tariffs were, in fact, unnecessary, having been introduced at the precise moment when Germany was establishing herself in the world market and it is that process which they have disrupted, though to make up for it they have filled a number of gaps in German industry which would otherwise have long remained unfilled and, were Germany to be compelled to sacrifice her protective tariffs to her position in the world market, she would be far better able to compete than hitherto. Both in Germany and in America protective tariffs are now simply a hindrance because they hinder those countries from taking their proper place in the world market. In America, therefore, they are bound to be abandoned before long and Germany is bound to follow suit.

By promoting your industry, however, you will be doing England a service; the more quickly her domination of the world market is utterly destroyed, the sooner will the workers over here come to power. Continental and American competition (and likewise Indian) has finally precipitated a crisis in Lancashire, the first of its consequences being the prompt conversion of the workers to the eight-hour day.\(^a\)

Cooperation with the Czechs is necessary also from the political viewpoint. These people live in the middle of Germany, we are linked to them as they are to us, and it is in the interests of us all not to let them turn into a young Czech-cum-Russian-cum-pan-Slav preserve. True, there are means of coping even with that in the long run, but it is better to be safe than sorry. And since these people can get anything out of us they may need or want *quoad*\(^b\) national autonomy on

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 503-04 and 508-09.\(^b\) in regard to
Czech territory, there is in fact no danger. (As you see, in none of this do I take any account of their temporary political separation from Germany.)

I return to London next week; although I'm better today, it is nevertheless unlikely that anything will come of my trip to Berlin.

Many regards to everyone on the editorial staff.⁴

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY⁴³⁹

IN STUTTGART

Ryde, 4 September 1892

Dear Baron,

Ede wants to know when I shall be back in London, but instead of giving me his address he merely states that he has left Kilchberg and is en route to Zurich; moreover, all the times he gives are so vague as to make it quite impossible to correspond with him at this range. As I imagine that you are better informed than I am, perhaps you would tell him that I return to London the day after tomorrow, the 6th.⁵³⁰

My lameness still rules out any possibility of my travelling further than that. In London I shall probably have to spend another two weeks lying on the sofa, but otherwise the thing is of no significance.

Sorge's article on Homestead naturally takes precedence. Come to that, I am in no great hurry provided the German text appears at the same time as the English one or a little later.⁵⁶¹ Needless to say I have heard nothing about the latter for the past two months.

Had you been here during the last election,⁵⁶⁴ you would have

⁴ of the Arbeiter-Zeitung
spoken differently about the Fabians. As regards our tactics we have one firm rule for all modern countries and for all times and that is to prevail upon the workers to form their own independent party in opposition to all bourgeois parties. At the last election the English workers, impelled by the course of events, took, if still only instinctively, their first decisive step in this direction; that step proved surprisingly successful and contributed more towards the development of the workers’ minds than any other event of the past 20 years. And what did the Fabians do—not this or that individual but the Fabian Society as a whole? It preached and practised the affiliation of the workers to the Liberals, the result being what one might expect. The Liberals assigned them four seats, none of which could possibly have been won and the Fabian candidates met with a resounding defeat. That paradoxical man of letters, Shaw—extremely talented and witty as a writer but utterly useless as an economist and politician, though an honourable man nevertheless and no careerist—wrote to Bebel saying that if they didn’t pursue this policy of imposing their candidates upon the Liberals, they would reap nothing but defeat and disgrace (as though defeat was not often more honourable than victory)—and now, having pursued this policy, they have reaped both.

That is the crux of the whole matter. Now that, for the first time, the workers are taking an independent stand, the Fabian Society is urging them to remain an appendage of the Liberals. And this must be made abundantly clear to the continental Socialists; to hush it up would be to connive at it. And that is why I am sorry that the Avelings’ postscript should have failed to appear. It was not written post festum, not as an afterthought, but was overlooked in the hurry to get the article off. The article is incomplete without the description of the attitude of the two Socialist organisations in regard to the elections—and the readers of the Neue Zeit have a right to hear about this.

I believe that I myself told you in my last letter that both in the Social Democratic Federation and in the Fabian Society the provincial members are better than the central body. But that won’t do any good so long as the attitude of the central body determines that of the Society. As to the rest of those sterling fellows, I know none of them apart from Banner. Since joining the Fabian Society Banner has not, oddly enough, put in an appearance at my house. I imagine he was

\[ a \] after the event - \[ b \] The Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation
impelled by disgust at the Social Democratic Federation and the need for some kind of organisation — perhaps also by a few illusions. But this particular swallow doesn’t make a summer.

You feel that there is something half-baked about the Fabian Society. On the contrary, the chaps are only too well done, a clique of middle class ‘socialists’ of varying calibre from the careerist to the sentimental socialist and the philanthropist, who are united only in their fear of impending Labour rule and are moving heaven and earth to avert this threat by consolidating their own leadership — the leadership of the ‘hededicated’.* If they then admit a working man or two to their central executive, thereby enabling the latter to perform an Albert ouvrier\(^b\) of 1848 act in the shape of a constantly outvoted minority, that ought to deceive nobody.

The means employed by the Fabian Society are indistinguishable from those employed in corrupt parliamentary politics: money, intrigue, careerism, i.e. after the English fashion where it is taken for granted that every political party (save only, it seems, in the case of Labour!) should pay its agents in one way or another or reward them with posts. These chaps are up to their eyes in the intrigues of the Liberal party and hold office in it, one such being Sydney Webb who is altogether a typical British politician. There is nothing one can tell the workers to beware of that these chaps are not already practising.

This is not to suggest, of course, that you should treat these people as enemies. But in my view they should no more be shielded from criticism than anyone else. And that is what the omission from the Avelings’ article of the passage relating to them certainly looked like. But if you would like the Avelings to supply you with an article on the history and attitude of the various socialist organisations in England, you have only to say so and I shall suggest it to them.

I was very taken with your article on Vollmar\(^c\); it will do him more harm than any amount of wrangling in the Vorwärts.\(^{532}\) Moreover, the endless threats of expulsion ought no longer to remain uncensured. Today they are wholly uncalled for reminders of the dictatorial period of the Anti-Socialist Law.\(^{11}\) One must now give the rotten elements time to become so rotten that they defect virtually of their own accord. The discipline of a party numbered in millions is quite differ-

\(^a\) The Berlin dialect in the original. \(^b\) Albert the working man. \(^c\) K. Kautsky, ‘Vollmar und der Staatssozialismus’, Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 49.
ent from that of a sect numbered in hundreds. What you might have
gone into a bit further is the way in which ‘state socialism as such’ nec-
essarily turns in practice into fiscality, and this in the only land
where it is practicable, namely Prussia (which you expound very
nicely).

Ede’s critique of Proudhon was also very nice. I was especially
glad to see that he is his old self again.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY

IN STUTTGART

[Ryde, 5 September 1892]

Dear Baron,

I forgot to reply to you about Bonnier the day before yesterday. If you look at the reports on England and Germany over the signa-
ture ‘B’ or Bernard in the Socialiste, it will enable you to judge to
what extent you can make use of him. Bonnier is a sterling fellow, but
his German studies have somewhat spoiled the Frenchman in him,
something I have observed more than once in his fellow countrymen.
He lives in a world of books and will find it difficult accurately to
weigh the facts of the living movement one against the other. More-
over he resides at Oxford, far removed from all the activity, besides
which he has an unshakeable faith in Guesde. Guesde’s illusions and
optimism are in many respects of great value within the movement it-
sself, in much the same way as are Liebknecht’s; neither is prone to de-
spair. But these qualities are hardly suited to the reporting of current
activities. However Bonnier, with his native intelligence, is bound
gradually to gain in refinement—not that I have seen much of him of late. If the others on the daily are finding more than enough to do, you really haven’t much alternative—provided that Bonnier, too, is not fully occupied in that quarter.

Regards from Pumps and Percy.

Your F.E.

I return to London tomorrow.


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ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN AHLBECK

Ryde, 5 September 1892

Dear Kugelmann,

There will be no trip to Germany for me this year. I have gone lame and must take it easy for the next fortnight at least before I can so much as begin to move about again. Meanwhile I shall be returning to London tomorrow. However I still intend to make another tour of inspection of my native land next year, but whether I shall also manage to take in Hanover is impossible to say so far in advance, the more so as I have seen this summer how quickly all such plans can come to nothing, for this year I have been cheated out of a long and delightful trip and who can tell whether we shall still be alive next year. But you may rest assured that I shall leave the ‘Pomeranian grandees’ to others. The last of them I saw was an alleged Baron Grumbkow, a seedy looking individual who in the role of professional
Engels to Laura Lafargue. 11 September 1892

beggar tried to touch me for a loan some six months ago but was thrown out. *Cela me suffit.* With many regards.

Your

F. Engels

Please let Singer have the enclosed.


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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

AT LE PERRIEUX

London, 11 September 1892

My dear Laura,

I am here again since last Tuesday, still house-bound, but mending. Louise I expect back on Wednesday, Bebel fetched her from Vienna to Berlin and there she is now.

Thanks for the news about the paper. Then Luce being out of it, I take it that the old agreement has lost its binding power over the other signatories too, unless expressly renewed by them. With Luce, too, his friend Vignaud has, I suppose, also gone out (the man is unknown to me). Anyhow it looks as if a new combination was being tried—let us hope it will be successful and the last of its race.

Here we have had a very important event which will occupy all the Socialist parties of the Continent. As you will see from enclosed report, the Trades Union Congress deliberately rejected the invitation to the Zurich Congress and resolved to call together ‘immediately’ an Eight Hours Congress of its own—and an international

* That was enough for me. - 6 September
one too! This requires action on our part, and if possible, concerted action of the whole Continent.

The English workmen are so deeply infected with the Parliamentary spirit of compromise that they cannot do a step in advance without at the same time taking $3/4$ or $7/8$ of a step backwards. Thus the sudden awakening of the Eight Hours' enthusiasm (3 years ago considered an impossibility, you know, by the very people who now clamour loudest after it) has almost succeeded in giving a reactionary character to that cry. It is to be the universal panacea, the one thing to be thought of. In their exultation at having secured so soon such a large and unexpected majority, the mass of the 8 hours' men now sacrifice everything that goes further, to the newly-converted 'Old' Unionists. This massacre of the Socialist Innocents is submitted to all the easier as the 'New' elements are divided, without general organisation, personally unknown to each other, and have not as yet had the time to develop men enjoying the confidence of all; as you know, this can only be obtained here in Britain by what Ruge called die Kraft der wiederholten Erscheinung, the effect of hawking your own person constantly for years before the public, teste Shipton, Cremer, Howell, etc.

Anyhow the fact is there. The T. U. C. by a deliberate vote of 189 to 97, nearly 2 to 1, has placed itself outside the universal working men's movement and resolved to march apart. With every possible insult our invitation has been flung back in our faces. Not even an order to the Parliamentary Committee to reply politely. Not even a formal motion based on the invitation; a counter-motion is brought in, and then the invitation has to slip in as an amendment, otherwise it would not have been noticed at all. You will see from the full report I shall send you what a trouble Will Thorne had to get it even brought before the Congress! In fact the insult is complete.

Now what's to be done? This has to be considered seriously, and first of all by the French as their Marseille Congress is before the Berlin one (16 October). If we reply to the insult in the way it deserves, the Possibilists and Blanquists, who are sure to go to the Trades Union Congress, will make capital out of it. On the other hand, if the Possibilists and Blanquists go, and are alone of all Continental Socialists, then all the better for us. Therefore I consider it of the highest importance that our French friends at once agree upon a common line of

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* the impact of repeated appearance
Engels to Laura Lafargue. 11 September 1892

action with Bebel and the German Executive. If Germany and France act together, Spain, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, probably Belgium, will follow, and Domela* may go if he likes.

At present—I have not yet had Edward's personal report on the affair (he was there)—my opinion is this:

1) France and Germany ought at Marseille and Berlin to proclaim their intention to ignore this pseudo-Congress altogether.
2) They ought to do this in a resolution of firm, but quiet and not hostile language, which, if possible, should be identical for both and a model for the other nationalities; leaving the door open to future T. U. Congresses, and to single Trades Unions even at present, to return to the fold. This they are sure to do, I am sure many will regret their vote before many days are over.
3) If mild counsels should prevail, and it should be resolved to be present at this British Congress, for the sake of peace, then one delegate from each country ought to go and no more. And he must, as a matter of form, be elected and mandaté by the Trades Union Congress, or Executive thereof and be a bona fide workman or he will not be admitted. And this one delegate should depose a distinct protest.

I shall write to Bebel tomorrow on this matter. In the meantime please let me know where your people are and what can be done to come to an understanding with the Germans.

I enclose you a specimen of the French correspondence the Vorwärts is now printing and Liebknecht will excuse it, no doubt, saying that if our people will not send reports he must take them where he can get them.

If I hear anything more from Edward before this letter goes, I shall put it in.

Ever yours,

F. E.

In a day or two I send you 2 books of mine.

The Scotch paper goes by the same post as this.

Dear August,

So you intend to keep the Witch with you for one more day. No doubt in order to instruct her how best to manage the General in regard to his drinking and other sins; meanwhile you carry on urging me to keep an eye on her—but you mustn’t imagine that I don’t see through you. You want to stir up trouble between us, though what your perfidious motives may be, heaven knows, but you wait, my lad, it isn’t as simple as all that. By way of revenge I shall bombard you with more work than you want and shall start straight away.

The Trades Congress in Glasgow\(^540\) has declared war on us Continentals. Malice on the part of the leaders of the old unions and, on the part of the new,\(^520\) stupidity combined with a want of confidence either in themselves or each other—hence, too, of organisation as a party at the Congress where for decades the old unions have constituted a tightly knit group. When the chaps realise what they have done, most of them will regret it.

Well, the Zurich Committee had sent to the Parliamentary Committee\(^557\) a letter addressed to the Congress containing an invitation to Zurich in 1893\(^541\); this had been composed by Tussy.\(^a\) The Parliamentary Committee attempted to suppress the letter. Will Thorne vainly pressed for news of it and demanded that it be read out, but met with repeated refusals on the grounds that the Congress must leave it to the Parliamentary Committee to decide which documents it should produce!! In the end Matkin (Liverpool) moved that the Trades Union Congress should convene an international congress for 1 May 1893 to adopt resolutions and pave the way for an international legal eight hour day.—Parnell, who had been in Paris,\(^b\) was against it. They should, he said, send delegates to the Zurich Congress and settle the matter there. A big debate ensued in the course of

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 495 and 496-97.\(^b\) at the 1889 International Socialist Congress
which the ‘old’ unionists kept asking what point there was in going to Zurich, whether it was desirable to identify oneself with the continental socialists’ wild schemes, etc.—There was a further demand that the Zurich letter be read out and at last it was resolved that this should be done. And so, to save appearances, the Zurich letter was finally read out, whereupon a vote was taken and Matkin’s resolution regarding the congress (which, however, is to be held immediately instead of on 1 May 1893) was adopted by 189 to 97. Thus, with hardly a second thought, the Zurich invitation was not so much rejected as consigned to the waste paper basket. In return, however, the ‘ill-organised’ continental proletariat was most graciously permitted to attend a congress in England, there to be lectured, indoctrinated and organised by the true leaders of the 8 hours movement—by those who only the day before had been engaging them in mortal combat. You will see from the detailed report in a Scottish paper, which I shall send you as soon as I get it, that the old unionists have insulted us for all they were worth while the young ones have acted like schoolboys.

Meanwhile I enclose the only report I have to hand.

However one must not take it too hard. The new unions are so delighted with the old unions’ conversion to the legal 8 hours that they have allowed themselves to be caught napping over this issue. Most of them are undoubtedly regretting it already, as will they all as soon as they realise what they have done. In my view it is up to the Continentals to bring this home to them, and provided the former act together, the affair will end badly for the ‘old’ unions.

1. France and Germany must act together. All the rest will then follow suit. Accordingly I am today proposing to the French through Laura that they should get in touch with you people in order that the aforesaid resolution should be followed by resolution couched, if possible in identical terms, a at your congresses in Marseilles 555 and Berlin.564 So far as I can judge at this moment (I haven’t yet seen Aveling who was present at Glasgow, nor have I consulted anyone else), your best plan would be to point out in firm but calm and not unfriendly language that you utterly reject the newly-fledged eight hours congress, while, at the same time, renewing your invitation to the individual Trades Unions to send delegates to the Zurich Congress.

a See this volume, p. 521.
(The Zurich Committee would also have to do the same, that is to say in a circular — Tussy will be writing to them about it but a push from you people would also be a help.)

2. If, however, one wants to go further and heap coals of fire on the heads of infants who don’t know what they are about, then it would be up to the French and Germans to send one man each to explain the position and register a protest against the Glasgow resolution. They will have to be delegated by the Central Trades Union Committee and be, or have been, bona fide working men, otherwise they won’t be admitted.

If Marseilles and Berlin are at one, Austria, Spain and Italy will follow. Switzerland is a certainty, for she was the immediate recipient of the affront; Belgium will probably follow and likewise the Scandinavians. In which case Mr Nieuwenhuis, the Possibilists 3 and the Blanquists are welcome to go and visit the Trades Unions, whereupon they really will find themselves outside the great European movement.

That, provisionally, is my opinion just now. As soon as I hear anything further I shall write again. Meanwhile you people might think the matter over. At all events the arrogance of the ‘old’ unions and the spinelessness of the new afford you a splendid opportunity to explain your point of view to the English and to show them that the class-conscious continental proletariat has no intention of placing itself under the leadership of people who regard the wage system as an eternal and immutable universal institution.

It is a real blessing that the blinkered, biased, exclusively trades union movement should now have exposed its reactionary nature in so merciless a light.

One more vignette: as a result of a formal resolution at the last conference of the Social Democratic Federation, 565 Mr Hyndman was requested (unanimously so it is said) to keep himself more in the background and to discontinue his activities at the head of the Social Democratic Federation.

The main concern of us all is that Marseilles and Berlin should act resolutely and in concert. All else is of secondary importance. If both of them pass identical resolutions, these will be adopted throughout Europe and that’s the kind of thing that finds its way into all the papers over here. Your trades union congresses ought also to protest.
The Scottish paper with report is going off to you by this post. Warm regards to Mrs Julie, the Witch, you yourself and all my friends.

Yours
F. E.


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Dear Schmidt,

A few days ago I came back from Ryde where I had been paying an involuntary six-week visit to Pumps. A tiresome but otherwise insignificant complaint ruined both my holiday and a continental tour in the course of which you might otherwise have very possibly seen me in Zurich.

I look forward to seeing your other papers on the rate of profit. Fireman didn’t send me his article — can one get hold of that particular number? If so, I shall order it, provided you can tell me exactly which number it was, and also the title of the article. To print the section on the rate of profit separately and in advance is quite out of the question, for you should know that in Marx everything is so interrelated that nothing can be torn out of context. In any case — always provided my health holds out and I am left in peace — I shall be done with Volume III this winter (but please don’t breathe a word about this; I know how often something has intervened),

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a Julie Bebel - b P. Fireman, 'Kritik der Marx'schen Werttheorie', Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, 3. Folge, Bd. 3, Jena, 1892. - c of Capital
whereupon the poor professorial soul will be set at rest upon that count, only to be plunged instantly into an even worse state of agitation.

As regards Marx's view of history, you will find an article of mine about it in the next number of the *Neue Zeit*—it has already appeared over here in English.462

The Germans are utterly useless on the subject of money and credit. Many years ago Marx himself mercilessly ridiculed Knies.566 The most useful things in English are Tooke's *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, 1844 and Fullarton's *On the Regulation of Currencies*, 2nd ed., 1845, both of which are only to be had second-hand. Everything there is to be said about money *qua* money may be found in the first volume of *Capital*. In the third there will, of course, be a great deal about credit and credit money; it is that particular section that is giving me most trouble.

Roger's *Economic Interpretation of History* is in many respects a very instructive book, if exceedingly superficial theoretically speaking. There is, of course, no question of an interpretation à la Marx.

Your essay in the *Neue Zeit* gave me great pleasure. It's as if cut out for this country, since the FABIAN SOCIETY positively pullulates with Jevons-Mengerians who look down with infinite contempt on a Marx they have long since outdistanced. If there were a review over here that would take it, I would, with your permission, get Aveling to translate it under my supervision. But just now nothing is likely to come of this, there being no such review.

As regards the worthy Independents, their fate is of their own making. For years the party has endured their yapping with truly angelic patience and even at Erfurt it gave them ample opportunity to substantiate their mendacious tittle-tattle, but a million people cannot go on forever putting up with the obstructionism of fifty young whippersnappers who reserve the right to cast aspersions without having to substantiate them. Now that they've been chucked out, now that they have the chance of showing what they are capable of, all we get is endless lies and vituperation. And what, may I ask, has been achieved by those who showed some promise—the Kampff-

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meyers, Ernsts, Müllers et al.—now that they are no longer under the thumb of the party leadership? Their paper\textsuperscript{a} is utterly without substance and apart from that they produce nothing. If these gentlemen believe they are capable of something, why don't they do it? Nor is the case in any way altered by the fact that, in polemising against them, as in so much else, the Vorwärts is sometimes clumsy and all too often overshoots the mark. Did not these gentlemen, even before the split, treat the parliamentary group and the party leadership to language no less intemperate than that used by the Vorwärts against themselves? In addition they are by and large completely harmless. In Germany they are as moribund as anyone else who detaches himself from the big movement. Now that the movement has grown strong actually inside Germany and is directed from within that country, the societies abroad are the only favourable breeding-ground for the kind of wrangles I have had to endure for 45 years in the society over here.\textsuperscript{b} Up till 1860 the best chaps were, as a rule, abroad; now the position is reversed. The societies abroad consist of very impermanent elements who very seldom attain the average level of those at home, stand outside the movement in Germany to which they are merely extraneous appendages, and, since they rarely have any genuine occupation, are bored and hence far more susceptible to petty squabbling.

I am aware that you have many childhood and university friends amongst the Jungen, but it's something you must come to terms with. Indeed it's perfectly possible to remain good friends despite political differences. But we've all had to go through the same thing, in my case, in my own pious ultra-reactionary family. And then there is always the possibility of exerting a beneficial influence on your old friends by guiding their footsteps towards study rather than rodomontade. If the gentlemen would only go on with their studies, the more serviceable amongst them would soon come to their senses. But I'm afraid that the chronic megalomania so rampant among these people will prevent them from so doing. And as for provocation and embitterment, these are things that are unavoidable in the circumstances. 'I came not to send peace but a sword.'\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{a} Der Sozialist - \textsuperscript{b} Matthew 10:34
In the next few days I shall let you have the *Condition of the Working-Class*.  
With kind regards

Your
F. Engels

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**ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY**

**IN STUTTGART**

London, 16 September 1892

Dear Baron,

Ede has asked me to send you a copy of a passage from the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. He gives only the opening words, but doesn’t say how much is wanted, so you will find herewith a copy of the thing up to the end of the letter and you’ll have to see how much of it is usable.

Kovalevsky, who is over here, says he would probably be prepared to let you have an article for the *Neue Zeit* on Lavrov’s great Russian work *Zadači istoriji mysli, The Functions of the History of Thought*; but he would have to write it in French. If you would like to have the article, please let me know.

There was high old confusion at the *Trades Union Congress* in Glasgow. The ‘old’ unions did everything in their power to achieve victory and, being organised and known to one another and of old repute, they were largely successful vis-à-vis the ‘new’ ones, which didn’t yet know the ropes, fell foul of the rules of procedure, were known neither to one another nor to many of the more honest elements amongst the ‘old’ unions, and hence possessed few personalities

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'b See this volume, pp. 519-20 and 522-24."
who, aside from their particular standing in the party, were personally respected by all concerned.* So it came about that the majority of those elected to the Parliamentary Committee consisted of 'old' unionists, while Fenwick was re-elected secretary. The fact that the old unionists had given up as hopeless their opposition to the 8 hour day and continued to oppose the legal 8 hour day only pro forma, for the sake of appearances, quite delighted the majority of new unionists who, in their glee over the victory of the legal 8 hours, were prepared to surrender everything else. So it came about that they not only demanded steps be taken to combat the immigration of 'paupers', but turned down with contumely, and in a manner directly insulting to us, the invitation to the Zurich Congress (amongst other things, because that Congress had not been convoked by the English Trades Union Congress!!); and at the same time resolved that an international eight hours congress be convoked immediately. What happened during this debate you will see from the Scottish paper Tussy has sent you.

It is now evident that our Continentals must take up the cudgels against this. It's a good opportunity for them to show the snooty trades unions what their standpoint is. A start will doubtless be made by the French at Marseilles.

Unfortunately I shall not be able to send you the *Workman's Times* for some little while, at any rate. For a time Burgess sent copies to Bebel and sundry other Continentals, but has suddenly ceased to do so—since the jackass doesn't want to have any truck with Continentals who 'do not even possess a trades organisation'. Now I shall have to send Bebel the copy which in the past has been available for you, since the Executive has *got* to have one and I can't very well alter before November the number of copies on order; I have trouble enough as it is in getting the right number of copies ordered. In November I shall be renewing my subscription, on which occasion I shall be able to make other arrangements.

At the last conference of the Social Democratic Federation Hyndman was requested—unanimously, it is said—to resign from the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation and to confine his activities to writing. We shall see whether it lasts. But it's hard on him.

* Neither Hardie nor Tom Mann enjoy popularity in broader circles. Burns, who might have handled many things differently, wasn't there.
It’s a pity that Ede should also have missed the Trades Union Congress, but it couldn’t be helped. So far as he himself is concerned, it’s all to the good that his holiday should have been prolonged.

Though still housebound, I am slowly improving.

Your

F. E.


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ENGELS TO REGINA AND EDUARD BERNSTEIN

IN ZURICH

London, 17 September 1892

Dear Gine,

From Louise, who came back here on Wednesday, I have learned that you are still in Zurich and that Käte is already in this country, and yesterday the letter from you and Ede at last enabled me to connect up the broken telegraph wires again. We are most sorry that you should still be so unwell but that is something that will eventually pass, and in the meantime Ede can continue to recuperate in the open air for a while longer, which will be most beneficial for him and do the party no harm, now that he has in any case missed the Trades Union Congress. The latter was the scene of considerable confusion. The most interesting session from our point of view was the one on Thursday on the question of the Congress. If we had known your address, we’d have sent Ede a Scottish paper containing an account of it, but as it is, the few copies we had have been sent elsewhere.

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a 14 September - b Käte Schattner - c 8 September - d See this volume, pp. 519-20, 522-24 and 528-29.
When, despite continuous prodding from Thorne, the letter of invitation from Zurich 'to the Trade Union Congress' in Glasgow had obstinately been withheld for 4 whole days, Matkin tabled a motion, clearly concocted in conjunction with the 'old' unionists with a view to preventing attendance at Zurich, in which he called for the convocation of an international 8 hours congress of their own. Parnell, on the other hand, proposed an amendment to the effect that it would be better to go to Zurich. According to Ed. Aveling, Parnell and Quelch spoke very well. At that, all the old unionists went mad. The continental workers, they said, were weak and badly organised, but if the English took them under their wing all might go well; in any case the Zurich Congress had not been convoked by the English Trades Unions. Besides, who would want to associate himself with all the wild theories and the kind of socialism that thrive on the Continent, etc.? (This latter anxiety, in particular, being voiced in rasping tones by a Lancashire weaver, a one of the new converts to the 8 hour day.)

In short, in their delight that there should now be almost no opposition to the 8 hours day, and by way of a sop to the weak in spirit — the Lancashire cotton operatives — they unceremoniously consigned the Continentals' invitation to the waste paper basket, and by 189 votes to 97, no less!

Now this, although most of them were probably unaware of what they were doing, was in fact a disgusting insult and a slap in the face for the entire continental Labour movement. We instantly broadcast the news here, there and everywhere and no doubt the first riposte will come from the French in a few days' time at Marseilles.\(^5\)\(^5\)\(^5\) It's a heaven-sent opportunity — without making too much of the matter — for putting a damper on the self-conceit of the old trades unionists who are proving ever more reactionary.

Herewith a Pall-Mall containing an article of Aveling's about the Hamburg socialists and the cholera.\(^b\)

In the Daily Chronicle there was a long review, which no doubt you will have seen, of Socialism Utopian, etc.\(^c\) What a canny lot they are!

The French daily has not yet emerged from the embryonic

\(^a\) David Holmes - \(^b\) E. Aveling, 'The Cholera and the Hamburg Socialists', The Pall Mall Gazette, No. 8577, 16 September 1892.\(^-\)\(^c\) the English edition (1892) of F. Engels' Socialism: Utopian and Scientific
stage; negotiations are still proceeding but this is better than if the chaps were again to rush headlong into some short-lived venture.  

Louise came back in a very cheerful mood, having found her mother and Ignaz very hale and hearty. She sends her warm regards.

Now for a note to Ede, so farewell for today.

With warm regards,

Yours,

F. Engels

Dear Ede,

The relevant passage went off to K. Kautsky—a yesterday—in deed the entire letter from the point at which you began to quote; I told K. Kautsky that he would know how much to use, whether the whole thing or only a part, and which part.

At the last conference of the Social Democratic Federation (Bank Holiday, the first Monday in August), Taylor, the unsuccessful candidate for Hackney, proposed that Hyndman be thrown out. This met with great acclaim, particularly among the provincial delegates; however, Taylor was persuaded to tone down his motion in order that as large a majority as possible might be obtained. And thus it was resolved (unanimously, according to Taylor) that Hyndman be requested to resign from the leadership of the Social Democratic Federation and devote himself to written propaganda. How long this will continue remains to be seen. At all events it is a bitter blow for the megalomaniac. Cahan of New York, who called on him without knowing about this, found him in a very despondent, chastened frame of mind and remarkably conciliatory towards all those he had hitherto torn to shreds.

The Workman's Times, i.e. Burgess, now also wishes to become party leader. You will have seen that the £400, which he placed at the disposal of Burns, Keir Hardie, Taylor and Ben Ellis during the elections, emanated from Champion (or rather, through him, from Hudson's Soap).

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See this volume, p. 528. -

district of London
In short, there have been a good many changes here during your absence and you will find the chaps engaged in a variety of interesting pursuits.

Many regards,

Your

F. E.

I haven’t yet seen Käte.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE 141

AT LE PERREUX

London, 17 September 1892

My dear Lafargue,

Your opinion that we should take advantage of the opportunity of teaching the old English Trades Unions a lesson is also shared by Bebel. If Liebknecht goes to Marseilles, you will have a good chance of coming to an understanding with him. At the same time you might ask him why the Vorwärts is packed with news about the doings and sayings of the Broussists, Allemanists and Blanquists, yet is virtually silent on the subject of our own people. However they are saying in Berlin that the cholera is rampant in Marseilles and that might put a stop to his trip.

Since the English Trades Unions recognise only bona fide working men and then only those who are organised in trade unions, it is of the utmost importance that not only the Workers’ Party Congress, but also, and in particular, the French trade unions, who will be holding their congress a few days before ours, should take a firm stand on the presumption of the English in seeking to ignore the existing movement on the Continent so as to start another one under their own leadership and based on their own views. French trade unionists will as-
suredly protest against what was said in Glasgow about themselves and other continental working men.

(Woods M. P.)

'that the organisations on the Continent of Europe were very ineffective, but he felt sure that if the powerful organisation in England would only extend the hand of fellowship and sympathy and brotherhood' (what, nothing more?!) 'to their friends on the Continent, they could minimise the difficulties etc.!' 

Foster of Durham, miner:

'He was struck with the remarks of Mr. Woods, that their efforts in this country were to a certain extent neutralised by their fellow-workmen in other countries who were not organised so well as those in this country; their social position was not equal to ours' (!!!) ...if they could get their fellow-workmen on the Continent to show the same consensus of opinion as those in this country when they made up their mind to a particular action

(he is referring to the 8 Hours and you know how strongly the English opposed it when the Continent was already unanimous --- those selfsame Englishmen who, one after another, are now giving tongue!)

'they would then know that the power of labour could achieve the object' etc.

Holmes, Burnley (cotton weaver, newly converted to the 8 Hours and anxious to prove that this change of front hasn't turned him into a socialist cannibal):

'Were there some advanced, or as they called them, socialist movements on the Continent, that they wanted to drag them into (at Zurich).!! He asked those gentlemen if they wanted to go to that congress in the name of this body to advocate many of the wild schemes which they knew were going on on the Continent?'

Conner, London:

'Though there were two international congresses already arranged for (Zurich and Chicago) neither of them were arranged by, or under the authority of, the Trades Congress (!!!)'

There. That ought to be enough in the way of insults to quicken the pulse of your French trade unionists.

I repeat: So far as the moral effect it would create here in England is concerned, a Trades Union Congress resolution rejecting the divisive tendency inherent in the Glasgow resolution would be far more important than one emanating from the Socialist Congress. So do the best you can. Tussy has sent a newspaper report to Delecluze.
Give the French comrades my kind regards and keep up the good work, as at Lille. Tussy says that the Working Men's Congress there was the most business like one she has ever attended.

Yours ever,

F. Engels

My dear Sir,

So far, then, we agree upon this one point, that Russia, in 1892, could not exist as a purely agricultural country, that her agricultural production must be complemented by industrial production.

Now I maintain, that industrial production nowadays, means grande industrie, steam, electricity, self-acting-mules, power-loom, finally machines that produce machinery. From the day Russia introduced railways, the introduction of these modern means of production was a foregone conclusion. You must be able to repair your own locomotives, waggons, railways, and that can only be done cheaply if you are able to construct those things at home, that you intend to repair. From the moment, warfare became a branch of grande industrie (ironclad ships, rifled artillery, quickfiring and repeating cannon, repeating rifles, steel-covered bullets, smokeless powder etc.) la grande industrie without which all these things cannot be made became a political necessity. All these things cannot be had without a highly developed metal manufacture. And that manufacture cannot be had without a corresponding development in all other branches of manufacture, especially textile.

I quite agree with you in fixing the beginning of the new industrial
era of your country about 1861. It was the hopeless struggle of a nation, with primitive forms of production, against nations with modern production, which characterized the Crimean war. The Russian people understood this perfectly; hence their transition to modern forms, a transition rendered irrevocable by the emancipation act of 1861.\footnote{This necessity of the transition from the primitive methods of production that prevailed in 1854, to the modern methods that are now beginning to prevail — this necessity once conceded, it becomes a secondary question whether the hot-house-process of fostering the industrial revolution by protective and prohibitive duties was advantageous or even necessary, or otherwise.

This industrial hot-house-atmosphere renders the process acute, which otherwise might have retained a more chronic form. It crams into twenty years a development, which otherwise might have taken sixty or more years. But it does not affect the nature of the process itself, which, as you say, dates from 1861.

One thing is certain: if Russia really required, and was determined to have, a \emph{grande industrie} of her own, she could not have it at all, except under \emph{some} degree of protection and this you admit. From this point of view too, then, the question of protection is one of \emph{degree} only, not of principle; the principle was unavoidable.

Another thing is certain: if Russia required after the Crimean war a \emph{grande industrie} of her own, she could have it in one form only: the \emph{capitalistic form}. And along with that form, she was obliged to take over all the consequences which accompany capitalistic \emph{grande industrie} in all other countries.

Now I cannot see that the results of the industrial revolution which is taking place in Russia under our eyes, are in any way different from what they are, or have been, in England, Germany, America. In America the conditions of agriculture and landed property are different, and this \emph{does} make some difference.

You complain of the slow increase of hands employed in textile industry, when compared with the increase of quantity of product. — The same is taking place everywhere else. Otherwise, whence our redundant 'industrial reserve'? (\emph{Capital}, c. 23, sect. 3 and 4\textsuperscript{a}).

You prove the gradual replacing of men's work by that of women and children — \emph{Capital}, c. 13 (sect. 3, a).\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{a} \emph{Capital}, Part VII, Ch. XXV, Sections 3, 4 (present edition, Vol. 35).\textsuperscript{b} \emph{Ibid.}, Part IV, Ch. XXV, Section 3 (present edition, Vol. 35).
You complain that the machine-made goods supersede the products of domestic industry and thus destroy a supplementary production, without which the peasant cannot live. But we have here an absolutely necessary consequence of capitalistic grande industrie: the creation of the home-market (Capital, c. 24, sect. 5) and which has taken place in Germany during my lifetime and under my eyes. Even what you say, that the introduction of cotton-goods destroys not only the domestic spinning and weaving of the peasants, but also their flax culture has been seen in Germany between 1820 and now. And as far as this side of the question: the destruction of home-industry and the branches of agriculture subservient to it—as far as this is concerned, the real question for you seems to me this: that the Russians had to decide whether their own grande industrie was to destroy their domestic manufacture, or whether the import of English goods was to accomplish this. With protection, the Russians effected it, without protection, the English. That seems to me perfectly evident.

Your calculation that the sum of the textile products of grande industrie and of domestic industry does not increase, but remains the same and even diminishes, is not only quite correct, but would not be correct if it came to another result. So long as Russian manufacture is confined to the home market, its product can only cover home consumption. And that can only slowly increase, and, as it seems to me, ought even to decrease under present Russian conditions.

For it is one of the necessary corollaries of grande industrie, that it destroys its own home market by the very process by which it creates it. It creates it by destroying the basis of the domestic industry of the peasantry. But without domestic industry the peasantry cannot live. They are ruined, as peasants; their purchasing power is reduced to a minimum; and until they, as proletarians, have settled down into new conditions of existence, they will furnish a very poor market for the newly-arisen factories.

Capitalist production being a transitory economical phase, is full of internal contradictions which develop and become evident in proportion as it develops. This tendency to destroy its own market at the same time it creates it, is one of them. Another is the безвыходное положение to which it leads, and which is developed sooner in a country without a foreign market, like Russia, than in countries which more or less are capable of competing on the open world-market. This sit-

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* Ibid., Part VIII, Ch. XXX (present edition, Vol. 35). b desperate position (Russ.)
Engels to Danielson. 22 September 1892

utation without an apparent issue finds its issue, for the latter countries, in commercial revulsions, in the forcible opening of new markets. But even then the cul-de-sac stares one in the face. Look at England. The last new market which could bring on a temporary revival of prosperity by its being thrown open to English commerce, is China. Therefore English capital insists upon constructing Chinese railways. But Chinese railways mean the destruction of the whole basis of Chinese small agriculture and domestic industry, and, as there will not even be the counterpoise of a Chinese *grande industrie*, hundreds of millions of people will be placed in the impossibility of living. The consequence will be a wholesale emigration such as the world has not yet seen, a flooding of America, Asia and Europe by the hated Chinaman, a competition for work with the American, Australian and European workman on the basis of the Chinese standard of life, the lowest of all — and if the system of production has not been changed in Europe before that time, it will have to be changed then.

Capitalistic production works its own ruin, and you may be sure it will do so in Russia too. It may, and if it lasts long enough, it will surely produce a fundamental agrarian revolution — I mean a revolution in the condition of landed property, which will ruin both the помещик ⁴ and the мужик ⁴ and replace them by a new class of large landed proprietors drawn from the кулаки⁴ of the villages and the bourgeois speculators of the towns. At all events, I am sure the conservative people who have introduced capitalism into Russia, will be one day terribly astonished at the consequences of their own doings.

Yours very truly,

P. W. Rosher⁴

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¹ landlord (Russ.) ⁻¹ peasant ⁻¹ kulaks ⁻¹ Engels' conspiratorial pseudonym
Dear Victor,

Your business with Stepnyak has been settled, as indeed it had been before your telegram and two letters got here. For Stepnyak sent me your letter of the 15th with the comment that he had now obtained Sonnenschein’s formal consent and would be coming tomorrow (i.e. last Thursday, the 22nd) to exchange this document for the £15 sterling credited to me. Although not previously advised by you, I am far too good a business man not to honour the signature of so reputable a firm as V. Adler, even if not as yet actually in receipt of a formal advice. For you had held a pistol, not only to Stepnyak’s head, but also in some measure to my own; otherwise had there been any other way out, I should for your sake have tried to avoid making any payment just now. And this merely on the grounds that you have now paid Stepnyak all that he is entitled to; but, as it is, his interest in seeing your translation published will no longer be of a pecuniary but merely of a literary nature and, if I know my Russians, that is not, I should say, the right way to get the stuff for the second volume out of him. However, there was nothing further I could do. I might have asked him to give me a written undertaking to the effect that he would deliver the goods within a given period, but it would have been worse than useless since you already have enough from him in writing in any case, and another scrap of paper would not have induced him to work any faster.

So I must content myself with his promise, made in Louise’s presence, to let you have the goods in question within 2 weeks at the outside (va-t-en voir s’ils viennent, Jean) and with having paid him, against the enclosed note and Sonnenschein’s perfectly adequate declaration, the £15 sterling you had promised him and told him to claim from me. You wrote:

* after Louise, at your behest, had requested him to attend to the matter

a go and see if they are coming
‘YOU CAN ALSO HAND THE FORMAL PAPER TO MR ENGELS, AND YOU WILL RECEIVE IMMEDIATELY FROM HIM THE SUM OF 15 POUNDS.’

So you see, the categorical wording left me no other alternative.*

I also took occasion to explain to Stepnyak that, by dawdling as he has done, he had cheated himself and that, had he behaved rationally, S. Sonnenschein & Co. might well have been content with £5 STERLING if not less, which would have meant more for him, Stepnyak, to pocket. (Aveling maintains that S. Sonnenschein & Co. would in fact have given their permission gratis, the translation being in any case a good advertisement for the book.) None of this had occurred to him and he will no doubt take note of it. But it’s you who have come off worst.

Summa summarum: should such a case arise in future, you would do well to inform me beforehand, in which case I could either give you my humble opinion or else I could at once enter into negotiations over here on your behalf, whether direct or through Louise or the Avelings. In the literary business ‘local knowledge’ is absolutely essential if you don’t want to get stung.

We are glad to hear how much better your wife is and hope the improvement will continue. Our thoughts are always with you.

We have seen nothing of Andreas Scheu for years, heard nothing of him for months and had no converse about him here for ages and ages. We know absolutely nothing about him. There’s no need for you to worry about Uncle Julius and Aunt—now that they systematically cut themselves off from us we scarcely ever see them, let alone tell them anything.

The story about Hyndman ought not to have been printed. It was uncorroborated, confidential information and may, formally speaking, contain inaccuracies. In essence it is correct; Hyndman has been deposed, though in as considerate a fashion as possible. The mere threat of such a motion supported by a majority of the delegates may have sufficed. The worst of it is that we can’t reply to the démenti without placing him in a more favourable position. Indeed

* You are wrong in saying that you had demanded the surrender of his stuff ‘prior to payment’. I wish the wording had been such as to allow me to make that demand. But you made payment, and ‘IMMEDIATELY’ at that, solely dependent on Sonnenschein’s FORMAL PAPER.

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* Emma Adler  
* Julius Motteler and his wife Emilie
there's something of his in *Justice* expressing the expectation that the *Vorwärts* won't publish his letter. Now he has made an ass of himself.

You will be getting two copies of *Soziales aus Rußland*. Of *The Bakuninists at Work* I have so far been able to find only one copy (bound up with other stuff), namely my handwritten one. I have perforce had to desist from lending things for propaganda purposes, and would advise you to do the same. Never again shall I allow the tools of my trade to leave the house.

My health 'continues slowly to improve'. Louise says you had asked how long this business had been going on — it manifested itself some ten years ago as a result of over-indulgence. The trouble originated some 25 years since when I came down with my horse while riding to hounds. For your further information only a few years after the thing had declared itself, I was forced by disagreeable sensations in the inguinal canal to wear a bandage with hernial pads and there would also seem to be a slight varice in that region, on the left hand side. During the past few days I believe I have taken a distinct turn for the better although there is still some sensitivity to pressure, particularly after any time spent standing or walking; at all events I shall have to be patient and go on resting for a while longer. Louise said you were going to do me the kindness of inquiring about a specialist over here; I should be most grateful, the more so since every...

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*a* F. Engels, *Refugee Literature. V. On Social Relations in Russia.* - *b* varicose veins. - *c* The end of the letter is missing.
Dear Baron,

Here with what I consider to be indispensable amendments to the two passages.575

I. As regards the adoption on the last day of a resolution to attend the Zurich Congress after all, I have neither read anything to that effect, nor have I heard anything from Aveling who was present. Something of the kind is said to have appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* but this cannot be ascertained today. Aveling, who was intending to come here, has not so far, 4.40, turned up, so I am unable to ask him. The report in the *Daily News* says nothing of the kind. Nor does that in the *Workman’s Times*. Bebel may have seen something of the sort in the *Frankfurter*. Consequently, I think it might be safest to qualify the passage as you have done.

II. It is true that a meeting of people describing themselves as the *Independent Labour Party* took place in Glasgow under the chairmanship of Keir Hardie. It is, however, the *Independent Labour Party* which Burgess (Autolycus) of the *Workman’s Times* is attempting to constitute off his own bat, and in no sense a genuine, recognised party like, say, our own in Germany or Austria; rather it is a sect like the *Social Democratic Federation* with which it is in competition. Bebel was probably misled by Keir Hardie’s name into taking the thing more seriously than it deserved. But Keir Hardie is a Scot and his diplomacy is too canny by half; moreover he has an urge to make the most of his new position as M. P. (thereby occasionally making a fool of himself) but will probably turn out well once he’s had a chance to sow his wild oats. To my mind he is better than he seems to be just now.

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* a See this volume, pp. 545-46. 
* b *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*
I shall write to Bebel\textsuperscript{a} about this, in fact shall do so now. More anon. Ede should be back tomorrow or on Wednesday. Your commissions shall be carried out.

Your

F. E.


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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL

IN BERLIN

London, 26 September 1892

Dear August,

Louise will already have told you something about Kugelmann. At first, during the 60s, he was on very friendly terms with Marx and did a great deal towards breaking the newspapers’ conspiracy of silence over \textit{Capital, Volume I}. It was also he who persuaded Marx to go to Karlsbad,\textsuperscript{b} which did him a lot of good,\textsuperscript{460} but after they had been there for a while there was a final parting of the ways. Since Marx’s death he has written to me several times, but I have tried to keep my distance, not being convinced of his reliability. At all events he has more than one foot in more than one camp.

As regards the copies of \textit{Herr Vogt}, I have written and told him\textsuperscript{153} that he must first let me know how many he has got. There are all sorts of people wanting it. I believe that not even Tussy or Laura have got a copy. You, too, will be given preference if at all possible.

Arndt is a student who used to be in Geneva, and then went to Spain where he frequented our people in Madrid before coming to this country. While here he was taken under Julius’\textsuperscript{c} wing and he

\textsuperscript{a} See this volume, pp. 543-47. \textsuperscript{b} Karlový Vary \textsuperscript{c} Julius Motteler
would occasionally come and see us. Then he suddenly went to Paris. He never said a word to us about his intention to write for the Vorwärts — presumably this was arranged by Julius. I gave him a card for Laura but have never heard whether he presented himself; I shall ask her. Laura would have referred him to Vaillant and, since the latter was in Paris and Lafargue was nearly always away, this would account for the consideration currently being shown to the Blanquis and their allies, the Allemans. Can you get hold of Arndt's address for me? After the Congress, and particularly when the daily comes out, Lafargue will be spending more time in Paris and the man will have to be referred to him and Guesde direct.

I rather think I remember seeing Meyer in St Louis, but there are so many people of that name. I trust that Kugelmann, who is forever bragging about his connections, will be able to find something out.

Pieper was at one time tutor to the Rothschilds in this country and is now a grammar school teacher in Hanover. Marx once — in 1867, I think — ran into him in the street, by which time he had become a bloated philistine.

I completely agree that you should go on with the annual party conference. If only for constitutional reasons you, as an Executive, should adhere to it, otherwise what a fine pretext it would provide for malcontents. And it's also important that once a year the party itself should be able to express itself as a body; this is generally applicable but doubly so just now — vis-à-vis both the 'Independents' and Vollmar.

It is a great pity that you people should have been in such a hurry to put what I told you about Hyndman into the paper. Let me therefore expressly point out once and for all that in future anything I pass on to you in private letters is intended solely for your information and, where necessary — subject to the usual reservations — for the correction and prevention of inaccuracies or misconceptions in the Vorwärts; not for immediate publication, however, except when this is expressly stated. Otherwise I should have to keep my mouth shut about everything I could not actually substantiate, or else, in most cases, run the risk of having to betray my sources, thus causing these to dry up for the future.

Basically the information as such is quite definitely correct, as every number of Justice goes to show; gone are the attacks on individuals in

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a Hermann Meyer - b See this volume, pp. 524, 529, 532 and 540-41.
this country or on the Continent, nor is anything left of the Hyndmanian spirit. But it's very possible that my information may have contained formal errors and that the mere threat of a resolution was enough to make Hyndman resign, etc. The only cause for regret is first, that this business will mean this and other sources on the doings of the Social Democratic Federation  will be closed to us, secondly, that Hyndman's position has been improved thereby and, thirdly, that any further attempt to put a stop to this can only improve it still more.

In *Justice* there's a piece by Hyndman expressing the expectation that you people would not print his letter, and to that extent he has made an ass of himself. I shall try and get hold of a copy for you.

I have written and told Kugelmann that, so far as I was competent to say, you were authorised to read the letters from Marx to him. Also that he would be getting *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*.

I have today received proofs of your article from K. Kautsky with queries about two passages.

I. There was nothing in the *Daily News* about the adoption in Glasgow of a resolution that delegates should after all be sent to Zurich, nor had Aveling heard anything of the kind, otherwise he's have said so. He was intending to come here today but hasn't turned up. Louise say that on her way here she had seen something of that nature in the *Daily Telegraph*. In the circumstances I advised K. Kautsky to insert the words: *if the relevant newspaper report is true.* That covers you completely.

II. 'The Independent Labour Party now coming into being — whose supporters assembled for the first time after the end of the Glasgow Congress to constitute themselves —', etc., etc.

I advised K. Kautsky at all costs to delete the words between dashes: '— whose ... constitute themselves —'. The Independent Labour Party now coming into being over here is still very far from constituting itself, nor is it desirable that it should yet attempt to do so. It is not yet mature enough. The *Independent Labour Party*, whose adherents more or less constituted themselves a party in Glasgow under Keir Hardie's chairmanship, is the sect founded by Autolycus (Joseph Burgess) of the *Workman's Times*, a sect which so far boasts 2,000 members and competes with the Social Democratic Federation in re-

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a K. Marx, *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*. 
cruting socialistically minded workers. At present it is no more *the* Independent Labour Party than is *the* Social Democratic Federation, nor is it either better or worse than the latter. What will come of it remains to be seen, but on no account should *we* proclaim it as a matter of course to be *the* one and only genuine Independent Labour Party, otherwise we might burn our fingers badly.

Since his election Keir Hardie has been pushing himself to the fore and putting on airs in a way that is both ludicrous and discreditable. Success has gone to his head and he will have to sow his wild oats for a while. He is evidently intent on pushing Burns into the background; the latter is behaving with great fortitude and restraint (he asked leave to call on me in order to consult me about the attitude he should adopt). I think it will all even itself out in the end — Keir Hardie is better than he makes himself out to be, but you should by no means conclude as a matter of course that something is commendable because *he* happens to be taking part in it.

Otherwise I find your article quite unexceptionable — composed, dignified and emphatic.

At Marseilles the Trades Unions Congress (*Congrès des syndicats*) passed a resolution which I had put to Lafargue, namely *that they should not take part in the international congress convoked by the trades unions but should invite the latter to attend the Zurich Congress*. This isn't the exact wording which I have yet to receive. Liebknecht will probably send it you as he had just turned up when Lafargue was in the act of writing. The Congress of the Workers' Party will adopt a similar resolution. I drew Lafargue's attention to the fact that the trades unions do not recognise the validity of Labour Party congresses and resolutions while according respect of a very different order to those of the trades unions. If you in Germany could get the trades unions to adopt resolutions along the same lines, this could not fail to make an impact over here; it's something that should certainly not be neglected.

You might send about 12 copies of your article to *us* for distribution to the papers over here. For their people very seldom understand foreign languages, and whether they would so much as look at it is a complete toss-up. To get anything into the press over here one must employ different methods. If, for instance, Aveling were to take *the finished article* to the Pall Mall, he would probably get it in 576;

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* See this volume, pp. 533-35.- * The Pall Mall Gazette
that same evening we should send copies to the other papers so that they would all be served at the same time and there might still be a possibility of its getting a mention in one paper or another. But once one paper has discussed any such subject, none of the others will subsequently take it up—such is the rule over here. That is why we, who are here on the spot, must be able to determine the moment of distribution. On the other hand you could certainly send copies, specially designated as coming from you, to the French press; it might possibly have some pull over there, particularly since in France we haven’t got a single daily in which we are able to publish anything. You could send it to L’Éclair (the paper most likely to take it), Le Figaro, Le Temps, Le Matin, La Justice, L’Intransigeant, Le Parti Ouvrier (Possibilist) and Le Parti Socialiste (49, rue de Rivoli, Blanquist—weekly).

Please let me know whether or not the Workman’s Times is still being sent you by the editorial department. Here it is being said that all complimentary copies for countries abroad have been cancelled. If this is true, I shall send it to you instead of to Fischer who can read it at your house or after you have done with it.

Well, I should have liked to write a word or two to your wife, but it is already past 9 p.m. and, contrary to doctor’s orders, I have already spent over-long writing by lamplight. I have also had to write to Victor and to Karl Kautsky which has taken me all day, so please ask her to excuse me. But she will be getting a letter all to herself from me. Till then, please give her my warm regards.

Your
General

I have just heard from Louise that you have not been getting an official copy of the Workman’s Times for some while past. So that is one thing settled.

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

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a Julie Bebel - b Victor Adler - c See this volume, pp. 539-41 and 542-43.
Dear Victor,

Barely had my (registered) letter gone off yesterday\(^a\) than a messenger arrived from the Crédit Lyonnais\(^b\) and handed me the £15 in question in settlement of my loan. Receipt of this is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

The Marsilles Trades Unions (syndicats) Congress,\(^c\) which preceded the one held by the Workers' Party,\(^d\) resolved not to send delegates to the Eight Hours\(^e\) Congress in Glasgow\(^f\) convoked by the Trades Unions, but instead to invite the Trades Unions to Zurich. Lafargue writes to say that the party congress will pass a similar resolution. Were your trades unions to make a pronouncement along the same lines, it would create an impression over here. In the eyes of the bumptious gentlemen of the old Trades Unions, resolutions adopted by political working men's congresses don't count!

Regards from Louise to your wife\(^g\) and children and yourself, and likewise from

Your
F. E.

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 539-41. \(^b\) See this volume, pp. 519-20, 522-24, 528-29, 530-31 and 533-35. \(^c\) Emma Adler
Dear Mr Mehring,

Kautsky has sent me part of one of your letters with an inquiry addressed to me. If you feel somewhat hesitant about writing to me because of my failure many years ago to answer two of your letters, I have no right to complain. At the time we were, of course, in different camps and the Anti-Socialist Law was in force, imposing upon us the rule that 'he who is not for us is against us'. Moreover, if I remember rightly you yourself said in one of the letters that you could hardly venture to expect a reply. However that was a long time ago and since then we have found ourselves in the same camp. You have also done excellent work for the Neue Zeit, a subject on which I have been far from parsimonious in my tributes when writing to e.g. Bebel. Accordingly I shall be glad to take this opportunity of replying to you direct.

The claim that the discovery of the materialist view of history should be ascribed to the Prussian Romantics of the historical school is certainly new to me. I myself have Marwitz's Nachlass and I read the book a few years ago but found nothing in it other than some splendid stuff about cavalry and an unshakeable belief in the magic powers of five cuts of the whip when administered to the plebs by the nobility. Otherwise I have been a complete stranger to such literature since 1841-42 — I only applied myself to it very superficially — and am certainly in no way indebted to it so far as the present discussion is concerned. Marx became acquainted during his Bonn and Berlin days with Adam Müller and Mr von Haller's Restauration, etc., and was always somewhat scornful of that vapid, cliché-ridden caricature of the French Romantics, Joseph de Maistre and Cardinal Bonald. But even had he come upon passages such as the one you cite from Lavergne-Peguilhen, they could at that time have made absolutely no impression on him, always assuming he understood what the chaps were trying to say in the first place. Marx was then a He-

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*a See this volume, pp. 375-76 and 387.
gelian to whom that passage would have been downright heresy; he knew absolutely nothing about political economy and thus could not have made anything at all of a term such as 'economic system'. Hence the passage in question, even if he had known of it, would have gone in at one ear and out of the other without leaving any noticeable trace in his memory. But I very much doubt whether any such allusions were to be found in the historico-Romantic works read by Marx between 1837 and 1842.

It is indeed a highly remarkable passage and I should like to see the quotation verified. I am not familiar with the book, though the author is, of course, known to me as an adherent of the 'historical school'. The passage diverges from the modern view on two counts, 1. in that it derives production and distribution of production from the economic system instead of vice-versa, i.e. the economic system from production, and, 2. in the role it assigns to the 'proper administration' of the economic system, this being open to any number of interpretations, so long as one is unable oneself to see from the book what the author means.

But the strangest thing of all is that the correct concept of history in abstracto should be found among the very people who have most abused history in concreto — both theoretically and practically. In the case of feudalism the chaps may have seen that here the political system evolved out of the economic system because here it is, so to speak, plain as a pikestaff. I say may because apart from the above-mentioned unverified passage — you told me yourself that someone gave it to you — all I have ever been able to discover about it is that the theoreticians of feudalism are, needless to say, less abstract than the bourgeois liberals. So if, from this concept of the connection between the political system and the spread of civilisation on the one hand and the economic system within feudal society on the other, one of them proceeds to the generalisation that this applies to all economic and political systems, how then explain the total myopia of this self-same Romantic, the moment he is faced with other economic systems, with the bourgeois economic system and the political systems corresponding to its various stages of development — medieval craft fraternities, absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, republic? That is certainly difficult to fathom. And the same chap who regards the economic system as the basis of social and political organisation as a whole, also adheres to the school to whom the absolute monarchy of the 17th and 18th centuries already signifies the fall of man and a be-
trayal of true political doctrine!

Admittedly he also says that the political system emanates from the economic system and its proper administration as inevitably as does a child from the coupling of man and woman. Having regard to the widely known teaching of the author’s school, I can only explain this as follows: The true economic system is the feudal one. But since human malice conspires against that system, it must be properly administered in such a way that its existence is protected against these attacks and perpetuated, and that the political system, etc., continues to correspond to it, i.e. is kept, so far as possible, as it was in the 13th and 14th centuries. Then the best of all possible worlds and the finest of historical theories would each be realised, while the Lavergne-Peguilhenian generalisation to the effect that feudal society engenders a feudal polity would be reduced to its true essentials.\(^{582}\)

For the time being I can only assume that Lavergne-Peguilhen didn’t know what he was saying. According to the proverb, certain animals occasionally discover pearls and among the Prussian Romantics such creatures are strongly represented. Incidentally, it might nevertheless be advisable to compare them with their French prototypes — to see whether this has not also been borrowed.

I can only say how grateful I am to you for drawing my attention to this point which I cannot unfortunately pursue further at this moment.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

London, 29 September 1892

Dear Baron,

Ede and Gine are the most surprising people I have ever met. This morning a postcard dated Berne 27.9.92 with a view of the Schänzli arrived from them and at 1.30 this afternoon they burst in on me in person; both looked very well, especially Gine, despite the fact that she is still receiving treatment for her throat and, most important of all, Ede gives the impression of having got over his neurasthenia. Considering that they have of late been so extraordinarily efficient in the matter of supplying addresses, I shall steal a march on them by informing you that for the time being they are living at 23 Compton Terrace, Highbury, N., quite close to Highbury and Islington Station, North London Railway.

Mehring's letter, which I return herewith, made it necessary for me to reply to him direct if I did not wish to give offence, which would, of course, never occur to me. I did so on the enclosed sheet, which kindly forward to him.a

I told Kovalevsky on Friday that he should send you the article.b

We see the Centralblattc here at home and also at the Avelings. Evidently the Brauns of the male sex cannot help keeping one foot in the armchair socialist camp. Respectability!

Since you have written to me about the article on the history of socialist organisations in England, I would commend Tussy to you, she being the only person capable of doing the thing with E. Aveling. The relevant literature is all very inadequate albeit voluminous, nor does it contain anything about what has actually happened and concerning which the public was supposed to be kept in ignorance. No one who was not a participant can express an opinion about it, i.e. be knowledgeable about individual events and record them objectively. Ede, for example, would have to go through all the numbers of Justice, To-Day, Labour Elector, Commonweal, etc. which appeared before his arrival in London, and even so he would have to ask Tussy to ex-

a See this volume, pp. 549-51. - b See this volume, p. 528. - c Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt
plain to him the significance of what had happened and in that case the whole thing would, after all, be at second hand. However it will be a ticklish job explaining this to Ede who has only just got over his neurasthenia and, since the matter is not urgent, I shall let it rest for the time being. You have seen more of Ede than I have and if you believe that the business would not upset him unduly, it might perhaps be best if the suggestion were to come from you. At all events I leave it in your hands.

Bebel’s article, on which I made the necessary comments in yesterday’s letter, is very good.

I fully agree that my article should not have appeared until now. I don’t even know whether the book has come out yet. Mendelson tells me he ordered it but received the reply that it was not yet available. There was a curious Fabian review in the Daily Chronicle, mostly excerpts, running to 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) columns.

From what C. Schmidt tells me, he has not succeeded in solving the puzzle. Nevertheless I shall wait and see what he says in the article. His article on the Menger-Jevonsiad was very nice. Unfortunatley there’s nobody one can place it with over here.

Mehring’s contributions, both the leaders and the Lessing, strike me as quite excellent and I derive much enjoyment from them.

Your
F. E.
APPENDICES
WILLIAM THORNE AND ELEANOR MARX-AVELING
TO SAMUEL GOMPERS

IN NEW YORK

National-union of
Gasworkers and General Labourers
of Great Britain and Ireland.

Registered Office—144, Barking Road, E.

W. Watkinson, President
W. Byford, Treasurer
W. Thorne, General Secretary
W. H. Ward, Assistant Secretary

[London,] 25 January 1891

Mr Samuel Gompers
for the American Federation of Labour

Dear Comrade,

During the recent visit of Comrades Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer on the occasion of Frederick Engels' 70th birthday, they met representatives of the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union (comprising about 100,000 men and women belonging to over seventy trades) and of several other Unions and Organisations, besides John Burns, Cunninghame Graham, M. P., and others. At this meeting the feeling was very strong that the time had come to bring about a close and organised relation between the labour parties of the different countries. The most immediate question is that of preventing the introduction from one country to another of unfair labour, i.e. of workers who not knowing the conditions of the labour-struggle in a particular country, are imported into that country by the Capi-
talists, in order to reduce wages, or lengthen the hours of labour, or both. The most practical way of carrying this out appears to be the appointing in each country of an International Secretary, who shall be in communication with all the other International Secretaries. Thus, the moment any difficulty between capitalists and labourers occurs in any country, the International Labour Secretaries of all the other countries should be at once communicated with, and will make it their business to try to prevent the exportation from their particular country of any labourers to take the place on unfair terms, of those locked-out or on strike in the country where the difficulty has occurred. Whilst this is the most immediate and most obvious matter to be dealt with, it is hoped that an arrangement of the kind proposed, will in every way facilitate the interchange of ideas on all questions between the workers of every nation that is becoming every day and every hour the most pressing necessity of the working-class movement.

If your organisation agrees with the views of the Gasworkers and General Labourers Union, will you at once communicate with us, and give us the name of the Secretary appointed by it to take part in this important movement?

Yours fraternally,

W. Thorne
(General Secretary)

Eleanor Marx-Aveling
(On the behalf of the Executive Committee)


Reproduced from the original
Dear Comrade,

When your letter arrived yesterday, Engels was on the point of leaving. However he read your letter and asked me to reply. In the first place your letter arrived much too late for the circular to be translated and put into the papers. In this instance the bourgeois papers were sooner and better advised of the Germans’ intentions than were the comrades over here. To the best of my knowledge Mr Döblin, the German delegate, has not yet seen any of the more prominent comrades, besides which the London Trades Council has taken charge of the affair. According to today’s papers there was a meeting yesterday at which not one German spoke English well enough to be able to translate. A letter from Mr Liebknecht was read out. At this stage we should only make ourselves look silly were we to tag along behind the rest in the name of the German Party and hence we might as well save ourselves the trouble. So far as I can see from the papers, the meeting went well for the compositors. The English trades unions will do everything they can. If in future you have anything of this kind, will you please send it to Bernstein first. Over here we say, as do the Avelings everywhere, that it is he who represents the German Party and in my view Döblin ought to have gone to Bernstein. Please don’t regard this letter as an answer from Engels. He merely agreed that the things should not be published.

With Social-Democratic Greetings,
Louise Kautsky

Mrs Aveling, who is as familiar as anyone with English affairs, is in full agreement with what I have written.
ELEANOR MARX-AVELING
TO PAUL LAFARGUE
AT LE PERREUX

[London,] 15 April 1892
65 Chancery Lane, W.C.

My dear Paul,

We sent you some days ago a copy of the *Chronicle* containing a statement with regard to Adolphe Smith and the representation of the French Workers at the forthcoming demonstration in Hyde Park. In the *Workman's Times* of this week—I send you a second copy tho' I believe you get one regularly—you will see some notes referring to this under the heading of (I think) 'London notes', and in any case over the signature of Autolycus—i.e. Burgess, Editor of the *Workman's Times*. Now the result of this paragraph has been much greater and much more unpleasant than you can probably imagine, and unless very disagreeable complications are to follow, you *must absolutely* write to the *Chronicle* and the *Workman's Times* on the subject. That is, of course, if the organisations for which M. Adolphe is the mouthpiece are, as we surmise, simply the Possibilist ones.

You know that 2 years ago, when in the face of violent opposition we managed to force a demonstration, you came and spoke from the platforms of the Demonstration Committee. You know that last year your Party was again invited by us, and your letter, stating the reasons why you could not send a delegate was publicly read at the Demonstration. During all this time the London Trades Council working then as now with Mr Hyndman and the English Possibilists, refused to have anything to do with the 'foreigners'. And do not forget the very important fact that the Legal Eight Hours Day demanded by Shipton and Co. is not our Legal Eight Hours Day. They only want the 8 hours day legalised *in order that over-time may be more highly paid*.

Now seeing all this our Committee who have held steadfastly to the whole Paris programme, and specially the strongest body not only on our Committee, but the strongest of the New Unions—that of the 'Gas Workers and General Labourers'—are deeply
hurt and surprised at the insult offered them in the *Chronicle*. Thorne came up here on Wednesday and said that he thought it doubly strange as his Union, long before the International Secretariats were thought about, had entered into correspondence with the French Parti Ouvrier, and he wanted to know why they were now to be insulted. This is only one case out of many. I can't tell you the disastrous effect this will have if you don't reply.

Yesterday I had a long talk with the General on the subject (Edward is very ill with a bad throat)—and we both agreed, that you, as foreign Secretary of the ‘Parti’, must send a line to the *Chronicle*. The delay you can easily explain by the fact that you have been visiting your constituents and Fourmies. You should write—if that is the fact—that M. A. Smith speaks only for the Possibilists who are the reactionary party and represent—you know what. That the Parti Ouvrier attended the 1st demonstration of the Legal Eight Hours Committee, that although it could send no delegate, it was at one with that Committee last year, and (this we all hope) that your Party will be represented on our platforms this year. The Possibilists are sending 2 delegates. Surely you could send one. Could not Delec-luze come? It would cost very little to come from Calais? And you could also nominate Bonnier. Those 2 (I know you can't come) would counterbalance the others.

In any case, my dear Paul, you must write a line to the *Chronicle* (or better still let Laura write it!) and copy that and send it, with *further details if need be*, to the *Workman's Times*. But this must be done at once.

Yours,

Tussy

Why *don't* you get your *Verriers* to join the International Bottle-makers' Society? Their not doing so is a great pity—and 'tis only 4d. (8 sous!) *per annum* per member!!


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*a* glassworkers
My dear Laura,

Enclosed a reply from the sweat Adolphe to Paul's very excellent letter. I am writing to you from the General's, as I wished to ask his opinion before writing to you on the matter. He agrees with me that some answer should go, if you can induce Paul to send it. I know, of course, he is busy, but you may be sure that a reply is necessary here. It need not be long.

But who sends Lavy? Is it the Broussists, or is it, as Smith writes, the joint Committee? That makes all the difference. But a few facts as to the real strength of the Parti Ouvrier would have a good effect here, and anyhow I hope the elections of May 1st will show our real strength.

Get Paul to write, or rather, as I said before, do you write. (We all recognised your 'Roman hand' in the Chronicle article.)

Just time to catch the post. Love from the General and Louise and

Yours,

Tussy


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Adolphe Smith
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW
TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN BERLIN

29 May 1892

Our aims are as advanced as those of any other body of Social Democrats in England or in Germany, and our methods are as like the German party methods as is possible in view of the facts that we have no second ballot in England as you have in Germany, whilst on the other hand our House of Commons has command of the army, so that when we capture that we capture everything. The result is that whereas you can always run your S. D. candidate against both Liberal & Tory (as we should call them) with the certainty of winning at the 2nd ballot if you have a majority as against the Tory, we in England would be defeated at the 1st ballot by the division of the labour vote between the Liberal and the S. D., both being beaten by the Tory. Therefore, our only chance where the workers are not completely organized is to force the Liberals to accept our men as their party candidates. At the last City Council election the S. D. F. ran independent candidates and they were all badly beaten, the Fabian Society ran 6 of its members as ‘Progressives’ and they were all triumphantly successful. Meanwhile we are agitating for the introduction of the 2nd ballot here and urging the workers to organize themselves independently and break loose from the Liberals. If you and Paul Singer were to take the command of the Fabian Society, you would find yourselves compelled to take the same course and if you make a careful study of the work that has been done for some years past in spreading the S. D. idea in this country, I am sure that you will find that the Fabians who are a small and a poor body of men, have done as much as any other body in forwarding that work. You will readily understand that those enthusiastic socialists who have had no experience of practical political work accuse us of compromising our principles and intriguing with the Liberal party. I have already explained to you how we find ourselves as Possibilists, compelled for the present either to force our candidates on the Liberals or to suffer defeat and disgrace at every election.

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NOTES
AND
INDEXES
NOTES

1 The letter is written on a postcard. The address is on the back: Herrn W. Liebknecht, Südpalz 11, Leipzig, Germany.—3, 17

2 Presumably Liebknecht had asked Engels (see Engels' letter to him of 30 June 1890; present edition, Vol. 48) to write a refutation to Justice in connection with an item headlined 'Make a Note of This!' published in its issue 336 on 21 June 1890. Citing Paul Brousse, a Possibilist leader, as his source, the author had attributed to Liebknecht the statement 'We are no revolutionists', which, he alleged, had been made on behalf of the German Social-Democratic Party. Social-Democracy in Germany, the Justice writer claimed, was pinning its hopes on propaganda rather than revolutionary action. The next issue of Justice (No. 337, 28 June) carried a letter to the Editor from Ferdinand Gilles headlined 'German Social-Democrats Still Revolutionists'. It declared that if Liebknecht had in fact made this statement, he was not speaking for the whole party, which at its every congress had confirmed its loyalty to revolutionary principles.

Liebknecht's reply to these items was published in People's Press, No. 22, 2 August 1890.—3

3 The Possibilists (or Broussists) were a trend in the French socialist movement. Their leaders—Paul Brousse, Benoît Malon and others—advocated the gradual transformation of the capitalist system into a socialist one by means of reform, through a 'policy of pursuing the possible'. In 1882 they caused a split in the French Workers' Party (see Note 146) and formed a new party named Fédération des Travailleurs socialistes. In the 1890s the Possibilists lost a great deal of their influence; in 1902 the majority of them joined the reformist French Socialist Party, founded by Jean Léon Jaurès.—3, 24, 126, 140, 155, 162, 164, 167, 183, 186, 190, 193, 208, 211, 224, 229, 238, 241, 260, 291, 292, 342, 348, 360, 367, 370, 381, 401, 423, 484, 520, 524, 533, 561, 562

4 This refers to preparations to make the journal Neue Zeit a weekly. It began appearing on a weekly basis in October 1890.—5
5 In a letter of 3 July 1890 Karl Kautsky, discussing his plans for *Neue Zeit*, had asked Engels to write something for the journal: ‘Of course I should very much like to promise something by you, indeed to begin with a contribution from you straight away.’ Engels fulfilled his promise much later. His work *On the History of Early Christianity* was completed in July 1894 and published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 13. Jg., 1894/95, 1. Bd., Nr. 1, 2 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 445-69). In the same letter Kautsky asked Engels to send him the address of Friedrich Adolph Sorge, whom he wanted to contribute to the journal.—5


7 This refers to Conrad Schmidt’s letter to Engels of 25 June 1890, in which Schmidt spoke of his literary plans. He mentioned in particular having promised to Kautsky a review of G. F. Knapp’s book *Die Bauern-Befreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preußens*, published in Leipzig in 1887. However, the review never materialised. Schmidt also described his impressions of P. Barth’s book *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel’s und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann*, Leipzig, 1890.—6

8 *Blue Books* (so called after the traditional blue cover) is the general title of the collections of proceedings of the British Parliament and documents of the Foreign Office. They have been published since the 17th century and are the main official source on Great Britain’s economic and diplomatic history. Marx used the Blue Books in particular for his work on *Capital*.—6

9 Engels obviously means his letter to Eduard Bernstein of 2-3 November 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 46) in which he mentions a conversation Marx had with Paul Lafargue. In discussing the state of scientific socialist thought in France, Marx told Lafargue ironically: ‘If anything is certain it is that I myself am not a Marxist.’—7, 22

10 Between 14 June and 12 July 1890 *Berliner Volks-Tribüne*, in a discussion series headlined ‘Jedem der volle Ertrag seiner Arbeit’, published articles by Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, Paul Ernst, Paul Fischer, and also an article signed *Von einem Arbeiter*. On 12 July the paper summed up the discussion in an item headlined ‘Schlußwort zur Debatte’.—7

11 The *Anti-Socialist Law*, initiated by the Bismarck government and passed by the Reichstag on 21 October 1878, was directed against the socialist and working-class movement. The Social-Democratic Party of Germany was virtually driven into the underground. All party and mass working-class organisations and their press were banned, socialist literature was subject to confiscation, Social-Democrats made the object of reprisals. However, with the active help of Marx and Engels, the Social-Democratic Party succeeded in overcoming both the opportunist (Eduard Bernstein et al.) and ‘ultra-Left’ (J. Most et al.) tendencies within its ranks and was able, by combining underground activities with an efficient utilisation of legal means, to use the period of the operation of the law for considerably strengthening and expanding its influence among the masses. Prolonged in 1881, 1884, 1886 and 1888, the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed on 1 October 1890. For Engels’ assessment of it
The first Congress of German Social-Democracy to be held after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law met in Halle between 12 and 18 October 1890. It was attended by 413 delegates and 17 guests. The congress endorsed the new party Rules adapted to the task of turning the party, under the conditions of legality, into a mass working-class organisation. It abandoned the party's hitherto operative, Lassallean programme and, on Liebknecht's proposal, decided to have a new programme drafted for the next party congress, which was to be held in Erfurt, and published three months before the congress for discussion by local party organisations and in the press. The congress also discussed the party press (Berliner Volksblatt was made the central organ) and the party's stance on strikes and boycotts. The party adopted the name Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social-Democratic Party of Germany).—11, 22, 24, 26, 46, 52, 55, 73, 95, 98

In late March 1890 the Jungen, a group of Berlin Social-Democrats, including Max Schippel, published an appeal under the title 'Was soll am 1. Mai geschehen?', urging the workers to hold a strike on the 1st of May. The appeal reflected the specific attitude of the Jungen, crystallised in 1890, as a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist opposition group within the German Social-Democracy. The hard core of the group was made up of students and young literati (hence the group's name) who claimed the role of the party's theorists and leaders. Paul Ernst, Paul Kampffmeyer, Hans Müller, Bruno Wille and others were the group's ideologues. The Jungen ignored the change in the conditions for the party's activity after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. They denied the need for using legal forms of struggle, opposed participation in parliamentary elections and the use of the parliamentary platform by the Social-Democrats and demagogically accused the party and its Executive of opportunism, violation of party democracy and promotion of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie. In October 1891 the Erfurt Congress expelled some of the opposition leaders from the party.

A reply to the above-mentioned appeal of the Jungen was given on the party's behalf by the Social-Democratic parliamentary group in a statement entitled, 'An die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen Deutschlands!' (adopted in Halle on 13 April 1890).—11, 20, 21, 25

Engels refers to Bebel's 'Erklärung' in Berliner Volksblatt, No. 173, 29 July 1890, in which Bebel took issue with the article 'Der 1. Oktober' published in Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung, No. 88, 23 July 1890. In his statement Bebel pointed out: '...if you are sure that you have grounds for accusations, you must give the names and the facts you challenge so that those concerned may answer you. This is the mode of operation of honorable men. Any other mode of operation is sheer insolence.'—11

This refers to the item 'Tell Tale Straws' in Justice, No. 337, 28 June 1890.—12
A letter from Paul Lafargue of 4 August 1890.—12

The draft Rules of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, framed by the Social-Democratic parliamentary group, was published for discussion in August 1890. The party congress in Halle (see Note 12) adopted them with a number of amendments.
These concerned, in particular, the provisions which had been criticised by Engels—on the procedure for fixing salaries for members of the Executive, on the representation of the party branches at congresses, and on the functions of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag.—13

The fragment of this letter was published earlier in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968, pp. 690-91 and in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works, International Publishers, N.Y., 1968, pp. 690-91.—18

In a letter dated 16 August 1890 Otto von Boenigk, who was planning to give a lecture on socialism, asked for Engels’ view on the expediency and possibility of socialist reform given the existing distinctions in the level of education, political awareness, etc., of the different social classes. Von Boenigk’s other question concerned the family of Jenny Marx.—18

This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, Correspondence, Vol. 2, 1887-1890, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960. A passage from this letter was first published in French in: Le Socialiste, No. 115, 24 November 1900.—21

The École spéciale militaire, founded in Fontainbleau in 1803 and transferred to Saint-Cyr near Versailles in 1808, trained infantry and cavalry officers. The whole course of studies took two years—a circumstance Engels was probably hinting at to show the graduates’ inadequate knowledge.—21

The Social-Democratic meetings mentioned by Engels were held respectively: the one in Dresden on 10 August 1890, that in Magdeburg on 13 August and that in Berlin—scheduled for 20 August—on 25 August. All three fully endorsed the policy of Bebel and the Reichstag Social-Democratic group, led by him.—22

On 20 August 1890 Le Figaro launched a series of articles under the title ‘Les Coulisses du boulangisme’, signed x. The author was the ex-Boulangist journalist Mermeix.—22

The second ballot in Paris on 27 January 1889 was contested by Georges Boulanger for the Rightists, Jacques for the Republican Party, and Boulés, a navvy, for the Workers’ Party and the Blanquists. The Possibilists backed Jacques. The campaign was marked by high tension. Boulanger scored a major victory with a vote of about 250,000. Boulés polled 17,000 votes.—22

This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, Correspondence, Vol. 2, 1887-1890, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.—23, 42, 65, 82

In the autumn of 1890 the General Council of the Belgian Workers’ Party, acting on a mandate from the Possibilist congress (see Note 53), sent out invitations for an international workers’ congress to be held in Brussels in 1891. Since the executive committee of Swiss socialists set up on the instructions of the 1889 Paris International Socialist Workers’ Congress (see Note 51) for the purpose of convoking another congress had failed to take any action until September 1890, the danger arose of two international congresses being held simultaneously in 1891.—23, 26, 28, 46, 74
27 The Congress of the British Trades Unions in Liverpool met from 1 to 6 September 1890. It was attended by 460 delegates representing more than 1.4 million organised workers. A considerable number of delegates represented new trades unions, in which a certain influence was wielded by the British socialists.

Despite resistance from the leaders of the old trades unions the congress adopted a resolution urging the legal introduction of the eight-hour working day and recognised as desirable the participation of trades unions in international workers' associations. It also decided to send delegates to the International Socialist Workers' Congress which was due to meet in Brussels (see Note 135).—23, 25, 46, 167, 185, 233, 250

28 The International Socialist Conference in Halle was held on 16 and 17 October 1890, while the Congress of German Social-Democracy was meeting there (see Note 12). The conference was attended by German Social-Democrats and the representatives of nine socialist parties who took part in the congress as guests. In keeping with Engels' recommendation, the conference decided to hold a united socialist congress in Brussels in 1891 (see Note 135) which was to be attended, among others, by the Possibilists and their supporters. The Possibilists' participation was made contingent on their recognising the complete sovereignty of the congress — none of the decisions of the earlier congresses, the 1889 Possibilist congress included, was to be binding on it. For details see Engels' article 'The International Workers' Congress of 1891' (present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 72-75).—24, 29, 40, 46, 49, 52, 54, 57, 74, 98

29 The Social Democratic Federation, set up in August 1884, consisted of English socialists of different orientations, mostly intellectuals. For a long time the leadership of the Federation was in the hands of reformists led by Hyndman, an opportunist sectarian. In opposition to them, the revolutionary Marxists within the Federation (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Tom Mann and others) worked for close ties with the revolutionary labour movement. In the autumn of 1884 — following a split and the establishment by the Left wing of an independent organisation, the Socialist League (see Note 49) — the opportunists' influence in the Federation increased. However, revolutionary elements, discontented with the opportunist leadership, continued to form within the Federation, under the impact of the masses.—24, 43, 57, 123, 126, 131, 140, 155, 185, 190, 219, 333, 335, 370, 380, 386, 402, 449, 471, 475, 484, 493, 497, 508, 515, 542, 545, 563

30 In his letter to Engels of 8 September 1890 Karl Kautsky said he intended, after the Halle party congress (see Note 12), to publish in Neue Zeit a series of articles criticising the party programme adopted at the Gotha congress in 1875. The prospective authors included Engels, Bebel, Auer, Bernstein and others.—25

31 In his letter of 8 September Kautsky told Engels that he was looking for a deputy editor to work simultaneously for Neue Zeit and Schwäbische Tagwacht, and asked Engels to help him in this matter. He mentioned Conrad Schmidt as a possible candidate.—25

32 In a letter of 16 September 1890 Paul Lafargue told Engels the French socialists considered it possible to hold an international socialist congress in Brussels in 1891
since the Possibilists had lost all influence among the Belgians and Dutch and there were no grounds to fear for the success of the congress.—28

33 Engels’ letter to Bebel has not been found. In his reply, dated 23 October, Bebel wrote: ‘Holding a sort of conference in Halle would be a good thing and easy to arrange because apart from the French and Nieuwenhuis there would be three or four Austrians there.’—29

34 Engels evidently means the position of non-interference adopted by the Workers’ Party during the Boulangist crisis and the press reports concerning Boulanger’s receiving financial aid from the royalists. He may also be referring to the Boulangists’ defeat at the municipal elections held between 27 April and 4 May 1890.—30

35 This refers to the leading article, ‘The Death of a Hero’, in *Justice*, No. 349, 20 September 1890.—30

36 In a letter of 17 September Charles Caron asked Engels’ permission to publish translations of works by Marx and Engels in *L’Oeuvre socialiste. Revue politique et littéraire.—31*

37 In a letter dated 19 September 1890 Paul Lafargue warned Engels against allowing Charles Caron to publish Marx’s *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Caron, he wrote, was a private publisher and had long since drifted away from the labour movement.—32

38 The *Eighth Congress of the French Workers’ Party* met in Lille on 11 and 12 October 1890. It was attended by about 70 delegates, representing more than 200 party groups and trades unions from 97 towns and localities. The congress revised the party Rules and finally determined the composition and functions of the National Council. The following persons were elected to the Council for the period 1890-91: Jules Guesde, Louis Simon Dereure, Leon Camescasse, Quesnel, Georges Edouard Crépin, Paul Lafargue and Joseph Ferroul. *Le Socialiste* was made the party’s official organ. The congress called for a peaceful demonstration to be held on 1 May 1891. It rejected the proposal for a general strike put forward by the 1888 Bordeaux trade union congress and pronounced for an international strike of miners as the vanguard of the working class capable of representing the interests of all workers. On the Workers’ Party see Note 146.—32, 46, 52, 54, 459

39 During the International Socialist Workers’ Congress in Paris in July 1889 the French delegates, numbering 206, twice met separately from the congress. They established the National Council of the French Workers’ Party, composed of Jules Guesde, Gabriel Deville, Louis Simon Dereure, Leon Camescasse, Georges Edouard Crépin, Paul Lafargue and Lenoel. The Council was to give practical leadership to the party and call its next congress.—32

40 This letter was first published in English in full in: S. Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx. A Revolutionary Interpretation*. The John Day Company, New York, 1933.—33

41 In his letter of 3 September 1890 Joseph Bloch put two questions to Engels. The first concerned the interpretation of Roman historian Cornelius Nepos’ statements on consanguine marriage in Ancient Greece. The second was formulated thus: ‘Are
economic relations the only determining moment or do they merely form, in a certain sense, a solid basis for all other relations, which can then become factors in their own right?' — 33

42 In a letter to Engels of 19 September 1890 Jules Guesde pointed out an inaccuracy in Engels' letter of 2 September to the leaders of the French Workers' Party (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 233-34) concerning the resolution of the 1889 Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress on the procedure for the convocation of the next congress. Engels considered that authorisation to call it had been given to both the Swiss and the Belgian socialists. Formally it was the executive committee, to be set up by the Swiss socialists, that had to decide where to call the congress, in Switzerland or in Belgium. In essence, however, Engels was right since the executive could not function without agreeing its steps with the Belgians (see also Note 26).— 40

43 This refers to the International Socialist Conference held in The Hague on 28 February 1889. Attended by representatives of the socialist movement in Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, it had been called, on Engels' initiative, by the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag with a view to formulating the terms for the convocation of the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris. The Possibilists stayed away from the conference and refused to recognise its decisions. The conference determined the powers, the date and the agenda of the congress.— 40

44 This letter of Engels has not been found. On 29 September 1890 August Bebel wrote to him: 'Today we discussed matters relating to the international conference. We could not make up our minds to send out further invitations, if only to avoid creating the impression that we wanted to give our congress a special air of speculiarity through international representation. We are also definitely short of time.

'So besides the Austrians, the French and the Dutch we shall have one Belgian and one Swiss committee member. The latter decided last week to declare in favour of Belgium so as to preclude a breach. I trust with these representatives it will be possible to reach agreement on all questions in our sense. I believe things similar to those that happened last year in Paris are ruled out.' — 40

45 This article, 'Ein ernstes Wort', was published in Neue Preußische Zeitung (evening issue) on 22 September 1890 and reprinted in the Viennese Arbeiter-Zeitung, No. 39, 26 September 1890, in the column Ausland. Deutschland, under the heading 'Berlin, den 23. September'.— 42

46 The Danish Social-Democratic Party, formed in 1876, had a reformist and a revolutionary wing. The latter, led by Gerson Trier and Nikolai Petersen, was grouped round the newspaper Arbejderen. In 1889 the revolutionary minority was expelled from the party and formed an organisation of its own. However, due to the sectarian mistakes of its leaders, it failed to develop into a mass proletarian party.— 42

47 The Parliamentary Committee was the Executive of the British Trades Union Congress (formed in 1868). From 1871, the Committee was elected annually by the Trades Union Congresses and acted as the unions' centre between congresses. It nominated union candidates for Parliament, organised support for pro-union bills and prepared the regular congresses. The Committee was dominated by reformists devoted to the old, conservative trade unionism and drawing their support from the
working-class aristocracy. From 1875 to 1890 the secretaryship of the Committee was held by Broadhurst. In 1921 the Parliamentary Committee was replaced by the General Council of the TUC.—43

48 This refers to the Central Committee of representatives of radical and socialist clubs and 'new' trades unions which was set up in the spring of 1890 to organise a demonstration in London on 4 May. In the subsequent months the Committee continued its activity, its aim now being to organise the struggle for a legal eight-hour working day, the implementation of the resolutions of the 1889 International Socialist Workers' Congress and the establishment of a workers' party. In the summer of 1890 the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League (see Note 200) was formed on its basis.—43

49 The Socialist League was an organisation set up in December 1884 by a group of English socialists who had withdrawn from the Social Democratic Federation on account of its leaders' opportunist policies. The founders of the League included Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Ernest Belfort Bax, William Morris and others. In its early years the League took an active part in the labour movement. However, anarchist elements soon gained the upper hand in the League, forcing many of its organisers, among them the Avelings, to resign. In the early nineties the League disintegrated.—43

50 Engels means the London International Trades Union Congress held in November 1888. Representatives of Belgian, British, Danish, Dutch, Italian and pro-Possibilist French trades unions attended. The organisers of the congress had made participation conditional on the official election of delegates by trades unions and thereby denied access to the German and Austrian Social-Democrats and French Marxists. However, the reformist leaders of the British Trades Unions failed to impose their line. Despite their resistance, the congress appealed to the working people to fight for labour protection legislation and a legal eight-hour working day. The congress decided to call an international workers' congress in Paris in 1889, entrusting the Possibilists with its organisation.—43

51 The International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris — virtually the inaugural congress of the Second International — opened on 14 July 1889, the centenary of the capture of the Bastille. Some 400 delegates from 20 countries of Europe and America attended. The congress heard the reports of the representatives of socialist parties on the state of the labour movement in their respective countries and worked out the fundamentals of international labour legislation, demanding a legal eight-hour day, the outlawing of child labour, and measures to protect working women and juveniles. It stressed the need for the political organisation of the proletariat and a struggle to ensure satisfaction of the workers' democratic demands. It also spoke out for the disbandment of standing armies and the universal arming of the people. The congress's most important resolution was the decision to hold demonstrations and meetings in all countries on 1 May 1890 to back up demands for an eight-hour working day and labour legislation. The anarchists opposed the congress resolutions but were overwhelmingly outvoted.—43, 46, 97, 127, 139, 140, 483

52 This refers to the campaign launched by the Possibilists in France and their supporters within the Social Democratic Federation (see notes 3 and 29) to discredit the International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51). Another congress, called on the Possibilists' initiative, was being held in Paris at the time. It was only attend-
ed by 13 foreign delegations, most of them representing fictitious organisations. The attempt to bring the two congresses together failed because the Possibilist congress made merger conditional on a revision of the credentials of the delegates attending the Marxist congress. The Possibilist congress declared for the restoration of the International. It decided to hold the next congress in Brussels in 1891 and instructed the Belgian Workers' Party to convoke it.— 43, 234

53 Engels means the signs of a forthcoming dissociation within the Possibilist Workers' Party (see Note 3). At their congress in Châtellerault, 9 to 15 October 1890, the Possibilists split into two groups— the Broussists and the Allemanists. The latter formed an organisation of their own, the Socialist Revolutionary Workers' Party. The Allemanists retained the Possibilists' ideological and tactical principles but, in contrast to them, attached great importance to propaganda within the trades unions, which they regarded as the workers' principal form of organisation. The Allemanists' ultimate weapon was the call for a general strike. Like the Possibilists, they denied the need for a united, centralised party and advocated autonomy and the struggle to win seats on the municipal councils.— 43, 46, 49, 52, 53, 74, 98, 117, 139, 155, 164, 167, 183, 189, 190, 224, 260, 399, 430, 533, 544

54 This probably refers to Edward Aveling's article 'The New Era in German Socialism' in The Daily Chronicle and Clerkenwell News, No. 8903, 25 September 1890, which contained excerpts from Engels' article 'What Now?', published in the last issue of the Sozialdemokrat (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 7-10).

Aveling's interview with Eduard Bernstein was published in The Star, No. 832, 29 September 1890, under the heading 'Germany Flooded with Papers from Kentish Town.— A Talk with the Editor'.— 44

55 A reference to an article by Julius Grunzigh headlined 'Die Vorgänge im Lager der deutschen Socialdemokratie', in New Yorker Volkszeitung, No. 217, 10 September 1890. It stated views in the spirit of the Jungen.— 45

56 The National Congress of Trade Unions, meeting in Calais from 13 to 18 October 1890, supported the resolutions of the Lille Congress (see Note 38) calling for a demonstration on 1 May and a miners' strike.— 46, 52

57 The labour exchanges in France, manned by representatives of various trades unions, were mostly operated by the municipalities in large cities. The government gave them support and, not infrequently, financial aid, seeking to exploit them for diverting the workers from the class struggle. The labour exchanges created jobs for the unemployed, founded trades unions, trained union activists and organised strikes.— 47, 224, 411

58 The Possibilists refused to take part in the demonstration on 1 May 1890 on the grounds that Boulangist and other agents of the reaction were going to participate and that the demonstration might harm the cause of the working class.— 47

59 The passage that had puzzled Engels in Sorge's letter of 23 September was explained to him in Sorge's letter of 14 October. Sorge had meant that Eleanor Marx-Aveling, delegated to the Liverpool Trades Union Congress by the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union, had been deprived of the right to vote on the far-fetched pretext of not being a wage labourer herself. Sorge probably drew this information from People's Press of 13 September, which carried Eleanor Marx-
Aveling's letter 'To the Editor of the People's Press', demonstrating the injustice of the refusal to recognise her credentials.— 49

Fearing a strike at their enterprises, the owners of the Gas Light and Coke Company in Becton intended to call out troops to intimidate the workers. An army unit stationed at Chatham was put on the alert on 3 October 1890, but there followed no orders to leave the barracks. The government's readiness to make troops available for action against strikers was sharply condemned at many workers' meetings in different areas of London.— 51

This letter was first published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, Correspondance, t. II, Paris, 1956.— 52

Engels means the congresses in Lille, Calais and Halle (see notes 12, 38 and 56).— 53

This refers to the merger of two trends in the German working-class movement—the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenach group), led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, led by Wilhelm Hasselmann, Wilhelm Hasenclever and others—which took place at a congress in Gotha, 22-27 May 1875. The party thus formed adopted the name of Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. Thus the split within the German working class was overcome. However, the draft programme of the united party (formulated basically by Wilhelm Liebknecht, whose main concern was reconciliation) contained serious mistakes and fundamental concessions to the Lassalleans. Marx, in his Critique of the Gotha Programme (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 75-99) and in his letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 (ibid., Vol. 45, pp. 69-73) and Engels, in his letter to Bebel of 18-28 March 1875 (ibid., Vol. 45, pp. 60-66), approved the establishment of a united socialist party in Germany, but warned the Eisenach leaders against precipitate action and ideological compromises with the Lassalleans. They criticised the erroneous propositions in the draft programme, but the congress adopted it, with only minor amendments.— 53, 97, 117, 119, 123, 126, 161, 164, 168, 176, 179, 180

This refers to the refusal of the Possibilists (see Note 3) to participate in the socialist congress in Troyes (23-30 December 1888), which originally had been called as a congress of the Possibilist party. The refusal was due to the fact that the convocation of the congress had been entrusted to the Troyes socialist organisations, consisting mostly of supporters of the Workers' Party (Guesdist), so that both parties had been invited.— 54

Eleanor Marx-Aveling had attended the congresses of the French Workers' Party in Lille (see Note 38) and of the German Social-Democrats in Halle (see Note 12).— 54

This refers to the opposition group of the Jungen (see Note 13).— 54

On 17 October 1890 the newspaper Gil Bias carried an interview allegedly granted to its correspondent by August Bebel. Engels sent a copy of the text and a letter (which has not been found) to Bebel. The latter replied that he had granted no such interview and the Gil Bias text was a hoax from beginning to end. Seeing that this was the case, Paul Lafargue disavowed the interview in a note headlined 'Le Gil Bias interviewer' (Le Socialiste, No. 6, 26 October 1890).— 54
In a letter to Engels of 16 October 1890 Lafargue said that almost all the delegates to the Lille Congress (see Note 38) had been victimised by the bourgeoisie: they had lost their living and were forced to engage in petty trade and the like. He also stressed that many of them held elective positions on municipal councils and similar bodies, which was proof of the growing influence of the French Workers' Party.— 54

This letter is written on a postcard. The address — Mr. W. Liebknecht, Kanstraße 160, Charlottenburg-Berlin, Germany — is on the back.— 56

This refers to the French section of 1871 formed by French refugees in London in September 1871. Its leaders maintained close ties with the Bakuninists in Switzerland and joined in their attacks on the organisational principles of the International. When the General Council suggested that the section should bring its Rules into conformity with those of the International, the section came out against the Council, questioning its powers. In the spring of 1872, part of the section's following, jointly with English bourgeois republicans (including Adolphe Smith Headingley) and Lassalleans expelled from the International for their splitting activities, formed the so-called Universal Federalist Council, which claimed the role of leader of the International.— 56

The greater part of this letter was first published, in German, in the supplement to Leipziger Volkszeitung, No. 250, 26 September 1895. The first, abridged, English publication was in: S. Hook, Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx. A Revolutionary Interpretation. The John Day Company, New York, 1933.— 57

In a letter of 20 October 1890 Conrad Schmidt advised Engels that he, Schmidt, had been offered the position of stock exchange editor of Zürcher Post. Somewhat later he began working for the newspaper, but in a different capacity — as its foreign news editor. On 18 June 1891 he informed Engels that he had relinquished his post.— 57

Engels has in mind his sojourn in Manchester, 1842 to 1844, as a business apprentice at the Ermen & Engels cotton mill.— 58

In his letter of 20 October Conrad Schmidt gave a high appraisal of P. Barth's book Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann. Ein Kritischer Versuch, Leipzig, 1890. He pointed to the author's convincing attempts to prove, with historical data, the effect of extraneous factors on the economic basis, and suggested that, unless it could be shown that these factors, above all the political ones, were conditioned economically, 'it would be difficult to uphold Marx's conception of history in its strictest sense'. This conclusion of Schmidt's worried Engels, hence his detailed reply.— 59

Code Napoléon — system of bourgeois law adopted under Napoleon I between 1804 and 1810. It comprises five codes: civil, civil-procedural, commercial, criminal and criminal-procedural.— 61

This refers to the 1688 coup d'état in Britain which deposed the Stuart dynasty and established a constitutional monarchy with William of Orange on the throne (from 1689). The new system was based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie. British bourgeois historiographers call this coup the Glorious Revolution.— 62

The deists recognise God as the impersonal rational primal cause of the world, but
see him as refraining from any intervention in the life of Nature and society. In contrast to feudal and church ideology, deism tends to take a rationalistic attitude, criticizing the medieval theological world-outlook. At the same time, it compromises with institutionalised religion, holding that it should be retained for the masses in a rationalistic form.— 62


79 On 16 September 1890 the Volksstimme carried an article by Paul Ernst distorting Engels’ statements and alleging that he was in solidarity with the Jungen (see Note 13). In this connection Engels published his ‘Reply to Mr. Paul Ernst’ (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 80-85), in which he quoted part of his letter to Ernst of 5 June 1890 (see Vol. 48).— 63

80 Conrad Schmidt had published an extract from Engels’ letter to him of 5 August 1890 in the Berliner Volks-Tribüne, No. 39, 27 September 1890 (see this volume, pp. 6-9).— 64


82 This letter has only reached us in the form of extracts published in Gustav Mayer’s book Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographie, Vol. 2, The Hague, 1934. Part of the letter is given in Mayer’s rendering. Engels wrote the letter under the immediate impact of the death and funeral of Helene Demuth, in reply to Louise Kautsky’s telegram of condolences. In his letter Engels expressed his hope that Louise would move to London in order to keep house for him and be his secretary. However, not wanting to force her hand, he suggested that Louise should come to London for a short stay and make her decision there.— 68

83 Engels wrote this letter in his capacity as executor of Helene Demuth.— 69

84 The American Federation of Labor — leading US trade-union centre, formed in December 1886. Composed mostly of skilled workers, it initially played a positive part as a rallying point for the American working class, particularly in the struggle for the eight hours day. Its programme bore an imprint of socialist ideas.— 74, 113, 557, 558

85 Sorge’s first contribution to Neue Zeit (No. 8, 1890) was the article ‘Briefe aus Nordamerika’.— 74

86 The Nationalists were members of a social movement in the USA which sought to relieve society of the worst evils of capitalism through the nationalisation of production and distribution and a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. The first Nationalist club was set up in Boston in 1888, under the impact of Edward Bellamy’s Utopian novel Looking Backward 2000-1887. By 1891 there were more than 160 such clubs all over the country. The clubs, consisting mostly of members of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, were vehicles for the propagation of Nationalist views. In 1889, the newspaper Nationalist began to appear. The Nationalist movement exerted a certain influence on America’s socialists. For instance, the newspaper Socialist, organ of the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133), echoed its propaganda, and Daniel de Leon, one of the party’s leaders, held Nationalist views. Engels compared the Nationalists to the Fabians (see Note 87).
That the Nationalists boycotted Engels' works, ignoring them or declaring them harmful, was told to Engels by Sorge in a letter of 14 October 1890.—75, 113

The Fabian Society was a British reformist organisation set up by a group of intellectuals in 1884 and led by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. The Society's name derives from Fabius Maximus, a Roman general of the 3rd century B.C. nicknamed Cunctator (Delay) for his tactic of evading a set battle in the war against Hannibal.—75, 113, 342, 404, 449, 468, 493, 497, 502, 515, 526, 563

This presumably refers to an article in Paterson Labor Standard of 11 October 1890 mentioned by Sorge in his letter to Engels of 14 October.—75

Engels means the German Workers' Educational Society in London, which was founded by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll, Heinrich Bauer and other members of the League of the Just in 1840. After the establishment of the Communist League, its local branches played the leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in its work. On 17 September 1850, they and a number of their followers retired from the Society because most of its members had sided with the adventurist sectarian minority (the Willich-Schapper faction) which was challenging the Marx- and Engels-led majority in the Central Authority of the Communist League. Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Society in the late 1850s. When the First International Working Men's Association was founded, the Society — then led, among others, by Friedrich Lessner — became its member. The London Educational Society was closed by the British government in 1918.—76, 237, 269, 294, 310, 313, 333, 335, 345, 381, 497, 527

The meeting took place at Edward and Eleanor Aveling's house in London on 1 December 1890. It was attended by German Social-Democratic leaders Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Paul Singer and British socialist and labour leaders Robert Cunningham-Graham, John Burns, Bill Thorne, Ben Cooper, Maxwell and Morrison Davidson, as well as by Engels and the Avelings. Cunningham-Graham published an account of the meeting, 'Eight Hours “Blokes” in Council', in People's Press, No. 40, saying that 'the object of our meeting was to combine the attack against surplus value, to endeavour to bring about friendly relations between the sweated of all nations, and to push on the general eight hours day by legislative action...'.—77

A draft of this letter, roughly similar in content, also exists. The different readings are indicated in footnotes.—77

By the Dutch Labour Party Engels means the Social-Democratic Union of the Netherlands, founded in 1882, which united all Dutch socialists. In the late 1860s the anarchists and reformists succeeded in building up their influence within the Union. Government reprisals and the sectarian policy of the Union's leaders, in particular Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, led to a split in the Union and the establishment, in 1894, of the Social-Democratic Labour Party, joined by the remainder of the Social-Democratic Union in 1900.—77

The Congress of Hungarian Workers' Organisations met in Budapest on 7 and 8 December 1890. It was attended by 121 delegates (87 for Budapest and 34 for the provinces). The congress discussed the state of the working-class movement in Hungary, the political condition and rights of the workers, their attitude to social reform, the condition of the agricultural labourers, the role of trade unions and other questions. It
formed a workers' party, which was to be called the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary, and adopted a declaration of principle (the party programme).

Engels did not attend the congress. In reply to the invitation, he sent a message of greetings to the newspapers Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik and Népszava (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 89-90).—79

94 Opportunists— the name given in the early 1880s to the party of moderate republicans in France, which reflected the interests of the big bourgeoisie.—83

95 This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, The Communist View on Morality, Novosti, Moscow, 1974.—84

96 In his preface to the fourth German edition of Volume I of Capital in June 1890 (see present edition, Vol. 35) Engels described in detail Marx's 1872 polemic with the German economist Lujo Brentano, who had accused Marx of misquoting a passage from Gladstone's parliamentary speech of 16 April 1863 in reproducing it in the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association and in Volume I of Capital. Brentano's reaction to Engels' presentation of the case was the pamphlet Meine Polemik mit Karl Marx, Berlin, 1890, the introduction to which was published in Deutsches Wochenblatt, No. 45, 6 November 1890. On 4 December this journal carried a note containing two passages from Gladstone's letters to Brentano of 22 and 28 November 1890 in which Gladstone asserted that Brentano was right.

Engels replied in a brief article, 'In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx' (Die Neue Zeit, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 13) and, at greater length, in a pamphlet of the same title, published in April 1891, which contained a large number of documents, including the above-mentioned article (see present edition, Vol. 27).—85, 90, 93, 95, 103, 132, 146, 148, 158, 163, 172

97 Engels presumably means his stay with his family in connection with his mother's death in the autumn of 1873.—86

98 Part of this letter was first published in the journal Die Gesellschaft, No. 5, 1932.—90, 103, 107, 118, 129

99 In all likelihood, this refers to Karl Kautsky's letters of 7 and 25 November 1890. The letter of 7 November has not been found. That of 25 November concerned Kautsky's help in the work on Volume IV of Capital.—90

100 Engels means the manuscript Theories of Surplus-Value, the only rough draft, made by Marx in 1862-63, of the concluding — historical and critical — part of Capital. In the last few years of his life Engels, realising that he would have no time to prepare it for publication, enlisted the help of Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky. Theories of Surplus-Value, virtually the fourth book of Capital, was first published by Kautsky in 1905-10.—90

101 General Selyverstov, chief of the Tsarist secret police in Paris, was killed by the Polish socialist S. Padlewski on 18 November 1890.—92, 102, 108

102 Paul Lafargue was in negotiation with the chairman of the Paris municipal council's education board on the organisation of a course in the history of labour. The idea of such a course was first mooted by Marie Édouard Vaillant.—92

103 Laura Lafargue began preparing the second French edition of Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 105-212) in 1884, but things got stalled. In 1887 Paul Lafargue re-
sumed the negotiations on this edition, however it did not materialise until 1896.—92


106 Wilhelm Liebknecht quotes from Vol. 4 of Heinrich von Sybel's Die Begründung des deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I, pp. 411-14, where Sybel suggests that Bismarck might be willing to compensate France territorially — a willingness expressed in his pamphlet Die Emser Depesche oder: Wie Kriege gemacht werden.—94

In a letter of 2 December 1890, Sorge asked Engels' permission to make use of his letters in articles for Neue Zeit.—95

108 After the death of Helene Demuth, Sorge invited Engels to move to his place in Hoboken.—96, 113

109 This letter, written in German, has not been found.—96

110 In a letter of 23 December 1890, Frankel asked Engels to describe the position in the French working-class movement brought about by the split in the Workers' Party between the revolutionary, Marxist wing, led by Jules Guesde, and the Possibilists (see Note 3).—96

Engels is mistaken here. Wilhelm Hasselmann was expelled from the Socialist Workers' Party with Johann Most at the Wyden Congress in 1880 for adopting an anarchist stance.—97

112 This presumably refers to Frankel's article devoted to Engels' 70th birthday.—99

113 This is Engels' reply to the greetings conveyed to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday by the congress of mutual aid funds held in Berlin on 8 to 11 December 1890.—99

114 This letter to the Social-Democratic Reichstag deputy Georg Schumacher has reached us in the form of a publication in Rheinische Zeitung, No. 47, 24 February 1906, headlined 'Ein Brief von Friedrich Engels'. It is introduced by the following editorial note:

'A copy of a letter from Frederick Engels has been made available to us by the addressee, Comrade Georg Schumacher in Solingen. It is our great fighter's reply to the gift presented to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The gift was a knife, a real work of art, made by Comrade Fritz Studer of Solingen.'

The Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag sent Engels an album with the photos of 35 of its members.—100

On these events see Engels' article 'Elberfeld', present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 447-49.—100

116 Engels means his postcard of 20 December 1890 (see this volume, pp. 94-96), which was his reply to Sorge's letter of 9 December.—101
In his letter of 2 December 1890 Sorge complained that the Paris newspaper Le Socialiste was being sent to him irregularly and asked Engels to pass this on to the French socialist leaders.—102

This refers to Marx’s Critique of the Gotha Programme (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 75-99), prepared by Engels for publication in the journal Neue Zeit. By publishing this programme document of scientific socialism, a model of uncompromising struggle against opportunism, Engels sought to deal a blow at the increasingly active reformist elements in German Social-Democracy. It was especially important to do this in view of the forthcoming Erfurt party congress (see Note 301), which was to adopt a new programme to replace the Gotha one. In having the Critique published Engels had to overcome some opposition from the leaders of German Social-Democracy. The publication was deplored by the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag and the editorial board of Vorwärts. At the same time, as Engels had foreseen, Marx’s work was welcomed both within the German party itself and by socialists in other countries, who regarded it as a programme document for the entire international socialist movement. The Critique of the Gotha Programme, along with Marx’s letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 75-99) and Engels’ preface, was printed in Die Neue Zeit, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 18.—103

See present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 91-92.—103

This letter to August Bebel (presumably of 15 January 1891) has not been found. As can be seen from Bebel’s reply (21 January 1891), Engels had informed him of the forthcoming publication of Critique of the Gotha Programme and asked whether he knew of any objections by Marx to the compromise Gotha programme. Bebel answered that he had heard nothing to this effect during his imprisonment (up to 1 April 1875) or thereafter, but had written to Wilhelm Liebknecht from prison saying that the programme would not stand up to criticism and suggesting amendments.—107

This refers to Wilhelm Liebknecht’s report on the programme of German Social-Democracy at the Halle party congress, which met 12 to 18 October 1890 (see Note 12). In discussing the Gotha programme Liebknecht made use of some propositions from Marx’s manuscript devoted to it, without mentioning his name.—107, 134, 176

Stanisław Mendelson was arrested on charges of complicity in Padlewski’s case (see Note 101). After an enquiry of several weeks the French authorities, threatening expulsion, compelled Mendelson and his wife to leave France.—107

Engels means Mendelson’s and his wife’s presence at a meeting of one of the branches of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 29), which was reported in Justice, No. 364, 3 January 1891 (‘Mendelson in London’).—108

On 14 January 1891 Vorwärts carried a report by the Berlin correspondent of The Daily Chronicle exposing Theodor Reuß as a former police agent. The correspondent referred to an article on Reuß’s spying activities published by Sozialdemokrat as early as December 1887. There had been another article on the same subject, ‘Wie John Neve der preußischen Polizei in die Hände geliefert wurde’, in Sozialdemokrat, No. 20, 13 May 1887.—109
This presumably refers to Jules Guesde's article 'Une interpellation nécessaire', published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 17, 14 January 1891. It said that the Russian secret police had set up a central office in Paris, which was despatching agents to other European cities too.—110

A letter headlined 'A Warning' appeared over the signature of Stanislaw Mendelson in *Justice* No. 367 on 24 January 1891. It urged English socialists to be on the look-out for possible provocations by agents of the Tsarist secret police in London.—110

'Ve German Socialists are proud of the fact that we are descended not only from Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte and Hegel. The German working-class movement is the heir of German classical philosophy. London, 4 January 1891. Frederick Engels.'

Engels presumably made this inscription at the request of Heinrich Schœu, who was working on his portrait in 1891. The first sentence is from the preface to the German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 457-59), the second concludes Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 353-98).

The portrait and inscription were first published in the Sunday supplement to *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of 18 August 1895, in connection with Engels' death.—110-11

This letter was found among the leaves of Schorlemmer's unfinished manuscript *Geschichte der Chemie*, on which he had worked in the last few years of his life. Written in German and comprising 650 pages, the manuscript is preserved in the library of Manchester University.—111

In his letter of 10 January 1891 Heinrich Schœu informed Engels that, as well as making a woodcarving of Marx, he intended to portray Engels. For this purpose he requested Engels to send him a photograph.—112

This letter was first published in English in *Science and Society*, New York, 1948, Vol. 2, No. 3.—113

This refers to *Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender für 1891*, New York. The calendar, an annual one, was published by *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. Hermann Schlüter was its editor, F. A. Sorge one of the contributors. As can be seen from Schlüter's letters to Engels of 3 June and 19 November 1890, the calendar for 1891 was to include, with Engels' permission, Marx's biography written by Engels in 1878 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 183-95), with addenda by Schlüter.—113

In his letter of 19 November 1890 Hermann Schlüter informed Engels that he had the possibility to buy a set of *The New American Cyclopedia* and asked whether Engels too needed one and whether Marx's articles in the *Cyclopedia* were of a theoretical nature.—113

The *Socialist Labor Party of North America* was formed at the union congress in Philadelphia in 1876 through the merger of the American sections of the First International and other US socialist organisations. The majority of the party members were immigrants (mostly Germans) who had only loose ties with America's native-born workers. Within the party a struggle was going on between the reformist leadership, consisting mostly of Lassalleans, and the Marxist wing, led by
Friedrich Adolph Sorge, an associate of Marx and Engels. The party's proclaimed goal was socialism. However, owing to the sectarian policy of its leaders, who ignored America's mass workers' organisations, above all the trade unions, it failed to become a truly revolutionary mass Marxist party.—113, 167, 186, 447, 507

134 This refers to the conflict between the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133) and the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84), of which Engels had been informed by Sorge in his letters of 9 December 1890 and 16 January 1891 and by Samuel Gompers in a letter of 9 January of the same year. The Socialist Party demanded for itself official representation in the trade unions. Gompers declared on behalf of the Federation's leadership that the Socialist Party, as a political organisation, could not be part of the Federation and proposed that party members should participate in the work of the trade unions as individuals. The Socialist leaders' rejection of the Federation's proposal and their attempts to counterpose the party to what was then the largest US workers' organisation were seen by Engels as a manifestation of sectarianism which objectively strengthened the reformists' influence in the working-class movement.—113

135 The International Socialist Workers' Congress met in Brussels, 16-22 August 1891. The 337 delegates represented the socialist parties and organisations and numerous trades unions in many European countries and the USA. By a majority vote the congress debarred the anarchists from taking part in its deliberations. Representatives of British trades unions attended. The American delegates included trades unionists, as well as socialists.

The congress discussed labour legislation, strike action and boycott, militarism and the celebration of May Day.

The resolution on the first question called on workers the world over to join forces for the fight against capitalist rule and, where workers possessed political rights, to use these to free themselves from wage slavery. The resolution on strikes and boycott recommended the workers to make use of these methods of struggle and stressed that trades unions were absolutely essential to the workers.

The attitude of the working class to militarism was in the centre of the congress deliberations. Wilhelm Liebknecht's and Edouard Vaillant's reports on this issue and the draft resolution tabled by Liebknecht pointed out that militarism was an inevitable product of the capitalist system, that socialist society alone could put an end to it and bring about international peace and that the socialists were the true party of peace.

The leader of the Dutch Social-Democrats, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, who took a semi-anarchist stand, tabled an alternative resolution, under which socialists in all countries should, in the event of war, call on their respective people to proclaim a general strike. The vast majority of the delegates voted for the resolution tabled by Liebknecht.

Referring to the resolutions of the Brussels Congress, Engels pointed out that 'in matters of principle as of tactics the Marxists have been victorious all along the line' (Engels to F.A. Sorge, 2 September 1891).—114, 155, 161, 164, 171, 211, 214, 221-24, 226, 230, 232-34, 237, 250, 287
In his letters of 3 June and 19 November 1890 Schlüter said he had sent Engels material on the debasement of the silver coinage in the USA.— 114

Bimetallism or dual currency, is a monetary system using both gold and silver as the standard of value.— 114

Engels means the fourth German edition of Volume I of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 35).— 114

In his letter to Engels of 19 November 1890 Schlüter said he had recently read the German translation of Marx's speech, 'The Protectionists, the Free Traders and the Working Class', made in 1846 by Joseph Weydemeyer, a friend and associate of Marx and Engels. The speech was first published in the Belgian newspaper Atelier démocratique on 29 September 1847.

In reply to Engels' questions, Schlüter wrote, on 10 March 1891, that Weydemeyer's translation had appeared, alongside that of Marx's 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 450-65) in Hamm in 1848, as a pamphlet entitled Zwei Reden über die Freihandels- und Schutzollfrage von Karl Marx. Schlüter also gave a detailed description of the pamphlet.— 114, 150

The German Workers' Society in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847, its aim being to provide a political education for German workers living in Belgium and to spread the ideas of scientific socialism among them. Led by Marx, Engels and their followers, the Society became a legal centre rallying German revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium and maintaining direct contact with Flemish and Walloon workers' clubs. Its most active members belonged to the Brussels community of the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. Its activities ceased soon after the February 1848 revolution in France, when its members were arrested and deported by the Belgian police.— 144

This letter was first published in English in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, Correspondence. Vol. 3. 1891-1895, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963.— 115, 121, 122, 140, 161, 190, 193, 255, 317, 423, 476, 533

On 30 January 1891 Paul Lafargue wrote to tell Engels that a report in the Paris press said the executive of the German Social-Democratic Party had decided to call on the socialist parties in other countries to put off the celebration of May Day to Sunday, 3 May 1891. Lafargue objected to the postponement and asked Engels to state his opinion of the German socialists' attitude on the matter.— 115

A report in Supplement I to Vorwärts, No. 24, 29 January 1891, said that on 28 January 1891 the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag had decided to recommend that the May Day celebration in Germany should be held on the first Sunday in May. The motives for this were to be explained in a special address of the group (see Note 163).— 115

Engels' letter to Richard Fischer mentioned here is not extant. Fischer's answer, written on 4 February 1891, is quoted by Engels in his letter to Paul Lafargue of 6 February (see this volume, pp. 120-22).— 116
Engels refers to the various trends within the socialist movement in France.

The Marxist trend, headed by Jules Guesde (hence its other name, Guesdists) and Paul Lafargue, was represented by the Workers’ Party, founded in 1879. From the outset this trend was torn by a sharp ideological struggle, as a result of which the party, at its St.-Étienne Congress in 1882, split up into two groups — the Guesdists and the Possibilists (or Broussists). The Guesdists retained the name of Workers’ Party. Its programme, adopted at the Havre Congress in 1880, was drawn up with the participation of Marx. The Guesdists’ strongholds were France’s industrial centres. More specifically, they relied on individual groups of workers at the large plants of Paris. The party saw one of its principal tasks in winning the backing of the working masses. In the 1880s and 90s it achieved a measure of success in propagating Marxist ideas among France’s workers. An important role in this was played by Le Socialiste, the party’s newspaper. Marxists were active in the trades unions and led the workers’ strike struggle. The party mounted a large-scale campaign in support of Paul Lafargue, whose election to the Chamber of Deputies in 1891 was a major success for the French socialists. The party also did a great deal to promote international socialist ties and expose the aggressive nature of the foreign policy of the French bourgeois republic, in particular of the 1891-93 Franco-Prussian alliance.

But the party’s leaders did not always pursue a consistently Marxist policy and made opportunistic mistakes, particularly on the peasant question in the 1890s. Marx and Engels criticised them on various issues, helping them to work out a correct line for the working-class movement.

For the Possibilists (or Broussists) — see Note 3. — 116

The radicals were a parliamentary group in France in the 1880s and 90s which had split away from the bourgeois party of moderate republicans (the ‘opportunist’ or ‘Gambettists’). They continued to uphold a number of bourgeois-democratic demands virtually dropped by the republicans: abolition of the Senate, separation of the Church from the State, introduction of a progressive income tax, and others. They also demanded a limitation of the working day, pensions for the disabled, and other socio-economic measures. In 1901 the radicals set up a party of their own. It spoke, above all, for the middle and petty bourgeoisie. — 116, 289, 291, 297, 320, 330, 360


In his ‘Briefe aus Frankreich’ (‘Letters from France’), published in Vorwärts, Nos 23 and 25 on 28 and 30 January 1891, Jules Guesde exposed the policy of the moderate bourgeois republicans (the ‘opportunist’) led by Jean Antoine Constant, Pierre Maurice Rouvier and others. He showed that it aimed at suppressing the working-class movement in the country and compromised the republic. — 117, 130

Engels means the article ‘L’Avortement’ (from the series ‘Hygiène capitaliste’) published by Paul Lafargue under the pen-name Dr. £, in Le Socialiste, No. 17, 14 January 1891. Lafargue exposes the hypocrisy of the bourgeois judiciary, using as an illustration the trial of Fouroux, the Mayor of Toulon, and V. Jonquières, his
mistress, whom Fouroux had compelled to have an abortion, then banned by law.—117

151 Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme was reprinted, without Engels' preface, in supplements to the newspaper Vorwärts, Nos 27 and 28, 1 and 3 February 1891 from Die Neue Zeit, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 18.—118

152 This refers to the attempt by Wilhelm Liebknecht and other leaders of German Social-Democracy to prevent the distribution of No. 18 of Die Neue Zeit, which contained Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme (see this volume, pp. 126 and 181). For the Anti-Socialist Law see Note 11.—118

153 The Editors are not in possession of the original of this letter.—118, 129, 171, 289, 301, 303, 304, 323, 329, 335, 342, 360, 372, 491, 492, 496, 501, 506, 543, 544

154 The People's Party in Germany was formed in 1865. It consisted of petty bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic elements and was predominantly active in the South German states of Württemberg, Baden and Bavaria. The party put forward general democratic demands and opposed Prussian hegemony in Germany. Expressing the particularist attitude of certain German states, it advocated a German federation and rejected unity in the form of a centralised democratic republic.—119, 180, 268

155 In the autumn of 1878 the German Reichstag discussed a bill on import duties. In July 1879, new customs tariffs imposing considerably higher duties on industrial and agricultural imports were introduced.—121

156 In his letter to Engels of 7 February 1891 Paul Lafargue spoke of the German socialists' inconsistency in the matter of the 1891 May Day celebration: at the 1889 Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51) they had unanimously voted for having the May Day celebrations generally on May 1st, even though the Anti-Socialist Law was still in force then; now, after its repeal, they intended to have the celebration on May 3rd.—122

157 Paul Lafargue had told Engels (in his letter of 7 February 1891) that Le Socialiste, the organ of the Workers' Party, was rapidly increasing its readership.—123

158 In his letter of 7 February 1891 Lafargue had asked for Engels' opinion of his article, 'La propriété féodale', published under the pen-name Fergus in La Nouvelle Revue of 1 February 1891.—123

159 During the November 1885 parliamentary elections Hyndman and Champion accepted money from the leadership of the Conservative Party to finance the campaign of the Social Democratic Federation.—124, 127

160 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in The Labour Monthly, No. 6, 1934.—125, 224, 231, 250

161 On 6 February 1891, the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung, No. 6, reported from Berlin, in the column 'Deutschland', that a document of great theoretical and practical importance, Marx's critique of the programme adopted by the German party at its 1875 Gotha Congress, had been published by Engels in Germany. Speaking of the service rendered by Engels, the author of the report, Adolf Braun, pointed out: 'The time has come to formulate the theoretical foundations of our party with full
clarity and uncompromisingly, so the present publication is very timely indeed.‘—126, 129

162 On 13 February 1891 Vorwärts (No. 37) carried a leading article, ‘Der Marx’sche Programm-Brief’, written by Wilhelm Liebknecht, in which the Reichstag Social-Democratic group expressed disagreement with the assessment of the Gotha programme and Lassalle’s role given in Marx’s Critique. — 126, 130, 135, 137, 146, 148, 166, 176

163 The proclamation ‘Parteigenossen!’, issued by the Reichstag Social-Democratic group, was published in Vorwärts, No. 31, on 6 February 1891. The group urged the German workers to observe May Day on May 3rd rather than May 1st and, to substantiate its stand, cited the relevant resolution of the Paris International Socialist Workers’ Congress (see Note 51) which said that ‘workers in different countries will have to organise the celebration in a form suitable to the local conditions’. Engels criticised the proclamation for the tendency, manifest in it, to fix the first Sunday of May as the official day for the workers’ May Day celebrations for all time.—127

164 The Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers, Britain’s first trades union of unskilled workers, was set up in late March-early April 1889, against the background of the rising strike movement of the 1880s and 90s. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling played an important role in organising and leading the union. It put forward the demand for an eight-hour working day and within a short time became very influential among large sections of the working class. About 100,000 gas workers joined it during the first year. The union gave great help in organising the famous London dock strike in 1889 (see Note 198). The strike and the Gas Union’s activities gave rise to the Dockers’ Union, another large organisation of unskilled workers, which in its turn contributed significantly to the establishment of more mass trades unions, to the fight for the eight-hour day and to the organisation of May Day demonstrations of British workers in the 1890s.

The gas workers readily responded to socialist and internationalist ideas, preached to them above all by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, and exerted an important influence on the labour movement in Ireland, where they initiated mass trades unions embracing, among others, farm labourers. The National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (the union’s full name) maintained links with workers’ organisations in other countries. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and William Thorne represented it as delegates at the International Socialist Workers’ Congress in Brussels (see Note 135).—128, 138, 167, 197, 219, 225, 300, 313, 367, 371, 403, 557, 560

165 This refers to Kautsky’s letters of 6 and 9 February 1891, in which he informed Engels of reactions in Social-Democratic circles to the publication of Critique of the Gotha Programme in Neue Zeit and of Bebel and Liebknecht’s attempt to prevent the publication.—129

166 The article in question, Headlined ‘Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Programms’ (Hamburger Echo, No. 33, 8 February 1891), noted the importance of Marx’s programmatic letter, published by Engels, for the working out of German Social-Democracy’s new programme.—129, 331

167 Engels’ mention of the system of acquired rights is an allusion to Lassalle’s work of the

160 This article by Paul Lafargue, intended for *Neue Zeit*, did not appear in it. In his letter to Engels of 6 February Kautsky characterised it as slipshod and containing serious mistakes, and asked what he should do with it. The article was published later in *La Revue socialiste*, t. XVI, No. 93, 1892, under the title 'La théorie de la valeur et de la plus-value de Marx et les économistes bourgeois'. For Engels' assessment of it see this volume, pp. 140-42.— 129, 141, 159, 174

169 This refers to August Bebel's, Wilhelm Liebknecht's and Paul Singer's stay in London, from 27 November to early December 1890, as Engels' guests on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (see also Note 90).— 130

170 This refers to a letter from Bebel to Kautsky, which the latter had enclosed with his letter to Engels of 18 February. As can be seen from Kautsky's comments, Bebel said in his letter that the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme* had evoked a negative reaction in the party.— 131

171 *Die Neue Zeit* (9. Jg., 1890/91, 1. Bd., Nr. 21) reprinted the leading article from *Vorwärts*, No. 37, 13 February 1891 (see Note 162), adding a brief introduction and the following note: 'It is a fact that we of course did not feel obliged to submit Marx's letter for approval to the party leadership or the parliamentary group..., but it is also a fact that we made no secret of our intention to publish it. The responsibility for the publication is ours entirely.'— 132, 133, 146

172 This letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1933.— 133

173 For the reaction of the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* see Note 161.

*The Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* reprinted Marx's work in its Nos 30, 31, 33 and 35; 6, 7, 10 and 12 February 1891, with an editorial introductory note emphasising the special significance of this programmatic letter for German Social-Democracy.

*Züricher Post*, No. 34, 10 February 1891, carried an editorial (written by Franz Mehring) headlined 'Hängen und Würgen', which stressed that the publication of Marx's work testified to the strength and fighting spirit of German Social-Democracy which, with the objectivity and self-criticism characteristic of it, sought to clarify for itself the goals of its struggle.— 133

174 This refers to Countess Sophie Hatzfeldt's divorce suit, conducted by Lassalle from 1846 to 1854.— 134

175 In a letter of 20 February 1891 Richard Fischer informed Engels of the party Executive's decision to bring out new editions of Marx's *The Civil War in France* and *Wage Labour and Capital* and Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and asked Engels to write prefaces to these works.— 136

176 This is an excerpt from Engels' reply — which has not survived — to Antonio Labriola's letter of 21 February 1891 conveying the request by the anarchist German poet John Henry Mackay, a devotee of the German Young Hegelian philosopher Max Stirner and collector of his works, to be allowed to familiarise himself with Marx and Engels' unpublished manuscript on Stirner, i. e. with *The German Ideology*. 
The bulk of it is made up of the section 'Saint Max', which is a critique of Stürner's work *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*, published in 1844.

The *German Ideology* was first published, in German, in *MEGA*, Erste Abteilung, Band 5, Moscow-Leningrad, 1933 (present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 19-539).—136


178 In 1891 the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany decided to publish the collected works of Ferdinand Lassalle. They appeared under the title *Reden und Schriften. Neue Gesammt-Ausgabe. Mit einer biographischen Einleitung herausgegeben von Ed. Bernstein*, London, vols I-III, Berlin, 1892-93. In his introduction, entitled 'Ferdinand Lassalle und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte der Sozialdemokratic', Bernstein gave a by and large correct assessment of Lassalle's role in the German working-class movement and provided a critical analysis of his theoretical views and political line. In his later edition of Lassalle's works Bernstein changed his views.—138, 203, 253, 316, 331

179 Engels means the slander campaign against him launched by Hyndman in connection with the publication of *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. In February 1891 Hyndman published several items in the newspaper *Justice* describing Engels as the leader of 'the Marxist clique' engaged in plotting and intrigues fraught with the danger of a split. Hyndman supported the stand taken by the Reichstag Social-Democratic group and the editorial board of *Vorwärts* in regard of the publication of Marx's work (see Note 162).

To prevent Edward Aveling's nomination in Northampton (see this volume, pp. 120, 123-24, 126-27) Hyndman publicised in *Justice* the slanderous accusations levelled at Aveling by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of North America ('The Northampton Election', 'Dr Aveling?', 'Dr Aveling Again') (see Note 133). The Committee, which had financed a US lecture tour by Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Wilhelm Liebknecht in September-December 1886, had charged Aveling with excessive expenditure and the forging of bills.—138, 140, 155

180 Wilhelm Rosenberg and his followers pursued a sectarian policy underestimating the party's work in America's mass labour organisations, above all in the trades unions. In September 1889 they were removed from the leadership of the Socialist Labor Party of North America.—138

181 In February 1891 Victoria, the widow of the German Emperor Frederick III, paid an unofficial visit to Paris. Nominally private, the visit pursued a specific political purpose — to bring about a rapprochement between Germany and France predicated on the latter's recognition of the results of the Franco-Prussian war, i.e. its giving up Alsace-Lorraine. The very fact of Victoria's sudden appearance in Paris (the visit had not been agreed with the French government), her demonstrative pilgrimages to sites associated with German military victories, hurt the national feelings of the French and provoked anti-German demonstrations. The visit caused a serious Franco-German diplomatic conflict.—140

182 Engels was informed of the Broussists' (see Note 3) adhesion to the committee set up by the Marxists to organise a joint demonstration in Paris on 1 May 1891 by
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Paul Lafargue (letter of 5 March 1891) and Charles Bonnier (letter of 4 March).— 140

183 See present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 292-302.— 141

184 This is Engels' summary of his answer to French journalist Henri Ravé's letter of 3 March 1891, jotted down by Engels on this letter. In his message, written at Paul Lafargue's advice, Ravé informed Engels that he had completed a translation into French of August Bebel's work *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, and asked Engels' permission to translate into French *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. To form an idea of Ravé as a translator, Engels requested him to send some proofs of the French version of Bebel's work.

Engels' letter proper is not extant.— 142

185 This text was written by Engels on a postcard. The part of it which bore the stamp is missing, some of the words are damaged.— 142

186 Along with his letter of 26 August 1891 the Italian socialist Pasquale Martignetti sent Engels a copy of the journal *Critica Sociale*, No. 3, 20 February 1891, containing a notice on the forthcoming issue, by Fantuzzi Publishers, Milan, of a new Italian translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.— 142

187 In his letter of 23 February 1891 Filippo Turati asked Engels' permission to translate and publish in Italian a number of works by Marx and Engels. He also approved, on the whole, of the publication of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme in Neue Zeit*.— 143

188 Engels was corresponding secretary for Italy on the General Council of the International in 1871-72 and the General Council's provisional representative for Italy in 1873. He visited Lombardy between May and mid-September 1841, on a tour of North Italy. He described his impressions in the essay 'Wanderings in Lombardy', published in the journal *Athenäum*, Nos 48 and 49, 4 and 11 December 1841 (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 170-80).— 143

189 The following notes are Engels' summary of his reply to a letter from Ravé of 8 March 1891, jotted down by Engels on this letter. In his letter, Ravé acknowledged receipt of Engels' letter of 6 March 1891. He wrote that he was enclosing with his letter two proof sheets of his translation of August Bebel's *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, which Engels had requested, and asked about Engels' terms regarding the proposed translation into French of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. In his answer Engels suggested that Ravé should make a trial translation of several pages from Chapter IX of this work.

Engels' letter itself is not extant.— 144

190 The passages indicated by Engels will be found on pp. 256, 272 and 273 of Vol. 26 of the present edition.— 144, 154

191 An excerpt from this letter was first published in German in the journal *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 5, 1932; the first — partial — English publication was in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters on 'Capital'*, New Park, London, 1983.— 145

192 In his letter to Engels of 9 January 1891 Karl Kautsky related a curious episode: the translator of Oscar Peschel's book, *Völkerkunde (The Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution*, New York, 1876), had rendered the phrase 'blüthenlose
Notes

Pflanzen' (cryptogams) as 'organisms, devoid of blood such as plants' (the translator confused the German word 'Blüthen' [blossoms] with 'Blut' [blood]).—146

193 In his letter to Engels of 2 March 1891 Sorge condemned the mistaken stand taken by the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag and by the editorial board of Vorwärts in regard of the publication of Critique of the Gotha Programme (see notes 118 and 162) but added: 'Only do not get involved in any further debates with these lads, you have more important things to do.'—146, 148

194 This presumably refers to the article, 'Marx' Kritik des Parteiprogramms', published in New Yorker Volkszeitung, No. 51, 28 February 1891. It condemned the attitude taken by Vorwärts on the publication of Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme (see Note 162) and emphasised the vast importance of this work.—146

195 In his letter of 10 March 1891 Hermann Schlüter, describing the position in the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133), noted the weakness of its links with the mass working-class organisations. This, he said, had a negative effect on the strike struggle, in particular that of the building workers.—149

196 The London Trades Council (the Council of all London Trades Unions) was formed in May 1860 at a conference of various London trades unions. The Council was composed of the leaders of the biggest ones. In the earlier half of the 1860s it headed the workers' campaigns against British intervention in the USA and in support of Poland and Italy. Later it fought for the legalisation of the unions. In the early 1890s the Council, which embraced mostly old-established unions, opposed the movement for the formation of new ones and for the eight-hour working day, but popular pressure compelled it to take part in the May Day demonstrations.—150, 155, 167, 185, 323, 370, 380, 386, 402, 559, 560


198 The London dock strike, 12 August to 14 September 1889, was a landmark in the British working-class movement of the late 19th century. It involved 30,000 dockers and over 30,000 workers of other trades; the majority of the strikers were unskilled labourers not belonging to any trades union. Thanks to their fortitude and good organisation, the strikers secured satisfaction of their demands for higher wages and better working conditions. The action promoted working-class solidarity (about £50,000 was raised for the strike fund) and organisation; a dockers' union and several large unskilled workers' unions were set up; in 1890 the overall number of trades unions more than doubled (see Note 164).—152, 186, 225

199 Laura Lafargue undertook to edit the French translation of Engels' The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, made by the French socialist Henri Ravé. She invested a great deal of effort to improve Ravé's translation. Engels looked through the edited translation and admired her work. The French edition came out in 1893.—154, 201, 215, 251

200 The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League was founded in 1890, with Engels' participation, by a group of British socialists led by Edward and Eleanor Aveling. Based on the committee which had organised the first May Day demonstration in England (1890), the League saw its task in obtaining the eight-hour
working day and other legislative measures tending towards the ultimate emancipation of the working classes and in implementing the resolutions of the Paris Congress of the Second International (see Note 51). It organised the British workers’ May Day demonstrations in 1891 and 1892, which were also held under the slogan of the eight-hour day. League representatives took part in organising (1893) the Independent Labour Party of Britain (see Note 515).— 155, 167, 380, 386, 403

Paul Lafargue acknowledged receipt of this information in his letter to Engels of 30 March 1891. Paul and Laura Lafargue gave Engels detailed information on the preparations for the May Day demonstration in France in their letters of 5 and 30 March and 9 and 18 April 1891.— 155

Engels was sending Mendelssohn a copy of the letter from J. Wierzejski of 28 March 1891, written from Nice on the instructions of the sick Walery Wróblewski. The writer informed Engels of the gravity of Wróblewski’s material conditions and asked Engels to remind Mendelssohn to return the money he owed Wróblewski.— 156

Bebel had corresponded with Engels from May 1873. He first met Marx and Engels in December 1880, when he visited London with Eduard Bernstein and Paul Singer to discuss questions relating to the editing of Sozialdemokrat with them.— 158

An allusion to the fact that Engels had published Marx’s Critique of the Gotha Programme without having advised Bebel in advance.— 158

In his letter to Engels of 30 March 1891 Bebel said that he was prepared to forget the conflict that had developed between the two over the publication of Critique of the Gotha Programme (see also Note 232). — 158

Engels’ Introduction appeared in Die Neue Zeit, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 28, under the heading ‘Über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich’, with this editorial note: ‘Following is the Introduction to the third edition — due to be put out shortly by the publishing house of our central organ — of the Address of the General Council of the International on “the Civil War in France”. The Address was written by Karl Marx. Thanks to Engels’ kindness we are in a position to print his Introduction in Neue Zeit.’ — 159

In his letter of 11 March 1891 Pasquale Martignetti asked Engels’ permission to bring out a new Italian edition, in Fantuzzi’s publishing house in Milan, of Engels’ Socialism: Utopian and Scientific and The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State in the series The Socialist’s Popular Library. In sending Engels a copy of the Italian edition of the Manifesto of the Communist Party published by Fantuzzi, Martignetti drew his attention to the preface, the author of which, the anarchist Gori, had interpreted the work of Marx and Engels in the spirit of his own views.— 159

The 1883 Italian edition of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific contains no sketch of Engels’ life. Engels probably means the biography published in the 1885 Italian edition of The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (see also this volume, p. 161). — 159

This letter has reached us in the form of a rough draft written by Engels on Fantuzzi’s letter of 18 March 1891. Fantuzzi was asking Engels’ permission to reprint Socialism: Utopian and Scientific in Italian and requested him to send a sketch of his life, which was to open the planned edition. The work in question appeared in
Martignetti's translation in Milan in 1892. Engels' letter proper is not extant.— 160

210 In his letter of 30 March 1891 Paul Lafargue informed Engels of the Allemanists' (see Note 53) reluctance to admit the Broussists (see Note 3) to the Marxists' committee in charge of May Day preparations.— 161

211 The French political writer Hippolite Buffenoir had been invited to contribute to Vorwärts, organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, and did so from October to December 1877. In a letter to Johann Philipp Becker of 11 January 1878 Engels described Buffenoir as a shady character playing no role whatever among the Paris workers (see present edition, Vol. 45).— 162

212 This refers to the attempt, staged in Sofia on 27 March 1891, on the life of Stephan Stambulov, head of the Bulgarian government, in which Minister of Finance Belchev, who was accompanying him, was killed. Stambulov oriented his foreign policy on Austria-Hungary and opposed Russian interference in Bulgarian affairs. The assassination was widely commented upon in the democratic press, which traced it to Russian diplomatic intrigues and the increased danger of war.— 162

213 In his letter of 30 March 1891 Lafargue informed Engels that the Allemanists (see Note 53) had tried to oppose the Guesdist (Marxists) in a number of places in the provinces. Members of the Workers' Party in Rouen published a letter protesting against the Allemanists' line. The letter appeared in Le Parti Ouvrier of 10 and 11 March 1891, not in Le Socialiste, as Lafargue had mistakenly told Engels.— 163

214 In his letter to Engels of 5 April 1891 Kautsky wrote to say that Conrad Schmidt had declined an invitation to join the editorial board of Neue Zeit.— 163

215 Engels means the article by Karl Kautsky and Wilhelm Eichhoff, 'Wie Brentano Marx vernichtet', published in Die Neue Zeit, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 32. It was a review of the fourth German edition of Volume I of Capital and of Engels' work In the Case of Brentano Versus Marx (see present edition, Vol. 27).— 163

216 In his letter to Engels of 5 April 1891 Kautsky said he was afraid Lafargue had not written for Neue Zeit for a long time because the journal had failed to publish his article on pre-Marxian theories of value (see Note 168).— 164

217 This letter has reached us in the form of a rough draft written by Engels on Henri Ravé's letter to him of 1 April 1891. Engels' letter proper is not extant.— 165

218 An excerpt from this letter was first published in English in The Socialist Review, London, March-August, 1908.— 165

219 In a letter of 2 April 1891, Paul Singer, chairman of the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, advised Engels of August Bebel's forthcoming silver wedding (6 April 1891) and asked Engels to send his congratulations.

For Bebel's letter mentioned here (written on 30 March), see Note 232.— 166

220 The International Miners' Congress, held in Paris from 31 March to 4 April 1891, was attended by 99 delegates from 5 countries, representing about 900,000 (according to other sources, 600,000) workers. It resolved to set up an international association of miners and elected a commission to draw up its Rules. There was a heated debate over the proposal of the Belgian delegation that a general miners' strike should be called internationally to press the demand for an eight-hour working
day. There was strong opposition to this, particularly from the British delegation, which insisted that the vote on this issue should be based on the number of workers represented by each delegation. The congress voted for a general strike in principle, but contrary to the Belgians' proposal refused to call one immediately.—— 168, 171

221 In his letter of 8 April 1891 Heinrich Scheu had asked Engels to send him a sample of Marx's signature, which he intended to reproduce under the portrait of Marx he was working on at the time.—— 170

222 Leo Frankel had requested Engels (letter of 16 April 1891) to write an article for the May Day issue of Bataille, a Left radical newspaper published by the French historian Prosper Olivier Lissagaray.— 171

223 An allusion to the Society of the Rights of Man and Citizen, whose offices were in the Rue Cadet, Paris. It was founded by the radicals (see Note 147) and moderate republicans on 25 May 1888 to combat the common danger, Boulangerism. Eventually the Possibilists (see Note 3) joined it, too.— 171, 289

224 The reference is to Heinrich Cunow's article 'Die altperuanischen Dorf- und Markgenossenschaften', published in the journal Das Ausland, Nos 42-44, 20 and 27 October and 3 November 1890, of which Kautský had informed Engels in his letter of 5 April 1891. Engels made use of Cunow's article in preparing the fourth edition of The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.— 173, 198, 368

225 What follows is, presumably, an excerpt from Engels' letter to Henri Ravez of 7 April 1891, which is not extant in full (see this volume, p. 165).—— 173

226 This refers to the Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 185-94) drawn up by Marx for the delegates to the Geneva Congress of the First International (3 to 8 September 1866). In connection with the discussion on the programme of German Social-Democracy, Kautsky offered to publish the Instructions in Neue Zeit, along with the programme of the French Workers' Party, the theoretical introduction to which had been written by Karl Marx (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 340 and 638). In his letter of 25 April Kautsky suggested that Engels might write the commentary and notes to the projected publication.—— 174

227 Engels probably has in mind the leading article on the miners' strike (see Note 228), headlined 'Sie haben's erreicht!', and the article 'Der Streik der Bergarbeiter', published in Vorwärts, respectively No. 96, 26 April, and No. 97, 28 April 1891.— 174, 182

228 The miners' strike in question started spontaneously in the Ruhr on 16 April 1891, spreading eventually to almost the whole of the Rhine-Westphalia coal region. The strikers' main demands were for higher wages and an eight-hour working day. The strike ended in defeat for the workers at the beginning of May. In his letter of 25 April Kautsky criticised the stand taken by Vorwärts, which was demoralising the strikers by predicting their defeat.— 174, 182

229 In his letter of 25 April 1891 Kautsky told Engels that, writing to him, Paul Lafargue had remarked critically on Neue Zeit after it had become a weekly, pointing
out that it was carrying few serious and independent articles. Kautsky also said he intended to order Lafargue an article on Émile Zola.— 174

In his letter of 25 April Kautsky asked for Engels’ opinion of the US militia system and expressed the view that the Social-Democrats must favour conscription and the universal arming of the people.— 175

Part of this letter was first published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, The Communist View on Morality, Novosti, Moscow, 1974.— 175, 377

In his letter of 30 March 1891 Bebel, explaining his long silence, said that he had been reluctant to write immediately after the publication of Marx’s letter to Bracke of 5 May 1875 concerning the party programme because he had been put out by the manner of publication, and later he had been kept busy by Reichstag matters. Bebel considered the publication ill-advised because, in his opinion, Marx’s letter concerned not the programme but the party leadership. Its publication, he said, had provided a weapon to the enemies of socialism, and the sharp criticism of Lassalle was incomprehensible to young party members and offensive to former Lassalleans now belonging to the party.

In his letter of 25 April Bebel informed Engels about the state of the working-class movement in Germany, in particular, about the strike of the Rhine-Westphalian miners (see Note 228). He considered the strike ill-timed because under the obtaining economic crisis it was being exploited by the mine owners to prevent a decline in the price of coal.— 175

This assertion was contained in a report published in the column ‘Politische Uebersicht’, Vorwärts, No. 48, 26 February 1891.— 176

A leading article in Vorwärts, No. 37, 13 February 1891 (see Note 162) maintained that the addressees of Marx’s letter on the Gotha Programme had replied to his recommendations with a ‘categorical no’.— 179

Engels means the refrain of Jacob Audorf’s Lied der deutschen Arbeiter (Arbeiter-Marseillaise), written in 1864: ‘Nicht zählen wir den Feind, nicht die Gefahren all! Der kühnen Bahn nur folgen wir, die uns geführt Lassalle!’ (‘We do not count the foes, the dangers — not at all! We boldly forge ahead along the path shown by Lassalle!’).— 180

This refers to the revelations concerning the Guelphic Fund, which had far-reaching repercussions in Germany and caused a scandal in government circles.

The Fund, set up by the former Hanover royal court and, at the time in question, managed by Bismarck, was used to bribe the press. In March 1891 it became known that State Secretary Bötticher had received 360,000 marks out of it to pay the debts of his father-in-law, Bismarck. In this connection Vorwärts published a number of articles exposing corruption within the ruling classes (Nos 70, 71 and 74; 24, 25 and 29 March 1891).— 182, 504

At Sedan, one of the major battles of the Franco-Prussian war was fought on 1 and 2 September 1870. It ended in the rout of the French forces. Under the peace treaty signed in Frankfurt am Main on 10 May 1871 France ceded Alsace and East Lorraine to Germany and undertook to pay an indemnity of 5,000 million francs. The Alsace-Lorraine question was a permanent cause of Franco-German friction and international tension in the 1880s and 90s.— 182
Engels means the speeches made by the Social-Democratic deputies, above all August Bebel, Paul Singer and Wilhelm Liebknecht, in the Reichstag in February and April 1891 in the course of the debate on a bill to amend the trades regulations. The bill was part of the Prussian government’s ‘labour protection legislation’. The Social-Democratic group voted against the bill in its third reading. Bebel criticised the bill and analysed the Social-Democrats’ counterproposals in an article headlined ‘Die Gewerbeordnungs-Novelle’, published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 37-39.—182

This form of May Day demonstration had been decided upon by the congress of the French Workers’ Party in Lille, 11-12 October 1890 (see Note 38) and endorsed by the congress of French trade unions in Calais, 13-18 October 1890 (see Note 56).—183, 189

During the 1891 May Day demonstration and meeting in London, held on May 3, Engels was on Platform 6, as reporter for *Neue Zeit*. Evidence of this is his press ticket, reproduced in this volume on p. 187.—185

Engels quotes the dictum ‘c’est magnifique, mais ce n’est pas la guerre’ (‘magnificent, but this is not war’), which is attributed to the French general (subsequently marshal) Pierre Bosquet. He is supposed to have used it to characterise the reckless, self-destructive bravery of the British cavalry in the famous charge of the light brigade at Balaklava in the Crimean War.—189

This refers to the German Freisinnige (Freethinkers’) Party, formed in 1884 as a result of the merger of the Party of Progress (see Note 296) with the Left wing of the National Liberals (see Note 414). The Freisinnige spoke for the middle and petty bourgeoisie and opposed the ruling quarters on certain matters.—189

During the 1891 May Day demonstration in the town of Fourmies, Département du Nord, France, arrests were made among the marchers. As a result, another demonstration, demanding the release of the detainees gathered in front of the Town Hall. Troops opened fire on the demonstration without warning, injuring 30 and killing 10 people, including women and children.

On the subsequent persecution of socialists see Note 275.—191, 293, 297

On 18 May 1891 Paul Lafargue informed Engels that he had sent a letter of protest to *Le Temps*, which on 14 May had reprinted (from the provincial newspaper *Observateur d’Avesnes*) distorted excerpts from speeches he and Hippolyte Culin had made in the course of the pre-May Day agitation in Fourmies. *Le Temps* did not publish the letter, it appeared in *Le Socialiste*, No. 36, 27 May 1891.—191

Engels presumably means the miners’ general strike in Charleroi, Liège, Mons, Borinage and other industrial centers of Belgium started in early May 1891. The strikers’ principal demands were universal suffrage, the eight-hour working day and higher wages. The strike, involving about 100,000 miners and a large number of steel workers, lasted for several weeks. In some areas strikers clashed with government troops. Although supported by miners abroad, the walkout failed. However, the struggle for universal suffrage continued. It was introduced in Belgium on 12 April 1893.—191

Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies on 8 May 1891, Georges Benjamin Clemen-
Peau de magiquement demanded an amnesty for the May Day demonstrators (see Note 243).—191

247 The Second Congress of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (see Note 164) met in Dublin on 17 May 1891. Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling played an important part in preparing and holding it. The Congress decided that the Union should take part in the forthcoming International Socialist Workers’ Congress in Brussels (see Note 135), and elected Eleanor Marx-Aveling and William Thorne as delegates.—191, 198, 226

248 Robert Cunningham-Graham was expelled from France for having taken part in the May Day demonstration and in meetings of protest against the Fourmies massacre (see Note 243).

Père Duchesne is an imaginary character who was very popular with French revolutionary journalists in the late 18th and throughout the 19th century. Le Père Duchesne was the name of several political and satirical newspapers, published at different times, distinguished by their popular style and, sometimes, rude treatment of political opponents.—192

249 On 11 May 1891 a Japanese police officer made an attempt on the life of the heir to the Russian throne, the future Tsar Nicholas II, during his visit to the town of Obu, near Kioto.—192

250 The letter contained detailed information on the massacre of the May Day demonstration in Fourmies (see Note 243).—193

251 On Sunday, 24 May, the traditional procession to the Mur des Fédérés (the Confederates’ Wall in the Père Lachaise cemetery) took place. The speakers were Dumay, Vaillant and Allemane.—193

252 An excerpt from this letter was first published in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans. 1848-1895. A Selection, International Publishers, New York, 1953.—193

253 The St Gallen (Switzerland) Congress of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany (2-6 October 1887) discussed the conduct of a group of Social-Democratic Reichstag deputies who had refused to sign the appeal for the convocation of the congress for fear of reprisals. The congress unanimously passed a resolution censuring those deputies who had had no valid grounds for behaving in this manner and expressed the hope that no responsible party posts would be given them in the future. Bruno Geiser was among those censured.—196, 247

254 In sending a copy of the US edition of Volume I of Capital published without Engels’ knowledge in New York in 1890, Hermann Schlüter wrote to tell Engels on 11 May 1891 that the book had been sold out quickly since the publisher had advertised it as being about ‘how to accumulate capital’.—197

255 A quotation from this letter, in English translation, is contained in R. H. Dominic’s book, Wilhelm Liebknecht and the Founding of the German Social-Democratic Party, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1982.—198

256 This concerns the polemic, in the columns of Neue Zeit in 1891, between Karl Kautsky and the German physician Ferdinand Simon (son-in-law of August Bebel) on the need to combat alcoholism. Simon advocated total abstinence for workers.—200
Engels means the new programme of German Social-Democracy being drawn up by the party Executive in accordance with a decision of the Halle party congress (see Note 12). Kautsky, in his letter to Engels of 4 June 1891, doubted the Executive's ability to work out a satisfactory programme.---200

A strike of omnibus and tram drivers and conductors, caused by bad working conditions, took place from 7 to 13 June 1891. It was almost general in character, involving as it did 3,000 workers. Their principal demands were a reduction of working hours and higher wages. The walkout ended in a victory for the strikers—the working day was reduced to 12 hours.---200

The Salvation Army—a religious philanthropic organisation founded by the preacher William Booth in England in 1865. In later years it spread its activities abroad, adopting its present name in 1878, after its reorganisation along military lines. It carries on large-scale religious propaganda and maintains a network of charity institutions in many countries.---203

An edition of Lassalle's letters to Marx and Engels, which Engels intended to prepare, annotated and provided with a preface, did not materialise in his lifetime. The letters were brought out by Franz Mehring in 1902 under the title, Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle. Vierter Band: Briefe von Ferdinand Lassalle an Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels. 1849 bis 1862, Stuttgart, 1902.---203, 210

This letter, extant in the form of a rough draft, was first published, with minor alterations, as a message of greetings to the Second Congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 215).

The congress met in Vienna from 28 to 30 June 1891, with 193 delegates attending. The issues discussed included the party's condition and activities, the movement for universal, equal and direct suffrage, the celebration of May Day, the party's participation in the 1891 Brussels International Socialist Workers' Congress, trades union matters and social reform in Austria. A leading article headlined 'Unser Parteitag zu Wien' in Arbeiter-Zeitung of 3 July 1891 pointed out that Austria's Social-Democracy could be pleased with its congress as it had brought out the party's internationalist character, clarity of vision and unity on questions of tactics.

The Unity Congress in Hainfeld, held from 30 December 1888 to 1 January 1889 and attended by 73 delegates representing the socialists of almost every province of the Empire, was a milestone in the development of the socialist movement in Austria. It founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria and adopted as its programme a Prinzipienerklärung (Declaration of Principle), based largely on the Communist Manifesto.---206

Engels means the repeal of the anti-socialist laws introduced by the reactionary governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary to fight the socialist and working-class movement.

For the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany see Note 11. In Austria a law of this kind, called Anarchistengesetz, was adopted in 1884. It sanctioned the police persecution and prohibition of socialist and trades union newspapers and organisations and the expulsion of their leaders. In June 1891 the rising strike movement and the
workers' mass May Day action forced Count von Taaffe's government to repeal it.—206

Note in Engels' hand on the draft: 'To Adler. Re 2nd Austr. Party Congress'.—207

In the summer and autumn of 1891 Engels repeatedly interrupted his work and left London owing to overstrain. From 26 June to 24 August (with intervals) he rested with Carl Schorlemmer and George Julian Harney in Ryde (Isle of Wight) at the home of Mary Ellen Rosher (Pumps), the niece of his wife, and roughly between 8 and 23 September he toured Ireland and Scotland with Mary Ellen Rosher and Louise Kautsky.—207, 209, 212, 224, 230, 232, 237, 250, 278, 313, 328, 340, 501

In his letter to Engels of 25 June 1891 Paul Lafargue suggested that the forthcoming trial in connection with the events in Fourmies (see Note 275) might arouse public opinion and facilitate his election to the Chamber of Deputies.—207

On 23 June 1891 The Star carried an article by Arthur Field headlined 'International Labour Congress'. The author declared that the secretary of the French Workers' Party for international relations had empowered him to elucidate all the details of the preparations for the Brussels Congress to the British labour organisations. On 25 June there appeared in The Star, under the same heading, Herbert Burrows' reply stating that a secretary of the French Workers' Party had no business to concern himself with the problems of a congress convened by the Possibilists (see Note 3).—207

Part of this letter was first published in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Correspondence, 1846-1895. Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1934.—209, 212, 237, 242, 264, 267, 285, 349, 392, 535

At the time, Engels was working on Chapter II, 'The Family', of the fourth edition of The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (see present edition, Vol 26, pp. 129-276).—209

As can be seen from the letters of August Bebel and Richard Fischer of 18 June 1891, the following items relating to the drafting of a new programme of German Social-Democracy to be adopted by the party congress in Erfurt had been sent to Engels for consideration: the draft programme compiled by Wilhelm Liebknecht; a copy of it with amendments in Bebel's hand, Liebknecht's second draft, taking into account Bebel's amendments; and the draft proper as endorsed by the party Executive. At the Executive's decision, copies of the draft were sent to Engels and other working-class and socialist leaders and also to the Social-Democratic Reichstag deputies.

Engels gave a detailed analysis of the document in 'A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 217-34). For a long time the copy of the draft sent to Engels had been considered lost. It was first published in the journal Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung (Berlin), 1968, Sonderheft, pp. 173-74. In the present edition it will be found in Volume 27, Note 184. The extent to which Engels' criticisms on the version of the draft programme sent him were taken into account can be seen from the draft programme published by the party Executive in Vorwärts on 4 July 1891, soon after the receipt of Engels' comments (see present edition, Vol. 27, Note 184), and from Be-
bel’s letter of 12 July 1891. Another draft programme, written by Karl Kautsky, was put forward by the editorial board of Neue Zeit. These documents show that account had been taken of Engels’ criticism pertaining to the general theoretical propositions and to the section stating the economic demands. No changes of substance were made in the political demands section. The draft contained no mention of the conquest of political power by the proletariat, of the democratic republic, of remodelling Germany’s political system or of the need to combat the survivors of feudalism and absolutism.—209, 214, 315

270 Addressing a public Social-Democratic meeting at the Eldorado hall in Munich on 1 June 1891, Georg von Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian Social-Democrats, delivered a speech ‘On the Immediate Tasks of German Social-Democracy’ in the context of the ‘new course’ of the Caprivi government. He advocated an opportunistic tactics of cooperation with the ruling classes in home and foreign policy, in particular in the event of war with Russia. This tactics was supposed to result in a gradual reform of society. The speech, applauded by the bourgeois press, was criticized at party meetings, in most party periodicals and, later, at the Erfurt Congress, especially in the addresses of August Bebel and Paul Singer (see Note 301).—211, 219, 246

271 On 1 July 1891 Vorwärts published an official statement of the party Executive of 30 June 1891 denying Georg von Vollmar the right to speak on behalf of the party.—211

272 On 27 June 1891 Justice (No. 389) carried an article by Ernest Bax, ‘The German Party — Its Misfortunes and Its Faults’, which, referring to Vollmar’s speech, accused all German Social-Democracy of chauvinism and revenge-mongering.—211

273 Engels plays on a misspelling in the report on a meeting of London workwomen in Hyde Park quoted by Clara Zetkin in her first article of the series, ‘Die Frage des Arbeitsschutzes für Frauen’, published in the Arbeiterin on 6 June 1891. The report read: ‘The women in childbed (Wöchnerinnen) demanded a reduction of the hours of labour.’ The word that ought to have been used is Wäscherinnen—washerwomen. The issue of Arbeiterin in question had been sent to Engels by Karl Kautsky.—211

274 Conrad Schmidt had applied for a lectureship at the Zurich University. Julius Wolf, a professor of political economy, raised serious objections to his admission on the grounds that Schmidt was an editor of the Social-Democratic newspaper Berliner Volks-Tribüne.—213

275 Following the massacre of the May Day demonstration in Fourmies (see Note 243) the French government, anxious to absolve itself from the responsibility, clamped down on the socialists, accusing them of fomenting demonstrations and murder. Paul Lafargue was put on trial charged with having, in his speech in Wignehies on 14 April 1891, called on the workers to fight their masters arms in hand. Hippolyte Culiné, the secretary of the Fourmies socialist organisation, was arrested too. On 4 July 1891 a jury in Douai (Département du Nord) pronounced Lafargue guilty. He was sentenced to one year in prison and a fine of 100 francs. Culiné was condemned to six years’ imprisonment.

In July Lafargue and Guesde toured Northern France (Wignehies, Fourmies, Lille, Roubaix and other cities) and gave a series of talks on the subject 'Modern
Socialism. Answer to the Indictment'. Resolutions condemning the sentences and demanding that they be quashed were adopted at various meetings.—215, 260

The strike of omnibus and tram drivers and conductors in Paris, 25 to 27 May 1891, involved about 7,000 people. The strikers demanded shorter hours, higher wages and the reinstatement of workers dismissed for taking part in the May Day demonstration. The strike failed owing to the indecision of the trade union leaders, intimidated by Minister of the Interior Constans' threat to withdraw the Companie omnibus générale's transportation monopoly if the strike continued.—215

In a letter of 20 June 1891 the German philosopher Johann Gustav Vogt asked Engels' permission to publish a rendering of Capital under the title Karl Marx's 'Capital', According to the Exact Text of the Original, Popularly Presented by J. G. Vogt.—216

This refers to a letter from the French socialist journalist Albert Duc-Quercy, enclosed by Lafargue with his letter to Engels of 10 July 1891. Presumably, Albert Duc-Quercy had asked Engels, via Lafargue, to state his views on certain aspects of France's foreign policy; these pronouncements were to be published in the form of an interview in Le Figaro.—218

In a letter to Engels of 10 July 1891 Paul Lafargue wrote: 'I have been sentenced for direct incitement to murder; for direct incitement to be the case, the persons to be killed must be specifically named; and the indictment charges me only with having said that one must get rid of the employers as of vermin with an insecticide.

'But there is another point. This phrase, the only one where the word kill is used, was in the first instance attributed to Hippolyte Culiné by an official newspaper; the indictment puts it down to me; and on Monday, when I arrived at Fourmies station, I met Renard, who had spoken at that meeting on April 11th and he showed me a letter which he was sending to the Minister of Justice in which he stated that it was he who had spoken these words and that he accepted all the consequences.' For the trial of Lafargue see Note 275.—219

Engels must have sent Laura Lafargue a copy of The Star of 27 June 1891 containing another letter of Arthur Field on the Brussels Congress, headlined 'The International Labour Congress', and a copy of the same paper of 2 July 1891, carrying, under the same headline, Burrows' answer (see Note 266).—219

This refers to the circular of the Belgian Workers' Party of 17 June 1891, headlined 'Congrès international ouvrier socialiste de 1891' and signed by Jean Volders. The circular, published in Vorwärts on 26 June 1891 and in Le Socialiste, No. 41, 1 July 1891, contained an invitation to the International Socialist Congress due to meet in Brussels on 18 August 1891. It signified the virtual recognition by the Belgian socialists, who formerly supported the Possibilists, of the decisions adopted at the international conference in Halle (see Note 28).—219, 221, 224

Hippolyte Culiné, condemned with Paul Lafargue at the trial in Douai (see Note 275), had appealed for pardon to Minister of the Interior Constans, thus complicating for himself and Lafargue the campaign for the quashing of the unwarranted sentence.

In referring to Culiné's name Engels hints at its similarity to the French verb 'culer', which means 'to retreat'.—220

In his letters of 14 and 20 July 1891, Sorge, referring to the forthcoming Interna-
tional Socialist Congress in Brussels, said the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133) would probably be represented by Lucien Sanial, and the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84) by Samuel Gompers. In this connection Sorge expressed his fear that the two, being ideological opponents, might use the congress as an additional platform for their controversy.—224

Engels obviously means the item headlined 'Enfin!' in Le Socialiste, No. 45, 29 July 1891, which said that 'from a stronghold of the Possibilists, which it has been so far, the Labour Exchange has become what it is called upon to be — the common house of all workers without distinction of doctrine or grouping'.—224

On 27 July 1891 Reichstag elections were held in Tilsit (Gumbin, First Constituency) and Memel-Heydekrug (Königsberg, First Constituency). In Tilsit, the Social-Democrats polled 925 votes as against 119 on 20 February 1890. In Memel, the Social-Democratic candidate, Lorenz, got 1,571 votes.—226, 229

This refers to the Report from Great Britain and Ireland to the Delegates of the Brussels International Congress, 1891, published as a pamphlet in London in 1891. Compiled by Eleanor Marx-Aveling on behalf of the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union (see Note 164), the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League (see Note 200), the Bloomsbury Socialist Society and the Battersea Labour League, it gave a detailed review of the working-class movement in Britain from the 1889 International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 51) and a characterisation of various socialist and labour organisations. The report emphasised the importance of the new trades unions, which were introducing the workers to socialism and thus contributing to the formation of a workers' socialist party in Britain.—226

Paul Lafargue was kept at Ste Pélagie prison in Paris from late July to 10 November 1891 (see Note 275). He was released in connection with his election to the Chamber of Deputies (see Note 326).—227

A French naval squadron visiting Kronstadt in July and early August 1891 was accorded an elaborately solemn welcome — a demonstration of a rapprochement between Tsarist Russia and France. At the same time, diplomatic negotiations were in progress which culminated in the signing, in August 1892, of a treaty under which France and Russia undertook to consult each other on international matters and co-operate in the event of a threat of an attack on either of them. This agreement was a landmark on the way to the final formalisation, in 1893, of the Franco-Russian alliance, set up in opposition to the Triple Alliance (see Note 303).—228, 246, 266, 308, 444, 472

The Standard of 17 August 1891 carried a Reuters report, 'Socialist Congress in Brussels', on the Brussels International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 135).—229

This refers to Marx' letters to Danielson which the latter had sent to Engels for copying (see present edition, Vol. 48).—230

In his letter of 1 May 1891 Danielson sent Engels statistics on the development of capitalism in Russia.—230, 279

Subsequently Engels learnt, from a letter from Laura Lafargue written on 3 September 1891, that the so-called Liebknecht interview published in the radical
Weekly Dispatch of 30 August 1891 was a concoction by the paper’s Paris correspondent, Emily Crawford. Liebknecht disavowed the interview, declaring in Vorwärts, No. 206, 4 September 1891, that he had not met any correspondents or granted any interviews during his latest visit to Paris.—232

This refers to the Hague Congress of the International Working Men’s Association, held 2-7 September 1872. It marked the culmination of the struggle Marx, Engels and their comrades-in-arms had waged for many years against every kind of petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the working-class movement. The congress condemned the Anarchists’ splitting activities and expelled their leaders from the International.—233, 234, 238

This letter was first published abridged and with editorial changes in Le Socialiste, No. 51, 12 September 1891, in the form of an article headed ‘Le congrès de Bruxelles’, which was reprinted in German translation in Vorwärts, No. 216, 16 September 1891,—in the column ‘Politische Uebersicht’—under the headline ‘Über den Brüsseler Kongreß und die Lage in Europa (Aus einem Brief an Paul Lafargue)’ (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 233-34). In English an excerpt from this letter was first published in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Laffargue, Correspondence, Vol. 3, 1891-1895, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963.—234

Addressing the Brussels Congress (see Note 135) in the course of a debate on the proletariat’s attitude to militarism on 21 August 1891, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, the leader of the Dutch socialists, tabled a resolution urging socialists in all countries to call a nation-wide general strike in the event of a declaration of war. The congress turned down the resolution.—234

The Party of Progress, founded in June 1861, advocated German unity under Prussia’s aegis, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and a strong liberal ministry responsible to a chamber of deputies. In 1866, the party’s Right wing, capitulating to Bismarck, split away and formed the National Liberal Party (see Note 414). In contrast to it the Progressists continued to describe themselves as an opposition party even after Germany’s unification (1871). This attitude, however, was a merely notional one. In 1884 the Progressists merged with the split-away Left-wing National Liberals, forming the Freisinnige Party (see Note 242).—237, 294

On 10 September 1891 Vorwärts (No. 211) carried a long statement by Edward Aveling rejecting Ferdinand Gilles’ slanders. On the following day, the paper published a note by Aveling on the thrashing he had given Gilles.—238

This refers to the twenty-fourth annual Congress of British Trades Unions, held in Newcastle from 7 to 12 September 1891. It was attended by 552 delegates, representing about 1,300,000 (according to other sources, about 2,000,000) organised workers. The majority of the delegates came from new unions.

The delegates speaking for the old, conservative unions made an attempt to secure the cancellation of the resolution on the eight-hour working day adopted by the previous, Liverpool Congress (see Note 27), but were defeated by 232 votes against 163. The congress voted for the unions’ participation in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.—238, 250, 494, 508

The Editorial Board of Neue Zeit, in Nos 49-52 of the journal (1891), published four articles giving a detailed critique of the draft programme of the Social-Democratic
The Erfurt Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany met from 14 to 21 October 1891. It was attended by 258 delegates.

The congress was preceded by a sharp ideological struggle between the party's revolutionary hard core and the Right- and Left-wing opportunists, who had stepped up their activities and created the atmosphere of a party crisis in German Social-Democracy.

There had been sharp debates at meetings and in the press on the party's programme and tactics, set off by the public pronouncements of Georg von Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian Social-Democrats, who sought to impose an opportunistic reformist tactics and lead the party away from class proletarian positions (see Note 270).

Vollmar's campaign provided a pretext for fresh attacks on the party (summer and autumn 1891) by the Jungen, a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist opposition group within German Social-Democracy formed in 1890. Their stronghold being the Social-Democratic organisation of Berlin, they were also known as the Berlin opposition. The group's specific character was determined by students and young literati claiming the role of the party's theoreticians and leaders. Foremost among them were Paul Ernst, Hans Müller, Paul Kampffmeyer, Bruno Wille, Karl Wilderberger and Wilhelm Werner. The Jungen ignored the fact that the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law had changed the conditions the party was operating in. They denied the need to employ legal forms of struggle, opposed Social-Democracy's participation in parliamentary elections and use of the parliamentary platform and demagogically accused the party and its Executive of protecting the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, of opportunism and of violating party democracy. The leaders of the Berlin opposition levelled especially fierce attacks at the party's leaders—Bebel and Liebknecht. The sectarian anarchist activities of the Jungen held a grave danger to the party's unity. The paramount task facing the Erfurt Congress was to overcome the crisis in the party and consolidate its ranks.

The congress discussed the report of the party Executive, the activities of Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag, the party's tactics, the draft of its new programme, and various organisational questions.

The ideological struggle continued at the congress too, especially over party tactics. A report on this issue was presented by Bebel. He—in his report and speeches—as well as other speakers (above all Singer, Liebknecht and Fischer) gave a resolute rebuff both to the Left and to the Right opportunist elements. By a majority vote the congress endorsed Bebel's draft resolution on tactics. It pointed out that the main objective of the working-class movement was the conquest of political power by the proletariat and that this end would be attained not through a chance concatenation of circumstances but through persevering work with the masses and skillful employment of every form and method of proletarian class struggle. The resolution emphasised that the German Social-Democratic Party
was a fighting party employing the traditional revolutionary tactics. Vollmar and
his supporters, finding themselves in isolation, were forced to retreat. The congress
expelled two leaders of the Jungen—Werner and Wildberger—from the party
for their splitting activities and slander; a number of other Jungen leaders an-
nounced their resignation from the party and walked out of the congress.

The main achievement of the congress was the adoption of a new programme
for German Social-Democracy. A report on it was presented by Liebknecht.

The Erfurt Programme being essentially Marxist, was an important step for-
ward compared with the Gotha Programme. The Lassallean reformist dogmas had
been dropped. The new programme scientifically substantiated the inevitability of
the collapse of capitalism and its replacement with socialism, and pointed out that,
in order to be able to restructure society along socialist lines, the proletariat must
win political power.

At the same time, the programme had serious shortcomings, the principal one
being its failure to state that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the instrument
of the socialist transformation of society. Also missing were propositions concerning
the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a democratic republic,
the remoulding of Germany’s political system and other important matters. In this
respect, the criticisms made by Engels in *A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic
Programme of 1891* (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 217-34) also apply to the ver-
sion of the programme adopted in Erfurt.

The resolutions of the Erfurt congress showed that Marxism had firmly taken
root in Germany’s working-class movement.—241, 255, 259, 263, 265, 267, 273,
276, 277, 282, 287, 298, 310, 315, 351, 526

302 In this letter—written in reply to Bebel’s letter of 12 September 1891—Engels
analyses Bebel’s article ‘Die russische Anleihe’ published in *Vorwärts*, No. 226, 27
September. The article dealt with Russia’s 3 per cent loan in France, agreement on
which had been reached in September 1891. Bebel characterised it as a military
loan. The sum stipulated was 500 million francs (125 million gold roubles). Ini-
tially a great success, the loan was only realised to the amount of about 96 million
roubles owing to the sharp decline of Russian securities at the European stock ex-
changes caused by the aggravation of Russia’s economic situation in connection
with the 1891 famine.—242, 295, 303, 308, 444

303 The *Triple Alliance*, embracing Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, was
a military-political bloc directed against France and Russia. It finally took shape
in 1882 when Italy joined the Austro-German military alliance, formed in 1879.
The Triple Alliance treaty, concluded for five years, was renewed in 1887 and
1891 and automatically extended in 1902 and 1912. The establishment of the Tri-
ple Alliance marked the first step towards the division of Europe into two large mil-
itary camps and ultimately led to the first imperialist world war (1914-18). Italy
withdrew from the Alliance at the outbreak of the war and in 1915 joined the pow-
ers fighting against Germany and Austria-Hungary.—243, 308

304 The *Ersatzreserve* (replacement reserve)—set up under the law of 2 May 1874
(*Reichs-Militärgesetz*)—was the part of the Prussian army reserve consisting of
men of call-up age who, for various reasons, were granted deferment of military
service in peacetime. The *Ersatzreserve* was to supply personnel for the army during
call-ups.—245
305 The Landsturm was a militia started in Prussia in 1813-14. Under a law of 1867 it was to be formed of men liable for call-up, aged 17 to 42, who had not served in either army or navy. It was only to be called up given the danger of a foreign invasion.—245

306 In his letter to Engels of 12 September 1891 Bebel put forward a number of considerations on the Social-Democrats’ tactics in the event of Germany waging war against Russia and France: the Reichstag Social-Democratic group would have to demand the general arming of the people; the purpose of the war would have to be to facilitate the overthrow of Tsarism; simultaneously there should be an appeal to the French to renounce the alliance with Russia. The appeal should point out the negative consequences of a Russian victory for the whole of Europe and argue that France’s failure to renounce the alliance would result in support for the war against France, since the very national existence of Germany would be at stake.—245

307 The reference is to Eduard Bernstein’s article of 29 August, ‘Briefe aus England’, published in Die Neue Zeit, 9. Jg., 1890/91, 2. Bd., Nr. 50. The article attacked the Triple Alliance (see Note 303) and Germany’s stance in it. Bebel, in a letter to Engels of 12 September, criticised Bernstein, suggesting that he underestimated the danger the future war would hold to Germany’s national existence.—246

308 This refers to the inheritance lawsuit involving Alphonse Cuno and the notary Leibfried in Luxembourg.—247, 253

309 An allusion to the fact that in his preface to Lassalle’s works (see Note 178) Eduard Bernstein, speaking of Lassalle’s chronic disease, appended a footnote reading, ‘presumably syphilis’.—247, 253, 316

310 In his letter of 29 September 1891 August Bebel advised Engels that a decision had been taken under which the six leading articles published in Vorwärts every week were to be written by August Bebel, Ignaz Auer, Gustav Keßler and Wilhelm Liebknecht (one each) and Bruno Schoenlank (two). This implied that there were to be no further contributions by Bruno Geiser and Wilhelm Bloß.—247

311 Engels means the English translation of his Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, commissioned without his knowledge by the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133) and published in The People in 1891. As can be seen from Sorge’s letters to Engels of 9 and 12 October 1891, the translation was made by Daniel De Leon and H. Vogt (presumably from the German edition of 1883) and printed also as a pamphlet.—250, 265

312 In a letter of 23 September 1891 Laura Lafargue told Engels that the French Workers’ Party had put up Paul Lafargue as its candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in a by-election in Lille to replace the deceased deputy Werquin. This enabled Lafargue to get out of prison and conduct the election campaign in North France. He was elected to the Chamber on 8 November 1891 and did not have to go back to prison.—251, 252, 254, 259

313 On 23 September 1891 Laura Lafargue, on behalf of the French Workers’ Party, requested Engels to write an article for the Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892. As a theme, she said, Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue had suggested ‘Socialism in Germany’. Engels replied positively. The article he wrote, ‘Le Socialisme en Allemagne’, appeared in Almanach in early December 1891. Somewhat later Engels
translated it into German for Neue Zeit, adding a brief introduction and a concluding section. The article was published in Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg. 1891/92, 1. Bd., Nr. 19 under the heading 'Der Sozialismus in Deutschland' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-50).— 252, 259, 260, 263, 267, 270, 276, 282

314 This refers to the Viennese Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung. Engels' phrase 'Hyäna-paper' is based on Schiller's Song of the Bell, which compares women revolutionaries to hyaenas.

The first issue of the newspaper, which appeared on 1 January 1892, carried contributions by Laura Lafargue, 'Ein Gruß aus Frankreich', and Louise Kautsky, 'Aus England'. On 5 February an article by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, 'Wie sollen wir organisieren?', was published.— 252, 331

315 On 8 October 1891 Marseilles' democratic forces staged a mass demonstration against Constans, who had arrived with other ministers for the start of city services improvement works. Despite numerous arrests and attempts to disperse the crowds with military force the demonstration was resumed. Throughout their route the ministers were met with boos and calls of 'Down with Constans!' and 'Down with the Fourmies murderers!' Incensed by the hostile reception, Constans demanded that the Mayor should take the most drastic measures against the demonstrators.— 255

316 This is a paraphrase of Talleyrand's saying, 'Surtout, Messieurs. Point de zèle' (Above all, sirs, not too much zeal).— 255

317 In his letter of 9 October 1891, which Engels is answering, Bebel noted the increasing threat of war and suggested that, in all probability, the hostilities would be unleashed by Russia, with France to join in next.— 256

318 In his letter of 12 September 1891 Bebel informed Engels of forthcoming changes on the editorial board of Vorwärts. He wrote: 'Hirsch will become, with our support, Editor-in-Chief proper, while Liebknecht will retire to his reserved property and get the Foreign Ministry...'— 259

319 The newspaper L'Action of 11 October 1891 carried an article by Adrien Veber, 'Le socialisme intégral', which was a review of the book of the same title by the Possibilist Benoît Malon. Veber praised it beyond measure, calling the author 'the most significant mind of modern socialism'.— 260

320 The Secrétariat du travail was set up in France in early October 1891 in conformity with the decision of the Brussels International Socialist Workers' Congress (see Note 135) decreeing the establishment of such bodies in every country. The secretariats were to study the workers' living and working conditions, gather and publicise data on these matters, mediate in industrial disputes, etc.

The French Secretariat of Labour, composed of representatives of conflicting groups and parties, failed to produce positive results and was disbanded in 1896.— 260

321 This letter was published in English for the first time in The Labour Monthly, London, 1939, Vol. 21, No. 2, II.— 261

322 In connection with the forthcoming Erfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party its Executive reprinted—in Supplement I to Vorwärts, No. 233, 6 October 1891—its own draft of the party programme and that put forward by
the Editorial Board of Neue Zeit (see Note 299), and published, in the same supplement, a number of other drafts and proposals submitted by party organisations and individuals in the course of the debate on the programme.

The proposition concerning ‘one reactionary mass’, criticised here by Engels, figured in the programme of German Social-Democracy adopted at the union congress in Gotha in 1875 (see Note 63). It was not included into the programme adopted in Erfurt.—261, 362, 373, 423

Engels presumably means the closing words of Marx’s Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 457).

The battles of Jena and Auerstedt, both fought on 14 October 1806 and often referred to collectively as the battle of Jena, ended in defeat for the Prussian forces. As a result, Prussia, a member of the Fourth Coalition, surrendered to Napoleonic France. The Jena defeat brought out the whole rottenness of the socio-political system of the Hohenzollern feudal monarchy.—263

The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, an organisation of US workers, was founded in Philadelphia in 1869 and was a secret society until 1878. The Order consisted mostly of unskilled workers and included many Afro-Americans and women. It organised co-operatives and mutual aid societies and took part in many campaigns of the working class, in particular, the strike movement of 1886-88. Despite a ban imposed by its leadership, the Order’s rank and file participated in the 1886 national strike. The leaders of the Order pursued a policy of class collaboration and, to all practical purposes, rejected workers’ participation in political struggle. Its influence on the working masses declining, the Order disintegrated in the late 1890s. Its significance lies in the fact that it sought to bring the US working class together in a single national organisation.—264

This refers to the series of articles headed ‘Zur Biographie Bakunins’ which appeared in the anarchist newspaper Freiheit, Nos 1-10 and 12-16; 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31 January, 7, 14, 21 and 28 February, 7, 21 and 28 March and 4, 11 and 18 April 1891. Sorge advised Engels of the publication of the series in his letter of 9 October 1891 and later, at Engels’ request, sent him all the relevant issues of Freiheit. The Bakunin biography was published under the sign **. In Sorge’s opinion, the author was a Russian anarchist.—265, 300

In the second round of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in Lille, on 8 November 1891, Paul Lafargue defeated the government-backed candidate, Lucien-Hector Depassi, by 6,470 votes against 5,175. In view of Lafargue’s election to the Chamber, the government was forced to release him from prison on 9 November.—266, 275

Engels means the speech ‘Die europäische Lage und der Sozialismus’, which Bebel made at a meeting in Berlin’s Constituency No. 4 on 5 October 1891. A report on the speech appeared in Vorwärts, No. 235, 8 October. Surveying the foreign policy of European states from the Franco-Prussian war onwards Bebel noted that his views on the matter, in particular on the policy of Russia, coincided with those of Marx and Engels. This remark was omitted in the newspaper report. In his letter to Engels of 9 October Bebel deplored the omission.—267

Engels ironically quotes a phrase used by Georg von Vollmar at the Erfurt Congress (see Note 301). Discussing Bebel’s draft resolution on the party’s tactics the
delegate Carl Oertel proposed adding to it a special paragraph stating that the party did not share von Vollmar's view on the tasks and tactics of German Social-Democracy and considered them dangerous to its further development. Von Vollmar characterised Oertel's amendment as motivated by 'personal spite' and declared that he supported the resolution, but without the amendment.—268

929 At the Erfurt Congress (see Note 301) the delegate Fritz Kunert proposed rescinding the resolution on Bruno Geiser (Liebknecht's son-in-law) adopted at the St Gallen party congress (see Note 253). After a debate, the motion was rejected.—268

930 In his letter of 24 October 1891 Bebel informed Engels about the results of the Erfurt Congress. He also advised him of the party Executive's decision, adopted at his, Bebel's, proposal, to make available 400 marks for Lafargue's election campaign.—268, 291, 297, 306, 319

931 In January 1891, glassworkers in the Rhone department struck for uniform rates and shorter hours. By the autumn the strike had spread throughout France, involving nearly 6,000 workers.—269

932 A Social-Democratic meeting was held in Magdeburg on 21 October 1891. It heard a report on the Erfurt Congress and endorsed its decisions, including the one on the expulsion of the leaders of the Jungen (see Note 301).—269

939 On 20 October 1891 Karl Wilderberger and Wilhelm Werner—leaders of the Jungen expelled from the party at the Erfurt Congress (see Note 301)—called a meeting in Berlin. Since the Berlin party leaders refusing to co-operate with this opposition group were at the congress, the two considered this an opportune moment for an attempt to win the support of the Berlin party organisation and have it condemn the decision of the congress. When news of their activities reached Erfurt (a telegram had been sent from Berlin and read out at the congress), the Berlin delegates sent a letter to Berlin protesting against the decisions of the congress being discussed before its conclusion. The letter, signed by Theodor Metzner, was published under the heading 'An die Parteigenossen Berlins!' in Vorwärts, No. 246, 21 October 1891.

On 8 November the Berlin opposition called another meeting at which it constituted itself the Union of Independent Socialists (1891-94). Its organ was Der Sozialist, which appeared from 1891 to 1899. In the summer of 1893 the newspaper was taken over by the anarchists.—269, 300, 324, 381, 386, 526, 544

934 An announcement on the forthcoming publication of Engels' works here mentioned appeared in Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 9, S. 283.

An English edition of Bernstein's preface to the works of Lassalle (see Note 178) appeared in Eleanor Marx-Aveling's translation in 1893 under the title 'Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer'.—274, 287

935 In connection with Paul Lafargue's nomination as a candidate for the French Chamber of Deputies Louise Kautsky called him M. P. In her letter to Engels of 16 October 1891 Laura Lafargue jokingly remarked in this context that in France M. P. meant 'membre de Pélagie'—an allusion to the fact that Paul Lafargue was serving a sentence at Ste Pélagie prison. Engels plays on this joke.—275, 290

936 Engels means the 'Independent Socialists' in the Chamber of Deputies. Led by Étienne-Alexandre Millerand, the group consisted mostly of bourgeois radicals
(see note 147) who had joined the socialist movement following the events in Fourmies (see Note 243) and formed the opportunist wing of the socialist faction in parliament. The 'Independent Socialists' supported Lafargue's candidacy and demanded his release from prison (see this volume, pp. 269 and 274-75).—277, 367

337 This letter was first published in the language of the original (English) in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Briefe*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1953.—278

338 Mackinley was one of the leaders of the US Republican Party. The protectionist tariff initiated by him was introduced in 1890. An instrument of the monopolies, it sharply raised the import duties on manufactures, the results being a rise in the price of consumer goods and a deterioration of the condition of the working class. Engels discussed the Mackinley tariff in his article 'The American Presidential Election' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 329-31).—278, 393


340 Engels paraphrases a saying attributed to the French general Bosquet (see Note 241).—281

341 Engels means the runoff election, which was due on 8 November 1891.—281

342 In his letter of 24 October 1891 Lafargue told Engels that, if elected to the Chamber of Deputies, he intended to form a single group of 60 to 80 M. P.s, consisting of socialists and those radicals who had supported him at the elections (see Note 336).—281

343 Five large Social-Democratic meetings were held in Berlin on 30 October 1891, with delegates to the Erfurt Congress speaking. The speakers included, among others, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Paul Singer and Ignaz Auer. The main topic discussed was the congress decision on the opposition of the Jungen (see Note 301). The vast majority of the audience supported the Erfurt resolutions.—282

344 Reporting on the Erfurt Congress at a Social-Democratic meeting in Munich on 26 October 1891, Vollmar regretted the expulsion by the congress of some of the leaders of the Jungen from the party (see Note 301). The meeting rejected Vollmar's draft resolution on party tactics. In its unanimously adopted resolution on the report, submitted by Carl Oertel, it declared itself in agreement with the congress decision on tactics and recommended all party members to take it as a guide.—282, 293, 298

345 The reference is to Bebel's letter of 29 October 1891.—282

346 Engels means the presence of British troops in Egypt, which was part of the Ottoman Empire. France and Russia were trying to make Turkey demand their withdrawal.—285

347 In his letter of 25 October 1891 Conrad Schmidt informed Engels of his intention to write a book entitled *Karl Marx, seine Lehre und seine Stellung in der Wissenschaft*, which was to be put out by Guttentag in Berlin. 'In particular,' Schmidt wrote, 'I want to make an exact study of the method applied in *Capital*, to prove that it is the only correct one, and to examine the influence Hegel's dialectics exerted on it.' Obviously the work did not materialise.—285
On 31 October 1891 the Chamber of Deputies discussed an interpellation by Ernest Roche, who had demanded that the government state its motives for keeping Lafargue in prison and thus denying him the possibility to campaign in the election. The government's conduct was criticised by Étienne Alexandre Millerand and Georges Benjamin Clemenceau. The Radicals voted against the government's proposal to proceed to other business. The Monarchists abstained. As a result, the government's proposal was passed with only a small majority.—289, 291

In his letters of 29 and 30 October 1891 Bebel informed Engels that Social-Democratic meetings held in Berlin and other cities had approved the decisions of the Erfurt party congress directed against the opposition (see Note 301).—291, 293

On 31 October 1891 an open meeting of German Social-Democratic émigrés in Zurich adopted a resolution, tabled by Hans Müller, expressing disagreement with the expulsion of leaders of the Jungen by the Erfurt party congress (see Note 301) and urging the next congress to rescind this decision. In its report on the meeting, Vorwärts, No. 259, 5 November, pointed out that the Erfurt Congress had been attended by people more competent in party matters than Hans Müller.—293

On 28 October 1891 a Reichstag by-election was held in the Stolp-Lauenburg constituency in Pomerania. Bebel analysed its outcome in an article headlined 'Die Reichstagswahl in Stolp-Lauenburg', printed in Vorwärts, No. 256, 1 November. He interpreted the victory of the candidate of the Freisinnige Party (see Note 242) in a constituency which had consistently elected conservatives from 1867 onwards, as important evidence of the weakening of the reactionary forces in rural constituencies.—294

In February 1888 the term of the German Reichstag was extended from three to five years. Attempts by the Bismarck government to win such an extension in 1881 and 1885 had ended in failure. A longer term for the Reichstag meant a restriction of the voters' rights.—294

In his letter to Engels of 26 October 1891 Bebel wrote that revolutionary views were taking hold on people's minds, so that the intellectuals would, in his opinion, side with the Social-Democrats when the time was ripe. Scientists, teachers, officials and technicians, he said, bitterly resented the government pressure.—294

In the course of a diplomatic tour of Europe in the autumn of 1891, the Russian Foreign Minister N. K. Giers visited Milan, where he had talks with King Umberto I and Prime Minister Rudini on 12 and 13 October. In the opinion of the European press, he tried to persuade Italy to quit the Triple Alliance (see Note 303).

On his way back from Denmark in late October 1891 Tsar Alexander III visited the German port of Danzig and Berlin, but evaded a meeting with William II. The pointed omission of a visit to the German Emperor (though a meeting had already been announced in the press) was interpreted by European newspapers, in particular English ones, as evidence of tension between Russia and Germany.—295, 307

The whereabouts of Engels' letter to Oscar Heidfeld are unknown. Engels' copy reproduced here only contains excerpts from it.—296

In his letter of 11 November 1891 Oscar Heidfeld advised Engels of Ernst Dronke's
death and of the financial documents left among his papers (see also present edition, Vol. 45).—296

357 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 10, pp. 629-32.—299, 507, 530

358 Between 1890 and 1895 Sorge published a series of articles on the US working-class movement over the period 1830-94 in *Neue Zeit*. They were to be put out in book form. This edition never materialised.—299, 329

359 On 17 November 1891 elections to the City Assembly were held in Berlin. In the first round the Social-Democrats retained their three seats and won another three. In the runoff, on 15 December, they gained a seventh seat.—300

360 Engels means the slanted account of Paul Lafargue’s speech in Bordeaux on 22 November 1891 published in *The Evening Standard* of 23 November under the heading ‘The Lille Election’ (see also this volume, pp. 306-07).—301, 304, 311, 318

361 On 24 November 1891 *The Evening Standard* mistakenly reported that the Reichstag by-election in the 11th Constituency (Halle, Oehrungen, Warisberg, Backnau) had been won by the Social-Democrat Hartmann. Hartmann had in fact been elected, but he was not a Social-Democrat.—303

362 In Lyons, the ninth congress of the French Workers’ Party was held from 26 to 28 November 1891. It adopted a municipal programme and determined the party’s tactics for the municipal elections due on 1 May 1892. It also endorsed the composition of the Secretariat of Labour formed in October 1891 (see Note 320).—306

363 Laura Lafargue’s letter to Engels of 28 November 1891 is not extant.—307

364 The reference is to the ‘reptile press’, the press dependent on the Bismarck government. The name derives from the ‘Reptile Fund’, the assets provided to the Elector of Hesse, ex-King George V of Hanover, in compensation for the incorporation of Hanover (an ally of Austria) into Prussia after the Austro-Prussian war. The fund was sequestered after it had become known that the Hesse Elector engaged in anti-Prussian activities in France. In his speech to the Prussian Landtag on 30 January 1869 Bismarck maintained that the fund would be used to combat the intrigues of the former Hanover King and his agents, whom he called ‘reptiles’. Actually, a considerable part of the means was used by Bismarck to bribe certain periodicals and individual journalists. The words ‘reptile’ and ‘reptile press’ became synonyms of a government-bribed press.—307

365 In his letter of 7 December 1891 Bebel told Engels that on one occasion William II arrived without notice at a cavalry barracks in Potsdam, secretly removed the guards and had them arrested, with the exception of the bugler. He then ordered the alarm to be sounded and watched with satisfaction the confusion of the officers at not finding the guards at their posts. These practical jokes of the young emperor, shrugged off by the generals, were causing discontent among the officers and ranks.—307

366 Engels means Bebel’s speech on the military budget delivered at the Reichstag on 28 November 1891. The speech was reported in Supplement I to *Vorwärts*, No. 280, 29 November. Taking issue with those deputies who advocated a more numerous army and larger military appropriations on the plea that internal riots
614 Notes

were to be feared in view of the grown influence of the Social-Democrats in the
army, Bebel said: 'Things are developing to our advantage of themselves, and if
you have to raise millions of men, up to the Landsturm (home reserve) of the second
call, needless to say there will be hundreds of thousands of Social-Democrats
among them.' — 308, 312

367 See K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Lieb-

368 In his letter of 15 November 1891 Bebel named some intellectuals and bourgeois
who had declared themselves members of the Social-Democratic Party. — 309

369 On 28 November 1891, on the occasion of Engels' birthday, the Reichstag Social-
Democratic deputies sent Engels the following message: 'The Social-Democratic
group of the German Reichstag wishes its staunch and indefatigable champion
many happy returns of the day.' — 309

370 An allusion to an anonymous anti-Socialist pamphlet, August Bebel der Arbeiter-
Bismarck. Von einem Socialisten, Berlin, 1890. — 310

371 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, put out simultaneously, in 1971, by Prog-

372 In a message of birthday greetings on 26 November 1891 Natalie Liebknecht
wished Engels many happy returns on her own behalf and that of Wilhelm Lieb-
knecht and their son, Theodor. — 312

373 See also F. Engels, 'To the Choir Club of the Communist German Workers' Educa-
tional Society. Tottenham Street' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 254-
55). — 313

374 The owners of the Leeds gas works stipulated that workers should initially be em-
ployed for four months, during which period they were not allowed to take part in
strikes. The workers were also required, within a shift of eight hours, to perform 25
per cent more work than they had previously, when the working day was longer.
These terms, practically meaning the abolition of the gas workers' union in Leeds
and the cancellation of the eight-hour day won by the workers, aroused the latter's
anger and resistance. Early in July 1890 strikers fought pitched battles against
strikebreakers and troops, and ultimately carried the day. The employers were
forced to withdraw their terms. — 313

375 This refers to Chapter XXV, 'The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation', of
Volume I of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 35). — 315

376 In his speech at the Erfurt Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany
(see Note 301) the Dortmund delegate Karl Wilhelm Tölke attacked Eduard
Bernstein for his critique of Ferdinand Lassalle (see Note 178). He also tried to pres-
ent Lassalle's views on universal suffrage, the tactics of the working-class move-
ment and other matters. — 316

377 Here Engels paraphrases the refrain of Jacob Audorff's Lied der deutschen Arbeiter
(Arbeiter-Marseillaise) (see Note 235). — 316

378 On 17 December 1891 Paul Lafargue, on behalf of the French Workers' Party,
submitted to the Chamber of Deputies a bill on the separation of the Church from
the State, which was, by and large, based on the decree of the Paris Commune of 2 April 1871. It envisaged the cancellation of the cults budget, the confiscation of Church property, with the means thus obtained to be used for popular education and social security, and a ban on the building of churches and the involvement of workers in religious societies. The bill was published in *Le Socialiste*, No. 66, 26 December 1891.

Lafargue’s maiden speech in the Chamber of Deputies (8 December 1891) was a substantiation of his bill on a full amnesty for persons charged with political offences. The speech was repeatedly interrupted by noise and heckling from bourgeois deputies. It was published verbatim in *Le Socialiste*, No. 65, 19 December 1891.—320, 328, 330, 348

379 This refers to Kautsky’s brochure, *Das Erfurter Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Teil erläutert*, published in Stuttgart in 1892.—322, 367, 389

380 Peter Fireman had sent Kautsky the manuscript of his article ‘Kritik der Marx’ischen Werttheorie’. In his letter of 7 December 1891 Kautsky informed Engels of its contents. The article was published in *Jahrbücher der Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Dritte Folge, 3. Bd., 1892. Engels analysed it in the Preface to Vol. III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—322

381 This refers to Conrad Schmidt’s work *Die Durchschnittsprofistrate auf Grundlage des Marx’ischen Wertgesetzes* (Stuttgart, 1889), which Engels analyses in his preface to Volume III of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 37).—323

382 In his letter to Engels of 3 December 1891 Kautsky said in its next issue *Neue Zeit* would carry an article by Rudolf Meyer (‘Anbaupolitik und Nahrungsmittel’, *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 1. Bd., Nr. 11, 12. He also wrote that Meyer was ill and being boycotted by the conservative press.—323

383 The compositors’ strike in Germany began on 8 November 1891 and involved 10,000 printers. The strikers demanded a 12.5 per cent pay rise and a nine-hour working day. The strike continued until 14 January 1892 but, despite support from workers of other industries in Germany and abroad, ended in failure.—323, 346

384 This message of greetings was written by Louise Kautsky on a postcard. The address is in Engels’ hand: Mr. und Mrs. Schlüter 382 Washington St. Hoboken N. Y. U.S. America.—325

385 This message of greetings was written by Engels on a postcard. The address—Familie Liebknecht, 160 Kantstr., Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany—is also in his hand.—326

386 Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *The Labour Monthly*, London, 1934, No. 10. The letter appeared in English in full for the first time in *Science and Society*, New York, 1938, Vol. 2, No. 3.—326

387 Territories was the designation of newly developed areas in the USA, mostly in the West, which did not form part of any of the states and were governed by the President or the Senate. As a rule, they were admitted to the Union as states upon attaining a certain population number.—328

388 An allusion to the Greenback Party. Formed in the West of the USA in 1874, it consisted mostly of farmers. The party opposed the withdrawal of the paper money (popularly called greenbacks) emitted during the 1861-65 Civil War and, being
devalued, no longer convertible into gold. The Greenbackers laboured under the illusion that keeping a large amount of paper money in circulation would lead to a rise in the price of farming produce. The party obtained over a million votes at the 1878 elections. It virtually disintegrated following a defeat at the polls in 1884.—328

On 9 January 1891 Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84), wrote to Engels asking him what he thought of the conflict between the Federation and the Socialist Labor Party of North America (see Note 133). Engels' reply to Gompers is not extant.—328

Presumably Engels means the editing and translation into German of his article 'Socialism in Germany' (see present edition, Vol. 27) and his work on 'Preface to the 1892 English Edition of The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 257-69).—329

The Boards of Health were municipal bodies in Britain concerned with health, sanitation and social security. In his letter of 31 December 1891 Paul Lafargue asked Engels to tell him about the Board of Health in London because he intended to submit to the Chamber of Deputies a proposal for the establishment of similar bodies in France.—330

Between December 1891 and early February 1892 Paul Lafargue made several canvassing tours in France, addressing rallies and workers' meetings in Lille, Lyons, Boulogne, Bordeaux, Nantes, Toulouse and other cities. As he told Engels in his letter of 26 December, these tours were, above all, part of the campaign for the municipal elections due on 1 May 1892.

Referring to the tours in a letter to Engels on 28 December, Laura Lafargue jokingly called her husband the wandering Jew. Engels, in his reply, alludes to Lafargue's black origin.—330, 348, 478

The bill on the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland (1869) applied solely to the Church of England, which had an insignificant following in Ireland. The bill put an end to the privileges of the Anglican Church and placed it, legally and financially, on an equal footing with the Catholic and the Presbyterian Church. It abolished tithes and various ecclesiastical offices. The Church of England also had to relinquish a small part of its land holdings, whose revenue was now to be used for charity and assistance to Ireland's other Churches and also to raise the salaries of the remaining Anglican priests. The bill on the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland was passed by the Gladstone government, alongside other measures, to pacify the Irish national movement.—330

This refers to the 5,000 million francs which France paid in indemnities to Germany under the peace treaty after the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian war.—330

Henry Mayers Hyndman supported Paul Brouss when the French Possibilists split up in October 1890. See Broussists (Note 3) and Allemanists (Note 53).—333

At a joint session of the freedom of speech committee and representatives of socialist and workers' organisations on 24 January 1890, the delegates of the Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers (see Note 164) declared that they were not going officially to participate in meetings at the World's End.—333, 335

On 13 November 1887 the British socialists organised a demonstration in London.
About 10,000 workers marched to Trafalgar Square, where a rally was to be held. Arriving there, they found the square occupied by 4,000 police. In the ensuing clashes several hundred demonstrators were injured (three fatally), some of the organisers of the rally were arrested. These events went down in the history of the British labour movement as Bloody Sunday.—335

398 In reprinting, in German, Engels' article 'Socialism in Germany' in Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 1. Bd., Nr. 19 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-50), the Editors omitted the names of Bebel and Liebknecht in the following passage: 'More than once entire groups of Lassalleans went over en masse, drums beating and banners flying, to Bebel's and Liebknecht's new party, called the Eisenach party.'—336, 343


400 Engels means the evolution of Martin Luther's views. In his early, radical period Luther formulated his teaching, in which the masses of the people saw a reflection of their revolutionary sentiments. In late 1521 the Reformation led by Luther began to distance itself from the plebeian and peasant elements, with Luther himself gravitating to the side of the German princes who supported the Reformation.

This split in the Reformation camp was reflected, among other things, in Luther's critique, in December 1521, of the radical Church reforms carried out by the theologian Andreas Rudolf Karlstadt in Wittenberg, the centre of the Reformation.

During the Peasant War in Germany (1524-26) Luther openly sided with the enemies of the insurgent peasants, his attitude reflecting that of the majority of German burghers, who had gone over to the side of the feudal lords for fear of revolutionary action by the masses.—342

401 In the second half of January 1892 several French newspapers, including Figaro, asked Bebel to state the terms that would make possible a Franco-German agreement on Alsace and Lorraine, both annexed by Germany in 1871. In a letter to Engels of 27 January Bebel summarised his reply to Figaro as follows: 'The public, I said, knew what I and our party thought about the annexation; it also knew that we favoured a reconciliation with France, and certainly also that we considered one possible; but our party still lacked the strength to bring about a decision, and outside the party there might be individuals who likewise wanted a reconciliation, but none of these were people of influence; hence any real action promising success was out of the question.'

A note headed 'Ueber den Rückkauf Elsäß-Lothringes' published in the 'Parteinachrichten' column of the supplement to Vorwärts, No. 25, 30 January 1892, said Bebel had declared that the Social-Democratic Party would accept a Franco-German agreement on Alsace and Lorraine on any terms.—344

402 In his letter of 27 January 1892 Bebel told Engels about a conversation he had just had with Ernst Matthäus von Köller, deputy state secretary for Alsace-Lorraine at the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, on the position in that province. Köller said Bebel had only him to thank for having been able to address a meeting in Mul-
house on 6 January (see Note 407). In the course of the conversation Bebel sharply criticised the German government’s police reprisals.—344

403 A report headlined ‘Aus London’, in Vorwärts, No. 25, 30 January 1892, said elements hostile to German Social-Democracy had been expelled from the German Workers’ Educational Society (see this volume, pp. 333 and 335). It did not say, however, that the person expelled was Ferdinand Gilles.—345

404 This refers to a legal statement, sent by Bebel to Engels on 7 February 1885, concerning the possibility of bringing out another printing of Engels’ The Condition of the Working-Class in England, published by Otto Wigand in Leipzig in 1845. This possibility was first discussed by Engels in his letters to Liebknecht of 15-22 May 1872 and 12 February 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 373-77 and 477-78). Under statement, a second edition could only be issued by a publishing house in a country which had no copyright convention with Germany.

However, Wigand ceded his rights in regard of Engels’ book to Dietz of his own accord (see this volume, pp. 406, 410, 414 and Notes 468, 470 and 476).—346

405 This Order of the Day by Prince George of Saxony, commander-in-chief of the Saxon army, dated 8 June 1891, was published in Vorwärts, No. 26, 31 January 1892, under the title ‘Zu den bevorstehenden Reichstags-Verhandlungen über den Militär-Etat’. It summed up the findings of a court martial investigation into complaints about the brutal treatment of soldiers.—346, 348

406 An allusion to a passage in Shakespeare’s Julius Caesar, Act I, Scene 2: ‘Yond’ Cassius has a lean and hungry look; He thinks too much: such men are dangerous!’—348

407 On 6 January 1892 Bebel addressed a workers’ meeting in the Alsatian town of Mulhouse. He spoke mostly about the economic condition of Alsace. His attempts to proceed to political questions were cut short by the police commissioner, who threatened to close the meeting. A report on the meeting was published in Vorwärts on 9 January 1892.—348

408 Engels means Conrad Schmidt’s article ‘Noch einmal das Rätsel der Durchschnittsprofitrate’ in Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, 3. Folge, 2. Bd., Jena 1891. Schmidt had enclosed a copy of the article in his letter to Engels of 12 December 1891.

Engels gives a critical analysis of Julius Wolf’s article in his preface to Vol. III of Capital (see present edition, Vol. 37, Part I).—349

409 On 2 February 1892 Filippo Turati sent Engels an article by the Italian philosopher and political leader Giovanni Bovio published in La Tribuna. The article contained a critique of the first instalment of Engels’ Socialism in Germany’ (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-50) as printed by Turati in the socialist journal Critica Sociale, No. 2, 16 January 1892. Turati, editor of the journal, reproduced Engels’ work in translation from its French version published in Almanach du Parti Ouvrier. Turati requested Engels to reply to Bovio’s article. Engels wrote his counterblast in French (see ‘Reply to the Honourable Giovanni Bovio’, present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 270-72) and sent it with a covering letter to Turati. Turati’s Italian translation of Engels’ reply, endorsed by the latter in a letter to Turati of 13 February (see this volume, p. 356), was published in Critica Sociale, No. 4, 16 February 1892 under
the title 'Federico Engels — Giovanni Bovio' and was reprinted by several Italian newspapers.— 354, 356

Engels wrote these words on a postcard which bears — in his hand — the address: Sigr. avvo, Filippo Turati, Portici, Galleria V. E., Milano, Italy.— 356

In connection with the Greater Vienna reconstruction project *Arbeiter-Zeitung* campaigned in January and February 1892 for due consideration to be given to the interests of the city's working people, and exposed the demagoguery and machinations of the building companies and the authorities. For instance, Victor Adler, in an article headlined 'Die Verkehrsanlagen von Groß-Wien und die Wiener Arbeiter', published in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, No. 2, 8 January, proposed setting up a trade-union association to protect the interests of the building workers.

In November 1888 Marie-Édouard Vaillant submitted to the Paris municipality a building project to improve the sanitation facilities in working-class neighbourhoods.— 360

During the campaign to elect the London County Council, working-class candidates demanded in their manifesto that the Council be turned into a municipal body which would really protect the workers' interests. In particular, they insisted on the municipalisation of the gas, water and power supply and of the city transport (the omnibus and tram service), then in private hands. They also urged measures to improve the health service and working and living conditions. The funds to finance these measures were to be obtained through heavier taxation of the landowners.

The London County Council collected taxes and disposed of the local budget. All persons eligible to vote for Parliament and all women over 30 years of age were entitled to vote for it.— 360, 449, 494

During a visit to the Munich City Hall, in the autumn of 1891 Emperor William II made the following entry in the Book of Honour: 'Regis voluntas — suprema lex' (The King's will is the supreme law).— 361, 371

The National Liberal Party — originally Prussian and later (from 1871) all-German — existed from 1866 to 1918. It was based on the Right wing of the Party of Progress (see Note 296), which split off in the autumn of 1866. The National Liberals were a pillar of the Junker-bourgeois bloc. One of the party's major objectives was the union of the German states under the aegis of Prussia. Soon after this was achieved, the party finally took shape as the spokesman of the big bourgeoisie, above all the industrial magnates. Its programme called for equality and bourgeois-democratic liberties but, faced with the mounting working-class movement, the party gave up the struggle for these demands and contented itself with Bismarck's half-hearted reforms.— 361, 373, 504

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in *Marx and Engels on Reactionary Prussianism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1943.— 362

The twenty-fifth anniversary of Bebel's parliamentary activity was observed in Berlin on 22 February 1892. The celebration was attended by almost the entire Reichstag Social-Democratic group, the staff of the Editorial Board and the printshop of *Vorwärts* and by representatives of the Berlin party branch.— 362, 372

On 22 January 1891, in the course of a Reichstag debate on a commercial treaty
with Switzerland, Bennigsen, the leader of the National Liberals (see Note 414), expressed the hope that the treaty could help form close ties between the German liberal parties. On 23 January Eugen Richter, leader of the Freisinnige Party (see Note 242), supported Bennigsen's idea in his speech. The Social-Democratic deputy Max Schippel, speaking on the same day (the speech was published in Vorwärts on 24 January), ridiculed these hopes, pointing out that there was no basis for them in view of the contradictions dividing the various sections of the German bourgeoisie. — 362

418 The Centre (1870-1933) was a bourgeois political party in Germany formed through the merger of the Catholic factions in the Prussian Landtag and the German Reichstag (these factions had their seats in the centre of the respective assembly halls) on the eve of Germany's unification. The Centre united, under the banner of Catholicism, different social strata: clergymen, landowners, bourgeois and part of the peasantry, predominantly of the small and medium-sized states in west and southwest Germany, whose particularist tendencies it supported. The Centre was in opposition to the government, but voted for its measures directed against the working-class and socialist movement. The late 1870s brought a certain rapprochement between the ruling quarters and the Centre. With the country's industrial progress big industrialists came to play a more important part in the party's leadership. Engels characterises the Centre in detail in The Role of Force in History (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 453-510) and in the article 'What Now?' (see present edition, Vol. 27).— 363

419 The Conservative Party expressed the interests of the Prussian Junkerdom, the military, the upper echelons of the bureaucracy and the Lutheran clergy. It traced its origin from the extreme Right monarchist faction in the Prussian National Assembly of 1848 and was initially called the party of Kreuz-Zeitung. After the establishment of the North German Confederation and in the early years of the German Empire it attacked the Bismarck government from the Right, opposing bourgeois reform and the expansion of the competence of the Imperial authorities, since it considered Prussia's hegemony in the Empire insufficiently consolidated. However, as early as 1866 there was a split in the party, resulting in the secession of the Free Conservative Party, which spoke for the big landowners and a section of the industrial community and unreservedly backed Bismarck.

In 1876 the Conservatives united with other Right-wing groups to form the all-German Conservative Party (1876-1918), which inherited the Conservatives' home and foreign policy.— 363

420 On 15 February 1892 the Social-Democrat Wilhelm Peus was sentenced to 26 months' imprisonment and 5 years of suspension of civil rights for lèse-majesté. Speaking in Magdeburg on 26 October 1891, he had declared that the monarchy served no useful purpose and its abolition was no crime.— 364, 369

421 On 12 February 1892 Karl Ferdinand von Stumm-Halberg, an important German industrialist and Conservative deputy, sharply attacked the Social-Democratic Party in the Reichstag, accusing it, among other things, of preparing the forcible overthrow of the monarchy, violation of the oath, and preaching free love. In his reply Bebel exposed Stumm's speech as a provocation designed to prepare the ground for a new anti-Socialist law, and clarified the policy of German Social-Democracy.— 364, 371
On 15 February 1892 Bebel spoke in the Reichstag debate on the military budget. He concentrated on the appropriations for the military legal department and on the cruel treatment of soldiers in the German army. An extract from the speech was published in Vorwärts on 16 February.— 364

This concerns the plan for turning Le Socialiste, the weekly newspaper of the French Workers' Party (see Note 146), into a daily. Engels had asked Laura and Paul Lafargue to keep him informed of the progress of the negotiations. The plan failed to materialise.— 367, 370, 424, 426, 432, 434, 471, 518, 519, 532, 544

This refers to the correction of inaccuracies in the first French edition of Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy (1847) and reproduced in the 1885 German edition. The corrections in question were mentioned by Engels in his 'Preface to the Second German Edition of Karl Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy' (see present edition, Vol. 27) in 1892. These inaccuracies were used by the Austrian bourgeois sociologist and lawyer Anton Menger, in his book Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung (1886), to cast aspersions on Marx's and Engels' scholarship and integrity. Menger's insinuations were exposed in 'Lawyers' Socialism', a polemic written jointly by Engels and Kautsky (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 597-616).— 368

In his letter of 19 February 1892 Kautsky told Engels that Heinrich Gunow was going to write a work on the 'class organisation' of the Australoids. It appeared under the title Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Australneger (1894).— 368

This refers to the special rights (independent administration of the postal service, telegraphy and railways, a degree of autonomy in military matters, and other rights) of the south German states, mainly Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony, incorporated in their treaties of accession to the North German Confederation (November 1870) and in the Constitution of the German Empire (April 1871). Representatives of Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony on the Council of the Confederation formed a special foreign policy committee vested with the right of veto.— 369

Demonstrations and rallies of unemployed took place in central Berlin, particularly in front of the royal palace, on 25, 26 and 27 February 1892. Accompanied by serious lumpen-proletarian violence, they were broken up by the police. The German Social-Democratic Party emphatically condemned the outrages and urged the workers to stay away from these demonstrations.— 369, 373

On 2 March 1892, it was announced in Berlin that proceedings had been instituted against Kölnische Zeitung on charges of lèse-majesté. An article published in the newspaper contained critical remarks in regard of William II's speech at the annual banquet of the Brandenburg Landtag on 24 February 1892, in which the emperor sharply attacked the 'criticasters' and opponents of the government policy. The prosecution of Kölnische Zeitung, followed by charges against and the confiscation of other newspapers, was seen by the German and European public as marking the imperial authorities' transition to a policy of open police reprisals.— 369, 371

At the municipal elections held in France between 1 and 8 May 1892 the Workers' Party scored a considerable success, polling over 100,000 votes and getting 635 socialists elected. In 26 towns the socialists obtained more seats than any other party.
and in Roubaix, Marseille, Narbonne and Toulon they headed the municipal councils.— 370, 392, 400, 404, 411, 413, 420, 423

The radical clubs were democratic associations in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. They consisted mostly of workers and were formally connected with the Liberal Party. The clubs exerted a certain influence on the British working class. In the late 1880s, in connection with the rise of the labour movement in the country, their number increased and socialist ideas won wide currency among their members. In 1885, the Metropolitan Radical Federation was set up, which united the Radical Clubs of London.— 371, 380, 386, 403

At the end of January 1892 the Prussian government submitted a bill on the primary schools to the Landtag. All primary schools providing general education were to be turned into religious schools, all newly opened schools were to be religious ones, and the entire system of primary education was to be supervised by the clergy. The bill, reflecting the interests of the Centre (see Note 418), encountered strong criticism from the Liberals which, in March 1892, forced the Prussian Cabinet to resign. The new Cabinet withdrew the bill.— 371, 373

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965.— 372

The message of greetings of the French Workers’ Party (see Note 146), and the Editorial Board of Le Socialiste on the occasion of Bebel’s twenty-fifth anniversary in parliament was published in Le Socialiste, No. 76, 6 March 1892. It noted Bebel’s outstanding contribution to the struggle for the triumph of socialist ideas and pointed out that his activities did honour not only to the German Social-Democratic Party, but the whole international socialist movement.— 372

On 2 March 1892 the Saxon Landtag deprived Liebknecht of his seat on the grounds that he permanently lived in Berlin and not in Saxony.— 372

In Kapital und Presse. Ein Nachspiel zum Fall Lindau, Berlin, 1891, Franz Mehring explained why he had gone over to anti-Social-Democratic positions after 1876. His change of heart was especially evident in the third, revised edition (1879) of his Die Deutsche Socialdemokratie. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre.— 376

In his letter of 20 March 1892 August Siegel told Engels that the Executive of the German Miners’ Association had provided 120 marks to his wife to cover travelling expenses. In addition, he had received £16 from the British miners.— 376

The new course in Germany’s foreign and home policy, proclaimed by Emperor William II in March 1890 after the resignation of Bismarck, was associated with Chancellor Leo von Caprivi (1890-94). In regard of the working-class movement it brought a policy of reform, notably in labour legislation (the introduction of free Sundays and holidays in industry, a ban on work by children under thirteen, and other measures). However, this did not mean a total renunciation of reprisals against workers’ organisations.

In Germany’s foreign policy the new course brought imperialist tendencies.— 378

This is an inaccuracy. The Revista Socială appeared from 1884 to 1887. Engels’ article was published in the Romanian Social-Democratic journal Critica Socială, Nos 2 and 3, 1892, under the headline ‘Socialismul in Germania’.— 380
Engels means the congress of the Possibilists (see Note 3) which was to meet in Paris in July 1892. It was to deal mostly with municipal organisation and social hygiene.—381

For 18 March 1892 Engels wrote ‘Greetings to the French Workers on the Occasion of the 21st Anniversary of the Paris Commune’ (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 275-76), published in Le Socialiste, No. 79, 26 March 1892.—382

This letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Correspondence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.—382

Engels means the Peasant Reform of 19 February 1861 (Statute on Peasants Emerging from Serfdom), which abolished serfdom in Russia. As a result of the reform about 22.5 million peasants were liberated, part of whom, however, were obliged to do corvée service or pay quit-rent for the use of land (so-called temporarily liable peasants). It was not until 28 December 1881 that a law decreeing the obligatory redemption by the peasants (as of 1 January 1881) of the plots they used was promulgated. Corvée and quit-rent were formally abolished but in effect continued to exist in the form of the labour service system until the 1900s.—382

Engels toured the United States and Canada with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and Carl Schorlemmer in August-September 1888. For Engels’ impressions of the journey see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 581-86.—384, 412

In his letter of 12 (24) November 1891 Danielson requested Engels to congratulate Paul Lafargue on his election to the Chamber of Deputies.—385

During the Reichstag debate on a bill concerning martial law in Alsace-Lorraine on 3 March 1892, the Conservative deputy Karl Alwin Hartmann alleged that there existed differences on the Alsace-Lorraine issue within the German Social-Democratic Party between Wilhelm Liebknecht and Georg von Vollmar. In his reply Paul Singer, speaking on behalf of the Social-Democratic deputies rejected this assertion and declared that, as far as the Social-Democratic Party was concerned, the Alsace-Lorraine issue did not exist at all. The charge that Liebknecht advocated the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France, he said, was a lie.—386

The London Trades Council and Social-Democratic Federation (see notes 196 and 29) had attempted to bar the Marxist-led working-class organisations from participation in the 1890 May Day demonstration in London. For details see Engels’ article ‘May 4 in London’ (present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 61-66).—386

Bebel was to address a workers’ meeting in the East End at Eleanor Marx-Aveling’s request during his planned visit to London (see Note 473).—388

On 4 March 1892 Turati sent Engels two copies of the journal Critica Sociale of 1 March, which contained Giovanni Bovio’s answer to Engels’ article ‘Reply to the Honourable Giovanni Bovio’ (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 270-72).—388

The Roman newspaper La Tribuna of 2 February 1892 carried a critical article by Giovanni Bovio about Engels’ work ‘Socialism in Germany’ (see Note 409). Engels quotes from the article in his ‘Reply to the Honourable Giovanni Bovio’ (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 270-72).—388

This refers to Engels’ work ‘Marx and Rodbertus. Preface to the First German Edition of The Poverty of Philosophy by Karl Marx’ (see present edition, Vol. 26),
which was included in the second German edition of Marx's book (1892), and to Engels' special 'Preface to the Second German Edition of Karl Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*' (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 277 and this volume, Note 424).— 389

Marx's article 'On Proudhon' (see present edition, Vol. 20) was published in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat*, organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, on 1, 3 and 5 February 1865, Nos 16-18. It was reprinted in the first and second German editions—both prepared by Engels—of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*, which appeared in 1885 and 1892.— 389

On 27 March 1892 Kautsky wrote to tell Engels that Victor Adler was in financial straits, and his wife, Emma, was seriously ill.— 389

In a postcard of 26 March 1892 Martignetti asked Engels to state his views on duelling in connection with a report in the *Lotto di classe* that a young Italian socialist, Arturo Zambianchi, had challenged an officer for an affront.— 391

Engels probably means Schlüter's letter of 11 May 1891, which contained a great deal of information on the US working-class movement and Schlüter's own activities.— 392

The Paris *Figaro* had published an article by Paul Lafargue containing a definition of socialism. In his letter of 14 March 1892 Schlüter asked Engels to send him a copy of the issue in question.— 392

Engels granted the interview to Émile Massard on 1 April 1892 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 533-38). On 3 April he almost completely rewrote Massard's manuscript. The interview appeared in *Éclair* on 6 April. Judging by the fact that it was reprinted, even if abridged, in *Le Socialiste* (No. 82, 16 April), the newspaper of the French Workers' Party, it may be assumed that Engels regarded the *Éclair* text as satisfactory.— 394

Engels holidayed in Ryde (Isle of Wight) from 20 to 26 March 1892.— 395

On 7 April 1892 Henri Brissac asked Engels to review his pamphlet *La Société collectiviste* (Paris, 1892), which was a collection of his articles published in *Revue Socialiste*.— 396

This refers to a plan for the merger of two groups of Russian revolutionary émigrés—the *Emancipation of Labour Group* and the *Circle of People's Will Veterans*. The plan had the support of the German Social-Democratic Party, which was willing to provide the necessary funds. The talks between the two groups were to take place in London in the spring of 1892, with Frederick Engels, August Bebel and Georgi Plekhanov participating. The plan failed to materialise.— 397

Marx went for treatment to the Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary) spa in August-September 1874, August-September 1875 and August-September 1876.— 397, 543

Engels wrote the 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 278-302) in April 1892. In June he translated it into German and in July sent it to *Neue Zeit*, which reprinted it, slightly abridged, under the heading 'Über historischen Materialismus', 1. Bd., Nr. 1, 2, 1892-1893.— 398, 405, 452, 463
This refers to the French edition of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see also Note 199).—399

In his letter to George Shipton, published in *Daily Chronicle* of 11 April 1892 in the column 'The Eight Hour Demonstration', Adolph Smith wrote about his talks with the leaders of the Possibilists (see Note 3) in Paris on sending delegates to the May Day demonstrations being organised by the London Trades Council (see Note 196). The idea was to give the demonstration an international character and deal a blow to the prestige of the Marxist-led Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League (see Note 200).—402, 562

Paul Lafargue took part in the May Day demonstration in London in 1892 as a representative of the French Workers' Party (see also this volume, pp. 410-11).—402

*Toynbee Hall*, in London's East End, was named after Arnold Toynbee, the English social reformer and economist, who died in 1883. The hall was used as a meeting place by his followers, Christian philanthropists, who sought to win over students and intellectuals for the propagation of Christian socialism among workers.—404

Extracts from Engels' 'Preface to the 1892 English Edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844'* (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 257-59) were published in Martignetti's Italian translation in *Critica Sociale*, No. 8, 16 April 1892, under the heading 'A proposito della lotta di classe'.—405

This refers to the second Italian edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* in Martignetti's translation (the first edition appeared in 1883). The issue of a second edition had been proposed by Romualdo Fantuzzi and Martignetti in March 1891, to which Engels gave his consent (see this volume, pp. 159 and 160). In the summer of 1891 the type was set, and the proofs read by Pasquale Martignetti and Antonio Labriola. But then the publisher delayed the printing without any explanation, which made Engels contemplate abrogating his contract with Fantuzzi. Despite the delay, the brochure did appear in 1892.—405

In his letter of 20 April 1892 J. H. W. Dietz informed Engels of his intention to bring out a second edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see Note 404) and of Otto Wigand's willingness to cede the copyright to him. Dietz asked Engels to advise him of his consent by a special letter. Engels agreed to Dietz's proposal. The latter's letter bears Engels' inscription: 'Yes, reprint with the most essential notes and a new preface. Begin at once. Corrections to be made in the proofs so that I can insert the notes.'—406

The *Internationale Bibliothek* (International Library) was published by J. H. W. Dietz, in Stuttgart and later in Berlin, from 1887 to 1923. A total of 67 installments appeared, including the most important works of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Bernstein, Kautsky, Mehring, Aveling, Plekhanov, Lissagaray and other socialists.

The 14th installment, published in 1892, contained the second edition of Engels' *Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—407, 410

In his letter of 26 April 1892 Dietz informed Engels that the matter with Otto Wigand had been settled (see this volume, pp. 406-07) and the printing of the second edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* could be proceeded with
at once. The letter bears Engels’ note: ‘Accepted. Unless the answer is No, I shall write 1. the preface, 2. brief notes.’ — 408

471 The powerful May Day demonstration of 1892, in which Engels took part, had been staged jointly by London’s working-class and socialist organisations. The festival lasted for two and a half hours and was attended by workers’ and socialist representatives from several European countries. — 409, 411, 413

472 The Daily Graphic of 2 May 1892 carried a drawing representing platform 14 at the 1892 May Day demonstration in London’s Hyde Park. — 411

473 August Bebel and Paul Singer visited Engels in London approximately between 14 May and 1 June 1892. — 412, 417, 418, 424, 427, 429, 430, 436, 490

474 Paul Singer intended to visit Chicago as a member of a Berlin delegation in the summer of 1893. — 412

475 In his letter of 5 May 1892 Bebel told Engels that he was well again and could, if necessary, ‘uproot a few oaks’. — 413

476 Answering Engels’ question of 5 May 1892 (see this volume, p. 410) Dietz, in his letter of 9 May, wrote that Wigand had conceded him the right to publish The Condition of the Working-Class in England without any limitation of the number of copies. Dietz also informed Engels that he was going to print 10,000 copies and stated the terms concerning the fees, which Engels accepts in the present letter. Written on Dietz’s letter in Engels’ hand is the following note:

‘Accepted.
’1/4 of the fee by autumn ’92, after printing
’1/4 ” 1 Jan. 93
’1/2 ” after printing the second 5,000, but not later than 6 months after printing has begun.’ — 414

477 Rudolf Hermann Meyer, in his article ‘Der große Generalstab und die nüchternen Zeitungsschreiber’ intended for Neue Zeit (see Note 479), mentioned a carpenter by the name of Werner as one of the German representatives at the 1879 Edinburgh Congress of the British Trades Unions (see Note 478). According to Meyer, Werner set forth Marx’s ideas at the congress. In his letter to Engels of 13 May 1892 Kautsky suggested that in reality it may have been Adam Weiler and asked Engels whether this was so.

‘The Editors do not have Engels’ postcard mentioned here at their disposal.’ — 416

478 The Edinburgh Congress of British Trades Unions (14-20 September 1879) concerned itself mostly with workers’ participation in parliamentary elections. Its resolutions demanded longer voting time, a redistribution of constituencies and the abolition of distinctions between rural and urban constituencies. The congress also pronounced itself in favour of putting up working-class candidates at parliamentary elections. — 416

479 In his letter of 13 May 1892 Kautsky wrote that Rudolf Meyer had described Engels as the ‘oldest and greatest of the living political economists’ in his article (see Note 477). Despite Engels’ objections, the phrase was kept. The article appeared in Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 35, 36. — 416

480 In his letter of 13 May 1892 Karl Kautsky expressed the desire that Louise Kaut-
sky, his former wife, should use the double name Strasser-Kautsky (Strasser was her maiden name) in her public activities.—416, 451, 461

481 On 15 May 1892, *Le Socialiste* (No. 86), the newspaper of the French Workers' Party, published an official report of the Party's National Council on the showing of the party's candidates in the first round of the municipal elections held on 1 May 1892 (see Note 429).—423

482 The scientist Friedrich Schorlemmer, elder brother of Carl and Ludwig Schorlemmer, died young.—426

483 This refers to the French edition of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (see Note 199). Joseph Roy's French translation of the book was not published in full. Part of it—Chapter IX, 'Barbarism and Civilisation', and Chapter V, 'The Emergence of the Athenian State'—appeared in the July and August issues of *L'Ère Nouvelle* in 1893. In the same year Chapter IX was published by *L'Ère Nouvelle* as a separate edition.—427

484 On 27 May 1892 Henry Enfield Roscoe informed Engels of the doctors' pessimistic assessment of Carl Schorlemmer's condition and expressed his regret at being unable to go to Manchester.—430

485 Engels visited Manchester on 2 to 4 June 1892 (see also this volume, pp. 435 and 436-37).—430, 432, 435, 436, 447, 469

486 In his note of 27 May 1892 H. E. Roscoe uses the phrase 'Dear Engels'.—431

487 *Owens College* was founded in 1851 with money bequeathed for the purpose by the Manchester merchant John Owens. It is part of Manchester's Victoria University, founded in 1880.—431, 456

488 On 4 June 1892, *Justice* (No. 438), reported that a socialist daily was due to be published in France under the editorship of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue.—435

489 The annual congress of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (see Note 164) was held in Plymouth at the beginning of June 1892. It decided that the Union should put up independent working-class candidates at parliamentary and municipal elections and take part in the 1893 International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich. The congress also discussed the Union's structure and finances.—435, 437

490 According to *Justice* of 18 June 1892 ('Socialism in Aberdeen'), Edward Aveling addressed socialist meetings in Aberdeen on 10 and 12 June.—435, 448

491 On 28 May 1892 the *Pall Mall Gazette* (No. 8482) carried an interview with August Bebel and Paul Singer headlined 'The Prospects of Socialism'. In the interview, granted during their stay in London earlier in May (see Note 473), Bebel and Singer briefly characterised the working-class movement in Germany and emphasised the significance of the success scored by the French Workers' Party at the May 1892 municipal elections (see Note 429).—436

492 Engels means the third International Miners' Congress, held in London from 7 to 10 June 1892. Attended by representatives of over 900,000 British, German, Austrian, Belgian and French workers, the congress discussed, above all, the establishment of an international miners' association and the struggle for an eight-hour working day for all miners.—438, 446
493 Part of this letter was first published, in the language of the original (English), in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Briefe*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1953. — 440

494 In these letters Danielson continues his discussion of the paths of Russia's economic development (see this volume, pp. 278-80 and 382-85) and gives his opinion of two books he sent Engels on 30 April and 18 May 1892: N. Kablukov, *Vopros o rabochikh v selskom khoziaistve* (Concerning Agricultural Labourers), Moscow, 1884, and N. Karyshev, *Krestianskii vnenadlajnye aren'yi* (Rent of Land by Peasants Holding Communal Plots), Derpt, 1892. — 440

495 Engels means the book *Krestianskaya obshchina*, Moscow, 1892, by the Russian Narodist economist V. V. (V. P. Vorontsov), a copy of which Danielson sent him in March 1892. — 443

496 In his letter to Engels of 30 April 1892 Danielson pointed out that N. Kablukov, in his book *Vopros o rabochikh v selskom khoziaistve* (Concerning Agricultural Labourers) failed to take into account that the agricultural labourers were, in effect, day labourers employed only at periods when the big landowners needed labour and that their work did not provide them the necessary means of subsistence. — 443

497 In March 1891 Engels, on his own behalf and Mendelson's, sent Sorge some money for Stanislaw Padlewski. After Padlewski's suicide the remainder of this money was returned to Engels and Mendelson (see also this volume, p. 415). — 445

498 *Wasserpolacken* (Water-Polacks) was a name (used from the 17th century) for Poles native to Upper Silesia who floated timber down the Oder. Subsequently, all the Poles of Upper Silesia, who had lived under Prussian rule for centuries, were called by this nickname. — 446

499 Engels means the US presidential election which was due on 8 November 1892. At the polls, the Republican Benjamin Harrison lost the Presidency to the Democrat Grover Cleveland. Engels displayed a great interest in the contest and in November 1892 wrote the article 'The American Presidential Election' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 329-31). — 446

500 This refers to the projected publication of a collection of Sorge's articles on the US labour movement which had appeared in *Neue Zeit* from October 1890 (see Note 358). On 20 June Kautsky informed Engels about his negotiations with J. H. W. Dietz on this matter. He said Dietz objected in principle to the separate edition of articles from *Neue Zeit* because of their bad sales. Dietz was, however, prepared to consider Sorge’s proposal, provided that the articles were revised and expanded. The project did not materialise. — 446, 453, 463, 507

501 Part of this letter was first published in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953. — 448, 459, 493

502 This refers to the anti-Semitic pamphlet by Hermann Ahlwardt, *Neue Enthillungen. Judenflinten*, Dresden, 1892, an 'exposé' of underhand dealings allegedly engaged in by the Isidor Löwe firm in supplying arms to the German army. The pamphlet was confiscated under a court ruling. Bebel had sent a copy of the pamphlet to Engels. — 448

503 Engels refers to Bax's editorial, 'Internecine Divisions in the Socialist Party', published in *Justice*, No. 440, 18 June 1892. It urged co-operation between Britain's different socialist groups. — 448, 475
The summer 1892 parliamentary election in Britain was won by the Liberals. The campaign brought success to the workers’ and socialist organisations, which had put up a considerable number of independent candidates. Three of them—James Keir Hardie, John Burns and John Havelock Wilson—were elected.—449, 459, 463, 464, 467, 470, 474, 479, 482, 483, 508, 514

The Liberal Unionists were a group of anti-Home Rule Liberals led by Joseph Chamberlain who in 1886 broke away from the Liberal Party because of differences over Ireland. They virtually merged with the Conservative Party, formalising their accession a few years later.—449, 460

Bebel had called his wife ‘honorary bookkeeper’ in his letter to Engels of 4 June 1892. Julia Bebel helped her husband in the performance of his duties as treasurer of the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party.—450

Engels visited Manchester for Carl Schorlemmer’s funeral between 29 June and 2 July 1892.—454, 461, 469

Unitarianism is a system of Christian thought and religious observance deriving its name from its doctrine of the single personality of God the Father, in contrast with Trinitarianism or the concept of one God in three persons. Modern Unitarianism is an outgrowth of Humanism and of the Reformation. Unitarianism made its way to England and America in the seventeenth century. Nineteenth-century Unitarianism laid special emphasis on the moral aspect of religion and opposed every preoccupation with the external, ritualistic aspect.

The Free Congregations (Freie Gemeinden) were communities that had separated from the official Protestant Church in 1846-47 under the influence of the Friends of Light, a religious trend, formed in 1841, that questioned the pietism, with its extreme mysticism and hypocrisy, dominating the Protestant Church. On 30 March 1847 Free Congregations were granted the right to independent worship.—456

In his letter of 1 July 1892 Bebel asked Engels to forward to Stanisław Mendelson a letter containing the receipt for a sum of money the German Social-Democratic Party had provided by way of material aid to a Polish student who carried on revolutionary work among Poles in Germany.—458

Writing to Engels on 29 June 1892 Bebel, presumably in reply to Engels’ letter of 20 June concerning the pressure of work (see this volume, p. 450), remarked that he did not expect an answer to his letter.—459, 467

Engels means the note headlined ‘Die englischen Wahlen’ in Vorwärts, No. 152, 2 July 1892. For the 1892 elections in Britain see Note 504.—459

This refers to the Manchester School—a trend in political economy reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It favoured Free Trade and non-interference by the State in the economy. The Free Traders’ stronghold was Manchester, where the movement was led by Richard Cobden and John Bright, two textile manufacturers who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s the Free Traders were an independent political group which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party.—459

The Corn Laws imposed high import duties on agricultural produce in the interests of the landowners, in order to maintain high prices for their products on the home
market. In 1838 the Manchester factory owners Richard Cobden and John Bright founded the Anti-Corn Law League, which demanded the lifting of the corn tariffs and urged unlimited freedom of trade for the purpose of weakening the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy and reducing workers’ wages. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in 1846 with their repeal.— 459

514 Under the Home Rule Bill, submitted by the Gladstone government in April 1886 with a view to winning the support of the Irish M. Ps and putting an end to the Irish national liberation movement, Ireland was to be turned into a self-governing colony with its own parliament and government, the latter to be accountable to the British Cabinet, which was to retain control of foreign, military and customs matters. The Bill was opposed by the Right-wing Liberals, known as the Liberal Unionists (see Note 505), and caused a split in the Liberal Party. On 7 June 1886, Parliament rejected Home Rule by the votes of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.— 460

515 The Independent Labour Party was founded by the leaders of the New Trades Unions (see Note 520) in 1893 against the background of spreading strikes and a growing movement for an independent policy of the British working class vis-à-vis the bourgeois parties. Led by James Keir Hardie, the party included members of new and old trades unions and Fabian-influenced intellectuals and petty bourgeois. Its programme called for collective ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange, an eight-hour working day, a ban on child labour, introduction of social insurance and unemployment benefits, and other measures. Engels greeted the establishment of the Independent Labour Party, hoping that it would avoid repeating the sectarian mistakes of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 29) and become a genuinely mass working-class party. But the Independent Labour leaders took a bourgeois reformist stand from the very beginning, placing the emphasis on parliamentary forms of struggle and readily compromising with the Liberal Party. In 1900 the Independent Labour Party joined the Labour Party.— 460, 463, 471

516 In June 1892 Bismarck, in Vienna for his son’s wedding, criticised the policy of his successor, Chancellor Leo von Caprivi (see Note 437). He did so in public speeches and in an interview for the Viennese Neue Freie Presse, published on 24 June.— 464

517 Engels means the note ‘Die englischen Wahlen’, published in Vorwärts, No. 154, 5 July 1892.— 465

518 This telegram was sent in connection with Burns’ election to Parliament from Battersea on 6 July 1892.— 466

519 This refers to the second and third electoral reforms in Britain.

Under the reform of 1867 the suffrage in urban areas was granted to all house-owners and house tenants, and also to apartment tenants who had resided at the place in question for no less than a year and paid no less than £10 rent. The property qualification for voters in the counties was reduced to £12 rent a year. As a result of the reform a section of the industrial workers obtained the vote. In 1872 balloting was introduced. The 1884 reform extended the provisions of the 1867 reform to the rural constituencies, thus making part of the rural population eligible to vote. However, even after these reforms the voters made up only 13 per cent of the
country's population. The urban and rural poor and all women still had no access to the ballot box.—467, 482

520 This refers to the New Trades Unions, which were called into being by the rise of the British working-class movement in the late 1880s and early 1890s. One of the biggest among them was the Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers, founded in 1889 (see Note 164). In contrast to the 'old' unions which, as a rule, consisted of workers of only one trade, the new ones were based on the production principle (workers of different trades in one industry could belong to the same union). The new unions opened their doors to unskilled workers, who hitherto had remained outside the union movement. An important part in the formation of the new unions was played by British socialists, who had the direct assistance of Engels. He characterised the New Trades Unions in his article 'May 4 in London' and in his 'Preface to the 1892 English Edition of The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 257-69).—468, 471, 520, 522, 528

521 In December 1889 Charles Stewart Parnell was put on trial on charges of 'cohabitation' with Mrs O'Shea, with whom he had lived in factual wedlock from 1881. Supporters of the Liberal Party took advantage of this to achieve their political ends. Gladstone demanded Parnell's resignation as leader of the Home Rule Party. Some Home Rulers joined Gladstone. This led to a split in the Irish Parliamentary group, with 45 members demanding Parnell's resignation from the leadership. The split among the Home Rulers and Parnell's death (6 October 1891) temporarily weakened the Irish national movement.—468

522 This refers to the theory of marginal utility, a school of thought in vulgar political economy which rejected the labour theory of value in favour of the view that the value of commodities is determined by their utility, which is assessed subjectively. The theory of maximum utility took shape in the 1870s. In the last third of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, its leading proponents included Karl Menger and 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).—469, 562

523 Jatrochemistry (iatrochemistry) was a school in natural science and medicine which saw the main cause of diseases in the obstruction of chemical processes in the organism and looked for chemical means of treatment. Its rise (16th century) and development are associated with the names of Paracelsus, J. B. van Helmont and F. de la Boë Sylvius.

The Jatrochemists studied many processes in the human organism and discovered and introduced into medical practice a large number of chemical compounds. Jatrochemistry played an important part in overcoming the dogmas of medieval medicine. It ceased to exist as an independent medical school in the second half of the 18th century.—470

524 In its issue for 1892 Almanach de la Question Sociale, published by Panayottis Argyriades, listed Engels on the title page as one of its principal contributors. Printed in French in that issue, without Engels' knowledge and considerably abridged, was his 'Introduction to Karl Marx's Wage Labour and Capital (1891 Edition)' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 194-201).—472
Engels means the publication in the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892* of the most important section of his work ‘Socialism in Germany’, written in October 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-50).— 472

Two editorial notes in *Justice*, No. 443, 9 July 1892—‘Stanley Goes Under’ and ‘Stanley Must Be Kept Under’—urged voters to oppose Henry Morton Stanley as a reactionary and colonialist.— 475

The *High Church*—a group in the Anglican Church (mostly members of the aristocracy) that emphasised the doctrine of apostolic succession and attached great importance to ritual and symbols.— 475

A pun on the geographic name Eylau and the name of a financier with whom the French socialists were negotiating over the establishment of a daily newspaper.

The battle of Eylau, in Eastern Prussia, 7-8 February 1807, between the French and Russian troops was one of the bloodiest in the war of the fourth coalition against France. Despite heavy losses Napoleon’s army failed to achieve a decisive victory.— 476

The territorial army came into being during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. From 1872 it was a component of France’s armed forces formed for rear, garrison and guard service in wartime. Men were enlisted in the territorial army for six (until 1892 nine) years, after active service and seven years in the reserve. Upon expiry of this period, they were transferred for another nine years to the territorial army reserve.— 478

Engels came to Ryde for a holiday on 27 July 1892. Illness made him stay on until 6 September.— 478, 481, 487, 488, 489, 492, 498, 500, 502, 504, 507, 514, 518, 525

Engels’ letter bears this addition in Laura Lafargue’s hand: ‘I replied to Engels this evening. The ear is getting better. L. L. I have received the money.’— 478


To disprove Vollmar’s assertions that Bebel was interfering in the affairs of *Vorwärts*, Bebel stated in a private letter to Vollmar that he had not seen Liebknecht, the editor of *Vorwärts*, for a whole fortnight. However, Vollmar, in his article ‘In eigener Sache’ published in *Münchener Post*, No. 161, on 19 July 1892, distorted this in a way suggesting that Bebel was accusing Liebknecht of neglecting his duties. Bebel denied Vollmar’s allegations in *Vorwärts*, No. 168, on 21 July 1892.— 480

This refers to Edward Aveling’s book, *The Students’ Marx. An Introduction to the Study of Karl Marx* ‘Capital’ (London, 1892), a popular summary of Volume I of *Capital*. In his letter to Engels of 1 July 1892 Martignetti said he intended to translate the book into Italian, and asked for a copy. At Engels’ request one was sent him in August.— 483

At Mentana, on 3 November 1867, French troops in co-operation with the Pope’s
mercenary guards defeated Garibaldi's forces, which were on their second march on Rome to reunite the papal domain with Italy.

Engels ironically quotes General Pierre Louis Charles de Failly, the French commander, who, referring to the efficacy of his soldiers' Chassepots (guns of a new system), reported: 'Nos fusils Chassepots ont fait merveille' ('Our Chassepots have worked a miracle').— 483

Excerpts from the obituary 'Carl Schorlemmer' by Engels were published under the heading 'A Socialist F.R.S.' in Justice, No. 445, on 23 July 1892.— 484

This refers to the proofs of the German translation of Engels' 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific' (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 278-302), which was being published in Neue Zeit (see also Note 461). Kautsky had sent the proofs to Engels on 8 August 1892.— 493

Engels means the article 'Die Wahlen in Großbritannien' by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, published in Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 45. In editing it, Karl Kautsky had omitted the passages in which the authors criticised the sectarianism and opportunism of the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society (see this volume, pp. 497 and 515).

On 8 August 1892 Kautsky wrote to tell Engels that the article had remained unread for some time owing to his absence, with the result that publication had been delayed by a week and the article had had to be abridged for lack of space.— 493, 497, 508, 515

Engels refers to one of the basic propositions of the Possibilists (see Note 3) — the gradual solution of the social problem through the take-over of the municipalities by workers' representatives. The Possibilists' municipal programme was worked out at their regional congress in Paris in 1885. It provided, among other things, for public works to end unemployment, and special municipal controlled shops. The national Possibilist congress held in Paris in July 1892 also discussed the municipalities' tasks in public health and the provisioning of workers.— 494

The 1892 annual Trades Union Congress, held in Glasgow from 5 to 10 September, discussed labour representation in Parliament, co-operation, factory inspection and other questions and pronounced itself in favour of introducing the eight-hour working day. At the same time it turned down an invitation to the third International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich (1893) received from its preparatory committee, and decided to call another international congress — on the eight-hour day issue. This could interfere with the congress of the Second International being prepared by the Marxists and split the international working-class movement.

Engels emphatically opposed these actions of the British union leaders. He sent letters to Germany, Austria, Spain and France recommending the socialist parties to publicly condemn them (see present edition, Vol. 27, and this volume, pp. 522-24, 528-29, 530-31, 533-35).— 495, 497, 505, 508, 519, 522, 528, 530, 534, 548

This refers to the third International Socialist Workers' Congress, held in Zurich, 6 to 12 August 1893.— 495, 496, 505, 509, 519, 522, 529, 534, 542, 546

In 1892, after a long interval caused by Eduard Bernstein's nervous disease, Neue Zeit resumed the publication of a series of articles of his entitled Die soziale Doktrin des Anarchismus. The third instalment of the series, headlined 'Proudhon und der
Mutualismus', appeared between late July and the first half of August in *Die Neue Zeit*, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 45-47.—499, 502, 517

Part of this letter was published in English for the first time in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.—500

Engels made a trip to Norway with Carl Schorlemmer in July 1890.—500

Engels summarised the results of his many years' research into the origin and essence of Christianity in 1894 in his work *On the History of Early Christianity* (see present edition, Vol. 27). It was published in *Die Neue Zeit*, 13. Jg., 1894/95, 1. Bd., Nr. 1-2.—501

The Frondé (1648-53) was an anti-absolutist movement in France involving different social sections—from radical peasant and plebeian elements to aristocrats—which in many cases pursued opposite aims. The defeat of the Frondé resulted in the consolidation of the absolutist regime.—501

In his letter of 17 August 1892 Bebel told Engels that Victor Adler and his family were in grave financial straits.—503

The Norici were inhabitants of Noricum, an area south of the Danube corresponding to part of Austria (Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg) and Germany (Bavaria). The Norici were of Illyrian origin and later were dominated by various Celtic tribes. In 15 B. C. Noricum was conquered by the Romans and made a Roman province.—503

In a speech before the senior officers of the German army on 18 August 1892 William II condemned the government's plan for reducing the term of active military service in the infantry to two years. The emperor's speech caused a political crisis in Germany and gave rise to rumours about the imminent resignation of Chancellor Leo von Caprivi, who advocated a shorter term of service. Nevertheless, the proposed two-year term was retained in the draft of the new military law, which was passed on 15 July 1893 by the new Reichstag, elected in June 1893 (after the dissolution of the old Reichstag, which had rejected the draft in May 1893).—504

On 1 October 1892 the first issue of *Le Socialiste*, the daily newspaper of the French Workers' Party (see Note 423) was due to appear.—505

*Crédit Lyonnais*—one of France's biggest depositary banks (founded 1863).—505, 548

By 20 August 1892, the financiers with whose money the daily newspaper of the French Workers' Party was being founded were to make available part of their contributions—fr. 250,000—and deliver the equipment for the printing-house.—505

This letter is written on a postcard part of which, including the stamp, is torn off. The beginning of the letter is not extant.—506

Departmental elections were held in France on 31 July and 7 August 1892. The Workers' Party (see Note 146) polled more than 100,000 votes on election day and in the runoffs and won 27 seats on the district councils and the general councils of the departments.—508

The tenth congress of the French Workers' Party was held in Marseilles from 24 to 28 September 1892. It discussed the party's position and activities, in particular its
work in the countryside, the celebration of May Day, the party's participation in the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich in 1893 (see Note 541) and in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, and other matters. The congress adopted an agrarian programme which contained a number of specific demands reflecting the interests of the farm labourers and small peasants. The congress decided against the party's participation in the international congress called by the British trades unions to discuss the eight-hour working day (see Note 540) and for inviting British trade unionists to the Zurich Congress.—508, 520, 523, 529, 531, 533, 544, 548

556 Louise Kautsky's article on the parliamentary election in Britain was published untitled in Arbeiter-Zeitung, No. 32, 5 August 1892.—508

557 The Parliamentary Committee was the executive body of the 1868-formed Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. From 1871 it was elected by the annual trades union congresses, and was regarded as the unions' guiding centre in the intervals between congresses. Its functions included the nomination of trades union candidates for Parliament, the backing of Bills submitted in the interests of the trades unions, and the preparation of the annual congresses. In 1921 the Parliamentary Committee was replaced by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.—508, 520, 522, 529

558 In the summer of 1891 and 1892 small Russian army detachments, commanded by Colonel Ionov, undertook two expeditions to the Pamir. Under the 1872-73 Anglo-Russian agreements, this region, highly important strategically, had been recognised as lying within Russia's sphere of influence. The two expeditions were to consolidate Russia's hold on the region. They caused diplomatic friction between Russia and Britain, which was apprehensive of Russia's advance towards India. Negotiations in the subsequent years and the delineation of borders resulted in the Russo-British agreement of 27 February (11 March) 1895, which recognised the greater part of Pamir to be the possession of Russia.—511

559 In his letter of 25 August 1892, to which Engels is replying, Adler said that he intended to write a pamphlet on party tactics in which he would take issue with Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis and Georg von Vollmar. In this connection he pointed out that the critics of Social-Democracy's tactics regarded them as immutable, while actually they should change depending on the circumstances.—512

560 In his letter of 25 August 1892 Adler wrote, referring to the 'Independent' Socialists in Austria (for the 'Independents' in Germany see Note 333), that philistinism held the 'greatest danger' to them and therefore 'if there were no Left opposition, it would have to be invented'.—512

561 In his letter to Engels of 31 August 1892 Kautsky wrote that in the next issue of Neue Zeit he intended to start printing F. A. Sorge's article 'Homestead und Coeur d'Alèse', which dealt with the steel workers' strike in Homestead (USA). He was therefore postponing the printing of Engels' 'Introduction to the English Edition (1892) of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific' (see Note 461). Sorge's article appeared in Die Neue Zeit, 10. Jg., 1891/92, 2. Bd., Nr. 50, 51.

The workers of the Carnegie Steel Company in Homestead went on strike at the end of June 1892 in protest against the lockout announced by the administration to force the workers to disband their trade union and accept lower pay rates.
Armed strikebreakers and troops were brought in against the strikers, who had the backing of workers at neighbouring plants and of other trade unions. After a series of clashes involving many casualties on both sides, government troops took over the plants and legal proceedings were instituted against the strike leaders. The strike ended in late November. The workers were compelled to accept the company's terms after the administration had succeeded in starting production with the help of strikebreakers.

At the time of the Homestead strike, the silver and lead miners of the Coeur d'Alène area staged a walkout in protest against wage cuts. In July 1892 clashes occurred between the strikers and armed strikebreakers, with the former carrying the day. Eventually the strike was crushed with the help of government troops. Its leaders were arrested and the miners' union prosecuted.—514

562 In his letter of 31 August 1892 Kautsky asked what Engels thought of inviting Bonnier to write reviews of current events in France for Neue Zeit.—517

563 Pomeranian grandees was the phrase Ludwig Kugelmann, then at the Baltic resort of Ahlbeck, in Pomerania, used in his letter to Engels of 21 August 1892 to refer to the Prussian Junkers.—518

564 The Berlin Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party (14-21 November 1892) discussed the reports of the party’s Executive and the Reichstag group, the preparations for and celebration of May Day in 1893, the forthcoming International Socialist Workers’ Congress in Zurich (1893), the use of boycott, and the Social-Democrats’ attitude to so-called state socialism. After a long debate the congress pronounced against state socialism. It turned down the invitation to send delegates to the international congress called by the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow (see Note 540) and resolved to take part in the Zurich Congress. It also urged the German working class to fight against militarism and the build-up of armaments, which it described in its resolution as the main threat to international peace.—520, 523

565 This refers to the twelfth annual conference of the Social Democratic Federation (see Note 29), held in London on 1 August 1892. It heard the reports on the Federation’s activities and finances and discussed addenda to its programme, the Federation’s attitude to the Independent Labour Party, then being formed (see Note 515), its participation in the 1893 International Socialist Workers’ Congress in Zurich (see Note 541) and other matters.—524, 529, 532


567 Bernstein requested Engels to send Kautsky the following excerpt from Marx’s letter to Arnold Ruge written in September 1843: ‘In that case we do not confront the world in a doctrinaire way with a new principle: Here is the truth, kneel down before it! We develop new principles for the world out of the world’s own principles. We do not say to the world: Cease your struggles, they are foolish; we will give you the true slogan of struggle. We merely show the world what it is really fighting for, and consciousness is something that it has to acquire, even if it does not want to’ (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 144). The letter had been published in the only issue of Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher to have appeared, in the section ‘Ein Briefwechsel
von 1843'. Kautsky made use of the excerpt in the editorial ‘Zum zehnjährigen Be-

On 19 September 1892 Kautsky accepted Engels’ proposal. However, Kovalev-
sky’s article did not appear in Neue Zeit.— 528

Bank holidays, in the United Kingdom, are those days which by the Bank Holidays
Act, 1871, and the Holidays Extension Act, 1875, are kept as close holidays in all
banks in England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland, respectively.— 532

The fifth congress of the National Federation of Trade Unions, held in Marsei-
illes, 19-23 September 1892, discussed, among other matters (the questions of the general
strike, of May Day celebrations, of women’s and child labour in industry), the de-
cision of the Glasgow Congress of British Trades Unions (see Note 540). The congress
resolved to stay away from the international congress on the eight-hour working
day called by the British trades unions and instead invite their representatives to
the 1893 International Socialist Workers’ Congress in Zurich (see Note 541).—
533, 546, 548

This refers to the Congress of the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84) then
being prepared. Held in Chicago in December 1893, it decided to submit for dis-
cussion to the trade unions a programme containing a number of socialist prin-
ciples, and also the question of the workers’ independent political activity. On the
basis of this discussion, a final decision was to be taken at a congress in Denver in
December 1894. The programme called for the nationalisation of the railways, the
means of communication and mines, for obligatory schooling, for a legal eight-
hour working day for all categories of workers, for home and factory sanitary in-
spection, for the transfer of all the instruments and means of production and distribu-
tion to the collective ownership of the people, and for other measures.— 534

The reference is to Adler’s German translation of Volume I of S. M. Kravchinsky’s
(Stepnyak’s) book, The Russian Peasantry. Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life and
Religion, published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. in London in 1888. In a letter of
22 September 1892 Adler asked Engels to obtain through Stepnyak Sonnen-
schein’s formal permission to the publication of the German translation and pay
the author and publisher the fees due to them. Stepnyak read Adler’s translation
and wrote a brief preface to the German edition. The book appeared under the ti-
tle Der russische Bauer at the Dietz publishing house in Stuttgart in 1893.— 539

An article headlined ‘Aus England’ in Vorwärts, No. 216, 15 September 1892, cited
a report to the effect that the twelfth conference of the Social Democratic Federa-
tion (see Note 565) had resolved to remove Henry Mayers Hyndman from the Fed-
eration’s leadership. See also this volume, pp. 524, 529, 532.— 540, 544

This refers to Hyndman’s protest against the report published in Vorwärts (see
Note 573). The protest appeared in Vorwärts, No. 220, 20 September 1892. Hynd-
man’s letter in Justice was published in its No. 454, on 24 September 1892.— 541,
545

In his letter of 24 September 1892 Kautsky asked Engels to elucidate several pas-
sages in an article on the Glasgow Trades Union Congress (see Note 540), written by
Bebel for Neue Zeit. The article was published under the headline ‘Ein internationa-
Edward Aveling quoted a considerable part of Bebel’s article in his article ‘Discord in “The International”. Continental Opinion on the British Trades Unionists’, published in Pall Mall Gazette, No. 8598, 11 October 1892.— 546

Part of this letter was first published by Mehring, with Engels’ permission (see Engels’ letter to him of 11 April 1893; present edition, Vol. 50), in Mehring’s essay ‘Über den historischen Materialismus’. The essay was appended to the first separate edition of his book Die Lessing-Legende (Stuttgart, 1893).

For the first English publication of the letter see Note 441.— 549

Mehring, who was working on an essay about historical materialism (see Note 577), had directed a relevant question to Engels via Kautsky. The latter forwarded it to Engels on 24 September 1892.— 549

Engels means Mehring’s letters to him of 3 June 1884 and 16 January 1885, in which Mehring asked for material for a biography of Marx. These letters opened the Mehring-Engels correspondence.— 549

This refers to Marx’s years of study at Bonn (October 1835-October 1836) and Berlin (October 1836-March 1841) universities.— 549


This passage, referred to by Engels, is quoted in Mehring’s essay ‘Über den historischen Materialismus’, appended to the separate edition of his Lessing-Legende.— 549

In his letter to Mehring of 11 April 1893 (see present edition, Vol. 50) Engels asked him to alter this passage, when quoting it in the appendix to the Lessing-Legende (see Note 577), as follows: ‘... while the Lavergne-Peguilhenian generalisation would be reduced to its true content, namely that feudal society engenders a feudal world order’.— 551

From 1 June 1891 Franz Mehring had contributed weekly editorials to Neue Zeit, providing a Marxist analysis of current political events. These articles formed an important stage in Mehring’s development as a Marxist historian and journalist.— 553

This letter was addressed to the leaders of the American Federation of Labor (see Note 84). Similar letters were sent to other countries. The proposal they contained for appointing in each country a secretary for international ties met with a broad response. In her letter to Samuel Gompers of 26 March 1891 Eleanor Marx-Aveling listed the names of the secretaries appointed in ten countries.— 557

This refers to the 1890 May Day demonstration in London, which Engels described in his article ‘May 4 in London’ (see present edition, Vol. 27).— 560

Eleanor Marx-Aveling means the demands for international labour legislation put forward by the 1889 Paris International Socialist Workers’ Congress (see Note 51).— 560
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Albert (pseudonym of Martin, Alexandre) (1815-1895) — French worker, a leader of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; member of the Provisional Government (1848). — 516


Alexandra (1844-1925) — daughter of King Christian IX of Denmark; wife (from 1863) of Prince of Wales (King Edward VII of England from 1901); mother of Duke of Clarence. — 347

Allemane, Jean (1843-1935) — French socialist; printer; member of the Paris Commune, served a penal sentence after its suppression, was granted an amnesty in 1880; Possibilist in the 1880s, leader (1890) of the semi-anarchist syndicalist Parti ouvrier socialiste révolutionnaire, which separated from the Possibilists. — 47, 51, 74, 98, 193, 224, 229
Annie — Engels' housemaid. — 92, 124, 146, 155

Anseele, Édouard (1856-1938) — Belgian socialist, a founder and leader of the Parti ouvrier belge, was active in the cooperative movement, journalist, a Vice-President of the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889. — 74

Anzengruber, Ludwig (1839-1889) — Austrian playwright and man of letters. — 450, 501

Argyriades, Panayottis (Paul) (1849-1901) — French socialist, Blanquist, lawyer and journalist, native of Macedonia; publisher of the annual Almanach de la Question Sociale, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1891 and 1893. — 282, 401, 411, 472-73

Arndt, Paul — German journalist, Paris correspondent of the Vorwärts newspaper in the 1890s, member of the Blanquist Comité Révolutionnaire Central. — 544

Audorf, Jacob (1835-1898) — German Socialist-Democrat, Lassallean, mechanic, later journalist and poet; a founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863), author of the Lied der deutschen Arbeiter (so-called Arbeiter-Marseillaise) (1864) which extolled Lassalle; an editor of the Hamburger Echo in 1887-98. — 180, 316

Auer, Ignaz (1846-1907) — German Socialist-Democrat, saddlemaker, a leader of the Social-Democratic Party, was repeatedly elected to the Reichstag. — 266, 267, 273

August — see Bebel, Ferdinand August


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B

Bachofen, Johann Jacob (1815-1887) — Swiss historian and lawyer, author of Das Mutterrecht. — 201, 202, 204

Baginsky, Richard — German Social-Democrat, member of the Jungen opposition group, a leader of the Union of Independent Socialists (1891-94). — 497

Bahlmann, Ignatz Bernhard Maria — German public figure, sided with the Social-Democratic Party, man of means. — 14

Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876) — Russian democrat, journalist, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) and anarchism in later years, opposed Marxism in the First International, was expelled from the International at the Hague Congress of 1872 for his splitting activities. — 265, 300

Banes, G. — English Conservative M.P.
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(1886-92), candidate at the parliamentary elections of 1892.— 471

Banner, Robert — Scottish socialist, member of the Fabian Society, founder of the Edinburgh branch of the Social Democratic Federation (1882).— 515

Banting, William (1797-1878) — English entrepreneur, the author of A Letter on Corpulence, Addressed to the Public, which was first published in 1863 and then went through several editions; system of diet recommended in it is known as ‘banting’.— 166

Baring Brothers and C° — an English banking-house. — 92-93

Barondess, Joseph (1867-1928) — American Jewish labour organiser and Zionist leader. — 264

Barth, Ernst Emil Paul (1858-1922) — German philosopher, sociologist and pedagogue, taught at Leipzig University from 1890.— 7, 8, 63, 213, 286

Bax, Ernest Belfort (1854-1926) — English socialist, historian, philosopher and journalist; was among the first to disseminate Marxism in England; Left-wing activist of the Social Democratic Federation, a founder of the Socialist League; was on friendly terms with Engels from 1883.— 211, 434, 448, 449, 475, 484, 493, 494, 497


Bebel, Frieda — see Simon, Frieda

Bebel, Johanna Caroline Julie (1843-1910) — August Bebel’s wife. — 157, 184, 224, 269, 272, 303, 310, 346, 365, 377-79, 388, 397, 450, 461, 465, 469, 481, 491, 498, 504, 525, 547

Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915) — British historian and politician, Radical, positivist philosopher, professor at London University, supported the International and the Paris Commune in 1870-71.— 510

Bère — French politician, moderate republican. — 269, 277


Bernstein, Regina (Gine) (née Zadek; Schattner by her first husband) — Eduard Bernstein’s wife. — 184, 189, 232, 274,
Besant, Annie (1847-1933) — English bourgeois-radical politician; member of the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation in the 1880s, withdrew from the socialist movement in the 1890s, headed the London Theosophical Society from 1891.—175, 237, 274

Bethmann — banker in Frankfurt-am-Main.—262

Beust, Anna von (née Lipka) (1827-1900) — Frederick Engels' cousin, Friedrich von Beust's wife.—479, 505

Beust, Friedrich von (1817-1899) — Prussian army officer, took part in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising, emigrated to Switzerland, member of the local Zurich section of the International, professor of pedagogics.—479, 505

Bigeault, P.—91

Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von (1815-1898) — statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat, Ambassador to St Petersburg (1859-62) and Paris (1862), Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90), Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90), carried through the unification of Germany, introduced the Anti-Socialist Law in 1878.—47, 84, 94, 121, 123, 135, 162, 173, 255, 278, 297, 307, 330, 378, 383, 464

Blank, Rudolf — Frederick Engels' relative.—340

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805-1881) — French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots, sided with the extreme Left of the democratic and workers' movement during the 1848 revolution, sentenced to imprisonment several times.—520, 524, 533, 544, 547

Blatchford, Robert Peel Glanville (1851-1943) — English socialist, journalist; an editor of the Workman's Times, The Clarion and other workers' newspapers, a founder and leader of the Independent Labour Party (1893).—329

Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna (née Hahn) (pen-name Radda Baj) (1831-1891) — Russian authoress, lived in New York from 1873, founded theosophical societies in various countries.—175

Bloch, Joseph (1871-1936) — student at Berlin University in the early 1890s, journalist, publisher and editor of the Sozialistische Monatshefte (from 1897).—33-37

Blondeau — French soldier, Marie Blondeau's brother.—293

Blondeau, Marie (1873(4?)-1891) — French working girl shot dead by the government troops during the May Day demonstration at Fourmies.—293

Blos, Wilhelm (1849-1927) — German Social-Democrat, journalist and historian; an editor of Der Volksstaat (1872-74), deputy to the Reichstag (1877-78, 1881-87, 1890-1907), belonged to the Right wing of its Social-Democratic group, an editor of the Vorwärts in the 1890s.—247

Blowitz, Henri Georges Stephan Adolphe Opper de (1825-1903) — French journalist, Austrian by birth; Paris correspondent of The Times from 1871.—293

Blume, G. — German Social-Democrat, Chairman of the Congress of the Free Registered Mutual Aid Banks held in Berlin on 8-11 December 1890.—99

Boelling — see Engels, Hedwig
Boenigk, Otto, Baron von — German public figure.— 18-20

Boisguillebert, Pierre le Pesant, sieur de (1646-1714) — French economist, predecessor of the Physiocrats, founder of classical bourgeois political economy in France.— 141, 383

Bonnaud, Louis Gabriel Ambroise, vicomte de (1754-1840) — French politician and writer, monarchist, an ideologist of aristocratic and clerical reaction during the Restoration.— 549

Bonaparte — see Napoleon I

Bonnemains, Marguerite de (née Rouget) (d. 1891) — Boulanger’s sweetheart.— 252

Bonnier, Charles (b. 1863) — French socialist, journalist, active member of the Workers’ Party; lived in England for a long time, contributed to the socialist press, took part in preparations for the international socialist workers’ congresses of 1889 and 1891, delegate to the congresses of 1891 and 1893.— 23, 24, 29, 30, 40, 116, 221, 229, 402, 411, 471, 517, 518, 561

Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie (1837-1891) — French general, War Minister (1886-87), strove to establish military dictatorship in France.— 22, 30, 162, 183, 252, 254, 289-92, 381, 400

Bovio, Giovanni (1841-1903) — Italian idealist philosopher and politician, republican and anti-clerical, M.P. from 1876, professor at Naples University.— 354, 361, 365, 380, 388

Bracke, Wilhelm (1842-1880) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (Eisenachers), deputy to the Reichstag (1877-79).— 129

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891) — English journalist and politician, radical; editor of The National Reformer weekly.— 120, 126, 131, 248, 249

Braun, Adolf (1862-1929) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, took part in the working-class movement in Germany and Austria-Hungary, an editor of the Vorwärts and other German and Austrian Social-Democratic newspapers in the 1890s, author of several works on the trade union movement.— 126, 129

Braun, Heinrich (1854-1927) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, a founder of Die Neue Zeit, editor of the Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik and other publications.— 7, 552

Brentano, Lujo (Ludwig Joseph) (1844-1931) — German economist; one of the major representatives of armchair socialism.— 25-26, 85, 90, 93, 95, 103, 141, 146, 148, 158, 163, 172

Brett — English wine merchant.— 37

Bright, John (1811-1889) — English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843), leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s, held several ministerial posts.— 459

Brissac, Henri (1826-1906) — French socialist, journalist, member of the Paris Commune, was exiled to New Caledonia after its defeat, returned to France after amnesty in 1879, member of the French Workers’ Party.— 396

Broussè, Paul Louis Marie (1844-1912) — French socialist; physician; took part in the Paris Commune, sided with the anarchists, member of the French Workers’ Party from 1879, a leader of the Possibilists.— 46-47, 52, 53, 56, 74, 97-99, 108, 153-56, 224, 229, 269, 324, 333, 381, 449

Buffenoir, Hippolyte François Philibert (1847-1928) — French journalist and
writer, contributed to the Vorwärts in the 1870s.—162

Bunte, Friedrich — German Social-Democrat, a leader of the Ruhr miners’ strike in 1889.—448

Burgess, Joseph (pseudonym Autolycus) (b. 1853) — prominent figure in the English working-class movement, knitter; an editor of The Workman’s Times newspaper in 1891-94, a founder of the Independent Labour Party (1893).—404, 494, 508, 529, 532, 542, 545, 560

Burleigh — workers’ candidate for Glasgow at the parliamentary elections in 1892.—468

Burns, John Elliott (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 the liberal trade union stand in the 1890s, M.P. from 1892, held ministerial posts in Liberal cabinets.—77, 190, 225, 323, 333, 335, 461, 466, 468, 471, 475, 494, 529, 532, 546, 557

Burns, Lydia (Lizzy, Lizzie) (1827-1878) — Irish working woman, Frederick Engels’ second wife.—334, 378

Burrows, Herbert (1845-1922) — English official, radical, a founder of the Social Democratic Federation, organised the trade union movement of the unskilled workers in the 1880s-1890s.—175, 207, 208, 219, 237

Burt, Thomas (1837-1922) — English miner, prominent figure in the English trade union movement, secretary of the Northumberland Miners’ Association, delegate to international miners’ congresses, M.P. (1874-1918), secretary of the Board of Trade.—429

Byford, William — treasurer of the National Gas Workers and General Labourers Union of Great Britain and Ireland.—557

C

Cahan, Abraham (1860-1951) — American socialist, Russian émigré, edited the New York Jewish workers’ newspaper, delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1891, wrote several books on the life of Jewish immigrants in the USA.—238, 532

Calonne, Charles Alexandre de (1734-1802) — French statesman, Controller-General of Finance (1783-87), retired after abortive attempts to reduce the deficit of the national budget.—444

Caprivi, Leo, count of (1831-1899) — German statesman, military figure, general, Chancellor of the German Empire (1890-94).—268, 371, 464

Caria, Gustave (pseudonym Léopold) (b. 1841) — French adventurer, took part in the Paris Commune, was involved in robberies, emigrated to England after the defeat of the Commune, member of the French section of 1871 in London, slandered the participants of the Commune, was expelled for this from the Société des Réfugiés in 1872.—56

Carnot, Marie François Sadi (1837-1894) — French statesman, moderate republican, held ministerial posts several times, President of the Republic (1887-94).—254, 298

Caron, Charles — French publisher.—29, 31-32

Carrière — owner of a publishing house in Paris.—203

Champion, Henry Hyde (1859-1928) — English socialist, publisher and journalist; member of the Social Democratic Federation till 1887, later a leader of the Labour Electoral Association in London, edited and pub-
lished the newspaper *Labour Elector*, emigrated to Australia in the 1890s.—124, 127, 208, 449, 532

Chassepot, Antoine Alphonse (1833-1905) — French military inventor.—483

Churchill, Lord Randolph Henry Spencer (1849-1895) — English statesman, a Conservative leader, Secretary of State for India (1885-86), Chancellor of the Exchequer (1886), favoured active colonial policy, opposed Home Rule for Ireland and official party leadership.—181

Clarens, Duke of — see Albert Victor Christian Edward, Duke of Clarence and Avondale and Earl of Athlone

Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin (1841-1929) — French politician and journalist, Radical leader from the 1880s, founded *La Justice*, premier (1906-09, 1917-20).—191, 281, 290, 292

Clément, Jean Baptiste (1836-1903) — French socialist, Blanquist, poet; member of the Paris Commune, later émigré in England and Belgium, returned to France after the amnesty, Possibilist, turned Allemanist after the split in the party.—51

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865) — English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, M. P.—459

Colbert, Jean Baptiste (1619-1683) — French statesman, Controller-General of Finance (1665-83), virtually directed France’s home and foreign policy.—383, 441

Conner — delegate to the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow (1892).—534

Conrad, Johannes Ernst (1839-1915) — German economist, professor, publisher of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaft* (1889-94), *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* and other publications containing economic and statistical information.—241


Coulombeau — French socialist, member of the French Workers’ Party.—32

Crawford, Emily (née Johnson) (1831-1915) — Irish journalist, Paris correspondent of several English newspapers.—232, 289

Cremer, Sir William Randal (1838-1908) — active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement, reformist, member of the General Council of the International (1864-66) and its General Secretary, opposed revolutionary tactics, Liberal M. P. (1885-95 and 1900-08).—520

Croesel — German refugee in London, took part in the English socialist movement.—333, 504

Croesel — Croesel’s wife.—504

Culine, Hippolyte (b. 1849) — French socialist, secretary of the socialist organisation in Fourmies, sentenced to 6-year imprisonment in 1891, released in 1892, later anarchist.—220

Cunninghame-Graham, Gabrielle (Gabriela) Marie (née de la Balmondière) (1859-1906) — Robert Bontine Cunningham-Graham’s wife.—411

Cunninghame-Graham, Robert Bontine (1852-1936) — English aristocrat, writer, took part in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s-90s, M. P., delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889, later active in the Scottish national movement.—77, 189, 190, 192, 376, 468, 471, 557

Cuno, Alphonse.—247, 253
Cunow, Heinrich Wilhelm Karl (1862-1936) — German Social-Democrat, historian, sociologist and ethnographer.— 368

Curran, Peter (Pete) Francis (1860-1910) — prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of new trade unions, took part in the foundation of the Independent Labour Party (1893).— 411

Dahn, Julius Sophus Felix (1834-1912) — German historian of law, writer, author of works on the history of the early Middle Ages. — 145

Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich (pseudonym Nikolai — on) (1844-1918) — Russian economist and writer, an ideologist of Narodism (Populism) in the 1880s-90s, translated into Russian volumes I (together with Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Lubavin), II and III of Marx's Capital, corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years. — 228, 230-31, 278-80, 382-85, 440-44, 535-38

Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) — Italian poet. — 44, 234

David, Michael (1846-1906) — Irish revolutionary democrat, a founder (1879) and leader of the Land League of Ireland, championed Home Rule for Ireland, M. P. (1895-99), founded and edited The Labour World newspaper (1890-91), member of the Independent Labour Party. — 128, 203

Debenham — photographer in London. — 112, 170

Delecluze, Mark Louis Alfred (1857-1923) — French socialist, founded an organisation of the French Workers' Party in Calais (1882), delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1896, later joined the Fédération des socialistes indépendants. — 534, 561

Delory, Gustave Emile (1857-1925) — French socialist, member of the Workers' Party, textile-worker, took active part in the socialist and trade union movement in the department of Nord. — 254

Demuth. — 86

Demuth, Frederick Henry Lewis (1851-1929) — English mechanic, Helene Demuth's son, close friend of Eleanor Marx-Aveling, took an active part in the English working-class movement. — 70

Demuth, Helene (Lenchen, Nim) (1820-1890) — housemaid and devoted friend of the Marx family; after Marx's death lived in the Engels family. — 18, 23, 30, 41, 44, 49, 51-53, 55, 65, 67-71, 73, 81, 82, 120, 125, 219-20, 380, 435

Dépasse, Lucien Hector (1843-1911) — French journalist and writer, moderate republican, member of the Paris City Council (1881, 1884 and 1887). — 269, 277, 287, 288

Dervillers, Prudent (1849-1896) — French socialist, Possibilist, tailor; member of the Paris City Council (1889), member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1893). — 411

Descartes (Cartesius), René (1596-1650) — French philosopher, mathematician and naturalist. — 7

Deville, Gabriel Pierre (1854-1940) — French socialist, member of the French Workers' Party, journalist, author of the popular synopsis of the first volume of Capital and of other works on philosophy, economics and history, withdrew from the working-class movement in the early 1900s. — 23, 29, 32, 333

Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm (1843-1922) — German book-publisher, So-

Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth (1843-1911) — English politician and writer, republican, a leader of the radical wing of the Liberal Party, M.P., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1880-82), President of the Local Government Board (1882-85).—295, 449

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881) — British statesman and author, a Tory leader, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68) and Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—375, 459

Döblin, Emil (1853-1918) — prominent figure in the German working-class movement, a leader of the compositors’ strike in Berlin (1891) and President of the Union of German Book-Binders (1888-1918).—323, 559

D'Odiardi, E.—91

Dreschfeld, Julius — German physician, lived in England from 1883, professor of medicine at Owens College in Manchester.—430, 431

Dronke, Ernst (1822-1891) — German journalist and writer, ‘true socialist’, later member of the Communist League, an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49), emigrated to Switzerland after the revolution of 1848-49, and later to England, subsequently withdrew from politics.—296

Duc-Quercy, Albert (1856-1934) — journalist, prominent figure in the French working-class and socialist movement, a founder of the French Workers’ Party (1879), took an active part in major strikes (1885, 1886, 1892).—219

Dühring, Eugen Karl (1833-1921) — German petty-bourgeois socialist, vulgar economist and philosopher whose views were a mixture of idealism, vulgar materialism, positivism and metaphysics; also concerned himself with the problems of natural science and literature, a lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).—36

Dumas, Alexandre (Dumas père) (1802-1870) — French writer.—501

Dumay, Jean Baptiste (1841-1926) — French mechanic, leader of the Creusot Commune in 1871; sentenced to exile, moved to Switzerland; returned to France after amnesty; member of the Paris City Council from 1887, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889, Possibilist.—193, 320

E

Ede — see Bernstein, Eduard

Edward — see Aveling, Edward

Ellis, Benjamin — English socialist, candidate at the parliamentary elections of 1892.—532

Enders, August (d. 1914) — German Social-Democrat, compositor, manager of the Leipzig party printing house (1888-90), later editor of several Social-Democratic newspapers.—559

Engels, August (1797-1874) — Frederick Engels’ uncle, co-owner of the firm Caspar Engels and Sons in Barmen.—86

Engels, Benjamin (1751-1820) — brother of Johann Caspar Engels (Frederick Engels’ grandfather).—86

Engels, Caspar (1792-1863) — Frederick Engels’ uncle, manufacturer in Barmen.—86
Engels, Caspar (1816-1889) — Frederick Engels’ cousin, manufacturer in Barmen.—86

Engels, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia (née van Haar) (1797-1873) — Frederick Engels’ mother.—487-88


Engels, Friedrich (1796-1860) — Frederick Engels’ father.—488

Engels, Hedwig (in marriage: Boelling) (1830-1904) — Frederick Engels’ sister.—340-41, 352

Engels, Hermann (1822-1905) — Frederick Engels’ brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the firm Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—37-38, 87, 339-41, 352-54, 358, 473-74, 489, 492

Engels, Johann Caspar (1753-1821) — Frederick Engels’ grandfather, manufacturer in Barmen.—86

Engels, Luise Friederike (née Noot) (1762-1822) — Frederick Engels’ grandmother.—86

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903) — Frederick Engels’ brother, manufacturer in Barmen, a partner in the firm Ermen & Engels in Engelskirchen.—86, 339, 340, 492

Ernst — see Schattner, Ernst

Ernst, Paul (1866-1933) — German journalist, critic, writer and playwright; sided with the Social-Democrats in the late 1880s, a leader of the Jungen in the early 1890s, editor of the Berliner Volks-Tribüne (mid-December 1890 to mid-November 1891); withdrew from the Social-Democratic Party in 1891; later he took Rightist, anti-Marxist stand.—63, 94, 109, 210, 527

F

Faillet, Marius Eugène (pseudonym Dumont) (1840-1912) — prominent figure in the French working-class movement, took part in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), subsequently member of the French Workers’ Party.—51

Fantuzzi, Romualdo — brother of Flaminio Fantuzzi (Italian publisher).—159-61, 405

Fenwick, Charles (1850-1918) — miner, prominent figure in the English working-class movement, a leader of the Miners’ National Union, M.P. (from 1885), secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress (1890-94), championed liberal labour policy.—429, 529

Fergus — see Lafargue, Paul

Ferroul, Joseph Antoine Jean Frédéric Ernest (pseudonym Léon Stern) (1853-1921) — French physician, socialist, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1888, delegate to the international socialist workers’ congresses of 1889 and 1891.—367

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), premier (1880-81 and 1883-85), pursued a policy of colonial expansion.—214

Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas von (1804-1872) — German materialist philosopher.—36, 63

Field, Arthur (b. 1869) — English journalist, socialist, member of the Social
Democratic Federation.—207, 208, 219

Fireman, Peter (b. 1863)—Russian-born American chemist, lived in Germany.—322, 525

Fischer, Richard (1855-1926)—German composer, Social-Democrat, journalist, Secretary of the Party Executive (1890-93), deputy to the Reichstag (1893-1926).—4, 30, 41, 54, 74, 85, 98, 116, 121, 136, 145, 146, 150, 184, 216, 266, 267, 268, 273, 547

Fleckles, Ferdinand (died c. 1894)—German physician in Karlsbad, Marx's acquaintance.—398

Fleischmann, Adolf.—198

Floquet, Charles Thomas (1828-1896)—French statesman, radical; member of the Chamber of Deputies (1871-93), was repeatedly elected its chairman, premier (1888-89); was compelled to withdraw from active political activities after his implication in the Panama scandal was exposed in 1892.—320

Fortin, Edouard—French socialist, journalist, member of the French Workers' Party.—92

Foster—English miner, delegate to the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow (1892).—534

Foster-Amery, Rachel—American public figure, secretary of the National Women's Suffrage Association.—265

Fould, Achille (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, later Bonapartist, repeatedly Finance Minister between 1849 and 1867, Minister of State and Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-60).—309

Francis Joseph I (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916), King of Hungary (1848-49, 1849-1916).—259

Frankel, Leo (Léo) (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Paris Commune and the General Council of the International (1871-72), a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary (1876-78), delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891, associate of Marx and Engels.—76, 96-99, 171-72

Franklin, Benjamin (1706-1790)—American politician and diplomat, took part in the War of Independence, scientist, physicist and economist.—141

Frederick II (the Great) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—182, 387, 474

Freyinet, Charles Louis de Saulces de (1828-1923)—French statesman and diplomat, moderate republican; repeatedly held ministerial posts, premier (1879-80, 1882, 1886, 1890-92), had to withdraw from active political activities for a time after exposure in 1892 of his involvement in the Panama affair.—254, 292, 298

Fullarton, John (1780-1849)—British economist, author of works on money circulation and credit.—526

G

Galiani, Ferdinando (1728-1787)—Italian economist, criticised Physiocrats.—141

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, led the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of the country in the 1850s and the 1860s, and the revolutionary march to Southern Italy in 1860.—259, 307

Gégout, Ernest (c. 1854-1936)—French anarchist, fought duel with Vaillant in late 1891.—332
Geiser, Bruno (1846-1898) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of the Neue Welt, deputy to the Reichstag in 1881-87 where he belonged to the Right wing of the Social-Democratic group; Wilhelm Liebknecht's son-in-law.— 196, 232, 247, 268, 315, 345

Gély, André — French socialist, Possibilist.— 47

Gene — see Bernstein, Regina

Georg(e) (1832-1904) — Prince of Saxony, German field marshal-general, took part in the Franco-Prussian War, King of Saxony (1902-04).— 346, 348

George, Henry (1839-1897) — American journalist and economist.— 75

Giers, Nikolai Karlovich (1820-1895) — Russian diplomat, envoy to Teheran (from 1863), Berne (from 1869), Stockholm (from 1872); Deputy Foreign Minister (1875-82); Foreign Minister (1882-95).— 295

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 the 1890s.— 3, 237-38, 241, 248-49, 251-53, 269, 273, 294, 310, 323, 324, 333, 335, 345, 347, 381, 386, 449, 484, 504

Giraud-Teuton, Alexis (b. 1839) — professor of history at Geneva, wrote several works on the history of the primitive society.— 193, 194, 202

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898) — British statesman, Tory, leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the 19th century, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1856-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94).— 85, 90, 172, 225, 228, 243, 375, 460, 463, 467, 468, 470, 475-76, 482, 501, 511

Goegg, Amand (1820-1897) — German journalist, democrat, member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849, emigrated after the Revolution; later member of the First International; joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.— 81

Gompers, Samuel (1850-1924) — prominent figure in the trade union movement, a founder and president (from 1886) of the American Federation of Labor, pursued a policy of collaboration with bourgeoisie.— 113, 114, 224, 328, 557-58

Gori, Pietro (1867-1911) — Italian lawyer and poet, anarchist; translated the Manifesto of the Communist Party into Italian (1891) and wrote the Preface to its first edition in that language.— 159

Gould, Jay (1836-1892) — American millionaire, railway industrialist and financier.— 59

Graham — see Cunninghame-Graham, Robert Bontine

Granger, Ernest Henri (1844-1914) — French socialist, Blanquist, journalist, took part in the Paris Commune, later émigré in England, returned to France after amnesty where he sided with the Boulangists, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.— 381, 400

Granville, George Leveson-Gower, Earl of (1815-1891) — British statesman, Whig and later Liberal Party leader, Foreign Secretary (1851-52, 1870-74, 1880-85), President of the Council (1852-54, 1855-58, 1859-65), Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868-70, 1886).— 295

Greenwood, A. — prominent figure in the English working-class movement, secretary of the Glass Workers' Union (1891), delegate to the International
Socialist Workers' Congress of 1893.—312

Greulich, Hermann (1842-1925) —German book-binder, member of the Swiss section of the International from 1867, founder and editor of the newspaper Tagwacht (1869-80), a founder of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party (1888), leader of its Right wing.—45, 495-97, 505

Grillenberger, Karl (1848-1897) —German worker, later journalist, Social-Democrat; deputy to the Reichstag from 1881, belonged to the opportunist wing of the German Social-Democratic Party.—199

Grunzig, Julius (b. 1855) —German Social-Democrat, emigrated to the USA during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law, contributed to the New Yorker Volkszeitung.—45

Guesde, Jules (real name Mathieu, Jules Bazile) (1845-1922) —prominent figure in the French and the international working-class and socialist movement, initially republican, sided with the anarchists in the first half of the 1870s, later a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879); for a number of years a leader of the revolutionary wing in the French socialist movement.—23, 29, 30, 32, 40-41, 49, 51, 117, 130, 155, 193, 221, 270, 400, 401, 424, 432, 477, 508, 517, 544

Guillaume-Schack, Gertrud (née Countess of Schack) (1845-1903) —German socialist, prominent figure in the German women's movement.—248, 451-52

Gumpert, Eduard (d. 1893) —German physician, resident in Manchester, a friend of Marx and Engels.—154, 162, 418, 424-26, 430-39, 448, 454-56, 470, 485, 486

Guttentag —book publisher in Berlin.—285

Hall, Leonard (b. 1866) —English socialist, worker, later journalist, member of the Social Democratic Federation, subsequently of the Independent Labour Party.—468, 471

Haller, Karl Ludwig von (1768-1854) —Swiss lawyer and historian, absolutist.—549

Hardie, James Keir (1856-1915) —miner, prominent figure in the English working-class movement, journalist, founder and leader of the Scottish Labour Party (from 1888) and of the Independent Labour Party (from 1893), first workers' independent candidate elected to Parliament (1892).—376, 460, 461, 463, 468, 471, 475, 494, 529, 532, 542, 545-46

Harney, George Julian (1817-1897) —prominent figure in the English labour movement, a leader of the Chartist Left wing, edited The Northern Star, Democratic Review, Red Republican and Friend of the People, lived in the USA from 1862 to 1888 with intervals, member of the First International; associate of Marx and Engels.—192, 194, 209, 211, 331-32, 358, 382

Hartmann, Lev Nikolayevich (1850-1913) —Russian revolutionary, Narodnik, took part in a terroristic act of the Narodnaya Volya organisation against Alexander II in 1879, after which emigrated to France, later to England and to the USA in 1881.—369

Hasseleimann, Wilhelm (b. 1844) —a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of the Neuer Social Demokrat in 1871-75,
member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1875, expelled from the party as anarchist in 1880.—53, 97, 119, 126

Hatzfeld(t), Sophie, Countess of (1805-1881)—friend and supporter of Ferdinand Lassalle.—134

Havas, Auguste (1814-1889)—a proprietor of the Agence Havas.—189, 191

Headingley—see Smith (Smith Headingley), Adolphe (Adolphus)

Heath, Christopher (1835-1905)—English surgeon.—66

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—62, 63, 213, 286, 287, 351

Heidfeld, Oscar—German merchant in Liverpool.—296

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German poet.—22, 500

Henning, Leopold von (1791-1866)—German philosopher, professor at Berlin University, Hegel's pupil.—286

Hepner, Adolf (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat, an editor of Der Volksstaat (1869-73), delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), emigrated to the USA (1882), returned to Germany in 1908.—509

Herkner, Heinrich (1863-1932)—German vulgar economist, a representative of the armchair socialism.—172, 344

Hirsch, Carl (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers.—293, 299, 308, 309, 416

Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679)—English philosopher.—62

Höchberg, Karl (pseudonym Dr Ludwig Richter) (1853-1885)—German socialist, reformist; founded and financed a number of Social-Democratic newspapers and journals.—14

Hochgürtel—German worker, émigré in London.—497

Hodgskin, Thomas (1787-1869)—English economist and journalist, utopian socialist, drew socialist conclusions from the Ricardian theory.—368

Holmes, David (1843-1906)—prominent figure in the English working-class movement, delegate to the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow (1892).—531, 534

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—212

Hovelacque, Abel Alexandre (1843-1896)—French linguist, anthropologist and politician, radical socialist, Chairman of the Paris City Council, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.—281, 298

Howell, George (1833-1910)—British mason, a reformist leader of the British trade unions, former Chartist, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869), Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress (1871-75), M. P. (1885-95).—520

Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer and poet.—354

Hutten, Ulrich von (1488-1523)—German poet, supporter of the Reformation, participant in and ideological leader of the knights' uprising of 1522-23.—236, 380

Hyndman, Henry Mayers (1842-1921)—English socialist, founder (1881) and leader of the London Democratic Federation transformed into the Social Democratic Federation in 1884, later a leader of the British Socialist Party, was expelled from it for propaganda of the imperialist war (1916).—12, 30, 52, 53, 74, 98, 108, 124, 126-28, 138, 140, 155, 161-62,
Ibsen, Henrik (1828-1906) — Norwegian playwright.—10, 27

Ihler, Emma (1857-1911) — prominent figure in the German women's and trade union movement, founded the Arbeiterin journal (1891), delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889 and 1891.—334

Itzig — see Lassalle, Ferdinand

J

Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich (1743-1819) — German fideist philosopher.—286

Jakins — houseowner in London.—38-39

Janssen, Johannes (1829-1891) — German historian and theologian, author of works on German history.—342

Jean — see Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric

Jeovns, William Stanley (1835-1882) — English economist and philosopher.—526, 553

Jodko-Narkiewicz, Tomasz Witold (Rabin) (1864-1924) — Polish journalist, a founder of the Polish Socialist Party and leader of its revolutionary wing, member of the Proletariat Party in the 1880s, contributor to the magazine Przedsiebír in the 1890s, its editor in 1893-1906.—106, 110

Joffrin, Jules Louis Alexandre (1846-1890) — French mechanic, socialist; member of the Paris Commune; later émigré in England, on his return to France a Possibilist leader, member of the Paris City Council from 1882, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.—30, 47

Jollymeier — see Schorlemmer, Carl

Jonas, Alexander (c. 1839-1912) — German-born American journalist, socialist, editor-in-chief of the New Yorker Volkszeitung from 1878.—20, 45, 250

J

Kablukov, Nikolai Alexeyevich (1849-1919) — Russian economist and statistician, Narodnik, professor at Moscow University, author of several works on economy and statistics.—443

Kampffmeyer, Paul (1864-1945) — German journalist, Social-Democrat from the late 1880s, a leader of the Jungen group and the Union of Independent Socialists in the early 1890s; later revisionist.—526

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804) — German philosopher.—62, 286

Karlstadt, Andreas Rudolf (real name Bodenstein) (1480-1541) — German theologian, Reformer.—342

Katzshew, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1855-1905) — Russian economist, statistician and public figure, professor at Yuriiev (Tartu) University (1891-93) and Moscow Agricultural Institute (1895-1904), wrote several works on economy and statistics which propagated views of Liberal Narodniki.—443

Kaprowicz, E. J. — publisher of the first volume of Capital in Polish.—75

Kätte — see Schattner, Kätte

Kautsky, Felix (1891-1953) — Karl Kautsky's son by his second wife.—131, 324

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of Die Neue Zeit (1883-1917), adhered to

Kautsky, Karl (b. 1892)—Karl Kautsky's son by his second wife.—336


Kautsky, Luisa (née Ronsperger) (1864-1944) —Austrian socialist, Karl Kautsky's second wife (from 1890).—73, 131, 324, 336, 417, 452

Kautsky, Minna (née Jaich) (1837-1912) —German authoress of several novels on social themes, Karl Kautsky's mother.—452, 462


Kinkel, Gottfried (1815-1882) —German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, sentenced to life imprisonment by a Prussian court, escaped from the prison and emigrated to England (1850); a leader of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London; opposed Marx and Engels.—451

Kinkel, Johanna (née Mockel, by first marriage Matthieus) (1810-1858) —German writer, Gottfried Kinkel's wife.—451

Klepsch, Philipp —one of Carl Schorlemmer's executors.—433, 455-57, 465, 485

Knapp, Georg Friedrich (1842-1926) —German economist and statistician.—6

Knies, Karl (1821-1898) —German vulgar economist, opposed classical bourgeois political economy.—526

Kock, Charles Paul de (1793-1871) —French novelist and dramatist.—202

Köllner, Ernst Matthias von (1841-1928) —German Conservative statesman, deputy to the Reichstag (1881-88), Prussian Home Minister (1894-95).—344

Kovaletsy, Maxim Maximovich (1851-1916) —Russian sociologist, historian,
ethnographer and lawyer, author of a number of works on history of the primitive society.—22-23, 124, 528, 552

Krauchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich (pseudonym Stepanyak) (1851-1895) — Russian writer and journalist, prominent figure in the revolutionary Narodnik movement of the 1870s; emigrated after committing a terrorist act against the chief of gendarmes in St Petersburg in 1878; lived in England from 1884.—144, 411, 539, 540

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902) — German physician; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the First International, Marx's regular correspondent (1862-74).—518-19, 543-45

Kunert, Fritz (1850-1931) — German Social-Democrat, journalist, edited several Social-Democratic newspapers in the 1880s-90s, an editor of the Vorwärts (1894-1917), repeatedly elected deputy to the Reichstag (from 1890), delegate to the Erfurt Party Congress of 1891.—268

L

Labouchère, Henry de Pré (1831-1912) — French-born English politician, diplomat and journalist, Liberal M.P., one of the owners of The Daily News (from the late 1860s).—323, 449

Labriola, Antonio (1843-1904) — Italian philosopher and journalist, one of the first to disseminate Marxism in Italy.—136, 205, 317, 342, 405

Labruyère, Georges de — French journalist, contributor to Le Cri du Peuple; Boulangist in the late 1880s.—92, 107


Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864) — German journalist and lawyer, socialist; took part in the democratic movement of the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863-64) and its president.—130, 134-35, 138, 145, 180, 181, 203-05, 210, 247, 253, 274, 287, 316, 331, 423, 499, 502

Laura — see Lafargue, Laura

Lavergne-Peguilhen, Moritz von (1801-1870) — German historian and economist, belonged to the so-called Romantic School.—549, 551
Lavigerie, de.— 32

Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich (1823-1900) — Russian philosopher, sociologist and journalist; an ideologist of revolutionary Narodism (Populism); emigrated in 1870; member of the First International; took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the journal Vperyod! (Forward!) (1873-76) and the newspaper Vperyod! (1875-76); associate of Marx and Engels.— 84, 193

Lavy, Jean Baptiste Aimé (1850-1921) — French journalist, socialist, Possibilist; member of the Paris City Council (from 1887) and of the Chamber of Deputies (1890-98).— 47, 562

Leffler-Edgren, Anne Charlotte, Countess of Cajanello (1849-1892) — Swedish authoress.— 506

Leibfried, W. — notary in Luxemburg, Social-Democrat.— 247, 253

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von (1646-1716) — German philosopher and mathematician.— 286

Lenchen — see Demuth, Helene

Leopold, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau (1676-1747) — Prussian field marshal.— 176

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781) — German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.— 387, 553

Létourneau, Charles Jean Marie (1831-1902) — French sociologist and ethnographer.— 193, 202, 203

Leveraut — member of the Paris City Council, Chairman of the Education Commission (1890).— 92

Liebknecht, Natalie (1835-1909) — Wilhelm Liebknecht’s wife from 1868.— 17, 18, 51, 312-14

Liebknecht, Theodor Karl (1870-1948) — Wilhelm Liebknecht’s son, lawyer.— 17, 18, 51, 314


Locke, John (1632-1704) — English philosopher and economist.— 62

Löhr — see Lafargue, Laura

Longuet, Charles (1839-1903) — journalist, socialist, member of the General Council of the International (1866-67 and 1871-72); member of the Paris Commune, later emigrated to England; subsequently joined the Possibilists, a member of the Paris City Council in the 1880s-90s, husband of Marx’s daughter Jenny.— 203, 208, 331

Longuet, Edgar (1879-1950) — Karl Marx’s grandson; son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.— 29, 91, 203

Longuet, Henri (Harry) (1878-1883) — Karl Marx’s grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.— 220

Longuet, Jean Laurent Frédéric (Johnny) (1876-1938) — Karl Marx’s grandson,
son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—29, 91, 203

Longuet, Jenny (Même) (1882-1952) — Karl Marx’s granddaughter, daughter of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—23, 29, 77, 91, 93, 203

Longuet, Marcel (1881-1949) — Karl Marx’s grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—29, 91, 203

Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich (1845-1918) — Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; member of the General Council of the International (1870); translated into Russian a sizable part of Volume I of Capital, friend of Marx and Engels.—385

Loria, Achille (1857-1943) — Italian sociologist and economist.—146

Louis XIV (1638-1715) — King of France (1643-1715).—383

Louis Bonaparte — see Napoleon III

Louis Philippe I (1773-1850) — Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—202, 309

Louise — see Kautsky, Louise

Luce — French capitalist with whom financing of the daily of the French Workers’ Party was discussed in 1892.—519

Ludwig II (1845-1886) — King of Bavaria (1864-86); deposed as mentally unsound.—371

Luther, Martin (1483-1546) — leader of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany.—342, 368

MacCarthy, Justin (1830-1912) — Irish writer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1879-1900), Vice-Chairman of the Irish Home Rule Party in the House of Commons.—128

Mackay, John Henry (1864-1933) — English-born German poet and writer, adherent to the Young Hegelians’ philosophy, anarchist.—136

Mace Vey — American socialist, delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1891.—232, 238

Maistre, Joseph Marie, comte de (1753-1821) — French writer, monarchist, an ideologist of aristocratic and clerical reaction.—549

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893) — French socialist, member of the International and of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Italy, then to Switzerland where he sided with anarchists; returned to France after the amnesty of 1880; later a leader of the opportunist trend of the Possibilists.—260, 282

Mann, Thomas (Tom) (1856-1941) — prominent figure in the British working-class movement, mechanic; 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-early 1890s; leader of several strikes.—203, 225, 411, 529

Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von (1805-1882) — Prussian statesman, Minister of Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—20

Martignetti, Pasquale (1844-1920) — Italian socialist, translator of Marx’s and Engels’ works into Italian.—104-05, 142-43, 159-60, 205-06, 391, 404-05, 483, 506

Marwitz, Friedrich August Ludwig von der (1777-1837) — Prussian general and politician, author of war memoirs.—549

Marx, Jenny Caroline (née von Westpha-L


Massard, Nicolas Émile (1857-1932) — French journalist, London correspondent of the newspaper L’Éclair (1892).—394

Massingham, Henry William (1860-1924) — English journalist, publisher and editor of The Star (1890) and The Labour World (1891).—203

Matkin, William — prominent figure in the English trade union movement, leader of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.—522-23, 531

Matthieux — Johanna Kinkel’s first husband.—451

Maurer, Georg Ludwig (1790-1872) — German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—9

Mayall — photographer in London.—112

McKinley, William (1843-1901) — American statesman, a leader of the Republican Party; since 1877, repeatedly elected to Congress; author of the general tariff bill in the interests of the monopolists (1890); President of the USA (1897-1901).—278

McLennan, John Ferguson (1827-1881) — Scottish lawyer and historian, author of a number of works on the history of marriage and family.—194, 204

Mehring, Franz (1846-1919) — prominent figure in the German socialist and working-class movement; historian and journalist; became Marxist in the 1880s; author of a number of books on the history of Germany, German Social-Democracy, and Karl Marx’s biography; an editor of the journal Die Neue Zeit; a leader and theoretician of the German Social-Democrats (Left wing); one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany.—195, 375, 376, 387, 549-53

Meissner, Otto Karl (1819-1902) — publisher in Hamburg; printed Capital and other works by Marx and Engels.—29, 44, 146, 148, 158, 163, 216

Mémé — see Longuet, Jenny

Mendeleyev, Dmitry Ivanovich (1834-1907) — Russian chemist; discovered the periodic law in 1869.—385

Mendelson, Marya (née Zaleska, by first marriage Jankowska) (1850-1909) — Polish socialist, active figure among the Polish revolutionary émigrés, delegate to the international socialist workers’ congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893; Stanislaw Mendelson’s wife.
Mendelson, Stanislaw (1858-1913) — Polish socialist, journalist, one of the founders of the Polish Socialist Party (1892); publisher and editor of the journal *Przedwio*, delegate to the international socialist workers' congress of 1889, 1891 and 1893; abandoned working-class movement in the mid-1890s.— 106-07, 110, 156-57, 169, 197, 270, 313, 355, 411, 413, 415, 458

Menger, Anton (1841-1906) — Austrian lawyer, professor at Vienna University.—368, 526, 553

Meyer, Hermann (1821-1875) — German merchant, socialist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; an organiser of Section No. 1 of the International in St Louis; Joseph Weydemeyer's friend.—544

Meyer, Rudolf Hermann (1839-1899) — German economist and journalist, Conservative; contributed to *Die Neue Zeit* in the 1890s.—323, 361, 416

Michel, Louise (pseudonym Enjolras) (1830-1905) — French teacher, revolutionary; was close to the Blanquists during the Second Empire; took part in the Paris Commune (1871); exiled to New Caledonia; back from exile after the amnesty of 1880, participated in the working-class movement in France, Belgium and Holland; sided with anarchists; emigrated to England (1890).—237

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 opportunist trend in the French socialist movement in the 1890s, held a number of high posts in the state.—215, 281, 289, 297, 298, 367, 477

Miquel, Johannes (1828-1901) — German lawyer, politician and banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later a National-Liberal; Finance Minister of Prussia in the 1890s.—371, 510

Mockel, Johanna — see Kinkel, Johanna

Mohrthenn — German socialist, participant in the working-class movement in Wuppertal.—86-87

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von (1800-1891) — Prussian military leader and writer; general from 1871, field marshal; Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—182

Moore, Samuel (1838-1911) — English lawyer, member of the International; translated into English Volume I of Karl Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—27, 29, 49, 102, 104, 109, 149, 154, 162, 168, 185, 186, 198, 204, 211, 219, 223, 312, 330, 452

More (Morus), Sir Thomas (1478-1535) — English politician, Lord Chancellor (1529-32), humanist writer, an early representative of utopian communism, author of *Utopia*.—164, 172, 343

Moreau, Émile André (1837-1903) — French politician, radical, anti-Boulanger, member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889.—281, 298

Morgan, Lewis Henry (1818-1881) — American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—10, 193, 194, 202, 204

Morgan, O.W. — British Liberal, M.P. (1885-92).—471

Morrier, Pierre — prominent figure in the
French trade union movement, representative of the Glass Workers' Trade Union in Lyons (1891).—312

Morris, William (1834-1896) — English poet, writer and artist; participant in the working-class and socialist movement in the 1880s-90s, a leader of the Socialist League (1884-89); shared anarchist views (from the late 1880s).—411

Motteler, Emilie — Julius Motteler's wife.—41, 150, 313, 345, 434, 540

Motteler, Julius (1838-1907) — German Social-Democrat; member of the Reichstag (1874-79), 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.—13, 30, 41, 115, 150, 236, 313, 335, 345, 380, 397, 434, 438, 540, 543-44

Napoleon I (Bonaparte) (1769-1821) — Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—61

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).—218, 288

Nash — English Christian socialist, member of The Workman's Times editorial board from 1892.—404

Neecker, Jacques (1732-1804) — French banker and politician, several times Controller-General of Finance in the 1770s and 1780s, attempted to carry out reforms.—444

Nicholas Alexandrovich (1868-1918) — heir to the Russian throne, then Emperor Nicholas II (1894-1917).—192

Nieuwenhuis — Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis's son.—78

Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela (1846-1919) — prominent figure in the Dutch working-class movement; a founder of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party; became an anarchist in the 1890s.—24, 49, 77-78, 232, 234, 250, 521, 524

Nim, Nimmy — see Demuth, Helene

Nonne, Heinrich — German student, resident in Paris; was exposed as a Prussian agent provocateur in 1884.—295

O

Oppenheim, Max — Ludwig Kugelmann's brother-in-law.—151-53

Oswald, Eugen (1826-1912) — German democratic journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Baden; emigrated to England after its defeat.—76, 326

Ottenbruch — houseowner, neighbour of the Engels family in Bruch.—86

Owens, John (1790-1846) — English merchant, founder of the Owens College in Manchester.—431, 456
P

Packard—English physician.—66

Padlewski, Stanislaw (1856-1891) — Polish socialist, assassinated in Paris Nikolai Seliverstov, Russian general and chief of the gendarmes, in 1890; emigrated to London and then to the USA where committed suicide. —91-92, 102, 107, 127, 129, 138, 147, 197, 198, 224, 355, 369, 415

Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846-1891) —Irish politician and statesman, Liberal; M. P. from 1875; leader of the Home Rule Party from 1877.—128, 259, 295, 468

Parnell, William—English trade union figure, joiner, leader of the Cabinet-Makers’ Union, delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1891.—522, 531

Paul—see Lafargue, Paul

Pauli, Ida—Philipp Victor Pauli’s wife.—76

Pauli, Philipp Victor (1836-d. after 1916) —German chemist, Carl Schorlemmer’s friend.—76

Pelletan, Charles Camille (1846-1915) —French politician, journalist, editor-in-chief of La Justice (from 1880), belonged to the Left wing of the Radical Party.—281

Percy—see Rosher, Percy White

Peschel, Oskar (1826-1875) —German geographer and historian, professor at Leipzig University.—146

Petersen, Nikolai (1854-c. 1916) —a prominent figure in the Danish working-class movement; a leader of the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889.—408-09

Petty, Sir William (1623-1687) —English economist and statistician, founder of English classical political economy.—141

Peus, Heinrich Wilhelm (1862-1937) —German writer, Social-Democrat (from 1890), later revisionist, was condemned for lèse-majesté (1892).—364, 369

Philostratus (c. 170-245) —Greek rhetorician, sophist philosopher and writer.—501

Pieper, Wilhelm (born c. 1826-1899) —German philologist and journalist, member of the Communist League; emigrated to London; was close to Marx and Engels in 1850-53.—544

Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich (1856-1918) —prominent figure in the Russian and international working-class movement, philosopher and propagandist of Marxism in Russia, founder of the first Russian Marxist organisation—Emancipation of Labour group (1883), delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1889 and to a number of other congresses of the Second International.—235, 317

Praslin, Altarice Rosalba Fanny (née Sébastiani) (1807-1847)—wife of Charles Praslin, Duke of Choiseul.—309

Praslin, Charles Laure Hugues Théobald, duc de Choiseul (1805-1847) —French aristocrat; Peer of France; was accused of murdering his wife (1847); committed suicide.—309

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865) —French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism.—389, 499, 517

Ptolemy—name of the Macedonian Kings who ruled Egypt for three hundred years (305-30 B.C.).—33

Pumps—see Rosher, Mary Ellen

Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich (1799-1837) —Russian poet.—280
Puttkamer, Robert Victor von (1828-1900) — Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1881-88), an organiser of the persecution of Social-Democrats during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law.— 181

Quelch, Harry (1858-1913) — prominent figure in the British working-class movement, a leader of new trade unions, delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1891 and 1893.— 449, 531

Ranc, Arthur (1831-1908) — French politician and journalist; moderate republican; played a significant role in the republican press in the 1880s-90s; a member of the Chamber of Deputies, later Senator.— 289, 301, 304, 307, 311, 318

Ravé, Henri — French journalist, translator of Engels' works into French.— 142, 144, 145, 154, 164, 165, 173, 192, 199, 201-04, 211, 215, 251

Read — English physician.— 65-66

Réaumur, René Antoine Ferchault de (1683-1757) — French naturalist, inventor of a spirit thermometer.— 489

Reeves, William Dobson (c. 1827-1907) — English publisher and bookseller.— 338-39

Reinicke, Paul René (1860-1926) — German artist.— 89

Renan, Joseph-Ernest (1823-1892) — French philologist and historian of Christianity, idealist philosopher.— 501

Renard, Victor Charles (1864-1914) — prominent figure in the French working-class movement, shoemaker, founded an organisation of the French Workers' Party in Lyons, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889.— 219

Reuß, Karl Theodor — German journalist, agent of the German political police in the 1880s, exposed in December 1887.— 109

Ribot, Alexandre Félix Joseph (1842-1923) — French statesman, lawyer; a leader of the Right Republicans, member of the Chamber of Deputies, opposed Boulangism; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1890-93), premier (1893-95).— 292

Ricardo, David (1772-1823) — English economist.— 141, 159

Richter, Eugen (1838-1906) — German politician, leader of the Party of Free Thinkers, deputy to the Reichstag.— 362, 375

Riefer, Adolf (born after 1852) — Helene Demuth's nephew, son of her sister Katharina and Peter Riefer.— 69-71

Roche, Ernest Jean (1850-1917) — French socialist, engraver, then journalist; as an editor of L'Intransigeant took part in organising a number of strikes; member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1889; was close to the Boulangists and the Fédération des socialistes indépendants in the late 1880s.— 289, 291

Roche, Eugène — French lawyer, radical.— 269, 274, 277, 297

Rochefort, Victor Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Lugay (c. 1831-1913) — French journalist, writer and politician; Left-wing republican; member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Commune was exiled to New Caledonia; fled to England; returned to France after the amnesty (1880), published L'Intransigeant; monarchist from the late 1880s; for participation in the Boulanger movement
was condemned to imprisonment (1889) and, to avoid it, lived in London till 1895.—252, 347, 401

Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Johann Karl (1805-1875) — German economist, theoretician of 'state socialism'.—389

Rogers, James Edwin Thorold (1823-1890) — English economist, author of several works on the national economy of England.—337, 343, 526

Romm, Julie (née Žadek) (d. 1920) — German socialist, contributed to Die Neue Zeit, later emigrated to the USA, worked in the New Yorker Volkszeitung; Maxim Romm's wife.—48, 109, 127

Romm, Maxim (d. 1921)—physician, Russian by birth, studied in Zurich, then emigrated to the USA.—48, 109, 127

Roscoe, Sir Henry Enfield (1833-1915) — English chemist.—430-31, 456, 470, 485

Roussel, Ferdinand François (1839-1914) — French socialist and trade union leader, secretary of the Paris Labour Stock Exchange in the early 1890s.—411

Rouvier, Pierre Maurice (1842-1911) — French statesman, moderate republican; repeatedly held posts of minister and premier; after his involvement in the Panama swindle had been exposed in 1892, he was forced to retire and abandon political activity for a time.—117, 254, 292, 298

Rouzeau, Pierre Maurice (1842-1911) — French statesman, moderate republican; repeatedly held posts of minister and premier; after his involvement in the Panama swindle had been exposed in 1892, he was forced to retire and abandon political activity for a time.—117, 254, 292, 298

Rox, Joseph — translator of Volume I of Marx's Capital and Feuerbach's works into French.—427

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880) — German
radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a National-Liberal after 1866.—94, 377, 520

Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, Marquis de (1830-1903) —British statesman, leader of the Conservatives; Secretary of State for India (1866-67 and 1874-78), Foreign Secretary (1878-80), Prime Minister (1885-86, 1886-92, 1895-1902).—295

Sam —see Moore, Samuel

Sanders, William Stephen (b. 1871) —English socialist, a leader of the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League, member of the Fabian Society; delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1891.—225, 323

Sanial, Lucien Delabarre (1835-d. after 1925) —American socialist, member of the Socialist Labor Party, editor and publisher of several socialist papers, delegate to the international socialist workers’ congresses of 1891 and 1893.—224, 232

Say, Jean Baptiste (1767-1832) —French economist, representative of vulgar political economy.—141

Scheu, Andreas (1844-1927) —a leader of the Austrian and British socialist movement, editor of the newspaper Gleichheit (1870-74); member of the International; emigrated to England in 1874; a founder of the Social Democratic Federation.—540

Scheu, Heinrich (1845-1926) —Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), emigrated to England in 1873, artist, delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1891, Andreas Scheu’s brother.—112, 125, 170

Schewitsch, Serge von —Russian-born American socialist; member of the New Yorker Volkszeitung editorial board in the 1870s-80s; editor of The Leader from 1886.—20, 45

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805) —German poet.—309

Schippel, Max (1859-1928) —German economist and journalist, Social-Democrat from 1886, was close to the Jungen opposition group; delegate to the International Socialist Workers’ Congress of 1893.—11, 129, 130, 174

Schlütter, Anna —Hermann Schlütter’s wife.—12, 67, 109, 113-15, 150, 151, 231, 237, 300, 325

Schlütter, Hermann (1851-1919) —German Social-Democrat, leader of the Social-Democratic publishing house in Zurich in the 1880s, a founder of the archives of German Social-Democracy; in 1889 emigrat-
ed to the USA where he joined socialist movement; author of several works on the history of the working-class movement in Great Britain and America.—12, 67, 74, 95, 109, 113-15, 146, 149-51, 168, 196-98, 226, 231, 237, 325, 392-94, 509

Schmidt — Conrad Schmidt's wife.—285, 288, 349

Schmidt, Conrad (1863-1932) — German economist and philosopher, Social-Democrat, was close to Marxism in the 1880s-90s, later became a Neo-Kantian and a revisionist.—6-9, 25, 57-65, 109, 163, 172, 212-14, 241, 285-88, 323, 349-52, 469, 525-28, 553

Schoemann, Georg Friedrich (1793-1879) — German philologist and historian, author of several works on the history of Ancient Greece.—36

Schönlank, Bruno (1859-1901) — German Social-Democrat, journalist; deputy to the Reichstag (1893); contributed to the Vorwärts in the 1890s.—95, 309

Schorlemmer — Carl and Ludwig Schorlemmer's mother.—425, 426, 432, 434, 436, 455, 458, 470, 486, 487

Schorlemmer, Carl (Jollymeier) (1834-1892) — German organic chemist, professor in Manchester; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend of Marx and Engels.—5, 6, 10, 12, 27, 30, 41, 44, 48-50, 96, 104, 111, 154, 159, 163, 168, 204, 211, 219, 220, 221, 224, 226, 227, 229, 232, 313, 319-20, 364, 370, 418, 425, 426, 430-33, 435, 436, 439, 447, 448, 453-58, 461, 464-65, 469, 470, 484-87

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Schramm, Carl August (1830-1905) — German Social-Democrat, economist, criticised Marxism, withdrew from the party in the 1880s.—132

Schröder, Ludwig (1849-1914) — German Social-Democrat, one of the organisers and leaders of the miners' movement in the Ruhr area.—376, 429, 448

Schumacher, Georg Gerber (1844-1917) — German Social-Democrat, tanner, later businessman; deputy to the Reichstag from 1884, adhered to the party's opportunist wing, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891; expelled from the Social-Democratic Party in 1898.—100

Schuster — professor of physics in Manchester, Carl Schorlemmer's student.—455

Schweinitz, Hans Lothar (1822-1901) — German general, diplomat and military writer, Ambassador to Vienna (1869-76) and St Petersburg (1876-92); advocated rapprochement between Germany and Russia.—374

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1875) — German lawyer; a Lassallean leader; editor of Der Social-Demokrat (1864-67), President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71), supported unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—11, 97

Seidel, Robert (1850-1933) — Swiss Social-Democrat, teacher, editor of the Arbeiterstimme in the 1890s, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1893.—495, 496, 505

Seliverstov, Nikolai Dmitrievich (1830-1890) — Russian general, chief of gendarmes, murdered in Paris by the Polish socialist Stanislaw Padlewski.—92, 102
Shajer — representative of Jewish workers, emigrants from Russia, at the May Day demonstration in London (1892).—411

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616) — English poet and dramatist.—348

Shaw, George Bernard (1856-1950) — English dramatist and writer, a leader of the Fabian Society from 1884.—335, 469, 515, 563

Shipton, George (1839-1911) — trade union leader; founder and secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Housepainters and Decorators; secretary of the London Trades Council (1872-96).—185, 386, 402, 403, 520, 560

Shuvalov, Pavel Andreyevich (1830-1908) — Russian military figure and diplomat; Ambassador to Berlin (1885-94), advocate of rapprochement between Germany and Russia.—374

Siebold, Ludwig (Louis) — German chemist, lived and worked in Manchester in the 1890s, Carl Schorlemmer's executor.—433, 455, 456, 457, 465, 470, 485

Siegel — August Siegel's wife.—430

Siegel, August (1856-1936) — German Social-Democrat, miner; active in the trade union movement of the 1880s, one of the organisers of the Union of German Miners; because of the persecution he was forced to emigrate to England (1891) where he lived more than twenty years and took part in the strike movement of the Scottish miners.—376, 428-30, 446, 448, 481

Simon, Ferdinand B. (1862-1912) — German physician, August Bebel's son-in-law.—200, 398, 490, 491, 504, 507

Simon, Frieda (1869-1948) — August Bebel's daughter, Ferdinand Simon's wife.—116, 377, 398, 491, 504

Singer, Paul (1844-1911) — prominent figure in the German working-class movement; member (from 1887) and president (from 1890) of the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany; deputy to the Reichstag from 1884, President of its Social-Democratic group from 1885; fought opportunism and revisionism.—54, 73, 76, 77, 89, 166, 184, 266, 267, 295, 386, 412, 415, 418, 420, 424, 427, 431, 432, 434, 436, 445-46, 519, 557, 563

Smith, Adam (1723-1790) — Scottish economist.—141, 159, 280

Smith (Smith Headingley), Adolphe (Adolphus) (1846-1924) — British journalist; was born in Paris; member of the Social Democratic Federation; adhered to the French Possibilists; wrote articles slandering Marx and his supporters.—56, 108, 402, 411, 495, 560-62

Smith, Frank (1854-d. after 1930) — English socialist, editor of The Worker's Cry (1891), member of the Independent Labour Party (from 1893).—203

Soetbeer, Georg Adolf (1814-1892) — German economist and statistician.—58


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; in 1852 emigrated to the USA; founder of the American


Stambulov, Stefan (1854-1895) — Bulgarian statesman; deputy (from 1880) and Chairman of the National Assembly (1884-86), head of government (1887-94), advocate of the anti-Russian foreign policy.—162

Stanley, Sir Henry Morton (real name John Rowlands) (1841-1904) — one of the explorers of Africa; leader of the English expedition to the Equatorial Africa (1887-89); M. P. (1895-1900).—475

Stead, William Thomas (1849-1912) — English journalist and writer; Liberal; editor of the Pall Mall Gazette (1883-89); editor of the Review of Reviews in the 1890s.—274

Steinthal — Unitarian clergyman in Manchester, Engels' acquaintance.—456

Stepnyak — see Kravchinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich

Stewart, Sir James (afterwards Denham) (1712-1780) — British economist, one of the last Mercantilists.—141

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Strabo (63 B.C.-A.D. c. 20) — Greek geographer and historian.—34

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Sybel, Heinrich von (1817-1895) — German historian and politician, National-Liberal from 1867.—94

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Tacitus, Publius Cornelius (c. 55-c. 120) — Roman historian and orator.—22

Tauscher, Leonhard (1840-1914) — German Social-Democrat, composer; during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law took part in printing Der Sozialdemokrat in Zurich, then in London; later an editor of Social-Democratic periodicals in Stuttgart.—30, 41, 104, 114

Taylor, H. R. — member of the London Trades Union Council and of the Social Democratic Federation, delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1891, candidate at the parliamentary elections of 1892.—493, 532

Taylor, Sedley (latter half of the 19th cent.-early 20th cent.) — British economist, armchair socialist; took part in the co-operative movement in England, advocated workers' sharing in the capitalists' profits; in the 1880s
tried to continue slanderous campaign against Marx, begun by Brentano in the 1870s. He accused Marx of the deliberate falsification of the sources quoted.— 146

Teck, Victoria Mary von (1867-1953) — English Princess, later Queen Mary of England (from 1910).— 347

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.— 309

Thorne, William James (1857-1946) — prominent figure in the British working-class movement, member of the Social Democratic Federation, one of the organisers of the mass movement of the unskilled workers in the late 1880s-early 1890s, General Secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland.— 77, 225, 300, 313, 520, 522, 531, 557-58, 561

Tillet, Benjamin (Ben) (1860-1943) — British socialist, an organiser and a leader of the new trade unions in the 1880s-90s, later one of the founders of the Labour Party; General Secretary of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers’ Union of Great Britain and Ireland (1887-1922).— 225

Töck, Karl Wilhelm (1817-1893) — German Social-Democrat, a leader of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers.— 316

Tooke, Thomas (1774-1858) — English classical political economist.— 526

Turati, Filippo (1857-1932) — prominent figure in the Italian working-class movement, journalist, one of the founders (1892) and leaders of the Italian Socialist Party.— 142-44, 146, 354-55, 388, 405

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Vaillant, Marie Anne Cécile Ambroisine (née Lachenille) — Édouard Vaillant’s mother.— 83

Vaillant, Marie Édouard (1840-1915) — French engineer, naturalist and physician; Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune, of the National Guard’s Central Committee and of the General Council of the International (1871-72); headed Blanquists’ Comité Revolutionnaire Central (from 1881); member of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1893).— 30, 40, 82-83, 193, 332, 360, 382, 399, 400, 436, 544

Vanderbilts — dynasty of the American financial and industrial magnates.— 59

Vauban, Sébastien le Prestre de (1633-1707) — French marshal and military engineer, criticised France’s taxation system.— 383

Veber, Adrien Jean François (1861-1932) — French socialist, Possibilist; teacher and lawyer; contributed to a number of socialist papers.— 260

Vesinier, Pierre (1824-1902) — French journalist, anti-Bonapartist; an organiser of the French branch of the International in London; was expelled from the Central Council of the International for conducting a slanderous campaign against it in 1866 and from the International in 1868; member of the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England.— 56

Victoria (1819-1901) — Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).— 369
Victoria Adelaide Mary Louise (1840-1901) — German Empress, eldest daughter of Queen Victoria, wife of the Prussian King and German Emperor Frederick III. — 140

Vignaud — French socialist; member of the Workers' Party. — 519

Vogt, Johann Gustav (1843-d. after 1912) — German materialist philosopher, author of a number of works on natural science. — 216-17

Volders, Jean (1855-1896) — Belgian socialist, journalist, a founder of the Parti ouvrier belge (1885), delegate to the international socialist workers' congresses of 1889, 1891 and 1893. — 221

Volkhovsky, Felix Vadimovich (1846-1914) — Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; refugee in London from 1890; editor of the newspaper Free Russia (from 1895). — 411

Vollmar, Georg Heinrich von (1850-1922) — German army officer, journalist, Social-Democrat, a leader of the reformist wing of the party, editor of the Sozialdemokrat (1879-80); repeatedly elected deputy to the German Reichstag and Bavarian Landtag. — 211, 219, 221, 246, 266, 268, 273, 282, 293, 298, 480, 516, 544

Vorontsov, Vasily Pavlovich (V. V.) (1847-1918) — Russian economist and writer, one of the ideologists of Liberal Narodism in the 1880s-90s, author of several books on the development of capitalism and peasant commune in Russia. — 443

Vyshnegradsky, Ivan Alexeyevich (1831-1895) — Russian scholar and statesman, Minister of Finance (1888-92). — 444

Wachsmuth, Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb (1784-1866) — German historian, professor in Leipzig. — 34

Ward, W. H. — prominent figure in the British working-class movement, Vice-Secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (1891). — 557

Warken, Nikolaus — prominent figure in the German working-class movement, President of the Rechtsschutzverein der Saar-Bergleute; delegate to the Miners' International Congress in London (1892). — 448

Watkinson, Will — prominent figure in the British working-class movement, President of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (1891). — 557

Watts, John Hunter (d. 1924) — British socialist, a leader of the Social Democratic Federation. — 336

Webb, Sidney James (1859-1947) — British socialist and public figure, one of the founders of the Fabian Society; together with his wife Beatrice Webb wrote a number of works on the history and theory of the working-class movement in Britain. — 516

Weiler, G. Adam (1841-1894) — German refugee in the USA and from 1862 in England, cabinet-maker, member of the International (from 1865), member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against reformist leaders of the British trade unions; later a member of the London Trades Union Council and the Social Democratic Federation. — 416

Weinschenk — French capitalist with whom French socialists discussed the financing of the planned daily newspaper. — 476-77

Westphalen, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm Henning von (1799-1876) — Prussian
statesman, Minister of the Interior (1850-58), stepbrother of Karl Marx’s wife, Jenny.—20
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Wigand—a publishing house founded in Leipzig by Otto Wigand. It put out works of radical writers.—346, 364, 365, 406, 407, 410, 414, 419
William II (1859-1914)—Prussian King and German Emperor (1888-1918).—20, 27, 47, 83, 255, 307, 348, 361, 369, 371, 374, 379-80, 423, 504
Wilson, Joseph Havelock (1858-1929)—prominent figure in the British trade union movement, organiser and president (from 1887) of the National Amalgamated Sailors’ and Firemen’s Union of Great Britain and Ireland; repeatedly elected M.P. (from 1892).—468, 471, 475
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Witch—see Kautsky, Louise
Wolf, Julius (1862-1937)—German economist.—241, 286-87, 349-51
Wolff, Bernhard (Benda) (1811-1879)—German journalist; owner of the Berlin National-Zeitung from 1848; founder of the first telegraph agency in Germany (1849).—189
Woods, Samuel (1846-1915)—prominent figure in the British trade union movement, miner, Vice-President of the Miners’ Federation (1889-1909); Secretary of the T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee (1894-1904), M.P. (1892-95, 1897-1900).—534
Wróblewski, Walery (1836-1908)—prominent figure in the Polish and international working-class movement, revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Polish uprising (1863-64); general of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72); after the amnesty of 1880 returned to France.—156-57, 169, 347
Zeitkin, Clara (1857-1933)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (from 1881), contributed to the Sozialdemokrat; editor of Die Gleichheit (1892-1916); fought opportunism.—199, 334
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Cassius—one of the main characters in Shakespeare’s tragedy Julius Caesar.—348
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Horlachertiest — a country girl, a character in Ludwig Anzengrubner’s comedy Der G’wissenswurm (1874). — 450

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John Bull — the title character in John Arbuthnot’s book The History of John Bull (18th cent.). His name is often used to personify England and Englishmen. — 401, 480

Noah (Bib.) — patriarch, said to have survived the Deluge in a wooden ark built on an order from God. — 195

Orestes (Gr. Myth.) — the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra who killed his mother’s lover Aegisthus in revenge for murdering his father; a character in Aeschylus’ tragedies Choephoroe and Eumenides, the second and third parts of the trilogy Oresteia. — 201

Paul (Bib.) — one of Christ’s twelve apostles.— 503

Penelope — in Homer’s Odyssey the hero’s wife and the personification of conjugal fidelity. She waited more than twenty years for her husband’s return from the Trojan war and kept her importunate suitors at bay for three years by weaving a shroud for her father-in-law, but unravelling it secretly every night so that it was never finished. — 380

Sisyphus (Gr. Myth.) — King of Corinth, condemned in Hades to roll uphill a heavy stone that constantly rolled down again. Hence ‘sisyphean labour’, both an endless and heart-breaking work. — 215
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Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung — an Austrian Social-Democratic fortnightly published in Vienna in 1892-99. Its editors were B. Brand, Louise Kautsky, Laura Lafargue, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and others. Victor Adler was one of its publishers. — 248, 253, 285, 328, 331, 333, 367, 452

Arbejderen — a weekly of the Left wing of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, published in Copenhagen from April 1889 to March 1893. — 409

Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik — a German political and economic quarterly, published under this title in Tübingen and Berlin in 1888-1903. — 6

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Das Ausland — a German magazine on problems of geography, ethnography and natural science, published from 1828 to 1893 (at first daily and from 1853 weekly); from 1873 it appeared in Stuttgart. — 173, 198
Die Autonomie. Anarchistisch-communistisches Organ—a German-language newspaper published in London from 6 November 1886 to 22 April 1893; altogether 211 issues appeared.—351

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Berliner Volksblatt—see Vorwärts

Berliner Volks-Tribüne. Social-Politisches Wochenblatt—a German Social-Democratic newspaper, published from 1887 to 1892; was close to the ‘Jungen’ oppositional group in 1890-91.—7, 9, 11, 64, 109, 148, 232

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Critica Sociale—an Italian fortnightly, a theoretical organ of the Socialist Party. It was published under this title in Milan in 1891-1924 under the editorship of F. Turati.—142, 143, 146, 333, 348, 361, 380, 405

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The Daily Chronicle and Clerkenwell News—a liberal newspaper published in London from 1855 (under this title from 1877) to 1930.—44, 51, 150, 189, 402, 531, 553, 560-62

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Deutsche Worte — an Austrian economic and political magazine published in Vienna from 1881 to 1904, weekly from 1881 to June 1883 and monthly from July 1883.— 7

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher — a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.— 528

Deutscher Reichs-Anzeiger und Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger — a German government daily founded in Berlin in 1819; published under this title from 1871 to 1917.— 51

Deutsches Wochenblatt — a magazine published in Berlin from March 1888 to September 1900.— 85

L’Éclair — a daily published in Paris from 1888 to 1939.— 394, 547

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The Evening Standard — an evening issue of The Standard, it appeared in London from 1857 to 1905 when its title was changed to The Evening Standard and Times Gazette.— 303, 304, 318

Le Figaro — a conservative daily published in Paris since 1854.— 22, 148, 218, 273, 344, 392, 547

Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt — a democratic daily published in Frankfurt-am-Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.— 129, 176, 542

Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt — a literary weekly published in Leipzig from 1853 to 1903 and in Berlin from 1903 to 1943.— 274

Gil Blas — a tabloid published in Paris from November 1879 to July 1914.— 54

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Hamburger Echo — a German Social-Democratic daily published from October 1887 to 1933. In 1891 its editors were Ignaz Auer, August Bebel, Paul Singer and others.— 50, 129, 269, 316

L’Idée nouvelle — a socialist monthly published in Paris in 1890-92. Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Edouard Vaillant were among its contributors.— 29

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L’Intransigeant — a newspaper published in Paris from 1880 to 1948; its founder and editor-in-chief was Henri Rochefort (1880-1910); expressed radical republican views in the 1880s-90s.— 92, 304, 318, 347, 367, 401, 547
Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik — a German economic magazine published in Jena from 1863, as a rule twice a year.—241

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La Justice — a daily newspaper of the Radical Party; published in Paris from 1880 to 1930; the organ of the Radical Party’s left wing in 1880-96.—155, 281, 290, 292, 547

Kalender — see Pionier. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender

Kölische Zeitung — a German daily published under this title in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; an organ of the liberal bourgeoisie; it was connected with the National-Liberal Party in the last third of the 19th century.—369, 371

The Labour Elector — a socialist weekly published in London from June 1888 to July 1894.—552

The Labour World — a weekly published in London from 21 September 1890 to 30 May 1891.—203

Lotta di Classe — an Italian socialist weekly, the central organ of the Italian Workers’ Party; published in Milan from 1892 to 1898.—391

The Manchester Guardian — an English daily founded in 1821, organ of the Free Traders and from the mid-19th century of the Liberal Party.—455

Le Matin — a daily published in Paris from 1884 to 1944.—547

Nationalist — an American magazine of the nationalist clubs; published in Boston in 1889-91.—113, 125

Neue Freie Presse — an Austrian liberal daily having evening issues; published in Vienna in 1864-1939.—349

Neue Preussische Zeitung — a daily newspaper of the Prussian Junkers and court circles, published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; also known as Kreuz-Zeitung, because the heading contained a cross bearing the motto, ‘Forward with God for King and Fatherland!’—42

Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Organ der Demokratie — a daily newspaper of the German revolutionary proletarian democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49; it was published in Cologne under Marx’s editorship from 1 June 1848 to 19 May 1849, with an interval between 27 September and 12 October 1848; Engels was also one of the editors.—41

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 Cuno from October 1917 to autumn 1923.—5, 12, 21, 25, 30, 47, 49, 50, 55, 64, 74, 75, 90, 91,
New Yorker Volkszeitung— an American German-language socialist daily published from 1878 to 1932.—20, 45, 48, 75, 137, 146, 150, 226, 355

Nord und Süd— a German popular science monthly, published from 1877 to 1930, first in Berlin, then in Breslau and Berlin; it was edited by Paul Lindau.—274

La Nouvelle Revue—a bourgeois-republican magazine founded by Juliette Adam and published in Paris from 1879.—123

Österreichischer Arbeiter-Kalender—a socialist yearly, published in Wiener Neustadt, Vienna and Brün from 1874 to 1930.—472

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Le Parti Ouvrier—a daily newspaper of the Possibilists, founded in Paris in March 1888.—547

Le Parti socialiste. Organe du comité révolutionnaire central—a Blanquist weekly published in Paris in 1890-98.—547

Paterson Labor Standard—an American weekly published under this title in Paterson from 1878 to 1898.—75


The People's Press—a British workers' weekly, an organ of the new trade unions, published in London from March 1890 to February 1891.—3, 148, 150

Pioneer. Illustrierter Volks-Kalender—an American German-language socialist yearly published by the editors of the New Yorker Volkszeitung in New York from 1883 to 1904.—49, 51, 140

Preußische Jahrbücher—a German conservative monthly published in Berlin from 1858 to 1935.—274

Le Proletariat—a French weekly, an official organ of the Possibilist Socialist Workers' Federation of France; published under this title in Paris from 5 April 1884 to 25 October 1890.—47

Przedwiat—a Polish socialist magazine, published in 1880-1914 (from 1891 in London, as a weekly).—380, 390

The Review of Reviews—a monthly carrying short reviews of the current press; published in London from 1890 to 1936; in the 1890s its editor-in-chief was William Thomas Stead.—274

Revista Socială—a Romanian magazine published in Jassy in 1884-87 under the editorship of the socialist Joann Nâdejde.—380
La Revue Socialiste—a French monthly founded by Benoît Malon, a socialist, who later became a Possibilist; initially a republican socialist and then syndicalist and co-operative organ; published in Lyons and Paris in 1880, and in Paris from 1885 to 1914.—92

Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung—a German Social-Democratic daily; organ of the ‘Jungen’ oppositional group in the summer and the early autumn of 1890; published in Dresden from 1890 to 1908.—11, 13, 22, 27, 97, 133

Schwäbische Tagwacht. Organ der Sozialdemokraten Württembergs—a German daily published in Stuttgart from 1881.—25

Le Siècle—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939; mouthpiece of the opposition demanding moderate constitutional reforms in the 1840s; moderate republican in the 1850s-60s.—202

Der Social-Demokrat—a newspaper of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; published under this title in Berlin from 15 December 1864 to 1871; edited by Johann Baptist von Schweitzer in 1864-67.—389

Social-Demokraten—central organ of the Danish Social-Democratic Party; published daily under this title in Copenhagen from 1872 to 1959.—409


Le Soleil—an Orleanist daily published in Paris in 1873-1914.—420, 423

Der Sozialdemokrat—a weekly central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party of Germany; during the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law it was published in Zürich (September 1879 to September 1888) and in London (October 1888 to 27 September 1890). It was edited by Georg Vollmar (1879-80) and Eduard Bernstein (1881-90).—7, 13, 17, 26, 30, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 115, 266, 313

Die Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift—an Austrian magazine published in Vienna in 1889-90.—88

Der Sozialist—a German-language weekly of the Socialist Labor Party of North America published in New York in 1885-92.—75, 113

Der Sozialist—a weekly of the Union of Independent Socialists, published in Berlin in 1891-99.—300, 351, 527

Sozialpolitisches Centraiblatt—a Social-Democratic weekly, published under this title in Berlin in 1892-95; its editor was Heinrich Braun.—552

The Standard—a conservative daily, founded in London in 1827.—229, 374

St. Johann-Saarbrücker Volkszeitung—a daily published from 1876 to 1902 in Saarbrücken (1881) and St Johann.—51

The Star—a daily of the Liberal Party, published in London from 1888; initially it was close to the Social Democratic Federation.—44, 203, 207, 208, 219

The Sun—a daily published in New York from 1833.—355
Le Temps—a conservative daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1943.—281, 547
To-Day—a socialist monthly published in London from April 1883 to June 1889; from July 1884 to 1886 it was edited by Henry Mayers Hyndman.—552
The Trade Unionist—a workers’ weekly published in London under this title from April to August 1891, and as The Trade Unionist and Trades Council Record from late October 1891 to March 1892. Its editor was Tom Mann. In 1892 the newspaper merged with The Workman’s Times.—203, 404
La Tribuna—a liberal daily published in Rome from 1883 to 1943.—388
Ueber Land und Meer—a German illustrated weekly published in Stuttgart from 1858 to 1923.—274
[Vestnik Finansov] Вестник Финансов, Промышленности и Торговли—a Russian weekly, organ of the Ministry of Finance, published under this title in St Petersburg from 1885 to 1917.—444
Volksblatt—see Berliner Volksblatt
Der Volksstaat—central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party (Eisenachers) published in Leipzig from 2 October 1869 to 29 September 1876 (twice a week until July 1873, then three times a week). General direction was in the hands of Wilhelm Liebknecht. An important part was played by August Bebel, who was in charge of the Volksstaat Publishing House.—200
Volksstimme—a German Social-Democratic daily, published in Magdeburg from 1890 to 1933; in the early 1890s it supported the ‘Jungen’ oppositional group.—11, 22
Volks-Tribüne—see Berliner Volks-Tribüne
Volkszeitung—see New Yorker Volkszeitung
Vorbote—an American German-language weekly, published in Chicago in 1874-76; in 1876 it became a supplement to the socialist Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung.—181
The Weekly Dispatch—a London newspaper published under this title from 1801 to 1928, a mouthpiece of the radicals in the 1880s-90s.—232
The Woman’s Journal—an American feminist weekly published in Boston and Chicago from 1870 to 1917.—328, 394
Woman’s Tribune—an American feminist newspaper, published from 1883 to 1909, first in Washington, then in Portland (Oregon).—394
The Worker's Cry—a workers' newspaper published under this title in London in 1891. Its editor was Frank Smith.—203

The Workman’s Times—a British workers' weekly, published in Huddersfield from August 1890 to September 1894, then in London and Manchester. Its editor was Joseph Burgess. In 1892 it merged with The Trade Unionist.—195, 203, 329, 335, 360, 404, 480, 494, 508, 529, 532, 542, 545, 547, 560, 561

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