

**KARL
MARX
FREDERICK
ENGELS**

**Collected
Works**



Volume 38
Marx and Engels
1844-1851

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KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

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Translated by
PETER and BETTY ROSS

Preface

The letters of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels will be published in volumes 38-50 of this edition. These volumes will contain their letters to each other and to their collaborators, friends, relatives, and others. The Appendices will include letters written by others at the request of Marx and Engels, as well as letters addressed to them, and documents giving some idea of the contents of undiscovered letters written by them and providing additional biographical information.

This special group of volumes begins with Engels' earliest surviving letter to Marx, from early October 1844. Their letters, to other people, prior to their historic meeting in Paris in August 1844, before which there was no direct connection between their intellectual development and work, are included in volumes 1-3 of the present edition, together with their separately published works of those years. From the autumn of 1844, the works of Marx and Engels increasingly arise from their close cooperation. Their letters reflect the elaboration of their ideas and their influence on the working class's struggle for emancipation.

Not included in these volumes are letters, appeals and statements addressed to various organisations, editors of newspapers and journals, public employees, etc. These are published in volumes 4-28 of this edition.

The letters of Marx and Engels are extremely rich in ideas and human interest. In them Marx and Engels wrote of their creative plans, of the immense research they undertook in different fields of knowledge, and touched upon a wide range of philosophical, economic, sociological and other problems. They compared the results of their work, shared their impressions of the books they read, discussed the various doctrines and theories of contemporary

thinkers, and commented upon the achievements of other scholars—for instance, the progress made in the natural sciences and in engineering—as well as on events and phenomena they witnessed or read about.

The letters show the constant attention Marx and Engels paid to economic and social phenomena, to politics in general, and to the development of the revolutionary movement in particular. Their analysis of current events, class conflicts, diplomatic battles and warfare, political parties and trends, statesmen and politicians, is an important contribution to the Marxist interpretation of the period's history; though it should be borne in mind that very often their judgment of events and people was stated much more sharply, as well as impulsively and emotionally, in their letters than in their works written for publication.

The proletarian class struggle is one of the principal and constant subjects of their correspondence. As the theoreticians of the working class, as well as direct participants in and leaders of proletarian organisations, they were interested most of all in the workers' movement, the conditions and stages of its development, the aims of its programme, its tactics and its organisation. The letters are eloquent testimony of their struggle for the creation of a revolutionary party of the working class, and for the elaboration of a programme and a strategy for the international proletarian movement, giving due consideration both to the general laws of development of the proletarian class struggle and its specific features at different periods of history and in different countries. Many letters contain sharp criticism of the ideological and political antagonists of the working class, and of the various manifestations of opportunism, reformism, sectarianism and dogmatism in the workers' movement. A profoundly scientific, materialist approach to the problems of the proletariat's struggle, a principled defence of revolutionary positions, consistent internationalism, ardent support for those fighting for the oppressed and the exploited, and an irreconcilability towards their enemies, run through the entire correspondence of Marx and Engels.

'If one were to attempt to define in a single word the focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence,' wrote Lenin, 'the central point at which the whole body of ideas expressed and discussed converges—that word would be *dialectics*. The application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy from its foundations up, its application to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class—that was what interested Marx and Engels most of all, that was where they

contributed what was most essential and new, and that was what constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 554).

This correspondence is a vital source for the study of both the theoretical and practical activity of Marx and Engels, demonstrating how naturally they combined these two aspects of their revolutionary work. Their letters reflect the development of the three component parts of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and the theory of scientific communism—as well as their study of a whole series of allied disciplines, in particular of world history, law, linguistics, the history of literature, aesthetics, the natural sciences, and military science. In addition, our knowledge of the programme and tactical documents of the Communist League, of the First International and other proletarian organisations founded by Marx and Engels, is augmented by the rich material contained in their letters which illustrate their role as the organisers and leaders of the working-class revolutionary struggle.

Their letters also add in essential ways to many of their published works, drafts and manuscripts of unfinished works, for very often they give original full versions of important theoretical and tactical propositions, showing how one or another idea was conceived, and how it was first presented and subsequently developed. Some of the letters are regular treatises, and some are especially valuable in containing ideas never set down in Marx's and Engels' published works. Many of the letters reveal scientific and literary plans which for one reason or another were never realised, while some are the only evidence that has come down to us that such literary plans existed at all, and from them we can form a general idea of what Marx and Engels intended to write about in such works.

The letters are especially important for the study of those periods in the lives of Marx and Engels when they were unable to write regularly for the press, in which case their correspondence often provides the best or the only source for studying their life and activity. Unfortunately, for some of these years, relatively few letters have been preserved, and they can naturally only supply additional information on the views and activities of Marx and Engels to that which can be derived from their published works.

There can be no better source than their letters from which to study the biographies of Marx and Engels. Readers can follow not just the story of how their works were written and published, or the stages of their theoretical and socio-political activity, but can observe them among their families and friends. They can gain an idea of the circumstances of their life, their everyday occupations, their personal

feelings, and so forth. Their letters also show clearly the grim trials which confronted the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle against the existing state system: police persecutions, legal proceedings, deportation, enforced emigration, publishers refusing to print their works, abuse and slander spread by their enemies, family and personal bereavement. And on top of all that—in the case of Marx—his poverty, leading to the tragic losses in his family, and his own frequent ill health.

And yet, their letters are full of optimism. The staunchness with which they bore up under all their troubles is amazing. They drew this strength from their unswerving loyalty to their revolutionary calling, to the noble idea of serving the cause of the working people's emancipation. It is significant that Marx, who had already experienced several tragic deaths in his family, wrote to Sigfrid Meyer on 30 April 1867: 'I laugh at the so-called "practical" men with their wisdom. If one chose to be an ox, one could of course turn one's back on the sufferings of mankind and look after one's own skin.'

No vicissitudes of life could break their will or spirit, weaken their dedication to the cause of the working class, undermine their faith in the ultimate triumph of the ideas of communism, or shake their historical optimism, their courage and naturally cheerful disposition. Shortly after Marx's death a German bourgeois journalist called him a 'poor wretch' and it is in this connection that Engels wrote indignantly in June 1883: 'If these jackasses ever happened to read my correspondence with the Moor, they would simply gape. Heine's poetry is child's play compared with our bold, jolly prose. The Moor could be furious, but mope—*jamais!* [never]'

The letters testify to the unity of Marx's and Engels' theoretical views and their extraordinary ideological and human closeness. For all the uniqueness of their personalities, there was always complete unanimity between them on the main issues, thanks to the remarkable similarity of their philosophical and political views. Very often we can observe how they arrived at a common point of view through discussion, and then how both expressed that viewpoint in print or in letters to other persons. There are many examples of such creative cooperation.

Their great friendship meant that they kept in constant touch with each other; it is therefore not surprising that they wrote almost daily when they happened to be separated, as they were in the 1850s and the 1860s for example. Their letters speak of their profound mutual respect and affection, and their complete and sincere confidence in one another.

* * *

Volume 38 contains Marx's and Engels' letters from October 1844 to December 1851, covering three stages in the development of Marxism. The first group of letters deals with the formative period and the development of Marxism as the scientific world outlook of the working class, and also shows the first practical steps taken by Marx and Engels to combine the theory of communism with the workers' movement and organise a proletarian party. Their efforts were crowned in 1847 by the establishment of the international communist organisation of the proletariat—the Communist League—and the publication of its programme—the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (February 1848). Their subsequent letters relate to the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe in 1848-49, which were the first historical test of Marxism, of its theoretical and tactical principles. The third group includes letters written from the end of 1849 to 1851 when priority had to be given to the work of theoretically generalising the experience of the revolutions, of further developing the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolutionaries, of uniting them in conditions of increasing reaction, and of reorganising the Communist League.

Marx's and Engels' surviving letters from October 1844 to February 1848 show that their efforts were primarily focused on elaborating the theoretical tools that would provide a scientific basis for the workers' movement. Their awareness of the urgency of this task is evident from the very first letters written by Engels from Barmen where he returned in the autumn of 1844 after his meeting with Marx in Paris. Reporting to his friend about the rapid spread of communist and socialist propaganda in Germany, Engels said: 'Failing a few publications in which the principles are logically and historically developed out of past ways of thinking and past history, and as their necessary continuation, the whole thing will remain rather hazy and most people will be groping in the dark' (this volume, p. 3).

At the time, the workers' movement was largely influenced by utopian socialism. Its ideological confusion was aggravated by the circulation of muddled and immature doctrines, in particular those of the Young Hegelians who in 1843-45 preached ideas of subjective idealism and anarchic individualism. That is why in his letters Engels repeatedly urged Marx to hurry up and finish *The Holy Family*, aimed against Bruno Bauer and the other Young Hegelians, and also the book he was planning to write on political economy. In January 1845, Engels wrote: 'Minds are ripe and we must strike while the iron

is hot.... We German theoreticians ... cannot yet so much as develop our theory, not even having been able as yet to publish the critique of the nonsense. But now it is high time' (pp. 17-18).

The letters published in this volume enable us to follow the writing of such important works as *The Holy Family*, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (present edition, Vol. 4) and *The German Ideology* (Vol. 5), and provide information about projects never materialised, among them Marx's intention to write a 'Critique of Politics and Political Economy' in two volumes, Marx's and Engels' plans to publish a criticism of the views of the German bourgeois economist Friedrich List, and their plan to start a 'Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers' (in German) supplied with critical comments (see this volume, pp. 10-11, 13-14, 15-18, 25-28). The letters also throw light on the journalistic work done by Marx and Engels, their contributions to various papers, the reasons that prompted them to do journalistic work, and the character of a number of the articles written by them.

A whole series of circumstances, relevant not just to the writing but also to the attempt to publish *The German Ideology*, are clarified in the correspondence between Marx and Engels and their letters to other persons, one being the letter written by Marx on 14-16 May 1846 to Joseph Weydemeyer, published for the first time in 1968 (pp. 41-44). In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels counterposed their materialist understanding of history as an integral conception to the idealist views of Max Stirner and other Young Hegelians, and to the inconsistent materialism of Ludwig Feuerbach. It is apparent from their letters that Marx and Engels originally intended to publish this work in a collection of articles, together with those written by their associates and to criticise the various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends. What they wanted was to start a regular quarterly journal for these publications (pp. 41, 533), but these plans failed, as did their other attempts to have these manuscripts printed. However, Marx and Engels were not discouraged for they had achieved their 'main purpose—self-clarification', as Marx wrote in 1859 in the Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

As they developed their dialectical-materialist outlook and intensified their efforts to rally the advanced workers and intellectuals on the basis of the new revolutionary teaching, Marx and Engels felt more and more acutely the necessity to overcome the influence of sectarian utopian teachings, among them the egalitarian communism of Weitling and the petty-bourgeois sentimental 'true socialism', which hindered the formation of working-class conscious-

ness. Of especial danger to the workers' movement was the spread of the reformist views of Proudhon who sowed in the workers' minds the illusion that it was possible to transform capitalism to serve the ideals of petty artisans and peasants.

A number of letters, particularly from Engels in Paris in 1846 to the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, show the struggle he had to fight against the influential Weitlingians among the German artisans and workmen living in Paris, and also against the supporters of Proudhon's reformist projects, and Karl Grün who interpreted these projects in the spirit of 'true socialism'. In his letter of 23 October 1846, Engels described the lengthy discussion he had at a workers' meeting in the course of which he succeeded in changing the minds of most of those present, convincing them of the unsoundness of Proudhon's and Grün's views, and clearly defining the aims of the communists as follows: '1. to ensure that the interests of the proletariat prevail, as opposed to those of the bourgeoisie; 2. to do so by abolishing private property and replacing same with community of goods; 3. to recognise no means of attaining these aims other than democratic revolution by force' (p. 82).

The struggle against Proudhon's ideas had a direct bearing on the writing of one of the first works of mature Marxism—*The Poverty of Philosophy*—in which Marx set out the historico-materialist conception earlier developed in *The German Ideology*. This was the first work he published as an economist. His letter of 28 December 1846 to the Russian liberal writer P. V. Annenkov can be regarded as a condensed draft of the book in which the main theses are briefly set out. Marx showed the invalidity of Proudhon's philosophical and sociological views, the utopianism of his reformist projects, his inability to analyse the nature of capitalist relations and social processes as a whole, or to understand the significance of the class struggle of the proletariat. In Proudhon's ideas Marx clearly saw a reflection of the sentiments and world outlook of that class of small private producers who were being ruined by the development of capitalism, and who wanted to eliminate its 'bad sides' while keeping the fundamentals intact. 'Mr. Proudhon is, from top to toe, a philosopher, an economist of the petty bourgeoisie,' Marx wrote (this volume, p. 105).

Proudhon idealistically regarded history as a result of the actions of outstanding men capable of filching 'from God his inmost thoughts' (p. 103), and to counterbalance this view Marx recapitulated the basic principles of historical materialism on the general laws of social development. He pointed to the determining role played in this development by the productive forces, to

the dialectical interaction between them and the relations of production (characteristically, here they are called not 'forms of intercourse' as in *The German Ideology* but more precisely 'economic relations', 'social relations'), and to the ultimate dependence of all the other social institutions and superstructural phenomena, including the sphere of ideas, on the mode of production. The discrepancy between the developing productive forces and the outdated relations of production makes it an objective necessity to revolutionise, that is, to change the old mode of production for a new and more progressive one, which would also bring about a change in the entire social superstructure. Marx showed how obsolescent relations of production do not merely hinder the progress of society but are actually capable of pushing it back and denying it the 'fruits of civilisation' (p. 97). The true makers of history—the masses who produce the material wealth—influence its course primarily by participating in the development of the productive forces, Marx pointed out. But they cannot do so arbitrarily since they are not free to choose their productive forces, thus 'every succeeding generation finds productive forces acquired by the preceding generation' (p. 96).

By stressing the need to regard the various forms of production in a given epoch as historical and transitory, Marx established the principle of the historical character of science. He showed that this principle is essential in the study of social phenomena from a truly scientific, dialectical-materialist angle.

The letters of 1846-47 illustrate the efforts of Marx and Engels to organise a proletarian party, to establish and consolidate ties with the representatives of the workers' and socialist movements in different countries, and to set up communist correspondence committees in Belgium, Germany, England and France. The tasks of these committees, formulated in a series of documents (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 54-56, 58-60), were also stated in a letter (5 May 1846) to Proudhon, whom Marx still hoped to draw into the work of revolutionary propaganda, '...The chief aim of our correspondence ... will be to put the German socialists in touch with the French and English socialists; to keep foreigners constantly informed of the socialist movements that occur in Germany and to inform the Germans in Germany of the progress of socialism in France and England. In this way differences of opinion can be brought to light and an exchange of ideas and impartial criticism can take place. It will be a step made by the social movement in its *literary* manifestation to rid itself of the barriers of *nationality*' (p. 39).

As Marx and Engels planned it, the communist correspondence committees were to elicit differences of opinion, criticise immature, utopian and sectarian views, work out an ideological and theoretical platform acceptable to the genuinely revolutionary part of the movement, and thus prepare the ground for the organisation of an international proletarian party.

The centre of the network Marx and Engels were organising was to be the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, headed by them. Its work is fully described in Engels' letters from Paris to Marx dated 19 August (p. 53) and about 23 October 1846 (pp. 86-88), and in Harney's letter to Engels of 30 March 1846 (published in the Appendices).

The activities of Marx and Engels as theoreticians, journalists and organisers of propaganda helped to develop the views of the members of the League of the Just, a secret organisation of German workers and artisans which emerged in the middle of the 1830s and was also joined by workers of other nationalities. Marx and Engels had established contact with the London leaders of the League—Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer—already in 1843-45, and in the years that followed they maintained this contact although they criticised the theoretical immaturity and instability of the stand taken by the leaders, and the sectarian, conspiratorial character of the League's organisational structure (pp. 69, 91-92, 83). It was only when they were certain that the London leadership had begun to assimilate the ideas of scientific communism, and showed its readiness to act in this spirit, that Marx and Engels, in January 1847, agreed to join the League, take part in its reorganisation, and draw up a new programme on the basis of the principles they had proclaimed.

From their letters written in 1847 we see how Marx and Engels directed the work of the Communist League, founded by them, trying to strengthen its influence among the masses and encouraging its members to engage in systematic propaganda and organisational work among the proletariat. They themselves did this kind of work in the Brussels German Workers' Society, founded by them in August 1847, which we know from Engels' letter to Marx dated 28-30 September 1847 (p. 130); moreover, they looked upon the Communist League as the nucleus of the future mass proletarian party which was to unite all the militant forces of the working class.

Marx and Engels, being emphatically against sectarian isolation from the general revolutionary movement, guided the Communist League towards the establishment of an alliance with the democrats both on the national and the international scale for

joint struggle against the anti-popular regimes. The independence of the ideological and political stand taken by the international proletarian organisation and its right openly to criticise the mistakes and inconsistency of its allies was to be strictly maintained. It took Engels in particular no little effort to secure the cooperation of the French democrats and socialists who grouped round the newspaper *La Réforme*. Engels reported in detail to Marx on his negotiations with the editors Ferdinand Flocon and Louis Blanc in his letters of 25-26 October, 14-15 November 1847, and 14 and 21 January 1848. While commenting most critically on the reformist tendencies in the works of Louis Blanc and the arrogant attitude of 'this little literary lord', Engels considered it imperative to subject his views to public criticism (pp. 155-57).

An international Democratic Association was founded in Brussels in the autumn of 1847 with the active participation of Marx and Engels. Together with several other members of the Communist League they played a leading role in it (see Engels' letter to Marx, 28-30 September, and Marx's letter to Georg Herwegh, 26 October 1847). Marx and Engels maintained regular contact with the leaders of the Left wing of the Chartists, George Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, as well as with the Fraternal Democrats, the international democratic society founded in London (see Engels' letter to Marx dated 14-15 November 1847, and others).

For the wide dissemination of communist ideas the League needed its own newspaper, a point which was repeatedly raised in their letters (pp. 80, 91-92, 120, etc.). In 1846-47 Marx made several attempts to start a theoretical journal as a joint-stock company. In a recently discovered letter to Werner von Veltheim dated 29 September 1847, he said that one of the main tasks of the proposed journal was regularly to criticise the 'political, religious and social parties and aspirations' from materialist positions, consequently that 'political economy would play a leading role' (p. 131) in such a journal. The project, however, did not materialise.

Marx and Engels also wanted to use the emigrant newspaper, the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, for communist propaganda (see Marx's letter to Herwegh of 8 August 1847, and others), and by assuming control of the editorial affairs they did succeed in turning the paper into an unofficial organ of the Communist League, a herald of the programme and tactical principles of scientific communism.

Of great interest are Engels' letters written at the end of 1847 dealing with his work on the draft programme of the Communist League which was to be confirmed by its second congress. On

23-24 November he wrote to Marx that he was not satisfied with the form of a catechism, or a confession of faith, traditional for many workers' organisations at the time, in which the document was originally written, and proposed calling it a Communist Manifesto (p. 149). Lenin said that this letter, giving in general outline the plan of the future programme document, 'clearly proves that Marx and Engels are justly named side by side as the founders of modern socialism' (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 558).

Written as a programme of the Communist League, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, in which the principles of the Marxist revolutionary teaching were systematised for the first time, crowned the theoretical and practical activities of Marx and Engels prior to the revolution of 1848-49. Its publication in February 1848 marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the international workers' movement.

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Those letters written by Marx and Engels in 1848-49 which have come down to us augment our knowledge of them as revolutionary tribunes and journalists, ideologists and leaders of the proletarian wing of the general democratic revolutionary movement, and as the strategists and tacticians of the revolution.

At the outbreak of the revolution, the Belgian authorities, frightened by the reaction to the February events in Paris, ordered Marx to leave the country at once, and then, on the night of 3 March, arrested both him and his wife. They were released only when the twenty-four hours within which they had to leave the country had passed. The Marxes with their three children had to leave Brussels quickly. In his letters to Marx dated 8-9 and 18 March 1848, Engels told him of the indignation aroused by this act of violence among the democratic public of Belgium, of the protests which appeared in the press and the inquiries made in parliament.

This was not the first time that official authorities had so rudely interfered in Marx's life. Having chosen the road of political struggle, both he and Engels had already suffered the persecutions of reactionary governments, the arbitrariness of censors, and the stratagems of police agents and spies. On the insistence of the Prussian Embassy, the Guizot Government had deported Marx from Paris in February 1845, compelling him to seek asylum in Belgium. 'But I fear that in the end you'll be molested in Belgium too,' Engels wrote him (p. 22), and, true enough, his fears were confirmed three

years later by the actions of the Belgian police. Engels himself, living in Paris in 1846-47 where he was engaged in revolutionary propaganda work among the German workers, also expected to be arrested and deported at any time, as we see from his letters, and this indeed occurred at the end of January 1848. There were more persecutions in store for the two friends: summons to the public prosecutor's office, court proceedings, threats of arrest, deportations, and so forth.

The developing events were keenly watched by Marx in Paris, where he arrived on 4 March 1848, and by Engels in Brussels. It was obvious to them that the revolution which had already begun would acutely aggravate the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Marx wrote to Engels from Paris on 16 March 1848: 'The bourgeoisie here are again becoming atrociously uppish and reactionary, *mais elle verra* [but they'll see]' (p. 162). And Engels, after moving to Paris, wrote to Emil Blank on 28 March 1848 that here 'the big bourgeoisie and the workers are in direct confrontation with each other' (p. 167).

As they observed the beginning of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany and planned how the proletarian revolutionaries were to act in it, they resolutely opposed any attempts to speed up events artificially or to export revolution to Germany. In this connection they strongly criticised Georg Herwegh and Adalbert von Bornstedt for their adventurist scheme of having an armed corps made up of German emigrants invade the territory of Germany and proclaim a republic there, in preference to the plan of having the progressive German workers—mainly those who belonged to the Communist League—return home singly in order to take part in the revolutionary battles. The uncompromising attitude taken by Marx and Engels to the plans of the petty-bourgeois democrats is clearly expressed in Marx's letter to Engels of 16 March and Engels' letter to Marx of 18 March 1848, and elsewhere (pp. 162, 165, 166).

The letters they exchanged upon their return to Germany in April 1848 deal with the situation there, the alignment of class forces, and the state of the local organisations of the Communist League. The revolution had stirred up the political activity of the German workers, but the spontaneous and immature character of their movement was in evidence everywhere. The policy of compromise adopted by the liberal bourgeoisie and the waverings of the petty-bourgeois democrats served the purpose of the feudal-monarchist counter-revolution which, having recovered from the defeats it had suffered, was

re-emerging more and more openly. Defining the position of the liberal leaders of Prussia's bourgeoisie who stood at the head of the government, Engels wrote at the end of May 1848: 'In Berlin Camphausen is taking it easy, while reaction, the rule of officials and aristocrats grows daily more insolent, irritates the people, the people revolt and Camphausen's spinelessness and cowardice lead us straight towards fresh revolutions. That is Germany as it now is!' (p. 176).

In this situation, Marx and Engels clearly saw that their main and immediate task was to direct the actions of the German working class into the mainstream of the general democratic movement, guarding it at the same time against ideological subordination to the petty-bourgeois democrats, and fighting for its pursuance of a consistent revolutionary course. The organ of the Left proletarian wing of the democrats became the daily *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published in Cologne by Marx, Engels and their comrades from the Communist League.

The few surviving letters of that period reflect the enormous work done by Marx and Engels to secure the publication of the paper, to organise the network of correspondents, and ensure its circulation. The editors had their share of cares and troubles: there was the bourgeois shareholders' disapproval of the paper's revolutionary policy, the obstacles put in its way by the Prussian authorities, and money difficulties. In order to keep the paper going, Marx used up his private means, telling Engels in a letter he wrote in November 1848: 'But whatever the circumstances, this *fort* had to be held and the political position not surrendered' (p. 179).

Marx's letters to Engels written in October-November 1848 when the latter, threatened with arrest, was compelled to emigrate temporarily to Switzerland, his letter to Eduard von Müller-Telling of 5 December, and to Wilhelm Stieber written on or about 29 December 1848, show the grim conditions of police hounding and legal prosecutions in which he and his collaborators had to defend their 'fort'. The paper, however, did not once go back on its principles. It waged a consistent struggle against the advancing counter-revolution, rallied the proletarian circles and all the democratic forces of the country, and determined the tactics of the proletarian revolutionaries in the changing situation. The staunchness and militant spirit of the paper made it widely popular in Germany and in other countries (see Marx's letter to Engels of 29 November 1848, also Engels' letter to Marx of 7-8 January 1849, and others).

Engels' letters to Marx from Berne dated 28 December 1848

and 7-8 January 1849, during his enforced stay in Switzerland, are full of energy, fighting spirit, loyalty to his friends and a wonderful sense of humour.

At the beginning of May 1849, the rearguard battles of the German revolution were fought in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, Baden and the Palatinate. After the defeat of the insurrections in the Rhine Province, the Prussian authorities did what they had long been preparing to do: they deported Marx from Prussia and took action against the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Its farewell issue, printed in red ink, came out on 19 May. After a brief stay in South-Western Germany, Marx left for Paris in anticipation of new revolutionary events in France. From his letter to Engels dated 7 June 1849, it is evident that he was trying to establish contact with the French revolutionary circles (p. 199). Engels, who was in Kaiserslautern at the time, joined Willich's volunteer corps, which formed a part of the Palatinate-Baden insurgent army. From the correspondence of Marx and Engels in July and August 1849, and also from Engels' letters to Jenny Marx, Joseph Weydemeyer and Jakob Schabelitz, it can be seen what an active part Engels took in the fighting against the advancing Prussian and other counter-revolutionary troops. He wrote to Jenny Marx on 25 July 1849: 'I was in four engagements, two of them fairly important, particularly the one at Rastatt' (p. 203).

From the first it was obvious to both Marx and Engels that the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Baden-Palatinate movement were not capable of directing the revolutionary struggle, and it was therefore doomed to failure. But, being in the thick of events, Engels 'had the opportunity of seeing a great deal and learning a great deal', and was later able to expose the 'illusions of the run-of-the-mill, vociferous republicans' and the 'despondency lurking beneath the bravado of the leaders' (p. 215). With Willich's detachment, which covered the retreat of the insurgent army, Engels crossed the German-Swiss border and settled temporarily in Switzerland, for if he returned home he was liable to be shot for taking part in the insurrection. In a letter at the end of July 1849 Marx advised him 'to write a history of or a pamphlet on the Baden-Palatinate revolution' (p. 207), a suggestion which coincided with Engels' own intention to publish his 'reminiscences of the farcical Palatinate-Baden revolution' (p. 215). He made his intention good in 1850 by publishing a series of essays under the general title *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (present edition, Vol. 10).

After the unsuccessful action of the democratic Montagne party on 13 July 1849, the French authorities subjected the proletariat

and democratic activists, including foreigners, to even harsher persecution. A new threat hung over Marx. In July, the commissioner of police signed the order for his deportation to Morbihan, a swampy and unhealthy place in Brittany, and the order was carried out on 23 August. Qualifying this act as a 'veiled attempt' on his life, Marx decided to leave France altogether. On 26 August 1849 he arrived in London—a new and, as it turned out, the last place of his exile. After spending a few months in Switzerland, Engels also came to England at the end of 1849. A new phase in their life and work began for both of them.

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Their letters (autumn 1849 till the end of 1851), forming a considerable part of this volume, cover the period which came after the ebbing of the revolutionary tide. By that time, reaction had already triumphed or else reactionary regimes were about to be established in countries recently swept by the revolution. During this period, Marx and Engels set themselves the task of theoretically generalising the experience of the 1848-49 revolution, of further developing the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, and of preserving and training the cadres of the proletarian revolution.

Already at the end of July 1849 Marx wrote to Engels that he 'embarked on negotiations with a view to starting a politico-economic (monthly) periodical in Berlin which would have to be largely written by us two' (p. 207). From the letters that followed we can see how hard he tried to realise his project and how great an importance he attributed to this journal which would allow them successfully to continue with their theoretical and propaganda work, help them to rally the members of the Communist League whom the defeat of the revolution had scattered, and enable them to reorganise and revive the League's activity. This journal which Marx and Engels finally succeeded in starting was the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, appearing from January to November 1850. In its columns were published important works of Marxism like Marx's *The Class Struggles in France*, and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *The Peasant War in Germany*, as well as a series of jointly written international reviews, articles dealing with various questions of theory and tactics of the revolutionary party in the new conditions, and criticisms of anti-proletarian ideological trends (see Vol. 10 of this edition).

The increasing police arbitrariness in Germany, where the journal was printed (in Hamburg) and mainly circulated, and an acute

letters, Marx and Engels showed that factionalism and sectarianism inevitably led to a decline into an anti-proletarian position and an ideological subordination to the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie (see Marx's letter to Hermann Becker of 28 February 1851, and others).

What worried Marx and Engels especially was the fact that the adventurist actions of the Willich-Schapper faction and of the other emigrant groups made it all the easier for the police to stage all sorts of provocations, incite rumours of imaginary 'communist conspiracies', and under this pretext to prosecute people prominent in the workers' movement (see Marx's letter to Engels of 28 May 1851). The arrests of members of the Communist League which began in Germany in May 1851, and the intention of the German authorities to stage a public anti-communist trial, compelled Marx and Engels to make a statement in the press in defence of the detainees (see Marx's letter to Engels of 1 December 1851).

The relations between the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Marx and Engels on the one hand, and the representatives of various emigrant trends of the petty-bourgeois democrats operating in England and the USA on the other, were all the more strained the more evident it became to Marx and Engels that the clamorous campaigns for setting up all kinds of 'revolutionary committees' and provisional governments, for 'revolutionary loans' and so forth, would do more harm than good to the democratic and especially the workers' movement. The rhetorical and ostentatiously revolutionary campaigning of the petty-bourgeois emigrants distracted the workers from their own problems and misled some of them into following the petty-bourgeois leadership. What is more, insinuations and slander against the proletarian revolutionaries were spread from these emigrant circles. There is good reason, therefore, why in their 1851 correspondence Marx and Engels always spoke with such harsh criticism of the empty phrase-mongering, petty intrigues and squabbles indulged in by the leaders of the different German emigrant groups—Arnold Ruge, Gottfried Kinkel, Karl Heinzen, Gustav Struve, and others.

In his two letters (August and December 1851) to the Frankfurt journalist Hermann Ebner, Marx draws strikingly satirical portraits of the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois emigrant groups (pp. 426-33, 499-503). Later, he used these character sketches when, with Engels, he wrote *The Great Men of the Exile* in 1852 (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 258, 281-84, 290-93, etc.).

Marx and Engels strongly criticised all manifestations of class

and nationalistic narrow-mindedness, an erroneous understanding of revolutionary tasks, and also the miscalculations and mistakes of the emigrant circles, among them the French, the Hungarian and the Italian. Thus, in his letters to Weydemeyer of 11 September and to Engels of 13 September 1851, Marx criticised Mazzini, the Italian bourgeois democrat, for ignoring the interests of the exploited Italian peasantry in his plans for the national unification of Italy and its liberation from Austrian domination, and for failing to see in the peasantry one of the principal motive forces of the national liberation movement. Marx emphasised that only the participation of all the working people in this movement could give it real scope and strength, and guarantee its victory. In the above-mentioned letter to Weydemeyer, Marx said that 'the first step towards gaining Italy's independence was the complete emancipation of the peasants and the transformation of their *métayage* system into bourgeois freeholdings' (p. 455).

Marx and Engels tried to make the best use of the lull that followed the revolution for enriching their revolutionary teaching, and they urged their closest associates and pupils to concentrate on theoretical knowledge. In this period Marx devoted himself mainly to political economy and again pondered on the plan he had conceived in the 1840s of writing a major work on economics. As he worked on this plan it took on a more and more concrete shape and acquired depth and scope; with great meticulousness Marx selected and prepared the necessary material for a critical review of his predecessors' and contemporary scholars' concepts in the field of political economy. In his letter to Engels of 7 January 1851, he criticised for the first time Ricardo's theory of land rent, voiced certain theses of his own theory of rent, and on 3 February set forth his ideas on the theory of money circulation (pp. 258-63, 273-78).

Taking an all-embracing approach to the examination of economic problems, Marx began to study a number of other sciences, among them, technology and agricultural chemistry, the history of economics, and the economies of different countries, particularly of England, then the classical country of capitalism. Both he and Engels concluded from their analysis of the current economic situation that the post-revolutionary industrial upswing was a temporary phenomena, and that a new economic crisis was inevitable (see Engels' letters to Marx of 1 and 23 September and 15 October 1851, and Marx's letter to Engels of 13 October 1851).

It was Marx's intention, arising from his economic studies, to publish a criticism of Proudhon's new book *Idee générale de la*

Révolution au XIX^e siècle, and he gave Engels his opinion of it in his letters of 8 and 14 August 1851, assessing it as a work aimed directly against the revolutionary proletarian world outlook. He said that the book as a whole was in the first place 'a polemic against communism' (p. 423), and asked Engels to write him his opinion of it. Marx thought highly of the thorough critical analysis (published in Vol. 11 of the present edition) which Engels sent him about two months later, and wrote to his friend on 24 November 1851: 'I have been through your critique again here. It's a pity *qu'il n'y a pas moyen* [that there's no means] of getting it printed. If my own twaddle were added to it, we could bring it out under both our names...' (p. 492).

At this time, Engels had undertaken a study of the military sciences, realising that in the coming class battles the military aspect was bound to play a major role. On 19 June 1851 he wrote to Weydemeyer: 'Since arriving in Manchester I have been swotting up military affairs... I was prompted to do this by the immense importance which must attach to the *partie militaire* [military aspect] in the next movement, combined with a long-standing inclination on my part, my articles on the Hungarian campaign in the days of the newspaper and finally my glorious exploits in Baden...' (p. 370).

Marx encouraged his friend's studies in every way, and supplied him with materials and information. In his letter of 23 September 1851, for instance, he gave a detailed rendering of the article 'Umriss des kommenden Krieges' by Gustav Techow, a petty-bourgeois democrat, which had been published in the American press. Analysing in his reply the probable relation of armed revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in Europe in the event of new revolutionary developments, Engels came up with an important idea about the specific formation of revolutionary armies and their behaviour in battle (pp. 469-71).

Engels' work on his *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (included in Vol. 11) can be followed from his correspondence with Marx during this period, providing another example of their creative cooperation. At the beginning of August 1851 Marx received an offer from the editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, Charles Dana, to become a correspondent of that paper, but as he was fully occupied with political economy at the time, he asked Engels to write a series of articles about the German revolution of 1848-49 (p. 425). His friend agreed at once, and had three articles ready before the end of the year (the rest were written in 1852). In the course of this work Engels kept in constant touch

with Marx who also read the articles before mailing them to the USA.

In his turn, Marx unquestionably conceived the idea for *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* as a result of Engels' letter of 3 December 1851. In it Engels gave his opinion of the Bonapartist coup d'état of 2 December 1851, calling it a sorry parody of the coup d'état of 9 November 1799 (the 18th Brumaire according to the republican calendar) accomplished by Napoleon Bonaparte; he compared the Second Republic and its leaders to France during the French Revolution and the leaders of the Jacobins, remembering what Hegel said about the recurrence of historical phenomena. The comparisons made by Engels were so apt that Marx decided to use them in his book (see this volume, p. 505, and present edition, Vol. 11, p. 103).

The materials of this volume show how much their friendship meant to both of them in their theoretical work, party struggle, and private life. It helped Marx to bear up under the incredible hardships which confronted him in London, where he found himself without anything like a regular income and at times with no means of subsistence at all. These constant money worries undermined his health, took up all his strength and much of his time, and distracted him from his important theoretical work. The difficult conditions in which the family had to live are eloquently described in his wife's letters to Joseph Weydemeyer of 20 May and 20 June 1850 (pp. 555-60). It was then, at this most critical moment for Marx, that Engels, proving a true friend capable of self-sacrifice, went back to work in the firm of Ermen & Engels, his money orders from Manchester more than once rescuing the Marx family from catastrophe.

Marx's and Engels' letters to Joseph Weydemeyer, Wilhelm Wolff, Roland Daniels, Ernst Dronke, Adolph Cluss and other members of the Communist League, participants in the revolutionary struggle, show how much both treasured their ties of friendship and mutual assistance, and how concerned they were to further the theoretical and political education of their comrades.

Of great historical interest are the letters written by Marx to Heinrich Heine, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Georg Herwegh (until his break with the latter because of his adventurist schemes at the beginning of 1848). These letters speak of the friendly relations which the founders of Marxism had with outstanding German authors, and of the prestige they enjoyed in the circles of progressive German writers.

* * *

This is the first full publication in English of Marx's and Engels' letters. It includes not only letters previously published in editions brought out in Russian, German, and other languages, but also those discovered after the corresponding volumes of these editions had appeared. The letters are printed in chronological order. The form of existing editions has been followed: the date and place of writing are given at the beginning of the letter, irrespective of how they were in the original; when missing in the original, they are given in square editorial brackets. Obvious slips in the text are corrected without comment. The authors' contractions of personal names, geographical names and single words are given in full, except in cases where the contractions were made for the sake of conspiracy or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the manuscripts, where the text is missing or illegible, are indicated by three dots put in square brackets. If the context allows a presumable reconstruction to be made of the missing or illegible words, these words are also in square brackets. Anything crossed out by the authors is reproduced in the footnotes only where the disparity in meaning is considerable. If a letter is a rough copy, a postscript to someone else's letter, or an extract quoted in another document, this is marked either in the text itself or in the Notes.

Foreign words and expressions in the letters are given in italics. If they were underlined by the authors they are given in spaced italics. Words written in English in the original are given in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

Information about undiscovered letters mentioned in the text will be found in the Notes. If a fact or event is referred to in several letters, the same note number is used every time.

Volume 38 contains 239 letters written by Marx and Engels. Of these, 172 are given in English translation for the first time; 67 letters have been published in English before, 37 of them only partially. The earlier English publications are mentioned in the Notes. Of the 17 documents included in the Appendices, only two have been published in English before—George Julian Harney's letter to Engels of 30 March 1846 and Jenny Marx's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 17 March 1848.

The results of the scientific work done when preparing for print the first volumes of Section III of Marx/Engels *Gesamtausgabe* (MEGA₂), a new complete edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels in the original languages, containing their correspondence during

the given years, were used in the work on the text and reference material of this volume. The dates of some of the letters were ascertained on the basis of the materials contained in these volumes and also the results of additional research.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the preface and notes written by Vladimir Sazonov and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Valentina Pekina, the index of quoted and mentioned literature by Yuri Vasin, and the subject index by Marlen Arzumanov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Peter and Betty Ross and edited by E. J. Hobsbawm, Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon, Natalia Karmanova and Margarita Lopukhina (Progress Publishers), and Larisa Miskievich, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Margarita Lopukhina, Mzia Pitskhelauri and Anna Vladimirova.

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

October 1844-December 1851

1844

I

ENGELS TO MARX¹

IN PARIS

[Barmen, beginning of October 1844]

Dear Marx,

No doubt you are surprised, and justifiably so, not to have heard from me sooner; however I still cannot tell you even now anything about my return. I've been stuck here in Barmen for the past three weeks, amusing myself as best I can with few friends and many relations amongst whom, fortunately, there are half a dozen amiable women. Work is out of the question here, more especially since my sister^a has become engaged to the London communist, Emil Blank, an acquaintance of Ewerbeck's and, of course, the house is now in a hellish state of turmoil. Moreover, it's clear to me that considerable obstacles will continue to be placed in the way of my return to Paris, and that I may well have to spend six months or a whole year hanging about in Germany; I shall, of course, do everything I can to avoid this, but you have no idea what petty considerations and superstitious fears I have to contend with.

I spent three days in Cologne and marvelled at the tremendous propaganda we had put out there. Our people are very active, but the lack of adequate backing is greatly felt. Failing a few publications in which the principles are logically and historically developed out of past ways of thinking and past history, and as their necessary continuation, the whole thing will remain rather hazy and most people will be groping in the dark. Later I was in Düsseldorf, where we also have some able fellows. The ones I like best, by the way, are my Elberfelders, in whom a humane way of

^a Marie

thinking has truly become second nature; these fellows have really begun to revolutionise their family lives and lecture their elders whenever these try to come the aristocrat over the servants or workmen—and that's saying a great deal in patriarchal Elberfeld. But besides this particular group there's another in Elberfeld which is also very good, though somewhat more muddled. In Barmen the police inspector is a communist. The day before yesterday I was called on by a former schoolfellow, a grammar school teacher,^a who's been thoroughly bitten although he's had no contact whatever with communists. If we could bring direct influence to bear on the people, we'd soon get the upper hand, but such a thing is virtually impossible, especially since we writers have to keep quiet if we're not to be nabbed. Otherwise it's safe enough here, no one bothers much about us so long as we keep quiet, and it seems to me that Hess' fears are little more than phantoms. I've not been molested at all here so far, although the public prosecutor once insistently questioned one of our people about me, but up till now I haven't had wind of anything else.

According to the paper here, Bernays has been charged by the government here and taken to court in Paris.² Let me know whether this is true, and also how the pamphlet^b is getting on; presumably it's finished by now. Nothing has been heard of the Bauers here, nobody knows anything about them. On the other hand, every one is still scrambling to get hold of the *Jahrbücher*.^c My article on Carlyle^d has, absurdly enough, earned me a tremendous reputation among the 'mass', whereas only very few have read the one on Economy.^e That's natural enough.

In Elberfeld, too, the clerical gentry have been preaching against us, at least Krummacher has; for the present they confine themselves to the atheism of the young, but I hope this will soon be followed by a philippic against communism. Last summer the whole of Elberfeld talked of nothing but these godless fellows. By and large, the movement here is remarkable. Since I was here last,³ the Wupper valley has made greater progress in every respect than in the preceding fifty years. Social manners have become more civilised, participation in politics, in the opposition is widespread, industry has made enormous progress,

^a Gustav Wurm - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism*. - ^c *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* - ^d F. Engels, 'The Condition of England. Past and Present by Thomas Carlyle'. - ^e F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'.

new districts have been added to the towns, entire woods have been grubbed up, and the level of civilisation throughout the region is indeed above rather than below that in Germany as a whole, whereas only four years ago it was far lower. In other words this promises to be first-rate soil for our principle, and if only we can get our wild, hot-blooded dyers and bleachers on the move, the Wupper valley will surprise you yet. As it is, the workers had already reached the final stage of the old civilisation a few years ago, and the rapid increase in crime, robbery and murder is their way of protesting against the old social organisation. At night the streets are very unsafe, the bourgeoisie is beaten, stabbed and robbed; and, if the proletarians here develop according to the same laws as in England, they will soon realise that this way of protesting as *individuals* and with violence against the social order is useless, and they will protest, through communism, in their general capacity as *human beings*. If only one could show these fellows the way! But that's impossible.

My brother^a is at present a soldier in Cologne and, so long as he remains above suspicion, will provide a good address to which letters for Hess, etc., may be sent. At the moment I myself am not sure of his exact address and cannot therefore let you have it.

Since writing the above I have been in Elberfeld, where I once again came across several communists I had never heard of before. Turn where you will, go where you may, you'll stumble on a communist. A very impassioned communist, a cartoonist and aspiring historical painter by the name of Seel will be going to Paris in two months' time. I'll direct him to you; the fellow's enthusiasm and his painting and love of music will appeal to you, and he may very well come in useful as a cartoonist. It's possible, but not very probable, that I may be there myself by then.

A few copies of *Vorwärts*⁴ arrive here and I have seen to it that others place orders as well; ask the dispatch department to send specimen copies to the following in Elberfeld: Richard Roth, Captain Wilhelm Blank *junior*, F. W. Strücker, Meyer, a Bavarian publican in the Funkenstrasse (a communist beerhouse), all to be sent through Bädeker, the communist bookseller, and under sealed cover. Once the fellows see that copies are coming in, they, too, will place orders. Also to W. Müller, M.D., in

^a Hermann

Düsseldorf; and, if you like, to d'Ester, M.D., Löllchen,^a the publican, your brother-in-law,^b etc., in Cologne. All of them, of course, through the booksellers and under sealed cover.

See to it that the material you've collected is soon launched into the world.⁵ It's high time, heaven knows! I too shall settle down to work and make a start this very day. The Teutons are all still very muddled about the practicability of communism; to dispose of this absurdity I intend to write a short pamphlet showing that communism has already been put into practice and describing in popular terms how this is at present being done in England and America.^c The thing will take me three days or so, and should prove very enlightening for these fellows. I've already observed this when talking to people here.

Down to work, then, and quickly into print! Convey my greetings to Ewerbeck, Bakunin, Guerrier and the rest, not forgetting your wife, and write very soon to tell me all the news. If this letter reaches you safely and unopened, send your reply under sealed cover to F. W. Strücker and Co., Elberfeld, with the address written in as commercial a hand as possible; otherwise, to any of the other addresses I gave Ewerbeck. I shall be curious to know whether the postal sleuth-hounds are deceived by the ladylike appearance of this letter.

Goodbye for the present, dear Karl, and write very soon. I have not been able to recapture the mood of cheerfulness and goodwill I experienced during the ten days I spent with you. I have not as yet had any real opportunity of doing anything about the establishment we are to establish.^d

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1929

Printed according to the original

^a J. A. Löllgen - ^b Edgar von Westphalen - ^c F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence' was published in the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845* and not in pamphlet form. - ^d This seems to refer to some literary plan.

2

MARX TO JULIUS CAMPE

IN HAMBURG

Paris, 7 October 1844
rue Vanneau 38

Messrs Hoffmann and Campe, Booksellers, in Hamburg
Julius Campe, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Engels and I have written a pamphlet of some ten sheets against Bruno Bauer and his supporters.^a

It deals with themes from philosophy, history and idealism, contains a critique of the *Mystères de Paris*,^b etc., and will not be without interest for Germany. Nor, by and large, will it be objectionable to the censors.

Should you wish to undertake its publication, I would request you to reply forthwith, since the pamphlet cannot but lose in interest if printing is delayed.⁶ If Heine is still in Hamburg, would you be so kind as to convey to him my best thanks for the poems he sent. I have not yet advertised them, as I wish to advertise the first part, the ballads, at the same time.⁷

Yours faithfully

Dr Marx

First published in part in *Das Goldene Tor*, Jg. 2, H. 11/12, 1947, S. 1073 and in full in *Hundertundzehn Jahre Verlag Rütten und Loening. Berlin 1844 bis 1954*, [Berlin, 1954,] S. 28

Printed according to the *Hundertundzehn Jahre Verlag Rütten und Loening* text

Published in English for the first time

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*. - ^b Novel by Eugène Sue

3

MARX TO HEINRICH BÖRNSTEIN

IN PARIS

[Paris, not later than November 1844]

Dear Sir,

Return the Feuerbach sheets^a to me as soon as you have printed them.⁸

Yours faithfully
Marx

First published as a facsimile in the book:
石浜 知行：闘争の跡を訪ねて [Ishihama
Tomoyuki, *In the Trace of Battles*], Tokyo,
1926

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

4

MARX TO HEINRICH BÖRNSTEIN

IN PARIS

[Paris, autumn 1844]

Dear Sir,

You would greatly oblige me if you would ascertain by Tuesday at the latest whether or not Frank is willing to undertake *publication* of the pamphlet against Bauer.^b

It is of complete *indifference* to me which way he decides. I can find a foreign publisher any day. Only, in the case of this particular pamphlet, in which *every* word counts, it would be pleasant to have it printed under my own supervision and to be able to correct it personally.

At any rate I beg you to reply speedily.

Ready to reciprocate,

Yours faithfully
Dr Marx

^a L. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Glaubens im Sinne Luther's*. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*.

P.S. Since the pamphlet is directed *against Bauer* and on the whole contains little to which the censor could object, I should hardly suppose that distribution in Germany would present any great difficulty.

First published in *Der Kampf*, Jg. XXI,
H. 10, Wien, 1928

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

5

ENGELS TO MARX⁹

IN PARIS

No. 2

Barmen, 19 November 1844

Dear M.,

About a fortnight ago I received a few lines from you and Bürgers dated 8 October and postmarked Brussels, 27 October.¹⁰ At about the same time you wrote your note, I sent off a letter to you, addressed to your wife,^a and trust that you received it. In order to make sure in future that our letters are not tampered with, I suggest we number them; thus my present one is No. 2 and, when you write, let me know up to what number you have received and whether one is missing from the series.

A couple of days ago I was in Cologne and Bonn. All goes well in Cologne. Grün will have told you about our people's activities. Hess is thinking of joining you in Paris, too, in a fortnight or three weeks' time, provided he can get hold of sufficient money. You now have Bürgers there as well, and hence enough for a council. You will have all the less need of me and there is all the more need for me here. Obviously I can't come now since it would mean falling out with my entire family. Besides, I have a love affair to clear up first. And after all, one of us ought to be here because all our people need prodding if they are to maintain a sufficient degree of activity and not fall into all manner of shuffling and shifting. Jung, for instance, as well as many others,

^a See this volume, pp. 3-6.

cannot be convinced that the difference between us and Ruge is one of principle,¹¹ and still persists in believing that it is merely a personal squabble. When told that Ruge is no communist, they don't quite believe it and assert that in any case it would be a pity if such a 'literary authority' as Ruge were to be thoughtlessly discarded. What is one to say to that? One must wait until Ruge once again delivers himself of some monumental stupidity, so that the fact can be demonstrated *ad oculos*^a to these people. I don't know, but there's something not quite right about Jung; the fellow hasn't enough determination.

We are at present holding public meetings all over the place to set up societies for the advancement of the workers¹²; this causes a fine stir among the Teutons and draws the philistines' attention to social problems. These meetings are arranged on the spur of the moment and without asking the police. We have seen to it that half the rules-drafting committee in Cologne consists of our own people; in Elberfeld, at least one of them was on it and, with the help of the rationalists,¹³ we succeeded at two meetings in thoroughly trouncing the pious; by a huge majority, everything Christian was banned from the rules.¹⁴ It amused me to see what a ridiculous figure these rationalists cut with their theoretical Christianity and practical atheism. In principle they entirely agreed with the Christian opposition, although in practice, Christianity, which according to their own assertions forms the basis of the society, must nowhere be mentioned in the rules. The rules were to cover everything save the vital principle of the society! So rigidly did the fellows cling to this absurd position that, even without my putting in a single word, we acquired a set of rules which, as things are now, leaves nothing to be desired. There is to be another meeting next Sunday, but I shan't be able to attend because I am leaving for Westphalia tomorrow.

I am up to my eyebrows in English newspapers and books upon which I am drawing for my book on the condition of the English proletarians.^b I expect to finish it by the middle or the end of January, having got through the arrangement of the material, the most arduous part of the work, about a week or a fortnight ago. I shall be presenting the English with a fine bill of indictment; I accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and other crimes on a massive scale, and I am writing an English preface^c which I shall have printed separately and sent to

^a visibly - ^b F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^c F. Engels, 'To the Working-Classes of Great Britain'.

English party leaders, men of letters and members of Parliament. That'll give those fellows something to remember me by. It need hardly be said that my blows, though aimed at the panniers, are meant for the donkey, namely the German bourgeoisie, to whom I make it plain enough that they are as bad as their English counterparts, except that their sweat-shop methods are not as bold, thorough and ingenious. As soon as I've finished this, I shall make a start on the history of the social development of the English,¹⁵ which will be still less laborious, since I already have the material for it and have sorted it out in my head, and also because I'm perfectly clear about the matter. Meanwhile I shall probably write a few pamphlets, notably against *List*,¹⁶ as soon as I have the time.

You will have heard of Stirner's book, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*,^a if it hasn't reached you yet. Wigand sent me the specimen sheets, which I took with me to Cologne and left with Hess. The noble Stirner—you'll recall Schmidt of Berlin, who wrote about the *Mystères* in Buhl's magazine^b—takes for his principle Bentham's egoism, except that in one respect it is carried through more logically and in the other less so. More logically in the sense that Stirner as an atheist sets the ego above God, or rather depicts him as the be-all and end-all, whereas Bentham still allows God to remain remote and nebulous above him; that Stirner, in short, is riding on German idealism, an idealist who has turned to materialism and empiricism, whereas Bentham is simply an empiricist. Stirner is less logical in the sense that he would like to avoid the reconstruction effected by Bentham of a society reduced to atoms, but cannot do so. This egoism is simply the essence of present society and present man brought to consciousness, the ultimate that can be said against us by present society, the culmination of all the theory intrinsic to the prevailing stupidity. But that's precisely what makes the thing important, more important than Hess, for one, holds it to be. We must not simply cast it aside, but rather use it as the perfect expression of present-day folly and, *while inverting it*, continue to build on it. This egoism is taken to such a pitch, it is so absurd and at the same time so self-aware, that it cannot maintain itself even for an instant in its one-sidedness, but must immediately change into communism. In the first place it's a simple matter to prove to

^a The book came out at the end of October 1844, though imprinted as 1845. - ^b Review of *Les Mystères de Paris* by Eugène Sue published in *Berliner Monatsschrift*.

Stirner that his egoistic man is bound to become communist out of sheer egoism. That's the way to answer the fellow. In the second place he must be told that in its egoism the human heart is of itself, from the very outset, unselfish and self-sacrificing, so that he finally ends up with what he is combating. These few platitudes will suffice to refute the *one-sidedness*. But we must also adopt such truth as there is in the principle. And it is certainly true that we must first make a cause our own, egoistic cause, before we can do anything to further it—and hence that in this sense, irrespective of any eventual material aspirations, we are communists out of egoism also, and it is out of egoism that we wish to be *human beings*, not mere individuals. Or to put it another way: Stirner is right in rejecting Feuerbach's 'man', or at least the 'man' of *Das Wesen des Christentums*.^a Feuerbach deduces his 'man' from God, it is from God that he arrives at 'man', and hence 'man' is crowned with a theological halo of abstraction. The true way to arrive at 'man' is the other way about. We must take our departure from the Ego, the empirical, flesh-and-blood individual, if we are not, like Stirner, to remain stuck at this point but rather proceed to raise ourselves to 'man'. 'Man' will always remain a wraith so long as his basis is not empirical man. In short we must take our departure from empiricism and materialism if our concepts, and notably our 'man', are to be something real; we must deduce the general from the particular, not from itself or, *à la* Hegel, from thin air. All these are platitudes needing no explanation; they have already been spelled out by Feuerbach and I wouldn't have reiterated them had not Hess—presumably because of his earlier idealistic leanings—so dreadfully traduced empiricism, more especially Feuerbach and now Stirner. Much of what Hess says about Feuerbach is right; on the other hand he still seems to suffer from a number of idealistic aberrations—whenever he begins to talk about theoretical matters he always proceeds by categories and therefore cannot write in a popular fashion because he is much too abstract. Hence he also hates any and every kind of egoism, and preaches the love of humanity, etc., which again boils down to Christian self-sacrifice. If, however, the flesh-and-blood individual is the true basis, the true point of departure, for our 'man', it follows that egoism—not of course Stirner's intellectual egoism *alone*, but also the *egoism of the heart*—is the point of departure for our love of humanity, which otherwise is left hanging in the air. Since Hess will soon be with

^a *The Essence of Christianity*

you, you'll be able to discuss this with him yourself. Incidentally, I find all this theoretical twaddle daily more tedious and am irritated by every word that has to be expended on the subject of 'man', by every line that has to be read or written against theology and abstraction no less than against crude materialism. But it's quite another matter when, instead of concerning oneself with all these phantasms—for such even unrealised man remains until the moment of his realisation—one turns to real, live things, to historical developments and consequences. That, at least, is the best we can hope for so long as we're confined exclusively to wielding a pen and cannot realise our thoughts directly with our hands or, if need be, with our fists.

But Stirner's book demonstrates yet again how deeply abstraction is rooted in the Berliners' nature. Clearly Stirner is the most talented, independent and hard-working of the 'Free',¹⁷ but for all that he tumbles out of idealistic into materialistic abstraction and ends up in limbo. From all over Germany comes news of the progress made by socialism, but from Berlin not a whisper. When property has been abolished throughout Germany these clever-clever Berliners will set up a *démocratie pacifique*^a on the Hasenheide—but the fellows will certainly get no further. Watch out! A new Messiah will presently arise in the Uckermark, a Messiah who will tailor Fourier to accord with Hegel; erect a phalanstery upon the eternal categories and lay it down as an eternal law of the self-developing idea that capital, talent and labour all have a definite share in the product. This will be the New Testament of Hegelianism, old Hegel will be the Old Testament, the 'state', the law, will be a 'taskmaster over Christ',^b and the phalanstery, in which the privies are located in accordance with logical necessity, will be the 'new Heaven' and the 'new Earth', the new Jerusalem descending from heaven decked out like a bride,^c all of which the reader will be able to find expounded at greater length in the new Revelation. And when all this has been completed, Critical Criticism will supervene, declare that it is all in all, that it combines in its head capital, talent and labour, that everything that is produced is produced by *it*, and not by the powerless masses—and sequestrate everything for itself. That will be the end of Berlin's Hegelian [peace]ful democracy.

If *Critical Criticism*^d is finished, send me a few copies under

^a An ironical allusion to the Fourierist newspaper *La Démocratie pacifique* known for its sectarian and dogmatic leanings. - ^b Cf. Galatians 3:24 - ^c Cf. Revelation 21:1 and 2. - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*.

sealed cover through the booksellers—they might be confiscated. In case you [didn't re]ceive my last letter, I repeat that you can write to me either [...] F. E. *junior, Barmen*, or under sealed cover to F. W. Strücker and Co., Elberfeld. This letter is being sent to you by a roundabout route.

Write soon—it's more than two months since I last heard from you—how goes it with *Vorwärts*? My greetings to all.

Your^a

[Address on envelope]

À Monsieur Charles Marx
Rue Vanneau N 38
Faubg. St. Germain, Paris

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

6

MARX TO HEINRICH BÖRNSTEIN

IN PARIS

[Copy]

[Paris, end of December 1844-
beginning of January 1845]

Dear Sir,

It is impossible for me to let you have the review of Stirner before next week. Therefore deliver the specimen copy without my contribution; Bürgers will let you have an article in its stead.

You shall have my article next week.¹⁸

Yours faithfully

Marx

First published in *Katalog 211 des Antiquariats Leo Liepmanssohn*, Berlin, 1924

Printed according to the *Katalog* text

Published in English for the first time

^a The signature is illegible.

1845

7

MARX TO ARNOLD RUGE
IN PARIS

[Paris, 15 January] 1845

To Dr Ruge

I have learned from a reliable source that the Préfecture de Police are now in possession of orders against you, myself and several others, whereby we are to leave Paris within 24 hours and France within the shortest possible time.¹⁹ Börnstein can give you further details. In case you were not yet aware of this news, I deemed it proper to inform you of it.

K. Marx

First published in *Periodikum für wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus*, No. 3, January, Munich, 1959

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

8

ENGELS TO MARX²⁰
IN PARIS

[Barmen, about 20 January 1845]

Dear Marx,

If I haven't answered your letter before, it's mainly because I was waiting for the *Vorwärts* you promised me. But as the thing has still not arrived, I've given up waiting, either for that or for

the *Critical Criticism*^a of which I have no further news whatever. As regards Stirner, I entirely agree with you. When I wrote to you, I was still too much under the immediate impression made upon me by the book.^b Since I laid it aside and had time to think it over, I feel the same as you. Hess, who is still here and whom I spoke to in Bonn a fortnight ago, has, after several changes of mind, come to the same conclusion as yourself. He read me an article, which he is shortly to publish, about the book^c; in it he says the same as you, although he hadn't read your letter. I left your letter with him,²¹ because he still wished to use some things out of it, and so I have to reply from memory. As regards my removal to Paris, there is no doubt that in some two years' time I shall be there; and I've made up my mind too that at any cost I shall spend 4 to 6 weeks there next autumn. If the police make life difficult for me here, I'll come anyway, and as things are now, it may occur to these scum any day to molest us. Püttmann's *Bürgerbuch*^d will show us just how far one can go without being locked up or thrown out.

My love affair came to a fearful end.^e I'll spare you the boring details, nothing more can be done about it, and I've already been through enough over it as it is. I'm glad that I can at least get down to work again, and if I were to tell you the whole sorry tale, I'd be incapable of anything this evening.

The latest news is that from 1 April Hess and I will be publishing at Thieme & Butz's in Hagen the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, a monthly in which we shall depict social *misère* and the bourgeois regime. Prospectus, etc., shortly.²² In the meantime it would be a good idea if the poetical *Ein Handwerker*²³ would oblige by sending us material on *misère* in *Paris*. Particularly individual cases, exactly what's needed to prepare the philistine for communism. Not much effort will be involved in editing the thing; contributors enough can be found to supply sufficient material for 4 sheets a month—we shan't have much work to do with it, and might exert a lot of influence. Moreover, Leske has commissioned Püttmann to put out a quarterly, the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, bulky enough to evade censorship,²⁴ which is to be communism unalloyed. You too will doubtless be able to have a hand in it. In any case it will do no harm if we have part of our work printed twice—first in a periodical and then on its own and in context; after all, banned

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*. - ^b M. Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*. - ^c M. Hess, *Die letzten Philosophen* (published in pamphlet form in June 1845). - ^d *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845*. - ^e A reference to the German saying (coined in 1809 by Major Ferdinand von Schill).

books circulate less freely and in this way we'll have twice as much chance of exerting an influence. So you see we here in Germany have our work cut out if we're to keep all these undertakings supplied with material and at the same time elaborate greater things—but we shall have to put our backs into it if we're to achieve anything, and that's all to the good when you're itching to do something. My book on the English workers^a will be finished in two or three weeks, after which I shall set aside four weeks for lesser things and then go on to the historical development of England and English socialism.²⁵

What specially pleases me is the general recognition, now a *fait accompli*, which communist literature has found in Germany. A year ago it began to gain recognition, indeed, first saw the light of day, outside Germany, in Paris, and now it's already worrying the German man-in-the-street. Newspapers, weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies, and reserves of heavy artillery coming up—everything's in the best of order. It's certainly happened devilish fast! Nor has the underground propaganda been unfruitful. Every time I visit Cologne, every time I enter a pub here, I find fresh progress, fresh proselytes. The Cologne meeting^b has worked wonders. One gradually discovers individual communist groups which have quietly evolved without any direct cooperation on our part.

The *Gemeinnütziges Wochenblatt* which was formerly published together with the *Rheinische Zeitung*, is now also in our hands. It has been taken over by d'Ester who will see what can be done. But what we need above all just now are a few larger works to provide an adequate handhold for the many who would like to improve their imperfect knowledge, but are unable to do so unassisted. Do try and finish your political economy book^c, even if there's much in it that you yourself are still dissatisfied with, it doesn't really matter; minds are ripe and we must strike while the iron is hot. Presumably my English things cannot fail to have some effect either, the facts are too convincing, but all the same I wish I had less on my hands so that I could do some things which would be more cogent and effective in regard both to the present moment and to the German bourgeoisie. We German theoreticians—it may be ludicrous, but it's a sign of the times and of the dissolution of the German national filth—cannot yet so much as develop our theory, not even having been able as yet to publish the critique of

^a F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^b See this volume, p. 10. - ^c *ibid.*, p. 6.

the nonsense. But now it is high time. So try and finish *before* April, do as I do, set yourself a date by which you will *definitely have finished*, and make sure it gets into print quickly. If you can't get it printed in Paris, have it done in Mannheim, Darmstadt or elsewhere. But it must come out soon.

The fact that you enlarged the *Critical Criticism* to twenty sheets surprised me not a little. But it is all to the good, for it means that much can now be disseminated which would otherwise have lain for heaven knows how long in your *escritoire*. But if you have retained my name on the title page it will look rather odd since I wrote barely 1½ sheets. As I told you, I have as yet heard nothing from Löwenberg,^a nor anything about the publication of the book, which I most eagerly await.

Yesterday I received *Vorwärts*, which I haven't seen since my departure. I was greatly amused by some of Bernays' jokes; the fellow can make one laugh so heartily, which I seldom do when reading. For the rest, it is definitely bad and neither interesting nor instructive enough to induce many Germans to take it for any length of time. How does it stand now, and is it true, as I hear in Cologne, that it is to be turned into a monthly¹⁸? We're so terribly overburdened with work here that you can expect no more than an occasional contribution from us. You over there will also have to bestir yourselves. You should write an article every 4 or 6 weeks for it and not allow yourself to be 'governed' by your moods. Why doesn't Bakunin write anything, and why can't Ewerbeck be induced to write at least something humdrum? Poor Bernays is, I suppose, by now in jug.^b Give him my regards and tell him not to take this dirty business too much to heart. Two months is not an eternity, although it's dreadful enough. What are the lads doing generally? You tell me nothing about it in your letters. Has Guerrier returned, and is Bakunin writing French? What's become of the lot who used to frequent the Quai Voltaire every evening in August? And what are you doing yourself? How goes it with your situation there? Is the *Fouine*^c still living under your feet? Not long ago, the *Fouine* again let fly in the *Telegraph*.^d On the subject of patriotism, needless to say. Splendid how he rides it to death, how he doesn't care a rap, provided he succeeds in demolishing patriotism. Probably that was the substance^e of

^a Löwenberg (lion's mountain) is a pun on Löwenthal (lion's valley), the Frankfurt publisher's name. - ^b See this volume, p. 4. - ^c Marten, Arnold Ruge's nickname. - ^d A. Ruge. 'An einen Patrioten', *Telegraph für Deutschland*, Nos. 203 and 204, December 1844. - ^e The original has 'Des Pudels Kern'—Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, 'Studierzimmer'.

what he refused to give Fröbel. German newspapers recently alleged that the *Fouine* intends to return to Germany. If it's true I congratulate him, but it can't be true, else he'd have to provide himself for the second time with an omnibus with privy, and that's out of the question.

Not long ago I spoke to someone who'd come from Berlin. The dissolution of the *caput mortuum*^a of The Free¹⁷ would appear to be complete. Besides the Bauers, Stirner also seems no longer to have anything to do with them. The few who remain, Meyen, Rutenberg and Co., carry on serenely, foregathering at Stehely's every afternoon at 2 o'clock, as they have done for six years past,²⁶ and amusing themselves at the expense of the newspapers. But now they have actually got as far as the 'organisation of labour',^b and they will get no farther. It would seem that even Mr Nauwerck has ventured to take this step, for he participates with zeal in popular meetings. I told you all these people would become *démocrates pacifiques*.^c At the same time they have much 'acclaimed' the lucidity, etc., of our articles in the *Jahrbücher*.^d When next the devil drives I shall begin corresponding with little Meyen; one can, perhaps, derive some entertainment *from* the fellows even if one doesn't find *them* entertaining. As it is, there's never any opportunity here for an occasional outburst of high spirits, the life I lead being all that the most splendiferous philistine could desire, a quiet, uneventful existence, replete with godliness and respectability; I sit in my room and work, hardly ever go out, am as staid as a German. If things go on like this, I fear that the Almighty may overlook my writings and admit me to heaven. I assure you that I'm beginning to acquire a good reputation here in Barmen. But I'm sick of it all and intend to get away at Easter, probably to Bonn. I have allowed myself to be persuaded by the arguments of my brother-in-law* and the doleful expression on both my parents'^f faces to give huckstering another trial and for [...] days have been working in the office. Another motive was the course my love affair was taking. But I was sick of it all even before I

^a Literally: dead head; the term is borrowed from the alchemists and figuratively means 'the remnants'. - ^b Probably an allusion to Louis Blanc's *Organisation du travail*. - ^c See this volume, p. 13. - ^d The reference is to the articles published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*: K. Marx, 'On the Jewish Question' and 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction' and F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy' and 'The Condition of England, Past and Present' by Thomas Carlyle'. - ^e Emil Blank - ^f Friedrich and Franziska Engels.

began work; huckstering is too beastly, Barmen is too beastly, the waste of time is too beastly and most beastly of all is the fact of being, not only a bourgeois, but actually a manufacturer, a bourgeois who actively takes sides against the proletariat. A few days in my old man's factory have sufficed to bring me face to face with this beastliness, which I had rather overlooked. I had, of course, planned to stay in the huckstering business only as long as it suited me and then to write something the police wouldn't like so that I could with good grace make off across the border, but I can't hold out even till then. Had I not been compelled to record daily in my book the most horrifying tales about English society, I would have become fed up with it, but that at least has kept my rage on the simmer. And though as a communist one can, no doubt, provided one *doesn't write*, maintain the outward appearance of a bourgeois and a brutish huckster, it is impossible to carry on communist propaganda on a large scale and at the same time engage in huckstering and industry. Enough of that—at Easter I shall be leaving this place. In addition there is the enervating existence in this dyed-in-the-wool Christian-Prussian family—it's intolerable; I might end up by becoming a German philistine and importing philistinism into communism.

Well, don't leave me so long without a letter as I have left you this time. My greetings to your wife, as yet a stranger, and to anyone else deserving of them.

For the time being write to me here. If I have already left, your letters will be forwarded.

Your
F. E.

[Address on envelope]

À Madame Marx. Rue Vanneau N 38
Paris

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MARX TO HEINRICH HEINE²⁷

IN PARIS

[Paris, end of January-1 February 1845]

Dear Friend,

I hope to have time to see you tomorrow. I am due to leave on Monday.^a

The publisher Leske has just been to see me. He is bringing out a quarterly^b in Darmstadt which is not subject to censorship. Engels, Hess, Herwegh, Jung and I, etc., are collaborating with him. He has asked me to solicit your cooperation—poetry or prose. Since we must make use of every opportunity to establish ourselves in Germany, you will surely not decline.

Of all the people I am leaving behind here, those I leave with most regret are the Heines. I would gladly include you in my luggage! Best regards to your wife^c from mine and myself.

Yours

K. Marx

First published abridged in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1902 and in full in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Jg. 9, Leipzig, 1921

Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁸

IN BRUSSELS

Barmen, 22 February-7 March 1845^d

Dear Marx,

After much writing here and there I have at last received your address from Cologne and at once sit down to write to you. The moment I heard of your expulsion²⁹ I thought it necessary to

^a 3 February - ^b *Rheinische Jahrbücher* - ^c Mathilde - ^d In the original the first date is written at the beginning of the letter and the second at the end of it.

open a subscription list, so that the extra expense you have incurred thereby should be shared out communist-fashion between us all. The thing has made good progress and three weeks ago I sent fifty odd talers to Jung; I also approached the Düsseldorfers, who have collected the same amount, and in Westphalia, too, I have instigated through Hess the agitation necessary to that end. Meanwhile the subscription list here has not yet been closed. Köttgen, the painter, has been dragging his feet and thus I am not yet in possession of all the money we can expect. However, I hope everything will have come in within a few days, and then I will send you a bill on Brussels. Since I don't, by the way, know whether this will be enough to enable you to set up house in Brussels, I shall, needless to say, have the greatest pleasure in placing at your disposal my fee for my first English piece,^a some of which at least I hope will soon be paid me, and which I can dispense with for the time being as my old man^b is obliged to keep me primed. At least the curs shan't have the satisfaction of seeing their infamy cause you pecuniary embarrassment. The fact that you should have been compelled to pay your rent in advance is the height of turpitude. But I fear that in the end you'll be molested in Belgium too,³⁰ so that you'll be left with no alternative but England.

However, not a word more of the vile business. Kriege will already be with you by the time this arrives. The fellow's a capital agitator. He will tell you a great deal about Feuerbach. The day after he left here I received a letter from Feuerbach—we had, after all, written to the fellow.³¹ Feuerbach maintains that until he has thoroughly demolished the religious piffle, he cannot concern himself with communism to the extent of supporting it in print, and also that, in Bavaria, he is too much cut off from the mainstream of life to be able to do so. However, he says he's a communist and that his only problem is how to practise communism. There's a possibility of his visiting the Rhineland this summer, in which case he must come to Brussels and we'll soon show him how.

Here in Elberfeld wondrous things are afoot. Yesterday we held our third communist meeting in the town's largest hall and leading inn.³² The first meeting was forty strong, the second 130 and the third at least 200. All Elberfeld and Barmen, from the financial aristocracy to *épicerie*,^c was represented, only the proletariat being

^a F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^b Friedrich Engels senior, Engels' father - ^c grocers

excluded. Hess gave a lecture. Poems by Müller and Püttmann and excerpts from Shelley were read, also an article from the *Bürgerbuch* on existing communist colonies.^a The ensuing discussion lasted until one o'clock. The subject is a tremendous draw. All the talk is of communism and every day brings us new supporters. The Wuppertal communism is *une vérité*,^b indeed, already almost a force. You have no idea how favourable the soil is here. The most stupid, indolent, philistine people, hitherto without any interest in anything in the world, are beginning almost to rave about communism. How long it will still be tolerated I do not know, but the police at any rate are completely at a loss, themselves not knowing where they stand, and just at a time when the chief swine, the District President, is in Berlin. But should they impose a ban, we'll find some way round it and if we can't, we'll at least have stirred things up so mightily that every publication representing our interest will be voraciously read here. As I shall be leaving at Easter, it is all to the good that Hess should settle here and at the same time publish a monthly^c at Bädeker's in Elberfeld; Kriege, I believe, has a prospectus of this.²² In any case, as I have probably told you already, I shall be going to Bonn.^d My projected journey to Paris has now fallen through, there no longer being any reason for me to go there, but anyhow I shall be coming to Brussels instead, the more so since my mother and two sisters^e will be visiting Ostend in the summer. I must also pay another visit to Bielefeld and the communists there³³ and, if Feuerbach doesn't come, I shall go to him and then, provided I have the time and the money, visit England once again. As you see, I have a good deal ahead of me. Bergenroth told me that he, too, would probably be going to Brussels in a few weeks or so. Together with some Düsseldorfers, he attended our second meeting, at which he spoke. Incidentally, standing up in front of real, live people and holding forth to them directly and straightforwardly, so that they see and hear you is something quite different from engaging in this devilishly abstract quillpushing with an abstract audience in one's 'mind's eye'.

I am to request you once more on Hess' behalf—and do so on my own as well—to send Püttmann something for his quarterly.^f It's essential that we all appear in the very first issue, so that the

^a F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence'. - ^b a reality - ^c This refers to the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*. - ^d See this volume, p. 19. - ^e Apparently, Elise and Hedwig. - ^f *Rheinische Jahrbücher*

thing acquires some character. In any case, without us it will never so much as materialise.

25 February

Yesterday evening we got news that our next meeting was to be broken up by gendarmes and the speakers arrested.

26 February

Yesterday morning the chief burgomaster^a forbade Mrs Obermeyer to permit such meetings on her premises, and I received a tip to the effect that if the meeting was held notwithstanding, arrest and prosecution would follow. We have now of course given it up and can only wait and see whether we shall be prosecuted, though this seems hardly likely as we were wily enough not to provide a pretext, and the whole dirty business could only lead to the government's being made a terrible fool of. In any case the public prosecutors and the entire district court were present and the chief prosecutor himself took part in the discussion.

7 March

Since writing the above I have spent a week in Bonn and Cologne. The people in Cologne are now permitted to hold their meeting in connection with the Association.³⁴ As regards matters here,³² a rescript has come in from the Düsseldorf government whereby further meetings are forbidden. Hess and Köttgen have protested. Won't do any good, of course, but these people will see from the tone of the protest that they can't get the better of us. Hess is once more tremendously sanguine because in all other respects everything is going so famously and we have made really tremendous progress. The good fellow is always full of dreams.

Our *Gesellschaftsspiegel* will be splendid, the first sheet has already been censored and everything passed. A mass of contributions. Hess is living in *Barmen*, in the *Stadt London*. It seems unlikely that Bergenroth will come to Brussels in the immediate future, though someone else will, whose name I won't mention as this letter will probably be opened. If it can somehow be managed, I too shall come to see you again in April. At the moment my chief problem is money, since the meeting caused

^a Johann Adolph Carnap

some family ructions, after which my old man made up his mind to support me only as regards my 'studia' but not as regards communist aims of any description.

There's a whole lot more I should tell you if I knew of a safe address in Brussels, which in any case you must send me. Much of what has happened here could be harmful to a great many people if perused in a *cabinet noir*.³⁵ I shall stay here, then, another four weeks and leave for Bonn at the beginning of April. Anyhow, write to me again before then, so that I know how things are with you. Most of the money has been collected, though I don't yet know what it amounts to; it will be sent off directly. My manuscript^a will be leaving any day now.

The *Critical Criticism* has *still not arrived!*³⁶ Its new title, *The Holy Family*, will probably get me into hot water with my pious and already highly incensed parent, though you, of course, could not have known that. I see from the announcement that you have put my name first. Why? I contributed practically nothing to it and anyone can identify your^b style.

Let me know by return whether you are still in need of money. Wigand is due to send me some in about a fortnight's time and then all you have to do is dispose of it. I fear that the outstanding subscriptions will not amount to more than 120 or 150 francs.

Apropos, we here are planning to translate Fourier and, if at all possible, to produce a 'library of the best foreign socialist writers'.³⁷ Fourier would seem to be the best to start off with. We've found people to do the translation. Hess has just told me about a Fourier glossary brought out in France by some Fourierist or other. You will know of it. Could you send me particulars at once and, if possible, post me a copy. At the same time recommend what French writings you think suitable for translation for our 'library'. But look sharp; the matter is urgent, as we are already negotiating with a publisher.^c How far have you got with your book? I must now get down to my manuscript,³⁸ so goodbye for the present and write directly about the points I have mentioned.

Your
F. E.

Greetings to Kriege and Bürgers.
Is Bernays there?

^a F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^b The manuscript is damaged here, but the text is decipherable. - ^c Julius Theodor Bädeker

[On the fourth page of the letter]

À Madame Marx. Bois Sauvage, Plaine S^{te} Gudule,
Chez Monsieur J. B. Lannoy, Bruxelles

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*,
Bd. 2, No. 44, Stuttgart, 1900-01 and in
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und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁸

IN BRUSSELS

Barmen, 17 March 1845

Dear Marx,

Hess gave me your letter yesterday.³⁹ As regards the translations, the whole thing is not yet at all organised. I wanted Fourier—omitting, of course, the cosmogonic nonsense⁴⁰—translated in Bonn by people there under my own eyes and my own direction and, the publisher being willing, to issue it as the first instalment of the proposed 'library'. I talked this over occasionally with Bädeker, the publisher of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, and he seemed not disinclined, although he lacks the necessary finances for a larger 'library'. But if we produce it in this form, we would doubtless be better advised to give it to Leske or somebody else equally able to spend something on it. As for translating the things *myself*, I simply won't have the time this summer as I have to finish the English things. The first of them^a went off to Wigand this week and since I stipulated that he pay me 100 talers on receipt of the manuscript, I expect to receive money in a week or a fortnight, and be able to send it to you. Meanwhile, there are fr. 122.22 c. on Brussels due 26 March.^b

Herewith the remainder of the subscriptions; if the business hadn't been so dreadfully held up by the Elberfelders, who could have got at least twenty more talers out of their *amis-bourgeois*,^c the amount would have been larger and have reached you sooner.

^a F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^b The words 'fr. 122.22 c. on Brussels due 26 March' were probably added by Stephan Adolph Naut. - ^c bourgeois friends

To return to the library, I don't know whether it would be best to produce the things in *historical* sequence. Since Frenchmen and Englishmen would necessarily have to take turn and turn about, the continuity of the development would be constantly interrupted. In any case I believe that it would be better here to sacrifice *theoretical* interest to practical effectiveness, and to start off with the things which have most to offer the Germans and are closest to our principles; the best, that is, of Fourier, Owen, the Saint-Simonists, etc.

Morelly might also appear fairly early on. The historical development could be briefly outlined in the introduction to the series. In this way, even with the arrangement as proposed, people could easily find their bearings. We could do the introduction together—you taking France and I England; this might actually be possible when I come to see you, as I intend to do in three weeks' time. At least we could discuss the matter. But at all events it seems to me essential to start off with things that make a practical, effective impact upon the Germans and save us from repeating what others have said before us. If we were to seek to give a collection of sources on the history of socialism or rather, its history as revealed in and through the sources, a considerable time would, I fear, elapse before we finished it and, moreover, the thing would become boring. Hence I propose that we only use material whose positive content—at least the major part of it—is still of use today. Since you will be providing a *complete* critique of politics,⁵ Godwin's *Political Justice* as a critique of politics from the political standpoint and the standpoint of the citizen and society, would, despite the many excellent passages in which Godwin touches on communism, be excluded. And this more especially since, at the *end* of his work, Godwin comes to the conclusion that man must emancipate himself as much as possible from society and use it simply as a luxury article (*Political Justice*, II, Vol. 8, Appendix to Chapter 8), and is altogether distinctly *anti-social* in his conclusions. However, it was a very long time ago that I made excerpts from the book, when many things were still not clear to me, and I must in any case look through it again, for it may well be that there's more to the thing than I found at the time. But if we include Godwin, we cannot leave out his auxiliary, Bentham, although the fellow's so tedious and theoretical.

Write to me about this and then we can consider further what is to be done. Since the idea occurred to both of us, it must be put into effect—the 'library', I mean. Hess will certainly be delighted to have a hand in it, and so will I, once I have the time—as Hess

now has, having nothing to do at present save edit the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*.

If we're agreed on the principles, we can thrash out the details and at once get down to work during my visit, which I shall promote even more zealously with this in mind.

The *Critical Criticism*^a—I think I've already told you it had arrived—is quite outstanding. Your expositions of the Jewish question, the history of materialism and the *Mystères*^b are splendid and will make an excellent impact. But for all that the thing's too long. The supreme contempt we two evince towards the *Literatur-Zeitung*^c is in glaring contrast to the twenty-two sheets we devote to it. In addition most of the criticism of speculation and of abstract being in general will be incomprehensible to the public at large, nor will it be of general interest. Otherwise the book is splendidly written and enough to make you split your sides. The Bauers won't be able to say a word. By the way, if Bürgers reviews it in Püttmann's first volume,^d he might mention the reason—namely my short ten days' stay in Paris—why I covered so little ground, restricting myself to what could be written without delving more deeply into the matter. Anyway, it looks odd, my having but 1½ sheets in the thing while you have over 20. You'd have done better to have omitted the piece on the 'conditions of prostitution'. It's too slight and altogether unimportant.

It's curious that another of my plans besides the library should have coincided with yours. I too intended to write a critique of List^e for Püttmann.⁴¹ Fortunately I learned of your intention in good time through Püttmann. As I wished to discuss List *practically*, to develop the *practical* consequences of his system, I shall enlarge somewhat on one of my Elberfeld speeches (the transactions are to appear in Püttmann's publication) in which I dealt briefly with this among other things.³² In any case I assume from Bürgers' letter to Hess and from my knowledge of your personality that you will deal with his *premises* rather than with his conclusions.

Just now I'm leading a real dog's life. The business of the meetings^f and the 'dissolute conduct' of several of our local communists, with whom I, of course, consort, have again aroused all my old man's religious fanaticism, which has been further exacerbated by my declared intention of giving up the huckstering

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family*. - ^b E. Sue, *Les Mystères de Paris*. - ^c *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* - ^d *Rheinische Jahrbücher* (the review of *The Holy Family* did not appear in the journal). - ^e See this volume, p. 11. - ^f *ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

business for good and all—while my public appearance as a communist has also fostered in him bourgeois fanaticism of truly splendid proportions. Now put yourself in my place. Since I am going away in a fortnight or so, I don't want to cause ructions; I never take umbrage and, not being used to that, they are waxing bold. If I get a letter it's sniffed all over before it reaches me. As they're all known to be communist letters they evoke such piously doleful expressions every time that it's enough to drive one out of one's mind. If I go out—the same expression. If I sit in my room and work—communism, of course, as they know—the same expression. I can't eat, drink, sleep, let out a fart, without being confronted by this same accursed lamb-of-God expression. Whether I go out or stay at home, remain silent or speak, read or write, whether I laugh or whether I don't—do what I will, my old man immediately assumes this lamentable grimace. Moreover my old man's so stupid that he lumps together communism and liberalism as 'revolutionary', and, whatever I may say to the contrary, is constantly blaming me, e.g. for the infamies perpetrated by the English *bourgeoisie* in Parliament. In any case it is now the season of piety in this house. A week ago today a brother and sister of mine^a were confirmed, today the whole tribe went toddling off to Communion—the body of the Lord did its work; this morning the doleful expressions surpassed themselves. *Pour comble de malheur*^b I spent yesterday evening with Hess in Elberfeld, where we held forth about communism until two in the morning. Today, of course, long faces over my late return, hints that I might have been in jug. Finally they plucked up enough courage to ask where I had been.—With Hess.—'With Hess! Great heavens!'—Pause, intensified Christian dismay in their faces.—'What company you keep!'—Sighs, etc. It's enough to drive one mad. You have no idea of the malice of this Christian persecution of my 'soul'. Now all my old man has to do is to discover the existence of the *Critical Criticism* and he will be quite capable of flinging me out of the house. And on top of it all there's the constant irritation of seeing that nothing can be done with these people, that they positively *want* to flay and torture themselves with their infernal fantasies, and that one can't even teach them the most platitudinous principles of justice. Were it not for my mother, who has a rare fund of humanity—only towards my father does she show no independence whatever—and whom I really love, it would not occur to me for a moment to make even

^a Rudolf and Hedwig - ^b To make matters worse

the most paltry concession to my bigoted and despotic old man. But as it is, my mother is making herself ill with her constant fretting, and every time she gets particularly upset about me, she is afflicted with headaches for a week. It's more than I can bear, I must get away, and hardly know how I shall be able to stand the few remaining weeks here.⁴² But they'll pass somehow.

Otherwise there's nothing new here. The bourgeoisie talk politics and go to church; what the proletariat does we know not and indeed could hardly know. The address to which you sent your last letter is still safe for the time being. This evening I hope to obtain the money, and Köttgen has just assured me that, as soon as he has more time—in a few days—he will be able to scrape up some more. But I don't altogether credit this; Köttgen is ready and willing if he has a chance to shine, but otherwise is good for nothing and does nothing. *Adios.*

Your
E.

First published in extracts in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1902 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, 1929

Printed according to the original

12

MARX TO HEINRICH HEINE⁴³

IN PARIS

Brussels, [24 March 1845]
rue Pachecho vis-à-vis
de l'hôpital St. Jean, No. 35

Dear Heine,

If I write you no more than a few lines today, you must excuse me on the grounds of the multifarious vexations I have had with the Customs.

Püttmann in Cologne has requested me to ask you if you couldn't possibly send a few poems (perhaps also your German

fleet?)^a for the *Jahrbuch*^b in Darmstadt, a periodical *not subject to censorship*. You can address the material to me. The latest date—but you'll probably have something immediately to hand—is 3 weeks hence. My wife sends her cordial regards to yourself and your wife.^c The day before yesterday^d I went to the local Administration de la sûreté publique,^e where I had to state in writing that here in Belgium I would publish nothing about current politics.

Renouard and Börnstein have had your *Wintermärchen* printed in Paris, New York being given as the place of publication, and have offered it for sale here in Brussels. This pirated edition is said, in addition, to be teeming with printer's errors. More another time.

Yours

Marx

First published in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Jg. 9, Leipzig, 1921

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13

MARX TO ZACHARIUS LÖWENTHAL

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Brussels, 9 May [1845]
rue de l'Alliance, hors de la porte
de Louvain, No. 5
c/o: M. Reinhard

Dear Sir,

I would request you to send *forthwith*, in my name and at my expense—you may again draw a bill on me, including therein the postage on this letter—3 copies of the *Holy Family* to Paris, to Mr *Herwegh*, rue Barbet-Jouy, Faub. St. Germain, Mr *Heine*, rue du Faub. Poissonnière No. 46, and to Mr *Bernays*, 12, rue de Navarin. I have had letters from various quarters complaining that no copies are to be had in *Paris*.

Yours faithfully

Dr Marx

^a H. Heine, 'Unsere Marine'. - ^b *Rheinische Jahrbücher* - ^c Mathilde - ^d 22 March 1845 - ^e police headquarters

You may draw the bill on me forthwith, but I would request you once again to send off the copies in question *immediately*.

[In Engels' handwriting]

Mr Herwegh, rue Barbet-Jouy, Faubg. St. Germain,
Mr H. Heine, rue du Faubourg Poissonnière 46, both in Paris;
similarly Mr Bernays, 12, rue de Navarin, Paris.

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Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV,
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14

ENGELS TO MARIE ENGELS²⁸

IN BARMEN

Brussels, Saturday, 31 May 1845

Dear Marie,

To my regret I must today inform you that I shall be unable to be present at your wedding,^a the reason being the difficulties I have encountered over a passport. Last Wednesday I went to the Administration de la sûreté publique^b and demanded a passport for Prussia. After some waiting and a lengthy discussion about my emigration and the fact that I could not obtain a passport from the Prussian envoy, I was finally informed that since I had only just arrived, I could not get a passport from him. If I had lived here a little longer, he—Mr Hody, the Directeur of the sûreté publique—would have been empowered to give me passports, but in the circumstances he could not. In any case, foreigners who settled here usually arrived with passports still valid for a year or six months, and hence his instructions were to give visas to newly arrived foreigners, but not to issue them with passports. Incidentally, if I had one or two connections, I would undoubtedly obtain a passport at the Foreign Affairs Ministry. I do indeed have such connections, namely in the person of a German doctor who had actually promised to obtain a passport for me should I run into difficulties. But this doctor was himself married only a fortnight ago and went to the Wallonian watering-places for his honeymoon.

^a with Emil Blank on 3 June 1845 - ^b police headquarters

He returned on Thursday and it was not till yesterday evening that I succeeded in seeing him; he was very willing to help, but he immediately told me that, since he was unable to go to the ministry before this morning, I couldn't possibly get my passport until the day after tomorrow—Monday—and hence must put off my trip until Monday evening or Tuesday morning. I told him that I couldn't wait as long as that, but he again declared that it wouldn't be possible to help me obtain it any sooner; anyhow, he said, he was willing to try again. Well, this morning he sent me a note saying he had indeed made inquiries in person and would be unable to obtain a passport for me before Monday, maybe not until Monday evening. I replied at once, telling him to spare himself further exertion, as in that case I should have to abandon my trip altogether.

As you and the others will readily understand, I would only expose myself to unpleasantness, my other circumstances being what they are, were I to attempt to cross the border without a passport—which, indeed, Mr Hody advised me against, my exit permit being valid *pour sortir de la Prusse, mais pas pour y rentrer*,^a so it would seem that I must remain here and celebrate your wedding on my own and in my thoughts—sorry though I am for it. Anyhow you may be sure that I shall spend the whole day thinking of you and Emil,^b and that my best wishes will accompany you in marriage and on your honeymoon, although I shall not have the pleasure of expressing them orally. What I wish you above all is that the love which has brought you together and has made your relationship as beautiful, humane and decent as any I have encountered, will accompany you throughout your lives, help you to surmount all adversity with ease and be the making of your happiness. I rejoice wholeheartedly over your marriage because I know that you cannot be anything but happy in your life together and that—after you have been joined together—neither of you will be disappointed in the other. You may be sure that, of the many good wishes that will be proffered you, none is more sincerely meant, none is more cordial nor warmer than mine! As you know, of all my brothers and sisters, I loved you the best and so you were the one in whom I always had most confidence—so you will believe what I say, without any need for solemn asseverations and unnecessary verbiage. Once again, I wish that your love may always remain constant, and there is much else I wish you besides—what, you will be able to guess. Be happy!

^a for leaving Prussia, but not for returning there - ^b Emil Blank

Well, I hope I shall soon receive a letter from Mrs Blank, for I expect Mrs Blank to take just as much interest in me as did Miss Engels. At all events I hope that, after a happy wedding and a happy honeymoon, I shall see you both this summer at Ostend or in England, and till then, once again farewell!

Warmest regards to everyone

Your devoted

Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 45,
Bd. 4, Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1920

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15

ENGELS TO JULIUS CAMPE²⁸

IN HAMBURG

Brussels, 14 October 1845
7, rue de l'Alliance

Dear Sir,

From your esteemed letter⁴⁴ I perceive that there is some misapprehension on your part as regards the line we would take in the work we proposed to you for publication.⁴⁵ We have no intention of defending protective tariffs any more than free trade, but rather of criticising both systems from our own standpoint. Ours is the communist standpoint, which we have advocated in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, the *Holy Family*, the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, etc.,³ and from which, too, my book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* is written. As you will appreciate, this altogether precludes the submission of our work to the censor, and hence we cannot agree to the same. Should you, however, desist from this and be otherwise inclined to accept the work, we would beg you to be so good as to let us know before we enter into other commitments.

Yours very truly

F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV,
Moscow, 1934

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³ The journals mentioned carried Marx's 'On the Jewish Question' and 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction' and Engels' 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy' and 'The Condition of England. Past and Present by Thomas Carlyle'.

1846

16

ENGELS TO MARIE BLANK

IN LONDON

Brussels, 7 March 1846

7, rue de l'Alliance, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode

Dear Marie,

Great was my joy on hearing the news that you had been blessed with a strong, sturdy boy^a who bears a close resemblance to your beloved spouse. I should have long since sent you my congratulations, having had Mother's notification in my pocket for almost six days now. But so ordinary a letter of congratulation is so ordinary and ceremonious a thing that I should have been truly ashamed to send off promptly by return a polite, conventional communication of this kind to you, my most dearly beloved sister. On the contrary, I have waited six days in order that you may see that I speak from the heart. Anyone can send congratulations by return, but to wait six days is only possible for someone who is particularly affectionate; to send congratulations by return proves absolutely nothing and when done for purely formal reasons is in any case hypocrisy. To wait six days is to show proof of a deep emotion which cannot find expression in words. For that same reason I shall desist from sending the customary good wishes to the young comrade and for a long string of little brothers and sisters to follow him. This last would be superfluous, especially as you are in London where Queen Victoria sets so excellent an example,⁴⁶ and besides enough space will probably be left at the end of this letter to enable you to copy out for yourself a sufficiency of choice felicitations, benisons, etc., etc., from whichever letter writer's vade-mecum you may happen to light upon. True, I am sorry that, through your agency, I should already have become an uncle at the age of 26, being in any case too young for that and wanting in the necessary decorum. But the fact that little Elise has already become an aunt at the age of

^a Friedrich

twelve, which is much worse, is some consolation and I can but assure you that I shall be as diligent as possible in the performance of my duties (of which I am totally ignorant) as uncle, provided you think it worth your while to explain them to me in detail beforehand. As I have seven more fellow-sufferers, co-aunts and co-uncles,^a the one-eighth of the duties devolving upon myself will not in any case prove so very onerous and that is a further consolation. I am happy you are well and that I am too, and hope to see you in Ostend this summer at the latest. I am truly curious to observe you as a mama and to see what effect the earnestness of life, to which as 'wife and mother' you are now obliged to pay heed, has had on you. Lest that effect should become too great, I have written in as jovial a manner as possible. But I would ask you for a reply, a reply, what's more, that gives some hint of the earnestness of life, of the wife and mother, of the painstaking materfamilias or, as the Dutch would say, *welgeliefde Echtgenoot*.^b So now it is your turn to write when you have the opportunity.

Love to Mother, Emil and Hermann.

Your
Friedrich

First published in: *Friedrich Engels, 1820-1895. Leben und Werk. Eine Ausstellung der Stadt Wuppertal bearbeitet von Dieter Dowe*, Bonn-Bad-Godesberg, 1970

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17

ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN LONDON

Brussels, 3 April 1846
7, rue de l'Alliance, St. Josse-ten-Noode

Dear Emil,

Be so kind as to send me £6—or approx. 150 fr.—by *return of post*. I shall let you have it back in a week or two. My old man isn't sending the money I was expecting on 1 April; apparently he

^a There were eight children in the Engels family—Frederick, Hermann, Emil, Rudolf, Anna, Hedwig, Elise and Marie. - ^b dearly beloved spouse

intends to bring it with him when he comes for your child's^a christening. But I've now got 150 fr. worth of things in pawn which I must redeem before my people arrive and therefore must have that amount at once. The whole mess is due to the fact that throughout this winter I have hardly earned a farthing from my writing and hence my wife^b and I have had to live almost exclusively on the money I was receiving from home, and that wasn't so very much.⁴⁷ Since I now have a fair number of manuscripts either half or completely finished, this isn't very likely to happen to me again. So send me the money and, as soon as I've had my remittance from home, I'll return it.

Your brother Fritz was here these few days and went home yesterday morning. In conclusion I would again enjoin discretion *sur le contenu de cette lettre*.^c

With regards,
Your
F.

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18

MARX TO HEINRICH HEINE⁴⁸

IN PARIS

Brussels, [beginning of April 1846]
rue de l'Alliance, 5,
hors de la porte de Louvain

My dear Heine,

I am taking advantage of the passage through here of Mr Annenkov, a most engaging and cultured Russian and the bearer of this note, to convey my kindest regards to you.

^a Friedrich - ^b Mary Burns - ^c concerning the contents of this letter

A few days ago a short lampoon against you happened to fall into my hands—posthumous letters of Börne's.^a I should never have held him to be so dull, petty and inept as he here reads in black and white. And what miserable rubbish, too, the addendum by Gutzkow, etc. I shall be writing a detailed review of your book on Börne^b for a German periodical. A more clumsy treatment than that suffered by this book at the hands of these Christian-Teutonic jackasses would be hard to find in any period of literature, and yet there's no lack of clumsiness in Germany of whatever period.

If perchance you should have anything 'special' to tell me about your piece, do' so quickly.

Yours
K. Marx

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19

MARX TO PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON⁴⁹

IN PARIS

Brussels, 5 May 1846

My dear Proudhon,

I have frequently had it in mind to write to you since my departure from Paris, but circumstances beyond my control have hitherto prevented me from doing so. Please believe me when I say that my silence was attributable solely to a great deal of work, the troubles attendant upon a change of domicile,⁵⁰ etc.

And now let us proceed *in medias res*^c—jointly with two friends of mine, Frederick Engels and Philippe Gigot (both of whom are in Brussels), I have made arrangements with the German communists and socialists for a constant interchange of letters which will be devoted to discussing scientific questions, and to keeping an eye on popular writings, and the socialist propaganda

^a L. Börne, *Urtheil über H. Heine. Ungedruckte Stellen aus den Pariser Briefen* (the book contained passages from Börne's letters to Jeannette Wohl with attacks on Heine). - ^b *Heinrich Heine über Ludwig Börne*. Hamburg, 1840 (Marx's review has not been found). - ^c to the matter in hand

that can be carried on in Germany by this means.⁵¹ The chief aim of our correspondence, however, will be to put the German socialists in touch with the French and English socialists; to keep foreigners constantly informed of the socialist movements that occur in Germany and to inform the Germans in Germany of the progress of socialism in France and England. In this way differences of opinion can be brought to light and an exchange of ideas and impartial criticism can take place. It will be a step made by the social movement in its *literary* manifestation to rid itself of the barriers of *nationality*. And when the moment for action comes, it will clearly be much to everyone's advantage to be acquainted with the state of affairs abroad as well as at home.

Our correspondence will embrace not only the communists in Germany, but also the German socialists in Paris and London.⁵² Our relations with England have already been established. So far as France is concerned, we all of us believe that we could find no better correspondent than yourself. As you know, the English and Germans have hitherto estimated you more highly than have your own compatriots.

So it is, you see, simply a question of establishing a regular correspondence and ensuring that it has the means to keep abreast of the social movement in the different countries, and to acquire a rich and varied interest, such as could never be achieved by the work of one single person.

Should you be willing to accede to our proposal, the postage on letters sent to you as also on those that you send us will be defrayed here, collections made in Germany being intended to cover the cost of correspondence.

The address you will write to in this country is that of Mr Philippe Gigot, 8 rue de Bodenbroek. It is also he who will sign the letters from Brussels.

I need hardly add that the correspondence as a whole will call for the utmost secrecy on your part; our friends in Germany must act with the greatest circumspection if they are not to compromise themselves.

Let us have an early reply⁵³ and rest assured of the sincere friendship of

Yours most sincerely

Karl Marx

P.S. I must now denounce to you Mr Grün of Paris. The man is nothing more than a literary swindler, a species of charlatan, who seeks to traffic in modern ideas. He tries to conceal his ignorance

with pompous and arrogant phrases but all he does is make himself ridiculous with his *gibberish*. Moreover this man is *dangerous*. He *abuses* the connection he has built up, thanks to his impertinence, with authors of renown in order to create a pedestal for himself and compromise them in the eyes of the German public. In his book on 'French socialists'^a he has the audacity to describe himself as tutor (*Privatdozent*, a German academic title) to Proudhon, claims to have revealed to him the important axioms of German science and *makes fun* of his writings. Beware of this parasite. Later on I may perhaps have something more to say about this individual.

[From Gigot]

It is with pleasure that I take advantage of the opportunity offered by this letter to assure you how glad I am to enter into relations with a man as distinguished as yourself. Meanwhile, believe me,

Yours most sincerely

Philippe Gigot

[From Engels]

For my part, I can only hope, Mr Proudhon, that you will approve of the scheme we have just put to you and that you will be kind enough not to deny us your cooperation. Assuring you of the deep respect your writings have inspired in me, I remain,

Yours very sincerely

Frederick Engels

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20

MARX TO KARL LUDWIG BERNAYS

IN SARCELLES

Brussels, 7 May [1846]

Dear Mr Bernays,

The fee due to you for your manuscript—500 fr.—will be paid at the end of the month.⁵⁴ In accordance with the contract with

^a K. Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien*.

the bookseller-publisher, debts are not payable until after publication of the manuscripts.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant

Dr Charles Marx

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Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 1977,
Budapest, Tomus XXIII, Nr. 3-4

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21

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN SCHILDESCHE NEAR BIELEFELD

Brussels, 14-16 May [1846]

Dear Weiwi,

Herewith a belated letter. All manner of things have intervened. I had already intended to write to you from Liège⁵⁵ as arranged. But because of money problems I was averse to doing so. I readily put off such problems from one day to the next. But eventually, of course, one has to take the plunge.

You will shortly be getting an *official* letter from here.⁵⁶ The manuscripts will be with you shortly.^a The second volume is almost ready. As soon as the manuscripts for the first volume arrive (better to send them in *two* consignments) it would be most desirable that printing should begin.⁵⁷

As to your idea about Limburg, it may be all right for pamphlets; books of more than 20 sheets are best printed in Germany proper. I think I've found a way of doing this which I.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* and other works intended for publication in the planned quarterly.

will *nominally* leave Meyer out of it altogether, 2. will make things very difficult for the governments and 3. strongly commends itself insofar as the dispatch arrangements would be placed in very efficient hands.

Vogler, who resides here and has a commission agent^a in *Leipzig*, a man chiefly engaged in the dissemination of books liable to confiscation, would, you see, take over the whole bookselling side. The books themselves would be printed in Germany. In each case the *editor* would appear as publisher, i.e. '*Published by the Author*'. Vogler has offered his services on the following terms which I quote word for word from one of his letters to me^b:

'In return for 10 per cent of the *receipts at the Fair* I undertake responsibility for all charges such as dispatch, carriage, delivery, cash collection, commission and the like, provided the books are delivered to me carriage paid Leipzig.'

Thus Vogler would make out the invoices here, and the books would be sent from the place of publication direct to his commission agent in Leipzig. The place of publication should not, of course, be in *Prussia*. Vogler's account would be settled at each Easter Fair.

It seems to me that for the time being this would be the best course for books of more than 20 sheets. For pamphlets, your suggestion is certainly a good one. As regards a joint-stock bookseller I shall see what I can do. At all events it will create difficulties.

If Meyer agrees to Vogler's proposal we could start at once—it would only be necessary to find some *place of publication outside Prussia*.

I had got thus far when your next letter arrived, the one addressed to Ph. Gigot as well as to me personally. Engels is sitting beside me at this moment to reply to the part concerning us all.⁵⁸ I frankly admit that the news it contains has affected me rather disagreeably.

I am, as you know, in a serious financial predicament. In order to make ends meet for the time being here, I recently pawned the last of the gold and silver as well as a large part of the linen. Moreover, so as to economise, I have given up our own establishment for the present and moved to the Bois Sauvage here. Otherwise I should have had to hire a new maid as the youngest child^c is now being weaned.

^a A. T. Thomas - ^b of 9 May 1846 - ^c Laura, born in September 1845.

I have vainly cast around in Trier (*chez* my mother) and in Cologne *chez* one of her *business acquaintances* with a view to borrowing the 1200 fr. I need to set my affairs in order again. Hence the news about the booksellers is all the more unwelcome since I had hoped to get this money as an advance on the Political Economy.⁵⁹

No doubt there are sundry bourgeois in Cologne who would probably advance me the money for a definite period.⁶⁰ But some time ago these people adopted a line that in principle is diametrically opposed to my own, and hence I should not care to be beholden to them in any way.

As to the fee for the publication, only the half for volume 1 is due to me, as you know.

As though one's own misfortunes were not enough, I, as editor of the publication, am also getting a stream of urgent letters, etc., from every quarter. There is, in particular, the unpleasant matter of *Bernays*. As you know, he had already received 104 fr. on account through you. Bernays had given a bill of exchange due 12 May (to his baker), he couldn't pay, so it had to be protested, which gave rise to further expenses, etc., etc. Now the baker wants to have him *locked up*. He wrote to me; I, of course, couldn't help him, but to put the matter off temporarily, took the only possible course:

1. wrote a *fruitless* letter to Herwegh⁶¹ in Paris, asking him to forward the amount to Bernays pending the appearance of his essay⁵⁴;

2. wrote a letter in French to Bernays to keep his creditor at bay if need be, in which I informed him that, on publication, he would receive a fee amounting to so and so much.^a Whereupon the citizen granted him an extension until 2 June. Bernays is liable for the expenses of the protest, etc., 120 fr. (I can't remember the exact sum).

As you can see, *misère* on all sides! At this moment I'm at a loss what to do.

Some other time I shall write you a more substantial letter. You must excuse my silence on the grounds that all this financial stress has come on top of much work, domestic duties, etc.

Farewell.

Yours
M.

^a See this volume, pp. 40-41.

My wife and I send our warm regards to your betrothed.^a

Be it noted, and to anticipate any misunderstandings, that *Hess* has *nothing more* due to him from the two volumes I am now editing; on the contrary he still has some to *hand back* to us.⁶²

My private address: Au Bois Sauvage. Chez M. Lannoy, Plaine Ste Gudule, N. 19.

When writing to me *privatum* address letters: À Mr Lannoy, Plaine Ste Gudule, Bruxelles, under cover.

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22

ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRUSSELS

Ostend, 27 July 1846
11, rue St. Thomas

Dear Marx,

I've been out on several occasions hunting for lodgings for you, but I haven't found anything much. Either too large or too small. Seldom *two* habitable rooms together, the bedrooms for the most part wretchedly cramped. *Enfin*^b yesterday I discovered 2 lodgings *au choix*^c: 1. two large rooms, first and second floor respectively; each with bed, for 95 fr. a month, 30 fr. extra for the third bed, breakfast $\frac{1}{2}$ fr. a day per head or stomach. 2. a small house belonging to the same *propriétaire*, one living-room downstairs, upstairs two communicating bedrooms, one of them tolerably large, and a closet, at 150 fr. a month. Breakfast *même prix*.^d Whoever takes the house will have a maid's services included. The two rooms mentioned above are part of a restaurant, '*au duc de Brabant*', *rue du lait battu*, so meals could be had there if required. But in this respect you'd be quite independent there. At all events you would do well, if you are considering one of these two lodgings, to put up at the '*duc de Brabant*', it's cheaper than an hotel and, should you not like the rooms, you can ask the woman

^a Louise Lüning - ^b At last - ^c for your choosing - ^d same price

there to show you the house, which is situated in the *rue des sœurs blanches* No. 5, and if that doesn't suit you either, you will no doubt find another. By the way, as compared with last year, there's been a fearsome rise in the cost of lodgings as of everything, or rather, 'and the same for everything'. Fr. 5 will cover the cost of dinner for the whole of your family, beef-steak 1 fr., cutlets *idem*, wine 2-3 fr. Beer bad, cigars bad and expensive, you'd be well advised to bring a few 100 from Brussels, in which case you can assume that the following table of expenses is correct:

per month	Accommodation	fr.	125-fr.	150	
	Breakfast	"	45-	" 45	(if you sometimes
	Dinner	"	150-	" 175	eat by the sea)
	Supper, 2-3 beef-steaks	"	60-	" 90	(people stuff themselves here)
	Afternoon coffee on the beach, very necessary, 2 cups	"	18-	" 18	
	Laundering is very dear, at least	"	20-	" 30	(In addition bathing @ fr. 1.30-fr. 1.50— Apr. 40 fr.)

		fr.	418-fr.	508	

Besides this it would be desirable to have another 100 fr. for INCIDENTAL EXPENSES, for without it you can be very bored here. You needn't stay here more than a month. Only those with broken backs, or who are complete and utter wrecks both inside and out, stay any longer. But you must so arrange the rent that, should you stay beyond the month, the additional period is paid *à tant par jour*,^a otherwise they will charge you for a full half month if you stay two days longer.

For the rest, life is very sluggish here. During the first few days a boring philistine from Barmen, *la bête des bêtes*,^b was, with the exception of my family and imposed upon me by the same, my

^a at so much a day - ^b a monumental ass

one and only companion. Yesterday Blank, whom you know, arrived from London and through him I at last made the acquaintance of a Frenchman *qui a beaucoup d'esprit*^a and who is an altogether excellent fellow, although he has spent 15 years in Elberfeld and speaks German *par conséquent*.^b

'Finally I would touch on' the Mrs Hess affair. It's bad, but one cannot possibly let her suffer for the stupidities of the aforementioned Hess; I shall therefore try to smuggle her across the border if, that is, I get enough money from my old man for the journey to Paris, which is still not sure. Send the enclosed scribble to the beloved man of God^c in Cologne, to cheer him up. So the woman is in Brussels already?

Great men there are none here. They don't arrive till August. No one has yet divulged the identity of the great Germans who are due to arrive. For the time being, therefore, I must content myself with the Prussian Bank project.⁶³ It's farcical that the gents should imagine they're going to make a lot of money out of it. A few of these big bankers, who want to become 'major stockholders' and conclude their secret agreements with the bureaucrats, e.g. to the effect that their shares are not redeemable, that they are introduced by stealth onto the main board, etc., may perhaps allow themselves to be persuaded. But no one else. Delightful that 'neither the *subscribers* nor the *amounts subscribed* are to be made known'. This means that they're expecting damned little money and are seeking, in true bureaucratic fashion, to cover themselves to some extent in case of failure.

Write soon and let me know whether you're coming and when.⁶⁴

Your
E.



^a who has a very lively mind - ^b as a result - ^c Moses Hess, see this volume, p. 47.

Yesterday these visions were to be seen in the sea by male and female spectators alike.

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time

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ENGELS AND MARX TO MOSES HESS

IN COLOGNE

Ostend, 27 July 1846
rue St. Thomas, 11

Dear Hess,

As you see, I am no longer writing to you from Brussels. I shall remain here until 10 August and shall probably be leaving Brussels for Paris on the 11th. Marx has sent your letter on to me here. I shall gladly do my utmost to smuggle your wife^a across the border, but all the same it's unfortunate that she should not have a passport. As I had already left Brussels a few days before her arrival, I know nothing of the whole affair except what you tell me in your letter. As I have said, I will do my utmost.

Your
Engels

[Brussels, about 29 July 1846]

Dear Hess,

In forwarding you these lines from Engels, I would only add that your wife is *quite cheerful*. Seiler is her squire and has introduced her to Vogler and wife, with whom she consorts almost daily. My wife cannot do very much as she is very unwell and mostly has to keep to her bed.

Your
M.

^a Sibylle

I was just about to send this letter off when I read your announcement about Ruge in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.^a Since the printing of our stuff may be much delayed, I would advise you to get back your article on Ruge.⁶² You will be able to use nearly all of it.

I wrote and asked the Westphalians^b to send the manuscript to Daniels.⁶⁵ If he has not yet got it, arrange for the article on Ruge to be sent by them direct to you.

What sort of a book is this of Heinzen's^c? And what does Dottore Graziano write about you? Write and tell me.

[On the back of the letter in Karl Marx's
and Jenny Marx's handwriting]

Mr. M. Hess in Cologne
Hand to Mr Gottschalk, M. D.

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time

24

MARX TO CARL FRIEDRICH JULIUS LESKE⁶⁶

IN DARMSTADT

[Draft]

[Brussels,] 1 August [1846]

Dear Sir,

Your letter in which you expressed your doubts about publication was answered *by return*. As to your query about its 'scientific character', I replied that the book is scientific, but not scientific as understood by the Prussian government, etc. If you would cast your mind back to your first letter, you then wrote in considerable anxiety because you had been cautioned by the Prussians and were then under investigation by the police. I at once wrote to you, saying that I would look around for another publisher.

^a M. Hess, 'Erklärung', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 209, 28 July 1846, supplement, announcing Hess' forthcoming article on A. Ruge. - ^b J. Meyer and R. Rempel -

^c A reference to K. Heinzen's collection *Die Opposition* with A. Ruge's articles 'Der teutsche Kommunismus' and 'Der Rabbi Moses und Moritz Hess'.

I *received* yet another letter from you in which, on the one hand, you cancelled publication and, on the other, agreed that the advance be repaid in the form of a draft on the new publisher, whoever it might be.

If you received no further answer to this, it was because I believed I should very shortly be able to give you a *positive* answer, i.e. notification of another publisher. How this came to be delayed, you will presently hear. That I accepted *as a matter of course* your proposal about the repayment of the *advance* will be evident to you from the fact that, at the only place where I took steps to secure publication, I stipulated at the same time that the 1,500 fr. were to be repaid to you on acceptance of the manuscript. The *proof* of this can be produced *at any time*. *Engels* and *Hess*, by the by, are witnesses.

On the other hand you will recall that in Paris, as in the written contract, *nothing* was agreed about how revolutionary the form of the work was to be, and that, on the contrary, I even believed it necessary at the time to bring out both volumes simultaneously, because the publication of the *first* volume would entail the banning or confiscation of the second. *Heinrich Bürgers* from Cologne was present and can vouch for this. *Legally* speaking you were not therefore *entitled* to lay down new conditions or to refuse to publish as I, for my part, am not bound, from the *legal* viewpoint, either to repay the advance or to accede to your new proposals, or to modify my work. It hardly *needs saying* that I could not for a moment consider adopting a *legal* attitude towards you, more especially since you, for your part, were not contractually obliged to pay me an advance, which I was bound to regard, and did regard, *purely as a friendly gesture*. Though, hitherto, I have often and unhesitatingly released *publishers* (e.g. *Wigand* and *Fröbel* in the matter of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, and other publishing houses, as you will presently hear) from their contractual and legally enforceable obligations, despite great financial loss, it has *never* occurred to me to deprive any publisher of a single penny, even when I could *legally* do so. Why I should have made an exception *precisely in the case of yourself*, who had done me a particular favour, I utterly fail to understand.

Now as to the delay in replying:

Several capitalists in Germany^a had agreed to publish a number of writings by myself, *Engels* and *Hess*.⁶⁷ In this case there was even a prospect of a really extensive series that would be totally

^a J. Meyer and R. Rempel

immune from the attentions of the police.⁶⁸ Moreover, publication of my *Kritik der Ökonomie*, etc., had been virtually assured through a friend of these gentlemen.^a This same friend remained in Brussels until May so as to convey safely across the border the manuscript of the first volume of the publication brought out under my editorship and with the cooperation of Engels, etc.^b From Germany he was to write to me, letting me know definitely whether or not the *Nationalökonomie* had been accepted. Such news as I got was indeterminate and a short while ago, after the greater part of the manuscript of the second volume of that publication had been dispatched to Germany, these gentlemen finally wrote informing me that the whole business had come to *nothing*, their capital being employed elsewhere. Hence the delay in giving you a definite reply. When everything had been settled, I arranged with Mr *Pirscher* of Darmstadt, who was staying here, to convey a letter to you from me.

Because publication had been agreed upon with the German capitalists, I had discontinued work on the *Ökonomie*. For it seemed to me very important to *precede* my *positive* development with a polemical piece against German philosophy and *German socialism* up till the present. This is necessary in order to prepare the public for the viewpoint adopted in my *Economy*, which is diametrically opposed to German scholarship past and present. It is, by the way, the same polemical piece I had already mentioned in one of my letters to you as having to be completed before the publication of the *Ökonomie*.

So much for that.

My answer to your latest letter is as follows:

I. In the event of your not publishing the work, I herewith declare it *to be understood* that you will recover the advance *in the manner you have stipulated*.

But it must be equally understood that, should I receive from another publisher a *fee* less than that agreed on with you, you will share the loss with me, since it was because of you, not me, that recourse had to be had to another publisher.

II. There is a prospect of publication for my book. The day before yesterday I received a letter from Germany^c in which I was advised of the intention to start a joint-stock company for the publication of communist works, which will be happy to make its *début* with my book. However, I regard the thing as still so

^a Joseph Weydemeyer - ^b See this volume, p. 41. - ^c A reference to Hess' letter to Marx of 28 July 1846.

uncertain that I shall, if necessary, address myself to other publishers.

III. Since the all but completed manuscript of the first volume of my book has been lying idle for so long, I shall not have it published without revising it yet again, both as regards matter and style. It goes without saying that a writer who works continuously cannot, at the end of 6 months, publish *word for word* what he wrote 6 months earlier.

There is the further point that the *Physiokraten* in 2 folio volumes did not come out until the *end of July* and will not be arriving here for several days yet, although their publication was announced while I was still in Paris. Full account must now be taken of these.

So much of the book will now be rewritten that it could appear even under *your* imprint. After approval of the manuscript you would, moreover, be at liberty to bring it out under a foreign imprint.

IV. As to dates: because of my very impaired state of health, I am having to take salt-water baths at Ostend during August; moreover I shall be busy editing the 2 volumes of the above-mentioned publication. Hence nothing much can be done during August.

The revised version of the first volume will be ready for publication at the *end of November*. The 2nd volume, of a more historical nature, will be able to follow soon after it.

V. I have already told you in an earlier letter that, partly because of the fresh material collected in England,⁶⁹ and partly because of the requirements that have come to light as work proceeded, the manuscript will exceed the agreed number of sheets by more than 20 printed sheets. Since the contract had already been concluded, I had made up my mind, as you will recall from an earlier letter, to be content with the *agreed* fee, although the number of sheets had been increased by about $\frac{1}{3}$. It would have spoiled the book had I brought out the fresh material separately. Not for a moment would I object to bearing a commercial loss in the interests of the work. Nor would I wish either to break the *contract* or to *impair* the effect of the book itself.

But since your earlier letter indicated that the resumption of the contract is a matter for me to decide, I feel compelled to include a new condition whereby the printed sheets over and above the agreed number are paid for on the same scale. This request seems to me all the more just as I shall in any case make very little out of

the work because of my trip to England and my stay there undertaken solely on its account, and because of the large amount of very expensive literature I had to purchase.

Finally, if it can be done on some kind of reasonable terms, I would like the work to appear under your imprint, since you have always adopted such a liberal and friendly attitude towards me.

If need be, I could produce numerous letters I have received from Germany and France as proof that this work is most eagerly awaited by the public.

Yours faithfully

Dr Marx

I beg you to reply *by return* to the following address: à *Mr Lannoy*. Au Bois Sauvage, Plaine Ste Gudule, N. 19, Bruxelles.

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Printed according to the original

25

ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] 19 August 1846
Cercle Valois, Palais Royal

Dear Marx,

Arrived here at last Saturday evening after a fatiguing journey and much tedium.⁷⁰ Immediately ran into Ewerbeck. The lad is very cheerful, completely tractable, more receptive than ever; in short I hope that—given a little patience—he and I will come to see pretty well eye to eye in all things. There are no longer any complaints about party strife—for the simple reason that he himself has been compelled to elbow out some of the Weitlingians here. Little has as yet transpired about what actually took place between him and Grün to create a breach between them; all we

know is that Grün, by adopting now a fawning, now an arrogant, manner, was able to retain his more or less respectful affection. Ewerbeck has no illusions whatever about Hess, *il n'a pas la moindre sympathie pour cet homme-là.*^a In any case he has long nourished a private hate against him, going back to the time they lodged together. I duly reprimanded him about the Westphalians.⁷¹ That oaf Weydemeyer had written Bernays a Westphalianly lachrymose letter in which those noble fellows Meyer and Rempel were portrayed as martyrs in a good cause, gladly sacrificing their all, but whom we had rejected with contempt, etc.; and those two gullible Teutons, Ewerbeck and Bernays, sit down together, bemoan our hardness of heart and contentiousness and take the lieutenant at his word. Such superstition can scarcely be credited.

Grün has swindled the workers out of some 300 fr. on the pretext of having a pamphlet of 1 1/2 sheets printed in Switzerland.^b Now the money's coming in, but the workers aren't getting a penny of it. Now they're beginning to dun him for it. Ewerbeck realises how foolish it was of him to introduce this fellow Grün among the artisans. He is now afraid to accuse Grün publicly before them because he believes him capable of giving everything away to the police. But what a gullible fellow this Ewerbeck is! The wily Grün had *himself* told Ewerbeck all about his shabby tricks—but presenting them, of course, as undiluted heroic acts *des Dévouements,*^c and Ewerbeck swallows every word he says. Of the fellow's earlier knaveries he knew only as much as the DELINQUENT himself had thought fit to tell him. Ewerbeck, by the way, has warned Proudhon against Grün. Grün is back here, living away over in Ménilmontant, and scribbling the most dreadful articles for the *Trier'sche.*^d Mäurer has translated the relevant passages from Grün's book^e for Cabet; you can imagine Cabet's rage. He has lost all credit even with the *National.*

I went to see Cabet. The old boy was extremely cordial, I listened to all his stuff, told him about God and the devil, etc. I shall go there more often. But we must not bother him with the correspondence.⁵¹ Firstly, he has enough to do and secondly, he's too mistrustful. *Il y verrait un piège*^f for making improper use of his name.

^a He has not the slightest sympathy for that man. - ^b K. Grün, *Die preussischen Landtags-Abschiede.* - ^c of sacrifice - ^d *Trier'sche Zeitung* - ^e K. Grün, *Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien.* - ^f He would see it as a trap.

I have been leafing quickly through Feuerbach's *Das Wesen der Religion in Epigonen*. Apart from a few happy insights, the thing's entirely in the old style. At the beginning, where he confines himself purely to natural religion, he is compelled to remain on rather more empirical ground, but later on it's all at sixes and sevens. Once again full of 'essence', 'Man', etc. I'll read it properly and very soon send you excerpts from the principal passages if they are interesting, so that you'll still be able to use it for the Feuerbach.⁷² Meanwhile two passages only.^a The whole—some 60 pages—opens with the following definition of nature as opposed to the human essence:

'The essence that is different from and independent of the human essence or God (!), whose portrayal is the "Essence of Christianity" (1), the essence without human essence (2), human attributes (3), human individuality (4), is in truth nothing other than—nature' (p. 117).

This is truly a masterpiece of tautology blared forth in tones of thunder. Not only that, but in this proposition he identifies the religious, imaginary *phantom* of nature wholly and entirely with real nature. *Comme toujours*.^b—Again, a little further on:

'Religion is the acceptance and acknowledgement of that which I am (!) ... To elevate dependence on nature to consciousness, to picture it to oneself, to accept, acknowledge it, means to *elevate oneself to religion*' (p. 118).

Not long ago the minister, Dumon, was caught in his shirt-tails with the wife of a president. The *Corsaire-Satan* relates: 'A lady who had petitioned Guizot said, "It is a pity that so excellent a man as Guizot *est toujours si sévère et boutonné jusqu'au cou*."^c Says the wife of an *employé* of *travaux publics*,^d "*On ne peut pas dire cela de M. Dumon, on trouve généralement qu'il est un peu trop déboutonné pour un ministre*".^e

Quelques heures après,^f during which time I paid a fruitless visit to the Café Cardinal to oblige little Weill—little Weill is somewhat riled because he isn't getting his fees of 1,000 or so francs from the *Démocratie pacifique* which appears to be embroiled in a kind of GREAT CRISIS AND STOPPING OF CASH PAYMENTS, and little Weill is too much

^a *Das Wesen der Religion* is quoted below according to the collection *Die Epigonen*, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1846. (The end of the second quotation is paraphrased.) - ^b As always. - ^c is always so strict and buttoned up to the neck. (Here and below is a close rendering of items in the *Corsaire-Satan* of 16 and 17 August 1846.) - ^d a public works official - ^e One cannot say as much of Mr Dumon, he is usually thought to be a little too much unbuttoned for a minister. - ^f Some hours later.

of a Jew to allow himself to be fobbed off with banknotes on the first phalanstery of the future. By the way, the Fourierist gents become daily more tedious. The *Phalange* is nothing but nonsense. The information contained in Fourier's posthumous work is confined entirely to the *mouvement aromal*^a and the mating of the planets which would appear to take place *plus ou moins*^b from behind. The mating of Saturn and Uranus engenders dung-beetles—which in any case the Fourierists themselves are—but the chief dung-beetle is the Irishman, Mr Hugh Doherty, who in fact isn't even a dung-beetle but only a dung-grub, a dung-larva—the poor creature is floundering about for the tenth time (*10^{me} article*) in the *question religieuse*^c and still can't discover how he can decently make his EXIT.

I haven't yet seen Bernays. But according to Ewerbeck he isn't getting along too badly and his worst complaint is boredom. The man is said to have grown very robust and healthy, his main activity, gardening, having apparently vanquished care so far as his human frame is concerned. He also, *dit-on*,^d holds the goats by the horns when his—? wife?—, who can only be thought of between two question marks, is milking them. The poor devil naturally feels ill at ease in these surroundings; save for Ewerbeck who goes there weekly, he doesn't see a soul, potters about dressed in a peasant's blouse, never leaves Sarcelles, which is the most wretched village on this earth and doesn't even have a pub, in short, he's bored to death. We must see if we can get him back to Paris; within a month he would be his old self again. Since Börnstein, in his capacity as informer, must not know of my presence here, we have first written to Bernays⁷³ suggesting a rendezvous in Montmorency or somewhere else in the neighbourhood; afterwards we shall haul him off to Paris and spend a few francs on thoroughly cheering him up. That will make a different man of him. By the way, don't let him suspect that I've written to you about him in this vein; in his high-flown romantic mood, the good lad might feel it to be a moral injury.

The best of it is that in the house at Sarcelles there are 2 women, 2 men, several children, one of them dubious, and despite all this *on n'y tire pas un coup*.^e They don't even practise pederasty. *C'est un roman allemand*.^f

^a aromatic movement - ^b more or less - ^c H. Doherty, 'La question religieuse', *La Phalange*, T. IV, 1846. - ^d it is said - ^e not a thing happens there - ^f It's a German novel.

Madame Hess cherche un mari. Elle se fiche de Hess. S'il se trouverait quelque chose de convenable, s'adresser à Madame Gsell, Faubourg St. Antoine.^a There's no hurry since the competition isn't keen. Answer soon.

Your
E.

Address: 11, rue de l'arbre sec.

It goes without saying that anything I tell you now or later about Ewerbeck, Bernays and other acquaintances is strictly confidential.

I am not sending this post paid as I am short of money and can't expect any before 1 October. But on that day I shall send a bill of exchange to cover my share of postal expenses.

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ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE
COMMITTEE⁷⁴

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, 19 August 1846
11, rue de l'arbre sec

Committee

Carissimi,^b

Our affair will prosper greatly here. Ewerbeck is quite taken up with it and only asks that a committee should not be officially organised in too great haste, because there's a split in the offing. What remains here of the Weitlingians, a small clique of tailors,⁷⁵ is now in process of being thrown out, and Ewerbeck thinks it

^a Mrs Hess is on the look-out for a husband. She doesn't give a fig for Hess. If there should happen to be something suitable, apply to Madame Gsell, Faubourg St. Antoine. - ^b Dear Friends

better that this should be accomplished first. However, Ewerbeck doesn't believe that more than four or five of the people here will be available for the correspondence, which number is, indeed, fully adequate. In my next letter I hope to let you know who they are.

These tailors are really astounding chaps. Recently they were discussing quite seriously the question of knives and forks, and whether these had not best be chained.^a But there are not many of them.

Weitling himself has not replied to the Parisians' last, very rude letter, procured for him by us. He had demanded 300 fr. for practical experiments in connection with his invention,⁷⁶ but remarked at the same time that the money had probably been thrown down the drain. You can imagine what sort of answer they gave him.

The cabinet-makers and tanners, on the other hand, are said to be capital fellows. I have not yet seen them. Ewerbeck manages all that with his usual circumspection.

I shall now give you some gleanings from French periodicals, those, of course, which are not to be had in Brussels.

P. Leroux's monthly is almost entirely taken up with articles on St.-Simon and Fourier by P. Leroux himself.^b In these he exalts St.-Simon to the skies, and does all he can to detract from Fourier and present him as an imitator who has debased and falsified St.-Simon. Thus he is at great pains to prove that the *Quatre Mouvements*^c are no more than a materialistically conceived plagiarism of *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève*. The fellow's quite mad. Because at one point the latter work maintains that a system which is an encyclopaedic compendium of all the sciences could best be realised by the reduction of all phenomena, etc., to *pesanteur universelle*,^d it must be from this, we are told, that Fourier derived his whole theory of attraction. Needless to say, none of the evidence, quotations, etc., provide adequate proof that Fourier had even read the *Lettres* when he wrote the *4 Mouvements*. On the other hand the whole *Enfantin* trend is described as Fourierism surreptitiously introduced into the school. The paper is called *Revue Sociale, ou solution pacifique du problème du prolétariat*.

^a Probably in canteens which the utopian socialists planned to set up by way of experiment. - ^b P. Leroux, 'Saint-Simon et Fourier' (third article from *Lettres sur le fouriérisme*), *Revue Sociale*, No. 11, August 1846. - ^c Ch. Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales*. - ^d universal gravity

Of the reformist newspaper congress,⁷⁷ the *Atelier* relates after the event^a that, not having attended, it was very surprised to find itself on the list of papers represented there. *Le peuple de la presse*^b had been kept out until the bases of the reform had been decided upon, and when the doors were then thrown open to the *ouvrier*^c papers so that they might vote their assent, it had thought it beneath its dignity to go there. The *Atelier* further relates that 150 *ouvriers*, probably Buchezists—which party, the French assure us, is about 1,000 strong—held a banquet, without police permission on 29 July to celebrate the July Days.^d The police intervened and, because they refused to undertake not to make political speeches or sing any of Béranger's songs, they were dispersed.

Mr Wigand's *Die Epigonen* are here. A dreadful din is heard as Mr Wigand vents his indignation. 'An A. Ruge.' He reproaches the latter with the common misfortunes both have endured during the past four years. Ruge, he says, was unable—in Paris—to go hand-in-hand with *fanatical communism*'. Communism is a condition

hatched out in its own, ignorant brain, a *narrow-minded* and *ignorant piece of barbarism* which is to be forcibly imposed on mankind'.

Finally he brags about the great things he will do 'so long as enough lead remains in the world to make type'. The *candidat de la potence*,^e you see, has not yet given up hope of becoming the *candidat de la lanterne*.^f

I would draw your attention to the article in today's *National* (*mercredi*^g 19) on the fall in the number of Parisian voters since 1844 from over 20,000 to 17,000.

Yours

E.

Paris has sunk low. Danton is selling wood in the Boulevard Bourdon. Barbaroux keeps a calico shop in the rue St. Honoré, the *Réforme* no longer has the strength to demand the Rhine, the opposition is searching for talent and cannot find it, the bourgeois gentry go to bed so early that everything has to be closed by 12

^a Reference to the article 'Du manifeste de la presse liberale' in *L'Atelier*, No. 11, August 1846. - ^b The members of the press - ^c workers' - ^d Engels relates the article 'Un Banquet interrompu', *L'Atelier*, No. 11, August 1846. (July Days—revolution of 27-30 July 1830). - ^e candidate for the gallows - ^f candidate for the lamppost. An allusion to the ambiguous position of bourgeois radicals who were threatened with government repressions (gallows) for opposition, and in case of revolution—with reprisals by the people (lamppost) for hostility towards communist aspirations. - ^g Wednesday

o'clock, and *la jeune France*^a accepts it without turning a hair. The police would certainly not have been able to enforce this had it not been for the early business hours kept by principals, whose motto is: 'Morgenstunde hat usw.'^b

Mr Grün's pamphlet, printed at the workers' expense, is the one I once saw at Seiler's: *Die preussischen Landtags-Abschiede. Ein Wort zur Zeit* (anonymous); it consists mainly of plagiarisms from Marx's essays (*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*)^c and monumental nonsense. To him, questions of 'political economy' and of 'socialism' are *identical*. Absolute monarchy developed as follows:

'The Prince created for himself an *abstract domain*, and this intellectual domain was called—the State. The State became the domain of domains; as the ideal of the domain it abolishes the individual domain, just as it lets it subsist, and always abolishes it when it seeks to become absolute, independent, etc.'

This 'intellectual' domain, Prussia, 'almost immediately becomes transformed into a domain in which prayers are said, a *clerical domain*'^d!! The consequence of all this is: Liberalism in Prussia has already been *overcome in theory*, hence the Imperial Estates will no longer concern themselves with bourgeois questions but *directement*^e with the social question.

'The slaughtering and milling tax is *what really betrays the nature of taxes*, to wit it betrays the fact that *every tax is a poll tax*. But whoever raises a *poll tax is saying*: "Your heads and bodies are my own, you are bound to me *head and body*".... The slaughtering and milling tax *matches absolutism too well*, etc.'

For two years the jackass has been paying *octroi*^f without realising it, believing that such a thing exists only in Prussia. Finally, apart from a few plagiarisms and stock phrases, this little pamphlet is *liberal* through and through, and German-liberal to boot.

It is generally held by the workers here that the *Garantien*^g was *not* written by Weitling *alone*. Besides S. Schmidt, Becker, etc., several Frenchmen are said to have provided him with material and in particular he had manuscripts of one Ahrens, of Riga, a worker in Paris, now in America, who also wrote the main part of *Die Menschheit wie sie ist und sein soll*. The people here once wrote

^a young France - ^b 'Morgenstunde hat Gold im Munde' (early to bed, early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise) - ^c K. Marx, 'On the Jewish Question' and 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction'. - ^d Engels puns on the words *geistige* (intellectual) and *geistliche* (clerical). - ^e directly - ^f city tolls on imported consumer goods existing since the Middle Ages - ^g W. Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*.

to him in London and told him as much, whereat he became exceedingly angry and simply replied that this was slanderous.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx, 19, Plaine Ste Gudule, Bruxelles

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, 1929

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27

MARX TO KARL LUDWIG BERNAYS⁷⁸

IN SARCELLES

[Brussels, August 1846]

Only when one previously critically combats these existing (for the sake of brevity let us say 'bad') tendencies, can one write a positive account of one's own with confidence.

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Printed according to Bernays' letter to Marx of August 1846

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28

ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE

IN BRUSSELS

Committee No. 2

[Paris,] Wednesday, 16 September 1846

Dear Friends,

Your news about Belgium, London and Breslau^a was of great interest to me.⁷⁹ I told Ewerbeck and Bernays what was of interest

^a Polish name: Wrocław.

to them. Keep me *au fait*^a as well with the success of our enterprise and *plus ou moins*^b the enthusiasm with which the various localities are taking part, so that I can expatiate on that to the workers here in so far as it is politic. What are the Cologne people^c doing?

There's all manner of news from here.

1. I've had several meetings with the local workers, i.e. with the leaders of the cabinet-makers from the Faubourg St. Antoine. These people are curiously organised. Apart from the business of their league⁸⁰ having been thrown into the utmost confusion—as a result of a serious dispute with the Weitlingian tailors—these lads, i.e. 12-20 of them, foregather once a week; they used to hold discussions but, after they ran out of matter, as indeed they were bound to do, Ewerbeck was compelled to give them lectures on German history—starting from scratch—and on an extremely muddled political economy, a popular rendering of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.^d Meanwhile I appeared. In order to establish contact with them, I twice discussed conditions in Germany since the French Revolution, my point of departure being the economic relations. What they glean from these weekly meetings is thrashed out on Sundays at Barrière meetings⁸¹ attended by Cherethites and Pelethites, wife and children.^e Here—*abstraction faite de toute espèce de politique*^f—such things as 'social questions' are discussed. It is a good way of attracting new people, for it's entirely public; a fortnight ago the police arrived and wanted to impose a veto but allowed themselves to be placated and did nothing further. Often more than 200 people foregather.

Things cannot possibly remain as they are now. A degree of lethargy has set in amongst the fellows which comes from their being bored with themselves. For they have nothing to set against the tailors' communism but popularisations *à la* Grün and green-tinted^g Proudhon,⁸² all this having been laboriously dinned into them, partly by no less a person than Mr Grün himself, partly by an old, bombastic master cabinet-maker and minion of Grün's, Papa Eisermann, but partly, too, by *amicus*^h Ewerbeck. Naturally they soon ran dry, endless repetition ensued and, to prevent them going to *sleep* (literally, this was getting worse and worse at the sessions), Ewerbeck torments them with hair-splitting disquisitions

^a acquainted - ^b more or less - ^c Roland Daniels, Heinrich Bürgers, Karl d'Ester - ^d Reference is probably to Engels' 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'. - ^e 2 Samuel 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23 - ^f all politics apart - ^g a play on *Grün* (green) - ^h friend

on 'true value' (this last being somewhat on my conscience) and bores them with the primeval forests of the Teutons, Hermann the Cheruscan, and the most ghastly old German etymology according to—Adelung, all of it quite wrong. By the way, the real leader of these people isn't Ewerbeck but Junge, who was in Brussels⁸³; the fellow realises very well what ought to be changed, and might do a great deal since he has them all in his pocket and is ten times more intelligent than the whole clique, but he vacillates too much and always has some new bee in his bonnet. I haven't seen him for nearly 3 weeks—he never turned up and isn't to be found—which is why so little has as yet been achieved. Without him most of them are spineless and irresolute. But one must be patient with the fellows; in the first place we must rid ourselves of Grün, whose enervating influence, both direct and indirect, has been truly dreadful. And then, when we've got these platitudes out of their heads, I hope to be able to achieve something with the fellows, for they all have a strong desire for instruction in economics. This should not take long, as Ewerbeck who, despite his notorious muddle-headedness, now at its fullest flowering, has the best intentions in the world, is completely in my pocket, and Junge, too, is wholly on my side. I have discussed the correspondence^a with six others; the plan was much acclaimed, specially by Junge, and will be implemented from here. But unless Grün's personal influence is destroyed and his platitudes eradicated, thus reinvigorating the chaps, nothing can be done in view of the considerable material obstacles to be faced (particularly engagements almost every evening). I have offered to confront Grün in their presence and to tax him with his personal rascalities, and Bernays also wishes to be there—Ewerbeck too has a bone to pick with him. This will happen as soon as they have settled their own affairs with Grün, i.e. obtained a guarantee for the money advanced for the printing of Grün's *Landtag* shit.^b But since Junge didn't turn up and the rest behaved towards Grün like children, that matter, too, is still not in order, although with a little effort it could have been settled in 5 minutes. The unfortunate thing about it is that most of these fellows are Swabians.

2. Now for something to amuse you. In his new, as yet unprinted book, which Grün is translating,⁸⁴ Proudhon has a great scheme for making money out of thin air and bringing the kingdom of heaven closer to all workers. No one knew what it was.

^a See this volume, pp. 38-39, 53, and 56. - ^b [K. Grün,] *Die preussischen Landtags-Abschiede*.

Grün, while keeping it very dark, was always bragging about his philosopher's stone. General suspense. At length, last week, Papa Eisermann was at the cabinet-makers' and so was I; gradually the old coxcomb came out with it, in a naively secretive manner. Mr Grün had confided the whole plan to him. Hearken, now, to the grandeur of this plan for world redemption: *ni plus ni moins*^a than the already long extant in England, and ten times bankrupt LABOUR-BAZARS OR LABOUR-MARKETS, associations of all artisans of all trades, a big warehouse, all work delivered by the *associés* valued strictly in accordance with the cost of the raw product plus labour, and paid for in other association products, similarly valued.⁸⁵ Anything delivered in excess of the association's needs is to be sold on the world market, the proceeds being paid out to the producers. In this way the crafty Proudhon calculates that he and his fellow *associés* will circumvent the profit of the middleman. That this would also mean circumventing the profit on *his association's capital*, that this capital and this profit must be *just as great* as the capital and profit of the circumvented middlemen, that he therefore throws away with his right hand what the left has received, has none of it entered his clever head. That his workers can never raise the necessary capital, since otherwise they could just as well set themselves up separately, that any savings in cost resulting from the association would be more than outweighed by the enormous risk, that the whole thing would amount to spiriting away profit from this world, while leaving the producers of the profit to cool their heels, that it is a truly Straubingerian idyll,⁸⁶ excluding from the very outset all large-scale industry, building, agriculture, etc., that they would have to bear only the *losses* of the bourgeoisie without sharing in its gains, all these and a hundred other self-evident objections he overlooks, so delighted is he with his plausible illusion. It's all too utterly preposterous. Paterfamilias Grün, of course, believes in the new redemption and already in his mind's eye sees himself at the head of an association of 20,000 *ouvriers*^b (they want it *big* from the start), his family, of course, to receive free clothing, board and lodging. But if Proudhon comes out with this, he will be making a fool of himself and all French socialists and communists in the eyes of bourgeois economists. Hence those tears, that polemicising against revolution⁸⁷ because he had a peaceable nostrum up his sleeve. Proudhon is just like John Watts. In spite of his disreputable atheism and socialism, the latter regards it as his vocation to acquire respectability in the eyes

^a neither more nor less - ^b workers

of the bourgeoisie; Proudhon, despite his polemic against the economists, does his utmost to gain recognition as a great economist. Such are the sectarians. Besides, it's such an old story!^a

3. Now for another highly curious affair.—The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 21 July, Paris, 16 July. Article on the *Russian Embassy*^b....

'That is the official Embassy—but quite extraneous to it, or rather *above* it, there is a certain Mr *Tolstoy* who bears no title, is described, however, as "*confidant of the Court*". Formerly, with the Ministry of Education, he came to Paris charged with a *literary mission*; there he wrote a few memoirs for his Ministry, sent them a few reports on the French daily press, then wrote no more but did all the more. He maintains a splendid establishment, is invited everywhere, receives everyone, busies himself with everything, knows everything and arranges much. He seems to me to be the *actual Russian Ambassador* in Paris.... His intervention works wonders' (—all Poles seeking a pardon addressed themselves to him—) '—at the Embassy all bow down before him and in Petersburg he is held in great regard.'

This Tolstoy is none other than our Tolstoy, that noble fellow who told us untruthfully that he wanted to sell his estates in Russia.⁸⁸ Besides the apartment to which he took us, the man has a magnificent *hôtel*^c in the rue Mathurin where he receives the diplomats. This has long been known to the Poles and to *many* of the French, but not to the German radicals amongst whom he thought it better to insinuate himself as a radical. The above article was written by a Pole known to Bernays, and was immediately taken up by the *Corsaire-Satan* and the *National*. On reading the article, all Tolstoy did was laugh heartily and crack jokes about having been found out at last. He is now in London, where he will try his luck, being played out here. It's a pity he is not coming back, otherwise I'd have had a joke or two to try out on him, eventually leaving my card in the rue Mathurin. After this, *c'est clair*^d that Annenkov, whom he recommended, is also a Russian informer. Even Bakunin, who *must have known* the whole story since the other Russians knew it, is very suspect. I shall, of course, give him no hint of this, but wreak vengeance on the Russians. Even though these spies may not constitute any particular threat to us, we can't let them get away with it. They're good subjects for conspiratorial experiments *in corpore vili*.^e For that they are not really too bad.

4. Father Hess. After I had happily consigned his spouse,^f cursing and swearing about same, to oblivion, i.e. to the furthest

^a H. Heine, 'Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen' from *Lyrisches Intermezzo*. - ^b Engels quotes from the article 'Die russische Allianz und die russische Gesandtschaft'. - ^c mansion - ^d it's clear - ^e on the vile body - ^f Sibylle Hess

end of the Faubourg St. Antoine where there is a wailing and gnashing of teeth (Grün and Gsell), I received not long since, through the agency of one Reinhardt, another letter in which the communist papa sought to re-establish relations. It's enough to make one split one's sides. As if nothing had happened of course, altogether *in dulci júbilo*,^a and moreover altogether the same old Hess. After the remark that he was to some extent reconciled with 'the party' (the 'Yiddish' Circle appears to have become insolvent)—and 'also anxious to resume work' (which event ought to be rung in with a peal of bells), comes the following historical note (dated 19 August):

'A few weeks ago we were *within a hair's breadth* of a bloody riot here in Cologne, large numbers being already armed' (among them certainly not Moses). 'The affair did not come to a head because the military *did not put in an appearance* (tremendous triumph for Cologne's pint-sized philistine), etc., etc....'

Then he tells of the civic assemblies⁸⁹ where 'we', i.e. 'the party' and Mr Moses, '*qua* communists, *won so complete a victory* that we', etc.

'We *drove*, first the moneyed aristocrats ... and then the petty bourgeois, *with glory* (none of them possessing any talent) '*from the field*. Eventually we *could have* (!) *carried everything* in the assemblies' (e.g. made Moses Chief Burgomaster); 'a programme was adopted to which the assembly pledged its candidates, and which' (hear, hear) '*could not have been more radical even if drawn up by English and French communists*' (!!!) (and by no one understood more foolishly than by Moses).... '*Keep an occasional eye*' (sic) '*on my [wife]*' (both parties would like me to take over the distaff side at my own expense and risk, *j'en ai les preuves*^b).... 'and pass this onto Ewerbeck as a *heartener*.'

May God bless this 'heartener', this manna from the desert. I, of course, completely ignore the beast—he has now written to Ewerbeck too (and this simply in order that a letter may be conveyed to his distaff side at the former's expense), and is threatening to come here in two months' time. If he visits me, I think I too shall be able to *tell* him something by way of a 'heartener'.

Now that I'm in full swing, I might as well conclude by telling you that Heine is here again and that the day before yesterday Ewerbeck and I went to see him. The poor devil is dreadfully low. He has grown as thin as a rake. The softening of the brain is spreading, and so is the facial paralysis. Ewerbeck says he might very easily die of pulmonary paralysis or of a sudden cerebral

^a sweetness and joy - ^b I have proof of it.

stroke, but could also drag on, sometimes better, sometimes worse, for another three or four years yet. He is, of course, somewhat depressed, melancholy and—most significant of all—extremely benign (and, indeed, seriously so) in his judgments—Mäurer is the only person about whom he constantly cracks jokes. For the rest his intellectual vigour is unimpaired, but his appearance, made stranger still by a greying beard (he can no longer be shaved round the mouth), is enough to plunge anyone who sees him into the depths of depression. The impression made by the sight of so splendid a fellow gradually wasting away is exceedingly painful.

I have also seen the great Mäurer. 'Manikin, manikin, how little you weigh!' The man's really a sight worth seeing, and I was atrociously rude to him, in return for which the jackass evinces a particular affection for me, and tells me I have a kindly face. He resembles Karl Moor six weeks dead. Reply soon.



Yours
E.

Write soon, as I shall in a fortnight's time [...] from here; such a business a letter [...] easily remain lying or be refused at the old place.

At the *Fraternité* there has been a tremendous dispute between materialists⁹⁰ and spiritualists.⁹¹ The materialists, outvoted by 23 to 22, walked out. But that has not stopped the *Fraternité* from publishing a very nice article on the various stages of civilisation and their ability to continue developing in the direction of communism.^a

You'll be amused by the following: *Journal des Économistes*, August of this year, contains, in an article on Biedermann's article on communism,^b the following: First, all Hess' nonsense, comically Gallicised; next, we read, comes M. Marx.

'M. Marx est un *cordonnier*, comme un autre Communiste allemand, Weitling, est un *tailleur*. Le premier (Mx) n'a pas une grande estime pour le communisme français (!) qu'il a été assez heureux d'étudier sur les lieux. M. ne sort (du) reste point non plus' (do you not recognise Mr Fix in this Alsatian expression?) 'des formules abstraites et il se garde bien d'aborder aucune question véritablement pratique. Selon lui' (note the nonsense) 'l'émancipation du peuple allemand sera le

^a Engels seems to be writing about a series of articles 'La civilisation' published in the *Fraternité* in 1845 and 1846. The first article was entitled 'La civilisation est l'acheminement de l'esprit humain vers la communauté'. - ^b The reference is to a review of K. Biedermann, 'Unſre Gegenwart und Zukunft' written by Th. Fix and published in the *Journal des Économistes*, Vol. 15, No. 57, August 1846.

signal de l'émancipation du genre humain; la tête de cette émancipation serait la philosophie et son cœur le prolétariat. Lorsque tout sera préparé, le coq gaulois sonnera la résurrection germanique... Marx dit qu'il faut créer en Allemagne un prolétariat universel (!!) afin de réaliser la pensée philosophique du Communisme'.^a Signed T. F. (mort depuis).^b

That was his last work. The previous issue carried an equally comical review of my book.^c The September number contains an article on Julius which I have not yet read.^d

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx au Bois Sauvage, Plaine Ste Gudule,
Bruxelles

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29

ENGELS TO MARX⁹²

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] 18 September 1846
11, rue [de l'arbre sec]

Dear Marx,

A whole lot of things I wanted to write about privately have found their way into the business letter because that was the one I wrote first.^e No matter if the others read the rubbish for once.

^a 'Mr. Marx is a *cobbler*, as another German communist, Weitling, is a tailor. The former (M[ar]x) has no great respect for French communism (!) which he has been fortunate enough to study on the spot. For that matter, neither does M. proceed beyond' (do you not recognise Mr Fix in this Alsatian expression?) 'abstract formulas, and he takes the greatest care to avoid broaching any truly practical question. According to him' (note the nonsense) 'the emancipation of the German people will be the signal for the emancipation of the human race; philosophy would be the head of this emancipation, the proletariat its heart. When all has been prepared, the Gallic cock will herald the Teutonic resurrection.... Marx says that a universal proletariat must be created in Germany (!!) in order to realise the philosophical concept of communism.' - ^b since deceased - ^c F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (an anonymous review in the *Journal des Économistes*, Vol. 14, No. 56, July 1846). - ^d The review of G. Julius, 'Bankwesen. Ein neues Gespenst in Deutschland', in the *Journal des Économistes*, Vol. 15, No. 58, September 1846 was also written by Th. Fix which Engels did not know then. - ^e See this volume, pp. 60-67.

Hitherto I have rather dreaded setting to work on the extracts from Feuerbach. Here in Paris the stuff strikes one as utterly insipid. But now that I've got the book^a at home, I shall apply myself to it at the earliest opportunity. Weydemeyer's sweet nonsense is touching. The fellow first declares that he wants to draft a manifesto in which he pronounces us blackguards and then expresses the hope that this won't give rise to personal differences. Even in Germany such a thing would only be possible on the Hanoverian-Prussian border.

That you should still be in financial straits is abominable. I know of no publisher for our manuscripts^b other than Leske who, while negotiations are proceeding, must be kept in the dark about our criticism of his firm. Löwenthal will certainly not take it. He has turned down, on all manner of rotten pretexts, a *very good* proposition from Bernays (a life of the old man here^c in 2 volumes, the first to be printed forthwith and issued the moment the old man dies, the second to follow immediately afterwards). He's also a coward and maintains he might be expelled from Frankfurt. Bernays has a prospect of acceptance by Brockhaus, who believes, of course, that the book is written in a bourgeois spirit.

Have the Westphalians^d sent the manuscripts to Daniels?

And have you had any further details about the Cologne scheme? Hess wrote about it, you know.⁹³

But Lünig's rubbish is the most ludicrous of all. One can almost visualise the fellow as he daringly looses a hypocritical turd into his trousers. If we criticise them for their general baseness,^e the noble fellow declares this to be 'self-criticism'.⁹⁴ But soon these chaps will experience in their own persons the truth of the saying:

'And if the noble fellow has no bum, on what does he propose to sit?'^f

And Westphalia seems gradually to be coming to realise that it has no bum or, in Moses'^g parlance, no 'material basis' for its communism. ⁱ

Püttmann was not so wrong, where *I* am concerned, when he said that the people in Brussels were collaborating on *Prometheus*. Hear how cunningly this good-for-nothing set about it. Being also

^a L. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen der Religion*. - ^b The reference is to the manuscripts for the quarterly, including that of Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*. - ^c Louis Philippe - ^d J. Meyer and R. Rempel - ^e K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Against Kriege'. - ^f J. W. Goethe, 'Totalität'. - ^g Moses Hess

in need of money, I wrote to him suggesting that at last he fork out the fee he had owed me for so long.⁹⁵ The fellow answered that as to the fee for the first essay which he had printed in the *Bürgerbuch*,^a he had instructed Leske to pay it to me (naturally not yet to hand), but so far as the one for the second essay in the second of the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*^b was concerned,—he had already received it from the publisher but, since the German *soi-disant*^c communists had left him, big P, together with his other big P, *Prometheus*, most shamefully in the lurch—he, P No. 1, had been compelled to use the fees (including those due to Ewerbeck, etc.) for the printing of P No. 2 and would not be able to pay us same for another x weeks. Fine fellows, if you don't give them a manuscript, they keep the money. In such a manner does one become one of the *Prometheus* collaborators and shareholders.

Yesterday evening, when I was with the workers here, I read the 'London Address' already in print.⁹⁶ Trash. They address themselves to the 'people', i.e. the presumed proletarians in Schleswig-Holstein which is haunted exclusively by loutish, Low-German peasants and guildish Straubingers.⁸⁶ They have learnt from the English this nonsense, this total disregard for actual circumstances, this inability to comprehend an historical development. Instead of answering the question, they want the 'people'—who, in their sense of the word, don't exist at all there—to disregard it and behave peacefully and passively; it doesn't occur to them that the bourgeoisie continues to do as it likes. Except for the denigration of the bourgeoisie, which is somewhat superfluous and entirely at odds with their conclusions (and for which FREE-TRADE catchwords could equally well be substituted), the thing could have been the work of London's FREE-TRADE PRESS, which does not want to see Schleswig-Holstein enter the Customs Union.⁹⁷

That Julius is in the pay of the Prussians and writes for Rother has already been hinted at in the German papers.⁹⁸ Bourgeois,^d who was so delighted with his noble works, according to d'Ester, will be pleased when he hears of it.

A *propos* Schleswig-Holstein, the day before yesterday the Coachman^c wrote to Ewerbeck in 3 lines that caution should now be exercised in the matter of letters, since everything is being opened by the Danes. He believes that it could come to armed action.

^a F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence'. - ^b F. Engels, 'The Festival of Nations in London'. - ^c so-called - ^d Heinrich Burgers - ^e Georg Weber

learned that this new nonsense is in truth *wholly unbounded nonsense*. Imagine: Proletarians are to *save* in the form of small shares. This will enable the initial building (needless to say no start can be made with fewer than 10,000-20,000 workers) of one or more workshops devoted to one or more trades, some of the shareholders to be occupied there and the products to be sold, 1) to the shareholders (who thus have no profit to pay for) at the price of the raw material plus labour, and 2) any surplus to be sold on the world market at the current price. As the association's capital is increased by new shareholders joining or by new savings of the old ones, this will be used for building new workshops and factories and so on and so forth, until *all* the proletarians are employed, *all* the country's productive forces have been bought up, thereby depriving the capital still in bourgeois hands of the power to command labour and produce profit! Thus capital is abolished by 'finding an authority under which capital, i.e. the interest system' (Grünification of the erstwhile *droit d'aubaine*,¹⁰³ brought somewhat closer to the light of day) 'so to speak disappears.' In this sentence, repeated countless times by Papa Eisermann, hence learned by rote from Grün, you will readily discern a glimmering of the original Proudhonian flourishes. By dint of proletarian savings, and by waiving the profit and interest on their capital, these people intend, for the present, to *buy up* the *whole of France*, no more nor less, and later, perhaps, the rest of the world as well. Was ever more splendid plan devised, and if you want to perform a *tour de force*,^a what quicker way than to coin five franc pieces out of silver moonshine? And the workers here, fools that they are—the Germans, I mean—*believe* this rubbish, they, who can't keep six sous in their pockets to visit a *marchand de vin*^b on the evenings of their meetings, propose to buy up *toute la belle France*^c with their savings. Rothschild and company are mere dabblers compared with these mighty *accapareurs*.^d It's enough to make anyone throw a fit. Grün has so confused the fellows that the most nonsensical platitude makes more sense to them than the simplest fact adduced for the purpose of economic argument. It is disgraceful that one should still have to pit oneself against such barbaric nonsense. But one must be patient, and I shall not let the fellows go until I have driven Grün from the field and have swept the cobwebs from their brains. The only fellow clear-headed enough to see through the whole nonsense is our Junge who was in Brussels. Ewerbeck, too, has crammed the fellows' heads with

^a feat of strength - ^b wineshop - ^c the whole of beautiful France - ^d buyers-up

the most crackbrained stuff. You've no idea what desperate confusion the fellow is in; at times he verges on madness, being unable to tell you today what he saw with his own eyes, let alone heard, yesterday. To show to what extent he has been under Grün's thumb, it need only be said that when last winter Walthr, of Trier,¹⁰⁴ was complaining to all and sundry about the censors, Grün represented him as a martyr to the censorship, one who was waging the noblest and bravest of battles, etc., and induced Ewerbeck and the workers to draw up and sign a highly pompous address to this jackass, Walthr, thanking him for his heroism in the struggle for freedom of speech!!!! Ewerbeck is hanging his head in shame and is furiously angry with himself; but the stupidity has been done, and now it's a question of knocking out of him and the workers the few *platitudes* he has dinned into his own head with toil and sweat before drumming same into the workers with no less toil and sweat. For he understands nothing until he has learnt it by rote and even then usually misunderstands it. If he were not so tremendously well-intentioned, besides being such an amiable chap—more so now than ever before,—there would be absolutely nothing doing with him. I can't help wondering how I manage to get on with him; sometimes he makes quite apposite remarks, only to relapse at once into some colossal inanity—as, for instance, in his divinely inspired lectures on German history, whose every word is so beset with howlers and follies that it's difficult not to burst out laughing. But, as already mentioned, tremendous zeal and remarkable readiness to join in everything with imperturbable good humour and self-mockery. I like the fellow better than ever, in spite of his silliness.

There is little to be said about Bernays. I have been out there several times and he here once. Coming here probably this winter, only short of money. Westphalians^a sent him 200 francs by way of a bribe; he accepted the money, but naturally did nothing further about it. Weydemeyer had offered him the money previously; he writes to say he must have 2,000 francs, otherwise it won't be any use to him. I told him what the Westphalians' answer would be—that they were unable to turn anything into LIQUID cash etc., and so it literally was. In token of his gratitude he is keeping the 200 francs. He is living quite happily, makes no secret to anyone of his whole calamitous story, is on quite happy terms with other people, lives like a peasant, works in the garden, eats well, sleeps, I suspect, with a peasant girl, and has also ceased to parade his

^a Presumably J. Meyer and R. Rempel

sorrows. He is even coming to entertain more lucid and sensible views about party disputes, although, whenever something of the kind occurs, he likes to imagine himself more or less in the role of a Camille Desmoulins, and is generally unsuited to be a party man; there's no arguing with him about his legal opinions because he always tries to break off with the objection that economy, industry, etc., is not his subject and, on the rare occasions we meet, no proper discussion takes place. I think, however, that I have already succeeded in partly breaching his defences and, if he comes here, I shall probably be able to cure him finally of his misapprehensions.

What is everyone doing there?

Your

E.

QUERY: Ought not the people in London^a to be told the story of the Tolstoy affair,^b which is *absolutely correct*? If he continues to play the same role among the Germans, they might at some time dreadfully compromise one or two Poles. And supposing the fellow *were to cite you*?

Bernays has written a pamphlet as part of the Rothschild controversy¹⁰⁵; a German edition^c is appearing in Switzerland and a French one^d here in a few days' time.

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ENGELS TO MARX¹⁰⁶

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, after 18 September 1846]

...7. they should change the §§ on the sharing of dividends into §§ on the sharing of losses, for, *failing all this*, they would go bankrupt already as a result of the celebrated principle of bearing

^a The London leaders of the League of the Just (K. Schapper, J. Moll and H. Bauer). - ^b See this volume, p. 64. - ^c [K. L. Bernays,] *Rothschild. Ein Urtheilspruch vom menschlichen Standpunkte aus*. - ^d [K. L. Bernays,] *Jugement rendu contre J. Rothschild et Georges Dairnvaell, auteur de l'Histoire de Rothschild 1^{er} par le Tribunal de la Seine*.

the whole loss but sharing the profit. They would therefore have to do twice as much business as *any other* publisher in order to keep going—but the fact remains that hitherto all publishers dealing exclusively, or merely for preference, in banned works—Fröbel, Wigand, Leske—have, *in the long run*, been ruined: 1. by confiscation, 2. by being excluded from markets, which \pm always happens, 3. by sharp practice on the part of commission agents and retail dealers, 4. by police threats, prosecution, etc., 5. by competition from publishers who only occasionally print something objectionable, who are therefore less subject to police interference and who, moreover, also have a better chance of obtaining manuscripts that will appeal, whereas the above-mentioned stereotypes are left holding the rubbish and books that do not appeal. The book trade's struggle with the police can be waged with profit only if large numbers of publishers take part in it; it is *essentiellement* guerrilla warfare, and one can only make money if one *seldom* takes such a risk. The market is not large enough to make a *spécialité* of the article.

For the rest it makes no difference whether the company is ruined, for ruined it will be no matter what kind of start it makes; but where there's a guarantee, it will be ruined too quickly, a high fever being induced with three crises, of which the third is certainly fatal. In view of the not over-copious supply of manuscripts to be expected, a mild consumption would be more appropriate. It's only regrettable that too big a hole is made in its capital if it does its own printing. It ought to have sufficient to enable it to print for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years; for supposing a capital of 3,000 talers expended in the *first year*, the Eastertide settlement would, given profitable trading, produce approx. $\frac{2}{3}$, or a minimum of 2,000 talers. Hence for the second year it ought to have at least 1,000 talers over and above those 3,000 talers. Thus $\frac{1}{3}-\frac{1}{4}$ of the capital is permanently tied up in remainders, bad payers, etc. It might be possible to raise this amount by inducing the shareholders to subscribe an additional loan repayable over a period. It is essential, by the way, to consult a publisher first, in order to find out exactly how much of the capital employed remains tied up at the end of the first year, or how much time it takes to turn the total capital over once. I am not sure about it myself, but I have reason to believe that in the above calculations I have underestimated rather than overestimated the capital permanently tied up.

With his 20 per cent of the profits the manager will grow rich. Even if 10 per cent of any losses are passed to the reserve fund, there will be a handsome deficit.

As for the consequences the guarantee would entail for the *authors*, the less said the better. In my opinion it should be *refused* if it is tendered in respect of longer works. Once the company has established itself on that basis, we could no longer offer other publishers anything without their believing that the company had *turned it down*. Quite apart from the fact that the same reasons for which we refused it to the Westphalians^a obtain here as well. Neither our honour nor our interest would incline us to accept.

To particularise: 7 in the general purposes committee [Tendenzkomitee] is excessive, three, at most 5, is enough. Otherwise we shall get jackasses on it, if not intriguers. The general purposes committee must after all be \pm resident in Brussels. In which case, with 7 members, how can there be any *choice*? No reason at all to have so many. In any case it's we who will have to do the work, and I am ready to take on my share, so what do we want with all those members? Besides, if it is the same with the opinions of the general purposes committee as with those of the Provincial Diets,¹⁰⁷ what then? All those written opinions will make a devil of a lot of work, but there could be no question of our getting out of it. As I said, I am ready to take on my share.

QUERY: If the bourgeoisie nominates a *truly* socialist supervisory council, which passes *outré*^b our opinions, what then?

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ENGELS TO MARX¹⁰⁸

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, about 18 October 1846]

23, rue de Lille, Faubourg St. Germain

Dear M.,

At last, after much reluctance, I have brought myself to read Feuerbach's twaddle^c and have discovered that we can't go into it

^a J. Meyer and R. Rempel (see this volume, p. 49). - ^b overrides - ^c L. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen der Religion*.

in our critique.^a Why, you will see when I have given you the gist of it.

'Das Wesen der Religion', *Epigonen*, Vol. I, pp. 117-78.

'Man's *sense of dependence* is the basis of religion', p. 117.

As man is dependent first of all on Nature, so 'Nature is the first, original object of religion', p. 118.

(*'Nature is simply a general term to denote beings, things, etc., which man distinguishes from himself and his products.'*)

The first religious manifestations are festivals at which natural processes, changes of season, etc., are symbolised. The particular natural conditions and products in the midst of which a tribe or a people lives, become part of its religion.

In his development man was assisted by other beings which, however, were not beings of a *higher* order, angels, but beings of a lower order, *animals*. Hence animal worship (there follows an apology in which pagans are defended against the attacks of Jews and Christians, trivial).

Nature, even in the case of Christians, always remains concealed behind religion. The attributes upon which the difference between God and Man is founded, are attributes of Nature (primal, basic). Thus omnipotence, eternity, universality, etc. God's true content is no more than Nature; i. e. in so far as God is seen only as the creator of Nature and not as a political and moral law-giver.

Polemic against the creation of Nature by an intelligent being, against creation out of nothing and so on—for the most part vulgar materialism 'humanised', i. e. translated into cosy German, fit to touch the citizen's heart.—Nature in natural religion is not the object as nature, but as

'personal, live, sentient being ... as emotional being, i. e. subjective human being' (p. 138).

Hence men worship it and seek to influence it with human incentives. This is primarily because Nature is fickle.

'The sense of dependence on Nature, combined with the idea of Nature as an arbitrarily active, personal being, is the basis of sacrifice, the most important act in natural religion' (p. 140).

But since the aim of sacrifice is a *selfish* one, it is man who is the *final goal* of religion, the divinity of man its final aim.

^a Reference to Marx and Engels' 'Feuerbach. Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlooks' which preceded other sections of *The German Ideology*.

Next come trivial glosses and solemn disquisitions to the effect that primitive people who still adhere to natural religion, deify things they regard as unpleasant, such as plague, fever, etc.

'As man, from a purely physical being, becomes a *political* being, distinguishing in general between himself and Nature, concentrating upon himself' (!!), 'so his God also becomes a political being distinct from Nature.' 'Hence man' arrives at 'the distinction between his being and Nature, and consequently at a God distinct from Nature, initially only by uniting with other men into a *community* in which *powers* distinct from Nature^a and *existing only in the mind or the imagination*' (!!), 'the power of the law, of opinion, of honour, of virtue, becomes the object of his sense of dependence....'

(This hideous sentence appears on p. 149.) The power of Nature, the power over life and death, is degraded to an attribute and tool of political and moral power. Intermezzo on p. 151 on oriental conservatives and occidental progressives.

'In the Orient, man does *not* let man *blind him* to Nature.... To him the King himself is not objectified as an earthly, but as a celestial, divine being. But beside a god, man only disappears where the earth is emptied of gods.... Only there do men have space and room for themselves.'

(A nice explanation for the stability of Orientals. It's all those idols and the space they take up.)

'The Oriental is to the Occidental what the countryman is to the townsman, the former is dependent on *Nature*, the latter on men,' etc., etc., 'hence only townsmen make history'

(here, and here alone, we catch a distant, if somewhat evil-smelling, breath of materialism).

'Only he who is able to sacrifice the power of *Nature* to the power of *opinion*, his *life* to his *name*, his existence *in the flesh* to his existence in the mouths and minds of posterity, is capable of historical deeds.'

Voilà.^b Everything that is not Nature is imagination, opinion, balderdash. Hence, too, 'human "*vanity*" alone is the principle of history!'

P. 152: 'As soon as man becomes conscious of the fact that ... the consequence of vice and folly is unhappiness, etc., that of virtue and wisdom, ... happiness, and hence that intelligence and will are the *powers determining the fate of man* ... he will also see Nature as a being dependent on intelligence and will.'

^a Feuerbach has 'powers of nature' (Naturmächten). - ^b There you are.

(Transition to monotheism—Feuerbach distinguishes the above illusory ‘consciousness’ from the power of intelligence and will.) With the domination of the world by intelligence and will, supernaturalism makes its appearance, creation from nothing, and monotheism, which is further specifically elucidated in terms of the ‘unity of the human consciousness’. Feuerbach deemed it superfluous to point out that without the *One King*, the One God could never have come into being, that the Oneness of the God controlling the multifarious natural phenomena and holding together the conflicting forces of Nature is only the image of the One, the Oriental Despot who apparently or in fact holds together conflicting individuals whose interests clash.

Lengthy drivel against teleology, aping the old materialists. At the same time Feuerbach commits the very howler in regard to the real world which he accuses the theologians of committing in regard to Nature. He makes bad jokes at the expense of the theologians’ assumption that without God Nature would dissolve into anarchy (i. e. without belief in God, it would be reduced to tatters), that God’s *will, intelligence, opinion* is what binds the world; and he himself believes that it is *opinion*, the fear of public *opinion*, of *laws* and other *ideas*, which now holds the world together.

In the course of an argument against teleology, Feuerbach appears as an out-and-out *laudator temporis praesentis*^a: The very high death-rate among children in the early years of life is attributable to the fact that

‘*Nature* in its opulence sacrifices without compunction thousands of individual members’; ... ‘it is the result of natural causes that ... e.g., *one* child in 3-4 dies in the first year of life, and *one* child in 25 in the fifth year, etc.’

With the exception of the few passages here specified, there is nothing worthy of note. Of the historical development of the various religions one learns nothing. At most they provide examples to support the above trivialities. The main bulk of the article consists in polemic against God and the Christians, altogether in his previous manner, except that now that he’s run dry, and despite all his repetitions of the old drivel, dependence on the materialists is much more blatantly apparent. If one were to make any comment on the trivialities concerning natural religion, polytheism, and monotheism, one would have to compare

^a Eulogist of the present; paraphrase of ‘*laudator temporis acti*’ (Horace, *Ars Poetica*).

them with the true development of these forms of religion, which means they would first have to be studied. But so far as our work is concerned, this is as irrelevant to us as his explanation of Christianity. The article casts no fresh light on Feuerbach's positive philosophical attitude, and the few theses worthy of criticism which I have cited above only confirm what we have already said. If the fellow still holds any interest for you, try and get hold of Vol. I of his *Collected Works*, either directly or indirectly, from Kiessling; he's written a kind of preface to it which might yield something. I have seen passages from it in which Feuerbach speaks of 'ailments of the head' and 'ailments of the stomach', a feeble apology, as it were, for not concerning himself with matters of real import.¹⁰⁹ Exactly what he wrote and told me eighteen months ago.

I have just received your letter¹¹⁰ which, because of my move, had remained at my old lodgings^a for a few days. I'll give the Swiss publishers a try. But I hardly imagine that I'll find a taker.^b None of the fellows have the money to print 50 sheets. In my opinion we shall get nothing printed unless we *split* the things up and try to place the volumes separately, first the philosophical stuff, which is the most urgent, and then the remainder. 50 sheets at once is so dangerously big that many publishers won't accept it simply because they cannot.

Then, of course, there was Kührtmann, or whatever his name is, in Bremen, who was turned against us by Moses^c and Weitling; the fellow wanted to print bannable books but not pay much; *we could* quite well approach him with this manuscript. What do you say to splitting the stuff up and offering one volume here and the other there? Vogler knows Kührtmann's address in Bremen. I've just about finished List.¹¹¹

I saw the things in the *Volks-Tribun*^d about three weeks ago.¹¹² Never before have I come across anything so ludicrously stupid. Brother Weitling reached the peak of infamy in that letter to Kriege. As for the details, incidentally, I can no longer remember enough to make any comment on them. I too am of the opinion

^a See this volume, p. 67. - ^b This refers to attempts to find a publisher for Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*. - ^c Hess - ^d 'Aus einem Privatbriefe von Wilhelm Weitling' (from W. Weitling's letter to H. Kriege of 16 May 1846), 'Die kommunistischen Literaten in Brüssel und die kommunistische Politik', 'An unsere Freunde' and 'Adresse der deutschen Socialreformer zu Philadelphia an Hermann Kriege und die Socialreformer in New York', *Der Volks-Tribun*, Nos. 25, 26, 27 and 29; 20, 27 June, 4 and 18 July 1846.

that we should reply¹¹³ to both Kriege's and the Straubingers'⁸⁶ proclamation, rubbing their noses in the fact that they are denying having said what we reproached them for saying, while at the same time proclaiming in their reply the very stupidities they are denying; and that Kriege in particular, with his high moral pathos and indignation at our mockery, should get the dressing-down he deserves. Since these copies are at the moment going the rounds of the Straubingers here, I shall have to wait 4-5 days before I can get hold of them.

The Straubingers here are baying ferociously at my heels. Notably 3-4 'educated' workers who have been initiated into the secrets of true humanity by Ewerbeck and Grün. But by dint of a little patience and some terrorism I have emerged victorious with the great majority behind me. Grün having abjured communism, these 'educated' ones showed a strong inclination to follow suit. At that I went into action, so intimidating old Eisermann that he no longer turns up, and launched a debate on the pros and cons of *communism* and *non-communism*. This evening a vote will be taken on whether the meeting is communist or, as the 'educated' ones say, 'in favour of the good of mankind'. I am certain of a majority. I stated that, if they were not *communists*, I didn't give a fig for them and would attend no more. This evening Grün's disciples will be definitely overthrown, and then I shall have to start from scratch.

You can't imagine what demands these heducedated Straubingers made on me. 'Leniency', 'gentleness', 'warm brotherliness'. But I duly trounced them and every evening managed to silence the whole opposition of 5, 6, 7 fellows (for at the start I had the whole *boutique*^a against me). More anon about all this business, which shows up Mr Grün in a variety of lights.

Proudhon is expected here in a fortnight. Then the sparks will fly.

There's been some talk of a periodical here.^b That manikin with the cigar, Mäurer, maintains that he will be able to raise the money for it. But I shan't believe the fellow until the money's actually there. If anything comes of it, we have so arranged matters that the thing will be entirely in *our* hands. I have authorised Mäurer, the ostensible editor, to print his own drivel in it, this being unavoidable. All the rest will pass through my hands, and I have an absolute veto. What I write will, of course, be pseudonymous or anonymous. At all events, should the thing

^a company (literally: shop) - ^b *Die Pariser Horen*

materialise, it will not fall into the hands either of Hess or of Grün, or of any other muddled school. It would have its uses as a *new broom*. But not a word to anyone until it has materialised; it should be decided within the week.¹¹⁴ Farewell and write soon.

E.

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ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE
COMMITTEE¹¹⁵

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, 23 October 1846

Committee letter (No. 3)

There is little to be said about the Straubinger business¹¹⁶ here. The main thing is that the various differences I have had to thrash out with the lads hitherto are now settled: Grün's chief follower and disciple, Papa Eisermann, has been chucked out, the rest, so far as their influence over the great majority is concerned, have been completely routed, and I have carried through a unanimous resolution against them.

Briefly this is what happened:

The Proudhonian association scheme was discussed on three evenings. At the beginning I had nearly the whole clique against me and at the end only Eisermann and the three other Grünians. The main thing was to prove the necessity for revolution by force and in general to reject as anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, and Straubingerian Grün's true socialism, which had drawn new strength from the Proudhonian panacea. In the end I became infuriated by my opponents' endless repetition of the same arguments and really pitched into the Straubingers, which aroused great indignation among the Grünians but succeeded in eliciting from the worthy Eisermann an *open attack* on communism. Whereupon I lashed him so mercilessly with my tongue that he never showed his face again.

I now made use of the lever—the attack on communism—provided by Eisermann, the more so since Grün never ceased his intrigues, going from workshop to workshop, summoning the people to come to him on Sundays, etc., etc., and, on the Sunday^a following the above-mentioned session, was *himself* so abysmally stupid as to attack communism in the presence of 8-10 Straubingers. I therefore declared that, before I took part in any further discussion, the question of whether or not we were meeting here as communists must be put to the vote. If the former were the case, we must see to it that attacks on communism such as those made by Eisermann never recur; if the latter, and if they were simply a random collection of individuals who had met to discuss a random selection of subjects, I would not give a fig for them, nor would I ever return. This aroused much horror among the Grünians who, they said, foregathered here for ‘the good of mankind’, for their own enlightenment, men of progress and not biased system-mongers, etc., etc., the description ‘a random collection’ being in no way applicable to such respectable company. Moreover, they *first wanted to know* what communism really was (these curs, who for years have called themselves communists and only deserted out of fear of Grün and Eisermann, these two last having used communism as a pretext for worming their way in among them!). Of course I did not allow myself to be caught by their amiable request to tell them, ignorant as they were, in 2 or 3 words what communism was. I gave them a highly simple definition which went as far as and no further than the foregoing points at issue, which, by positing community of goods, *ruled out*, not only peacefulness, tenderness and consideration for the bourgeoisie and/or the Straubinger fraternity, but also and finally the Proudhonian joint-stock society along with its retention of individual *property* and all that this involves; a definition which, furthermore, contained nothing that could give rise either to divagations or to any circumvention of the proposed vote. I therefore defined the aims of communists as follows: 1. to ensure that the interests of the proletariat prevail, as opposed to those of the bourgeoisie; 2. to do so by abolishing private property and replacing same with community of goods; 3. to recognise no means of attaining these aims other than democratic revolution by force.

Two evenings were spent discussing this. During the second, the best of the 3 Grünians, sensing the mood of the majority, came

^a 18 October 1846

over to me unreservedly. The other two kept contradicting each other without being aware of the fact. Several chaps, who had never spoken before, suddenly opened their traps and declared themselves unequivocally for me. Up till then Junge had been the only one to do so. Some of these *homines novi*,^a although trembling with fear lest they dry up, spoke quite nicely and all in all seem to have quite a sound intellect. In short, when it was put to the vote, the meeting was declared to be communist in accordance with the above definition by 13 votes to 2, the latter being those of the pair who had remained true to Grün—one of whom subsequently declared himself exceedingly eager to be converted.

Thus a clean sweep has at last been made and we can now begin, so far as is possible, to do something with these fellows. Grün, who was easily able to extricate himself from his financial predicament^b because the principal creditors were those same Grünians, his principal followers, has gone down a great deal in the opinion of the majority and of some of his followers and, despite all his intrigues and experiments (e. g. attending the Barrière meetings⁸¹ wearing a cap, etc., etc.), has been a resounding failure with his Proudhonian society. Had I not been there, our friend Ewerbeck would have fallen for it. *La tête baissée*.^c

One could hardly help but admire Grün's stratagem! Doubting his chaps' intelligence, he tells them his stories over and over again until they can rattle them off from memory. After every session—nothing was easier, of course, than to reduce such an opposition to silence—the whole defeated gang went scuttling off to Grün, told him what I had said—naturally all of it distorted—and had their armoury renewed. When next they opened their traps, one could always tell from the first couple of words exactly what the whole sentence would be. In view of this tale-bearing, I was careful not to provide the fellows with anything general which might assist Mr Grün in further embellishing his true socialism; nevertheless, writing not long ago in the *Kölner*^d on the occasion of the Geneva Revolution,¹¹⁷ the cur exploited and variously distorted sundry things I had said to the Straubingers, whereas here in Paris he had drummed the *opposite* into them. He is now engaged in political economy, the worthy man.

^a new men - ^b See this volume, p. 62. - ^c With his eyes shut. - ^d This presumably refers to a report from Paris 'Hr. Guizot beabsichtigt eine Intervention in der Schweiz' published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 291, 18 October 1846.

You'll have seen Proudhon's book^a advertised. I shall get hold of it one of these days; it costs 15 fr. so it's too expensive to buy.

The above-mentioned audience, before whom the performance took place, consists of approx. 20 cabinet-makers, who otherwise foregather only at the Barrière and then with all and sundry, having no really closed association of their own, save for a choral club, though some also belong to the rump of the League of the Just.⁵² If we could assemble openly we would soon have over 100 chaps from the cabinet-makers alone. I know only a few of the tailors—who also attend the cabinet-makers' meeting. Nowhere in Paris have I been able to find out anything at all about blacksmiths and tanners. Not a soul knows anything about them.

Not long ago Kriege, as one of the Just, laid his report before the 'Halle'^b (central authority). Of course I read the missive; but since this constituted a breach of the oath, for which the penalty is death by dagger, rope or poison, you must nowhere record same in writing. The letter proves, just as did his riposte to our attack,^c that he had benefited greatly from the latter and that he was now more concerned with the things of this world. He gave a long account of their difficulties. The first instalment of this American Straubingers' story concerned their misfortunes—evidently Kriege was at the helm and his management of the money side was big-hearted to say the least, the *Tribun*^d was given away, not sold, the funds consisted in charitable gifts, in short, by trying to re-enact Chapters III-VI of the Acts of the Apostles not even omitting Ananias and Sapphira,^e they finally found themselves up to their eyes in debt. The second period, in which Kriege became simply the 'registrar', other chaps having apparently taken over the financial side, was that of recovery. Instead of appealing to the fulness of men's hearts, they now appealed to their lightly tripping feet and to their ± uncommunist side generally, discovering to their surprise that all the money they needed could be raised by organising balls, picnics, etc., etc., and that human frailty could be exploited for the benefit of communism. Pecuniarily speaking, they were now thoroughly flush. Among the 'obstacles' they had to overcome, the doughty Tecklenburger^f also counts the manifold calumnies and aspersions they, amongst others, had had to endure 'and this recently at the hands of the "communist" philosophers in Brussels'. For the rest he indulges in some trivial prattle against the colonies, recommends 'Brother Weitling' to them (i. e. to his

^a P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*. -

^b The People's Chamber (Volkshalle) - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Against Kriege'. - ^d *Der Volks-Tribun* - ^e The Acts 5:1 - ^f Hermann Kriege

most inveterate foes), but for the most part remains fairly down-to-earth, if also somewhat unctuous, and only from time to time is there a little sighing about brotherliness, etc.

Do you get the *Réforme* there? If you don't read it, let me know and I will send you accounts of anything special that appears in it. For the past four days it has been picking on the *National* for refusing to express unconditional approval of a petition for electoral reform which is circulating here. This, the *Réforme* maintains, was entirely due to its partiality for Thiers. Not long ago it was rumoured here that Bastide and Thomas had resigned from the *National*, leaving only Marrast, and that the latter had allied himself with Thiers. This was denied by the *National*. However, changes have been made in its editorial department, but I am not aware of the details; for the past year it is known to have been particularly well-disposed towards Thiers; now the *Réforme* is pointing out how greatly it has compromised itself by this partiality.

Moreover, it is only opposition to the *Réforme*, which has of late led the *National* to commit follies such as denying, purely out of malice, and until it could do so no longer, etc., the story, first told by the *Réforme*, of the Portuguese counter-revolution.¹¹⁸ The *Réforme* is now at great pains to carry on a polemic no less brilliant than that of the *National*, but without success.

Having got to this point in my letter, I once again went to the Straubingers, where the following transpired: Grün, too impotent to harm me in any way, is now having me denounced at the Barrière. Eisermann is attacking communism at the public Barrière meeting at which, owing to the presence of informers, no one, of course, can answer him back without incurring the risk of being thrown out; Junge answered him furiously (but yesterday we warned him against this). Thereupon Eisermann declared Junge to be the mouthpiece of a third person (myself, of course), who had suddenly irrupted amongst the people like a bomb, and he himself well knew how they were primed for the Barrière discussions, etc., etc. In short, what all his chatter amounted to was an *out-and-out denunciation* to the police; for four weeks ago the landlord in whose house the affair happened said: *il y a toujours des mouchards parmi vous*,^a and once, at that time, the police inspector also turned up. He accused Junge in so many words of being a 'revolutionary'. Mr Grün was present throughout and prompted Eisermann on what to say. This was the dirtiest trick of

^a There are always informers among you.

all. According to the facts as I know them, I hold Grün fully responsible for everything Eisermann says. There's absolutely nothing to be done about it. That numskull Eisermann cannot be attacked at the Barrière because this would elicit yet another denunciation of the weekly meeting; Grün is too cowardly to do anything *himself* and in his own name. The only thing that can be done is to have it explained to the people at the Barrière that communism wasn't discussed because that might have exposed the whole meeting to danger from the police.

It's high time I heard from you.

Yours
E.

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ENGELS TO MARX¹¹⁹

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, about 23 October 1846]

Dear M.,

Have received the thing against Kriege.¹²⁰ Not bad. Since you alone signed, Kriege will no doubt put the more peremptory tone of the first document^a down to my personal account, and eat humble pie in respect of the second, but little do I care. Let him give free rein to his personal malice and paint me as black as may be in the eyes of the American Straubingers,⁸⁶ if that gives him any pleasure.

You will see from the Committee letter^b how successful I was with the Straubingers here. The devil knows, I didn't spare them. I attacked their worst prejudices, and told them they were not proletarians at all. But Grün also played very beautifully into my hands.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Against Kriege'. - ^b See this volume, pp. 81-86.

For heaven's sake don't stamp your letters to me. If it hadn't been for that damned Leske, who finally sent me a worthless bill of exchange, which I had to return, for the old stuff I had sent to Püttmann^a—if the cur hadn't left me in the lurch, I'd send you 25 fr. immediately for Committee funds. But meanwhile I shall take upon myself at least the cost of the correspondence with *me*. If I failed to stamp my previous letter, it was because it was too late and I could only get it off by dropping it straight into the letter box. As soon as Leske sends me the money, you'll get a share of it.

None of the Straubingers are to be allowed to see the reply to Kriege. Otherwise it wouldn't be safe from Grün. We must be careful not to let anything disturb the chap until he's finished his work on Proudhon's book, with notes by K. Grün.^b Then we'll have him. In it he completely retracts a mass of things he has previously said, and delivers himself up body and soul to the Proudhonian system of redemption. Then there'll be no more exploitation, unless he is willing to turn his coat again.

Is Weitling still in Brussels¹²¹?

I think I shall be able to pull it off with the Straubingers here. True, the fellows are horribly ignorant and, their condition in life being what it is, completely unprepared. There is no competition whatever among them, wages remain constantly at the same wretched level; the struggle with the master, far from turning on the question of wages, is concerned with 'journeymen's pride', etc. The slop-shops are now having a revolutionising effect on the tailors. If only it were not such a rotten trade!

Grün has done a frightful amount of harm. He has turned all that was distinct in these fellows' minds into woolly daydreams, humanitarian aspirations, etc. Under the pretence of attacking Weitlingian and other doctrinaire communism, he has stuffed their heads full of vague literary and petty-bourgeois catch-phrases, maintaining that all else was system-mongering. Even the cabinet-makers, who have *never*, save a few exceptions, been Weitlingians, entertain a superstitious fear of 'bread-and-butter communism' [Löffelkommunismus] and—at least *before* the resolution was passed—would sooner have associated themselves with the woolliest daydreams, peaceable philanthropic schemes, etc., than with this 'bread-and-butter communism'. Here utter confusion reigns.

^a F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence'. - ^b P. J. Proudhon, *Philosophie der Staatsökonomie oder Nothwendigkeit des Elends*. Deutsch bearb. von Karl Grün.

A few days ago I wrote to Harney, gently attacking the pacific nature of the FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS¹²² and told him, by the way, that he should continue to correspond with you.

Your
E.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx
42 rue d'Orléans
Faubourg de Namur
Affranchi. Bruxelles

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ENGELS TO MARX¹²³

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris], 2 November [1846]
23, rue de Lille

Where is the long letter you promised so long ago? *Make sure you send Bernays the manuscript*, he only needs what you have¹²⁴ since he still has the printed stuff. He has sent nothing to America; whatever may have appeared there was printed without his knowledge or consent.^a However a lot of copies were printed, and some may have gone as presents from Leske to all points of the compass. We shall investigate the matter. Perhaps through Grün or Börnstein. I have written to Switzerland about the manuscripts,^b but it would seem that the cur^c has no intention of replying.¹²⁵ Apart from him, there's no one but Jenni; I've played a prank on him and would rather not write, enclose a short note for the fellow in your next. I shall send it on, but it's only for form's sake, the fellow's almost certain to refuse. The first man I

^a [K. L. Bernays,] 'Das entschleierte Geheimniss der Criminal-Justiz. Eine kommunistische Anschauungsweise', *Der Volks-Tribun*, Nos. 26 and 27, 27 June and 4 July 1846. - ^b A reference to K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*. -

^c J. M. Schläpfer.

wrote to published a short pamphlet by Bernays,^a but even if he does take the thing, it would appear, *à ce qu'écrit*^b Püttmann, that he is bankrupt. *Voilà*.^c I despair of Switzerland. Good advice costs money. Things being what they are, we shall certainly not get rid of 2 volumes together. At most 2 volumes to 2 different publishers. Write about this as well.

Your
E.

I have only just read what the little man^d has written above about his flight from solitude. It's a good thing we've got him here. He is gradually cheering up again. Greetings to the whole *boutique*.^e

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ENGELS TO MARX¹²⁶

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, middle of November-December 1846]

Dear Marx,

The reasons for the brief letter I recently sent Gigot are the following. During the investigation into the disturbances in the Faubourg St. Antoine in October, a multitude of Germans were arrested and questioned, the whole of the second batch consisting of Straubingers.¹²⁷ Some of these numskulls, who have now been sent across the border, must have talked a great deal of nonsense about Ewerbeck and myself; IN FACT, in view of their paltriness, nothing else could have been expected of the Straubingers than that they should have been scared to death and have given away all that they knew and more. On top of that, such Straubingers as

^a [K. L. Bernays,] *Rothschild. Ein Urtheilsspruch vom menschlichen Standpunkte aus*. - ^b from what writes - ^c There! - ^d Karl Ludwig Bernays - ^e company (literally: shop)

I was acquainted with, secretive though they were concerning their own miserable affairs, shamefully sounded the alarm about my meetings with them. That's how these lads are.

At the Barrière, as I have already written and told you,^a the noble Eisermann delivered himself of a further, detailed *avis aux mouchards*^b in which he attacked me. Junge was also guilty of some gross indiscretions; the fellow is a trifle swollen-headed, he wishes to be sent to Calais and London at the expense of the French government. In short, M. Delessert set one spy after another at the heels of myself and Ewerbeck, who has long been under suspicion and has an expulsion order hanging over his head. These spies succeeded in following us to the *marchand de vins*,^c where we sometimes foregathered with the Faubourg stalwarts. This was proof enough that we were the leaders of a dangerous clique, and not long afterwards I learned that M. Delessert had requested M. Tanneguy Duchâtel to issue an expulsion order against me and Ewerbeck, and that there was a splendid pile of documents relating to the case in the Prefecture, almost next door to the place where the whores are medically examined. Needless to say, I had no desire to let myself be banished on the Straubingers' account. I had already anticipated something of the kind when I noticed the nonchalance with which the Straubingers were holding forth for all to hear and arguing all over the place about who was right, Grün or I. I was sick and tired of the whole business, there was no putting the lads to rights; even in discussion they wouldn't speak their minds frankly just like the people in London, and I had achieved my main object, the triumph over Grün. It was an excellent opportunity of honourably ridding myself of the Straubingers, vexing as the whole affair was in other respects. I therefore let it be known to them that I could no longer remain their tutor and that, furthermore, they should watch their step. Ewerbeck at once decided to go on a journey and appears, indeed, to have departed forthwith¹²⁸—at any rate, I haven't seen him since. Where he has gone, I do not know. The police had also been looking for the little man (Bernays) who, however, had withdrawn to his old place^d because of a variety of escapades (it's remarkable what mad scrapes he gets into as soon as he sets foot in the civilised world). When he will return to Paris, I don't know, but in no circumstances will he move into lodgings where he had intended to, hence *the address that was given you is useless*. He

^a See this volume, pp. 85-86. - ^b notification to the informers - ^c wineshop - ^d i. e. Sarcelles

has safely received his manuscript.^a Meanwhile I can thank the noble police for having reft me from the arms of the Straubingers and reminded me of the pleasures life has to offer. If the suspicious individuals who have been following me for the past fortnight are really informers, as I am convinced some of them are, the Prefecture must of late have given out a great many entrance tickets to the *bals* Montesquieu, Valentino, Prado, etc., etc. I am indebted to Mr Delessert for some delicious encounters with *grisettes* and for a great deal of pleasure, *car j'ai voulu profiter des journées et des nuits qui pouvaient être mes dernières à Paris. Enfin,*^b since in other respects I've been left in peace up till now, everything would appear to have quietened down. But in future address all letters to Monsieur A. F. Körner, artiste-peintre, 29, rue neuve Bréda, Paris, with an envelope inside bearing my initials, taking care that nothing shows through.

You will understand that, in the circumstances, I have had to leave W. Weitling entirely to his own devices. Having seen none of our people, I have no idea whether he has been or still is here. Nor does it matter. I don't know the Weitlingians at all and, he'd get a fine welcome amongst those I know; because of their eternal clashes with his tailor friends, they feel the most frightful animosity towards him.

The affair with the London people¹²⁹ is annoying precisely because of Harney and because they, of all the Straubingers, were the only ones with whom one could attempt to make contact frankly and without *arrière-pensée*. But if the fellows are unwilling, *eh bien,*^c let them go. In any case one can never know if they won't produce another address as miserable as the one to Mr Ronge or to the Schleswig-Holsteiners.¹³⁰ On top of that, there's their perpetual envy of us as 'scholars'. By the way, we have two methods by which we can rid ourselves of them should they rebel: either make a clean break with them, or simply allow the correspondence to lapse. I would be for the latter, if their last letter admits of an answer which, without giving undue offence, is lukewarm enough to rob them of any desire to reply quickly. Then another long delay before answering—and two or three letters will be enough to consign this drowsy correspondence to its last sleep. For how and why should we ridicule these fellows? We have no press organ and even if we had one, they are no writers

^a See this volume, p. 88. - ^b since I wanted to take advantage of the days and nights which might well be my last in Paris. Anyway - ^c well, then

but confine themselves to an occasional proclamation which no one ever sees, still less cares about. If we are to ridicule the Straubingers *at all*, we can always avail ourselves of their fine documents; if the correspondence finally does lapse, well and good; the rupture will be gradual and attract no great attention. In the meantime we shall quietly make the necessary arrangements with Harney, taking care that *they* owe us the final letter (which they will in fact do, once they have been made to wait 6-10 weeks for an answer), and then leave them to clamour. An immediate rupture with the fellows would bring us neither gain nor *gloire*.^a *Theoretical* disagreements are hardly possible with the fellows since they have no theory and, *sauf*^b for their possible unspoken misgivings, they wish to learn from us: nor are they able to formulate their misgivings, so that all discussion with them is impossible except, perhaps, face to face. In the case of an open rupture they would bring up against us all that generalised communist thirst-for-learning stuff: we'd have been glad to learn from the learned gentlemen, if they'd had something decent, etc. *Practical* party differences would—since there are only a few of them on the committee and a few of us too—soon degenerate into mere personalities and ill-natured exchanges, at least on the face of it. As a party we can enter the lists against literary men, but not against Straubingers. They are, after all, a couple of 100 strong, vouched for among the English by Harney, proclaimed in Germany by the *Rheinischer Beobachter*, etc., etc., a rabid and by no means impotent communist society; they are, furthermore, the most tolerable of the Straubingers, and can certainly not be bettered so long as there is no change in Germany. We have learnt from this business that, in the absence of a proper movement in Germany, nothing can be done with the Straubingers, even the best of them. It is better after all to let them quietly go their own way, attacking them only as a whole, *en bloc*, than to provoke a dispute which might only serve to sully our reputations. *Vis-à-vis ourselves*, these lads declare themselves to be 'the people', 'the proletarians', and we can only appeal to a communist proletariat which has yet to take shape in Germany. In addition, the Prussian Constitution is in the offing, and we might then be able to make use of the fellows' signatures, etc., etc.—Anyway, my words of wisdom will doubtless arrive too late and you will already have passed and acted on a resolution in this matter. I would, by the

^a glory - ^b save

way, have written earlier, but I was waiting to see what turn the affair with the police would take.

I have just received a reply from the Swiss publisher.^a The letter, enclosed herewith, only confirms my belief that the fellow's a scoundrel. No ordinary publisher would accept so amiably after keeping one waiting x weeks. Now we shall have to see what the Bremen man^b says, and then we can always do as we think fit. Then again there's the fellow at Belle-Vue near Constance; perhaps something might be arranged with him¹³¹; I could try him again if the Bremen man's not agreeable. Meanwhile I'll make some more enquiries in Herisau—if only we had a decent fellow in Switzerland to whom one could send the manuscript^c with instructions to hand it over only against payment in cash.^d But the only one there is that thirsty paterfamilias Püttmann!

During the recent bad spell, one of my innocent, incidental pastimes, besides girls, has been to concern myself to some extent with Denmark and the other northern countries.¹³² What an abomination! Rather the smallest German than the biggest Dane! Nowhere else is the *misère* of morality, guilds and estates still carried to such a pitch. The Dane regards Germany as a country which one visits in order to 'keep mistresses and squander one's fortune on them' (*imedens at han reiste i Tydskland, havde han en Maitresse, som fortærede ham den bedste del af hans Midler*,^e we read in a Danish school book). He calls the German a *tydsk'* windbag, and regards himself as the true representative of the Teutonic soul—the Swede in turn despises the Dane as 'Germanised' and degenerate, garrulous and effete—the Norwegian looks down on the Gallicised Swede and his aristocracy and rejoices in the fact that at home in Norge^g exactly the same stupid, peasant economy is dominant as at the time of the noble Canute, and he, for his part, is treated *en canaille*^h by the Icelander, who still continues to speak exactly the same language as the unwashed Vikings of anno 900, swills whale oil, lives in a mud hut and goes to pieces in any atmosphere that does not reek of rotten fish. I have several times felt tempted to be proud of the fact that I am at least no Dane, nor yet an Icelander, but merely a German. The editor of the most advanced Swedish newspaper, the *Aftonbladet*, has twice been here in Paris to seek enlightenment on the organisation of labour,

^a Johann Michael Schläpfer - ^b Kühtmann - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*. - ^d Engels here uses the Dutch: *baar Geld*. - ^e while travelling in Germany, he had a mistress who ran through the better part of his fortune - ^f German - ^g Norway - ^h scornfully

has for years taken the *Bon Sens* and the *Démocratie pacifique*; he solemnly conferred with Louis Blanc and Considérant, but found himself out of his depth, and returned home none the wiser. Now as before he loudly advocates free competition or, as the Swedes have it, freedom of *nourishment* or else *själförsörjningsfrihet*, freedom of self-supply (which sounds even better than freedom to pursue a *trade*). Of course, they're still up to their necks in the guild nonsense and, in the parliaments, it's precisely the bourgeois who are the most rabid conservatives. Throughout the whole country there are only two proper towns, à 80,000 and 40,000 inhabitants respectively, the third, Norrköpping, having only 12,000 and all the rest perhaps 1,000, 2,000, 3,000. At every post station there's one inhabitant. In Denmark things are scarcely better, since they have only one solitary city there, in which the guilds indulge in the most ludicrous proceedings, madder even than in Basle or Bremen, and where you aren't allowed on the promenade without an entrance ticket. The only thing these countries are good for is to show what the Germans would do if they had freedom of the press, viz., what the Danes have actually done, immediately found a 'society for the proper use of the free press', and print almanacs full of Christian good intentions. The Swedish *Aftonbladet* is as tame as the *Kölner Zeitung*, but considers itself 'democratic in the true sense of the word'. On the other hand the Swedes have the novels of Fröken^a Bremer and the Danes of Councillor of State (Eta traad) Oehlenschläger, Commander of the Order of the Dannebrog.¹³³ There's also a terrific number of Hegelians there and the language, every third word of which is filched from the German, is admirably suited to speculation.

A report was begun long ago and will follow within the next few days.¹³⁴ Write and tell me if you have Proudhon's book.^b

If you wish to make use of Proudhon's book, which is bad, for your own book,⁵ I will send you the very extensive excerpts I have made. It's not worth the 15 francs it costs.

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^a Miss - ^b P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*.

MARX TO PAVEL VASILYEVICH ANNENKOV¹³⁵

IN PARIS

Brussels, 28 December [1846] Rue
d'Orléans, 42, Faubourg Namur

My dear Mr Annenkov,

You would long since have had a reply to your letter of 1 November had not my bookseller delayed sending me Mr Proudhon's book, *Philosophie de la misère*, until last week. I skimmed through it in two days so as to be able to give you my opinion straight away. Having read the book very cursorily, I cannot go into details but can only let you have the general impression it made on me. Should you so desire, I could go into it in greater detail in another letter.

To be frank, I must admit that I find the book on the whole poor, if not very poor. You yourself make fun in your letter of the 'little bit of German philosophy' paraded by Mr Proudhon in this amorphous and overweening work, but you assume that the economic argument has remained untainted by the philosophic poison. Therefore I am by no means inclined to ascribe the faults of the economic argument to Mr Proudhon's philosophy. Mr Proudhon does not provide a false critique of political economy because his philosophy is absurd—he produces an absurd philosophy because he has not understood present social conditions in their *engrènement*,^a to use a word which Mr Proudhon borrows from Fourier, like so much else.

Why does Mr Proudhon speak of God, of universal reason, of mankind's impersonal reason which is never mistaken, which has at all times been equal to itself and of which one only has to be correctly aware in order to arrive at truth? Why does he indulge in feeble Hegelianism in order to set himself up as an *esprit fort*?^b

He himself provides the key to this enigma. Mr Proudhon sees in history a definite series of social developments; he finds progress realised in history; finally, he finds that men, taken as individuals, did not know what they were about, were mistaken as to their own course, i. e. that their social development appears at first sight to be something distinct, separate and independent of their individual development. He is unable to explain these facts,

^a intermeshing - ^b Literally: strong intellect

and the hypothesis of universal reason made manifest is ready to hand. Nothing is easier than to invent mystical causes, i.e. phrases in which common sense is lacking.

But in admitting his total incomprehension of the historical development of mankind—and he admits as much in making use of high-flown expressions such as universal reason, God, etc.—does not Mr Proudhon admit, implicitly and of necessity, his inability to understand *economic development*?

What is society, irrespective of its form? The product of man's interaction upon man. Is man free to choose this or that form of society? By no means. If you assume a given state of development of man's productive faculties, you will have a corresponding form of commerce and consumption. If you assume given stages of development in production, commerce or consumption, you will have a corresponding form of social constitution, a corresponding organisation, whether of the family, of the estates or of the classes—in a word, a corresponding civil society. If you assume this or that civil society, you will have this or that political system, which is but the official expression of civil society. This is something Mr Proudhon will never understand, for he imagines he's doing something great when he appeals from the state to civil society, i. e. to official society from the official epitome of society.

Needless to say, man is not free to choose *his productive forces*—upon which his whole history is based—for every productive force is an acquired force, the product of previous activity. Thus the productive forces are the result of man's practical energy, but that energy is in turn circumscribed by the conditions in which man is placed by the productive forces already acquired, by the form of society which exists before him, which he does not create, which is the product of the preceding generation. The simple fact that every succeeding generation finds productive forces acquired by the preceding generation and which serve it as the raw material of further production, engenders a relatedness in the history of man, engenders a history of mankind, which is all the more a history of mankind as man's productive forces, and hence his social relations, have expanded. From this it can only be concluded that the social history of man is never anything else than the history of his individual development, whether he is conscious of this or not. His material relations form the basis of all his relations. These material relations are but the necessary forms in which his material and individual activity is realised.

Mr Proudhon confuses ideas and things. Man never renounces what he has gained, but this does not mean that he never

renounces the form of society in which he has acquired certain productive forces. On the contrary. If he is not to be deprived of the results obtained or to forfeit the fruits of civilisation, man is compelled to change all his traditional social forms as soon as the mode of commerce ceases to correspond to the productive forces acquired. Here I use the word *commerce* in its widest sense—as we would say *Verkehr* in German. For instance, privilege, the institution of guilds and corporations, the regulatory system of the Middle Ages, were the only social relations that corresponded to the acquired productive forces and to the pre-existing social conditions from which those institutions had emerged. Protected by the corporative and regulatory system, capital had accumulated, maritime trade had expanded, colonies had been founded—and man would have lost the very fruits of all this had he wished to preserve the forms under whose protection those fruits had ripened. And, indeed, two thunderclaps occurred, the revolutions of 1640 and of 1688. In England, all the earlier economic forms, the social relations corresponding to them, and the political system which was the official expression of the old civil society, were destroyed. Thus, the economic forms in which man produces, consumes and exchanges are *transitory and historical*. With the acquisition of new productive faculties man changes his mode of production and with the mode of production he changes all the economic relations which were but the necessary relations of that particular mode of production.

It is this that Mr Proudhon has failed to understand, let alone demonstrate. Unable to follow the real course of history, Mr Proudhon provides a phantasmagoria which he has the presumption to present as a dialectical phantasmagoria. He no longer feels any need to speak of the seventeenth, eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, for his history takes place in the nebulous realm of the imagination and soars high above time and place. In a word, it is Hegelian trash, it is not history, it is not profane history—history of mankind, but sacred history—history of ideas. As seen by him, man is but the instrument used by the idea or eternal reason in order to unfold itself. The *evolutions* of which Mr Proudhon speaks are presumed to be evolutions such as take place in the mystical bosom of the absolute idea. If the veil of this mystical language be rent, it will be found that what Mr Proudhon gives us is the order in which economic categories are arranged within his mind. It would require no great effort on my part to prove to you that this arrangement is the arrangement of a very disorderly mind.

Mr Proudhon opens his book with a dissertation on *value* which is his hobby-horse. For the time being I shall not embark upon an examination of that dissertation.

The series of eternal reason's economic evolutions begins with the *division of labour*. For Mr Proudhon, the division of labour is something exceedingly simple. But was not the caste system a specific division of labour? And was not the corporative system another division of labour? And is not the division of labour in the manufacturing system, which began in England in the middle of the seventeenth century and ended towards the end of the eighteenth century, likewise entirely distinct from the division of labour in big industry, in modern industry?

Mr Proudhon is so far from the truth that he neglects to do what even profane economists do. In discussing the division of labour, he feels no need to refer to the world *market*. Well! Must not the division of labour in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when there were as yet no colonies, when America was still non-existent for Europe, and when Eastern Asia existed only through the mediation of Constantinople, have been utterly different from the division of labour in the seventeenth century, when colonies were already developed?

And that is not all. Is the whole internal organisation of nations, are their international relations, anything but the expression of a given division of labour? And must they not change as the division of labour changes?

Mr Proudhon has so little understood the question of the division of labour that he does not even mention the separation of town and country which occurred in Germany, for instance, between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Thus, to Mr Proudhon, that separation must be an eternal law because he is unaware either of its origin or of its development. Throughout his book he speaks as though this creation of a given mode of production were to last till the end of time. All that Mr Proudhon says about the division of labour is but a résumé, and a very superficial and very incomplete résumé at that, of what Adam Smith and a thousand others said before him.

The second evolution is *machinery*. With Mr Proudhon, the relation between the division of labour and machinery is a wholly mystical one. Each one of the modes of the division of labour had its specific instruments of production. For instance, between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century man did not make everything by hand. He had tools and very intricate ones, such as looms, ships, levers, etc., etc.

Thus nothing could be more absurd than to see machinery as deriving from the division of labour in general.

In passing I should also point out that, not having understood the historical origin of machinery, Mr. Proudhon has still less understood its development. Up till 1825—when the first general crisis occurred—it might be said that the requirements of consumption as a whole were growing more rapidly than production, and that the development of machinery was the necessary consequence of the needs of the market. Since 1825, the invention and use of machinery resulted solely from the war between masters and workmen. But this is true only of England. As for the European nations, they were compelled to use machinery by the competition they were encountering from the English, in their home markets as much as in the world market. Finally, where North America was concerned, the introduction of machinery was brought about both by competition with other nations and by scarcity of labour, i. e. by the disproportion between the population and the industrial requirements of North America. From this you will be able to see what wisdom Mr Proudhon evinces when he conjures up the spectre of competition as the third evolution, as the antithesis of machinery!

Finally, and generally speaking, it is truly absurd to make *machinery* an economic category alongside the division of labour, competition, credit, etc.

Machinery is no more an economic category than the ox who draws the plough. The present use of machinery is one of the relations of our present economic system, but the way in which machinery is exploited is quite distinct from the machinery itself. Powder is still powder, whether you use it to wound a man or to dress his wounds.

Mr Proudhon surpasses himself in causing to grow inside his own brain competition, monopoly, taxes or police, balance of trade, credit and property in the order I have given here. Nearly all the credit institutions had been developed in England by the beginning of the eighteenth century, before the invention of machinery. State credit was simply another method of increasing taxes and meeting the new requirements created by the rise to power of the bourgeois class. Finally, *property* constitutes the last category in Mr Proudhon's system. In the really existing world, on the other hand, the division of labour and all Mr Proudhon's other categories are social relations which together go to make up what is now known as *property*; outside these relations bourgeois property is nothing but a metaphysical or juridical illusion. The

property of another epoch, feudal property, developed in a wholly different set of social relations. In establishing property as an independent relation, Mr Proudhon is guilty of more than a methodological error: he clearly proves his failure to grasp the bond linking all forms of *bourgeois* production, or to understand the *historical* and *transitory* nature of the forms of production in any one epoch. Failing to see our social institutions as historical products and to understand either their origin or their development, Mr Proudhon can only subject them to a dogmatic critique.

Hence Mr Proudhon is compelled to resort to a *fiction* in order to explain development. He imagines that the division of labour, credit, machinery, etc., were all invented in the service of his *idée fixe*, the idea of equality. His explanation is sublimely naïve. These things were invented for the sake of equality, but unfortunately they have turned against equality. That is the whole of his argument. In other words, he makes a gratuitous assumption and, because actual development contradicts his fiction at every turn, he concludes that there is a contradiction. He conceals the fact that there is a contradiction only between his *idées fixes* and the real movement.

Thus Mr Proudhon, chiefly because he doesn't know history, fails to see that, in developing his productive faculties, i.e. in living, man develops certain inter-relations, and that the nature of these relations necessarily changes with the modification and the growth of the said productive faculties. He fails to see that *economic categories* are but *abstractions* of those real relations, that they are truths only in so far as those relations continue to exist. Thus he falls into the error of bourgeois economists who regard those economic categories as eternal laws and not as historical laws which are laws only for a given historical development, a specific development of the productive forces. Thus, instead of regarding politico-economic categories as abstractions of actual social relations that are transitory and historical, Mr Proudhon, by a mystical inversion, sees in the real relations only the embodiment of those abstractions. Those abstractions are themselves formulas which have been slumbering in the bosom of God the Father since the beginning of the world.

But here our good Mr Proudhon falls prey to severe intellectual convulsions. If all these economic categories are emanations of God's heart, if they are the hidden and eternal life of man, how is it, first, that there is any development and, secondly, that Mr Proudhon is not a conservative? He explains these evident contradictions in terms of a whole system of antagonisms.

In order to explain this system of antagonisms, let us take an example.

Monopoly is good because it is an economic category, hence an emanation of God. Competition is good because it, too, is an economic category. But what is not good is the reality of monopoly and the reality of competition. And what is even worse is that monopoly and competition mutually devour each other. What is to be done about it? Because these two eternal thoughts of God contradict each other, it seems clear to him that, in God's bosom, there is likewise a synthesis of these two thoughts in which the evils of monopoly are balanced by competition and vice versa. The result of the struggle between the two ideas will be that only the good aspects will be thrown into relief. This secret idea need only be wrested from God and put into practice and all will be for the best; the synthetic formula concealed in the night of mankind's impersonal reason must be revealed. Mr Proudhon does not hesitate for a moment to act as revealer.

But take a brief glance at real life. In present-day economic life you will find, not only competition and monopoly, but also their synthesis, which is not a *formula* but a *movement*. Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. That equation, however, far from alleviating the difficulties of the present situation, as bourgeois economists suppose, gives rise to a situation even more difficult and involved. Thus, by changing the basis upon which the present economic relations rest, by abolishing the present *mode* of production, you abolish not only competition, monopoly and their antagonism, but also their unity, their synthesis, the movement whereby a true balance is maintained between competition and monopoly.

Let me now give you an example of Mr Proudhon's dialectics.

Freedom and *slavery* constitute an antagonism. There is no need for me to speak either of the good or of the bad aspects of freedom. As for slavery, there is no need for me to speak of its bad aspects. The only thing requiring explanation is the good side of slavery. I do not mean indirect slavery, the slavery of the proletariat; I mean direct slavery, the slavery of the Blacks in Surinam, in Brazil, in the southern regions of North America.

Direct slavery is as much the pivot upon which our present-day industrialism turns as are machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery there would be no cotton, without cotton there would be no modern industry. It is slavery which has given value to the colonies, it is the colonies which have created world trade, and world trade is the necessary condition for large-scale machine

industry. Consequently, prior to the slave trade, the colonies sent very few products to the Old World, and did not noticeably change the face of the world. Slavery is therefore an economic category of paramount importance. Without slavery, North America, the most progressive nation, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Only wipe North America off the map and you will get anarchy, the complete decay of trade and modern civilisation. But to do away with slavery would be to wipe America off the map. Being an economic category, slavery has existed in all nations since the beginning of the world. All that modern nations have achieved is to disguise slavery at home and import it openly into the New World. After these reflections on slavery, what will the good Mr Proudhon do? He will seek the synthesis of liberty and slavery, the true golden mean, in other words the balance between slavery and liberty.

Mr Proudhon understands perfectly well that men manufacture worsted, linens and silks; and whatever credit is due for understanding such a trifle! What Mr Proudhon does not understand is that, according to their faculties, men also produce the *social relations* in which they produce worsted and linens. Still less does Mr Proudhon understand that those who produce social relations in conformity with their material productivity also produce the *ideas, categories*, i.e. the ideal abstract expressions of those same social relations. Indeed, the categories are no more eternal than the relations they express. They are historical and transitory products. To Mr Proudhon, on the contrary, the prime cause consists in abstractions and categories. According to him it is these and not men which make history. *The abstraction, the category regarded as such*, i.e. as distinct from man and his material activity, is, of course, immortal, immutable, impassive. It is nothing but an entity of pure reason, which is only another way of saying that an abstraction, regarded as such, is abstract. An admirable *tautology!*

Hence, to Mr Proudhon, economic relations, seen in the form of categories, are eternal formulas without origin or progress.

To put it another way: Mr Proudhon does not directly assert that to him *bourgeois life* is an *eternal truth*; he says so indirectly, by deifying the categories which express bourgeois relations in the form of thought. He regards the products of bourgeois society as spontaneous entities, endowed with a life of their own, eternal, the moment these present themselves to him in the shape of categories, of thought. Thus he fails to rise above the bourgeois horizon. Because he operates with bourgeois thoughts and assumes them to be eternally true, he looks for the synthesis of

those thoughts, their balance, and fails to see that their present manner of maintaining a balance is the only possible one.

In fact he does what all good bourgeois do. They all maintain that competition, monopoly, etc., are, in principle—i.e. regarded as abstract thoughts—the only basis for existence, but leave a great deal to be desired in practice. What they all want is competition without the pernicious consequences of competition. They all want the impossible, i.e. the conditions of bourgeois existence without the necessary consequences of those conditions. They all fail to understand that the bourgeois form of production is an historical and transitory form, just as was the feudal form. This mistake is due to the fact that, to them, bourgeois man is the only possible basis for any society, and that they cannot envisage a state of society in which man will have ceased to be bourgeois.

Hence Mr Proudhon is necessarily *doctrinaire*. The historical movement by which the present world is convulsed resolves itself, so far as he is concerned, into the problem of discovering the right balance, the synthesis of two bourgeois thoughts. Thus, by subtlety, the clever fellow discovers God's secret thought, the unity of two isolated thoughts which are isolated thoughts only because Mr Proudhon has isolated them from practical life, from present-day production, which is the combination of the realities they express. In place of the great historical movement which is born of the conflict between the productive forces already acquired by man, and his social relations which no longer correspond to those productive forces, in the place of the terrible wars now imminent between the various classes of a nation and between the various nations, in place of practical and violent action on the part of the masses, which is alone capable of resolving those conflicts, in place of that movement—vast, prolonged and complex—Mr Proudhon puts the cackly-dauphin movement¹³⁶ of his own mind. Thus it is the savants, the men able to filch from God his inmost thoughts, who make history. All the lesser fry have to do is put their revelations into practice.

Now you will understand why Mr Proudhon is the avowed enemy of all political movements. For him, the solution of present-day problems does not consist in public action but in the dialectical rotations of his brain. Because to him the categories are the motive force, it is not necessary to change practical life in order to change the categories; on the contrary, it is necessary to change the categories, whereupon actual society will change as a result.

In his desire to reconcile contradictions Mr Proudhon does not

ask himself whether the very basis of those contradictions ought not to be subverted. He is exactly like the political doctrinaire who wants a king and a chamber of deputies and a chamber of peers as integral parts of social life, as eternal categories. Only he seeks a new formula with which to balance those powers (whose balance consists precisely in the actual movement in which one of those powers is now the conqueror now the slave of the other). In the eighteenth century, for instance, a whole lot of mediocre minds busied themselves with finding the true formula with which to maintain a balance between the social estates, the nobility, the king, the parliaments,¹³⁷ etc., and the next day there was neither king, nor parliament, nor nobility. The proper balance between the aforesaid antagonisms consisted in the convulsion of all the social relations which served as a basis for those feudal entities and for the antagonism between those feudal entities.

Because Mr Proudhon posits on the one hand eternal ideas, the categories of pure reason, and, on the other, man and his practical life which, according to him, is the practical application of these categories, you will find in him from the very outset a *dualism* between life and ideas, between soul and body—a dualism which recurs in many forms. So you now see that the said antagonism is nothing other than Mr Proudhon's inability to understand either the origin or the profane history of the categories he has deified.

My letter is already too long for me to mention the absurd case Mr Proudhon is conducting against communism. For the present you will concede that a man who has failed to understand the present state of society must be even less able to understand either the movement which tends to overturn it or the literary expression of that revolutionary movement.

The *only point* upon which I am in complete agreement with Mr Proudhon is the disgust he feels for socialist sentimentalising. I anticipated him in provoking considerable hostility by the ridicule I directed at ovine, sentimental, utopian socialism. But is not Mr Proudhon subject to strange delusions when he opposes his petty-bourgeois sentimentality, by which I mean his homilies about home, conjugal love and suchlike banalities, to socialist sentimentality which—as for instance in Fourier's case—is infinitely more profound than the presumptuous platitudes of our worthy Proudhon? He himself is so well aware of the emptiness of his reasoning, of his complete inability to discuss such things, that he indulges in tantrums, exclamations and *irae hominis probi*,^a that he

^a the anger of an upright man

fumes, curses, denounces, cries pestilence and infamy, thumps his chest and glorifies himself before God and man as being innocent of socialist infamies! It is not as a critic that he derides socialist sentimentalities, or what he takes to be sentimentalities. It is as a saint, a pope, that he excommunicates the poor sinners and sings the praises of the petty bourgeoisie and of the miserable patriarchal amorous illusions of the domestic hearth. Nor is this in any way fortuitous. Mr Proudhon is, from top to toe, a philosopher, an economist of the petty bourgeoisie. In an advanced society and because of his situation, a *petty bourgeois* becomes a socialist on the one hand, and economist on the other, i.e. he is dazzled by the magnificence of the upper middle classes and feels compassion for the sufferings of the people. He is at one and the same time bourgeois and man of the people. In his heart of hearts he prides himself on his impartiality, on having found the correct balance, allegedly distinct from the happy medium. A petty bourgeois of this kind deifies *contradiction*, for contradiction is the very basis of his being. He is nothing but social contradiction in action. He must justify by means of theory what he is in practice, and Mr Proudhon has the merit of being the scientific exponent of the French petty bourgeoisie, which is a real merit since the petty bourgeoisie will be an integral part of all the impending social revolutions.

With this letter I should have liked to send you my book on political economy,⁵ but up till now I have been unable to have printed either this work or the critique of German philosophers and socialists⁶ which I mentioned to you in Brussels. You would never believe what difficulties a publication of this kind runs into in Germany, on the one hand from the police, on the other from the booksellers, who are themselves the interested representatives of all those tendencies I attack. And as for our own party, not only is it poor, but there is a large faction in the German communist party which bears me a grudge because I am opposed to its utopias and its declaiming.

Ever yours

Charles Marx

P.S. Perhaps you may wonder why I should be writing in bad French rather than in good German. It is because I am dealing with a French writer.

⁵ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*.

You would greatly oblige me by not keeping me waiting too long for a reply, as I am anxious to know whether you understand me wrapped up as I am in my barbarous French.

First published in extracts in Russian in *Vestnik Yevropy*, Vol. 15, Book 4, St. Petersburg, 1880 and in full in the French original in *M. M. Stasyulevich i yego sovremenniki v ikh perepiske* [M. M. Stasyulevich and His Contemporaries in Their Correspondence]. Vol. III, 1912

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Translated from the French

1847

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ENGELS TO MARX ¹³⁸

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] Friday, 15 January 1847

Dear Marx,

I would have written to you sooner had Bernays not left me in the lurch. That damned Börnstein, who was one of the people of whom I inquired about your coming here,¹³⁹ was never to be found, and I therefore entrusted the matter to Bernays, who said he would come to town on *Monday*^a at the latest, bringing a letter for you. Instead I received late last night the enclosed scrawl which the lazy fellow had dashed off in Sarcelles the day before yesterday evening, the explanation it contains being hardly of the kind to necessitate 5-6 days' study. But that's the sort of chap he is. I shall, by the way, speak to Börnstein *personally*, for I'm far from satisfied with this explanation and, to be honest, there is no one whose word I trust less than that of Bernays. For six months the man's been drumming into me that you could come here any day, with bag and baggage, and, now that it comes to the point, he makes all this to-do about a passport. As though you needed a passport! No one asks for it at the frontier; Moses^b came here without anyone asking just as I did and, if you stay with me, I should like to know who is going to ask for it. At most, a Belgian *passport pour l'intérieur*^c to establish your identity if necessary, or Mr Leopold's well-known missive: *Cabinet du Roi*^d—which would suffice for all eventualities. Heine is of exactly the same opinion and, as soon as I can get hold of Börnstein, I'll ask him about it.

Bernays, too, had invented the Tolstoy affair,^e or rather had been led by Börnstein to believe it, for Börnstein can *make him*

^a 11 January 1847. ^b Hess - ^c inland passport - ^d King's private secretariat - ^e See this volume, p. 65.

believe anything he chuses. All the various items of news contained in Bernays' earlier letters to us come from the same source and, having on a number of occasions witnessed the air of infallibility assumed by Börnstein when spouting his suppositions, his tittle-tattle and his own fabrications to Bernays, who takes everything at its face value, I no longer believe *a single word* of all those important news items 'from the best of sources' which he has conveyed to us in the past.

I saw with my own eyes how Börnstein, merely by affecting omniscience, made Bernays believe (and you know with what enthusiasm Bernays *believes once* he does believe) that the *National* had been sold lock, stock and barrel, body and soul, to Thiers, *argent± comptant*.^a The little man^b would have been willing to stake his life on it. He's as incorrigible in this respect as in his highly exalted mortally melancholy disposition. *Pendant le cours de la dernière quinzaine il a été seize fois au bord du désespoir*.^c

Cela entre nous.^d I shall ask Börnstein again what he thinks about your coming here; Heine, as already mentioned, maintains that you can come in all confidence. Or would you prefer to go to the French Ambassador^e and demand a passport on the strength of your *Prussian emigration certificate*?

It was very good of you to let me know about Moses' advent. The worthy man came to see me, didn't find me in, I wrote and told him to arrange a rendezvous. This took place yesterday. The man has changed a great deal. His head is adorned with youthful locks, a dainty little beard lends some grace to his angular jaw, a virginal blush hovered about his cheeks, but *la grandeur déchuë se peignait dans ses beaux yeux*^f and a strange modesty had come over him. Here in Paris I have come to adopt a very insolent manner, for bluster is all in the day's work, and it works well with the female sex. But the ravished exterior of that erstwhile world-shaking high-flyer, Hess, all but disarmed me. However, the heroic deeds of the true socialists, his disciples (of whom more anon), and his own, unchanged inner self, restored my courage.¹⁴⁰ Suffice it to say that my treatment of him was so cold and scornful that he will have no desire to return. All I did for him was to give him some good advice about the clap he had brought with him from Germany. He was also a complete fiasco with a number of German painters, some of whom he had known before. Only Gustav Adolf Köttgen has remained faithful to him.

^a cash more or less down - ^b K. L. Bernays - ^c In the course of the past fortnight he has been sixteen times on the brink of despair. - ^d This between ourselves. - ^e M. H. Rumigny - ^f fallen greatness was reflected in his fine eyes

The man in Bremen^a is at any rate preferable to the one in Switzerland.^b I cannot write to the Swiss, 1. because I have forgotten his address, 2. because I don't want to propose to the fellow a lower fee per sheet than you are proposing to the Bremen man. So [let me know] your proposals for the Bremen man, and at the same time send me the fellow's address. He paid Bernays well for his bad Rothschild pamphlet,^c but he cheated Püttmann, printing his stuff,^d but indefinitely postponing payment of the fee on the pretext that his capital was tied up.

Splendid that you should be attacking Proudhon in French. I hope the pamphlet will be finished by the time this reaches you. That you can anticipate as much as you wish of our publication goes without saying *so far as I am concerned*. I too believe that Proudhon's association amounts to the same thing as Bray's plan.¹⁴¹ I had quite forgotten about the good Bray.

You may have read in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* about the new Leipzig socialist periodical called *Veilchen*,^e a sheet for *inoffensive* modern criticism!!^f wherein Mr Semmig, as Sarastro, bellows:

"We know no thought of vengeance within these temple walls, where love leads back to duty who'er from duty falls, by frie-ie-ie-iendship's kindly hand held fast, he finds the land of light at last."^g

But unfortunately, unlike the late Reichel, he hasn't got a bass voice to match. Here Sarastro-Semmig is sacrificing to the 3 deities: 1) Hess—2) Stirner—3) Ruge—all in one breath. The two former have [plumbed] the depths of knowledge. This humble sheet, or humble violet is the craziest thing I have ever read. Such unobtrusive and at the same time insolent insanity is possible only in Saxony.

If only we could rewrite the chapter on 'true socialists' now that they've spread in every direction, now that the Westphalian school, the Saxon school, the Berlin school, etc., etc., have set themselves up separately, alongside the lonely stars of Püttmann, etc.¹⁴² They could be classified according to the celestial constellations. Püttmann the Great Bear, and Semmig the Little Bear, or Püttmann Taurus, and the Pleiades his 8 children. Anyway, he

^a Kührtmann. Reference to a publisher who could possibly print Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*. - ^b J. M. Schläpfer. - ^c [K. L. Bernays,] *Rothschild. Ein Urtheilspruch vom menschlichen Standpunkte aus*. - ^d A reference to Püttmann's *Prometheus*. - ^e Violets - ^f Report from Leipzig of 6 January 1847 in *Trier'sche Zeitung*, No. 12, 12 January 1847. - ^g Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute* (libretto by Emanuel Schikaneder), Act II, aria of Sarastro.

deserves horns if he hasn't already got them. Grün Aquarius and so on.

A *propos* Grün, I intend to revise the article on Grün's Goethe,^a reducing it to a $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ sheet and adapting it for our publication,^b if you are agreeable; write to me soon about this.¹⁴³ The book is too characteristic; Grün extols all Goethe's *philistinisms* as *human*, making out that Goethe, the citizen of Frankfurt and the *official*,¹⁴⁴ is the 'true human being', while passing over if not reviling all that is colossal and of genius. To such an extent that this book provides the most splendid proof of the fact that *human being*=*German petty bourgeois*. This I had no more than touched on, but I could elaborate it and more or less cut out the remainder of the article, since it isn't suitable for our thing. What do you think?

Your
Engels

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx, 42, rue d'Orléans, Faubourg de Namur, Bruxelles

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MARX TO ROLAND DANIELS

IN COLOGNE

[Brussels,] 7 March [1847]

Dear Daniels,

You or *one of the others in Cologne* may get a letter from Hess about communist affairs. I would urgently ask that *none* of you should answer until I have provided you with documents and

^a K. Grün, *Über Goethe vom menschlichen Standpunkte*. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*.

letters through W.^a At all events, I must again *urgently* request you to *come here*. I have some important things to tell you which cannot be communicated by post. If *you can't come*, then H. Bürgers must spend a few days here. You or your representative will stay with me....^b

So either you or H. Bürgers come to *Malines* as soon as possible.

Forward the enclosed letter to *Zulauff*,¹⁴⁵ Grünstrasse, Elberfeld.

Do not come to *Brussels* but to *Malines* and write the day before to say when you or Bürgers are coming.

You can neglect your bourgeois affairs for a day or two.

Your
Marx

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time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] Tuesday, 9 March [1847]

Dear Marx,

The wee pamphlet enclosed was delivered to me this morning by Junge; Ewerbeck had brought it to them a few days ago. Having looked at the thing, I declared it to be by Moses^c and explained this to Junge, point by point. This evening I saw Ewerbeck, who confessed that he had brought it to them and, after I had thoroughly demolished the thing, came out with the information that he himself, Ewerbeck, was the author of the

^a Probably Georg Weerth or Joseph Weydemeyer - ^b The remainder of the letter is missing, save for the next sentences, which are written in the margin. After the words 'with me' Marx added 'see above'. - ^c Hess

pretty concoction. He wrote it, he maintains, during the months that followed my arrival here, inspired by the first rapture into which he had been thrown by the novelties I communicated. That's how these lads are. While mocking Hess for decking himself out in borrowed plumes that didn't suit him, and forbidding the Straubingers¹⁴⁶ to convey what I had told them to Grün lest he purloin it, he sits him down and—with the best intentions in the world, as always—conducts himself no whit better. Moses and Grün could not have more thoroughly bungled matters than this homespun clap-doctor. I, of course, first made fun of him a little and ended up by forbidding him ever to give vent to such stuff again. But it's in these people's bones. Last week I sat down and, partly out of foolishness, partly because I absolutely had to have some money, wrote for anonymous publication a letter, pullulating with smutty jokes, in which I expressed gratitude to Lola Montez.¹⁴⁷ On Saturday I read him some bits out of it, and this evening he tells me, with his customary *bonhomie*, that this inspired him to produce something similar and that he did so the very next day on the same subject, handing it in to Mäurer for his anonymous periodical^a (it really does appear quite sub rosa and only for the benefit of the editors, being censored by Madame Mäurer, who has already blue-pencilled a poem by Heine). He was, he said, telling me about this in good time to save his honour and avoid committing a plagiarism! This fresh masterpiece by this passionately keen author will, of course, simply be my joke translated into a solemnly effusive style. This most recent exercise of the short gut, though of no significance, shows how extremely urgent it is that either your book or our manuscripts^b should appear as soon as possible. The fellows are all worried by the thought that such splendid ideas should remain so long concealed from the people, and can think up no better way of getting this load off their minds than by voiding as much of it as they think they have *passablement*^c digested. So don't let the Bremen man^d slip through your fingers. If he doesn't reply, write again and accept a minimum, if needs must. Each month they lie idle these manuscripts lose 5-10 fr. per sheet in EXCHANGEABLE VALUE. A few months from now, with *la diète prussienne*¹⁴⁸ *en discussion, la querelle bien entamée à Berlin*,^e Bauer

^a [H. Ewerbeck,] 'Hier Baiern!—Hier Andalusia!', *Die Pariser Horen*, April 1847. -

^b K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* and Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*. - ^c tolerably well - ^d Kühtmann - ^e the Prussian Diet in debate, the dispute well under way in Berlin

and Stirner will not fetch more than 10 fr. per sheet. With such a topical work one gradually gets to the stage where the high fee demanded as a writer's *point d'honneur* has to be completely set aside.

I spent about a week with Bernays in Sarcelles. He too does stupid things. Writes for the *Berliner Zeitungs-Halle* and is happy as a sandboy that his *soidisant*^a communist anti-bourgeois expectations appear in it. The editors and censors naturally allow anything purely anti-bourgeois to stand, but delete the few references that might also reflect unpleasantly on themselves. Fulminates about juries, 'bourgeois freedom of the press', the representation system, etc. I explain to him that this means literally working *pour le roi de Prusse*,^b and indirectly, against our party—usual warm-hearted outpourings, impossibility of effecting anything; I point out that the *Zeitungs-Halle* is in the pay of the government, obstinate denials, references to symptoms which, in the eyes of everyone save the sensitive inhabitants of Sarcelles, precisely bear out my contention. Result: Inability of warm heart, ingenuous enthusiasm, to write contrary to its convictions, to comprehend any policy that spares those who hitherto were the objects of its mortal hatred. 'Ain't in me nature!' the inevitable *ultima ratio*.^c I have read x of these articles dated from Paris; they are *on ne peut plus*^d in the interests of the government and in the style of true socialism. I feel inclined to give up Bernays and to meddle no more in the high-minded and repellent family woes in which he plays the *heros des dévouements*,^e of boundless devotion. *Il faut avoir vu cela*.^f The stench is like five thousand unaired featherbeds, multiplied by the release therein of innumerable farts—the result of Austrian vegetable cookery. And though the fellow should ten times tear himself away from the riff-raff and come to Paris, he will return to them as often. You can imagine the kind of moralising humbug all this puts into his head. The *mode composée*^g family in which he lives is turning him into a perfect narrow-minded philistine. He'll never get me to come to his *boutique*^h again, nor is he likely to feel any urgent desire to see so unfeeling an individual as myself.

You will very soon be receiving the pamphlet on the Constitution.ⁱ I shall write it on separate sheets, so that you can insert and

^a self-styled - ^b for the King of Prussia, i. e. for nothing - ^c last argument - ^d as much as they could be - ^e hero of devotion - ^f It has to be seen. - ^g complex kind of - ^h place (literally: shop) - ⁱ F. Engels, *The Constitutional Question in Germany*.

discard.¹⁴⁹ If there's any prospect of Vogler paying something, ask him if he will take the Lola Montez joke—approx. 1½-2 sheets, but you needn't tell him the thing originated with me. Let me know *by return*, for otherwise I shall try in Belle-Vue. You'll have seen from the *Débats* or the *Constitutionnel* that, as a result of complaints made by Württemberg, the Great Council has made it impossible for the scoundrelly Schläpfer in Herisau to go on publishing revolutionary stuff; he himself has confirmed this in letters to us and has asked that *nothing further* be sent to him. All the more reason, therefore, to maintain contact with the man in Bremen. If nothing at all comes of it with him, there remains only the publishers and booksellers in Belle-Vue near Constance. *Au reste*,^a should the placing of our manuscripts clash with the placing of your book, then, for heaven's sake, chuck the manuscripts into a corner, for it's far more important that your book should appear. We're neither of us likely to make much out of our work in that quarter.

In yesterday's (Monday's) *Kölner Zeitung* you may have seen a smug article on the scandalous affair of Martin du Nord.^b That article was by Bernays—from time to time he takes Börnstein's place as correspondent.

The police here are in a very ugly mood just now. It would seem that, by hook or by crook, they are determined to exploit the food shortage to provoke a riot or a mass conspiracy. First they scatter all manner of leaflets about; put up *placats incendiaires*,^c and now they have even manufactured and strewn around fire-raising devices which, however, *were not set alight*, in order to make plain to the *épicier*^d the lengths to which diabolical wickedness can go. On top of this they began a fine game with the *communistes matérialistes*¹⁵⁰ arresting a whole mass of fellows, among whom A knows B, B knows C, C knows D, etc., and now, on the strength of these acquaintanceships and a few statements made by witnesses, they transmogrify the whole lot of them, for the most part unknown to each other, into a 'gang'. The trial of this 'gang' is soon to take place, and if the old *complicité morale* be added to this new system, any individual you care to name can be sentenced without more ado. *Cela sent son Hébert*.^e By this means, nothing could be easier than to pin something even on *père Cabet*.

^a for the rest - ^b Probably a report from Paris 'Affaire Martin du Nord' published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 67, 8 March 1847. - ^c inflammatory posters - ^d grocer - ^e It stinks of Hébert

If at all possible, do come here some time in April. By 7 April I shall be moving—I don't yet know where to—and about that time I shall also have a little money. So for a time we could enjoy ourselves famously, squandering our all in taverns. However, since the police are being beastly at the moment¹⁵¹ (besides the Saxon I wrote to you about, my old opponent Eisermann was banished; both have remained here, cf. K. Grün in the *Kölnner Zeitung*^a), it might be as well to follow Börnstein's advice. Try to obtain a passport from the French Ambassador^b on the grounds of your emigration; if that doesn't work, we'll see what can be done at this end—no doubt there is still a conservative deputy who can be persuaded to help. It's absolutely essential that you get out of *ennuyante*^c Brussels for once and come to Paris, and I for my part have a great desire to go carousing with you. Either *mauvais sujet*^d or schoolmaster; these are the only alternatives open to one here; a *mauvais sujet* among disreputable good-for-nothings, *et cela vous va fort mal quand vous n'avez pas d'argent*,^e or schoolmaster to Ewerbeck, Bernays and Co. Or else submit to wise counsel from the leaders of the French radicals which one must later vindicate among the other jackasses lest they unduly flaunt their bloated Germanness. If I had an income of 5,000 fr. I would do nothing but work and amuse myself with women until I went to pieces. If there were no Frenchwomen, life wouldn't be worth living. *Mais tant qu'il y a des grisettes, va! Cela n'empêche pas*^f one from sometimes wishing to discuss a decent topic or enjoy life with a measure of refinement, neither of which is possible with anyone in the whole band of my acquaintances. You must come here.

Have you seen L. Blanc's *Revolution*^g? A wild mixture of correct hunches and unbounded craziness. I only read half of the first volume while at Sarcelles *Ça fait un drôle d'effet*.^h Hardly has he surprised one with some nice observation when he falls head over heels into the most dreadful lunacy. But L. Blanc has a good nose and, despite all the lunacy, the scent he is on is by no means bad. Yet he will get no further than the point he has already reached, being 'rooted to the spot by a spell'—ideology.

^a Reference to [K. Grün,] 'Über die Ausweisung von Eisermann und Anderen', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 60, 1 March 1847. - ^b M. H. Rumigny - ^c vexatious - ^d scamp - ^e and that suits you very badly when you have no money - ^f But so long as there are grisettes, well and good! That doesn't prevent - ^g L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française*, t. 1, Paris, 1847. - ^h It makes a curious impression.

Do you know Achille de Vaulabelle's *Chute de l'Empire, Histoire des deux Restaurations*? Came out last year, a republican on the *National*, and in the historiographical manner of the old school—before Thierry, Mignet, etc. Abysmal lack of insight into the most ordinary relations—in this respect even Capefigue in his *Cent jours* does infinitely better—but interesting on account of the Bourbon and allied basenesses, all of which he catalogues, and of a fairly exact representation and criticism of the facts in so far as his national and political interests don't obtrude. On the whole tediously written, however, precisely because of a lack of perspective. The *National* is a bad historian, and Vaulabelle is said to be Marrast's *amicus*.^a

Moses has vanished completely. He *promises* to give lectures to those *ouvriers*^b with whom I do *not* 'consort', makes himself out to be Grün's opponent and my intimate friend! God knows and so does Moses that, at our second and last *entrevue*^c in the Passage Vivienne, the painter Körner and I left him standing agape, in order to lead astray two girls Körner had picked up. Since then I have only met him once, on *mardi gras*,^d when he was dragging his world-weary self through the most dreadful downpour and the most arid boredom in the direction of the Exchange. We didn't even deign to recognise each other.

I will take care of the letter to Bakunin¹⁵² as soon as I am sure of his address—up to now it is still *chanceux*.^e

Apropos, do write to Ewerbeck about the wee pamphlet and make fun of him a little; he is most humbly presenting *ambas posaderas*^f and is anxious to see blows rained down upon them—you know what I mean.

Well then, write soon and see to it that you come here.

Your
F. E.

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^a friend - ^b workers - ^c interview - ^d Shrove Tuesday - ^e a matter of chance - ^f both buttocks

40

MARX TO ENGELS

IN PARIS

[Brussels,] 15 May [1847]

Dear Engels,

As you know, Vogler has been under arrest in Aachen since the beginning of May.^a This has for the time being precluded the possibility of getting the pamphlet^b you sent here into print. The first $\frac{1}{3}$ of it I liked very much. The other 2 will in any case need some alteration. Something more specific on this point in my next.

I enclose the print of your cartoon. I sent it to the *Brüsseler-Zeitung*.¹⁵³

As for the truly nauseous article by Grün or his associates in the *Trier'sche Zeitung*,^c it is of course now too late; it would have been good if at the outset you had published a two-line counter-statement in the same rag.

I cannot go to London, not having sufficient funds. But we hope to send Wolff over. And then it will be enough that the two of you are there.¹⁵⁴

Voce^d money:

You will remember that Hess owes me and my brother-in-law Edgar^e money from the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*. So I am drawing a bill on him from here, payable 30 days at sight. Bernays likewise has owed me 150 fr. since May of last year. So he too will also be presented with a bill.

I would therefore ask you to do the following:

1. First send me the addresses of both;
2. Inform both of them of the facts and tell the jackasses
3. that if they believe they will be unable to pay the respective sums by 15 June, they are nevertheless to accept the bills. I shall then arrange for cover in Paris. Naturally you will only inform the jackasses of the latter if absolutely unavoidable.

At the moment I'm in such financial straits that I have had to have recourse to drawing bills, and after all I don't intend to make

^a The original is inaccurate: Vogler was arrested at the beginning of April 1847 and returned to Brussels on 17 June. - ^b F. Engels, *The Constitutional Question in Germany*. - ^c Reference to a report from Paris of 13 April published in the section 'Frankreich' of the *Trier'sche Zeitung*, No. 107, 17 April 1847. - ^d as regards - ^e Edgar von Westphalen

the two jackasses a present of anything. Should the asses only *feign* acceptance of the bills, I must, of course, know at once.

Since the matter is *very pressing*, I expect you not to let a day go by before setting everything in order and *informing* me.

Here in Brussels I have managed to hunt out an *escompteur*.^a

I cannot write to you at any greater length. About 12 days ago Breyer let a *vein*, but in my *right* arm instead of the *left*. Since I went on working as though nothing had happened, the wound festered instead of closing. The thing could have been dangerous and cost me my arm. Now it's as good as healed. But the arm's still weak. Mustn't be overtaxed.

Your
Marx

[From Gigot]

My dear Fritzchen,

I am just in the middle of reading your pamphlet—so far it has amused me greatly—and feel really happy that I *ain't* no German. May God or Reason or Race preserve us from the petty bourgeoisie!

Avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être.^b

YOURS MOST TRULY
Philippe

P.S. Do drop me *un demi mot*^c sometime.

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41

MARX TO GEORG HERWEGH

IN PARIS

Brussels, 27 July [1847]

Faubourg d'Ixelles, rue d'Orléans 42

Dear Herwegh,

Engels has just arrived here for a few weeks from Paris,¹⁵⁵ whence he has brought the following anecdote; I should be glad if you would elucidate it at the earliest opportunity.

^a a bill discounter - ^b With which I have the honour to be - ^c a few words

Bernays told Ewerbeck: Herwegh came to see me and said that Marx had welcomed him in such a friendly manner that he seemed *to want something* of him. Bernays then gave Ewerbeck his unqualified permission to pass on this *bon mot*.

I would not, of course, put pen to paper on account of this piece of gossip had it not achieved a kind of notoriety among my acquaintances in Paris.

I would therefore request you to tell me categorically by return whether or not there is any truth in this.

Your
Marx

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42

MARX TO GEORG HERWEGH^{155a}
IN PARIS

Brussels, 8 August [1847]

Dear Herwegh,

I hasten to acknowledge receipt of your letter. I learn no more from it than I already knew in advance, namely that the whole thing was the most miserable piece of tattle. All I wanted was a few lines from you in order to show Engels in black and white the nature of German petty bourgeois gossip in Paris. I assure you that, since I moved from Paris, and despite all the precautions I have taken to make myself unfindable and inaccessible, these old women have continued to pursue me with trifles of this kind. Only by being excessively rude can one free oneself of these fools.

I am only sorry to have disturbed you with such stuff in your retreat.—It's typical of these old women to want to hush up and sugar over any genuine party struggle while mistaking for revolutionary activity the German habit of gossiping and making trouble. *Les malheureux*.^a Here in Brussels we don't suffer from that *misère* at least.

^a The wretches.

The Prussian Embassy here has been vigilantly shadowing and observing Bornstedt in order to catch him out in some transgression or other. At last they've succeeded. They *denounced* him and brought down 3 actions on his head: 1) fiscal, for contravening the stamp law, 2) political, for saying in his paper^a that Louis Philippe ought to be killed, 3) an action for calumniating a Belgian grandee, Mr Osy, whom Bornstedt had accused, and rightly so, of profiteering on corn.

None of the 3 actions is of any consequence here, and they will almost certainly result in making the Prussian Embassy, already little esteemed, appear ridiculous. What have Louis Philippe, Osy and the Belgian stamp law to do with them?

The examining magistrate himself^b declared that all these actions were *pour le roi de Prusse*.^c The *Brüsseler-Zeitung*, on the other hand, which, despite its many failings, does have some merit and might well have improved,¹⁵⁶ particularly now that Bornstedt has expressed his readiness to help us in every way, is threatened with a sudden pecuniary disaster. How have the noble Teutons behaved in this affair? The booksellers have *cheated* Bornstedt because he couldn't prosecute them. The opposition of all shades, instead of lifting a finger to help, whether in the literary or financial sense, found it more convenient to take exception to the name of Bornstedt. And will such people ever be short of excuses for doing nothing? Now it's the man who's no good, now the wife, now the policy, now the style, now the format—or even the distribution is more or less risky, etc., etc. These gentry want things presented to them on a platter. If there's only *one* opposition paper which is immune from censorship, which is a thorn in the flesh of the government, and whose editor, by the very logic of the enterprise, shows himself complaisant towards all that is progressive, is not this above all an opportunity to be exploited? And, if the paper is inadequate, to make it adequate? But no, our Germans always have 1,000 wise sayings up their sleeve to show why they must let an opportunity slip. An opportunity to do something is to them only a source of embarrassment.

My manuscripts, too, are faring in much the same way as the *Brüsseler-Zeitung*, and on top of that the jackasses keep writing to me day after day, asking why I'm not having anything published, and even reproach me for having written French in preference to

^a *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* - ^b Spanoghe - ^c for the King of Prussia, i. e. for nothing.

nothing at all. One will long have to atone for having been born a Teuton.

Farewell. Warm regards to your wife^a and yourself from my wife and me.

In Paris you'll find an additional list of errata for my French scrawl.^b Without it some passages are unintelligible.

As soon as you have an hour to spare and nothing better to do, write to your

Marx

[Postscript from Jenny Marx to Emma and Georg Herwegh]

I take advantage of this little space to send you, dear Mrs Herwegh, and your dear husband my hearty greetings. How are you and your two youngsters? They came a little *en retard*^c compared to my three. We only need a girl to make three couples. My girls^d are wonderful, but the boy, the boy!!^e *Un petit monstre*.^f Our best greetings, remember sometimes

Your
Jenny Marx

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MARX TO MOSES HESS

IN BRUSSELS

[Brussels,] 2 September [1847]

Dear Hess,

Present yourself today in the *Chaussée d'Etterbeck*, in the Grand Salon, also known as *Palais royal*.

Marx

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^a Emma - ^b K. Marx. *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - ^c late - ^d Jenny and Laura - ^e Edgar - ^f A little monster.

44

ENGELS TO MARX ¹⁵⁷

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

[Brussels,] 28-30 September 1847

Tuesday, 28 September

Dear Marx,

There has recently been a very curious business here. All those elements among the local Germans who are dissatisfied with us and what we do have formed a coalition for the purpose of overthrowing you, me and the communists in general, and competing with the Workers' Society.¹⁵⁸ *Bornstedt* is exceedingly displeased; the story emanating from Otterberg, passed on and confirmed by Sandkuhl and exploited by Crüger and Moras, to the effect that we were simply exploiting him, Bornstedt, has made him furious with all of us; *Moras* and *Crüger*, who go about complaining of our alleged cavalier treatment of them, have put his back up even further. *Seiler* is annoyed because of the unpardonable neglect he suffered at the founding of the Workers' Society, and because of its good progress, which has given the lie to all his predictions. *Heilberg* is seeking to take spectacular if unbloody revenge for all the slights that have been, and are being, daily meted out to him. Bornstedt, too, is seething because his gifts of books and maps have failed to buy him the status of an influential democrat and honorary membership of, and a place for his bust in, the Society, instead of which his typesetter^a will, tomorrow evening, put his name to the vote like that of any ordinary mortal. He is also vexed that he, the aristocratic *homme d'esprit*,^b should find much less opportunity to make fun of the workers than he had hoped. Then Moras is annoyed at having been unable to win over the *Brüsseler-Zeitung* for Heinzen. *Enfin* all these heterogeneous elements agreed upon a coup that was to reduce us one and all to a secondary role vis-à-vis Imbert and the Belgian democrats, and to call into being a society far more grandiose and universal than our uncouth Workers' Society. All these gentlemen were fired by the idea of taking the initiative in something for once, and the cowardly rascals deemed the moment of your absence admirably suited to that end. But they had shamefully miscalculated.

^a Karl Wallau - ^b wit

They therefore decided quite on the sly to arrange a cosmopolitan-democratic supper and there to propose without prior warning a society à la FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS¹²² with workers' meetings, etc., etc. They set up a kind of committee onto which as a matter of form they co-opted the, to them, completely harmless Imbert. After hearing all kinds of vague rumours, it was not until Sunday^a evening at the Society that I learned anything positive about it from Bornstedt, and on Monday the meal was to take place. I could get no details from Bornstedt except that Jottrand, General Mellinet, Adolf Bartels, Kats, etc., etc., would be there, Poles, Italians, etc., etc. Although I had no inkling whatever about the whole coalition (only on Monday morning did I learn that Bornstedt was somewhat piqued and that Moras and Crüger were moaning and plotting: about Seiler and Heilberg I knew nothing), nonetheless I smelled a rat. But it was essential to attend because of the Belgians and because nothing democratic must be allowed to take place in little Brussels without our participating. But something had to be done about forming a group. Wallau and I accordingly put the matter forward and advocated it vigorously, upon which some thirty immediately agreed to go. On Monday morning I was told by Lupus that, besides the *président d'honneur*, old Mellinet, and the actual chairman, Jottrand, they would have to have two vice-chairmen, one of whom would be Imbert and the other a German, preferably a working man. Wallau was, unfortunately, out of the running since he didn't speak French. That's what he'd been told by Bornstedt. He, Lupus, had replied that in that case it must be me. I told Lupus that it must be him, but he refused point-blank. I was also reluctant because I look so awfully young, but finally I thought that, for all eventualities, it would be best for me to accept.

We went there in the evening.¹⁵⁹ Bornstedt was all innocence, as though nothing had as yet been arranged, merely the officials (*toujours à l'exception de l'Allemand^b*), and a few registered speakers, none of whose names, save for Crüger and Moras I was able to discover; he kept making off to see to the arrangement of the place, hurried from one person to the next, duping, intriguing, bootlicking for all he was worth. However I saw no evidence of any specific intrigue; this didn't transpire till later on. We were at the Estaminet^c Liégeois in the Place du Palais de justice. When it came to electing the officials, Bornstedt, contrary to all that had

^a 26 September - ^b always excepting the German - ^c tavern

been agreed, proposed Wallau. The latter declined through Wolff (Lupus) and had me proposed, this being carried in style. Thus thwarted, the whole plot collapsed. They now \pm ^a lost their heads and gave themselves away. After Imbert had proposed the health of the *martyrs de la liberté*, I came out with a toast in French *au souvenir de la révolution de 1792*^b and, as an afterthought, of the *anniversaire du 1^{er} vendémiaire an I de la république*.^{c160} Crüger followed me with a ludicrous speech during which he dried up and had to resort to his manuscript. Then Moras, who read out an harangue almost entirely devoted to his humble self.^d Both in German. So confused were their toasts that I have absolutely no recollection of them. Then Pellerin in Flemish. The lawyer Spilthoorn of Ghent, speaking French *au peuple anglais*^e then, to my great astonishment, that hunchbacked spider Heilberg, with a long, school-masterly, vapid speech in French in which he 1) patted himself on the back as editor of the *Atelier Démocratique*; 2) declared that *he*, Maximus Heilberg, had for several months been pursuing — *mais cela doit se dire en français: L'association des ouvriers belges, voilà le but que Je poursuis depuis quelques mois (c. à d. depuis le moment où J'ai daigné prendre connaissance du dernier chapitre de la Misère de la philosophie)*.^f He, then, and not Kats and the other Belgians. '*Nous entrerons dans la carrière quand nos aînés n'y seront plus*'^g etc., etc. He will achieve what Kats and Jottrand could not do; 3) proposed to found a FRATERNAL DEMOCRACY and to reorganise the meetings; 4) to entrust the elected bureau with the organisation of both.

Well now, what confusion! First lump together the cosmopolitan business and Belgian meetings on Belgian affairs and 2) instead of dropping this proposal because everything's going wrong for you, pass it on to the existing bureau! And if he had my departure in mind, should he not have known that it would be unthinkable to bring anyone else but you into the bureau? But the numskull had already written the whole of his speech and his vanity wouldn't allow him to omit anything by which he could seize the initiative in

^a more or less - ^b in memory of the 1792 revolution - ^c the anniversary of the First Vendémiaire of the first year of the Republic (22 September 1792, the day when the Republic was proclaimed, fell on the First Vendémiaire according to the republican calendar). - ^d [J.] Imbert, [C.] Moras, F. Crüger, [Speeches delivered at the democratic banquet in Brussels on 27 September], *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, Nos. 80 and 83, 7 and 17 October 1847. - ^e to the English people - ^f but that must be said in French: The Association of Belgian Working Men, that is the goal I have been pursuing for several months (i. e. since the moment I deigned to take cognizance of the final chapter of the *Poverty of Philosophy*). - ^g 'We shall enter the lists when our elders are no longer there' (*Marseillaise* by Rouget de Lisle)

some way. The thing, of course, went through, but in view of the highly *factice*^a albeit noisy enthusiasm, there could be no question of putting the confused proposal into better order. Next A. Bartels spoke (Jules^b wasn't there), and then Wallau demanded the floor. But how intense was my astonishment when suddenly Bornstedt thrust himself forward and urgently demanded the floor for Seiler as a speaker whose name was higher up the register. Having got it, Seiler delivered an interminably long, garrulous, silly, absurdly vapid and truly shameful speech (in French) in which he talked the most hair-raising nonsense about *pouvoirs législatif, administratif et exécutif*, gave all manner of wise advice to the democrats (as did Heilberg, who invented the most wondrous things about *instruction et question de l'enseignement*^c), in which Seiler, further posing *en grand homme*,^d spoke of democratic societies, *auxquelles j'ai participé et que j'ai peut-être même dirigées (littéralement)*,^e and finally, with the *dernières nouvelles arrivées de Paris*,^f etc., etc., actually dragged in his precious bureau.¹⁶¹ In short, it was ghastly. Several speakers followed, a Swiss jackass,^g Pellerin, Kats (very good), etc., etc., and at ten o'clock Jottrand (who blushed with shame for the Germans) declared the sitting closed. Suddenly Heilberg called for silence and announced that Weerth's speech at the FREE-TRADE CONGRESS¹⁶² would be appearing next day in a supplement to the *Atelier qui se vendra séparément*^h!!! Then Zalewski also spoke, whining a while *sur l'union de cette malheureuse Pologne et de cette grande, noble et poétique Allemagne—enfin*,ⁱ all went home quietly enough but very much out of temper.

Thursday, 30 September

Since the above was written a great deal more has happened and various things have been decided. On Tuesday morning, when the whole plot was clear to me, I hurried round to counter it; that same night at 2 o'clock I went to see Lupus at the bureau^j: could not Bornstedt be balloted out of the Workers' Society? Wednesday called on all and sundry, but everybody was of the opinion that we couldn't do it. On Wednesday evening, when I

^a factitious - ^b Jules Bartels - ^c teaching and questions of education - ^d as a great man - ^e in which I participated and *which I may perhaps even have directed* (literally) - ^f latest news to come from Paris - ^g Marty from Zurich - ^h which would be sold separately - ⁱ about the union between that unfortunate Poland and that great, noble and poetical Germany—finally - ^j Probably the editorial office of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*.

arrived at the Society, Bornstedt was already there; his attitude was equivocal; finally Thomis came in with the latest issue; my anti-Heinzen article which I'd brought him as long ago as Monday and, not finding him in (2 o'clock in the afternoon), had taken to the printers, *was not in it.*^a On my questioning him, he said there had been no space. I reminded him of what you and he had agreed.¹⁶³ He denied it; I waited till Wallau arrived and he told me there had been space enough but that on Tuesday Bornstedt had had the article *fetched* from the printers and had not sent it back again. I went to Bornstedt and very rudely told him as much. He tried to lie his way out. I again reverted to the agreement, which he again denied, save for a few trivial generalities. I passed some insulting remarks—Grüger, Gigot and Imbert, etc., etc., were present—and asked: 'Do you intend to publish the article on Sunday, *oui ou non?*'—'We'll have to discuss it first.'—'I refuse to discuss it with you.'—And thereupon I left him.

The sitting began. Bornstedt, chin cradled in his hands, sat looking at me with a curiously gloating expression. I stared back at him and waited. Up got Mr Thomis, who, as you know, had demanded the floor. He drew a prepared speech out of his pocket and read out a series of the most peculiar aspersions on our sham battle.¹⁶⁴ This went on for some time but, as *cela ne finissait pas,*^b there was a general muttering, a mass of people demanded the floor, and Wallau called Thomis to order. The latter, Thomis, then read out some half dozen inane phrases on the question and withdrew. Then Hess spoke and defended us pretty well. Then Junge. Then Wolff^c of Paris who, though he dived up 3 times, was much applauded. Then several more. Wolff had betrayed the fact that our opposition had been purely formal. So I had to take the floor. I spoke—*à la grande déconfiture de*^d Bornstedt, who had believed that I was too much preoccupied with personal squabbles—I spoke, then, about the revolutionary aspect of the protectionist system, completely ignoring the aforesaid Thomis, of course, and proposed a new question. Agreed.—Pause.—Bornstedt, badly shaken by the vehement way I had addressed him, by Thomis' rattling on him (*il y avait du Bornstedt dans son discours*^e) and by the vehemence of my peroration—Bornstedt came up to me: My dear boy, how terribly impassioned you are,

^a F. Engels, 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen'. First article (dated 26 September was not printed in No. 78, 29 September; it appeared in the next issue on 3 October 1847). - ^b it showed no signs of finishing - ^c Ferdinand Wolff - ^d to the great discomfiture of - ^e there were echoes of Bornstedt in his speech

etc., etc. In short, I was to sign the article.—No.—Then at least we should agree on a short editorial introduction.—*Bien, à demain à onze heures au Café Suisse.*^a

There followed the matter of the admission of Bornstedt, Crüger, Wolff. Hess was the first to get up; he addressed 2 questions to Bornstedt about Monday's meeting. Bornstedt lied his way out, and Hess was weak enough to declare himself *satisfait*. Junge went for Bornstedt personally because of his behaviour at the Society and because he had introduced Sandkuhl under a false name. Fischer came out very energetically against Bornstedt, quite impromptu but very well. Several others likewise. In short, the triumphant Mr von Bornstedt had almost literally to run the gauntlet of the workers. He took a severe drubbing and was so thunderstruck—he, who of course believed he had well and truly bought his way in with his gifts of books—that he could only answer evasively, feebly, concedingly—in spite of the fact that Wallau, fanatically in support of him, was a wretched chairman who permitted him to interrupt the speakers at any and every opportunity. Everything was still hanging in the balance when Wallau directed the candidates to withdraw and called for a vote. Crüger, proposed by me as an *exceptionally guileless man, who could in no way harm the Society*, and *purement et simplement* seconded by Wolff, got through. In the case of Bornstedt, Wallau came out with a long, impassioned speech on his behalf. Then I stood up, went into the whole matter of the plot in so far as it concerned the Society, demolished Bornstedt's evasions, each by means of the other, and finally declared: Bornstedt has intrigued against us, has sought to compete with us, but we have won, and hence can now admit him into the Society. During my speech—the best I have ever made—I was constantly interrupted by applause; notably when I said: these gentlemen believed that all had been won because I, their vice-chairman, was going away, but it had not occurred to them that there is, amongst us, one to whom the position belongs by right, one who alone is able to represent the German democrats here in Brussels, and that is Marx—whereupon tremendous applause. In short, no one spoke after me, and thus Bornstedt was not done the honour of being thrown out. He was standing outside the door and listening to it all. I would rather have said my say while he was still in the room, *mais il n'y avait pas moyen*,^b because I had to spare myself for the final

^a Very well, eleven o'clock tomorrow at the Café Suisse. - ^b but it could not be done

blow, and Wallau broke off the discussion. But, like Wolff and Crüger, he had heard every word. As opposed to him, Wolff was admitted almost without a hitch.

In short, at yesterday's sitting Bornstedt, Crüger, etc., etc., suffered such an affront that they cannot honourably frequent the Society again, and they've had enough to last them a long time. But frequent it they certainly will; the shameless Bornstedt has been so reduced by our even greater insolence, by the utter failure of all his calculations, and by our vehemence, that all he can do is trot around Brussels whining to everyone about his disgrace—*le dernier degré de l'abaissement*.^a He came back into the hall raging but impotent and, when I took my leave of the Society and was allowed to go with every imaginable mark of respect, he departed seething. Bürgers, who has been here since the day before yesterday evening, was present while we discussed Bornstedt.

Throughout, the behaviour of our workers was really *splendid*: the gifts, 26 books and 27 maps, were never mentioned, they treated Bornstedt with the utmost frigidity and lack of consideration—and, when I spoke and had reached my peroration, I had it in my power to have him rejected by a vast majority. Even Wallau admits as much. But we treated him worse than that by adopting him with scorn and contumely. The affair has made a capital impression on the Society; for the first time they have had a role to play, have dominated a meeting despite all the plotting, and have put in his place a fellow who was trying to set himself up against them. Only a few clerks, etc., etc., are dissatisfied, the vast majority being enthusiastically on our side. They have experienced what it means to be associated.

This morning I went to the Café Suisse, and who should fail to turn up but Bornstedt.—Weerth and Seiler, however, were there to meet me; they had just been talking to Bornstedt, and Seiler was obsequiousness and ingratiating personified. I, of course, gave him the cold shoulder. Yesterday's sitting, by the way, was so dramatic, and evolved so splendidly towards its climax that sheer aesthetic emotion momentarily turned Wolff of Paris into a party man. Today I also went to see A. Bartels and explained to him that the German Society was in no way responsible for what had happened on Monday, that Crüger, Bornstedt, Moras, Seiler, Heilberg, etc., etc., were not even members, and that the whole affair, staged *à l'insu*^b of the German Society, was in fact a bid to

^a the lowest depths of debasement - ^b without the knowledge

set up a rival faction. A letter in similar vein, signed by all the committee members, is to be sent to Jottrand tomorrow, when I and Lupus will also be going to see Imbert. I have further written the following letter to Jottrand about the place on the organising committee of the Brussels FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS which will become vacant on my departure:

'Monsieur! Obligé de quitter Bruxelles pour quelques mois, je me trouve dans l'impossibilité de remplir les fonctions dont la réunion du 27 de ce mois a bien voulu m'investir.—Je vous prie donc d'appeler un démocrate allemand résidant à Bruxelles à assister aux travaux de la commission chargée d'organiser une société démocratique universelle.—Je me permettrai de vous proposer celui parmi les démocrates allemands de Bruxelles, que la réunion, s'il avait pu y assister, aurait nommé à la charge qu'en son absence on m'a fait l'honneur de me conférer. Je parle de Mr Marx qui dans mon intime conviction a le droit le plus fondé de représenter à la commission la démocratie allemande. Ce ne serait donc pas Mr Marx qui m'y remplacerait, c'était plutôt moi qui à la réunion ai remplacé Mr Marx. Agréez, pp. pp.'^a

I had in fact already agreed with Jottrand that I would advise him in writing of my departure and propose you for the committee. Jottrand is also away and will be back in a fortnight. If, as I believe, nothing comes of the whole affair, it will be Heilberg's proposal that falls through; if something does come of it, then it will be we who have brought the thing about. Either way we have succeeded in getting you and, after you, myself, recognised as representatives of the German democrats in Brussels, besides the whole plot having been brought to a dreadfully ignominious end.

This evening there was a meeting of the community¹⁶⁵ at which I took the chair. With the exception of Wallau who, by the way, allowed himself to be converted and whose conduct yesterday was,

^a 'Sir, Being obliged to leave Brussels for a few months, I find myself unable to carry out the functions which the meeting of the 27th instant saw fit to entrust to me.—I therefore request you to call on a German democrat resident in Brussels to participate in the work of the committee charged with organising a universal democratic society. I would take the liberty of proposing to you one of the German democrats in Brussels whom the meeting, had he been able to attend it, would have nominated for the office which, in his absence, it honoured me by conferring upon myself. I mean Mr Marx who, I am firmly convinced, has the best claim to represent German democracy on the committee. Hence it would not be Mr Marx who would be replacing me there, but rather I who, at the meeting, replaced Mr Marx. I am, Sir, etc., etc. (cf. pp. 132-33).

indeed, excusable on various grounds for which I made allowance—with this one exception, then, the enthusiasm about the Bornstedt affair was unanimous. The fellows are beginning to feel their own importance. They have at last taken their stand as a society, as a power, vis-à-vis other people, and the fact that everything went with such a splendid swing and that their victory was so complete has made them enormously proud. Junge's in the seventh heaven, Riedel is beside himself with joy, even little Ohnemans goes strutting about like a FIGHTING COCK. Anyway, as I said before, this affair has given, and will continue to give, the Society a tremendous impetus, both internal and external. Fellows who otherwise never open their traps have attacked Bornstedt. And even the plot has helped us: firstly Bornstedt went about telling everyone that the German democratic Workers' Society had arranged the meeting and secondly we denied it all and, as a result of both these things, the society has become a general topic of conversation among Belgian democrats and is regarded as a highly significant, *plus ou moins*^a mysterious power. *La démocratie allemande devient très forte à Bruxelles*,^b Bartels remarked this morning.

By the way, you too are to be included in the committee's letter to Jottrand. Gigot will sign himself 'Secretary in Marx's absence'.

Settle your financial affairs as quickly as possible and come back here again. I'm itching to get away, but must first wait until these plots have run their course. Just now I can't possibly leave. So the sooner you come the better. But first put your financial affairs in order. At all events I'll remain at my post as long as I possibly can; *si c'est possible*,^c until you arrive. But for that very reason it's desirable that you come soon.

Your
Engels

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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time

^a more or less - ^b German democracy is growing very strong in Brussels - ^c if possible

45

MARX TO WERNER von VELTHEIM

IN OSTRAU NEAR HALLE

Zalt-Bommel, 29 September [1847]

Dear Veltheim,

It will surprise you to receive a letter from me, whom you will by now have all but forgotten.

I will explain to you briefly the reason why I am writing.

You know the present state of affairs in Germany respecting the press. The censorship makes virtually every rational undertaking impossible. On the other hand, such a confusion of views prevails that German literature, after having laboriously achieved a certain unity, is threatened with disintegrating again into a host of local literatures—those of Berlin, Saxony, the Rhineland, Baden, etc.¹⁶⁶ Within these fragmented literatures, moreover, we find in turn a welter of the most heterogeneous religious, political and social views.

Friends in Germany have drawn my attention to the fact that precisely now, in this state of anarchy, the needs of the day would be exactly met by a comprehensive and regular review which, while maintaining a critical attitude towards all these parties and views, would not derive its criticism from preconceived principles, but would rather portray the correlation between Germany's political, religious and social parties and aspirations, and also their literature, on the one hand, and German *economic* conditions, on the other—a review in which, therefore, political economy would play a leading role. That a periodical would be out of the question in Germany itself was a point upon which all were agreed.

It was therefore decided in Brussels to bring out, subsequent to an issue of shares, a periodical of this kind, the editorial side of which would be under my supervision. It was also decided to establish our own type-setting and printing shop out of the proceeds of the shares in order to reduce the costs of production.

Since subscriptions for these shares are being collected all over Germany—at 25 talers a share—I should like to ask you whether you and your acquaintances might wish to associate yourselves with this enterprise.

To me it seems beyond dispute that clarity of consciousness can be introduced into the now highly fragmented German movement,

as into the modern movement generally, only by elucidating in the first place the relations of production and examining and appraising the other spheres of social existence in connection with them.

An exact statement of income and expenditure would be rendered annually. The number of shares amounts to two hundred.¹⁶⁷

When you reply kindly do so to the following address: À Mr Charles Marx, Bruxelles, Fbg Namur, Rue d'Orléans 42.

I am only here in Holland for a few days on a family matter and am staying with my uncle.^a

Yours faithfully

Karl Marx

Have you heard anything of Edgar^b?

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46

ENGELS TO LUCIEN-LÉOPOLD JOTTRAND

IN BRUSSELS

[Brussels, 30 September 1847]

Dear Sir,

Being obliged to leave Brussels for several months, I find myself unable to carry out the functions which the meeting of 27 September saw fit to entrust to me.¹⁵⁹

I therefore request you to call on a German democrat resident in Brussels to participate in the work of the committee charged with organising a universal democratic society.

I would take the liberty of proposing to you one of the German democrats in Brussels whom the meeting, had he been

^a Leon Philips - ^b Edgar von Westphalen

able to attend it, would have nominated for the office which, in his absence, it honoured me by conferring upon myself. I mean Mr Marx, who, I am firmly convinced, has the best claim to represent German democracy on the committee. Hence it would not be Mr Marx who would be replacing me there, but rather I who, at the meeting, replaced Mr Marx.

Assuring you, Sir, of my profound esteem, I am,

Yours very sincerely

Frederick Engels

Mr Marx, who was absent from Brussels at the time of the meeting, lives at 42, rue d'Orléans, Faubourg de Namur.

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47

ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, [25-]26 October 1847

Dear Bartholomäus,

Only today am I able to write to you because it was only today that I managed to see little Louis Blanc—after terrible tussles with the *portière*. As a result of my long conversation with him, the little man is prepared to do anything. He was courtesy and friendliness itself, and seems to have no more urgent wish than to associate with us as closely as possible. There is none of the French national patronage about him. I had written to tell him that I was coming with a *mandat formel* to him from the London, Brussels and Rhineland democrats, and also as a CHARTIST AGENT.¹⁶⁸ He asked for details about everything; I described the condition of our party to him in the most glowing terms, spoke about Switzerland, Jacoby, the Badeners as allies¹⁶⁹ etc., etc.

You, I said, were the chief: Vous pouvez regarder M. Marx comme le chef de notre parti (i.e. de la fraction la plus avancée de la démocratie allemande, que je représentais vis-à-vis de lui) et son récent livre contre M. Proudhon^a comme notre programme.^b Of this he took most careful note. Then finally he promised to comment on your book in the *Réforme*. He told me a great deal about the *mouvement souterrain*,^c that is now going on among the workers; he also said that the workers had printed 3,000 copies of his *Organisation du travail* cheaply and that at the end of a fortnight a further edition of 3,000 copies had been needed—he said the workers were more revolutionary than ever, but had learned to bide their time, no riots, only major coups that would be *sure* to succeed, etc., etc. By the way he too would seem to have got out of the habit of patronising the workers.

'Quand je vois des choses comme ce nouveau programme de M. de Lamartine, cela me fait rire! Pour bien juger de l'état actuel de la société française, il faut être dans une position qui vous permet de voir un peu de tout, d'aller le matin chez un ministre, l'après-dîner chez un négociant, et le soir chez un ouvrier.'^d

The coming revolution, he went on, would be quite different from, and much more drastic than, all previous ones, and it would be sheer *bêtise*^e to keep on thundering only against kings, etc., etc.

By and large, he was very well-behaved and perfectly cordial. You see, the man is ALL RIGHT, *il a les meilleures dispositions du monde*.^f He spoke of you with great sympathy and said he was sorry that you and he had parted rather *froidement*,^g etc., etc. He still has a special hankering after a German and French review to be published in Paris. Might come in useful later.

As to Ruge, after whom he inquired, I warned him; *il s'est fait le panégyriste de la diète prussienne, et cela même après que la diète s'était*

^a K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - ^b You can regard Mr Marx as the head of our party (i. e. of the most advanced section of German democracy, which I was representing vis-à-vis him) and his recent book against Mr Proudhon as our programme. - ^c underground movement - ^d 'When I see such things as M. de Lamartine's new programme, I can't help laughing! In order to assess the present state of French society properly you have to be in a position which enables you to see a little of everything, to visit a minister in the morning, a merchant in the afternoon, and a working man in the evening.' - ^e stupidity - ^f he has the best intentions in the world - ^g coldly

*séparée sans résultat.*¹⁷⁰—*Donc il a fait un pas en arrière*^{a?}—Yes, indeed.

With *père* Flocon I am hitting it off well. I first approached him as if I were an Englishman and asked him in Harney's name why he so ignored the *Star*.^b Well, yes, he said, he was sorry, he'd be only too glad to mention it, only there was no one on the editorial staff who understood English! I offered to write a weekly article for him¹⁷¹ which he accepted *de grand coeur*.^c When I told him I was the *Star*'s correspondent, he seemed quite moved.¹⁷² If things go on like this we shall have won over this whole trend in four weeks. Flocon wishes me to write an essay on Chartism for his personal benefit, he hasn't the vaguest idea about it. I shall call on him presently and ensnare him further in our net. I shall tell him that the *Atelier* is making approaches to me (which is true; I am going there this evening), and that, if he behaves decently, I shall turn them down. That will touch his worthy heart.

When I've been here a little longer and have grown more accustomed to writing French, I'll make a start on the *Revue indépendante*.

I quite forgot to ask L. Blanc why he hadn't accepted your Congress article.¹⁷³ I shall tax him with it when he next comes to see me. By the way I doubt whether he has, *in fact*, received your book. He was quite unable to remember having done so today. And before I went away he spoke in *very uncertain terms* about it. I shall find out within a day or two. If he hasn't got it, I shall give him my copy.

Just imagine, little Bernays, who trots round here and plays the 'martyr'—one betrayed by everybody, one 'who has helped everybody with money or good advice' (*littéralement*)—this creature has a HORSE AND GIG! It's Börnstein's, of course, but no matter. This same chap who makes himself out to be an oppressed, penniless martyr one day, boasts the next that he is the only one *who knows how to earn money*. He has been plodding away at 21 sheets (!) on the Praslin affair¹⁷⁴ which are coming out in Switzerland.^d The nub of the matter is this: not *la duchesse* but *le duc* is the martyr! My response to his prating about martyrdom was to remind him that he has long owed me 60 fr. He is becoming every inch the industrialist and brags about it. In any case he's cracked.—Even Ewerbeck is furious with him.

^a he has appointed himself panegyrist of the Prussian Diet, and this even after the Diet had dispersed without a result. So he's taken a step back? (A reference to A. Ruge's 'Adresse an die Opposition des Vereinigten Landtages in Berlin' on 11 June 1847.) - ^b *The Northern Star* - ^c wholeheartedly - ^d K. Bernays, *Die Ermordung der Herzogin von Praslin*.

I have not yet seen Cabet. He is happy, it seems, to be leaving, having noticed that things are showing signs of disintegrating here. Flocon wants to commence the attack, not so L. Blanc, and rightly, although L. Blanc has a finger in all manner of pies and looks forward with glee to seeing the bourgeoisie jolted out of their security by the sudden onset of revolution.

I have been to see *père* Flocon. The good man was cordiality itself, and the honest frankness with which I told him about my affair with the *Atelier* nearly brought tears to his eyes. From the *Atelier* I went on to talk about the *National*: 'Lorsque à Bruxelles nous discutons la question à quelle fraction de la démocratie française on s'adresserait, nous étions unanimement d'accord que dès le premier abord on se mettrait en rapport avec la *Réforme*; car à l'étranger il existe de fortes et de bien fondées préventions contre le *National*. D'abord les préjugés nationaux de cette feuille empêchent tout rapprochement'—'oui, oui, c'est vrai,' said Flocon 'et ceci était même la raison pour laquelle la *Réforme* fut fondée; nous avons déclaré dès le premier jour que nous ne voulons pas des conquêtes'—'et puis,' I went on, 'si je peux en croire mes prédécesseurs, car moi je n'ai jamais été au *National*, ces messieurs se donnent toujours l'air de vouloir protéger les étrangers, ce qui au reste est parfaitement d'accord avec leurs préjugés nationaux; et nous autres, nous n'avons pas besoin de leur protection, nous ne voulons pas de protecteurs, nous voulons des alliés.'—'Ah oui, mais c'est tout à fait différent avec nous, nous n'y pensons pas.'—'C'est vrai, aussi n'ai-je qu'à me louer des procédés des Messieurs de la *Réforme*.'^a

But how helpful it was that I reminded little Blanc of our affairs. Your Congress speech had, *à ce qu'il paraît*,^b been mislaid;

^a When in Brussels we were discussing the question of which faction of French democracy to approach, we were unanimously agreed that our very first move should be to make contact with the *Réforme*, there being a strong and well-founded bias against the *National* abroad. In the first place this paper's national prejudices prevent any *rapprochement*'—'yes, yes, that's true,' said Flocon, 'and this was precisely why the *Réforme* was founded; we declared from the very outset that we were not out for conquests'—'and then,' I went on, 'if I am to believe my predecessors, for I myself have never been to the *National*, those gentlemen always give the impression of wanting to patronise foreigners, which for that matter is perfectly consistent with their national prejudices; we for our part have no need of their patronage; it is not patrons we want, but allies.'—'Ah, yes, but we're not at all like that; it would never occur to us.'—'True, and I have nothing but praise for the way the gentlemen of the *Réforme* proceed.' - ^b it appears

today he hastened to look for it and send it to Flocon with a very urgent note requesting him to print it forthwith. I explained the thing to Flocon; the man was unable to understand the *cur, quomodo, quando*,^a because Blanc had sent it to him without any further explanation. Flocon greatly regretted that the thing had become so outdated; while *parfaitement d'accord*^b with it, he thought it was now too late. Nevertheless he would see whether it could not be included in an article. He would, he said, do his very best.

The article in the *Réforme* on Lamartine's pious intentions was by L. Blanc,^c as you will have seen. It isn't bad, and in all respects a thousand times better than perpetual Flocon. Undoubtedly he would attack Lamartine very harshly, did he not happen to be his rival just now.

People, you see, are as well-disposed as one could wish. My relations with them are already ten times better than Ewerbeck's ever were. I shall now utterly forbid the latter to write for the *Réforme*. He can relieve himself in the *National* and there compete with Venedey & Co.; he'll do no harm there, and anyway nothing of his will be published.

Afterwards I again visited the *Atelier*. I took with me an amendment to an article in the last issue on English working men^d which will also be included. The fellows were very well-behaved; I told them *un tas d'anecdotes*^e about English workers, etc. They requested me most urgently to collaborate, which I shall only do, however, if needs must. Just imagine, the *rédacteur en chef*^f thought it would be a good idea if the English workers were to dispatch an address to their French counterparts, calling on them to oppose the *libre-échange*^g movement and champion the cause of *travail national*^h! *Quel héroïque dévouement!*ⁱ But in this he failed even where his own people were concerned.

By the way, I was not compelled to make any concessions to these people. I told L. Blanc que nous étions d'accord avec eux sur toutes les questions pratiques et d'actualité, et que dans les questions purement théoriques nous marchions vers le même but; que les principes énoncés dans son premier volume^j s'accordaient sous beaucoup de rapports avec les nôtres, et que pour le reste il en

^a why, how and when - ^b entirely in agreement - ^c L. Blanc, 'Programme de M. Lamartine', *La Réforme*, 27 October 1847. - ^d F. Engels, 'The Masters and the Workers in England' written in reply to the article 'Les maîtres et les ouvriers en Angleterre' in *L'Atelier*, No. 1, October 1847. - ^e a lot of anecdotes - ^f editor-in-chief - ^g free trade - ^h national labour - ⁱ What heroic devotion! - ^j L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française*, t. 1.

trouverait de plus amples développements dans ton livre. Quant à la question religieuse, nous la considérons comme tout-à-fait subordonnée, comme une question qui jamais ne devrait former le prétexte d'une querelle entre les hommes du même parti.^a For all that, I went on, a friendly discussion of theoretical questions was perfectly feasible and indeed desirable, with which he was *parfaitement d'accord*.

Lupus was perfectly right in assuming that I would very soon meet the management.¹⁷⁵ Barely three days after my arrival here I ran into Seiler in the Boulevard des Italiens. You will long since have heard that he has done a bolt and has no intention of returning. He is going the rounds of the French correspondence bureaux in search of a berth. Since then I have repeatedly failed to find him and don't know how his affairs are going. If he meddles with the *Réforme* we shall have to disown him.

Ask that accursed Bornstedt what he means by not sending me his paper.^b I cannot forever be chasing after the Straubingers⁸⁶ for it. Should he feign ignorance of my address, give it to him, 5, rue Neuve Saint-Martin. I'll send him a few articles as soon as ever I can.

Hellish confusion among the Straubingers. In the days immediately preceding my arrival, the last of the Grünians were thrown out, an entire community of whom, however, half will return. We are now only thirty strong. I at once set up a propaganda community and I rush round speechifying. I was immediately elected to the district^c and have been entrusted with the correspondence. Some 20-30 candidates have been put up for admission. We shall soon grow stronger again. *Strictly between ourselves*, I've played an infernal trick on Mosi.^d He had actually put through a delightfully amended confession of faith.¹⁷⁶ Last Friday^e at the district I dealt with this, point by point, and was not yet half way through when the lads declared themselves *satisfait*. *Completely unopposed*, I got them to entrust me with the task of

^a that we were in agreement with them on all practical and current questions and that on purely theoretical questions we were marching towards the same goal; that the principles propounded in his first volume agreed in many respects with our own and that, regarding the rest, he would find it more fully developed in your book. As for the religious question, we regarded this as altogether secondary, as a question which should never be allowed to become a pretext for strife between men of the same party. - ^b *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* - ^c Paris District Committee of the Communist League - ^d Moses Hess - ^e 22 October 1847

drafting a new one^a which will be discussed next Friday by the district and will be sent to London *behind the backs of the communities*. Naturally not a soul must know about this, otherwise we shall all be unseated and there'll be the deuce of a row.

Born will be coming to see you in Brussels; he is going to London.¹⁷⁷ He may arrive before this letter. He will be travelling, somewhat rashly, down the Rhine through Prussia, always provided they don't cop him. Drum something more into him when he arrives; the fellow is the most receptive of all to our ideas and with a little preparation will be able to do good service in London.

Great heavens, I was on the point of forgetting all that avalanche of trash unloosed upon me from the heights of the Alps by the great Heinzen.^b It is truly fortunate that it should all have been packed into one issue; nobody will plough his way through it. I myself had to break off several times. What a blockhead! Having first maintained that he can't write, I now find myself compelled to add that he can't read either, nor does he seem particularly conversant with the four rules of arithmetic. The ass ought to read F. O'Connor's letter in the last *Star*, addressed to the radical newspapers, which begins with 'YOU RUFFIANS' and ends with 'YOU RUFFIANS';^c then he would see what a miserable duffer he is in the matter of invective. Well, you will be duly hauling this low, stupid lout over the coals.^d I'm very glad that you intend to keep your answer quite *brief*. I could never answer such an attack, simply couldn't bring myself to—save perhaps with a box on the ears.

Tuesday

My article^e has appeared in the *Réforme*. Curiously enough Flacon hasn't altered one syllable, which greatly surprises me.

I have not yet called on *père* Heine. As you can well imagine, with all this business, I've had a devilish lot to do and a fearsome amount of running about and writing.

^a F. Engels, 'Principles of Communism'. - ^b K. Heinzen, 'Ein "Repräsentant" der Kommunisten', *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 84, 21 October 1847 (written in reply to Engels' polemical article 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen'). - ^c F. O'Connor, 'To the Editors of the *Nottingham Mercury*, the *Nonconformist*, the *Dispatch*, the *Globe*, the *Manchester Examiner* and *Lloyds' Trash*', *The Northern Star*, No. 522, 23 October 1847. - ^d K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality'. - ^e F. Engels, 'The Commercial Crisis in England.—The Chartist Movement.—Ireland'.

I have written to Elberfeld about the FREE TRADE-protective tariff business and am daily expecting a reply.¹⁷⁸ Write again soon. My regards to your wife and children.^a

Your
Engels

You really should read O'Connor's article in the last *Star* attacking the six radical newspapers; it's a masterpiece of inspired abuse, in many places better than Cobbett and approaching Shakespeare.

Quelle mouche a donc piqué ce pauvre Moses qu'il ne cesse pas d'exposer dans le journal ses fantaisies sur les suites d'une révolution du prolétariat^{b?}

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48

MARX TO GEORG HERWEGH

IN PARIS

Brussels, 26 October [1847] rue d'Orléans, 42, Faubourg Namur

Dear Herwegh,

I wanted to give Engels a letter to bring you, but there was so much pressing business on the day of his departure that this was lost sight of and forgotten.

I had further been asked by Countess Hatzfeldt to write you a few lines of introduction for her. I imagine that by now you will already have made her acquaintance. For a *German woman*, she has developed great vigour sparring with her husband.¹⁷⁹

Here in Brussels we have founded two public democratic societies.

^a Jenny and Laura - ^b What bug can have bitten poor Moses to make him thus perpetually air in the newspaper his fantasies on the consequences of a revolution by the proletariat? (A reference to M. Hess, 'Die Folgen einer Revolution des Proletariats', *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, Nos. 82, 87, 89 and 90, 14 and 31 October, 7 and 11 November 1847.)

1. A German Workers' Society¹⁵⁸ which already has about 100 members. Besides debates of quite a parliamentary nature, there is also social entertainment with singing, recitation, theatricals and the like.

2. A smaller cosmopolitan-democratic society to which Belgians, French, Poles, Swiss and Germans belong.¹⁵⁹

If you come up here again you'll find that even in little Belgium more can be done by way of direct propaganda than in big France. Moreover, I believe that, however minor it may be, public activity is infinitely refreshing for everyone.

It is possible, there being now a *liberal* ministry at the helm,^a that we shall run into some trouble with the police, for liberals always remain liberals.

But we shall be able to deal with them. Here it is not as in Paris, where foreigners confront the government in isolation.

Since it is impossible in present circumstances to make any use of the book trade in Germany, I have agreed with Germans from Germany to produce a review—monthly—supported by subscriptions to shares.¹⁶⁷ In the Rhine Province and Baden a number of shares have already been bought up. We intend to make a start as soon as there's enough money to last 3 months.

If subscriptions in any way permitted, we would establish our own type-setting room here, which could also be used for printing separate works.

Now I should like you to tell me:

1. Whether you, for your part, would also be prepared to drum up a few subscriptions for shares (25 talers per share).

2. Whether you are prepared to collaborate and to figure as a collaborator on the title page.

But I would ask you, since you have in any case long owed me a letter, to overcome for once your aversion to writing and to reply *soon*. I also wanted to request you to ask *Bakunin* by what route, to what address and by what means a letter can be conveyed to *Tolstoy*.

My wife sends her warm regards to you and your wife.

The strange business of the Prussian Embassy in Paris¹⁸⁰ is certainly indicative of our sovereign's^b mounting and impotent rage.

Farewell.

Your
Marx

^a formed in August 1847 - ^b Frederick William IV of Prussia

[The address written by Jenny Marx on the fourth page of the letter]

Dr Gottschalk, General Practitioner in Cologne.

[Beneath it Karl Marx has written]

Dear Herwegh,

Due to an oversight, the above wrong address nearly appeared on this letter.

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49

ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, [14-]15 November 1847

Dear Marx,

Yesterday, having sent friend Reinhardt several times to see Frank about your book,^a I learned, suddenly and at last, that that cur, Frank, had begun by sending several of the free copies to Frenchmen, in every case demanding 15 sous expenses, and in every case getting the copies back again.¹⁸¹ Thereupon he *calmly hung on*, not only to those he had got back, but also to such as had not yet been sent out, and *it was not until a few days ago* that he sent them to the addressees without demanding 15 sous. The *conspiration de silence* was thus of Mr Frank's making! I at once hurried along to L. Blanc, whom a few days previously I had again failed to find in because he was *en garde (le petit bonhomme en bonnet à poil!)*^b; this time I did find him in and *the copy had still not arrived!* I have at last got my own copy back, which may be of help in case of need. Today, Sunday, nothing can be done. I have arranged to meet Reinhardt tomorrow, whereupon he will go with me to see Frank, which should have happened earlier but did not happen through negligence on Reinhardt's part. He must intro-

^a K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - ^b on guard (the little mannikin in a busby)

duce me to Frank, since I have no other means of establishing my *bona fides* with the fellow. I shall get him to give me the copy for L. Blanc and take it along with me. But what an ass Flocon is! L. Blanc told me yesterday that Flocon had objected to your *libre-échange*^a article¹⁷³ *qu'il était un peu confus*^b!!!! The muddle-headed creature! I naturally objected, oh, said the little man, *ce n'est pas moi qui ai trouvé cela, tout au contraire, l'article m'a beaucoup plu, et en effet, je ne sais pas ce que M. Flocon ... mais enfin*^c (with a somewhat equivocal grimace intended for Flocon), *c'est ce qu'il m'a dit*.^d All in all the editorial board of the *Réforme* is *tout ce qu'il y a de plus*^e wretchedly constituted. The article on the English crisis and all economic topics *en général* are churned out by a poor, worthy PENNY-A-LINER whose schooling appears to have been confined to the financial articles of a correspondence bureau, and who sees everything through the eyes of a third-rate Parisian clerk in a fourth-rate bank, and judges it with the infallibility peculiar to such an 'EMPIRIC' as the English say. Flocon understands nothing of the matter and seems to me to grow more ignorant day by day. *C'est tout au plus un homme de bonne volonté*.^f Indeed, L. Blanc also makes no secret of his contempt for him.

Monday

I did not find the accursed Reinhardt at home. I shall go there again this evening. Come what may, I must get the whole business cleared up by tomorrow. If I don't write to you again at once, it means that everything's in order.

Yesterday evening the election of delegates took place.¹⁸² After an extremely muddled session I was elected with a $\frac{2}{3}$ [majority]. This time I had engaged in no intrigues whatsoever, there had been little opportunity for any. The opposition was merely a fiction; a working man was proposed for appearances' sake, but those who proposed him voted for me.

The money is coming in. Write and tell me whether you and Tedesco are going. If that proves impossible, I can hardly go there and 'congress' on my own, that wouldn't make sense. If neither of you can go, the whole business will fall through and will have to

^a free-trade - ^b which was a trifle muddled - ^c it's not I who thought that, quite the contrary, I liked the article very much, and indeed I don't know what Mr Flocon ... but anyway - ^d that's what he told me - ^e quite the most - ^f At best he's a man of good will.

be postponed for a few months. Should this be the case, write and tell London, so that all can be advised in good time.

Flocon had further told L. Blanc that if your article was to be accepted it would need altering a little, precisely to make it 'clearer'. L. Blanc asked me once again to remind Flocon *de sa part*^a about the article; but in the circumstances I think it would be far better to let the matter drop. For Flocon to make the article clearer—that would be the last straw! Such block-headed stubbornness is beyond my comprehension and, as I have mentioned, Blanc *plus ou moins*^b apologised to me for his colleague. But what can be done in such a case? I shall let Flocon do what he wants, have little to do with him and deal mainly with L. Blanc, who is the most reasonable of the lot. There's absolutely nothing one can do with the *National*, it's becoming more narrow-minded every day and is increasingly allying itself with Barrot and Thiers, WITNESS THE LILLE BANQUET.¹⁸³

Seiler will have written to tell you that your book's going very badly here. That's not true. Frank has told Reinhardt that he is pretty well satisfied with the sales. Despite his preposterous behaviour he has, I believe, disposed of some 40 copies. More about this shortly. Seiler—he called on me recently, met with a very cool reception and did not come again—maintains that he has left sufficient in the way of bedding, furniture, paper, etc., etc., to cover Wolff's and Heilberg's needs. See to it, *si cela est*,^c that Lupus, at least, isn't swindled again, this time by Heilberg. But no doubt it's all so much hot air.

Rothschild has made a profit of 10 million francs on the new loan—4 per cent net.

I shall not be able to pass through Brussels on my way to London, since money is too short. We shall have to arrange to meet in Ostend—on the evening of the 27th (Saturday), and cross over on Sunday so that we can make a start on Monday. On that day, the 29th, the Polish anniversary, there may be something FRATERNALLY democratic going on, in which case we shall have to attend. That would be quite a good thing. You make a French speech in London and then we print it in the *Réforme*.¹⁸⁴ The Germans absolutely must *do* something to hold their own with the French. A single speech would be of more help than ten articles or a hundred visits.

You'll have seen in *The Northern Star*, 2 October, the demand put forward by Harney and the FRATERNALS for a democratic

^a on his behalf - ^b more or less - ^c if that is so

congress.^a Do lend it your support, as I shall do among the French. We could try and hold it if possible next year in London, perhaps at the same time as our own. Should it come about, it might have a very salutary effect on the French and humble them somewhat. Should it fail to materialise, the fault will lie with the French and they will at least be compelled to declare themselves. It would be even better if Brussels could be the venue¹⁸⁵; in London Feargus^b might get up to some kind of foolishness.

Otherwise nothing new. Give the enclosed to Bornstedt^c and write soon telling me whether you are going to London.

Your
E.

Write to the painter's^d address if you still have it. It is better.

Heine sends his regards. Is extremely weak and somewhat languid. Who actually sent your article to L. Blanc? He says the name at the foot of the letter was quite unknown. That could well be the reason why he allowed the matter to hang fire.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx, 42, rue d'Orléans, Faubourg d'Ixelles,
Bruxelles

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^a Manifesto of the Fraternal Democrats. To the Democracy of Europe, from 22 September 1847. *The Northern Star*, No. 519, 2 October 1847. - ^b O'Connor - ^c This seems to refer to Engels' second article in *German Socialism in Verse and Prose*; the first one was published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, 21 November 1847. - ^d A. F. Körner

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ENGELS TO MARX¹⁸⁶

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, 23-24 November 1847]

Dear Marx,

Not until this evening was it decided that I should be coming. Saturday evening,^a then, in Ostend, Hôtel de la Couronne, just opposite the railway station beside the harbour, AND SUNDAY MORNING ACROSS THE WATER. If you take the train that leaves between 4 and 5, you'll arrive at about the same time as I do.

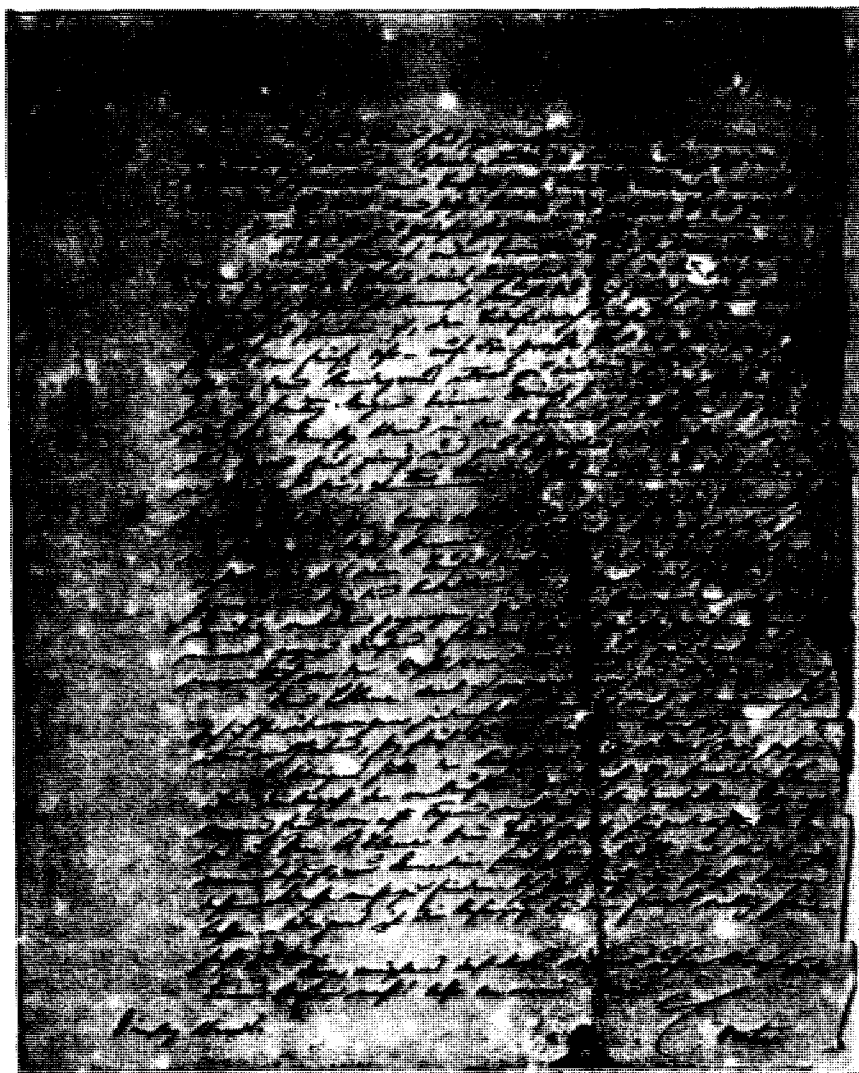
If, contrary to expectations, there is no packet-boat to Dover on Sundays, write and tell me by return. I. e., since you will receive this letter on Thursday morning, you must make inquiries at once and, should a letter be necessary, it must be posted the same evening—before five o'clock, I think—at the main post office. So if you want to make any changes as regards the meeting place there is still time. If I haven't heard by Friday morning I shall count on meeting you and Tedesco on Saturday evening at the Couronne. We shall then have time enough to talk things over; this congress must be a decisive one, *AS THIS TIME WE SHALL HAVE IT ALL OUR OWN WAY.*

For a long time now I have been completely at a loss to understand why you have not put a stop to Moses' gossip.^b It's been giving rise to the most devilish confusion for me here and the most tedious contradictory speeches to the workers. Entire district sittings have been wasted over it, nor is there any possibility of effectively combating this 'vapid' nonsense in the communities; particularly before the elections there could be no question of it.

I expect to see L. Blanc again tomorrow. If not, I shall in any case see him the day after tomorrow. If I have nothing to add at the end of this letter, you will hear the sequel on Saturday.

By the way, Reinhardt talked nonsense to me about the number of copies sold^c—not 37, but 96 had been sold a week ago today. That same day I myself took your book to L. Blanc. All the copies had been despatched save to Lamartine (not here), L. Blanc and

^a 27 November 1847 - ^b Probably a series of articles by Moses Hess. - ^c K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy.*



A page from Engels' letter to Marx of 23-24 November 1847

Vidal, whose address cannot be found. I have had it taken to the *Presse*.

By the way, Frank's despatch arrangements have been truly appalling.

At least see that Moses doesn't get up to any nonsense during our absence! *Au revoir*, then!

Your
E.

Tuesday evening

Verte^a

Give a little thought to the Confession of Faith. I think we would do best to abandon the catachetical form and call the thing Communist *Manifesto*.^b Since a certain amount of history has to be narrated in it, the form hitherto adopted is quite unsuitable. I shall be bringing with me the one from here, which I did^c; it is in simple narrative form, but wretchedly worded, in a tearing hurry. I start off by asking: What is communism? and then straight on to the proletariat—the history of its origins, how it differs from earlier workers, development of the antithesis between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, crises, conclusions. In between, all kinds of secondary matter and, finally, the communists' party policy, in so far as it should be made public. The one here has not yet been submitted in its entirety for endorsement but, save for a few quite minor points, I think I can get it through in such a form that at least there is nothing in it which conflicts with our views.

Wednesday morning

Have just received your letter¹⁸⁷ to which the above is an answer. I went to see L. Blanc. I'm remarkably unlucky with him—*il est en voyage, il reviendra peut-être aujourd'hui*.^d I shall go there again tomorrow and, if necessary, the day after.

I can't be in Ostend by Friday evening because the money won't have been got together until Friday.

This morning your cousin Philips came to see me.

Born should make quite a good speech if you drum something into him. It's good that the Germans are represented by a working man.¹⁸⁸ But Lupus must be purged of all trace of his excessive

^a PTO - ^b Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^c F. Engels, 'Principles of Communism'. - ^d he's travelling and will *perhaps* be back today.

modesty. The good fellow is one of those rare people who have to be thrust into the foreground. Not Weerth, for heaven's sake, as representative! A man who was always too lazy, until pitchforked by his *succès d'un jour*^a at the Congress.¹⁸⁹ And who, to boot, wishes to be AN INDEPENDENT MEMBER. *Il faut le retenir dans sa sphère.*^b

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MARX TO PAVEL VASILYEVICH ANNENKOV

IN PARIS

London, 9 December [1847]

Dear Annenkov,

Party considerations, into which I cannot enter here, obliged me to pay a visit to London.¹⁹⁰ I took advantage of this visit both to put the Brussels Democratic Association in touch with the English Chartists and to harangue the latter at a public meeting.^c You perhaps saw some reports about it in the English and French press.

But when I set out on this trip—and I am compelled to stay here a few days longer—I left my family behind in the most difficult and direst of circumstances. It is not simply that my wife is ill and the children^d likewise. My economic situation just now is so critical that my wife is being veritably harassed by creditors and is in the most wretched financial straits.

How this crisis came about is easily explained. The German manuscripts are not being published as a whole. Those parts that are being published^e I am supplying gratis, simply in order to

^a fleeting success - ^b He must be kept to his own sphere. - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'On Poland'. - ^d Jenny, Laura and Edgar - ^e This seems to refer to Marx's critical article on Grün's *Die sociale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* published in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, August-September 1847. It is one of the manuscripts of Volume II of Marx and Engels' *The German Ideology*.

launch them on the world. My anti-Proudhon pamphlet^a has sold very well. However I shall not receive a share of the proceeds until Easter.

By itself, my wife's income is insufficient and I have been negotiating with my own mother for quite some time to extract at least part of my fortune. There would now seem to be an immediate prospect of this. But that is of no help at the present moment.

In this situation, which I am not ashamed frankly to disclose to you, you would in truth save me from the worst if you could arrange to let my wife have a sum of between 100 and 200 francs. I shall, of course, be unable to repay you until my money matters have been settled with my family.

If you are able to agree to my proposal, I would request you to send the money to my old address: M. Charles Marx, Bruxelles, Faubourg Namur, rue d'Orléans, 42. However my wife must not be able to deduce from your letter that I wrote to you from London. I'll tell you the reason later.

Another time, I trust, I shall be able to send you more cheerful news.

Yours
K. Marx

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^a K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

1848

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ENGELS TO MARX ¹⁹¹

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, 14 January 1848

Dear Marx,

If I haven't written to you it was because I have as yet still not been able to get hold of that accursed Louis Blanc. *Décidément il y met de la mauvaise volonté.*^a But I'm determined to catch him—every day I go to him or lie in wait for him at the café. Père Flocon, on the other hand, is proving more amenable. He is delighted at the way the *Brüsseler-Zeitung* and *The Northern Star* defended the *Réforme* against the *National*.^b Not even the *blâme* against L. Blanc and Ledru-Rollin have succeeded in flustering him, any more than my announcement that we have now decided in London to come out openly as communists. He, of course, made some capital assertions: *vous tendez au despotisme, vous tuerez la révolution en France, nous avons onze millions de petits paysans qui sont en même temps les propriétaires les plus enragés,*^c etc., etc., although he also abused the peasants,—but *enfin, dit-il, nos principes sont trop rapprochés les uns des autres pour que nous ne devions pas marcher ensemble; quant à nous nous vous appuyerons autant que sera dans notre pouvoir,*^d etc., etc.

^a Decidedly, he is showing bad will. - ^b Reference to Engels' articles published in *The Northern Star* in November 1847 and January 1848, among them 'Split in the Camp.—The *Réforme* and the *National*.—March of Democracy', 'Reform Movement in France.—Banquet of Dijon', 'The "Satisfied" Majority...' (the last two criticised the nationalist tendencies of Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin) and his article 'The *Réforme* and the *National*' in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 104, 30 December 1847. - ^c you are tending towards despotism, you will kill the revolution in France, we have eleven million small peasants who at the same time are the most fanatical property owners. - ^d after all, he said, our principles are too similar for us not to march together; as for us, we will give you all the support in our power.

I was enormously tickled by the Mosi^a business, although annoyed that it should have come to light. Apart from you, no one in Brussels knew of it save Gigot and Lupus—and Born, whom I told about it in Paris once when I was in my cups. *Enfin, c'est égal.*^b Moses brandishing his pistols, parading his horns before the whole of Brussels, and before Bornstedt into the bargain!!, must have been exquisite. Ferdinand Wolff's inventiveness over the minutes *m'a fait crever de rire*^c—and Moses believes that! If, by the by, the jackass should persist in his preposterous lie about rape, I can provide him with enough earlier, concurrent, and later details to send him reeling. For only last July here in Paris this Balaam's she-ass^d made me, *in optima forma*,^e a declaration of love mingled with resignation, and confided to me the most intimate nocturnal secrets of her ménage! Her rage with me is unrequited love, pure and simple. For that matter, Moses came only second in my thoughts at Valenciennes, my first desire being to revenge myself for all the dirty tricks they had played on Mary.^f

The *strong wine* proves to be no more than a $\frac{1}{3}$ bottle of Bordeaux. It is only to be regretted that the horned Siegfried^g did not have his unhappy lot publicly minuted by the Workers' Society.¹⁵⁸ He is perfectly at liberty, by the way, to avenge himself on all my present, past and future mistresses, and for that purpose I commend to him 1) the Flemish giantess who lives at my former lodgings, 87 chaussée d'Ixelles *au premier*,^h and whose name is Mademoiselle Joséphine, and 2) a Frenchwoman, Mademoiselle Félicieⁱ who, on Sunday, the 23rd of this month, will be arriving in Brussels by the first train from Cologne on her way to Paris. It would be bad luck if he were to succeed with neither. Kindly pass on this information to him in order that he may appreciate my honourable intentions. I WILL GIVE HIM FAIR PLAY.

It is nearly all up with Heine. I visited him a fortnight ago and he was in bed, having had a nervous fit. Yesterday he was up but extremely ill. He can hardly manage three steps now; supporting himself against the wall, he crawls from armchair to bed and vice versa. On top of that, the noise in his house, cabinet-making, hammering, etc., is driving him mad. Intellectually he is also somewhat spent. Heinzen desired to see him but was not admitted.

^a Moses Hess - ^b Well, no matter. - ^c made me split my sides with laughter - ^d Sibylle Hess - ^e in due form - ^f Mary Burns - ^g An allusion to Hess with a pun on the word *gehörnte*, which, when used to describe Siegfried, the hero of German epic literature, means 'invulnerable', but in other contexts means 'cuckold'. - ^h on the first floor - ⁱ Félicité André

I was also at Herwegh's yesterday. Along with the rest of his family he has influenza and is much visited by old women. He told me that L. Blanc's 2nd volume^a has been quite eclipsed by the enormous success of Michelet's 2nd volume.^b I have not yet read either because shortage of money has prevented me from subscribing to the reading room. By the way, Michelet's success can only be attributed to his suspension¹⁹² and his civic spirit.

Things are going wretchedly with the League^c here. Never have I encountered such sluggishness and petty jealousy as there is among these fellows. Weitlingianism and Proudhonism are truly the exact expression of these jackasses' way of life and hence nothing can be done. Some are genuine Straubingers,⁸⁶ ageing boors, others aspiring petty bourgeois. A class which lives, Irish-fashion, by depressing the wages of the French, is utterly useless. I am now making one last attempt, *si cela ne réussit pas, je me retire de cette espèce de propagande*.^d I hope that the London papers^e will arrive soon and help to liven things up somewhat again; then I shall strike while the iron is hot. Not yet having seen any results from the Congress, the fellows are naturally growing completely supine. I am in contact with several new workers introduced to me by Stunpf and Neubeck but as yet there is no knowing what can be made of them.

Tell Bornstedt: 1) In the matter of his subscriptions,^f his attitude towards the workers here should not be so rigorously commercial, otherwise he'll lose them all; 2) the agent procured for him by Moses is a feeble Jeremiah and very conceited, but the only one who still will and can attend to the thing, so he had better not rub him up the wrong way; the fellow has, moreover, gone to great pains, but he can't put in money—which, for that matter, *he has done already*. Out of the money coming in to him he has to cover the expenses correspondence, etc. involves for him; 3) if he is sending separate issues, he should never send more than 10-15 at most of [...] one issue, and these as *opportunity* offers. The parcels go through Duchâtel's ministry, whence they have to be fetched at considerable expenditure in time and where the ministry exacts a fearsome postal charge in order to ruin this traffic. A parcel of this kind costs 6-8 francs, and what can one do if that's what they ask? Esselens in Liège wanted to appoint a *garde*

^a L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française*, t. 2. - ^b J. Michelet, *Histoire de la révolution française*, t. 2. - ^c the Communist League - ^d if that doesn't succeed, I shall give up this kind of propaganda. - ^e i. e. documents of the Second Congress of the Communist League - ^f to the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*

de convoi^a to deliver it. Write to Liège and tell them this will be arranged. 4) The issues that were still here have been sent by third party to South Germany. Should occasion offer, Bornstedt should send us a few more issues to be used as propaganda in cafés, etc., etc. 5) Within the next few days Bornstedt will be receiving an article^b and the thing about the Prussian finances. But you must again cast an eye over the part about the committees of 1843¹⁹³ and alter it where necessary, since my memory of the subject was very hazy at the time of writing.

If the Mosi business eventually leads to your attacking him in the *Brüsseler-Zeitung*, I shall be delighted. How the fellow can still remain in Brussels, I fail to understand. *En voilà encore une occasion pour l'exiler à Verviers.*^c The matter of the *Réforme* will be attended to.^d

Your
E.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Philipp Gigot
8.-Rue Bodenbroeck, Bruxelles

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, Friday evening, 21 January 1848

Dear Marx,

At last I have run L. Blanc to earth and at the same time found out why I could never get hold of him. *Ecoute plutôt—ce petit grand-seigneur littéraire ne reçoit que les jeudis! et encore l'après-midi*

^a courier - ^b F. Engels, 'The Movements of 1847'. - ^c Here's another opportunity to send him into exile at Verviers. - ^d See this volume, p. 156.

seulement!^a Of this he never informed me, either directly or through his doorkeeper. I found him, of course, surrounded by a crowd of jackasses, amongst whom Ramon de La Sagra, who gave me a pamphlet which I shall send on to you.^b I have not yet read it. However I was finally able to have a few minutes' talk with him about our affairs. He reluctantly admitted that he had not yet had time to read your book^c ... *je l'ai feuilleté et j'ai vu que M. Proudhon y est assez vivement attaqué...* Eh bien, I asked, *alors serez vous en mesure de faire l'article pour la 'Réforme' que vous m'avez promis?— Un article, ah mon Dieu, non, je suis si obsédé par mes éditeurs—mais voilà ce qu'il faut faire: faites l'article vous-même et je le ferai passer à la 'Réforme.'*^d This was then agreed. *Au fond*^e you'll lose nothing by it. At least I'll present our views more correctly than he would have done. I shall draw a direct parallel between these and his own—that is the most that can be done: naturally a conclusion *detrimental* to the *Réforme* cannot be drawn in the *Réforme* itself. I shall see to this forthwith.¹⁹⁴

Why didn't you tell Bornstedt *not* to write to the *Réforme* about your thing? My article was finished when Bornstedt's appeared in the *Réforme* along with the Chartist things^f whose publication I was awaiting before taking mine in. It was appreciably longer than the brief notice in which, to boot, your name is distorted.^g I told Flocon he must correct the printer's error; he had not done so yesterday and I haven't seen today's *Réforme*. It is of little moment anyhow. As soon as your speech^h appears, send me 4-5 copies for the *Réforme*, L. Blanc, de La Sagra (for the *Démocratie pacifique*), etc.; I can now make a longer article of it as the notice was so abominably brief.

^a Just listen—this little literary lord receives visitors only on Thursdays! and then only in the afternoon! - ^b R. de La Sagra, *Organisation du travail*. - ^c K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - ^d I have leafed through it and seen that M. Proudhon is attacked with some acerbity.—Well then, will you be able to write the article for the *Réforme* you promised us?—An article, good gracious no, I'm so hard pressed by my publishers—but I'll tell you what to do: write the article yourself and I'll see that it appears in the *Réforme*. - ^e After all - ^f What is meant is an item about Marx's speech at the meeting of the Brussels Democratic Association on 9 January 1848. It was published in *La Réforme* on 19 January, along with Engels' report 'The Chartist Movement' (his previous report on the subject was published on 10 January). - ^g 'Man' instead of 'Marx' - ^h K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

As for L. Blanc, he deserves to be castigated. Write a review of his *Révolution*^a for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* and prove to him in practice how far above him we are; the form amicable, but the content leaving no doubt as to our superiority. *On lui fera parvenir cela*.^b The petty sultan must be made to quake a little. The theoretical aspect, alas, is for the time being our only strength, but this carries much weight in the eyes of these champions of *science sociale*, of the *loi de la production suffisante*,^c etc. Comical, these fellows, with their chasing after this unknown *loi*. They wish to find a law by which they will increase production tenfold. Like the waggoner in the fable, they seek a Hercules who will drag the social waggon out of the mire for them. Yet there Hercules is, in their own hands. The *loi de la production suffisante* consists in one's ability to produce *suffisamment*. If they cannot do so, no magic formula will avail. Inventors who take out a *brevet*^d do more for *production suffisante* than the whole of L. Blanc with his profound, high-flying aspirations to *la science*.

I wrote Bernays a very ironical letter in reply to his last, expressing regret that his impartiality should have robbed me of the ultimate consolation—that of being a beautiful soul misunderstood—à la Praslin.^e Raising his eyebrows reproachfully, he returns me the note,¹⁹⁵ observing that this marks the end of our correspondence. *Sela*.^f

Otherwise nothing new. Write soon.

Your
E.

[On the back of the letter]

Mr Karl Marx in the German Workers' Society, Brussels

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^a L. Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française*. - ^b We'll see that it reaches him. - ^c law of sufficient production - ^d patent - ^e An allusion to K. L. Bernays, *Die Ermordung der Herzogin von Praslin*. - ^f The end.

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MARX TO ENGELS¹⁹⁶

IN BRUSSELS

Paris, [between 7 and 12 March 1848]
10, rue neuve Ménilmontant
(Boulevard Beaumarchais)

Dear Engels,

Get Breyer to pay you the 100 francs which he solemnly promised me to repay within a week, get 30 from Gigot, 10 from Hess. I hope that, as things are now, Breyer will keep his promise.

Maynz will cash the bill for 114 fr. at Cassel's and give you the money. Collect these various sums and use them.

They spoke kindly of you at the *Réforme*. Flocon is ill and I haven't yet seen him. The rumour spread by Seiler is circulating among the Germans generally. Allard has not yet been ousted by the revolution. I advise you to come here.

Central Authority has been constituted here,¹⁹⁷ since Jones, Harney, Schapper, Bauer and Moll are all on the spot. I have been nominated chairman and Schapper secretary. Members are: Wallau, Lupus, Moll, Bauer and Engels.

Jones left for England yesterday; Harney is ill. Salut.

Your

K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN PARIS

Brussels, [8-]9 March [1848]
3, rue Neuve Chaussée de Louvain

Dear Marx,

I hope I shall hear from you tomorrow.

All is quiet here. On Sunday^a evening Jottrand told the *Association Démocratique* about what had happened to you and

^a 5 March 1848

your wife.¹⁹⁸ I arrived too late to hear him, and only heard some furious remarks from Pellerin in Flemish. Gigot spoke as well, and reverted to the matter. Lubliner published an article about it in the *Émancipation*.^a The lawyers here are furious. Maynz wants to take the matter up in court and says that you should institute a civil action on the grounds of violation of domicile, etc. Gigot is also to lodge a complaint. It would be capital if this were done, although the government has made it known that the fellow^b would be dismissed. Yesterday Maynz provided Castiau with the documents he needs to interpellate on this score; I think this will happen tomorrow or the day after.¹⁹⁹ The affair has caused a considerable sensation and has greatly helped to mollify anti-German sentiment.

Lupus was taken to the railway station last Sunday morning at 11 o'clock and packed off to Valenciennes, whence he has written and where he must still be. He did not appear before any tribunal. Nor was he even escorted home to pick up his things!²⁰⁰

They've left me unmolested. From various remarks the fellows have let fall, it would seem that they are afraid of expelling me because they previously issued me with a passport, and this might be used against them.

It's a bad business in Cologne. Our three best men are in jug.²⁰¹ I have been speaking to someone who took an active part in the business.^c They wanted to go into the attack, but instead of supplying themselves with weapons, which were easily obtainable, they went to the town hall unarmed and let themselves be surrounded. It is said that most of the troops were on their side. The thing was initiated without rhyme or reason; if the chap's reports are to be believed, they could very well have gone into the attack and in 2 hours all would have been over. But everything was organised with appalling stupidity.

Our *old* friends in Cologne appear to have kept well in the background, although they, too, had decided to go into action. Little d'Ester, Daniels, Bürgers put in a brief appearance but went off again at once, although the little Dr was needed on the city council just then.²⁰²

Otherwise the news from Germany is splendid. In Nassau a revolution completed, in Munich students, painters and workers in full revolt, in Kassel revolution on the doorstep, in Berlin

^a *L'Émancipation*, No. 67, 7 March 1848. - ^b Darbeck - ^c presumably Peter Nothjung

unbounded fear and indecision, in the whole of western Germany freedom of the press and National Guard proclaimed; enough to be going along with.

If only Frederick William IV digs his heels in! Then all will be won and in a few months' time we'll have the German Revolution. If he only sticks to his feudal forms! But the devil only knows what this capricious and crazy individual will do.

In Cologne the whole of the petty bourgeoisie is for union with the French Republic; at the moment memories of 1797 are uppermost in their minds.²⁰³

Tedesco's still in jug. I don't know when he'll be appearing in court.

A fulminating article about your affair has gone off to *The Northern Star*.^a

On Sunday evening remarkable calm at the sitting of the Democratic Association. Resolved to petition the Chambers, demanding their immediate dissolution and new elections in accordance with the new census. The government does not wish to dissolve but will have to. Tomorrow evening the petition will be adopted and signed *séance tenante*.^b

Jottrand's petition to the Burgomaster^c and city council met with a very courteous rejection.

You have no idea of the calm that reigns here. Last night, carnival just as usual; the French Republic is scarcely ever mentioned. In the cafés you can get French newspapers with hardly any difficulty or delay. If you didn't know that they *must, tant bien que mal*,^d you'd think it was all finished here.

On Sunday Jottrand—furious about your persecution—made a really good speech; Rogier's *sevices*^e have brought him to recognise the class antithesis. He fulminated against the big bourgeoisie and entered into details—perhaps rather trite and illusory but economic nonetheless—to demonstrate to the petty bourgeoisie that a well-paid working class with a high rate of consumption in a republic would provide better custom for them than a Court and a not very numerous aristocracy. Altogether *à la O'Connor*.

It being now too late to catch the post with this letter, I shall finish it tomorrow.

^a F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Northern Star*'. - ^b during the session - ^c F. Raucourt - ^d for better or for worse - ^e brutalities

Thursday

Nothing new—I saw your article in the *Réforme*^a—so there's a rumpus going on in England as well, *tant mieux*.^b

If you haven't written by the time this arrives, do write at once.

Ironically enough, my baggage has just arrived from Paris—costing me 50 fr.! with customs, etc., etc.

Adieu.

Your
Engels

It would seem that the Deputy Inspector of Police who came to your house has already been dismissed. The affair has aroused great indignation among the petty bourgeois here.

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx *aux soins de* Madame Gsell,
75, Boulevard Beaumarchais, *Paris*.

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁰⁴

IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] 16 March 1848

Dear Engels,

I never have a minute these days to write at any length. I confine myself to essentials.

Flocon is very well disposed towards you.

The Straubingers⁸⁶ here are all more or less furious with you (set-to with Sch.,^c etc.).

^a K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *La Reforme*': - ^b so much the better - ^c apparently reference to Scherzer

As regards my things, take them with you as far as Valenciennes and have them sealed there. Everything will go through exempt. As regards the *silver*, it has already been hallmarked here in Paris. In Valenciennes you must in any case go to the man whose address I enclose.^a On Vogler's advice my wife sent him the keys to the trunks (which are in Brussels), but without a way-bill. You must fetch these keys from him, otherwise everything will be broken open by the customs here.

As regards the money, tell *Cassel* he must give you the bill if he won't pay it. Then perhaps *Baillut* will pay it.

Get *Gigot* to settle accounts and at least give you the balance.

As regards *Breyer*, you must go to see him again and point out what a *shabby trick* it would be if he made use of my ill-fortune to avoid payment. He must hand over at least part to you. The revolution hasn't cost him a sou.

The bourgeoisie here are again becoming atrociously uppish and reactionary, *mais elle verra*.^b

Bornstedt and *Herwegh* are behaving like scoundrels. They have founded a black, red and gold association²⁰⁵ *contre nous*.^c The former is to be expelled from the League^d today.

Your
M.

At the moment I am unable to find the *feuille de route*^e and this letter must go off.

Dismiss *Gigot* if he doesn't begin to show signs of activity.

Just now the fellow ought to be more energetic.

My warmest regards to *Maynz*; also to *Jottrand*. I have received the latest *Débat social*.

My regards to *Vogler* likewise.

I shall write at length to *Maynz* and *Jottrand*.²⁰⁶

Farewell.

^a probably August Schnee - ^b but they'll see - ^c in opposition to us - ^d the Communist League - ^e way-bill

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN PARIS

* [Brussels,] Saturday [18 March 1848]

Dear Marx,

I shall send off your things.

Write a few lines to M. Victor Faider, *avocat*,^a either direct or enclosed [in a letter] to Bloss, thanking him for the steps he has taken on behalf of you and your wife, and authorising him to take further steps. Faider, who has suddenly turned out to be a zealous republican, has constituted himself your defence counsel and as such will reply to the *Moniteur belge*,^b and follow the matter up. He hopes you won't disavow him and, to enable him to take a determined stand, you would do well to send him a note. It is better that a Belgian, rather than Maynz, should pursue the case and, since he has offered his services, he will probably do his job properly.

You really must send the *feuille de route*.^c The thing is badly needed; Maynz asks after it daily.

Tedesco's been released and left for Liège immediately, without seeing a soul. Esselens was here for a few days, but he didn't see him.

The Bourse, finance, industry and trade here are in the throes of an unprecedented crisis. In the Café Suisse, Commerce is moping about with nothing to do, Messrs Kauwerz, Lauffs and Co. go creeping round with their tails between their legs, the workers have held *rassemblements*^d and handed in petitions, a general and serious food shortage. Cash is nowhere to be had, and withal an *emprunt forcé*^e of 60 millions! It'll be the Bourse that will impose the Republic on them here.

Lüning returned here to be confronted with the news that there's a hue and cry after him in Prussia; he is going to send for his wife and come to Paris.

Before he fled, Dronke was accepted into the League^f by Willich and Co. I subjected him to a fresh examination here,

^a lawyer - ^b Reference to a tendentious item on Marx's expulsion from Belgium in *Le Moniteur belge*, No. 72, 12 March 1848. - ^c way-bill - ^d meetings - ^e a compulsory loan - ^f the Communist League

expounded our views to him and, since he declared himself to be in agreement with them, confirmed his admission. One could hardly have done otherwise, even if there had been an element of doubt. However, the fellow's very modest, very young and seems to all appearances very responsive, so I think that, with a little supervision and some study, he will turn out well. In my presence he retracted all his earlier writings.^a Unfortunately he lives with Moses^b who will thus be working on him in between whiles, but, as we know, that is of no consequence. With Lüning, to whom he had become frightfully attached, only a couple of words were needed to unsaddle him.

Moses, by the way, is friendlier than ever—just try to understand the fellow!

I can't do anything with Cassel, since Maynz has the *ordre*,^c not me. Breyer pleads the financial crisis, the impossibility, just now, of arranging a deferred settlement of his old bills, the refusal of all his patients to pay. He even says that he intends to sell his one and only horse. However I will see what is to be had, for I can hardly manage with the money from Maynz, and Hess' payment, which was the first, has already gone the way of all flesh. Gigot is also in a fix. I shall go and see Breyer again today.

Tomorrow's *Débat social* will contain a detailed refutation, *mot pour mot*^d of the *Moniteur*.

You must further tell Faider that, if he has to have a special power of attorney, you will send him one.

Also write a few lines to M. Bricourt, *membre de la Chambre des Représentants*, who spoke up admirably on your behalf in the Chamber¹⁹⁹ and, at Maynz's request, put some searching questions to the Minister,^e and who has instituted an *enquête*^f into the affair. He is the deputy for Charleroi and, after Castiau, the best of the lot. Castiau has just been to Paris.

Look through the enclosed scrawl^g and send it to the *Réforme*. The fellows here need to be constantly provoked.

Si c'est possible^h I shall leave on Monday.²⁰⁷ But money matters are perpetually thwarting my designs.

I am getting no news at all from England, whether through letters or the *Star*.

^a Reference to E. Dronke's 'Berlin', 'Polizei-Geschichten' and 'Aus dem Volk' published in 1846 and showing influence of 'true socialism'. - ^b Hess - ^c bill - ^d blow by blow; the article 'Encore et toujours l'expulsion de M. Marx' in *Le Débat Social* of 19 March 1848 appears to have been written by V. Faider. - ^e Minister of Justice Fr. Haussy - ^f enquiry - ^g F. Engels, 'The Situation in Belgium' - ^h If possible

In Germany things are going very well indeed, riots everywhere and the Prussians aren't giving way. *Tant mieux*.^a I hope we shan't have to remain very long in Paris.

How excellent that you are throwing out Bornstedt.^b The fellow has proved so unreliable that his expulsion from the League is essential. He and Weerth are now allied and Weerth is running round here as a fanatical republican.

Lamartine is becoming daily more depraved. In all his speeches the man addresses himself exclusively to the bourgeoisie and seeks to pacify them. Even the Provisional Government's Electoral Proclamation^c is directed wholly at the bourgeoisie in order to reassure them. Small wonder that the creatures are becoming uppish.

Adios, au revoir.

F. E.

All letters to be sent here to the address I have given; *en mon absence*^d Bloss will give them to Gigot.

[On the back of the letter]

M. Marx
Rue neuve Ménilmontant

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ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN LONDON

Paris, 26 March 1848

Dear Emil,

After the glorious February revolution and Belgium's stillborn March revolution, I came back here last week. I wrote to Mother asking for money so that within a few days I could return to

^a So much the better. - ^b See this volume, p. 162. - ^c 'Instruction du Gouvernement provisoire pour l'exécution du décret du 5 mars 1848, relatif aux élections générales', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 70, 10 March 1848. - ^d in my absence

Germany²⁰⁸ where we are starting up the *Rheinische Zeitung*^a again. Mother is now very anxious to see me back in Germany, partly because she believes that there might again be some shooting here in the course of which I could get hurt, partly because she wants me to return anyway. However she also says in her letter:

'How I can be expected to send you the money, I really don't know, since a few days ago Fould notified Father that he was doing no more business, and since several good bills sent him by Father came back and were protested. Write and tell me, then, how I can be expected to let you have the money.'

The simplest thing would be for you to send me 20 pounds in banknotes, these being highly regarded here, and at once arrange with my old man to reimburse you. In this way I shall get my money quickly and be able to leave, whereas I would otherwise be stuck here for another week before getting money from Barmen, let alone Engelskirchen. I am therefore writing to Barmen this very day for them to repay you the £20, and I would ask you to arrange matters in the way I have just said, since bills are no longer any good.

You can send half of the bisected banknotes to me today, addressed to 19ter rue de la Victoire, Paris, and the remainder next day to Mlle Félicité André, same street and No. This will foil letter thieves.

Here things are going very well,²⁰⁹ i.e. the bourgeoisie, who were beaten on 24 February and 17 March,^b are once more raising their heads and railing horribly against the Republic. But the only result of this will be that a thunderstorm quite unlike anything they have known before will very soon break over them. If the fellows persist in their insolence, some of them will very soon be strung up by the people. In the provisional government they have a certain party, namely Lamartine, the soft-soaper, whose life will also soon be forfeit. The workers here, 200,000-300,000 strong, will hear of no one but Ledru-Rollin, and they are right. He is the most resolute and radical of all. Flocon, too, is very good; I've been to see him once or twice and am about to do so again; he's a thoroughly honest fellow.

We have nothing to do with the great crusade which is departing from here to set up the German republic by force of arms.²¹⁰

^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^b See this volume, p. 168.

My kindest regards to Marie^a and the little ones and reply by return.

In haste,
Your
Frederick

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ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK²¹¹

IN LONDON

Paris, 28 March 1848

Dear Emil,

Today I received the first four halves of the 4 £5 notes and would ask you to send the other halves *immediately*, since I must get away as soon as possible. Many thanks for your willingness to come so promptly to my assistance in this EMERGENCY. Your subscription to the *Rheinische Zeitung*^b has been registered.

As regards the parties here, there are, properly speaking, three major ones, not counting the minor ones (Legitimists^c and Bonapartists who simply intrigue, mere sects without influence among the people, in part wealthy, but no hope whatever of victory). These three are, first, those defeated on 24 February, i.e. the big bourgeoisie, speculators on the Bourse, bankers, manufacturers and big merchants, the old conservatives and liberals. Secondly, the petty bourgeoisie, the middle class, the bulk of the National Guard which, on 23 and 24 Febr. sided with the people, the 'reasonable radicals', Lamartine's men and those of the *National*. Thirdly, the people, the Parisian workers, who are now holding Paris by force of arms.

The big bourgeoisie and the workers are in direct confrontation with each other. The petty bourgeois play an intermediary but altogether contemptible role. The latter, however, have a majority in the provisional government (Lamartine, Marrast, Dupont de l'Eure, Marie, Garnier-Pagès and, occasionally, Crémieux as well).

^a Marie Blank, Engels' sister - ^b *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^c supporters of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830

They, and the provisional government with them, vacillate a great deal. The quieter everything becomes, the more the government and the petty-bourgeois party incline towards the big bourgeoisie; the greater the unrest, the more they join up with the workers again. Recently, for instance, when the bourgeois had again become fearfully uppish and actually dispatched a column of National Guards 8,000 strong to the Town Hall^a to protest against a decree of the provisional government, and more especially against Ledru-Rollin's vigorous measures,²¹² they did in fact succeed in so intimidating the majority of the government, and in particular the weak-kneed Lamartine, that he publicly disavowed Ledru. But on the following day, 17 March, 200,000 workers marched on the Town Hall, proclaimed their implicit confidence in Ledru-Rollin and compelled the majority of the government and Lamartine to recant. For the time being, then, the men of the *Réforme* (Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, L. Blanc, Albert, Arago) again have the upper hand. They, more than anyone else in the government, still represent the workers, and are communists without knowing it. Unfortunately little Louis Blanc is making a great ass of himself with his vanity and his crack-brained schemes.²¹³ Ere long he will come a terrible cropper. But Ledru-Rollin is behaving very well.

The most unfortunate thing is that the government, on the one hand, has to make promises to the workers and, on the other, is unable to keep any of them because it lacks the courage to secure the necessary funds by revolutionary measures against the bourgeoisie, by severe progressive taxation, succession duties, confiscation of all émigré property, ban on the export of currency, state bank, etc. The men of the *Réforme* are allowed to make promises which they are then prevented from keeping by the most inane conservative decisions.

In addition there is now a new element in the National Assembly: the peasants who make up $\frac{5}{7}$ of the French nation and support the party of the *National*, of the petty bourgeoisie. It is highly probable that this party will win, that the men of the *Réforme* will fall, and then there'll be another revolution. It's also possible that, once in Paris, the deputies will realise how things stand here, and that only the men of the *Réforme* can stay the course in the long term. This, however, is improbable.

The postponement of the elections for a fortnight is also a victory for the Parisian workers over the bourgeois party.²¹⁴

^a seat of the provisional government

The men of the *National*, Marrast and Co., cut a very poor figure in other respects as well. They live in clover and provide their friends with palaces and good positions. Those from the *Réforme* are quite different. I've been to see old Flocon several times; the fellow lives as before in poor lodgings on the fifth floor, smokes cheap shag in an old clay pipe, and has bought nothing for himself but a new dressing-gown. For the rest his way of life is no less republican than when he was still editor of the *Réforme*, nor is he any less friendly, cordial and open-hearted. He's one of the most decent fellows I know.

Recently I lunched at the Tuileries, in the Prince de Joinville's suite, with old Imbert who was a *réfugié* in Brussels and is now Governor of the Tuileries. In Louis-Philippe's apartments now the wounded lie on the carpets, smoking stubby pipes. In the throne-room the portraits of Soult and Bugeaud have been torn down and ripped and the one of Grouchy cut to shreds.

Going past at this very moment, to the strains of the *Marseillaise*, is the funeral cortège of a working man who died of his wounds. Escorting him are National Guards and armed populace at least 10,000 strong, and young toffs from the Chaussée d'Antin, have to escort the procession as mounted National Guards. The bourgeois are enraged at seeing a working man thus given the last honours.

Your
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
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Printed according to the original

60

MARX AND ENGELS TO ÉTIENNE CABET

IN PARIS

Paris, 5 April 1848

Dear Citizen,

During the last two days of our stay in Paris we presented ourselves at your house several times. But we always found you

offices^a so crowded with people that our all too limited time prevented us from taking our turn and waiting. We therefore regret that we have to leave without having had one last interview with you.

Mr Ewerbeck, who will be delivering this, will take it upon himself to inform us of the address we should use when writing to you.²¹⁵

We do not doubt for one instant that we shall shortly be able to give you favourable news of the progress of the communist movement in Germany.

Meanwhile, please accept our respectful greetings.

Yours very sincerely

K. Marx, F. Engels

First published in English in the journal
Science and Society, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1940

Printed according to Engels' manu-
script

Translated from the French

61

ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN LONDON

Barmen, 15 April 1848

Dear Emil,

I am safely back here again.²¹⁶ The whole of Barmen is waiting to see what I shall do. They believe I'm going to proclaim the republic forthwith. The philistines are trembling with vague fear—what of, they themselves don't really know. At any rate, it is believed that, now I am here, much will speedily resolve itself. C. and A. Ermen were quaking visibly when I walked into their office today. I, of course, am not meddling in anything but waiting quietly to see what happens.

The panic here is ineffable. The bourgeoisie are calling for confidence but confidence has gone. Most of them are fighting for existence, as they themselves put it. This doesn't fill the workers' bellies, however, and from time to time they rebel a little. General dissolution, ruin, anarchy, despair, fear, rage, constitutional

^a editorial offices of *Le Populaire*

enthusiasm, hatred of the Republic, etc., are rampant, and the fact is, for the time being, the richest people are the most tormented and frightened. And the exaggerations, the lies, the ranting and the railing, are enough to drive one out of one's mind. The most placid of citizens is a real *enragé*.^a

But they're in for a surprise when once the Chartists make a start. The business of the procession was a mere bagatelle. In a couple of months, my friend, *G. Julian Harney*, to whom pray address the enclosed letter, *9 Queen Street, Brompton*, will be in Palmerston's shoes.²¹⁷ I'LL BET YOU TWOPENCE AND IN FACT ANY SUM.

All is well with your mother and mine. They are expecting your brother Hermann; Anna is in Hamm. My regards to Marie^b and the children. *À bientôt*.

Your
F.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
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Moscow, 1934

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Published in English for the first
time

62

MARX TO ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Cologne [about 24 April 1848]
Apostelstrasse Nr. 7

Dear Engels,

A good many have already been subscribed for here, and we shall probably soon be able to make a start.²¹⁸ But now you must without fail make demands on your old man and in general declare *definitively* what is to be done in Barmen and Elberfeld.

A prospectus (written by Bürgers),^c etc., has been sent from here to Hecker in Elberfeld.

^a madman (ironically comparing the German citizens with the men of the most radical trend during the French Revolution) - ^b Anna and Marie are Engels' sisters. - ^c H. Bürgers, 'Prospectus for the Founding of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*' (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 539-41), later published in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, No. 12, 17 May 1848.

Have you no address for Dronke? He must be written to forthwith.

Answer by return. I might come to your part of the world if things don't look too fearsome with you.²¹⁹

Your
M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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ENGELS TO MARX²²⁰

IN COLOGNE

B[armen,] 25 April 1848

Dear Marx,

I have just received the prospectus^a along with your letter. There's damned little prospect for the shares here. Blank,^b to whom I had already written about it²²¹ and who is still the best of the lot, has become practically a bourgeois; the others even more so since they became established and came into conflict with the workers. All these folk shun the discussion of social questions like the plague, calling it seditious talk. I have lavished on them the finest rhetoric, and resorted to every imaginable diplomatic ploy, but always hesitant answers. I am now going to make one final effort; if it fails, that will be the end of everything. In 2-3 days you'll have definite news about how things have gone. The fact is, *au fond*,^c that even these radical bourgeois here see us as their future main enemies and have no intention of putting into our hands weapons which we would very shortly turn against themselves.

^a H. Bürgers, 'Prospectus for the Founding of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.'

^b Wilhelm Blank - ^c after all

Nothing whatever is to be got out of my old man. To him even the *Kölner Zeitung* is a hotbed of agitation and, sooner than present us with 1,000 talers, he would pepper us with a thousand balls of grape.

The most advanced of the bourgeois here find their party represented pretty much to their satisfaction by the *Köln. Zeitung*. *Que veux-tu qu'on fasse, alors?*^a

Moses'^b agent, Schnaake, who was here last week, would seem to have been calumniating us too.²²²

I have no address for Dronke except: Adolf Dominicus, merchant, Coblenz (his uncle). His old man is living in Fulda, a grammar school headmaster, I think. It's a little backwater: Dr E. Dronke junior, Fulda, would probably reach him if he's there. But it's foolish of him not to write, if only to let us know his whereabouts.

I have had a letter from Ewerbeck asking whether we have received a supposedly important letter which he sent to the agreed address in Mainz. If you haven't had it, write and inform Mainz (Philipp Neubeck, teacher candidate, Rentengasse (Heiliger Geist), Mainz).

Ewerbeck is having the *Manifesto*^c translated into Italian and Spanish in Paris and to that end wants us to send him 60 fr. which he has undertaken to pay. Yet another of those schemes of his. They will be splendid translations.²²³

I am working on the English translation, which presents more difficulties than I thought. However, I'm over half way through, and before long the whole thing will be finished.²²⁴

If even a single copy of our 17 points^d were to circulate here, all would be lost for us. The mood of the bourgeoisie is really ugly. The workers are beginning to bestir themselves a little, still in a very crude way, but as a mass. They at once formed coalitions. But to us that can only be a hindrance. The Elberfeld political club²²⁵ issues addresses to the Italians, advocates direct election but resolutely eschews any discussion of social questions, although in private these gentlemen admit that such questions are now *coming* to be the order of the day, always with the proviso that we should not take precipitate action!

^a So what do you want us to do? - ^b Hess - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Demands of the Communist Party in Germany'.

Adios. Write soon in greater detail. Has the letter been sent to Paris, and did it have any results?²²⁶

Your
E.

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64

ENGELS TO MARX

IN COLOGNE

[Barmen,] 9 May 1848

Dear Marx,

Herewith:

1. The list of the shares so far subscribed for, 14 in number.
2. A proxy for you.²²⁷
3. One for d'Ester (Bohnstedt is an acquaintance of his).
4. One for Bürgers.

It was unavoidable that Bohnstedt and Hecker should have given their proxies to personal acquaintances.

Hühnerbein will appear there in person on behalf of himself and two others here.

The list is not yet closed. Although I have called on Laverrière and Blank x times, I haven't found them at home. Zulauff has taken over the former.

Two others, with whom I made no headway, will be worked upon by Hecker.

Today Zulauff is going to Ronsdorf, where he has good prospects.

The two kinds of people who prove the most difficult are, firstly, the young *républicains en gants jaunes*,^a who fear for their fortunes and smell communism in the air and, secondly, the local panjandrums, who regard us as rivals.

^a republicans in kid gloves (a nickname of the moderate bourgeois republicans in France, followers of Armand Marrast)

Neither Nohl nor Bracht were to be persuaded. Of the jurists, Bohnstedt is the only one with whom anything can be done. All in all we've made fruitless moves enough.

Tomorrow I am going to Engelskirchen for 2 days. Let me know at once the results of the shareholders' meeting.

A beginning has also been made with a community of the League.^a

Your
Engels

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ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK²²⁸

IN LONDON

Cologne, 24 May 1848
14, Höhle

Dear Emil,

I arrived here in Cologne last Saturday.^b The *Rheinische Zeitung*^c will be appearing on 1 June. But if we are not at once to come up against obstacles, some preliminary arrangements must be made in London, and we are taking the liberty of entrusting these to you since there's nobody else there.

1. Arrange at any NEWSMAN'S for a subscription to *The Telegraph* (DAILY PAPER) and *The Economist*, WEEKLY PAPER, from the time this letter arrives until 1 July. The NEWSMAN, whose address you can give us to save being bothered again later on, should include both papers in one wrapper or paper band—in the way papers are customarily sent—and dispatch them daily, addressed to Mr W. Clouth, St Agatha, 12, Cologne, via Ostend.²²⁹

2. Please forward the enclosed letters.

3. Pay the cost of the subscription to the two papers, the postage of this letter, etc., etc., and charge them at once to the dispatch

^a the Communist League - ^b 20 May - ^c *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

department of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, St Agatha, 12, Cologne, stating to whom the sum is to be sent, and it will be done at once.

The necessary capital for the newspaper has been raised. Everything is going well, all that remains is the question of the papers, and then we can start. We are already getting *The Times* and, for the first month, we need no other English papers than the two above-mentioned. Should you ever happen upon something worthy of note in another paper, we should be grateful if you would send it to us. Any expense will, of course, immediately be refunded. Papers containing detailed information on trade, the state of business, etc., etc., are also desirable. Write some time and let me know what papers are now to be had there, so that we know how we stand.

I didn't, of course, see Marie,^a as I had to leave before she arrived. But I'll be going over there some time soon, when things here are really under way. Barmen, by the way, is more boring than ever and is filled with a general hatred for what little freedom they have. The jackasses believe that the world exists solely to enable them to make tidy profits and, since these are now at a low ebb, they are screeching gruesomely. If they want freedom they must pay for it, as the French and English have had to do; but these people think they ought to have everything for nothing. Here things are looking up a little, if not very much. The Prussians are still the same as ever, the Poles are being branded with lunar caustic and, at the moment of writing, *Mainz is being bombarded by the Prussians* because the Civic Guard arrested a few drunken and rampaging soldiers²³⁰—the sovereign National Assembly in Frankfurt hears the firing and doesn't seem to take any notice.²³¹ In Berlin Camphausen is taking it easy, while reaction, the rule of officials and aristocrats grows daily more insolent, irritates the people, the people revolt and Camphausen's spinelessness and cowardice lead us straight towards fresh revolutions. That is Germany as it now is! Adieu.

Your
F. E.

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first time

^a Marie Blank

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ENGELS TO KARL FRIEDRICH KÖPPEN

IN BERLIN

Cologne, 1 September 1848

My dear Köppen,

I return your article herewith. I should already have sent it before but had lost your address in the turmoil of the removal and the mass of business this involved.²³²

Marx will have told you how often we thought of you during the sleepless night of exile. I can assure you that you were the only one of the Berliners whom we recalled with pleasure. Come to that, the sleepless night of exile was pleasurable *après tout*^a and I look back on it longingly from out of this tedious philistine farce known as the German revolution! But one must be able to make sacrifices for the dear fatherland, and the greatest sacrifice is to return to that fatherland and write leading articles for this gross and boorish public. Farewell.

Tout à vous^b

F. Engels

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time

67

MARX TO ENGELS²³³

IN GENEVA

Cologne, [about 29 or 30 October] 1848

Dear Engels,

As your letter only arrived this evening, there is no time left to make enquiries about bills. I haven't even time to go home. I send you the enclosed, which happens to be to hand and, in addition, a

^a after all - ^b Yours ever

draft of 50 talers from Schulz on a citizen of Geneva^a where you might also obtain help in other ways.

I sent 50 talers to you and Dronke in Paris a long time ago and at the same time sent your passport to Gigot in Brussels.

Since 11 October the paper has been appearing again, *tale quale*.^b It is not the time now to go into details, as haste is necessary. As soon as you can, write some news items and longer articles. Now that everyone save Weerth is away, Freiligrath having only joined us a few days ago, I am up to my eyes and unable to undertake work of a more detailed kind, and in addition the public prosecutor's office is doing all it can to rob me of my time.

Write by return. Shall I send your underclothing, etc.? Plasmann ready to do so immediately.²³⁴ Your father has paid him, by the way.

By the way, your old man has written to Gigot asking where you are. He wants, so he says, to send you some money. I sent him your address.

Your
K. Marx

[From Louis Schulz]

P. S. Should be obliged if you would open enclosed letter to J. Köhler by the Lake, or rue du Rhône, and deliver same, whereupon he will pay you 250 fr. for my account against sight draft on me. Friendly greetings.

Louis Schulz

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN LAUSANNE

[Cologne, first half of November 1848]

Dear Engels,

I am truly amazed that you should still not have received any money from me. *I* (not the dispatch department) sent you 61

^a J. Köhler - ^b quite unchanged

talers ages ago, 11 in notes, 50 as a bill, to Geneva, enclosed in a letter to the address you gave. So make inquiries and write immediately. I have a postal receipt and can reclaim the money.

I had further sent 20 talers to Gigot and, later, 50 to Dronke for all of you, each time out of my cashbox. A total of some 130 talers.

Tomorrow I shall send you some more. But inquire about the money. The bill included a note recommending you to one of Lausanne's financial philistines.

I am short of money. I returned from my journey with 1,850 talers; I received 1,950 from the Poles. I spent 100 while still on my journey. I advanced 1,000 to the newspaper (and also to yourself and other refugees). This week there are still 500 to be paid for the machine. Balance 350. And withal I haven't received a cent from the paper.²³⁵

As regards your editorship, I 1) announced in the very first issue that the committee was to remain unchanged,^a 2) explained to the idiotic reactionary shareholders that they are at liberty to regard any of you as no longer belonging to the editorial staff, but that I am at liberty to *pay as high fees as I wish* and hence that they will be no better off financially.

It would have been, perhaps, more sensible not to advance so large a sum for the newspaper, as I have 3-4 court actions hanging over me,²³⁶ can be locked up any day and then pant for money as doth the hart for cooling streams. But whatever the circumstances, this *fort* had to be held and the political position not surrendered.

The best thing—once you have settled the financial business in Lausanne—is to go to Berne and carry out your proposed plan. Besides, you can write for anything you want. Your letters always arrive in reasonably good time.

To suppose that I could leave you in the lurch for even a moment is sheer fantasy. You will always remain my friend and confidant as I hope to remain yours.

K. Marx

Your old man's a swine and we shall write him a damned rude letter.

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^a K. Marx, 'Editorial Statement Concerning the Reappearance of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'.

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN DÜSSELDORF

[Cologne, 13 November 1848]

Dear Lassalle,

At your democratic-monarchist club²³⁷ you should resolve the following:

1. *General refusal to pay taxes*—to be advocated specially in rural areas;
2. Dispatch of volunteer corps to Berlin;
3. Cash remittance to the Democratic Central Committee in Berlin.²³⁸

For the Rhenish Democratic Provincial Committee²³⁹

K. Marx

(Private)

Dear Lassalle,

If you could send me some money, whether it be the 200 talers or the amount for the loan certificates, you would greatly oblige me. Send it to my wife, Cecilienstrasse 7. I have had a summons²⁴⁰ today and it is generally believed that I shall be arrested tomorrow.

Your
Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN BERNE

Cologne, 29 November [1848]

Dear Engels,

The papers have been sent to you. If this was not done sooner the fault lies with that jackass Korff who, because I was overworked, a circumstance aggravated by repeated summonses, has so far failed to carry out my orders.

In the meantime remain in Berne. I shall write to you as soon as you can come. Seal your letters better. One of them had been opened, as I indicated in the paper, without, of course, mentioning your name.^a

Write in detail about *Proudhon* and, since your geography is good, about the dirty business in Hungary (nations swarming like bees).^b Don't forget me^c in the piece on Proudhon, since our articles are reprinted by a great many French newspapers.

Write something, too, attacking the Federal Republic, to which end Switzerland provides the best opportunity.^d

K. Heinzen has published his old trashy piece attacking us.^e

Our paper continues to stand by the principle of *émeute*,^f but despite all my summonses in court, it has succeeded in sailing clear of the *Code pénal*.²⁴¹ It is now very much *en vogue*. We are also issuing posters daily.²⁴² *La révolution marche*.^g Write diligently.

I have devised an infallible plan for extracting money from your old man, as we now have none. Write me a begging letter (as crude as possible), in which you retail your past vicissitudes, but in such a way that I can pass it on to your mother. The old man's beginning to get the wind up.

I hope to see you again soon.

Your
Marx

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^a K. Marx ['Letters Opened']. - ^b In compliance with this request Engels wrote the articles ['Proudhon'] and 'The Magyar Struggle'. - ^c Marx means his book *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - ^d F. Engels, 'The National Council'. - ^e K. Heinzen, *Die Helden des deutschen Kommunismus*, Bern, 1848. - ^f uprising - ^g The revolution is on the march.

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MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

IN VIENNA

[Cologne, 5 December 1848]

My dear Telling,

You would already have had the missing issues,^a but most of them are missing. Hence I am still busily trying to get hold of the copies you lack.

As regards your feuilleton, you must excuse me for not having read it through yet, owing to my being overworked. If it is not suitable for our newspaper you shall have it back.

Regarding the *addresses*, all your letters have arrived. As a precaution, write to *Herr Werres, Unter Huthmacher 17*. The address is wholly above suspicion.

Just now our newspaper is *sans sou*.^b But the subscribers [...]^c The jackasses are at last beginning to feel that our prophecies have invariably been right; unless we're suppressed by the government we shall have surmounted our troubles by the beginning of January, and then I shall do everything in my power to reward you in accordance with your services. Your articles are incontestably the best we receive, completely in line with our own tendency, and since they have been reprinted from our paper by French, Italian and English periodicals, you are contributing a great deal to the enlightenment of the European public²⁴³

I cannot describe to you what sacrifices in terms of money and patience I have had to make to keep the newspaper going. The Germans are crack-brained jackasses.

Give my kindest regards to your wife^d and rest assured of my constant friendship.

Yours

K. Marx

First published in the *Volksstimme*, Frankfurt a. M., No. 247, 22 October 1897

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^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^b penniless - ^c word indecipherable (probably *träumen*—dream) - ^d Amalie

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN COLOGNE

Berne, 28 December [1848]

Dear Marx,

How are things? Now that Gottschalk and Anneke have been acquitted,²⁴⁴ shan't I be able to come back soon? The Prussian curs must surely soon tire of meddling with juries. As I have said, if there are sufficient grounds for believing that I shall not be detained for questioning, I shall come at once. After that they may, so far as I'm concerned, place me before 10,000 juries, but when you're arrested for questioning you're not allowed to smoke, and I won't let myself in for that.

In any case the whole September affair²⁴⁵ is crumbling away to nothing. One after another they're going back. So write.

Apropos, some money would come in very handy towards the middle of January. By then you should receive plenty.

Your
E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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MARX TO WILHELM STIEBER²⁴⁶

IN BERLIN

[Draft]

[Cologne, about 29 December 1848]

The editorial department is in receipt of your letter and accepts the correction dated Frankfurt.^a As to your threat of a libel action, this only reveals your ignorance of the *Code pénal*, whose paragraph relating to libel does not apply to the report appearing

^a 'Stieber', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 182, 30 December 1848, supplement.

in No. 177.²⁴⁷ Moreover, to set your mind at rest be it said that this report was sent to us by a Frankfurt Deputy^a before the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* divulged the same news. Your earlier activities in Silesia did not seem to us to belie the contents of the said report, although we did, on the other hand, think it strange that you should exchange your more remunerative and honourable post in Berlin for one which, albeit *legal*, is precarious and equivocal.

As to your protestations regarding your activities in Silesia,^b we shall endeavour to place material at your disposal, either publicly or in private, as you wish.

On the grounds of their novelty, we shall excuse the lectures on democracy and democratic organs contained in your letter.

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time

^a Probably Friedrich Wilhelm Schlöffel, 'Dr Stieber', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 177, 24 December 1848. - ^b *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 148, 20 December 1848.

1849

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN COLOGNE

Berne, 7[-8] January 1849

Dear Marx,

Having recovered, after several weeks of sinful living, from my exertions and adventures,²³³ I feel, firstly, a need to get down to work again (striking proof of this being the enclosed Magyar-Slav article^a), and, secondly, a need for money. The latter is the more urgent and if by the time this arrives, you haven't yet sent me anything, do so forthwith, for I've been *sans le sou*^b these past few days, and it's impossible to touch anyone in this rotten town.

If only something worth writing about happened in this rotten country. But it's all local rubbish of the rottenest kind. However I'll shortly be sending a few general articles^c about it. If I have to stay abroad much longer I shall go to Lugano, particularly if something blows up in Italy, as seems likely.

But I keep thinking that I shall soon be able to return. This lazing about in foreign parts, where you can't really do anything and are completely outside the movement, is truly unbearable. I am rapidly coming to the conclusion that detention for questioning in Cologne is better than life in free Switzerland. So do write and tell me if there isn't some chance of my being treated as favourably as Bürgers, Becker,^d etc., etc.²⁴⁸

^a F. Engels, 'The Magyar Struggle'. - ^b penniless - ^c F. Engels, 'Herr Müller.—Radetzky's Chicanery towards Tessin.—The Federal Council.—Lohbauer', 'The Swiss Press', 'Protectionist Agitation.—Recruiting into the Neapolitan Army', 'Müller.—The Freiburg Government.—Ochsenbein' - ^d Hermann Becker

Raveaux is right: even in grace and favour Prussia²⁴⁹ one is freer than in free Switzerland. Every little nonentity here is at one and the same time a police spy and an *assommeur*.^a I saw an example of this on New Year's Eve.

Who the devil was responsible for inserting recently that boring religio-moral article from Heidelberg^b on the March Association²⁵⁰? To my pleasure I have also noticed that Henricus occasionally exhales an article—witness the sighs extending over 2 issues on the subject of the Ladenberg circular.^c

Our newspaper is now much quoted in Switzerland, the *Berner Zeitung* borrows a lot as does the *National-Zeitung*,^d and this then goes the rounds of all the other papers. Also much quoted, more so than the *Kölnische*, according to the *National*, etc., etc., in Swiss papers in the French language.

You'll have included the advertisement.^e Herewith a copy of ours in the *Berner Zeitung*. Greetings to the whole company.

Your
E.

Missed the post yesterday. Today, then, I'll merely add that since 1 January the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has no longer been arriving here. Do ascertain whether it's being regularly dispatched. I've looked into the question of a subscription, but it's no good. I'd have to subscribe for a 1/2 year; I shan't be staying as long as that and anyway I haven't any money. As I said, it's important it should arrive here, not simply on my own account, but mainly because the *Berner Zeitung*, which is well disposed towards us and edited by a communist,^f is doing everything to make it *en vogue* here.

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^a assassin - ^b 'Ein Aktenstück des Märzvereins', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 181, 29 December 1848. - ^c [H. Bürgers,] 'Hr. v. Ladenberg und die Volksschullehrer', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 182, 30 December 1848. The planned continuation of this article did not appear in the newspaper. - ^d *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* - ^e This seems to refer to the advertisement about the daily publication of the *Berner Zeitung* as from 1 January 1849 printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 185, 187 and 189, 3, 5, and 7 January. - ^f Niklaus Niggeler



A cartoon of Frederick William IV and the Prussian bourgeoisie drawn by Engels on the back of E. Voswinkel's letter to Marx (22 January-beginning of February) about the elections to the Prussian Diet (1849)

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MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

IN RATIBOR

Cologne, 15 January [1849]

Dear Telling,

You always calculate your posting days wrongly because you imagine that the post from Austria and Berlin arrives here regularly. But it's always 1-2 days late and is exceedingly irregular. I got your first letter from Vienna on the evening of the 10th. On the 11th I promptly sent a post-restante letter to *Oderberg*,^a enclosing 50 talers in money orders.²⁵¹ Hence you'll have to return to Oderberg in any case, so as to pick up the money.

You will receive the newspapers, provided you write and tell me, immediately you get back from Oderberg, whereabouts you intend to live in the interim.

Despite Geiger's malevolence, I hope to see the matter of your passport finally settled within 2-3 days. But you must also tell me where our Berlin friend is to send your passport to.

If you have to keep away from Vienna—which would be an irreparable loss to the paper^b and would mean your appointing a deputy responsible for day-to-day information—Breslau^c would seem to me to be the most suitable place to stay. I frequently think sorrowfully of your wife,^d who deserves a more comfortable lot.

I am enclosing an issue of the 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung', which will, I trust, be of interest to you on account of the leading article on the Magyars.^e

Write to me as soon as you possibly can. In France the fun will begin anew in the spring. The bourgeois republic's infamy has advanced too rapidly towards the 'heyday of its transgressions'.^f

Yours

K. Marx

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^a Polish name: Bohumin - ^b *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^c Polish name: Wrocław - ^d Amalie - ^e F. Engels, 'The Magyar Struggle'. - ^f Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 5.

76

MARX TO ERNST DRONKE

IN PARIS

Cologne, 3 February [1849]

Dear Dronke,

Your letter, passed on to me by Engels, I shall answer briefly as follows:

1. As regards your coming here: When I wrote 'Don't come to Germany until I write to you', *Kratz* had told me that your case was not yet quite settled.²⁵²

2. Later I wrote to Kapp instead of to you because Kapp was bombarding me with threatening letters. The draft I gave Kapp wasn't honoured by Korff. In the meantime I had declared at the shareholders' meeting that either Korff or I must resign from the paper.^a Moreover, *during this period Plasman* had again sequestered the postage money, and the paper, as Engels discovered on his arrival, was expecting to announce its insolvency any day.

3. As regards the Meyerbeer business, I know *nothing whatever* about it. You will appreciate that in a situation in which the composers were daily rebelling over a few talers, I would hardly have spurned 150 talers.

4. As regards my letter about Kapp, I was justified in writing it. During the most ghastly period of all, Kapp was threatening to attack us publicly. If you put yourself in *our* situation at that time, you will understand my vexation. As regards Weerth's comment (which, by the by, referred *not to you*, but to *Imandt*, who was writing to us incessantly), this is the first I have heard of it.

5. As regards the 25 talers remitted on *14 January*, these were dispatched to you in the presence of witnesses via Ewerbeck's address. The Post Office here will provide information about this tomorrow. Nota bene: *Kapp* received 15 talers from me at the same time.

6. As regards my not answering, *Lupus* will testify that I wrote to you frequently.

7. If the tone of one of my letters was waspish, this was, a) because I was going through an atrociously bad patch with the

^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

paper and was under attack from all the paper's correspondents and creditors, b) because, in a letter to Freiligrath, *Imandt* depicted you, Kapp, etc., as complaining bitterly about me, while the precious Beust, I think it is *Beust* (I am not quite sure), was sending similar letters here.

Within a few days the paper must either *go under* or else *consolidate* itself, in which case we shall immediately send you more money of which, at the moment, there is a *complete* lack. However the business of the 25 talers must be cleared up.

That I have constantly regarded you as co-editor of the paper is apparent not only from the new announcement in the various papers,^a but also from the fact that I placed your article about the expulsion of the Frankfurt refugee^b under 'Cologne'.^c

Your
Marx

[From Wilhelm Wolff]

In entire agreement with the above

Your
Lupus

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Moscow, 1934

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time

77

ENGELS TO DANIEL FENNER von FENNEBERG

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Cologne, 1 March 1849

Dear Sir,

I would have replied to you before now had I not first had to consult various other people about your matter. I do not think it advisable for you to make any sort of public appearance here; out

^a 'Bestellungen auf die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* für das nächste Quartal, Januar bis März 1849'. - ^b F. Wiedecker - ^c [E. Dronke,] 'Allianz der europäischen Polizei', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 192, 11 January 1849.

of craving for advancement, the chief of police^a here is *capable de tout*,^b as we have experienced only today in the unjustified expulsion of a local Polish refugee. I would further advise you, should your passport not be *absolutely impeccable*, to choose any route to Paris other than via Cologne and Brussels. You would get through Cologne well enough, but you would undoubtedly be arrested at the Belgian border and transported by prison van to the French border, after having, perhaps, spent several days in prison. I myself experienced this 5 months ago,²³³ and every day fresh reports reach us of these infamies perpetrated against the refugees by the Belgians. You even run the risk of having all your money taken from you by the scoundrels and not getting a farthing back, as happened to the refugee, von Hochstetter.

If I can be of service to you in any other way, it would be a pleasure.

Yours faithfully

F. Engels

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78

MARX TO COLONEL ENGELS
IN COLOGNE

[Draft]

Cologne, 3 March [1849]

To Colonel Engels, Deputy Commandant

Sir,

The day before yesterday two non-commissioned officers^c of the 8th Company, 16th Infantry Regiment, came to my rooms to speak to me privately. I had left for Düsseldorf. They were

^a W. A. Geiger - ^b capable of anything - ^c Dust and Hover

therefore turned away. Yesterday afternoon two of these gentlemen again presented themselves and demanded a private interview.

I had them shown into a room where I joined them almost immediately. I invited the gentlemen to sit down and asked them what they wanted. They told me they wanted to know the name of the writer of the article (No. 233 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 28 February) against Captain von Uttenhoven.²⁵³ I replied to these gentlemen, 1) that the article in question had nothing to do with me since it had appeared below the line and was therefore an advertisement; 2) that they were at liberty to insert a refutation gratis; 3) that they were at liberty to sue the paper. Upon the gentlemen's remarking that the whole of the 8th Company felt themselves to be insulted by the advertisement, I returned that nothing but the signatures of all the members of the 8th Company would convince me of the accuracy of that statement, which in any case was irrelevant.

The non-commissioned officers thereupon declared that if I failed to name, to 'deliver up' the 'man', they would 'no longer be able to restrain their men', and 'evil would result'.

I told the gentlemen that little or nothing was to be achieved by trying to threaten or intimidate me. They then withdrew muttering under their breath.

Relaxation of discipline must have gone very far and all sense of law and order must have ceased if, like a robber band, a Company can send delegates to an individual citizen and attempt with threats to extort this or that confession from him. In particular, I fail to understand the meaning of the sentence: 'We can no longer restrain our men'.

Are these 'men', perhaps, to exercise jurisdiction on their own initiative, do these 'men' have other than legal resources at their command?

I must beg you, Sir, to institute an inquiry into this incident and to give me an explanation for this singular presumption. I would be sorry to be obliged to have recourse to publicity.

MARX TO COLONEL ENGELS
IN COLOGNE

[Draft]

[Cologne, before 15 April 1849]

To Colonel Engels, Commandant

Sir,

Being convinced that Royal Prussian non-commissioned officers^a would not deny words spoken in private, I did not call in *any witnesses* to the conversation in question.^b As to my alleged remark that '*the courts, as has recently been seen, can do nothing to me*',²⁵⁴ even my political opponents will concede that, were I to harbour such a foolish thought, I would not express it before a third party. And do not the non-commissioned officers themselves admit that I explained to them that things *below the line* are no concern of mine and that in any case I am responsible only for the section of the paper signed by me? Hence there was absolutely no reason to speak of *my position vis-à-vis* the courts.

I am all the happier to refrain from pressing for a further inquiry as it was my concern, not that the non-commissioned officers should be punished, but simply that they should be reminded, from the lips of their superiors, of the limits of their duties.

As for the kind remark with which you conclude, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has demonstrated, by its silence over the recent friction among the military themselves, how great is its consideration for the prevailing mood of unrest.

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^a Dust and Hover - ^b The words 'although a co-editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* happened to be in my rooms at the time' are deleted in the original.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN COLOGNE

[Cologne, before 15 April 1849]

Dear Engels,

Leave out the article on B. Dietz until *the facts have been ascertained*. We shall ourselves write to Brussels on the subject.

By the way, try to find out the name of the printer's apprentice who reported the matter to Dietz without authority.

Your
Marx

[On the back of the letter]

Herr Engels, local

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Moscow, 1929 and in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 1, 1929

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81

MARX TO ENGELS

IN COLOGNE

Hamburg, 23 April [1849]

Dear Engels,

Your letter didn't reach me till today,²⁵⁵ as I had already left Bremen on Wednesday^a morning. Nothing doing in Bremen. Rösing went bankrupt a year ago and is now living solely on the interest from what remains of his wife's capital. Hence nothing doing.

On the other hand I shall certainly be able to make shift here.

As for the signature, cannot *Werres* sign?

^a 18 April 1849

As for interim money arrangements, as long as I'm away the following should be noted: before I left, Plasmann solemnly promised to make whatever advances were necessary. Perhaps St. Naut feels some scruple about resorting to this source. If necessary, do *so yourself*.

All this week the paper^a has been very skimpy, which assorts ill with my present mission.

Warmest regards to my wife and the others.

Write by return whatever happens, and keep your chin up. *Les choses marcheront*.^b

Your
K. Marx

[Inside the envelope]

Address: Rohde, Merchant, Bleichenbrücke.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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82

MARX TO HERMANN BREHMER

IN Breslau

Harburg, 6 May [1849]

To Mr Brehmer in Breslau^c

I warmly recommend to you the bearer of these lines, Mr Bruhn, whose name you will still recall from the events in Southern Germany last year.²⁵⁶

Yours very truly
Karl Marx

First published in: G. Becker, 'Neue Dokumente von Karl Marx aus dem Jahre 1849', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1974, Heft 4

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^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^b Things will go all right. - ^c Polish name: Wrocław

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MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

IN Breslau

Harburg, 6 May 1849

Dear Telling,

I warmly recommend to you the bearer, Mr. Bruhn, who is one of our principal agitators in Germany.

Yours very truly

Dr Karl Marx

First published in: G. Becker, 'Neue Dokumente von Karl Marx aus dem Jahre 1849', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1974, Heft 4

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84

MARX TO ANDREAS STIFFT

IN VIENNA

Harburg, 6 May [1849]

To Dr. Stiff in Vienna

Dear Stiff,

Post tot discrimina rerum,^a I am glad to have an opportunity of reminding you of my existence. Each new number of the Vienna paper^b gives me the real satisfaction of knowing beyond doubt that you have not been swallowed up by the counter-revolutionary monster.²⁵⁷ I trust that we shall yet find ourselves seated side by side at a convention.

The bearer, Bruhn, is one of my best friends and a proficient, active revolutionary. I recommend him to you most highly.

Yours

K. Marx

First published in: G. Becker, 'Neue Dokumente von Karl Marx aus dem Jahre 1849', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1974, Heft 4

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^a After so many vicissitudes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I). - ^b *Der Radikale*

85

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER²⁵⁸

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[Bingen, 1 June 1849]

Dear Weydemeyer,

I beg you in *my own* and *Freiligrath's* names to take the printer of Freiligrath's poem^a to court for piracy and sue him for damages.

My general attorney is *St. A. Naut* in Cologne, and I should be much obliged if you would write to him about this matter.

Vale faveque.^b

K. Marx

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86

MARX TO ENGELS²⁵⁹

IN KAISERSLAUTERN

Paris, 7 June [1849]
45, rue de Lille

Dear Engels,

I am not writing to you at any great length in this letter. First I want you to tell me in your reply whether it arrives *intact*. I believe that letters are again being opened *con amore*.^c

^a Reference to F. Freiligrath's 'Abschiedswort der *Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*' published in the newspaper's last number (No. 301, 19 May 1849) printed in red ink. - ^b Good-bye and farewell. - ^c enthusiastically

Here a royalist reaction is in full swing, more barefaced than under Guizot, and comparable only to that after 1815. Paris is *morne*.^a On top of that the cholera is raging mightily. For all that, never has a colossal eruption of the revolutionary volcano been more imminent than it is in Paris today. Details to follow. I consort with the whole of the revolutionary party and in a few days' time I shall have *all* the revolutionary journals at my disposal.

As for the Palatinate-Baden envoys here, Blind, alarmed by a real or pretended attack of cholera, has moved into the country some hours away from Paris.

Quant à^b Schütz, the following should be noted:

1. The Provisional Government has placed him in a false position by failing to keep him informed. The French demand *des faits*^c and where can he get them from if not a soul writes to him? Dispatches must reach him as often as possible. It is clear that at this moment he can achieve nothing. All that can be done is to throw dust in the eyes of the Prussian Government by enabling him to have frequent meetings with the leaders of the Montagnards.²⁶⁰

2. A second, unpardonable mistake on the part of the *Gouvernement provisoire du Palatinat*^d is their entrusting a crowd of rotten Germans with this or that mission behind the back of the official envoy. This will have to cease once and for all if Schütz is to maintain at least the prestige of his position vis-à-vis the Montagnards and just now—vis-à-vis Prussia—that is the whole point of his mission.

Apart from that, it goes without saying that he doesn't learn very much, since he consorts only with a few *official* Montagnards. I shall, incidentally, keep him always *au courant*.^e

For my part I must ask you to write to me at least twice a week regularly and immediately every time anything important happens.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* feuilleton on the Palatinate movement, dated Dürkheim an der Haardt, states among other things:

'Some anger has been aroused by Mr Marx, editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.^f He is said to have told the Provisional Government that since his time had not yet come, he intended temporarily to retire.'^g

^a dreary - ^b As for - ^c facts - ^d provisional government of the Palatinate - ^e informed - ^f *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^g 'Briefe aus Baden und der Pfalz. IV. Dürkheim a. d. Haardt, 1. Juni', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 136, 6 June 1849.

How does that fit in? The miserable Germans here, with whom, by the way, I avoid any meeting, will seek to proclaim this throughout the whole of Paris. I therefore think it advisable for you to see that an item appears in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* or the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* stating expressly that I am in Paris as the representative of the *democratic Central Committee*. Another reason why I think this would be useful is that for the time being, as no immediate results are to be obtained here, the Prussians must be made to believe that the most frightful intrigues are going on here. *Il faut faire peur aux Aristocrates.*^a

Ruge is a complete nonentity here.

What is Dronke doing?

You must, by the way, see that *you raise money for me somewhere*. You know that I spent the latest sums received *pour faire honneur aux obligations de la 'Nouvelle Gazette Rhénane'*,^b and, in the present *circumstances*,^c I cannot live a completely retired life, still less get into financial difficulties.

If at all possible let me have an article in French in which you sum up the whole Hungarian affair.²⁶¹

Show this letter to d'Ester, to whom my best regards. If I am to write to a different address, let me have it.

M.

Write to me at the following address: M. Ramboz, 45 rue de Lille

[On the back of the letter]

Herrn *Fr. Engels*, inquire at Dr d'Ester's.

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^a We must frighten the aristocrats. - ^b to honour the obligations of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. - ^c circumstances

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER
IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Paris, 13 July [1849]
45, rue de Lille
Address: M. Ramboz

Dear Weydemeyer,

Dronke will already have written to tell you that you must sell the red newspapers at any price.²⁶²

I am here with my *famille, sans le sou*.^{a 263} And yet an opportunity has come my way of making 3,000-4,000 fr. in a few weeks. For my pamphlet against Proudhon,^b which he has done everything in his power to suppress, is beginning to sell here, and it is up to me to infiltrate reviews of it into the more important papers, thus necessitating a second edition. But for this to be of any help I would have to buy up the copies still available in Brussels and Paris in order to become sole *propriétaire*.

300-400 talers would enable me to carry out this operation and at the same time maintain myself here during the early days. You might, perhaps, be able to help me in this.

Namely, as follows:

A lady in Rheda—Lüning is also in touch with her—sent 1,000 talers to Carl Post for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, but recovered the money when that paper went under. Might she not, perhaps, be persuaded by your intervention to make me this advance? My claim to such an advance is, I believe, all the greater as I contributed more than 7,000 talers to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which, after all, was a party enterprise.

If at all possible, pursue this matter, but without mentioning it to anybody. I tell you that, unless help is forthcoming from one quarter or another, I shall be *perdu*,^c since my family is also here and the last piece of my wife's jewellery has already found its way to the pawnbrokers.

I await your reply by return.

Your
K. Marx

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^a family, penniless - ^b K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - ^c lost

88

MARX TO CAROLINE SCHÖLER^a

IN COLOGNE

Paris, 14 July 1849
45, rue de Lille

Dear Lina,

Would you be so kind, when you write to my wife, as to enclose a note to the red Orlando furioso^{b?} You must help me a little in the act I am putting on.

Yours very sincerely

K. Marx

First published in *MEGA*₂, Abt. III,
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89

ENGELS TO JENNY MARX²⁶⁴

IN PARIS

Vevey, Vaud Canton,
25 July 1849

Dear Mrs Marx,

You as well as Marx will be wondering why you have not heard from me for so long. *En voici les causes.*^c On the same day as I wrote to Marx (from Kaiserslautern) there came news that the Prussians had occupied Homburg, thereby cutting off communications with Paris. So I couldn't send the letter off and went to join Willich. In Kaiserslautern I had completely disassociated myself from the *soi-disant*^d revolution; but when the Prussians arrived, I

^a Appended to Jenny Marx's letter to the same addressee (see this volume, pp. 546-48). - ^b Ferdinand Wolff (red Wolff) is compared to the title character of L. Ariosto's poem. - ^c Here are the reasons. - ^d so-called

couldn't resist the urge to take part in the war. Willich being the only officer who was any good, I joined him and became his adjutant. I was in four engagements, two of them fairly important, particularly the one at Rastatt,²⁶⁵ and discovered that the much-vaunted bravery under fire is quite the most ordinary quality one can possess. The whistle of bullets is really quite a trivial matter and though, throughout the campaign, a great deal of cowardice was in evidence, I did not see as many as a dozen men whose conduct was cowardly *in battle*. But all the more 'brave stupidity'. *Enfin*,^a I came through the whole thing unscathed, and *au bout du compte*,^b it was as well that one member of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was present, since the entire pack of democratic blackguards were in Baden and the Palatinate, and are now bragging about the heroic deeds they never performed. It would have been said again that the gentlemen of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were too cowardly to fight. But of all the democratic gentry, the only ones to fight were myself and Kinkel. The latter joined our corps as a musketeer and did pretty well; in the first engagement in which he took part, his head was grazed by a bullet and he was taken prisoner.

Having covered the withdrawal of the Baden army, our corps entered Switzerland 24 hours later than everyone else, and yesterday we arrived here in Vevey. During the campaign and the march through Switzerland it was quite impossible for me to write so much as a line. But now I hasten to send some news, and write to you with all the more dispatch for having heard—somewhere in Baden—that Marx had been arrested in Paris. Since we never received any newspapers, we learnt nothing. Whether or not it is true, I have never been able to find out. You can imagine the state of anxiety I am in as a result, and I beg you most urgently to set my mind at rest and to put an end to my doubts about Marx's fate. Since I have had no confirmation of this rumour of Marx's arrest, I still hope it is false. But that Dronke and Schapper are in jug, I can hardly doubt. Enough—if Marx is still at liberty send him this letter with the request that he write to me immediately. If he should not feel safe in Paris, he will be completely safe here in the Vaud Canton. The government describes itself as red and *partisane de la révolution permanente*.^c In Geneva likewise. Schily from Trier is there; he held a command in the Mainz corps.

If I get any money from home, I shall probably go to Lausanne

^a In short - ^b as it turns out - ^c supporter of permanent revolution

or Geneva and see what I can do. Our column, which fought well, bores me and there isn't anything to do here. In battle, Willich is brave, cool-headed and adroit, and able to appreciate a situation quickly and accurately, but when not in battle he is a *plus ou moins*^a tedious ideologist^b and a true socialist. Most of the people in the corps whom one can talk to have been sent elsewhere.

If only I could be sure that Marx is at liberty! I have often thought that, in the midst of the Prussian bullets, my post was much less dangerous than that of others in Germany and especially Marx's in Paris. So dispel my uncertainty soon.

Tout à vous^c

Engels

Address: F. Engels, réfugié allemand, Vevey, Suisse (If possible under cover as far as Thionville or Metz.)

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90

MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN COLOGNE

[Paris,] 31 July [1849]

Dear Freiligrath,

I must confess that I am much astonished by Lassalle's behaviour. I had approached him personally and, since I myself had at one time made the countess^d a loan and was, besides, aware of Lassalle's liking for me, it would never have occurred to me that he would compromise me in this way. On the contrary, I had impressed upon him the need for the utmost discretion. The direst straits are better than public begging. I have written to him on the subject.²⁶⁶

^a more or less - ^b meaning: follower of philosophical idealism - ^c Yours ever -
^d Sophie von Hatzfeldt

I find the business unspeakably annoying.

Parlons de politique,^a since it will distract us from this private unpleasantness. In Switzerland things are becoming ever more complicated and now, as regards Italy, there is Savoy into the bargain. It would seem that, if needs be, Austria proposes to recoup her loss of Hungary at Italy's expense. The incorporation of Savoy by Austria would, however, be the undoing of the present French government if tolerated by the latter. The majority in the French Chamber is clearly falling apart. The Right is splitting up into Philippists pure and simple, Legitimists who vote with the Philippists, and Legitimists pure and simple, who have recently been voting with the Left.²⁶⁷ What Thiers and company are planning is to make Louis Napoleon Consul for ten years, until the coming-of-age of the Count of Paris^b who will then replace him. If, as is almost certain, the *assemblée* reimposes the *droits*^c on drink,²⁶⁸ it will arouse the antagonism of all the wine-growers. With each reactionary measure it alienates yet another section of the population.

But most important of all just now is England. We must have no illusions about the so-called Peace Party,²⁶⁹ of which Cobden is the acknowledged leader. Nor should we have any illusions about the 'unselfish enthusiasm' of the English for Hungary, which has resulted in the organisation of meetings throughout the country.

The Peace Party is simply a *cloak* for the *FREE-TRADE Party*. The same content, the same object, the same leaders. Just as, at home, the Free Traders attacked the aristocracy in its material basis with the repeal of the Corn and Navigation Laws,²⁷⁰ so now in their foreign policy, they are attacking it in its European connections and ramifications—by seeking to break the Holy Alliance.²⁷¹ The English Free Traders are radical bourgeois who wish to break radically with the aristocracy in order to rule without let or hindrance. What they overlook is the fact that they are thus, *malgré eux*,^d bringing the people onto the stage and into power. Exploitation of the peoples, not by means of medieval warfare but solely by means of trade warfare—that's your Peace Party. Cobden's behaviour in the Hungarian affair had an immediately practical nexus. Russia is now seeking to negotiate a loan. Cobden, the representative of the industrial bourgeoisie, forbids

^a Let us talk politics - ^b Louis Philipp Albert - ^c duties, taxes - ^d willy-nilly.

this deal of the financial bourgeoisie's, and in England the Bank is ruled by industry, whereas in France industry is ruled by the Bank.

Cobden's attack on Russia has been more formidable than any of either Dembinski or Görgey.^a He revealed how pitiable was the condition of her finances. She is, he says, the MOST WRETCHED NATION. Each year the Siberian mines bring the State no more than £700,000: the duty on spirits brings it 10 times as much. True, the gold and silver reserve in the vaults of the Bank of Petersburg amounts to £14,000,000, but it serves as a metallic reserve for a paper circulation of £80,000,000. Hence, if the Tsar^b dips into the vaults of the Bank, he will depreciate the paper money, and thus bring about a revolution in Russia herself. Consequently, the proud English bourgeois exclaims, the absolutist colossus cannot stir unless we make him a loan, and this we shall not do. Once again we are waging, by purely bourgeois means, the bourgeoisie's war against feudal absolutism. The golden calf is mightier than all the calves on the thrones in the world. Of course the English FREE TRADERS also have a direct interest where Hungary is concerned. Instead of Austrian trade barriers, as hitherto, a trade agreement and some sort of FREE TRADE with Hungary. The money, which they are now without doubt secretly remitting to the Hungarians, they will assuredly get back 'with profit and interest' in *retour*^c by way of trade.

The English bourgeoisie's attitude to continental despotism is a reversal of the campaign they conducted against the French from 1793 to 1815. The importance of this development cannot be overrated.

Kindest regards to you and your wife^d from me and my wife.

Your

K. Marx

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^a Reference to Cobden's speech at a meeting held on 23 July 1849 in support of Hungary, see *The Times*, No. 20236, 24 July 1849 and *The Northern Star*, No. 614, 28 July 1849.- ^b Nicholas I - ^c return - ^d Ida

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MARX TO ENGELS⁴³

IN VEVEY

[Paris, end of July 1849]

Dear Engels,

I have suffered a great deal of anxiety on your account and was truly delighted when yesterday I received a letter in your own hand.^a I had got Dronke (who is here) to write to your brother-in-law^b asking for news of you. He, of course, knew nothing.

My whole family is here²⁶³; the government wanted to banish me to Morbihan, the Pontine marshes of Brittany.²⁷² So far I have frustrated their intention. But if I am to write to you in greater detail, both about my own circumstances here and about affairs in general, you must let me have a safer address, for things are really appalling here.

You now have the best opportunity to write a history of or a pamphlet on the Baden-Palatinate revolution.²⁷³ Had you not taken part in the actual fighting, we couldn't have put forward our views about that frolic. It would be a splendid chance for you to define the position of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* vis-à-vis the democratic party generally. I am positive that the thing will sell and bring you money.

I have embarked on negotiations with a view to starting a politico-economic (monthly) periodical in Berlin which would have to be largely written by us two.²⁷⁴

Lupus^c is also in Switzerland, I believe in Berne. Weerth was here yesterday; he is setting up an agency in Liverpool. Red Wolff^d is living here with me. Finances are, of course, in a state of chaos.

Freiligrath is in Cologne now as heretofore. If my wife were not in an *état par trop intéressant*,^e I would gladly leave Paris as soon as it was financially possible to do so.

^a See this volume, pp. 202-04. - ^b Emil Blank - ^c Wilhelm Wolff - ^d Ferdinand Wolff - ^e all too interesting condition (on the birth of Marx's son, see this volume, p. 220)

Farewell. Convey my kindest regards to Willich and write by return to the address: M. Ramboz, rue de Lille, 45.

Your
K. M.

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92

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER²⁷⁵

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[Paris, end of July 1849]

Dear Weydemeyer,

I have heard from Dronke that it's no go with the Westphalian lady.^a Well, it can't be helped.

Now I should appreciate your advice as to how best to publish pamphlets.

I should like to start with the pamphlet on *wages* of which only the beginning appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.^b I would write a short political foreword to it on the present *status quo*. Do you think that, e.g., Leske would be agreeable? But he would have to pay, as soon as he had the manuscript in his hands, and pay well, since I know that this pamphlet will attract and will find a mass of subscribers in advance. My present financial *état*^c will not permit me to settle my outstanding *compte*^d with Leske.²⁷⁶

Were Leske then to find that the thing is well received, we could continue in this way.

Yesterday I had a letter from Engels^e; he is in Switzerland and, as Willich's adjutant, has taken part in four encounters.

The sword of Damocles still hangs over my head; my expulsion^f has neither been rescinded nor, for the moment, is it being enforced.

^a See this volume, p. 201. - ^b K. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*. - ^c condition - ^d account - ^e See this volume, pp. 202-04. - ^f *ibid.*, pp. 207, 211, 212.

Awkward though the present state of affairs may be for our personal circumstances, I am nevertheless among the *satisfaits*. *Les choses marchent très bien*^a and the Waterloo suffered by official democracy may be regarded as a victory.²⁷⁷ 'Governments by grace of God' are taking it upon themselves to avenge us on the bourgeoisie, and to chastise them.

One of these days I may perhaps send you a short article for your paper^b on the state of affairs in England.²⁷⁸ Just now I find it too boring, having already discussed the matter in a number of private letters.

Write to me *direct* and to *my own* address: 45, rue de Lille, Monsieur Ramboz.

My best regards to your wife^c and yourself from my wife and me. The former is *très souffrante, conséquence naturelle de son état par trop intéressant*.

Adieu, mon cher,^d and reply soon.

Your
K. M.

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93

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[Paris, mid-August 1849]

Dear Weydemeyer,

I will gladly fall in with Rühl's suggestion²⁷⁹ if he agrees to take over the whole of the business side, at which I am no good and for which he will be paid a commission.

1) But I have no publisher on hand to make the necessary advances,

^a satisfied. Things are going very well - ^b *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* - ^c Louise - ^d very poorly, the natural consequence of her all too interesting condition. Good-bye, my friend (on the birth of Marx's son, see this volume, p. 220).

2) the subscription lists seem to me superfluous. Announcements in the *Westdeutsche* and other papers in the Rhineland and elsewhere would achieve the same purpose. The thing should be advertised particularly in the Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig and Breslau^a papers.

The news about your paper^b is very bad. I shall at once write and inform Naut, the trusty old business manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and acquaint you with the result.²⁸⁰

You would already have had my article^c but for the fact that the illness of my wife and all the children has meant that I have been a kind of male nurse for the past week.

Best regards to your wife.

Your
K. M.

I hope for a reply as soon as possible.

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MARX TO ENGELS²²⁸

IN VEVEY

Paris, 17 August [1849]

Dear Engels,

I don't know whether my first letter—in reply to the first one you sent my wife^d—arrived safely, since your address was very uncertain. I would have already replied to your second²⁸¹ had I not been prevented by the fact that the whole of my family here was ill. Let me repeat once again how anxious my wife and I were on your account and what a delightful surprise it was to have definite news of you.

You will see from the date that, as a result of my protest, the Ministry of the Interior has for the time being left me unmolested here in Paris. The Morbihan *département*, to which I had been

^a Wrocław - ^b *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* - ^c See this volume, p. 209. - ^d *ibid.*, pp. 202-04 and 207-08.

directed, is lethal at this time of year—the Pontine marshes of Brittany.²⁸² It would not be prudent just now to write about the 13 June affair.²⁶⁰ I don't believe, or at least don't know whether secrecy of the mails is being observed.

The general situation here may be summed up in a couple of words: the majority disintegrating into its original, mutually hostile elements, Bonapartism hopelessly compromised, ill-will among the peasants because of the retention of the 45 centimes, the wine-growers furious at the threatened retention of the tax on drink,²⁶⁸ the current of public opinion once again anti-reactionary, in the Chamber, now prorogued, and in the Ministry, reaction, growing exclusive and concerned with expelling the Barrot-Dufaure clique from the Cabinet.²⁸³ As soon as this comes about you can look for an early revolutionary resurrection.

I don't know whether in Switzerland you have any chance of following the English movement. The English have taken it up again at exactly the same juncture at which it was broken off by the February revolution. As you are aware, the Peace Party²⁶⁹ is nothing but the FREE-TRADE party under a new guise. But this time the industrial bourgeoisie is acting in a manner even more revolutionary than during the ANTI-CORN LEAGUE AGITATION.²⁷⁰ In two ways: 1) the aristocracy, whose roots have been attacked at home by the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts, is further to be ruined in the sphere of foreign policy, in its European ramifications. Reversal of Pitt's policy. Anti-Russian-Austrian-Prussian, in a word, pro Italy and Hungary. Cobden has formally threatened to proscribe bankers who make loans to Russia, has unleashed a veritable campaign against Russian finances. 2) Agitation for universal suffrage, in order to effect the total political severance of the TENANTS from the landed aristocracy, to give the towns an absolute majority in Parliament, to nullify the House of Lords. Financial reform, in order to curb the Church and cut off the political revenues of the aristocracy.

Chartists and Free Traders have joined hands in these two propaganda campaigns. Harney and Palmerston apparently friends. At the last meeting held in London, O'Connor and Colonel Thompson both of one mind.²⁸⁴

Consequences of this economic campaign against feudalism and Holy Alliance incalculable.

Hungary splendid. But this rotten Prussia? *Qu'en dis-tu?*²⁸⁵ The pallid canaille^b are now being fattened in Saxony, Baden, the

^a What do you think of it? - ^b H. Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Kapit VIII.

Palatinate. If they send an army to the aid of the Austrians, it will be so contrived that they themselves remain in Bohemia and wax fat there. But wretched Prussia—I only fear that it's too craven—*perdu*^a as soon as it participates in the Hungarian affair, which in any case is turning into a *guerre universelle*.^b

Maintenant, mon cher, que faire de notre part? Il faut nous lancer dans une entreprise littéraire et mercantile, j'attends tes propositions.^c

Red Lupus^d is here, in the same house as myself; Dronke in Paris likewise, *mais c'est un tout petit homme de l'école de E. Meyen.*^e Lupus^f is in Zurich. Address: Dr. Lüning. You don't need to write separately to M. Ramboz. *C'est mon pseudonyme.*^g

So the address is simply:

Monsieur Ramboz, 45, rue de Lille.

Salut!

Ch. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS⁴³

IN LAUSANNE

[Paris,] 23 August [1849]

Dear Engels,

I am being banished to the Morbihan *département*, the Pontine marshes of Brittany.²⁷² I need hardly say that I shall not consent to this veiled attempt on my life. So I am leaving France.²⁸⁵

They won't give me a passport for Switzerland, hence I must go to London, and that tomorrow. In any case, Switzerland will soon be hermetically sealed and the mice would be trapped all at one go.

^a lost - ^b general war - ^c Now, my dear friend, what should we for our part do? We must launch out into a literary and commercial venture, I await your proposals. - ^d Ferdinand Wolff - ^e but he's an insignificant little chap of the school of E. Meyen. - ^f Wilhelm Wolff - ^g It's my pseudonym.

Besides, in London there is a *positive* prospect of my being able to start a German newspaper.^a I am *assured* of part of the funds.

So you must leave for London at once. In any case your safety demands it. The Prussians would shoot you twice over: 1) because of Baden, 2) because of Elberfeld.²⁸⁶ And why stay in a Switzerland where you can do nothing?

You will have no difficulty in coming to London, whether under the name of Engels or under the name of Mayer. As soon as you say you want to go to England, you will receive a one-way passport to London from the French Embassy.

I count on this *absolutely*. You *cannot* stay in Switzerland. In London we shall get down to business.

For the time being my wife will remain here. Continue to write to her at the same address: 45, rue de Lille, M. Ramboz.

But once again, I confidently count on you not to leave me in the lurch.

Your
K. M.

Lupus^b is at Dr Lünig's, Zurich. Write and tell him also about my plan.

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ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER²⁸⁷

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Lausanne, 23 August 1849
8, Place de la Palud

Dear Weydemeyer,

Post tot discrimina rerum^c—after umpteen arrests in Hesse and the Palatinate,²⁸⁸ after 3 weeks of sybaritic living in Kaiserslautern, after a glorious 4 weeks' campaign in which, for a change, I buckled on my sword-belt and acted as Willich's adjutant, after 4

^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - ^b Wilhelm Wolff - ^c After so many vicissitudes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1).

weeks of tedious cantoning with the refugee detachment in the Vaud Canton, I am at last finding my feet here in Lausanne. The very first thing I shall do is sit down and compose a merry tale of the whole Palatinate-Baden frolic.^a But since I no longer have any contact with Germany and do not even know which towns are or are not under martial law, I don't know what publisher to approach. I'm no longer acquainted with such folk. You are on the spot and hence will be better able to say which are the right publishers with whom to negotiate something of this kind; it will, of course, be quite innocuous and will not involve any risk of confiscation or prosecution. There might be such a one in Frankfurt. But he must have money. Please be good enough to write to me about this, if possible by return, so that I can take the necessary steps at once.

I recently saw your red Becker,^b very jaunty, in Geneva; he was tipping with the popular man, Esselen, and other easy-going *diis minorum gentium*^c in the country.

Warm regards to your wife and all our acquaintances

from your
Engels

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ENGELS TO JAKOB LUKAS SCHABELITZ

IN BASLE

Lausanne, 24 August 1849
8, Place de la Palud

Dear Schabelitz,

I am most obliged to you for promptly forwarding a letter to me. Since I cannot have my letters sent direct and knew of no other address, I was compelled to put you to this trouble. You

^a F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. - ^b Max Joseph Becker - ^c second-rate luminaries (literally: gods of minor peoples)

may be receiving one or two more for me and would, perhaps, be kind enough to send these on to me also.

I am at present stuck in Lausanne where I am writing my reminiscences of the farcical Palatinate-Baden revolution.^a You know me too well to credit me with political participation in this affair which was lost before it began. In Karlsruhe and Kaiserslautern I poked quiet fun at the provisional government's blunders and lack of resolution, I refused all posts, and it was not until the Prussians arrived that I joined Willich at Offenbach and took part in the campaign as his adjutant. Now at headquarters, now in the face of the enemy, the whole time in correspondence with the High Command, in constant touch with d'Ester, who, as 'red camarilla', was spurring on the government, in various engagements and, finally, at the battle of Rastatt,²⁶⁵ I had the opportunity of seeing a great deal and learning a great deal. As you know, I am sufficiently critical not to share the illusions of the run-of-the-mill, vociferous republicans and to detect the despondency lurking beneath the bravado of the leaders.

As befits the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the thing will take a view of the affair different from that of other prospective accounts. It will disclose many a shabby trick and, in particular, will contain much that is new concerning the goings-on in the Palatinate, about which hitherto virtually nothing has been known. It won't be big—about 4-6 sheets.

Up till now I have not had leisure enough to look round for a publisher. I would not care to send the manuscript to Germany, there is a danger of its being intercepted in the post. Since I am largely unfamiliar with the book trade in Switzerland, I thought I would write and ask you whether your old man^b might be the kind of publisher who would accept such work and—NB—*pay* for it, for I need money, *il faut que l'on vive*.^c That the thing will be pleasant to read goes without saying, and my name is guarantee enough that it will be bought in Germany (it won't be liable to confiscation, *le sujet n'y prête pas*^d). If, then, your worthy papa is prepared to do business, I shall rely on you, if not, it can't be helped. In that case you will not, at any rate, refuse to advise me about other possible German publishers, since I am very much in the dark in regard to the German book trade as well.

^a F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. - ^b Jacob Christian Schabelitz - ^c one has to live - ^d the subject doesn't lend itself thereto

Write and tell me about this if possible by return.
Best regards

from your
F. Engels

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MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH⁴³

IN COLOGNE

London, 5 September [1849]

Dear Freiligrath,

Address: Karl Blind, 18 Roberts Street,
Peterson's Coffeehouse, Grosvenor Square;
therein the letter to me under cover.

I can only write a word or two since I have had a kind of cholera for the past 4-5 days and feel dreadfully listless.

My wife has written and asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter enclosing 100 fr. Just imagine what blackguards the Paris police are; they have even been harassing my wife and it was only with difficulty that she succeeded in obtaining permission to remain in Paris until 15 September. We had rented our lodgings there up to that date.

I am now in a really difficult situation. My wife is in an advanced state of pregnancy,^a she is obliged to leave Paris on the 15th and I don't know how I am to raise the money for her journey and for settling her in here.²⁸⁹

On the other hand there are excellent prospects of my being able to start a monthly review^b here; but I am pressed for time and the first weeks constitute the real difficulty.

Lassalle seems to have been offended by my letter to you and another I wrote to him.^c This was certainly very far from my

^a See this volume, p. 220. - ^b *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* -

^c See this volume, p. 204.

intention, and I should already have written to him, if my present condition did not make letter-writing a real burden to me.

Once I am more or less on my feet again I shall write to you in greater detail about politics. I look forward to a few lines from you soon. Best regards to your wife,^a Daniels, etc.

Your
K. Marx

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ENGELS TO GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY²⁹⁰

IN LONDON

Genova,^b 5 October 1849

My dear Harney,

You will have got the few lines I sent you through Colonel Willich.²⁹¹ This is to inform you, and by you Marx, that I am this morning arrived here in Genova, and that, wind and weather favourable, I am going under sail for *London* to-morrow morning on board the English schooner *Cornish Diamond*, Capt-n *Stevens*. My journey will be of about 4 or 5 weeks so that by the middle of November I shall be in London.

I am very happy to have found so soon an opportunity of leaving this damned police atmosphere—indeed I never saw it so organised as here in Piedmont.

Ever truly thine
F. Engels

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^a Ida - ^b Genoa

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MARX TO LOUIS BAUER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 30 November [1849]

Sir,

In view of the inimical relations now obtaining between the two societies to which we belong—in view of your direct attacks upon the refugee committee here,²⁹² at any rate upon my friends and colleagues in the same—we must break off social relations if we are not mutually to expose ourselves to equivocal interpretations. Yesterday evening I thought it unseemly, in the presence of my wife, to express my views on this collision.

While expressing my utmost obligation to you for your medical assistance, I would beg you to send me your account.

Yours truly

Dr K. Marx

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER²⁹³

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 19 December [1849]

4 Anderson Street, Kings Road, Chelsea

Dear Weydemeyer,

An unconscionable time has elapsed since I last wrote to you. Civil vexations of every kind, all manner of business and, finally, the general difficulty I have in bringing myself to write a letter, will explain to you my long silence. I have at last, *post tot discrimina*

rerum,^a succeeded in giving reality to my *Revue*,^b that is to say, I have a printer and a distributor in Hamburg.^c Otherwise we do everything at our own expense. The worst of it is that in Germany so much time is always lost before one can get to the point of publication. I have little doubt that by the time 3, or maybe 2, monthly issues have appeared, a world conflagration will intervene and the opportunity of temporarily finishing with political economy will be gone.²⁹⁴

As you live in the heart of Germany and hence are more familiar with the details than we are, you might perhaps find time to describe, for our *Revue*, briefly and concisely in a few main features, the present condition of South Germany and everything connected with it.²⁹⁵

I would further request you to insert the following announcement in your paper^d but *not until* you have seen the announcement in the *Kölnische Zeitung* for which the bookseller in Hamburg will be responsible. Perhaps you could send a copy to *Westphalia*. For you will see from the announcement that, besides our circulation through the book trade, we want to establish another by asking our party comrades to draw up subscription lists and send them to us here. For the time being we shall have to keep the price fairly high and the number of sheets low. Should our resources increase as a result of a wider circulation, this defect will be remedied.

What do you think of the row between Proudhon, Blanc and Pierre Leroux?²⁹⁶

Willich sends you his regards, and likewise Engels, red Wolff^e and Weerth.

Here in England the most important movement is probably taking place at this moment. On the one hand, protectionist agitation supported by the fanaticised rural population—the consequences of the free CORN TRADE are now beginning to be felt in the form I predicted years ago^f—on the other, the Free Traders who, AS FINANCIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORMERS,²⁸⁴ are extending the wider political and economic logic of their system to home affairs and, AS PEACE PARTY,²⁶⁹ to foreign affairs; finally, the Chartists who, while acting in concert with the

^a after so many vicissitudes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I) - ^b *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - ^c J. E. M. Köhler and J. Schuberth - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Announcement of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*' was published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (edited by Weydemeyer), Nos. 14, 23 and 31, 16 and 26 January and 5 February 1850. - ^e Ferdinand Wolff - ^f K. Marx, 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade'.

bourgeoisie against the aristocracy, have at the same time resumed with increased vigour their own party activity against the bourgeois.²⁹⁷ The conflict between these parties will be tremendous and the outward form of agitation will become more tempestuously revolutionary if, as I hope—and not without good reason—the Tories come to power in place of the Whigs. Another *événement*,^a as yet imperceptible on the Continent, is the mighty industrial, agricultural and commercial crisis now looming up. Were the Continent to postpone its revolution until after the onset of this crisis, England might from the start have to be an ally, albeit an unpopular one, of the revolutionary Continent. An earlier outbreak of revolution—unless directly motivated by Russian intervention—would in my view be a *malheur*^b since at this particular time, with trade still *en ascendant*,^c the mass of the workers in France, Germany, etc., as well as the entire strata of tradesmen, etc., though perhaps revolutionary in words, are certainly not so *en réalité*.^d

You know that my wife has made the world richer by one citizen^e? She sends her warm regards to you and your wife.^f My best regards to the latter also.

Write soon.

Your
K. Marx

Apropos, can you find out Citizen *Hentze*'s address for me?

You will have seen friend *Heinzen*'s inane bragging in the newspapers.^g This fellow, who was done for by the revolution in Germany—before that his things enjoyed a certain vogue *parce que le petit bourgeois et le commis-voyageur s'amuserent à lire imprimées en pleins caractères les bêtises et les rodomontades qu'ils débitaient eux-mêmes mystérieusement chez le marchand de vin entre le fromage et le biscuit*^h—is endeavouring to rehabilitate himself by compromising the other refugees in Switzerland and England—those who have really worked—in the eyes of those countries' governments,²⁹⁸ by

^a event - ^b misfortune - ^c on the up and up - ^d in reality - ^e Heinrich Guido (Fawksy) - ^f Louise - ^g K. Heinzen, 'Lehren der Revolution', *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, Nos. 241 and 242, 9 and 16 November 1849. - ^h because the petty bourgeois and the commercial traveller liked to see printed in black and white the idiocies and rodomontades they themselves served mysteriously between the cheese and the biscuits at the wine-shop.

kicking up a row, and earning himself a lucrative martyrdom by threatening shortly to gobble up a hundred THOUSAND OF MILLIONS OF MEN at *déjeuner à la fourchette*.^a

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ENGELS TO JAKOB LUKAS SCHABELITZ

IN BASLE

London, 22 December 1849
6 Macclesfield Street,
Dean Street, Soho

Dear Schabelitz,

I received your letter and, if I failed to answer it from Lausanne, it was for a variety of reasons, but more especially my great circumnavigation of the globe from Genoa to London, which kept me 5 weeks afloat. The reason I didn't let Bamberger have my manuscript^b was because I wanted to have it published either as a pamphlet of my own or, failing that, in the *Revue* which we already had in mind at the time. This *Revue* has now come into being and in January the first issue will appear in Germany—as you will have already seen from a somewhat premature announcement in the *Berner Zeitung*.^c We should be very pleased if you or your old man^d would make yourselves more or less responsible for sales in Switzerland and open an account direct with us. The copies would reach you through our Hamburg commission agent,^e and you might perhaps be able to take over some kind of general agency for Switzerland, since we prefer in any case to work only with sound houses and I don't know the fellow who put his name to the announcement in Berne.^f You might tell me some time whether the man's any good. Consider, then, how this might be arranged and let me know on what terms. At all events, these would have to provide for quarterly accounts and payments, at

^a luncheon - ^b *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* - ^c *Berner Zeitung*, No. 361, 27 December 1849 - ^d Jacob Christian Schabelitz - ^e Julius Schuberth - ^f Davoine

least as regards sums received from regular subscribers. We also require this of our Hamburg commission agent.^a

Kindly have the enclosed announcement inserted in the *National-Zeitung*^b and, should you from time to time require a fill-in, use this one for preference.

Besides the general introduction (by Marx), the first issue will contain a first article by me on the campaign for an imperial constitution, an article by little Wolff^c on the last days of the Frankfurt and Stuttgart parliaments, a survey of events by Marx and myself^d and, if feasible, the first of a series of lectures on economics which Marx is giving at the Workers' Society here.²⁹⁹ Also miscellanea, perhaps something more by red Wolff.^e The latter, Marx, Weerth and I, are now here and Lupus will, if at all possible, be joining us shortly.

All in all, things are going quite well here. Struve and Heinzen are intriguing with all and sundry against the Workers' Society and ourselves, but without success. They, together with some wailers of moderate persuasion who have been thrown out of our society, form a select club at which Heinzen airs his grievances about the noxious doctrines of the communists.³⁰⁰

Write to me as soon as possible on the business question.

Your

F. Engels

Happy New Year in advance.

Be so kind as to send me *forthwith* a parcel containing Mieroslawski's '*Rapports sur la campagne en Bade*', Daul's '*Tagebuch eines pp.*', the Becker-Esselen screed,^f and anything else of *importance* that has appeared on the Baden business, i.e. that contains *facts* and not hot air. You can either draw the amount on me, or charge it to the account of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* against future business transactions.

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Published in English for the first time

^a Theodor Hagen - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Announcement of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*' published in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, No. 8, 10 January 1850. - ^c Wilhelm Wolff - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review [January-February 1850]'. - ^e Ferdinand Wolff - ^f A. Daul, *Tagebuch eines politischen Flüchtlings während des Freiheitskampfes in der Rheinpfalz und Baden*; J. Ph. Becker and Ch. Esselen, *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849*.

1850

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MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING
IN LONDON

[Copy]

[London,] 1 January 1850

Dear Tellingering,

Engels, Seiler, Weerth, Willich and I shall not be appearing at the meeting arranged for 3 January,³⁰¹ for the following reasons amongst others:

1. The list of political refugees invited has been arbitrarily compiled. Thus, for example, C. Schramm and F. Wolff are not included.

2. Not one of the workers, who for years have been in the vanguard of German democracy in London, has been invited.

Your
K. Marx

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Moscow, 1934

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Engels

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time

104

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER ^a

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 8 January 1850

Dear Weydemeyer,

I [enclose] the pawn-ticket herewith. Would you be so kind as to renew it and to deduct the cost [from the] subscriptions.^b Kindest regards to your wife^c from mine, likewise to yourself.

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 27,
Moscow, 1962

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time

105

MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN COLOGNE

London, 11 January [1850]

Dear Freiligrath,

Today I am writing you just a couple of lines on an urgent matter.

Both for our *Revue* and for its gradual transformation into a fortnightly and weekly and, if circumstances permit, back into a daily newspaper—and also for our other *propagandist* interests—we need money. Money is to be had only in America, where all the semi-revolutionaries—e.g. a certain Anneke who did an ignominious bunk in the Palatinate, thereby proving that he's not even a soldier—are now plucking the golden apples.

^a This is a postscript by Marx to Conrad Schramm's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 8 January 1850 (see this volume, p. 548-50). - ^b To the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. - ^c Louise

We have therefore decided to send *C. Schramm* to America forthwith, as our emissary. For the lengthy journey we have in mind we need at least 150 talers. While requesting you to collect contributions to that end with the utmost possible dispatch, we would at the same time request you to send by return letters of introduction for *C. Schramm*, manager of the *N.Rh.Z.* (restored to our party as a result of his daring escape from the Wesel fortress).

I have also written to *G. Jung* about the money matter.³⁰²

Awaiting an early reply.

Your
K. Marx

The Chartists and French *réfugiés* here are also giving mandates to our emissary.

This is a League^a matter.

It is essential, my dear *Freiligrath*, that in your letter of introduction, you leave no doubt about the position of the *N.Rh.Z.* in Germany and its revolutionary significance.

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time

106

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 4 February 1850

Dear Weydemeyer,

The reason for your getting such a late reply to your letter is that I was seriously ill for a fortnight.

The *Revue* will be appearing next week. Your article will be in it. We are awaiting the continuation.²⁹⁵

The publication of the periodical was delayed through my illness. Actually we had arranged it so that two issues should

^a the Communist League

appear simultaneously but the publisher^a was opposed to this out of commercial considerations which we thought correct. So a further change was necessary and this happened to coincide with my unlucky illness.

You will receive 100 copies from Cologne. Please send two of them to *C. Biringer* in Höchst near Frankfurt. He ordered them from here. You will probably undertake to get payment for them.

I have passed on your message to Telling. The fellow is quite unsuited to be an English correspondent. In Vienna it was alright for him to bluster. Here you have to study matters. More another time.

Your
K. Marx

Best regards to your wife^b from my wife and self. In Hamburg about 1,500 copies have already been ordered.

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107

MARX TO LOUIS BAUER

IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

[London,] 5 February [1850]
20 Queen's Road

I am *only now* answering your letter of 30 January because I am not inclined to let you prescribe 'time limits' for what I do.

In reply to your letter the following:

1. When Schramm wrote that my debt to you was not yet 'due', it only meant that one cannot be sued for a SURGEON'S bills until six months have elapsed, certainly not that the debt does not exist.

2. Far from having conceded to Mr Heidemann that your bill was not 'too steep', I told him the contrary, as he himself admitted

^a Julius Schubert - ^b Louise

on 22 January in the letter to my wife. *Nevertheless* I informed him that I was willing to pay. As I told him, I hoped that by January I should be in possession of the necessary amount although I could not guarantee this. The impertinence of Mr Heidemann in sending a woman a demand for payment under a *black seal*, which she mistook for the announcement of a death, moved me to have him informed in writing that I wished to have no further contact with him.

3. As to your bill, I *now* insist that you *itemize* it. I fail to understand how you could have disbursed £1 on my behalf. You travelled out to me in Chelsea at my express request on only three occasions, once by cab. As to the confinement,^a accoucheurs over here (except in the case of the bourgeois) charge for 9 *days*—*while* you attended my wife on only 4 days out of the 9, as Willich can testify—one GUINEA. Where, then, do you get £4.10 from? By the way, I am told that, immediately upon receipt of my letter,^b you held a confabulation with Heidemann and decided 'to fleece' me. So first of all an itemized bill, which I shall then pay.

K. Marx

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time

108

ENGELS TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING

IN LONDON

[Copy]

[London, 7 February 1850] Thursday morning

Dear Telling,

Your note³⁰³ arrived so late that, even with the best will in the world, it would have been difficult to get you a ticket for today's ball. Since moreover you have failed, even though accepted by the society as a member, either to take out your card or to attend any

^a for the birth of Heinrich Guido - ^b See this volume, p. 218.

of the meetings, and only the day before yesterday an individual in a similar situation was expelled from the society, I for my part find it entirely impossible to accede to your request.

Tout à vous^a

Engels

First published in: Telling, *Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels*, Cologne, 1850

Printed according to a copy by Telling

Published in English for the first time

109

ENGELS TO JULIUS SCHUBERTH
IN HAMBURG
AND THEODOR HAGEN AND STEPHAN
ADOLPH NAUT
IN COLOGNE

[Draft]

[London,] 4 March 1850

1. Schuberth. Letter answered. The 2nd issue^b must, as promised, not cost more than the first. As regards the 450 copies, no change can now be made for the first quarter. For the 2nd he should put forward proposals. The arrangement for Köhler's payment has nothing to do with this.

What Schuberth says about success contradicts his earlier information and our reports.

In future nothing to be set aside without asking us. For the 3rd issue 'To Die for the Republic'^c can stand.

50 copies to be sent here. The correspondence from South Germany^d no longer to be used.²⁹⁵

2. Hagen. Same as Schuberth. Should organise proper supervision of the printer^e and also obtain from the latter a certificate *re*

^a Yours ever - ^b *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* - ^c F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, IV. - ^d by Joseph Weydemeyer - ^e H. G. Voigt

number of copies.³⁰⁴ The correspondence from South Germany no longer to be used.

He should vigorously oppose the censor's presumption and place his name on the title page as the responsible editor.³⁰⁵ Should section IV of *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* create difficulties, this should be reported at once.

3. Naut. Terms for printer—price as in Hamburg; for Eisen: 25 per cent for Cologne, 50 per cent for all other copies, incl. all expenses, excepting, perhaps, postage from London and advertisements ordered by us.

The printer must deliver 5 sheets in 10 days and fix penalty for breach of contract.

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time

110

MARX TO EDUARD von MÜLLER-TELLERING⁴³

IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

London, 12 March 1850

For the letter you wrote yesterday to the Workers' Society, I would send you a challenge, were you still capable of giving satisfaction after your disgraceful calumnies against Engels and after the well-founded sentence of expulsion pronounced by the Workers' Society executive committee.³⁰⁶ I await you on a different field to strip you of the hypocritical mask of revolutionary fanaticism behind which you have so far skilfully contrived to hide your petty interests, your envy, your unassuaged vanity and your angry discontent over the world's lack of appreciation for your great genius—a lack of appreciation that began with your failure to pass your examination.

Had you reflected a little, you would have been obliged to assume that if, as a *witness*, I was compelled to report a fact detrimental to yourself, I for my part would do everything in my power to avoid a scandal which must doubly compromise me: in the eyes of the Workers' Society, to which you were recommended

by me, and in the eyes of the public, for whom you exist only in as much as you were a contributor to *my newspaper*.^a

Your letters to me, and they are available for publication, prove that you did all you could to foist upon me the role of 'democratic Dalai Lama and incumbent of the future'. What proof have you that I ever accepted that absurd role? The only thing you could reproach me with is that I did not immediately break with you or denounce you to the others after the Klapka affair, on the compromising nature of which I forthwith bluntly expressed my views to you in the presence of witnesses.³⁰⁷ I admit my weakness. Only Becker's^b statement that, 4 weeks prior to the appearance of your glib pamphlet attacking the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*,^c you again offered to collaborate on that paper, a statement supported by the testimony of Freiligrath and Hagen, only your wholly unsubstantiated calumnies against Engels convinced me that what I had regarded as an isolated instance of precipitancy was the connecting link of an entire system. It was, by the way, wise of you not after all to appear yesterday at the final appointment which Willich had yet again arranged for you at your request. You knew what was to be expected from a confrontation with me.

K. Marx

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Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

111

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 9 April [1850]

4 Anderson Street, King's Road, Chelsea

Dear Weydemeyer,

I should be greatly obliged if you would write and tell me *by return* how the sales of the *N.Rh.Z.*^d are going and whether we

^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^b Hermann Becker - ^c E. Telling, *Westdeutscher Zeitungsjammer* - ^d *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

may not soon receive some money. You people in little Germany have no conception of what things are like here.

The 3rd issue is coming out on the 10th of this month. The chap in Hamburg^a—why, we don't yet really know—has been frightfully dilatory over the thing. This will now be put a stop to.

I have also been requested by the Refugee Committee to appeal to your committee.³⁰⁸ We now have 60 refugees on our hands; several hundred, who have been expelled from Switzerland, have already been announced. Hence our refugee fund will soon be down to its last *monaco*,^b and then the people will be out on the street again.

Warm regards to your wife,

Your

K. Marx

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Bd. 2, Berlin, 1930

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Published in English for the first
time

112

ENGELS TO JULIUS SCHUBERTH

IN HAMBURG

[Draft]

[London, about 11 April 1850]

Attention *Schuberth*

1. Following dispatch of the 3rd issue,^c we now await *at the earliest possible date* the statement concerning the sales of the 3 issues and *an adjustment of the balance*, and if this cannot be done before 15 April, he is to write and tell us. But at all events, to advise by return how many copies of the 3rd issue have been run off and what proportion of these are against firm orders. Only a few hundred in excess of firm orders are to be run off.

2. Since Schuberth does not consider it necessary for Mr Hagen

^a Julius Schuberth - ^b a small copper coin current in the Principality of Monaco -

^c *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

to act as responsible editor, he is *in no circumstances to alter a single word of the manuscript*. We hereby inform him that, should this none the less occur, we must forthwith sever our connection with him. Hagen is instructed to ensure that nothing is altered.

3. Since, *contrary* to our instructions, Schuberth sent Naut 300 copies instead of 450, Naut is to take such copies as he needs from the 150 which Schuberth sent to Eisen. We further expect that the dispatch of copies to Naut will, in future, always be made *at the same time* as those to Eisen. Should we receive further complaints, we shall have to take other measures. Similarly we expect that in future the 50 copies for London will be dispatched by the first steamer after the issue is ready.

(*A letter to be written to Hagen and enclosed with Schuberth's.*)

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time

113

ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 22 April 1850
6 Macclesfield Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Could you insert the statement overleaf^a in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*. The attempts of the 'great men' here to regain a position for themselves at the expense of the refugees, and their attempted manoeuvrings to that end in the press at large, are discouraging people from sending money here.³⁰⁹ We have now received and distributed some £120-130 for the refugees, and the others have raised *summa summarum*^b £2.15 s., and now they are trying to make themselves out to be the champions of the 'helpless' refugees. Unless we get some money now, our 50-60 refugees will, within a week, be out on the street and without a penny. This

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 20 April 1850'. - ^b all in all

evening the bigwigs intend to hold a refugee meeting to see what they can devise. We'll leave them to it. Naturally there will again be big words and vast schemes, but no money for the refugees. Anyway, they're likely to fail, even though none of us will be going.

Marx is waiting anxiously for your reply to his last letter, which went off to you about a fortnight ago.^a

Best regards to your wife^b and to Lünig's also from

Your

F. Engels

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Bd. 2, Berlin, 1930

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time

114

ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER³¹⁰

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 25 April 1850

Dear Weydemeyer,

Your letter to Marx arrived today, together with £5 for the refugee fund and an enclosure for me. You will meanwhile have received two letters^c containing the Refugee Committee's statements, its appeal, and its record of accounts.^d Get these printed as quickly as possible and do whatever you can in the vicinity to collect funds for the refugees. How things are in general, you will see from the enclosed letter to Dronke.³¹¹ Perhaps something could be raised in Franconia, Nuremberg, Bayreuth, etc., etc. The *N.Rh.Ztg.* has a very large circulation there. If you have an address in Munich, write there likewise. You will realise that now, when those jackasses, Struve and Company, are trying, on the eve

^a See this volume, pp. 230-31. - ^b Louise - ^c See this volume, p. 232 (the second letter has not survived). - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 20 April 1850'; Accounts of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee in London. 23 April 1850; and the appeal may be the Appeal for Support for German Political Refugees. 20 September 1849.

of the revolution, to make use of the refugees to get their names into the papers again, it becomes a matter of honour for us to go on supporting at least our own refugees, and not to let the best of the new arrivals fall in their turn into the clutches of those jackasses.

We believed that the two following issues of the *Revue* had been in your hands, the 2nd for 5 weeks, and the 3rd for several days at the least. So that jackass, Naut, never sent them to you! A rude letter has already gone off to him today, telling him to send them to you forthwith.³¹² He must have had the 3rd issue for a week. But wait till you've also got the 3rd issue, which brings the first series of articles^a to a definitive close, before writing a critique of it.

Adieu, your
F. E.

We have just heard that those wretches, Struve, Telling, Schramm, Bauer^b (of Stolpe), etc., etc., have put it about in sundry German papers that our committee^c is itself swallowing up the refugee funds. This infamy is also being spread by letter. You cannot have read of it anywhere, otherwise you would have entered the lists long ago on our behalf. You know that the revolution has cost all of us money and has never brought us in a centime. Not even the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, etc., have ever dared to reproach us with such things. The rotten democrats, the impotent 'great men' of the petty bourgeoisie, alone were vicious enough to stoop to such baseness. Our committee has now rendered accounts on 3 occasions,^d on each of which the donors were invited [to appoint] representatives to verify the books and receipts. What other committee has done that much? A receipt is to hand for every centime. *Not one* committee member has ever received a centime from the funds, nor would he ever ask for one, however much he was down on his luck. Not one of our best friends has ever received more than the least of the refugees;

^a F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. - ^b Rudolf Schramm, Louis Bauer - ^c the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee - ^d Accounts of the Committee of Support for German Refugees in London. 3 December 1849; Accounts of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee in London. Beginning of March 1850; Accounts of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee in London. 23 April 1850.

no one who had a source of income received so much as a sou.

If Dronke is no longer there, open his letter, read it, and send it on to him.

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Printed according to the original

115

ENGELS AND MARX TO FRANÇOIS PARDIGON

IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

London, 6 May 1850

Dear Pardigon,

We have just this minute heard that it is intended to submit your programme on behalf of your society to the German Society in Greek Street and to ask them whether or not they will give it their support.³¹³

After our conversation on Saturday,^a we don't believe it; but if you or your society were to denounce an individual or a number of different individuals to us as a mere bad lot, we should simply show them the door without asking whether they were willing to adhere to our programme.

We have denounced the ringleaders of this society to you as charlatans and swindlers. Swindlers and charlatans will sign anything. They would probably have signed our manifesto had we been prepared to accept their repeated proposals of union and concord.

It will be clear to you that, were a similar proposal to be adopted by your society, we should be honour bound to sever forthwith all connections with the members of Rathbone Place.

Greeting and Fraternity

F. Engels
K. Marx

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^a 1 May 1850

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ENGELS TO THEODOR SCHUSTER

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 13 May 1850

Mr Th. Schuster in Frankfurt a. M.

Through Mr Weydemeyer of that city we have received for the account of the Refugee Committee there³⁰⁸ £10.0s.0d. n/c^a on Mr Stiebel here, of receipt and due entry of which we herewith gratefully advise you.

Should it be possible to send us further donations from there or the vicinity for the refugees here, we should be most grateful to you. The number of refugees grows daily, and the above £10 is barely sufficient to meet the most pressing day-to-day requirements for a week. Funds are beginning to come in less plentifully, while on the other hand the refugees now in need of assistance almost exclusively belong to occupations offering little if any prospect of employment here.

Greeting and Fraternity
The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee
 F[oreign] D[e]partment]

F. Engels
 Secretary

It is requested that all donations be sent through Mr Weydemeyer to Mr Marx or Mr C. Pfänder, 21 King Street, Soho Square, London.

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 time.

^a not specified

117

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

[London,] 8 June^a [1850]
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

How are things with our *Revue*? The money, especially? The question is becoming all the more urgent as the Prussians are making every effort to induce the British Government to expel me from England too.³¹⁴ Were I not stuck here *sans le sou*^b I should already have withdrawn into the heart of England and the Government would have lost sight of me.

How are things with the 'red issue'^c?²⁶² We have orders for it from America. How much of it has been sold? How many copies have you left?

Your paper^d seems to have joined the rest to form a *conspiration du silence* in regard to our *Revue*. However, I realise that, to the readers of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, Raveaux must be more interesting.

Regards to Dronke and to your wife.^e

Your
K. M.First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. VII,
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118

MARX TO HEINRICH BÜRGERS³¹⁵

IN COLOGNE

[London, 25 June 1850]

[...] the Cologne people, including Daniels, were *as usual* much taken up with *being wise after the event* [...]

^a A slip of the pen in the original: May. - ^b without a penny - ^c *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 301, 19 May 1849. - ^d *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* - ^e Louise

[...] Like any other place Cologne can, if it so wishes, declare itself a Centre of any kind. Indeed it would conform better than any other place to Spinoza's dictum whereby the periphery coincides with the centre [...]^a

Published for the first time

Printed according to Daniels' letter to Marx of 28 June 1850 and that of the Cologne leading district to the Communist League Central Authority of 10 July 1850

119

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER³¹⁶

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 27 June^b [1850]
64 Dean Street, Soho Square

Dear Weydemeyer,

Send the money to Naut. The fellow's not a bad old jackass. I shall explain the matter to you some other time. Pray do not be offended by my wife's agitated letters.^c She is nursing her child,^d and our situation here is so extraordinarily wretched that an outburst of impatience is excusable.

Lüning's critique—I have seen 1 and 2^e—shows that he doesn't understand what he is trying to criticise. Maybe I shall explain a few things to him in our *Revue*.³¹⁷

This is an important day. There is a possibility that today the Ministry may fall.³¹⁸ Then a truly revolutionary movement will get

^a Marx may have had in mind Spinoza's letter to Walter Tschirnhaus of January 1673. - ^b A slip of the pen in the original: July. - ^c See this volume, pp. 555, 559.

^d Heinrich Guido - ^e O. Lüning's review of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, Nos. 148 and 149, 22 and 23 June 1850. The end of the review was published in Nos. 150 and 151, 25 and 26 June.

under way here. We ourselves may be the Tories' first victims. Then our long-intended expulsion might actually come about.

Your
K. Marx

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first time

120

MARX TO KARL BLIND

IN PARIS

[Rough copy]

London, 17 July 1850
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Blind,

Our long silence was due to a misunderstanding. For we believed that the Central Authority's second circular^a had been brought you 6 weeks or 2 months ago [by] our emissary, Klein, and we were waiting for your answer. [Now] it transpires that Klein has [brought] back nothing of the kind to Brussels.

Write to me as soon as possible and in a special enclosure to the [Central Authority]. We are thinking of convening a congress here in a few (8) weeks' time.³¹⁹ What do you [make] of the Holstein business?³²⁰ We shall shortly be dispatching an emissary [who] worked there for two years and knows [exactly] who is who and what is what.^b

Concerning my own fortunes and the manifold vicissitudes which I [...] in, some other time.

I am approaching you this time about a private matter [...], that, if at all possible, you will not refuse me your assistance. I had arranged with my family that I would settle my financial affairs with my uncle Philips in Holland [...] weeks, [for which] purpose I was to visit Holland in person. An [...] illness of my wife constantly

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - ^b This seems to refer to C. Schramm.

rendered my departure impossible. And now I shall not be able to go there for several weeks, because two of my uncle's daughters are being married, one after the other, from his house, so th[at] business matters cannot be settled till several weeks later.

With this affair in mind, I meanwhile drew a bill for £20 (500 fr.) with a [merchant] firm^a here in London on the strength of this arrangement. The bill matures on Monday or Wednesday.^b If I were unable to pay it, I would lay myself open to a public [...] which, given the present state of the parties here, and [my] relations with the Prussian Embassy and the English Ministry, [could] have most disagreeable consequences.

Now I hear that *Goegg* in Paris has a considerable amount of capital available just now. Would you write to him *immediately*, explaining the circumstances to him and inquiring whether he could advance me the money on a promissory note or a bill. *Periculum in mora*.^c

Pending the arrangement in Holland I am, in the literal sense of the word, *dépourvu*,^d save for my last shilling.

I rely on you to do your utmost.

Your
K. Marx

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER⁴³

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 29 October 1850
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

I beg you to carry out the following transaction for me:

Borrow from Schuster or somebody else the money necessary to redeem my silver from the Frankfurt pawnbroker's,³²¹ then *sell* the

^a Probably a firm headed by Simon Bamberger. - ^b i. e. 19 or 21 July - ^c Delay spells danger (Titus Livius, *ab urbe condita libri*). - ^d destitute

silver to a goldsmith or wherever it can be sold in Frankfurt, repay the man who loaned you the money for redeeming the silver, and send the balance to me here.

Neither you nor the other man will be incurring any risk for, should you not be able to sell the stuff at a higher price, all you have to do is take it back to the pawnbroker's.

On the other hand my present circumstances are such that I must at all costs raise some money, even to be able to continue working.

The only items I would ask you to return to the pawnbroker's, since they have no saleable value, are 1) a small silver mug, 2) a silver plate, 3) a small knife and fork in a case—all belonging to little Jenny.^a

I very much approve of your plan for a popular work on political economy and only hope that you will soon make a start on it.³²² Warm regards to your wife^b from my wife and self.

Your
K. Marx

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Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV,
Moscow, 1934

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122

MARX TO ENGELS³²³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 November 1850

Dear Engels,

Just a line or two to let you know that our little gunpowder-plotter, Fawksy,³²⁴ *died* at ten o'clock this morning. Suddenly, from one of the convulsions he had often had. A few minutes before, he was still laughing and joking. The thing happened quite unexpectedly. You can imagine what it is like here. Your absence at this particular moment makes us feel very lonely.

^a Marx's eldest daughter - ^b Louise

In my next letter I shall tell you something about Harney from which you will see what an ominous situation he's in.

Your
K. Marx

If you happen to feel so inclined, drop a few lines to my wife. She is quite distracted.

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123

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 November 1850

Dear Engels,

Your letter did my wife a great deal of good.³²⁵ She's in a really dangerous state of excitation and exhaustion. She had nursed the child^a herself and had fought for its existence under the most difficult circumstances and at the greatest sacrifice. And on top of this, the thought that the poor child was a victim of bourgeois *misère*, although it never wanted for any particular care.

Mr Schramm^b is thoroughly beselivered^c and is just now at his most loathsome. For two whole days, 19 and 20 November, he never showed his face in our house, then came for a moment and immediately disappeared again after one or two fatuous remarks. He had volunteered to accompany us on the day of the funeral; he arrived a minute or two before the appointed hour, said not a word about the funeral, but told my wife that he had to hurry away so as not to be late for a meal with his brother.^d With my wife in such an irritable state, you can imagine how offensive was the conduct of this person, to whom so much friendship has been extended in our house.

^a Heinrich Guido - ^b Conrad Schramm - ^c Marx coins a verb from the name Seiler - ^d Rudolf Schramm

Jones has explained Harney's true situation to me. He is *sous le coup de la justice*.^a The entire contents of his paper^b are such as to make it liable to stamp duty.³²⁶ The government is merely waiting for its circulation to increase in order to nab him. The proceedings against Dickens have been instituted solely as a precedent in respect of Harney.³²⁷ If he is arrested he may, besides the actual sentence, have to serve 20 years through being unable to produce SECURITIES.

Bauer^c and Pfänder have won their case.³²⁸ Their counsel was Roberts.

Your
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 25 November 1850

Dear Marx,

I am writing today just to tell you that I am unfortunately still not in a position to send you the £2 I promised you for today in my last letter.³²⁹ Ermen^d has gone away for a few days and, since no proxy has been authorised with the bank, we are unable to make any remittances and have to content ourselves with the few small payments that happen to come in. The total amount in the cash box is only about £4 and you will therefore realise that I must wait a while. As soon as Ermen returns I shall at once send you the money. I trust the first remittance arrived safely.

^a threatened with prosecution - ^b *The Red Republican* - ^c Heinrich Bauer - ^d Peter Ermen

Schramm's^a behaviour is really despicable.

The Harney business is indeed extremely ominous. If they are actually determined to arrest him, changing the paper's name won't help.^b Nor can he give it up altogether, and if *this* paper falls into the category liable to stamp duty, I can't see any possibility at all of bringing out an unstamped political weekly. In any case, he'd do better to omit his 'LABOUR RECORD' from page 8, this being NEWS and unquestionably subject to stamp duty. But from what you write it would seem that, in Jones' opinion, the content of his analytical articles is equally liable to be stamped. And that would be the limit.

So the outraged Schramm, to judge by Mr Seiler's begging letter, would seem to be again on the best of terms with his brother^c and even showing him some *égards*^d!

I hope your wife is feeling better. Warm regards to her and the rest of your family from your

F. E.

In the course of this week I shall send your wife a parcel of COTTON THREAD which I hope she will find to her liking.

[On the back of the letter]

Charles Marx Esq.
64 Dean Street. Soho Square. London

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 December [1850]
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

For several days I have been seriously unwell and hence this letter, together with advice of receipt of the two POST OFFICE ORDERS, will reach you later than I would have wished. I have remitted

^a Conrad Schramm; see this volume, p. 242. - ^b *The Red Republican*, to avoid persecution, in December 1850 changed its name to *The Friend of the People*. - ^c Rudolf Schramm - ^d consideration

7/6d to Seiler. As regards the *Indépendance*^a we neither of us owe him anything for the time being, as he opportunely got himself thrown out by his landlord, leaving behind in return for the £10 he owed him nothing but unsold copies of the *Indépendance*, personal effects to the value of 18 pence, and 2 or 3 books which he had borrowed from myself and others. Truly, he possesses IN A HIGH DEGREE the ability to liquidate, American-fashion, the excess of his expenditure over his revenue.

The great *Heilberg* has arrived here with a young wife, *soi-disant*.^b I have not yet had the honour of seeing the legendary Tuck, who has been cast back across the ocean, considerably aggrandised, of course—a dangerous rival for Seiler. He completely monopolises Bamberger, calling him 'little brother', and the old Amschel, 'auntie'.

As yet I have neither seen nor heard anything of our *Revue*.^c I am negotiating with Cologne about the publication of the quarterly.^d

Partly because of ill-health, partly on purpose, I never foregather with the others at the Pulteney Stores³³⁰ except on the official days. Since these gentlemen have so extensively debated whether or not this company is *ennuyante*,^e I, of course, am leaving them to agree amongst themselves upon the solace to be derived from their discourse. I, however, make myself scarce. As we have both of us experienced, one loses these people's esteem to the same extent that one is liberal with them. Moreover, I'm tired of them and wish to employ my time as productively as possible. Friend Schramm,^f who for several weeks has been playing the malcontent and has finally come to the conviction that no one is in the least inclined to place obstacles in the way of the natural course of his emotional ups and downs, is gradually readapting himself to the type of humour compatible with the MODEL-LODGING-HOUSE.

At the Great Windmill considerable annoyance reigns over the loss of £16 as a result of a court ruling.³³¹ Lehmann, in particular, is seething. His rage will not abate until Bauer and Pfänder are publicly branded as thieves and miscreants by every newspaper in Europe. Now, of course, little Bauer maintains with suppressed moral fury that the payment of a single penny, whether to the Great Windmill or to a public poor box, would be an unpardona-

^a *L'Indépendance belge* - ^b so-called - ^c *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, No. 5-6. - ^d See this volume, pp. 251-52. - ^e dull - ^f Conrad Schramm

ble affront to the English courts and 'recognition of the bourgeoisie'.

Meanwhile the great men of Great Windmill Street have experienced a triumph, as the following^a shows:

'Aux démocrates de toutes les nations!

Citoyens! Proscrits Réfugiés en Angleterre et mieux placés *par cela même pour* juger des mouvements politiques du Continent, nous' (note well! An out-and-out solecism in this *single* phrase which they have daringly tacked on to subject, copula and predicate, and should in any case read: *et ainsi mieux placés que vous autres pour*) 'avons pu suivre et surveiller activement toutes les combinaisons des Puissances coalisées se préparant à une nouvelle invasion de la France, où' (very naïce!) 'les Cosaques du Nord sont attendus par leurs complices, *pour*' (yet again attendus pour) 'éteindre dans son foyer même' (the birthplace of Barthélemy and Pottier) 'le volcan de la Révolution Universelle.—Les Rois et les aristocrates de l'Europe ont compris qu'il était temps d'élever des digues pour arrêter la marée populaire' (should read: le marasme populaire) 'qui menace d'engloutir leurs trônes ébranlés.—Des troupes nombreuses levées en Russie, en Autriche, en Prusse, en Bavière, dans le Hanovre, dans le Wurtemberg, en Saxe et enfin dans tous les états de l'Allemagne, sont déjà réunies.' (Des troupes ... sont déjà réunies!) 'En Italie 130 000 hommes menacent la frontière suisse. Le Vorarlberg est occupé par 80 000 hommes. Le Haut Rhin est couvert par 80 000 hommes. Wurtembergeois, Bedois et Prussiens. Le Main est gardé par 80 000 Bavares et Autrichiens. Tandis que 370 000 hommes occupent les points que nous venons d'indiquer, la Prusse a mobilisé 200 000 soldats qu'elle tient disponible' (sic) 'pour être lancé sur les frontières de la Belgique et de la France: la Hollande et la Belgique, contraintes par les coalitions, soutiendront le mouvement d'invasion avec une armée forte de 150 000 hommes. En Bohême 150 000 hommes se tiennent prêts et n'attendent qu'un ordre pour se réunir à l'armée du Main, qui serait alors forte de 230 000 hommes. Autour de Vienne sont concentrés 80 000 hommes. 300 000 Russes campent en Pologne, et 80 000 dans les environs de St. Petersbourg: ces armées réunies composent une force d'un million trois cents trente mille combattants, qui n'attendent que le signal de l'attaque. Derrière ces troupes se tiennent aussi (!) prêts 180 000 Autrichiens, 200 000 Prussiens, 100 000 hommes fournis par les principautés de l'Allemagne, et 220 000 Russes. Ces armées forment ensemble, comme troupes de réserve 700 000 hommes; sans compter les hordes innombrables' (sic) 'de Barbares que l'Attila Moscovite ferait surgir du fond de l'Asie, pour lancer, comme autrefois (!) sur la civilisation Européenne. Des journaux allemands' (here a note is appended with a piffling sentence from the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* to put Lüning in a good mood) 'et nos renseignements particuliers nous font connaître les secrètes intentions des Puissances dont les Plénipotentiaires se sont réunis à Varsovie le 25 Octobre dernier.³³² Il a été décidé, dans la (!) conférence, qu'une guerre feinte' (My God! what diplomats!) 'entre la Prusse et l'Autriche, servirait de prétexte au mouvement des soldats que la *volonté* du Czar transforme en instruments aveugles et en sicaires féroces contre les défenseurs de la liberté.' (Bravo!) 'En présence de ces faits, il n'est plus possible de douter: on organise en ce moment le massacre, déjà commencé (!) de tous les Républicains. Les journées de Juin 1848 avec leurs exécutions sanglantes et les proscriptions que les ont suivies—la Hongrie dévastée

^a Published in *Le Constitutionnel*, 18 December 1850.

et asservie par l'Autriche—l'Italie livrée au Pape et aux Jésuites, après l'égorge-
ment de la République Romaine par les soldats du Gouvernement de la France
n'ont point assouvi la rage de nos ennemis: ils rêvent l'asservissement de tous les
peuples qui combattent pour le triomphe de la liberté commune. Si la démocratie
n'y prend garde, la Pologne, la Hongrie, l'Allemagne, l'Italie et la France seront
bientôt encore vouées aux fureurs de la soldatesque sauvage de Nicolas qui, pour
exciter les Barbares au combat leur promet la dévastation et le pillage de l'Europe.

Devant ce danger qui nous menace, *debout! Debout!*... Républicains Français,
Allemands, Italiens, Polonais, et Hongrois, sortons de cet engourdissement
(Topping Schapper and Willich!) 'qui énerve nos forces et prépare une victoire facile
à nos oppresseurs. *Debout!*... Aux jours de repos et de honte du présent, faisons
succéder les jours de fatigue et de gloire, que nous prépare la guerre sainte de la
liberté! En examinant ces dangers que nous vous signalons, vous comprendrez,
comme nous, qu'il y aurait folie d'attendre plus longtemps l'attaque de l'ennemi
commun; nous devons tout préparer et aller au devant du péril qui nous
environne.' (Just try au devant d'une chose qui vous *environne!*) 'Citoyens
Démocrates Socialistes, notre salut n'est qu'en nous mêmes: nous ne devons
compter que sur nos propres efforts; et éclairés des exemples du passé, nous
devons nous prémunir contre les trahisons de l'avenir. Évitez, évitez surtout le
piège qui nous est tendu par les serpens (!) de la diplomatie. Les émules de
Metternich et des Talleyrand méditent en ce moment d'éteindre le flambeau de la
Révolution, en suscitant à la France, par l'invasion qu'ils préparent, une guerre
nationale dans laquelle les peuples s'égorgeraient au profit des ennemis de leur
affranchissement. Non, Citoyens! plus de guerre nationale! Les barrières que les
despotes avaient élevées entre les nations qu'ils s'étaient partagées, sont désormais
tombées pour nous, et les *peuples confondus*' (really: *confondus*) 'n'ont plus qu'un
drapeau, sur lequel nous avons écrit avec le sang fécond de nos martyrs: *République
Universelle Démocratique et Sociale.*'

Pour *Leurs Sociétés*: 'Les membres du comité de la société des proscrits
Démocrates Socialistes Français à Londres: Adam (Cambreur), Barthélemy
(Emmanuel), Caperon (Paulin), Fanon, Gouté, Thierry, Vidil (Jules); les délégués
de la commission permanente de la section de la démocratie polonaise à Londres:
Sawaszkiwicz, Warskiroski; les membres du comité démocrate socialiste des
refugiés allemands et de la société ouvrière allemande: Dietz (Oswald), Gebert (A.),
Mayer (Adolphe), Schärtner (A.), Schapper (Charles), Willich (Auguste). Les
délégués de la société démocratique hongroise à Londres: Molikoy, Simonyi.
Londres le 16. Novembre 1850.'^{a333}

^a 'To the democrats of all nations!

Citizens! Proscribed refugees in England who, for that very reason, are in a better
position to judge the political movements on the Continent, we' (note well! An
out-and-out solecism in this *single* phrase which they have daringly tacked on to
subject, copula and predicate, and should in any case read: and hence in a better
position *than* the rest of you *to*) 'have been able actively to keep track of and
observe all the combinations of the coalition powers preparing for a fresh invasion
of *France*, where' (very nice!) 'the Cossacks of the North are awaited by their
accomplices *to*' (yet again 'awaited to') 'extinguish at its very centre' (the birthplace
of Barthélemy and Pottier) 'the volcano of the Universal Revolution.—The kings
and aristocrats of Europe have realised that it was time to put up dykes to arrest
the popular tide' (should read: popular stagnation) 'which is threatening to engulf

their tottering thrones.—Large numbers of troops raised in Russia, in Austria, in Prussia, in Bavaria, in Hanover, in Württemberg, in Saxony and, in short, in all the states of Germany, have already mustered' (troops ... have already mustered!). 'In Italy 130,000 men are threatening the Swiss frontier. The Vorarlberg is occupied by 80,000 men. The Upper Rhine is covered by 80,000 men, Württembergers, Badeners and Prussians. The Main is guarded by 80,000 Bavarians and Austrians. While 370,000 men occupy the localities indicated above, Prussia has mobilised 200,000 soldiers which she is holding available' (sic) 'for launching against the frontiers of Belgium and France. Holland and Belgium, constrained by the coalitions, will support the invasion move with an army 150,000 strong. In Bohemia 150,000 men are holding themselves ready and only await the order to join up with the army of the Main, which will thus be 230,000 strong. 80,000 men are concentrated round Vienna. 300,000 Russians are encamped in Poland, and 80,000 in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg: all together these armies make up a force of one million three hundred and thirty thousand combatants who are only awaiting the signal to attack. Behind these troops and also (!) holding themselves ready are 180,000 Austrians, 200,000 Prussians, 100,000 men provided by the German principalities, and 220,000 Russians. Taken together these armies form a reserve of 700,000 men; not counting the innumerable' (sic) 'hordes of barbarians which the Muscovite Attila will unleash from the heart of Asia to be launched, as of yore (!), against European civilisation. From German newspapers' (here a note is appended with a piffling sentence from the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* to put Lüning in a good mood) 'and from our own sources of information we learn the secret intentions of the Powers whose Plenipotentiaries foregathered in Warsaw on 25 October last. It was decided, in the (!) conference, that a feint war' (My God! what diplomats!) 'between Prussia and Austria would serve as a pretext for the movement of troops whom the will of the Czar is transforming into blind instruments and ferocious bravoes to combat the defenders of liberty.' (Bravo!) 'In the face of these facts, there can no longer be any possible doubt: at this moment they are organising the massacre, already begun (!), of all republicans. The days of June 1848, with their bloody executions and the proscriptions that followed them—Hungary devastated and enslaved by Austria—Italy delivered up to the Pope and the Jesuits, after the Roman Republic had been butchered by the soldiers of the French Government, have in no way assuaged the fury of our enemies: they dream of the enslavement of all those people who are fighting for the victory of common liberty. If democracy is not on its guard, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Italy and France will soon again fall victim to the fury of the brutal soldiery of Nicholas who whets the barbarians' appetite for battle with the promise that they may devastate and pillage Europe.

In the face of this danger by which we are threatened, *arise! Arise ...* French, German, Italian, Polish and Hungarian republicans, let us emerge from this torpor' (Topping Schapper and Willich!) 'which debilitates our strength and paves the way for an easy victory for our oppressors. *Arise! ...* Let us ensure that the present days of inactivity and shame are succeeded by the days of fatigue and glory which await us with the holy war of liberty! On examining these dangers we have pointed out to you, you will realise, like us that it would be folly to wait any longer for our common enemy to attack; we must make every preparation and go out to face the peril which surrounds us.' (Just try going out to face something which *surrounds* you!) 'Citizens, Socialist Democrats, our salvation lies only with ourselves: we cannot count on anything but our own efforts; and, enlightened by the examples of the past, we must provide against the betrayals of the future. Let us avoid, let us avoid above all, the trap that has been laid for us by the serpents (!)

If that's not champion drivel, then I really don't know what is.^a Having read the Rollin, Mazzini, Ruge, etc. manifesto addressed to the Germans,^b wherein they are invited to sing the *Bardiet*^c and reminded that their forbears were called 'Franks', and wherein the King of Prussia^d had already agreed to be whacked by Austria, I thought I had plumbed the depths of stupidity. *Mais non!* For here is the Fanon-Caperon-Gouté manifesto, as the *Patrie* calls it,^e of the *dii minorum gentium*^f with, as it rightly remarks, the same content but devoid of chic, devoid of style, with the most pathetic rhetorical flourishes such as *serpents* and *sicaires*^g and *égorgements*.^h The *Indépendance*, quoting a few sentences from this masterpiece, relates that it was composed by the *soldats les plus obscurs de la Démocratie*ⁱ and that these poor devils had sent it to the London correspondent of that paper, despite the latter's conservatism. Such was their longing to appear in print. In retribution it names *no* names, and similarly the *Patrie* names only the three mentioned above. To compound the *misère* they gave one of the Straubingers⁸⁶ here (yesterday this same person told Pfänder the sorry tale) 50 copies to take to France. Just off Boulogne he hurled 49 of them into the sea; on reaching Boulogne Brother

of diplomacy. The emulators of the Metternichs and the Talleyrands are at this moment contemplating how they may extinguish the torch of the Revolution by instigating in France, through the invasion they are preparing, a national war in which the peoples will butcher each other for the benefit of the enemies of their liberation. Nay, Citizens! No more national war! For us the barriers, set up by despots between the nations they had shared out among them, are henceforward fallen, and the *peoples*, confounded,' (really: *confounded*), 'have only one flag upon which, with the fertile blood of our martyrs, we have written: *Universal Democratic and Social Republic*.'

On behalf of *Their Societies*: 'The members of the Committee of the Society of Exiled French Socialist Democrats in London: Adam (Cambreur), Barthélemy (Emmanuel), Caperon (Paulin), Fanon, Gouté, Thierry, Vidil (Jules); the delegates of the Permanent Commission of the Polish Democracy Section in London: Sawaszkiewicz, Warskiroski; the members of the Socialist Democratic Committee of German Refugees and the German Workers' Society: Dietz (Oswald), Gebert (A.), Mayer (Adolphe), Schärttner (A.), Schapper (Karl), Willich (August). The delegates of the Hungarian Democratic Society in London: Molikoy, Simonyi. London, 16 November 1850.'

^a Marx adapts here a saying current in the Mark. - ^b 'Le Comité central démocratique européen, aux Allemands, 13 novembre 1850' published in *La Voix du Proscrit*, No. 4, 17 November 1850 and other papers. - ^c Teutonic war song - ^d Frederick William IV - ^e G. de Molinari, 'Un nouveau manifeste rouge', *La Patrie*, 28 November 1850. - ^f second-rate luminaries (literally: gods of minor nations) - ^g assassins - ^h butchery - ⁱ the most obscure soldiers of Democracy (*L'Indépendance belge*, No. 323, 19 November 1850); the newspaper has: 'soldats ... de la démagogie'.

Straubinger was sent back to London for lack of a passport, and declares 'that he is now off to Boston'.

Farewell and write by return.

Your
K.Marx

Apropos! Do write sometime to the worthy Dronke telling him to reply about League matters and not to write only in the case of begging letters. The gentlemen in Cologne^a have sent no news. 'Haude', who is now back, having lost all his worldly goods in Germany,³³⁴ is described by Weydemeyer as an 'otherwise stout lad'.

You must seriously consider what you are going to write about.³³⁵ England won't do, there being 2 articles on the subject already,^b perhaps 3 with Eccarius.^c Nor is there a great deal to say about France. Could you not perhaps, in conjunction with Mazzini's latest things, tackle the rotten Italians along with their revolution? (His *Republic and Monarchy* etc., as well as his religion, the Pope, etc.)^d

[From Jenny Marx]

Dear Mr Engels,

Your kind sympathy over the heavy blow dealt us by fate through the loss of our little darling, my poor little child of sorrow,^e has been a great comfort to me, the more so as, in the last few sorrowful days, I have found cause for the most bitter complaint in our friend Schramm. My husband and all the rest of us have missed you sorely and have often longed to see you. However, I am very glad that you have left and are well on the way to becoming a great COTTON LORD. See that you entrench yourself firmly between the two warring brothers^f; their tussle is bound to place you in a position of indispensability vis-à-vis your respected Papa, and in my mind's eye I already see you as Friedrich Engels JUNIOR and partner of the SENIOR. But of course the best thing about it is that, notwithstanding the COTTON TRADE and all the rest, you are still the same old Fritze and, in the words of those three arch-democrats, Frederick William the First,^g Kinkel and Mazzini,

^a members of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League - ^b F. Engels, 'The English Ten Hours' Bill' and K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Review. May to October [1850]'. - ^c J. G. Eccarius, 'Die Schneiderei in London oder der Kampf des grossen und des kleinen Capitals', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, No. 5-6, 1850. - ^d J. Mazzini, *Republic and Royalty in Italy* published in several issues of *The Red Republican* in June-November 1850; G. Mazzini, *Le Pape au dix-neuvième siècle*. - ^e Heinrich Guido - ^f Gottfried and Peter Ermen - ^g August Willich

you will not become 'estranged from *the sacred cause of freedom*'. Karl has told you something about the mummery here. I might add some *nova*.^a That obese ruffian, Haude, shed all his fat during his muckraking tour of the German provinces and trips over his own legs whenever he sees anyone. It would seem that a little hippopotamus of dubious origin has joined the dictator hippopotamus,^b and that the Great Windmill Knight, Hohenzoller Willich, has reinforced his guard of nobles with a few qualified footpads and blackguards. Our own people dawdle along from one day to the next with the help of a few borrowed pence. Rings is now earning something as a claqueur with the Duke of Brunswick, who is once more loudly pontificating before the courts.

The last Polish banquet, at which were foregathered the French, German, Hungarian and Polish *crapauds*^c (Willich, Fieschi, Adam, etc.),³³⁶ ended up in a free-for-all. Apart from that we've heard nothing of the crew. Last night we attended Ernest Jones' first lecture on the history of the papacy. His lecture was marvellous and, by English standards, advanced, though not quite *à la hauteur*^d for us Germans who have run the gauntlet of Hegel, Feuerbach, etc. Poor Harney was dangerously ill of an abscess of the windpipe. He is not allowed to speak. An English doctor has made two incisions without finding the affected spot. His *Red [Republican]* has turned into *The Friend of the People*. Well, enough for today. The children chatter a great deal about Uncle Angels and, thanks to your estimable tuition, dear Mr Engels, little Till^e now gives a splendid rendering of the song about the 'journeyman's pelt and the nimble broom'.

I hope we shall see you at Christmas.

Yours

Jenny Marx

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MARX TO HERMANN BECKER

IN COLOGNE

London, 2 December [1850]
64 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Becker,

I know that you felt greatly offended by a letter I wrote to Bürgers.^f However, in this letter, which was written under very trying circumstances, I had no intention of offending you any more

^a news - ^b Karl Schapper - ^c philistines - ^d up to the mark - ^e Edgar Marx - ^f Presumably Marx's letter to Bürgers of 25 June 1850 (see this volume, pp. 237-38).

than my other friends in Cologne. I believe that this explanation will satisfy you and that, without harking back to the past, I can proceed straight to the proposals I have to make to you.

1. You know how wretchedly Mr Schuberth has managed our *Revue*. I believe that in a few days' time he will have brought out the last two issues. I wish to continue the enterprise as a quarterly (from February onwards), 20 sheets every quarter. The increased size would allow the inclusion of more varied material. Can you undertake publication, and on what terms?

2. A friend of mine^a has translated my anti-Proudhon piece^b from the French into German and has written his own introduction to it.³³⁷ I would put the same question to you as above.

3. I have devised a scheme by which socialist literature consisting of a series of small pamphlets could be launched on the public in successive publications. A start could not be made until March. Should you be willing to undertake something of this kind, the things would be got ready in the meantime. I believe that, after its recent cheering experience of *haute politique*, the German public will BY AND BY find itself obliged to turn its urgent attention to the real content of present-day struggles. I beg you to reply soon.

Your
K. Marx

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ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 3 December 1850

Dear Emil,

I have received your parcel and thank you for your prompt dispatch of the cigars, which have found general acclaim. The underpants are also fine.

^a Probably Wilhelm Pieper - ^b K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

Father wrote to me a few days ago. His preference is for Gottfried Ermen, with whom he would prefer to continue in case of a rupture; under no circumstances will he remain with Peter any longer than necessary. I shall collect all the notes available on Ermen Bros' business. That they have done extensive business is certain, the average profit, Gottfried Ermen maintains, being £600 a year, and more in recent years. In this business it is difficult to lose money in an average year; they possess and need little capital, and the article—low quality sewing and knitting yarn—also goes better compared with the fine qualities, which are falling off considerably.

The balance for the year 1849/50 has not yet been struck; debits and credits are still in the most splendid confusion. Father would seem to have been pressing them again, so I hear, and tomorrow they will set about putting this in order.

Accordingly Mr Peter arrived here this morning or yesterday evening! He sent for old Hill—he is living in an hotel two doors away from our office—was very nice, inquired about indifferent matters, but so far, at any rate, has failed to put in an appearance at the office. If his intention is to plague me, he has chosen the wrong man. Father does not wish to intervene in the brothers' squabbles, nor will I do so. But Gottfried is in such a fix that he has to keep in with me; he will tell me everything without my having to ask him about it.

If Peter Ermen takes over the management of the office, which very probably will happen in the end, this will greatly interfere with my examination of the books. Hitherto I have only been able to do this 4 days a week in DINNER-HOURS, when I was on my own, but it's precisely during DINNER-HOURS that he is accustomed to go sniffing about the office. I have abstracted the essentials, however, and little remains save the very involved task of comparing the prices at which Ermen Bros have been selling to us with the current prices on each occasion, and a search through old invoices, etc., etc., so as to see whether one may not perhaps light upon this or that. In a few days' time I shall send Father Ermen Bros' complete accounts for 1849/50, duly classified and set out, as also those of Ermens' bleaching concern, so that he may see how these gentlemen carry on business with his capital.

Debit Father with the cost of the cigars, that would be the simplest.

My love to Marie, Hermann and the children.

Your
Frederick

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 December 1850

Dear Marx,

I have been exceptionally busy of late and have had other interruptions which have forced me out of my customary routine and prevented me from writing. Hence my belated reply.

The Fanon-Caperon-Gouté manifesto^a is truly a masterpiece, both in form and content. *Crânerie*^b has found its ultimate expression, and Monsieur Barthélemy has at last given the world an example of *ce que c'est que de parler carrément*.^c The military dispositions of the *homme de marbre*^d are equally funny; the *bonhomme*^e has counted most of the Austrian army corps twice over, as the most cursory REFERENCE to the newspapers will show. Incidentally, it's really taking effrontery too far after all the fiascos since 1848, and with all the nations, *crapauds*^f first and foremost, in their present easy-going mood, to speak of a *marée populaire qui menace d'engloutir des trônes*.^g The collection of names at the bottom is undoubtedly the finest FEATURE of the whole. No such European congress has ever been seen before. Ledru-Rollin, Mazzini and Co. actually acquire a certain importance from this puerile affair. For that matter, I'd like to know in what way that milksop Sawaszkiwicz, who appears at the bottom, differs from Ledru-

^a See this volume, pp. 246-47. - ^b Swagger - ^c what blunt speaking is - ^d man of marble (iron) - ^e chap - ^f philistines - ^g a popular tide which is threatening to engulf thrones

Rollin's Polack Darasz, and to what extent the two Hungarians, who appear at the bottom, are to be preferred to Mazzini. True, Schapper and Ruge are more or less equally matched and, unless the cockroach Dietz tips the scales heavily in favour of the new European committee, these gentry will hardly be able to compete with their prototype.³³⁸

Recently I went to see John Watts; the fellow seems skilled in sharp practice and now has a much larger SHOP in Deansgate, somewhat further up. He has become a consummate radical mediocrity, is concerned with nothing but the EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT, raves about MORAL FORCE³³⁹ and has accepted Mr Proudhon as his lord and master. He has translated the *Contradictions économiques*^a and some other stuff and has lost a great deal of money at it, since English workers have not yet sufficient 'education' to enable them to understand these marvellous things. From a few instances he gave me, it transpired that he knows very well how to boost his tailoring business by parading his bourgeois liberalism. On the EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEES he sits fraternally alongside his once inveterate foes, the dissenting ministers,³⁴⁰ from time to time accepting their vote of thanks FOR THE VERY ABLE ADDRESS HE DELIVERED ON THAT EVENING. It seemed to me that the fellow has lost all his wits in the metamorphosis and I have not been to see him since. For people hereabouts who are thus transmuted into a state of bourgeois respectability, Proudhon is, of course, heaven sent; though seemingly going further than anyone else, further even than Owen, he is nevertheless FULLY RESPECTABLE.

I have no objection to writing about Mr Mazzini and the Italian business. Only—save for the thing in *The Red [Republican]*^b—I haven't got a single one of Mazzini's writings. However I shan't be able to do anything before Christmas since I shall be in London a week hence. I shall then bring back with me what I need. But perhaps by that time something else will have occurred to us.

Very many thanks to your wife for her amiable note.^c As for the COTTON LORD, it hasn't come to that yet; my old man doesn't seem at all inclined to keep me here any longer than is absolutely necessary. *Cependant nous verrons.*^d Peter Ermen is going round in circles like a fox that has left its brush in a trap, and is trying to

^a P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère.* -

^b J. Mazzini, *Republic and Royalty in Italy.* - ^c See this volume, pp. 250-51. -

^d However, we shall see.

make things too hot for me here—the stupid devil imagines *he* could annoy me!

Dronke has been written to.³⁴¹

My regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 January [1851]

Dear Engels,

You would very much oblige me, *s'il est possible*,^a by sending me the money by return. My landlady is *VERY POOR*, this is the second week she has not been paid, and she's dunning me with dreadful determination.

At yesterday's district meeting Wolff^b appeared, but not Liebknecht or Schramm.^c Once the new Rules³⁴² had been adopted, I adjourned the wretched thing indefinitely.

Your
K. M.

Our *Revue* will probably appear afresh in Switzerland. Work out SOMETHING then, so that I have the manuscript *READY* if needs be.

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^a if possible - ^b Ferdinand Wolff - ^c Conrad Schramm

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MARX TO ENGELS³⁴³

IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 January 1851

Dear Engels,

I am writing to you today, to lay before you a *questiuncula theoretica*,^a naturally *naturae politico-economicae*.^b

You know, to begin *ab ovo*,^c that according to Ricardo's theory, rent is nothing else but the difference between the production costs and the price of agricultural produce, or, as he also expressed it, the difference in the price at which the produce of the poorest land must be sold in order to cover costs (the tenant-farmer's profit and interest being always included in the costs), and that at which the produce of the best land can be sold.

The increase in rent proves, according to his own exposition of his theory, that:

1. Recourse is had to ever poorer types of soil, or that the same amount of capital, successively employed on the same land, does not give the same yield. In a word: the soil deteriorates in like proportion to the increasing demands the population must make upon it. It becomes relatively less fertile. Wherein Malthus discovered the real basis for his theory of population, and wherein his disciples now seek their last sheet-anchor.

2. Rent can only rise when the price of corn rises (at least according to *economic laws*); it must fall when the latter falls.

3. When a country's overall rental rises, this can only be explained by the fact that a very large mass of relatively poorer land has been brought under cultivation.

Now these 3 PROPOSITIONS are everywhere refuted by history.

1. There is no doubt that, with the advance of civilisation, ever poorer types of soil are brought under cultivation. But equally, there is no doubt that, as a result of the progress of science and industry, these poorer types of soil are relatively good as against those previously regarded as good.

2. Since 1815 the price of corn has fallen, irregularly but steadily, from 90 to 50 shillings and, before the repeal of the Corn

^a a small question of theory - ^b of a politico-economic nature - ^c at the beginning (literally: from the egg)

London 7 January 1851

Dear Engels,

I have received your letter of the 31st and am glad to hear that you are well and that the weather is not so bad as it has been.

The article on the political economy of the 19th century is very good and will do much to clear up the minds of our people. I have read it with interest and it has done me much good. I hope you will continue to write for the cause of our people.

I have also received your letter of the 30th and am glad to hear that you are well and that the weather is not so bad as it has been. I have read your letter with interest and it has done me much good. I hope you will continue to write for the cause of our people.

I have also received your letter of the 29th and am glad to hear that you are well and that the weather is not so bad as it has been. I have read your letter with interest and it has done me much good. I hope you will continue to write for the cause of our people.

I have also received your letter of the 28th and am glad to hear that you are well and that the weather is not so bad as it has been. I have read your letter with interest and it has done me much good. I hope you will continue to write for the cause of our people.

A page from Marx's letter to Engels of 7 January 1851

Laws,²⁷⁰ even lower. Rent has steadily risen. Thus in England. *Mutatis mutandis* everywhere on the Continent.

3. In all countries, as Petty has already observed, we find that, when the price of corn fell, the country's overall rental rose.

The main point of all this is to adjust the law of rent to progress in fertility in agriculture generally, this being the only way, firstly, to explain the historical facts and, secondly, to eliminate the Malthusian theory of the deterioration, not only of the 'hands', but also of the soil.

I believe that the matter can be explained simply, as follows:

Let us assume that, at a given state of agriculture, the price of wheat is 7 shillings a quarter^a and one acre of the best quality land, subject to a rent of 10 shillings, produces 20 bushels. The return per acre thus= 20×7 or =140 shillings. In this case the production costs amount to 130 shillings. Hence 130 shillings is the price of the product of the poorest land under cultivation.

Let us assume that there is a general improvement in agriculture. If this be presupposed, we at the same time assume that science, industry and population are in a state of growth. A general increase in the fertility of the land resulting from improvements presupposes these conditions, as against the fertility fortuitously induced by a favourable season.

Say the price of wheat falls from 7 to 5 shillings a quarter.^a The best land, No. 1, which formerly yielded 20 bushels now yields 30 bushels. This now returns, instead of 20×7 , or 140 shillings, 30×5 , or 150 shillings. I. e. a rent of 20 shillings instead of 10 as formerly. The poorest land, which bears no rent, must produce 26 bushels, for, in accordance with our foregoing assumption, the requisite price of these is 130 shillings and $26 \times 5 = 130$. If the improvement, i. e. the general progress of science, which goes hand in hand with the overall progress of society, growth of population, etc., is not so general as to enable the poorest land that must be brought under cultivation to produce 26 bushels, the price of corn cannot fall to 5 shillings a quarter.^a

As before, the 20 shillings rent is an expression of the difference between production costs and the price of corn on the best land, or between the production costs on the poorest and those on the best land. Relatively speaking, one piece of land is no less infertile by comparison with the other than before. But *fertility in general* has improved.

^a Presumably this should be 'bushel'.

All that is presupposed is that, if the price of corn falls from 7 to 5 shillings, consumption or demand increases correspondingly, or that productivity does not exceed the demand that may be expected when the price is 5 shillings. False though this hypothesis might be if the price had fallen from 7 to 5 as the result of an exceptionally abundant harvest, it is a necessary one where fertility has increased gradually and as a result of measures taken by the producers themselves. In any case, all we are concerned with here is the economic feasibility of this hypothesis.

From this it follows that:

1. Rent may rise although the price of agricultural produce falls, and yet *Ricardo's law still holds good*.

2. The law of rent, as laid down by Ricardo in its simplest form and leaving aside its exposition, does not presuppose the diminishing fertility of the land, but only—and this *despite the general increase in fertility that accompanies the development of society*—the *varying* fertility of fields or the varying results obtained by the capital successively employed on the same land.

3. The more general the improvement in the land, the greater the variety of the fields it will embrace, and the country's overall rental may rise, although there is a general fall in the price of corn. E. g., given the above example, it is simply a question of the number of fields producing over 26 bushels at 5 shillings without actually having to go as high as 30, i.e. of the extent to which the quality of the land varies as between the best and the poorest. This has nothing to do with the RATIO of rent of the best land. In fact it has nothing to do directly with the RATIO of rent at all.

As you know, the real joke where rent is concerned is that it is generated by evening out the price for the resultants of varying production costs, but that this law of market price is nothing other than the law of bourgeois competition. Even after the elimination of bourgeois production, however, there remains the snag that the soil would become relatively more infertile, that, with the same amount of labour, successively less would be achieved, although the best land would no longer, as under bourgeois rule, yield as dear a product as the poorest. The foregoing would do away with this objection.

I should like to have your views on the matter.

Having bored you with this muck, I am sending you by way of comic relief the enclosed bundle of letters from Dr *Magnus Gross* (doubly great Great! Greatest of the Great!) of Cincinnati.³⁴⁴ You will see that if Monsieur Gross is not *grand*, he is nevertheless

gros.^a Telling II *in nuce*.^b These Coblenzers are all alike!^c Send the things back to me with, if you have the time and the inclination, a line or two for Drönke.

Your
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 January 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith POST OFFICE ORDER for £1, PARTICULARS as before. My buyer^d—our clerk—having apparently paid out a great deal of late, seems anxious not to take too much money from the firm all at once. He is rather reluctant—I don't press him overmuch, *cela se conçoit*.^e I myself have been involved in very heavy outlays as a result of my trip to London,³⁴⁵ otherwise I would gladly send you the whole amount; as it is, I must for today confine myself to fulfilling the obligation of an ordinary CONSIGNEE and send you half the amount in part payment. The second half will follow—at the latest—in the early part of February, perhaps sooner; as soon, that is, as the firm sends my old man a letter containing the payments made to me.

Jones was up here and bearded his opponents at a PUBLIC MEETING in their own den.³⁴⁶ Leach and Donovan opposed him. The debate, however, wasn't quite what I had expected. Petty stratagems on both sides; much *chronique scandaleuse*^f which partly made up for the absence of some of London's amenities. On

^a Pun on the French words *grand* (great) and *gros* (big). - ^b in miniature -

^c Probably an allusion to the fact that Müller-Telling came from Coblenz. - ^d This presumably concerns the *Historischer und geographischer Atlas von Europa* belonging to Marx, who had instructed Engels to sell it. - ^e as is understandable - ^f tittle-tattle

Jones' part, superiority of rhetorical talent. Leach, on the other hand, tremendously IMPERTURBABLE but at times abysmally absurd. Donovan, a common, intriguing, local panjandrum. Jones, by the way, because of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*^a and my presence, was compelled to proclaim himself a RED REPUBLICAN and supporter of the NATIONALISATION OF LANDED PROPERTY, while Leach, on the other hand, took his stand as the wholehearted representative of the CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, insofar as they reject political agitation. These societies, incidentally, would now seem to be very numerous in Lancashire, and Jones and his friends are afraid that, if some sort of alliance were formed between them and the Chartists, they would gain control of the CHARTIST MOVEMENT. This circumstance explains many of the concessions Harney thought fit to make them.

The success of Jones' performance here was all that could be expected; he put forward as the point to be decided between himself and the Manchester CHARTIST COUNCIL the question of recognising the Executive in London; the votes were evenly divided, although Leach and Co. had had about 3 hours in which to fetch their people to the meeting and a crowd of them had duly turned up. At the beginning, when the company was simply a random gathering (Leach had counted on Jones' not arriving before 9 o'clock but, much to the former's chagrin, he was there as early as 8), Jones was given an enthusiastic reception.

When in the company of Chartists whom he wishes to win over or attach more closely to his person, Jones is by no means as naive as he is with us. HE IS VERY WIDE AWAKE. Perhaps a little too much so—at least, the likes of us 'notice the design'.^b

One of Harney's friends here is a boring Scotsman of infinite sensibilities and hence interminable speeches; a second is a small, resolute, aggressive lad, about whose intellectual capacity I have not yet made up my mind; a third, a man whom Harney did not mention to me, one Robertson, seems to me to be far and away the most intelligent. I shall try to start up a small club with these fellows, or organise regular meetings to discuss the *Manifesto*^c with them. Harney and Jones have a host of friends here, and O'Connor a host of hidden enemies but, until he makes a downright fool of himself in public, it won't be possible to bring about his—official—downfall here. At the meeting, by the way,

^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - ^b Goethe, *Torquato Tasso*, 3. Auszug, 1. Austritt. - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Jones referred to him and Reynolds with the scantest possible respect.

Recently my brother-in-law^a told me some good news concerning myself: my prospective American partner was in London and from a conversation between the two of them it transpired that I was not the man to be of use to his firm. Thus America is put off pretty well indefinitely, since no fresh plan can now be hatched without my consent.

Best regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 January 1851

Dear Engels,

You are *taciturne comme la mort*.^b Enclosed I send you 1) a statement by Oswald Dietz in the Basle *National-Zeitung* against Pfänder and Bauer,^c 2) a tattling article against us concocted by Mr A. Ruge in company with Struve and Willich.^d You must return the garbage to me within two days at the latest, telling me what action you think we should take against No. 2. If you would like to draft some sort of statement, send it along as well.

C. Schramm is going to issue his own statement.

What do you think of this *coup de maître*^e by Atta Troll^f and, entrenched behind him, that 'outstanding, resolute man, Struve',

^a Emil Blank - ^b silent as the grave - ^c O. Dietz: 'An die deutschen Arbeiter-Verein', *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, No. 5, 7 January 1851 (on the alleged appropriation of Educational Society funds by Heinrich Bauer and Carl Pfänder see this volume, pp. 245-46). - ^d A. Ruge, 'London, 13 January', *Bremer Tages-Chronik*, No. 474, 17 January 1851. - ^e master stroke - ^f Title character of Heine's satirical poem. Here meaning Arnold Ruge.

not to speak of the 'valiant Willich'. *C'est un peu fort.*^a I happened to light upon the paper at Bamberger's. Who else would either read or know of the *Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie?*

Bauer and Pfänder naturally won't answer and silence would, indeed, seem to be the most advisable course for them just now.

I have as yet had no news, either from Schabelitz, who wished to take over our *Revue*^b or from Becker, who was going to see to the publication of my essays.³⁴⁷ None of my approaches to Mr Schuberth have so far been of any avail. If Haupt can find a lawyer who will take over the case, he will bring an action against him.³⁴⁸

What are Mary and Lizzy^c doing? And above all you yourself? Harney was here one evening with Pieper, Eccarius, etc., and very gay, until his 'dear spouse'^d—'half drew she him, half sank he in'^e—carried him off almost by force.

Your
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Saturday [25 January 1851]

Dear Marx,

Je te trouve joli en me disant que je suis taciturne comme la mort.^f However, I'll refrain from making any further riposte.

The perfidy of that Pomeranian blackguard, Ruge, is crude beyond all measure.^g It would be the simplest if you were to draft

^a It's a bit too much. The words quoted are from Ruge's article. - ^b *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - ^c Sisters Mary and Lizzy Burns - ^d Mary - ^e Goethe, 'Der Fischer'. - ^f You're a fine one to tell me I'm silent as the grave. - ^g See this volume, p. 265.

a statement to be signed by us both.^a A few personal remarks could, if necessary, be appended in the form of notes and signed separately by each of us. I don't know whether I should add something on my own account, if only to say that, in my commercial employment, I have maintained complete independence and hence do not have to let myself be ordered by my 'principals', as Mr Ruge was by his superior Mazzini, despite all his earlier atheistic boasting,³⁴⁹ to append my signature to moving appeals to the *bon dieu*^b; and that I have adopted this LINE SO as not to fall into the necessity, congenial enough to other worthy gents held up to us as an example by Mr Ruge, namely, of living on democratic charity—or some such. Tell me if you think this is necessary.

The article, by the way, with its moral indignation and its monumental lies, provides splendid stuff for ridicule. It immediately puts one on the track of Ruge's intrigues. It's very natural that Mr Ruge and Mazzini's European Committee should be as incense in the nostrils of the worthy Reverend Dulon, and that Mazzini's sublime manifestos should find their only fertile soil in Germany among those wailing North German, Lower-Saxon democrats swimming in Bremen-concocted, belletristic, drivel-sauce. These gentlemen's Friendship of Light³⁵⁰ was bound to find desirable allies in Ronge-Mazzini and in the now once more god-fearing Ruge, while the honour of officially corresponding as the 'German Committee' with the greatest men of respectable European democracy must inevitably have made that malleable parson Dulon receptive to the worst scurrilities levelled against the 'frivolous' and godless folk of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Ruge, too, has only plucked up courage since coming to believe that the *Revue* is dead. But I think he is mistaken and will shortly bring down a pretty thunderstorm upon his ludicrous cranium.

Would it not be a good idea—since we cannot possibly raise a real shindy about this article or reply to it anywhere save in the *Tages-Chronik*^c—to have the aforesaid Dulon secretly worked upon by his friend, red Becker^d? After these scurrilities we can't even be sure that our reply will be accepted.

But it is clear as day that it was only Schramm's^e fatuous manner and the ill-considered prating which, to judge by this article, he indulged in at his brother's,^f that inspired these

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 27 January 1851.' - ^b Good Lord - ^c *Bremer Tages-Chronik* - ^d Hermann Becker - ^e Conrad Schramm - ^f Rudolf Schramm

jackasses with sufficient courage to vent themselves so vulgarly against us, the 'isolated and forsaken by all'. The fellow will now himself realise how base are the machinations whose tool he has become, and he must also realise that his stupidity harms himself more than others. The great Ruge doesn't even pay him the half-hearted court he pays to Telling. 'C. Schramm, not to be confused!'^a What's the fellow up to now? *Cette affaire est de peu d'importance.*^b Trumped-up and misconstrued tittle-tattle, clumsy and incomprehensible insinuations and moral bombast—*nous avons soutenu, Dieu merci, de bien autres charges!*^c The only unpleasantness is that the thing will upset your wife so much, which, as things are now, is undesirable.³⁵¹

Next week in *The Friend of the People* I shall duly take the European Committee to task and have already notified Harney.³⁵² I must stop now, as the office is just closing and it's nearly time for the post. More anon.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 January 1851

Dear Engels,

Enclosed you will find the statement for signature.^d There can be *no question of sending it* to Dulon, for Ruge has made himself *co-proprietor* of the *Bremer Chronik*.^e It must be sent to the

^a Ruge's article has: 'Conrad Schramm (not to be confused with the Berlin deputy Rudolf Schramm)...' - ^b The affair's of small significance. - ^c We have, God be praised, survived far worse accusations. - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 27 January 1851'. - ^e *Bremer Tages-Chronik*

conservative paper, the *Weser-Zeitung* in Bremen.³⁵³ Write to its editors when you send the statement; tell them to send us two copies to London, to my address, 28 Dean Street, at the same time informing us what the announcement will cost and how it is to be paid for. Don't forget, however, to prepay the letter.

Now, as it's nearly time for the post, no more than the following:

1. Did you forward to *Weerth* the letter³⁵⁴ which my wife sent with a few lines for you^a?

2. Did you get my letter in which I sent you *Dr Magnus Gross' scrawl*, etc., and to which I wanted to know your answer^b? If you haven't received it, *I beg you to complain to the Post Office at once*. I sent you this letter the day *after* I had received *yours*—*about a fortnight ago, that is*.

Write soon and tell me whether you approve of the statement.

Your
K. M.

I think it would be superfluous to add any special notes to the statement.

P.S.

You mustn't forget, either, to tell the Bremen editors, i.e. the editors of the *Weser-Zeitung*, to make sure they observe the right sequence, putting Schramm's^c statement *after*, and not *before* ours. Apropos! If you have really not received the 2 letters, write to me in *English*, after you yourself have made inquiries in Manchester, telling me how I should write to the Post-Master General. In my letter of a fortnight ago I apprised you of a new viewpoint about land rent^d on which I must have your opinion.

Your
K. M.

[From Wilhelm Pieper]

Dear Engels, I must inform you in haste that Marx is highly indignant at your complete silence on the subject of his new theory of land rent about which he recently wrote to you. Marx leads a very retired life, his only friends being John

^a See this volume, pp. 561-62. - ^b *ibid.*, pp. 262-63. - ^c Conrad Schramm - ^d See this volume, pp. 258-63.

Stuart Mill and Loyd, and whenever one goes to see him one is welcomed with economic categories in lieu of greetings.

On ne peut pas vivre qu'avec toi, après tout,^a and if one wishes to live uneconomically, as I love doing, I have to indulge my extravagance quietly, there being no longer anyone here for me to consort with. In between times I try to do some copying, and even sometimes do exercises in composition on my own account, but I still very much doubt whether I shall achieve anything worthwhile. I am glad to hear that you are in good spirits and shall before long find the time to write you something rather more coherent.

Cordial greetings,
W. Pieper

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ENGELS TO MARX²²⁰

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday evening,
29 January [1851]

Dear Marx,

Your silence and your astonishment at my silence became suddenly explicable to me when today my old witch of a landlady, AFTER SOME SHARP CROSS-EXAMINATION hunted out your letter of 7 inst. from among a pile of books in my room where it had been peacefully slumbering since 8 January.^b I happened to be out that evening, and this person had simply placed the letter on top of the books; later, when tidying up, she had in her haste put another book on top of it, and as that pile of books has remained untouched all this while, the letter might, without your reminder, have gone on slumbering there till Doomsday. Had I been studying Russian this month instead of physiology, this wouldn't have happened.

Anyhow, your new thing about land rent is absolutely right. The

^a After all, one cannot live with you alone. - ^b See this volume, pp. 258-63.

increasing infertility of the land concomitant with an ever-increasing population in Ricardo has always seemed to me implausible, nor have I ever been able to discover any evidence in support of his ever-rising price of corn, but with my notorious sloth *en fait de théorie*,^a I have silenced the inward grumbling of my better self and have never gone to the root of the matter. There can be no doubt that you have hit on the right solution, thereby entitling yourself afresh to the title of economist of land rent. If there were still right and justice on this earth, all land rents for at least a year would now be yours, and that would be the least which you could claim.

I have never really been able to accept Ricardo's simple proposition in which he represents land rent as the difference in the productivity of various types of land and, seeking to prove this proposition, 1) acknowledges no other factor than the bringing under cultivation of ever poorer types of soil, 2) completely ignores advances in agriculture and 3) finally abandons almost entirely the bringing under cultivation of poorer types of soil, and instead continually proceeds from the assumption that capital, employed successively on a particular field, contributes less and less to the increase in the yield. Convincing as was the proposition to be proved, the factors adduced in proof of that same proposition were wholly alien to it. You will remember that, in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, I already invoked the progress made by scientific agriculture as against the theory of increasing infertility^b—of course very CRUDE and not at all closely argued. You have now cleared up the matter, which is yet another reason why you must make haste to finish the *Economy* and get it published. If we could somehow get an article of yours on land rent into an English periodical, it would create a tremendous stir. Think it over. *Je me charge de la traduction*.^c

Enclosed I return Mr Great-Gross.^d In my next I shall include a line or two for the delectable Dronke, but tonight I'm too sleepy to do any more work. A fine band of scallywags, Gross, Wilhelmi, and the progressive pamphleteer from Cincinnati!^e The fellows must really imagine that we're on our physical, moral and intellectual beam ends to ask such things of us.³⁴⁴ *C'est amusant, cependant*,^f and I laughed heartily at these backwoods saviours of society and their proposals, including fee for Dronke. Dr Siegfried

^a in matters of theory - ^b F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'. -

^c I will attend to the translation. - ^d See this volume, pp. 262-63. - ^e L. A. Hine -

^f It's amusing, however

Weiss' 'sharp and spicy'³⁵⁵ is OUTDONE by the 'red, piquant, sarcastic and versatile' of the 'Adonis of a long-forgotten Beauty'. *Que Dieu le bénisse!*^a

Tomorrow the statements will go off to Bremen together with the necessary instructions.^b Mr Schramm^c might really have rewritten his; it's so wretchedly scrawled that it will probably give rise to misunderstanding.

The O'Connor conference here has turned out to be sheer humbug.³⁵⁶ Ostensibly representing the whole of English Chartism, it consists of 8 men who represent 4 towns: Manchester, Bradford, Warrington and Sowerby. Of these, Warrington and Bradford belong to the opposition and see eye to eye with the Executive. Mantle, the Warrington representative, who doesn't give a fig for the majority, opened the PROCEEDINGS with the motion that the conference, SEEING THEIR UTTER INSIGNIFICANCE AND CONTEMPTIBILITY, should resolve to go home forthwith, and tomorrow he will extort from them a vote of confidence for the Executive, i.e. for Harney and Jones, from which O'Connor will be unable to abstain. On the question of union with the FINANCIAL REFORMERS²⁸⁴ 3 voted for and 2 against, 3 abstaining, among them O'Connor, whom Mantle had unfortunately intimidated by his insolent conduct; otherwise the fellow would have voted in favour, thereby making a colossal and irretrievable fool of himself. At the conference O'Connor, Leach, McGrath, Clark and a certain Hurst formed the majority. At a dinner given for O'Connor on Monday, Mr Thomas Clark proposed the following toast: THE QUEEN: HER RIGHTS AND NO MORE; THE PEOPLE: THEIR RIGHTS AND NO LESS. Here again Mantle, a fiery, undiplomatic hot-head, stopped O'Connor from getting up and drinking the toast.

The letter to Weerth^d has gone off and should be in his hands within a few days, provided he isn't buried in the heart of Morocco.

No more for today.

Your
F. E.

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^a May God bless him! - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement. 27 January 1851' (see also this volume, p. 267). - ^c Conrad Schramm - ^d See this volume, p. 269

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MARX TO HERMANN BECKER³⁵⁷

IN COLOGNE

[London, about 1 February 1851]

...You would very greatly oblige me by sending me Willich's letters.^a Partly because we here by the rivers of Babylon^b should also be vouchsafed a share of your Homeric laughter. And on the other hand because the man is exploiting the 'alleged' connection in order to brag in front of foreigners and, at the same time, make denunciations. Finally I feel it necessary that you should convey a note to him, either through me or direct, in which you most politely decline further correspondence on the grounds that, while humour may not greatly endanger him in London, for you in Cologne—and not for you alone but, by way of repercussion, for our party comrades in Germany—its effects may be dire. And what could be more ominous and at the same time more absurd than to be nailed to the cross as a result of a trick played through some mere whim of the 'carpenter's'³⁵⁸...

First published in *Anklageschrift gegen P. G. Roeser, J. H. G. Bürgers, P. Nohjung, W. J. Reiff, H. H. Becker, R. Daniels, C. W. Otto, A. Jacobi, J. J. Klein, F. Freiligrath*, Cologne, 1852

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 February 1851

Dear Engels,

Is it on Mary^c you're studying physiology, or elsewhere? If the first, I can understand that this *n'est pas de l'hébreux*,^d nor even *Russian*.

^a See this volume, pp. 282, 284. - ^b Psalms 137:1 - ^c Mary Burns - ^d isn't *Hebrew*

Up till now all that my new theory of rent has yielded is the commendable state of mind to which every worthy man necessarily aspires. However, I am at least satisfied that you should be satisfied with it. An inverse relationship of the fertility of the soil to human fertility must needs deeply affect a strong-loined paterfamilias like myself, the more so since *mon mariage est plus productif que mon industrie*.^a

I shall now submit to you just one illustration of the CURRENCY theory, my study of which might be described by Hegelians as a study of 'otherness', of the 'alien', in short of the 'holy'.

The theory of Mr Loyd and *tutti frutti*,^b from Ricardo onwards, consists in the following:

Let us assume that we have a purely metallic CURRENCY. If there were too much of it here, prices would rise and hence the export of commodities decrease. Their import from abroad into this country would increase. Thus IMPORTS would rise above EXPORTS. Hence an unfavourable balance of trade. An unfavourable rate of exchange. Hard cash would be exported, the CURRENCY would shrink, the prices of commodities would fall, IMPORTS decrease, EXPORTS increase, money flow back again; in short, the SITUATION would attain its former equilibrium.

In the converse case likewise, *mutatis mutandis*.

The moral of this: since paper money must imitate the movement of METALLIC CURRENCY, and since artificial regulation must here take the place of what, in the other case, is natural law, the Bank of England must increase its paper issues if BULLION flows in (e.g. by the purchase of GOVERNMENT SECURITIES, EXCHEQUER BILLS, etc.) and reduce it by the reduction of discounts, or by the sale of government paper, if BULLION decreases. However I contend that the Bank should take the opposite course and *increase* its discounts if BULLION *decreases* and let them take their normal course if it increases. Upon pain of unnecessarily intensifying the impending commercial crisis. However, more of that *une autre fois*.^c

What I wish to elucidate here goes to the basic principles of the matter. For my contention is that, *even with a purely metallic CURRENCY, the quantity thereof, its expansion or contraction, has nothing to do with the outflow and inflow of precious metals, with the favourable or*

^a my marriage is more productive than my industry. - ^b all sorts of others - ^c some other time

unfavourable balance of trade, with the favourable or unfavourable rate of exchange, except in the most extreme cases, which practically never occur but are theoretically determinable. The same contention is made by Tooke, but I have found no proof of it in his History of Prices for 1843-47.

As you can see, it's an important matter. Firstly, the whole theory of circulation is denied in its very fundamentals. Secondly, it is shown that the progress of crises, even though the *credit system* be a condition of the same, is concerned with *CURRENCY* only in so far as crackbrained meddling by the authorities in its regulation may aggravate an existing crisis, as in 1847.

Note that in the following illustration it is assumed: The *inflow* of *BULLION* goes hand in hand with flourishing trade, prices not yet high but rising, a surplus of capital, *EXCESS OF EXPORTS OVER IMPORTS*. The outflow of gold vice versa, *mutatis mutandis*. Now this is the assumption of those against whom the polemic is directed. They cannot gainsay it. In reality there may be 1,001 cases in which there is an outflow of gold, although the prices of other commodities in the country exporting it are far lower than in those to which the gold is being sent, e.g. as in England in 1809-11 and 1812, etc., etc. Yet the *general assumption* is, firstly, right in *abstracto* and, secondly, accepted by the *CURRENCY* chaps.³⁵⁹ Hence not to be debated here for the time being.

Let us assume, then, that a *purely metallic CURRENCY* is in circulation *in England*. But that does not presuppose that the *credit system* has ceased. Rather, the Bank of England would turn itself into both a *deposit* and *lending bank*. Save that its loans would consist simply in cash. If this assumption were to be rejected, what appears here as a *DEPOSIT of the Bank of England* would appear as *HOARDS of private individuals* and the loans of the Bank as loans of private individuals. Thus, *in this context, the term Bank of England DEPOSITS* is simply an *abbreviation, to present the process, not in fragmented form, but concentrated in a FOCUS*.

Case I. *Influx of BULLION*. Here the matter is very simple. A great deal of idle capital, hence increase in deposits. In order to make use of them the Bank would lower its *rate of interest*. Hence, expansion of business in the country. The *circulation* would *only* rise if business increased to the extent that additional *CURRENCY* was required to conduct it. Otherwise the surplus *CURRENCY* issued would flow back into the Bank as *DEPOSITS*, etc., as a result of maturing bills, etc. Thus *CURRENCY* does not act here as a *cause*. Its increase is ultimately the *consequence* of a greater amount of capital put to use, not vice versa. (Hence, in the case under discussion, the *first*

consequence would be *growth of DEPOSITS*, i.e. of idle capital, not of circulation.)

Case II. This is where the matter really begins. *EXPORT of BULLION* is assumed. Beginning of a period of *PRESSURE*. Unfavourable rate of exchange. At the same time a poor harvest, etc. (or else dearer raw materials for industry) necessitate ever larger imports of commodities. Suppose that the accounts of the Bank of England at the beginning of such a period appear as follows:

a) CAPITAL	£14,500,000	GOVERNMENT SECURITIES	£10,000,000
REST	£ 3,500,000	BILLS OF EXCHANGE	£12,000,000
DEPOSITS	£12,000,000	BULLION OR COIN	£ 8,000,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£30,000,000		£30,000,000

The Bank is in debt, since *it has been assumed* that no *notes* exist, only the 12 millions of *DEPOSITS*. According to its principle (in common with the *DEPOSIT* and circulation banks, only a third of its *LIABILITIES* have to be *IN CASH*), its 8 millions of *BULLION* is too large by half. To make more profit it *lowers the interest rate* and raises its *DISCOUNTS*, e.g. by 4 millions, which are exported for corn, etc. The Bank's accounts then appear as follows:

b) CAPITAL	£14,500,000	GOVERNMENT SECURITIES	£10,000,000
REST	£ 3,500,000	BILLS OF EXCHANGE	£16,000,000
DEPOSITS	£12,000,000	BULLION OR COIN	£ 4,000,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£30,000,000		£30,000,000

From these *FIGURES* it follows that:

Merchants, as soon as they have to export *gold*, act *first* upon the *Bank's BULLION RESERVE*. The gold thus exported *diminishes* its (the Bank's) reserve without having the slightest effect on the *CURRENCY*. Whether the 4 millions are in its cellars or aboard a ship bound for Hamburg is *all the same* so far as the *CURRENCY* is concerned. It finally becomes evident that a significant *DRAIN* of *BULLION*, in this case £4 millions sterling, can take place without in any way affecting either the *CURRENCY* or the business of the country in general. Throughout the whole period, that is, during which the *BULLION RESERVE*, which was *too large* in relation to *LIABILITIES*, is being reduced to no more than its *DUE PROPORTION* to the same.

c) But let us suppose that the circumstances which necessitated the *DRAIN* of 4 millions continue, shortage of corn, rise in the price of raw cotton, etc. The Bank grows concerned about its security. It

raises the interest rate and limits its DISCOUNTS. Hence, PRESSURE in the world of commerce. What effect does this PRESSURE have? Withdrawals are made from the Bank's DEPOSITS, its BULLION falls proportionately. Should the DEPOSITS fall to 9 millions, i.e. be reduced by 3 millions, those 3 millions must come from the Bank's BULLION reserve. This would therefore fall (4 millions – 3 millions) to 1 million against DEPOSITS of 9 millions, a proportion which would be dangerous to the Bank. If, then, the Bank wishes to maintain its BULLION RESERVE at one third of the DEPOSITS, it will diminish its DISCOUNTS by 2 millions.

The accounts would then appear as follows:

CAPITAL	£14,500,000	GOVERNMENT SECURITIES	£10,000,000
REST	£ 3,500,000	BILLS UNDER DISCOUNT	£14,000,000
DEPOSITS	£ 9,000,000	BULLION OR COIN	£ 3,000,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£27,000,000		£27,000,000

It follows that, as soon as the DRAIN becomes so great that the BULLION RESERVE teaches its DUE PROPORTION in relation to DEPOSITS, the Bank will raise the interest rate and reduce the DISCOUNTS. But then the DEPOSITS begin to be affected and, as a result of their decrease, the BULLION RESERVE decreases but so, to an even greater extent, does the DISCOUNT of BILLS. The CURRENCY is not in the least affected. A portion of the BULLION and DEPOSITS withdrawn fills the vacuum which the contraction of the Bank's accommodation creates in the circulation at home, while another portion finds its way abroad.

d) Supposing that imports of corn, etc., continue and the DEPOSITS sink to 4,500,000, the Bank, in order to maintain the necessary reserve against its LIABILITIES, would reduce its DISCOUNTS by a further 3 millions, and the accounts would appear as follows:

CAPITAL	£14,500,000	GOVERNMENT SECURITIES	£10,000,000
REST	£ 3,500,000	BILLS UNDER DISCOUNT	£11,000,000
DEPOSITS	£ 4,500,000	BULLION OR COIN	£ 1,500,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£22,500,000		£22,500,000

On this assumption the Bank would have reduced its DISCOUNTS from 16 to 11 millions, that is, by 5 millions. The necessary requirements of the circulation replaced by the DEPOSITS withdrawn. But simultaneously shortage of capital, rise in the price of raw materials, decrease of demand, hence of business activity, hence

ultimately of the circulation, of the necessary *CURRENCY*. The surplus portion of the same would be sent abroad in the form of *BULLION* to pay for imports. The *CURRENCY* is *the last* to be affected, and it would only be *reduced* to less than the necessary quantity should the *BULLION RESERVE* fall below the minimal proportion to *DEPOSITS*.

With regard to the above, it should also be noted that:

1. Instead of reducing its *DISCOUNTS*, the Bank could dispose of its *PUBLIC SECURITIES*, which, on this assumption, would be unprofitable. However same result. Instead of reducing its *OWN RESERVE* and *DISCOUNTS*, it would reduce those of private persons who put their money in *PUBLIC SECURITIES*.

2. I have assumed here a *DRAIN* of 6,500,000 on the Bank. In 1839 there was one of 9-10 millions.

3. The process assumed in the case of a purely *METALLIC CURRENCY* can lead, as with paper, to a closure of the till, as happened twice in Hamburg in the eighteenth century.

Write soon.

Your
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX²²⁰

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 February 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith the remaining £1 for the atlas,^a which I was unfortunately not able to send you sooner.

Tell Harney when you see him that by the end of this week he will receive at the very least the 1st half of a series of articles on *CONTINENTAL DEMOCRACY*³⁵²—the articles so arranged that each one of

^a *Historischer und geographischer Atlas von Europa* (see this volume, pp. 263, 301).

them will not fill more than 2-2½ columns in his *Friend of the People*. I shall use the above as a pretext for crying down the whole democratic establishment and rendering it suspect to the English proletariat by putting it—Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, etc. included—on the same footing as the FINANCIAL REFORMERS.²⁸⁴ The European Committee WILL CATCH IT NICELY. These gentry will be dealt with one by one, Mazzini's writings, Ledru-Rollin's splendid acts of heroism in February-June 1848—not, of course, forgetting Mr Ruge. I shall make it quite plain to the Italians, Poles and Hungarians that they are to keep their traps shut on all current issues. This business of the hoax Harney is perpetrating with Mazzini & Co.'s begging letters is really going too far and, since there's no other way of reforming him, I shall be obliged to expose in his own journal the fatuity and baseness of these fellows and to unveil the mysteries of continental democracy for the benefit of the English Chartists. A detailed polemical article is always more salutary in Harney's case than any amount of debate. Unfortunately I have damned little material here.

What I have at the moment is *Sarrans jeune*,^a *Lafayette et la révolution de Juillet*. If I could find a few more sources, I could do an article for our *Revue* on the July Revolution and subsequent events up till the February Revolution, at the same time subjecting the *Histoire de dix ans*^b to a friendly criticism. These '10 ans' have remained largely unchallenged by advanced opinion and, in Germany as in France, constitute a very important formative element in the revolutionary party as a whole. It would do no harm, I think, to reduce the influence of this book to the appropriate limits; hitherto it has been an uncontested authority.

Mr Russell, the craven cur, has made a splendid fool of himself yet again. First he breathes fire and brimstone against PAPAL AGGRESSION,³⁶⁰ then, realising that the MANCHESTER MEN have absolutely no intention of getting embroiled in the mummery, he is brought to bed of an heroic measure, namely wanting to ban the use of English titles by Catholic bishops. And then the nice hint, dropped at his behest by Mr Peto, that it would indeed have been desirable to extend the franchise during the present session, but since LAW-REFORM came next on the agenda, the franchise would have to be postponed till next year! A prime example of Whig logic. The MPs, by the way, are very captious and unsure of themselves, with

^a the Younger - ^b L. Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans. 1830-1840*.

elections in the offing; they have to make liberal or protectionist FLOURISHES and, but for the fact that the EXHIBITION^a happens to coincide with the most lively period of the session's *grande politique*,^b things might go ill with the little manikin.^c And even so, *qui sait*.^d

In general the daily political bread is growing ever drier. The happy situation in which *la belle France* now delights is, indeed, edifying. For there is no denying that Messieurs the Burgraves³⁶¹ are becoming less and less representative of the bourgeois fraction or rather, that the bourgeoisie is moving further and further away from its erstwhile Legitimist and Orleanist leaders. First, the important minority in favour of Baroche at the session in which he was unseated by the coalition, a minority which also consisted of a great many non-Bonapartists, former Orleanists, etc., etc.; next the unmistakable mood of the conservative bourgeoisie *en masse*, which is far more favourable to Napoleon than hitherto. The mass of these fellows are now resolutely opposed to Orleanist no less than to Legitimist plots for a restoration; *les solutions les embêtent*,^e and what they want is the daily round of the presidential present. The fellows are neither royalist, nor republican, nor imperialist, but presidential; but the best thing about it is that such delicious indecision is possible only in the mass, and that anyone who wished to make his mark as official representative of this tendency would, within six months, find himself compelled to abandon his neutrality in favour of a definite royalist or imperialist fraction. By the way, the only French papers I have here are the *Débats* and the *Charivari* which, sad to say, *grâce à l'esprit exquis du peuple dans ces parages*,^f is coming to seem almost witty again.

From a stupid Hungarian refugee whom I recently happened upon, I heard that this noble breed are once again jabbering about murder plots and riots on the occasion of the GREAT EXHIBITION. Amidst the din I seemed almost to detect the heroic voices of those London hotspurs, Willich and Barthélemy. There's really no getting away from the creatures; recently a fellow accosted me in the street and lo, it was a Great Windmill Street refugee³³¹ now employed in Liverpool. 'If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea',^g I shall not escape that band.

^a The Great Exhibition held in London in May-October 1851. - ^b high politics - ^c John Russell - ^d who knows - ^e the solutions annoy them - ^f thanks to the exquisite wit of the people hereabouts - ^g Psalms 139:9

The FREE TRADERS here are exploiting the prosperity or semi-prosperity to buy the proletariat, with John Watts for broker. You will be familiar with Cobden's new plan: a NATIONAL FREE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION for the purpose of putting through a BILL by which the TOWNSHIPS would be authorised to impose local taxes for the building of schools. The thing is being splendidly promoted. In addition, Salford already has a FREE LIBRARY and museum—lending library and reading room gratis. In Manchester the Hall of Science was purchased—and here, as the Lord Mayor of Manchester most graciously acknowledged, Watts really was the broker—by a committee out of the proceeds of public collections (some £7,000 in all) and is to be turned into a FREE LIBRARY. The thing is to be opened at the end of July—with 14,000 VOLUMES TO BEGIN WITH. All the meetings and assemblies held for this purpose resound with praise for the workers, and in particular for the good, modest, helpful Watts who is now on the best of terms with the Bishop of Manchester. I am already looking forward to the indignant uproar over the workers' ingratitude which will break out on all sides when the first SHOCK makes itself felt.

Not long ago my worthy pater wrote me a pleasant letter expressing the wish that I remain here indefinitely, that is, for as long as the trouble with the Ermens lasts (and that might mean until 1854). Very agreeable to me, of course, *s'il me paie bien mon ennui*.^a Of this, naturally, I give no hint, but 'sacrifice' myself for the 'firm' and express my readiness 'to remain here for the time being and see how circumstances develop'. He's coming over next summer, and I shall then try to make myself so indispensable to him that he will have to agree to anything.

Kind regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

PARTICULARS on the POST OFFICE ORDER as before.

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^a provided he pays me well for my boredom

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MARX TO HERMANN BECKER³⁵⁷

IN COLOGNE

[London,] 8 February 1851

...apropos! Willich and Schapper in company with Barthélemy, etc., have, by monstrous bragging about their influence in Germany and by monstrous calumnies against ourselves, at long last succeeded in bamboozling Louis Blanc to such an extent that he has combined with this 'scum' to arrange a banquet for February and, in concert with same, has issued a programme of festivities along with a kind of manifesto. The little man walked into the trap out of vanity, so as to show Ledru-Rollin that he, too, could wag a German-French-Polish-Hungarian tail. Now the business is *en pleine déroute*^a again and the little man suspects that he has compromised himself for nothing and has committed a fruitless piece of perfidy against ourselves who, since 1843, have maintained a kind of lukewarm alliance with him.

But do you know what Willich impresses strangers^b by most? His *tremendous influence in Cologne*. Hence it is all the more necessary for you to send me the letters,^c so that a dyke can be thrown up against the 'carpenter's'³⁵⁸ machinations. Adieu....

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^a in utter disarray - ^b The indictment has *Freunden* (friends) instead of *Fremden* (strangers). Later Becker himself expressed the opinion that this change had been made arbitrarily by those who drew up the indictment. - ^c See this volume, pp. 273, 284.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 February 1851

28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

When you wrote saying that it would soon be time to attack Louis Blanc, you were a *clairvoyant*, to say the least.

Now hearken to the following story:

A few days or perhaps a week ago, I ran into Landolphe and, from the embarrassed way in which he greeted me and my wife, noted that there was something 'rotten' in the state^a of our *ami chevaleresque*,^b our Bayard of the Montagne.²⁶⁰ *Eh bien!*^c Landolphe and Louis Blanc have joined up with the Willich-Schapper committee, from which Mr Adam has resigned! And only a fortnight previously Landolphe had been raving and ranting about Barthélemy and I had been telling him about the affair of Messrs Willich and Schapper. *Qu'en dis-tu?*^d Not a word from these worthies to apprise me of it.

The nub of the matter is as follows:

On 24 February Church Street³⁶² are holding a banquet to which they have invited Blanc and Ledru-Rollin and, among others, Landolphe. Louis Blanc, anxious to show Ledru-Rollin that he too has a cosmopolitan committee behind him, and to punish Church Street for treating him and Ledru as 'of equal importance', rallied his army from Great Windmill Street³³¹ and from the pub where the feckless Poles foregather.

Encore un coup! Qu'en dis-tu?^e

A few days ago Church Street received a printed circular (combining a *manifesto*) with an invitation to a monster banquet on 24 February, and signed *primo*^f Landolphe and, immediately after, Schapper, L. Blanc. Intense indignation in Church Street! Intense delight in Great Windmill Street!

In the circular-manifesto Louis Blanc does not speak in the name of a nation, but in the name and on behalf of the eternal formula: *liberté, égalité, fraternité!* The only fly in the ointment so

^a Cf. 'Something is rotten in the state of Denmark', Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 4. - ^b chivalrous friend - ^c Well now! - ^d What do you say to that? - ^e Yet another coup! What do you say to that? - ^f first

far as I'm concerned is that I still owe Landolphe £1.10s. which ought now to be sent him forthwith through Wolff.^a

You can easily imagine how greatly Willich and Schapper have grown in their own esteem and how they fancy us beaten!

But we'll beat them in a different sense. We are well on the way to driving Corporal and Carpenter Willich³⁵⁸ *mad, literaliter*^b mad.

You will recall the letter written to Willich by Schramm on Becker's behalf,^c in which he offered him military dictatorship, abolished the press, and cast mild aspersions on Schapper's moral character.

Eh bien! Willich, the uneducated, four times cuckolded jackass, fell into the trap. He has been bombarding Becker with letters, already has an envoy awaiting dispatch, treats Schapper *de haut en bas*,^d ignores, insults and intrigues against that worthy man in every possible manner, has already adopted the overbearing manner of a Cromwell II, has grown irascible, no longer tolerates contradiction, and has entrusted Becker with the task of starting a revolution in Cologne, after which he declares himself ready to assume the supreme leadership.

A short time ago, while in company, he suddenly jumped up shouting that his letters from Paris and Cologne had not yet arrived—it was on the occasion of the last French ministerial crisis—complained that his (stupid head) was in a whirl, whirl, whirl, dashed off to Bond Street and had a bucket of water poured over it. I now have a showerbath prepared for him which should have quite the opposite effect. In a few days' time Becker is going to let me have Willich's letters and then I shall spring the mine.

A fresh swarm of democratic scallywags here, Frenchmen driven out of Brussels, Heise from Cassel, Oppenheim from Brussels, Günther from Frankfurt, etc. Fortunately, however, I have seen none of the latter.

You did receive my last letter, didn't you?

Your
K. M.

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^a Ferdinand Wolff - ^b literally - ^c Hermann Becker - ^d superciliously

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MARX TO ENGELS⁴³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 February 1851

Dear Engels,

Iterum Crispinus!^a

I have just learned that there was a meeting earlier this evening in the Tottenham Court Road in honour of the late *Bem.* On the platform were: *Chairman* Schapper, etc., Louis Blanc and the remaining members of the new League of Peoples Committee. In one of the front rows of the auditorium sat Harney and wife. The bulk of those present were from Great Windmill Street.³³¹ Applause greeted Schapper's inevitable speech, 'WAR TO THE KNIFE', delivered in English. Louis Blanc spoke no better. *Vive la guerre!*^b *Tausenau*, also present, spoke about *Bem.* *Harney* delivered a long and, they say, good harangue in which he finally hailed Blanqui, Barbès and, last of all, Louis Blanc, as the socialist Messiah.

Qu'en dis-tu?^c

Suppose you attended a meeting presided over by *Th. Clark* Esq., and it was your presence and your speeches alone that *lent* any real weight to the meeting, would friend Harney regard that as loyal?

Not content, then, with boosting Ruge in his *Friend of the People*, he must needs indirectly boost Schapper-Willich as well.

Last Sunday he sent for me. The purpose being to persuade Jones to accept the title, 'Friend of the People'. I didn't go. If that's what he wants, let him turn to L. Blanc, Landolphe, Schapper or Willich. I am *fatigué*^d of this public incense so tirelessly used by Harney to fill the nostrils of *les petits grands hommes*.^e

Apart from this accident, namely, that you, too, Brutus (*Harney*), if you don't take sides against us at least play the neutral, while Engels does his best for you in Manchester, *Eccarius*^f writes for your paper³⁶³ and I occasionally work on

^a *Ecce iterum Crispinus* (Behold, this Crispinus again). Juvenal, *Satirae*, IV, 1 (figuratively: the same again) - ^b Hurrah for war! - ^c What do you say to that? - ^d tired - ^e the petty panjandrums - ^f Johann Georg Eccarius

Jones for you—apart from that, I am greatly pleased by the public, authentic isolation in which we two, you and I, now find ourselves. It is wholly in accord with our attitude and our principles. The system of mutual concessions, half-measures tolerated for decency's sake, and the obligation to bear one's share of public ridicule in the party along with all these jackasses, all this is now over.

Now, I'd appreciate an early answer to this note, too. I hardly see anyone here save Pieper and live in complete retirement. So you'll realise that I miss you all the more and feel the need to talk things over with you.

You'll see from tomorrow's newspapers that the grant was rejected by a majority of 102 votes.³⁶⁴

Your
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday [12 February 1851]

Dear Marx,

I have just found your letter at home and am at once writing by today's post to tell you that by the end of this or the beginning of next week at the latest, I shall somehow arrange to send you the £1.10s. for Landolphe so that this business, which must be protracted no longer, is settled once and for all.^a *Notre ami*^b Landolphe has once again shown what an old woman he is, while the fatuous vanity of the hyperclever L. Blanc is taking such a

^a See this volume, p. 284. - ^b Our friend

turn as to brand the sublime dwarf a fool pure and simple. *C'est bien.*^a One comes to realise more and more that emigration is an institution which inevitably turns a man into a fool, an ass and a base rascal unless he withdraws wholly therefrom, and unless he is content to be an independent writer who doesn't give a tinker's curse for the so-called revolutionary party. It is a real SCHOOL OF SCANDAL AND MEANNESS in which the hindmost donkey becomes the foremost saviour of his country. At any rate the little popularity-monger will atone for it once we have a press organ again. As you know, I have none of my papers with me here, so I'd like you to suggest a few more sources on French affairs between 1830 and 1848 which you may happen to know about, and I shall endeavour to shovel coals of fire, at least in a literary sense, under the worthy pretender's backside. At all events, in my articles in *The Friend of the People*, I shall call on him to publish—provided you have no objection, since it was you to whom he told the story—the information given him by Mr Mazzini concerning the character of the European Central Committee and its attitude towards socialists and communists, and shall make such allusions as are necessary for this to be understood.³⁵² *Pourquoi nous gênerions-nous?*^b

Today Harney will be getting 3 articles by way of introduction, pretty lengthy, a gentle hint dropped here and there. The awkward part of it is that it's difficult to attack Ledru & Co., without at least partially identifying oneself with the Willich-Barthélemy clique in the eyes of the English proletariat and Harney's readers. Ultimately the only way out will be to devote a few special articles to that clique. Not, however, in the first 3 articles, which have been written for Harney's benefit, to PUT HIM IN THE RIGHT TRACK, rather than for any other purpose. But in numbers 4-9 Ledru, Mazzini, Ruge, etc., etc., will be attacked in rapid succession and in as direct and personal a manner as possible.

The Willich affair is *impayable*.^c *Only do make sure that you get hold of the letters.*^d I'd like to witness the moral indignation when the bomb goes off. It would seem that for some time past you've again had good spies in Great Windmill Street³⁵¹; *cela ne fait pas de mal*^e and at least provides some entertainment. I confess I could never have thought the fellow so stupid. He will, incidentally, be well and truly on fire now that the Prussian ministerial press is holding

^a Well and good. - ^b Why should we make any bones about it? - ^c priceless - ^d See this volume, p. 284. - ^e that does no harm

out the prospect of war with Switzerland and the reserve guardsmen—as they were informed on parade—are being kept under arms for that very reason.³⁶⁵ The governments of the Holy Alliance²⁷¹ are playing into the hands of these fantastic idiots in a truly irresponsible way and, were it not for Palmerston, the next ‘emancipation of general stupidity’ might well see the light of day six months prematurely.

Your latest economic discovery is at present being subjected to my most earnest scrutiny. I have no time today to go into it further, but the thing seems to me to be absolutely right. But figures are not to be trifled with and I am therefore considering the matter in detail.

Quelle bête que ce Louis-Napoléon!^a He sells his doubts about the electoral law to the assembly, and himself to Montalembert, for 1,800,000 fr. which in the end he does not get after all.³⁶⁶ There’s nothing you can do with an adventurer of this stamp. If, for the space of four weeks, he allows himself to be guided by ingenious intriguers, you may be quite sure that, come the fifth, he will in the most fatuous fashion bring to nought all that has been accomplished. *Aut Caesar aut Clichy!*^b

Not long ago we inaugurated a new CHARTIST LOCALITY here. These English are far less conscientious than we honest, timid Germans in the matter of democratic forms. There were thirteen of us, and it was immediately resolved to elect a COUNCIL of thirteen members, namely those present. Thereupon each man proposed one of those present and, in place of myself, since I, of course, refused, one who was absent and, in less than five minutes, these PRIVATE GENTLEMEN had turned themselves into a COUNCIL, and yet each one of them had been elected, and this COMICAL PROCEEDING PASSED OFF VERY SERIOUSLY AND AS A MATTER OF COURSE. What will come of this business I shall see ere long. For today, *prosit!*^c

Your
F. E.

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^a What an idiot Louis Napoleon is! - ^b Either Caesar or Clichy (Clichy—a debt prison in Paris): paraphrase of ‘Aut Caesar aut nihil’ (either Caesar or nothing), a motto of the fifteenth-century Italian politician, Cesare Borgia. - ^c your health

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 13 February 1851

Dear Marx,

I had been more or less expecting this business with Harney.^a I saw the notice of the Bem meeting in *The Friend of the People*,^b which stated that the Germans, French, Poles and Hungarians, as well as the FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS¹²² would be taking part, and it was quite clear that these could be none other than Great Windmill Street³³¹ & Co. I forgot to draw your attention to this announcement before. There's no possibility of my pursuing the matter any further today. But tomorrow I shall write a letter to Harney in which I shall tell him not to print the manuscript I sent him, as I shall not be providing a sequel,³⁶⁷ and in which I shall at the same time explain the whole business to him in detail. If this letter is of no avail, the whole rigmarole will have to be dropped until Mr Harney returns of his own accord, which will happen very soon. I have a very strong suspicion that he will be up here shortly and then I shall duly take him to task. It's about time he realised that we're in earnest with him, too. At any rate, so as to save time and avoid writing twice I shall send the letter to you to be passed on to him as quickly as possible once you've read it.

Personally I find this inanity and want of tact on Harney's part more irritating than anything else. But *au fond*^c it is of little moment.

At long last we again have the opportunity—the first time in ages—to show that we need neither popularity, nor the SUPPORT of any party in any country, and that our position is completely independent of such ludicrous trifles. From now on we are only answerable for ourselves and, come the time when these gentry need us, we shall be in a position to dictate our own terms. Until then we shall at least have some peace and quiet. A measure of loneliness, too, of course—*mon Dieu*, I've already had a 3 months' spell of that in Manchester and have grown used to it, and this,

^a See this volume, p. 285. - ^b 'Honour to General Bem, the Patriot and Hero', *The Friend of the People*, No. 9, 8 February 1851. - ^c basically

moreover, as a BACHELOR, which here, at any rate, is excessively boring. Besides we have no real grounds for complaint if we are shunned by the *petits grands hommes*^a; haven't we been acting for years as though Cherethites and Plethites^b were our party when, in fact, we had no party, and when the people whom we considered as belonging to our party, at least officially, *sous réserve de les appeler des bêtes incorrigibles entre nous*,^c didn't even understand the rudiments of our stuff? How can people like us, who shun official appointments like the plague, fit into a 'party'? And what have we, who spit on popularity, who don't know what to make of ourselves if we show signs of growing popular, to do with a 'party', i.e. a herd of jackasses who swear by us because they think we're of the same kidney as they? Truly, it is no loss if we are no longer held to be the 'right and adequate expression' of the ignorant curs with whom we have been thrown together over the past few years.

A revolution is a purely natural phenomenon which is subject to physical laws rather than to the rules that determine the development of society in ordinary times. Or rather, in revolution these rules assume a much more physical character, the material force of necessity makes itself more strongly felt. And as soon as one steps forward as the representative of a party, one is dragged into this whirlpool of irresistible natural necessity. By the mere fact of keeping oneself INDEPENDENT, being *in the nature of things* more revolutionary than the others, one is able at least for a time to maintain one's independence from this whirlpool, although one does, of course, end up by being dragged into it.

This is the position we can and must adopt on the next occasion. Not only no official *government* appointments but also, and for as long as possible, no official *party* appointments, no seat on committees, etc., no responsibility for jackasses, merciless criticism of everyone, and, besides, that serenity of which all the conspiracies of blockheads cannot deprive us. And this much we are able to do. We can always, in the nature of things, be more revolutionary than the phrase-mongers because we have learnt our lesson and they have not, because we know what we want and they do not, and BECAUSE, AFTER WHAT WE HAVE SEEN FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS, WE SHALL TAKE IT A GREAT DEAL MORE COOLLY THAN ANY ONE WHO HAS AN INTEREST IN THE BUSINESS.

The main thing at the moment is to find some way of getting

^a petty panjandrums - ^b 2 Samuel 15:18 - ^c with the reservation that between ourselves we called them incorrigible fools

our things published; either in a quarterly in which we make a frontal attack and consolidate our position so far as *persons* are concerned; or in fat books where we do the same without being under the necessity of mentioning any one of these vipers. Either way suits me; in the long run, and with reaction on the increase, it seems to me that the feasibility of the former is decreasing and that the latter will come more and more to be the expedient to which we must apply ourselves. What price all the tittle-tattle the entire émigré crowd can muster against you, when you answer it with your political economy?

Tomorrow, the letter for Harney. *En attendant, salut.*^a

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS²²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 February [1851]

Dear Engels,

For a week you've had no news of me, firstly because I was awaiting the documents from Cologne^b and wished to tell you about them, secondly because I had to wait for further details about OUR 'EXFRIEND'. The former have not yet arrived. As to the latter, I am now rather better informed.

Harney received your letter all right.

^a Meanwhile, greetings. - ^b i.e. Willich's letters which were to be sent to Marx by Johann Becker (see this volume, pp. 273, 282, 284).

According to what I am told by Tessier du Mothay, who is now here, the Louis Blanc affair originated as follows:

The association in Church Street³⁶² gave itself out to be a philanthropic association for assistance to French political *réfugiés*. Ledru-Rollin, L. Blanc, Adam, everyone, in short, made this a pretext for participating in it. Politics were banned by the statutes. Then 24 February^a hove into view. As you know, when presented with the opportunity of making themselves important, the French prepare for it as long in advance and treat it with as much solemnity as the prospective lying-in of a pregnant woman. Even if the association was merely a philanthropic one, so the argument ran, its members in their capacity as Frenchmen must nevertheless celebrate 24 February. A definite evening was fixed for a debate on this important matter. On that evening both Ledru and Blanc were present. The latter delivered a carefully prepared, spuriously temperate, jesuitical speech, in which he sought to prove that a political banquet contravened the association's statutes, that it would simply make France aware of their dissensions, etc., and, amidst much pious talk of *fraternité*, the Corsican mandrake, vented his chagrin at not having been included in the provisional government³⁶⁸ by Ledru and Mazzini. He got his answer. Despite his speech, which none admired more sincerely than he did, it was decided to hold the banquet.

And what does *la blanche Louise*^b do now? She declares that, as a result of this decision, the association has dissolved itself thereby restoring to each his individual freedom, and that he will make use of this restitution of his 'free will' and organise a banquet without any spirit of faction, pure *fraternité* and other delectable tidbits.

His eyes turned naturally to Barthélemy, knowing as he did that the latter, the Germans, Poles, etc., together formed a compact mass. On the other hand Landolphe, *le bel homme*,^c was entrusted with the mission of winning over our DEAR Harney. L. Blanc was even gracious enough to invite Harney to the dinner, though, during the past six months, he and Landolphe have been consigning him to the devil. What magnanimity!

On the other hand L. Blanc drafted a manifesto which, as our DEAR would say, is OUT AND OUT. You will have read it in *The Friend of the People*. It even repudiates the '*aristocracy of the mind*', thereby on

^a the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution in France - ^b white Louise (Louis Blanc) - ^c the fine figure of a man

the one hand ostensibly providing a motive for condescending to the *dii minorum gentium*^a and, on the other, holding out to Schapper & Co. the immediate and cheerful prospect of an 'aristocracy of stupidity'. But this manifesto—feeble platitudes, naturally—is regarded by L. Blanc as the 'wisest possible thing' to which human nature, under the MOST HAPPY CIRCUMSTANCES, could aspire. It was intended not only to astound the whole of Europe but also and more particularly to give Ledru-Rollin a slap in the face, and to lead all the Blanquists in France to believe that, out of sheer intrepidity of principle, the INCORRUPTIBLE LITTLE MAN had disassociated himself from Church Street.

Thus the worthy Harney has made himself the tool of a vulgar intrigue and, what is more, an intrigue directed against Ledru-Rollin to whom, at the same time, he goes running and whose banquet he will also honour with his presence tomorrow. In order further to nettle this, despite his *qualités très aimables* and *respectables*,^b highly *impressionable plebeian*—impressionable, that is, to famous names, in whose shadow he feels touched and honoured—and in order at the same time to show Ledru-Mazzini that the Napoleon of socialism cannot be thwarted with impunity, the little man goes and solicits the felicitations of the Parisian workers. These 'Parisian workers', whose appearance on the scene was bound to make the blood rise to OUR DEAR'S head, are, of course, none other than the notorious 25 *délégués des Luxembourg*, who have never been delegated by anyone, and who, throughout Paris, are the object, now of the hatred, now of the *risée*^c of the other workers,—fellows whose importance is no greater than that of the members of the Pre-parliament or the Committee of Fifty in Germany.³⁶⁹ They feel a need for a *petit bon dieu quelconque*,^d a fetish, and there is something monstrous about the little man's appearance which all along has made it a suitable object of worship. He for his part assures them that they are the greatest men and the truest socialists on earth. And had he not already nominated them *pairs*^e of the future Workers' Republic? Hence, whenever he raises a finger, they offer their felicitations and, whenever they offer their felicitations, he publicly expresses his heartfelt thanks. And he raised a finger this time. In these professional felicitators Harney, of course, sees Paris, the whole of Paris.

Before I take leave of the mandrake, two more items which I

^a second-rate luminaries (literally: gods of the minor nations) - ^b most amiable and respectable qualities - ^c ridicule - ^d a little god of some sort - ^e peers

learned from Tessier, both of them highly characteristic of this *fausse pleureuse*.^a

Louise never speaks extempore. He writes down every word of his speeches and learns them *by heart* in front of the looking-glass. Ledru, on the other hand, always improvises and, on important occasions, confines himself to a few MATTER OF FACT notes. Hence, quite aside from the difference in personal appearance, Louise is completely incapable of making the slightest impression when *alongside* Ledru. He therefore welcomed any pretext that permitted him to avoid comparison with this dangerous rival!

So far as his historical works are concerned, he wrote them in the same way that A. Dumas wrote his feuilletons. He never studies more material than is needed for the next chapter. This is how such books as the *Histoire des dix ans* are produced. In this way it lends a certain freshness to his accounts. For what he's conveying is at least as new to him as it is to the reader; on the other hand the thing as a whole is weak.

So much for L. Blanc. NOW FOR OUR DEAR.

He was not content with merely attending the fellows' meeting. Indeed not. He has turned their banquet of 24 February which, without him, would have been a complete fiasco, into a *London event*. A thousand tickets have already been sold for the banquet, which is being held in the City. It was Harney who placed *the majority of the tickets*, as Jones informed me the day before yesterday. O'Connor, Reynolds, hundreds of Chartists will be there. Harney has been drumming them up. Again according to Jones, he is *en route*^b all day, carrying out L. Blanc's orders.

He has even perpetrated a little piece of perfidy with regard to Jones by getting him to translate L. Blanc & Co.'s manifesto and then asking him whether he would have any objection to being named as the translator. That was on Wednesday.^c So by then he already had your letter, although he gave no hint of this to Jones. Jones saw in his question merely an appeal to his own 'socialist' sentiments—and naturally replied that he had no objection.

Jones told me that, as a result of my arguments, he might stay away from the banquet, though he couldn't say for certain. The reason for his indecision^d is perfectly sensible. Were he not to turn up, he would forfeit some of his popularity since, thanks to OUR DEAR, this banquet has become a Chartist occasion. He is also afraid that Reynolds might intrigue behind his back.

^a crocodile - ^b on the go - ^c 18 February

Jones disapproves of the behaviour of OUR DEAR, whom I have not 'seen again'. He tried to excuse it on the grounds that, if the Chartists failed to attend either of the banquets, they would be accused of political apathy, or of antipathy towards the foreign revolutionaries. To this I replied that in that case Harney, etc., should have held a Chartist meeting to celebrate the rotten 24 February instead of constituting a pedestal for a dwarf and half a dozen jackasses—a dwarf who never describes Harney as anything but a '*brave garçon*,'^a and who, if a movement were to go into action in London tomorrow, or in one year's or 20 years' time, would produce official documents to prove that he had set these *pauvres Anglais dans la route du progrès*,^b a path which led from 1688 to 24 February 1851, when Louis Blanc heard himself acclaimed by the whole of London, as once before by 50,000 workers in the courtyard of the *Réforme*, which holds barely 50 men. And how many crocodile's tears about this event that never happened will he consign to paper!

Harney has become embroiled in this business, firstly, because of his inordinate admiration for official great men, which we have often derided in the past. Secondly, because he loves theatrical effects. He is truly avid of applause, if not actually *vaniteux*.^c There is no disputing that he himself is profoundly susceptible to the stock phrase and generates the most copious and impassioned gas. Is more deeply bogged in the democratic mire than he would care to admit. He has a twofold SPIRIT, one inculcated by Frederick Engels, and one that is all his own. The former is for him a kind of straitjacket. The latter is he himself in *puris naturalibus*.^d But there is in addition a third, a *spiritus familiaris*,^e and that is his worthy spouse.^f She has a great predilection for *gants jaunes*^g à la Landolphe and Louis Blanc. She hates me, for one, as a frivolous fellow who might endanger her 'PROPERTY TO BE WATCHED UPON'. I have irrefutable proof that this female has more than one of her long plebeian fingers in this pie. The extent of Harney's thralldom to this *spiritus familiaris*, and of the petty Scottish wiliness with which she conducts her intrigues, will be apparent to you from the following: You will recall how on New Year's Eve she insulted Miss Macfarlane in the presence of my wife. Later she told my wife, with a smile on her lips, that Harney had not seen Miss Macfarlane throughout the evening. Later she told him that she

^a good lad - ^b poor English on the path of progress - ^c vain - ^d in a state of nature - ^e familiar spirit - ^f Mary - ^g dandies

had DECLINED her acquaintanceship because the cleft dragoon had evoked the dismay and ridicule of the whole company and of my wife in particular. And Harney was idiotic and cowardly enough not to give Miss Macfarlane a chance to avenge the insult, thus breaking in the most unworthy manner with the only collaborator on his insignificant little rag^a who really had any ideas. On his rag, a *rara avis*.^b

What lends added weight to this meeting is the stir created in London by LITTLE JOHNNY'S^c resignation and the *avènement*^d of Stanley-d'Israeli.³⁷⁰

There's nothing the FRENCHMEN fear more than a general amnesty. It would rob all the local cardboard heroes of their halos.

A. Ruge, in company with Struve, Kinkel, Schramm,^e Bucher, etc., has been trying to bring into being a *Volksfreund* or, as our Gustav^f would have it, a *Deutscher Zuschauer*. Came to nought. Some of the others did not want Winkelried's^g patronage, some, like the 'easy-going' Kinkel, demanded payment in cash, *ce qui ne fait pas le compte de M. Ruge*.^h His chief aim was, as you will know, to extract money from the reading public. This was frustrated by Julius, since he too wants to bring out a paper here.

K. Heinzen is *redacteur en chef*ⁱ of the bankrupt New York *Schnellpost* and has entered into a hair-raising polemic with Weitling.

You would do well to write sometime soon to Red Becker^j in New York and inform him about *l'état actuel des choses*.^k

Enclosed a letter from Dronke. Send it back to me by return; if you wish to write yourself with it, *tant mieux*.^l

Your remittance was a great help to me as I couldn't possibly go on owing the *bel homme*^m a FARTHING any longer.

In my next letter, something about French literature of 1830-48.

Write, too, and tell me whether my sums are right.

Your

K. M.

^a *The Friend of the People* - ^b rare bird - ^c John Russell - ^d accession to power - ^e Rudolf Schramm - ^f Gustav Struve - ^g Arnold Ruge (nicknamed Winkelried after a semi-legendary Swiss warrior whose name was Arnold) - ^h which doesn't suit Mr Ruge's book - ⁱ editor-in-chief - ^j probably Max Joseph Becker - ^k the present state of things - ^l so much the better - ^m that fine figure of a man (Landolphe—see this volume, pp. 284, 286)

Incidentally, in our dealings with our DEAR—for he will seek to come back as soon as he has done with this great historical event³⁷¹—we must assume an air of superiority and make him feel that he has 'lost'.

Apropos! Harney has had himself elected to a Chartist deputation to Church Street, whence, having made his *entrée*, he will repair to the City, where he will make himself at home.

Since, incidentally, there was nothing naive about his action, it follows that he arranged everything with the '*bel' homme behind my back* and was *no less reticent towards yourself*.

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MARX TO ENGELS⁴³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 February 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

It is now one o'clock in the morning. About an hour ago Pieper came rushing in, hatless, dishevelled, his clothing in tatters. This is what had happened.

Earlier this evening the meeting or banquet took place in the City. *Willich presided*. Jones, in accordance with his promise, didn't go. Our DEAR^a was wearing a red armet. Some 700 men were present, 150 Frenchmen, about 250 Germans, 200 Chartists and the remainder Poles and Hungarians. Blanc read out the addresses received from his brethren in Paris, Willich one from La Chaux-de-Fonds. There was none from Germany. An address from Poles in Paris was also read.

^a Harney

The speeches were, it seems, ludicrous and, despite all the *fraternité*, the sweat of tedium beaded men's brows and lamed their tongues.

Schramm^a and Pieper had bought tickets in order to watch the fun. They were molested from the very start. Schramm went across to one of the stewards, the worthy, chivalrous Landolphe, and begged him to ensure that, in return for their money, they should at least be left in peace. The worthy fellow replied that this was not the place to embark on explanations.

BY AND BY the Great Windmill Streeters³³¹ began to grow restive. They set up a shout of, 'SPY, SPY', Haynau, Haynau,³⁷² whereupon Schramm and Pieper were man-handled out of the hall, their hats torn off; in the courtyard outside the hall they were kicked, stamped on, cuffed, nearly rent in pieces, handfuls of hair torn out, etc. Barthélemy came up and said of Schramm: '*C'est un infâme! Il faut l'écraser.*'^b Schramm replied: '*Vous êtes un forçat libéré!*'^c

Some 200 individuals took part in the scuffle, Germans, Frenchmen, and, no less 'plucky', the fraternal gentry,^d against two unarmed men.

Post festum who should arrive but our DEAR; instead of intervening energetically however, as behoved him, he stammered something about knowing these people and would have launched into long explanations. A fine remedy, of course, at such a moment.

The two defended themselves as bravely as lions.

The Windmillers yelled: 'It was him who stole 19 shillings from our cash box!'

So much for today. *Qu'en dis-tu, mon cher?*^e If revolution breaks out in London tomorrow, Willich-Barthélemy will assuredly come to power.

Your
K. M.

^a Conrad Schramm - ^b 'He's infamous! He must be crushed.' - ^c You're an ex-convict! - ^d Fraternal Democrats - ^e What do you say to that, dear friend?

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Tuesday, 25 February [1851]

Dear Marx,

A week ago yesterday I sent you a letter for Harney^a and have had no answer from you since; this might put me in a bit of a quandary if a letter from Harney, which may arrive any day, should require a speedy answer, or if the new Chartist clique here succeeds in negotiating a visit by Harney, and one fine morning I find he has turned up at the pub. I hope that you received everything safely and that it's not ill-health that is preventing you from writing. Perhaps you don't care for the letter or the way I acted off my own bat without further consultation with you. But that was precisely why I sent it to you, and if there had been anything you took exception to, nothing could have been simpler than to let Harney know he wasn't to print my article^b for the time being, and to return me the letter with marginal comments, WHICH YOU KNOW WOULD HAVE HAD ALL DUE ATTENTION.

In any case, I have long owed you an answer to the CURRENCY business.^c In my opinion the thing as such is perfectly correct and will go a long way towards reducing the crazy theory of circulation to simple and lucid FUNDAMENTAL FACTS. As regards the exposition in your letter I have only the following remarks to make:

1. Given that, at the beginning of a PERIOD OF PRESSURE the Bank of England accounts show, as you say, £12,000,000 DEPOSITS and £8 million BULLION OF COIN. In order to get rid of the surplus £4 million BULLION, you suggest it [the Bank] should lower the discount rate. I don't believe that it needs to do this, and as far as I remember the discount rate has never yet been lowered at the beginning of the PRESSURE. In my view the PRESSURE would immediately affect the DEPOSITS and very soon not only establish an equilibrium between BULLION and DEPOSITS, but also compel the Bank to raise the discount rate so that the BULLION would not fall below $\frac{1}{3}$ of the DEPOSITS. To the extent that PRESSURE increases, the circulation of capital, the turnover of goods will stagnate. Once bills have been drawn, however, they mature and have to be honoured. Hence the reserve capital—the DEPOSITS—has to be set in motion—not *qua* CURRENCY, as you will appreciate, but *qua* CAPITAL, and thus the simple

^a See this volume, p. 289. - ^b *ibid.*, p. 287. - ^c *ibid.*, pp. 274-78.

DRAIN OF BULLION, combined with PRESSURE, will of itself suffice to rid the Bank of its surplus BULLION. This takes place without the Bank having to *lower its* rate of interest under circumstances which simultaneously *raise* the general interest rate throughout the country.

2. In a period of growing PRESSURE, it seems to me, the Bank (so as not to get into difficulties) must increase the proportion of BULLION TO DEPOSITS to the same extent that PRESSURE increases. The 4 surplus millions would be a boon and a blessing, and the Bank would release them as slowly as possible. With increasing PRESSURE, according to your assumptions, a proportion of BULLION TO DEPOSITS of the order of $\frac{2}{5}:1$, $\frac{1}{2}:1$ and even $\frac{3}{5}:1$ would be in no way excessive, and, all the easier to bring about as, with the decrease of DEPOSITS, the BULLION RESERVE would also decrease in absolute terms, though relatively speaking it would increase. In this case a RUN on the Bank is just as possible as with paper money and may be induced by perfectly normal commercial conditions without any ruinous effect on the Bank's credit.

3. 'The CURRENCY is *the last* to be affected', you say. Your own assumptions that it is affected as a result of stagnating commercial activity, and that then, of course, less CURRENCY is required, lead to the conclusion that the CURRENCY contracts simultaneously with commercial activity, and that part of it becomes surplus to the extent that PRESSURE increases. Admittedly it is only at the end, in a condition of high PRESSURE, that it contracts *perceptibly*. But looked at as a whole this process is well under way from the beginning of the PRESSURE, even though this cannot be factually demonstrated in detail. But in so far as this SUPERSEDING of part of the CURRENCY is a *consequence* of the other commercial conditions, of PRESSURE which is independent of the CURRENCY, and all other commodities and commercial conditions are affected *before* the CURRENCY, and also in so far as *in practice* the currency is the last to be sensitive to this decrease, so it will, indeed, be the last to be affected by the crisis.

These comments, as you see, are entirely confined to your *modus illustrandi*^a; the thing itself is quite unexceptionable.

Your
F. E.

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^a method of presentation

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, 26 February [1851]

Dear Marx,

Your letter of the 23rd, postmarked the 25th, arrived this morning. In future you should always write to me 'care of Messrs Ermen & Engels, Manchester'. Your letters will reach me more surely and quickly since my homecomings are often irregular, and in any case the letters addressed to my lodgings are sometimes delivered by the post to the office—where I go at least once a day anyway. If possible send them by the first evening post from London—up till 6 from Charing Cross, or half past five from the smaller offices, and the letters will certainly reach the office by ten the next morning.

You forgot to enclose the letter from Dronke. Send it soon, as I want to write to him, particularly so as to resume my correspondence with Lupus, of whose whereabouts I know nothing, as I receive no reply to any of my letters.³⁷³ If you would rather not bear the cost of postage of overseas letters and of pre-paid replies, send them, or have them addressed, to me, and I shall charge it to the firm.

According to the *Constitutionnel*, d'Ester has been banished from Switzerland and has already left—*en sais-tu quelque chose*^a?

Your atlas^b has been saved. In the end I refused to sell it and am keeping it here for the time being as I need it badly; I am now reading the history of the *Consulat* and *Empire* in the works of French and English historians, particularly military. The best I have found so far in this line is W. P. Napier (now General), *History of the War in the Peninsula*. Like all Napiers, the fellow has his quirks but also an enormous amount of COMMON SENSE and, what is more, shows a very true eye in evaluating Napoleon's military and administrative genius. A Frenchman would be utterly incapable of writing such a book. So far as historical reliability and even correct judgment are concerned, Thiers^c is no whit better

^a do you know anything about it? - ^b *Historischer und geographischer Atlas von Europa* - ^c A reference to A. Thiers' *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*.

than that wretched Tory, Southey, late POET LAUREATE, who has also written a history of the Peninsular War replete with invective and rodomontade.^a Napier, however, gives too much prominence to his commander-in-chief, Wellington, but I haven't yet read enough of his account to be able to give a definite opinion.

I shall take due note of the information on *citoyens*^b Blanc and Harney. As yet I have heard nothing from the latter. I rather suspected that his *spiritus familiaris*^c had a finger in this pie. She has unbounded admiration for great men, and has become generally increasingly disagreeable. He must, incidentally, be made to feel this when he turns up again. As for that little man Blanc, it could do no harm if we were to go over his *oeuvres complètes*^d at the earliest opportunity—you the *Organisation du travail* and the *Histoire de la révolution*, I the *Dix ans, sauf à critiquer ensemble l'association du travail mise en pratique après février, et les 'Pages d'histoire'*.^e I shall be coming to London at Easter and something might be done then. The things themselves should be obtainable here cheaply in a Belgian reprint. Since my ploy with my old man has proved wholly successful, at least up till now, I can definitely settle down here, and shall in any case be sending for my books from Brussels. If you by chance have anything to be sent for from Cologne, let me know; I shall be writing to Daniels about my things in the next few days, and then it could all be sent in one parcel. NB. Everything, except English books reprinted on the Continent. How matters are developing with my old man, and the new ploy I had to think up, firstly, to prolong my indispensability here and 2, to spare myself undue work in the office, I will tell you when we meet; in any case Easter is only six weeks away and it's an involved story. What is certain is that my old man is going to pay through the nose in cash to compensate me for everything, especially once he's been here and I've got him even further embroiled. The difficulty is this: to be given an official appointment vis-à-vis the Ermens as my old man's representative, and yet to have *no* official appointment within the firm here, which would involve working for and drawing a salary from the firm. I hope, however, to bring it off; my old man is enchanted with my business letters and he regards my remaining here as a great

^a R. Southey, *History of the Peninsular War*. - ^b citizens - ^c familiar spirit (Harney's wife) - ^d complete works - ^e save that we shall jointly criticise the labour association as put into practice after February, and the *Pages d'histoire* (a reference to L. Blanc's *Pages d'histoire de la révolution*)

sacrifice on my part. *Ceci me vaut, ou me vaudra sous peu, £5 additionnelles par mois, sauf additions futures.*^a

Your
F. E.

Don't forget to send me the titbits from Cologne with which to solace my loneliness, as soon as you have received and read them.^b

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 26 February 1851]

Dear Engels,

I am sending you Pieper's and Schramm's^c letters so that you may learn the facts from the actual participants. This is the best way for you to form your own opinion. Incomprehensible lâcheté^d on the part of the 200 FRATERNAL^e MURDERERS who discharged their revolutionary energies upon two individuals, incomprehensible lâcheté on the part of our DEAR,^f of Landolphe, of Louis Blanc, etc., who calmly looked on, memorising their fraternal slogans.

One further point from Schramm's conversation with Harney: Harney emphasised that Schapper was a 'long-standing acquaintance' of his, and had been on the most intimate terms with him while we were in Brussels.

Apropos! Messrs L. Blanc & Co. had *already* sent a *complete report* of the meeting to a Paris paper *the day before*.³⁷⁴

^a That's worth, or shortly will be worth, an extra £5 a month, apart from future increments. - ^b See this volume, pp. 282, 284. - ^c Conrad Schramm - ^d cowardice - ^e i.e. Fraternal Democrats - ^f Harney

Legal proceedings would ruin L. Blanc. You can imagine what a feast it would be for *The Times*, more especially as *Barthélemy*, the *galérien*, the *meurtrier*,^a etc., would appear as the accused and *provocateur à l'assassinat*.^b For in the middle of the brawl, Barthélemy said pointing to Schramm: '*C'est un infâme, il faut l'écraser.*'^c

Nothing but ill can come of litigation: Harney's and Jones' projected paper in the soup, Harney and the FRATERNALS in the soup, *The Times* will be jubilant, Pieper will lose his job (he's magnanimous enough not to bother about it), and Schramm, etc., will end up by having to take on all the Chartists at once. *Que faire?*^d I shall discuss this tomorrow with Jones. Friend Harney, like Schapper, seems to count on the whole affair quietly blowing over. Hence he has thought it not worth his while to take the necessary STEPS with regard to us or to make the necessary concessions. In this way the jackass is aggravating the situation. One can't allow this dirty business to go unavenged.

If Harney writes to you, there's one thing you must guard against. In your letter^e you dwell too much on Ledru's and Blanc's theoretical criticism. Harney now makes out that we demanded that he should form part of our *queue*.^f Hence, what above all must be pointed out to him is that:

1. the *one and only* issue is his relationship with Schapper and Willich, in that he has constituted himself the *supporter* of our immediate, personal, rascally foes and, in the eyes of Germany, has thrown what weight he has into the scales for them against us. And did he not together with us break off all connections with Vidil, with Barthélemy and with Willich *in writing*?³⁷⁵ How, then, could he resume them without us, behind our *backs*, and *against* our wishes! If that is FAIR it's beyond me.

2. He has *disavowed us* in that, *after* the incident with Schramm and Pieper, he failed to make immediate public amends at the meeting and then withdraw forthwith. Instead of which he did everything to make out to his friends that the thing was irrelevant.

Enclosed Dronke's letter. You must write and tell him in detail about the whole mummery, including the most recent affair. I have masses to write to Cologne, Hamburg, etc.

^a convict sentenced to the galleys; murderer - ^b inciter to murder - ^c 'He's infamous, he must be crushed.' - ^d What's to be done? - ^e See this volume, pp. 287, 299. - ^f retinue

If today's letter hasn't been stamped, you must excuse me. It is too late to go out for STAMPS, and it is essential that the letter be posted this evening.

Your
K. Marx

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday [26 February 1851]

Dear Marx,

I have just come upon your 2nd letter. I at once wrote another one to Harney: if you approve of it, send it on to him forthwith.^a This infamous affair is altogether too much, and he's got to be made aware of the fact. If he allies himself with the others, *tant pis pour lui*,^b I CARE THE DEVIL.

Enclosed a letter which looks very odd to me.³⁷⁶ What's behind the whole business? I don't know to what extent red Wolff^c is his own master. Besides, there's so much that's crack-brained about the letter that I can't reply to it without having further information. So let me know at once what kind of a DODGE this is and return the piffle to me. One o'clock in the morning.

Your
F. E.

Having NO STAMPS, I shan't be able to put any on this letter as I am now going out to post it.

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^a See this volume, pp. 306, 311. - ^b so much the worse for him. - ^c Ferdinand Wolff

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 27 February 1851

Dear Marx,

When last night at 12 o'clock I arrived home and found your letter with its account of the infamy perpetrated upon Schramm and Pieper,^a I at once sent off to you a letter for Harney. From that letter, the shaky hand, the passionate indignation, the bumbling, stumbling train of thought and the not exactly harmonious whole, it will have been evident to you that it was written under the influence of a glass or two of strong rum-punch which I had unwontedly imbibed that evening, and you will therefore not have sent it off. IN FACT, I was so enraged that I couldn't have gone to bed without sending it off and hence, more to calm myself than to convey my opinion in all haste to Harney, I dashed off to the post at 1 o'clock. You'll have received the letter around midday today, and since today there's no post until the evening, it has not been possible to send you another letter before this one. I now enclose an amended letter for Harney, which you will kindly convey to him if, as I hope, you haven't yet forwarded the first.³⁷⁷

In future address letters to me as follows:

1. All letters which you send from the Charing Cross office before six in the evening, or before half past five from smaller offices, to the office (Ermen and Engels). Then I shall get them at 10 in the morning.

2. All letters posted *after* 6 o'clock in the evening to Great Ducie Street. I shall get them the following evening at 6 o'clock, whereas in the office I wouldn't get them until the following morning.

Hühnerbein wrote to me recently. Mirbach got away safely and is leaving Paris to follow his wife to Athens.

Your

F. E.

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^a See this volume, pp. 297-98.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday [28 February 1851]

Dear Marx,

Your letter of the day before yesterday didn't arrive till this morning. Had I already had all these details yesterday I would have written to our DEAR Harney in quite a different vein. But sooner or later he'll turn up and then I'll let him have a piece of my mind.

It would not, I believe, be a great deal of use to take serious legal proceedings over this business. Apart from Harney and Jones and the Chartists, the business would fizzle out in mutual recriminations and accusations. With the help of any advocate, the others would cause the most impudent questions to be put to Schramm and Pieper, e. g. whether Schramm had not stolen funds from Great Windmill Street,³⁷⁸ etc., etc., which, however vigorously they were parried, would be enough to ruin the whole effect. The defendants' witnesses would swear that Schramm had said such and such, they would recall certain of Schramm's scenes in Great Windmill Street and inflate them out of all proportion so as to depict Schramm as a DISTURBER OF PUBLIC MEETINGS, etc., and the MAGISTRATE, only too happy to see the demagogues dubbing each other rascals, would allow anything that might throw a compromising light on either party. Schramm, however, should use it as a threat.

Besides, he is taken FOR A CARE-THE-DEVIL, RECKLESS SORT OF CHARACTER, and they'll believe him capable of such excesses. He should give Landolphe a box on the ears and practise shooting; the chap's always getting involved in such affairs³⁷⁹ and, more than anyone else, he should know how to shoot.

The case would after all end up with nothing more than the rudest of snubs for both parties from the MAGISTRATE—especially as it would be heard up in Islington, where heaven knows what sort of old jackasses the MAGISTRATES are. And if Landolphe, *représentant du peuple*,^a were to state that Schramm could only have come with

^a representative of the people

the intention of making trouble, etc., don't you think that ultimately this would impress the public more than Schramm's and Pieper's statement? A great scandal could be made of the business, but then Schramm would risk having part of the scandal rebound on him in the form of insinuations.

And again, one sure consequence of such a scandal would be the introduction of a new Aliens Bill³⁸⁰ to protect the honest reactionaries coming over from the Continent for the Exhibition.

But when given the cold shoulder by Landolphe, why the devil didn't Schramm go straight to Harney *pour le mettre en cause?*^a

Just time for the post. Adieu.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO HERMANN BECKER³⁵⁷

IN COLOGNE

[London,] 28 February [1851]

Dear Becker,

I trust you have received the *Rh.Z.*^b I cannot understand your silence. Had you sent me *Willich's letters* for which I asked you,^c I would not have had to report the abominations related below. I must again insist on your *sending these letters forthwith*... The

^a to call him to account - ^b *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* - ^c See this volume, pp. 273, 282.

following report is to be read out to all our friends, who must make it known throughout the whole of Germany.

It concerns the banquet held in London on 24 February, at which two of our friends and party comrades^a were publicly 'haynaued'³⁷² under the chairmanship of the bold Chevalier de *Willich*. To help you understand what follows, a few preliminary remarks:

The French émigrés, like all the others, had split up into various factions. Thereupon they combined to found an association in Church Street.³⁶² It was to be of a *philanthropic* nature, for the assistance of refugees. Politics were excluded. Thus all shades of French émigré opinion were provided with a neutral terrain. In this way, then, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, Montagnards²⁶⁰ and Cabetists, Blanquists, etc., happened to be here at the same time.

24 February was approaching. As you know, when presented with such a chance of appearing important, the French prepare for it, discuss it, examine its every aspect as long in advance as they would do a woman's impending lying-in. Accordingly, the Church Street association convened a general meeting in order to arrange the celebration of this 'glorious' day. L. Blanc and Ledru-Rollin were present. Little Blanc—NB he cannot improvise but writes his speeches and learns them by heart in front of a looking-glass—rose and made a cleverly couched, elaborate, jesuitical speech in which he sought to prove that this association, being of a philanthropic nature, could not stage a *political* banquet and hence could not celebrate the February Revolution. Ledru-Rollin replied. In the heat of replying, little Blanc blurted out that, since *Ledru and Mazzini had not included him in the European Central Committee*,³³⁸ he would not partake of any banquet with them. He was told that it was not the European Central Committee which was giving the banquet, but the Church Street association, comprising all shades of French émigré opinion.

The following day that association received a letter from L. Blanc in which he notified them that he intended to stage a rival monster banquet....^b

So L. Blanc secured Harney and with him part of his following, for his banquet. The English foundations had been laid. But the

^a Conrad Schramm and Wilhelm Pieper - ^b In the indictment the following is written over a passage omitted here: 'The following describes how L. Blanc won over his friend Harney with the progressive faction of the Chartists for his banquet.'

continental background, which was also to have all the colours of a European central rainbow, was still missing. To that end Louis Blanc ran a knowledgeable eye over the caricature of Mazzini's committee—the *Willich-Schapper-Barthélemy-Vidil-Peter and Paul committee*.

Just a few words about the origins and nature of this committee and its various hangers-on from the respective associations.

When Willich and Schapper, along with their association, were thrown out of the League,^a they joined up with Vidil and Barthélemy ... and the dregs of the Polish, Hungarian and Italian émigrés, by which rabble they had themselves dubbed European Central Committee.... Schapper and Willich, who could reasonably hope that, from a distance, this dirty, tasteless and paltry piece of mosaic might be taken for a work of art, also had the particular aim of showing the German communists that it was themselves, not we, who had the European émigrés behind them and that, whether Germany liked it or not, they were determined to take over her government at the earliest opportunity....

In order to conduct his intrigue against Church Street, L. Blanc was not above associating himself with this gang he so despised. They, of course, were delighted. At last they were to attain a *position*. Although these gentlemen wish to exclude all writers, they welcome with open arms any writer of repute who places himself at their disposal. Schapper and Willich saw their day of triumph approaching ... when the German communists would assuredly not be able to resist, and would repentantly return to seek shelter beneath their wings....

The banquet took place in Islington on 24 February. Two of our friends, *Schramm* and *Pieper* attended.... Addresses were read out. L. Blanc read an address from his delegates, Landolphe one from Deputy Greppo (no other was to be had from Paris), a Pole an address from a few fellow thinkers in Paris, and the great Willich, who *presided*, one from La Chaux-de-Fonds. They had been unable to get hold of any from Germany....^b

Now it is up to you to do everything in your power to brand

^a The Communist League - ^b In the indictment the following is written over a passage omitted here: 'When, following this, the ill-treatment inflicted on these their friends, who both, according to the above, belonged to the League, has been described, the whole ends thus.'

these cowardly, calumnious, infamous assassins before the German proletariat, and wherever else this can be done.

To that end it is essential that you send us Willich's letters forthwith....

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Saturday, 1 March 1851

Dear Engels,

You must have the most singular post-horses, seeing that all my letters reach you too late.

As you will very well know, if you have given due attention to the letters you have received, everything you advise has already happened, with the exception of the box on the ears for Landolphe, which I do not consider a proper remedy. If anybody is to be done an injury, it must be the little HIPHIPHURRAH Scotsman, George Julian Harney, and no other, and then it is Harney who will have to practise shooting.

With both your letters to Harney in front of me,^a I sent the *first*, because in my opinion it was better written and more apt than the second, amended, edition.

Both Harney and Landolphe have been sufficiently threatened with legal proceedings. Your fear that Landolphe would testify against Schramm unfounded. Rather, he will swear that he, as a committee member, was approached by Schramm before the scandal and asked to keep order among the gang.

Since, then, the 'threat' of legal proceedings is of no avail, *que faire*^b except quietly swallow blows, 'spy', and Schapper-Willich triumph!

All your fears concerning scandal justified. But we, too, will

^a See this volume, p. 306. - ^b what can be done

have a SHARP advocate on our side. A little disrepute, whether more or less, can be of no moment to Schramm. But if he lets the matter drop, now that the Church Street³⁶² Frenchmen have become embroiled in it, he will be *perdu*^a unless he either obtains public satisfaction from the Chartists or takes the matter to court. One thing or the other.

Jones, as I told you in my letter, wasn't at Monday's meeting. I had arranged a meeting with him at my house, but as early as Tuesday rushed round to see him, didn't find him in, left a note asking him to come without fail on Wednesday. Didn't come. Went there on Thursday. Was turned away. Left a note of invitation. Didn't come. Thursday evening I wrote him a lengthy letter³⁸¹ calmly, simply and clearly setting forth the whole dirty business from the beginning, placing, for his benefit, the repulsive consequences in their perspective, demanding public satisfaction, and finally requesting him to call on me and discuss matters. Didn't come, although he was in town, nor yet any written reply from him. So Jones has clearly been worked upon by that little Scottish intriguer, who is afraid of leaving him alone with me. You see, then, no prospect of public satisfaction from the Chartists. There only remains legal proceedings. *Adviendra que pourra*.^b The only drawback being that Pieper will lose his job as a result and that we may well have *plus ou moins*^c the whole of the Chartist mob ât our heels.

The *introduction of an Aliens Bill*³⁸⁰ would be the *most fortunate* event so far as we are concerned. Where would those jackasses be without a public demonstration every day?

There's only *one* other way of settling the matter without creating an almighty scandal, and that is for you to *come down, immediately* and without delay.³⁸² You could stay with me, as I have now rented two additional rooms. There is, I definitely assure you, no other way. Letters confuse, delay and achieve nothing.

Your
K. M.

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^a lost - ^b Come what may. - ^c more or less

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 March^a 1851

Dear Engels,

No more than a MATTER OF FACT line or two today.

As you will have seen, *The Times* didn't accept the stuff.^b *Mais ça ne nous regarde plus.*^c

Harney had already written to Schramm the day before yesterday morning. That idle jackass went out at 9 in the morning and didn't return home until one o'clock at night. So he did not find the letter till yesterday.

Harney is publishing his statement.^d Has written a satisfactory introduction to it. Addresses Schramm as 'DEAR Schramm' and reminds him that he too must abide by his obligations and not have recourse to the POLICE COURT—this document is aimed at the French.

Yesterday the *Patrie*^e (and today the *Constitutionnel*) carried a statement by Messrs Blanc, Barthélemy, Schapper, Willich and all the rest of the committee, in which these gentlemen declare that Blanqui had not sent the toast to any member of the committee. The *Patrie's* comment is that it had not wished to print the statement without first making inquiries. Whereupon it had been informed by Mr Antoine—Blanqui's brother-in-law—that the toast had been dispatched to Barthélemy, one of the co-signatories, who had acknowledged receipt of same. You can imagine the lamentations in that camp!

Mais ce n'est pas tout.^f

Yesterday morning, then, Wolff^g sent Wdloff, in company with a real live Englishman, to see Landolphe. The fellow behaved like a discountenanced *Grec*,^h first lamenting, declaiming, vapouring, expostulating, arms and legs all over the place, and then relapsing into a state of total and ineffectual pusillanimity. Will be placed on

^a A slip of the pen in the original: February. - ^b F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*'. - ^c But that no longer concerns us. - ^d C. Schramm, 'To the Editor of *The Friend of the People*', *The Friend of the People*, No. 14, 15 March 1851 (a protest against the insulting attitude to him and Pieper at the meeting on 24 February 1851). - ^e *La Patrie*, No. 66, 7 March 1851. - ^f But that's not all. - ^g Ferdinand Wolff - ^h Greek (here: cheat)

record this evening before the miserable *crapauds*^a of Church Street.³⁶²

Finally, bad news from my mater. She has made everything dependent on Bommel.^b I shall probably have to hazard a *coup de désespoir*.^c

Your
K. Marx

I have received Willich's letters from Becker.^d You will get them on Tuesday.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 10 March 1851

D. M.,

This morning I received the enclosed letter from Weerth and am at once sending it on to you. So the business between Schramm^e and Harney is now settled. If you can inveigle that idle fellow into doing it, get him to send Harney a copy of the translation of Blanqui's toast; *cela fera son effet*.^f It would be an altogether good idea if, now that he is again on the best of terms with Harney, he was to maintain the connection—after all, Harney has a paper.^g A copy of the article that was sent to *The Times*^h might also be sent to Blanqui in Belle-Isle. Schramm

^a philistines - ^b probably Marx's uncle Lion Philips of Zalt-Bommel - ^c desperate act - ^d Hermann Becker; see this volume, pp. 273, 282, 308. - ^e Conrad Schramm - ^f it will have its effect (the reference is to the English translation of L. A. Blanqui's toast 'Avies ou people') - ^g *The Friend of the People* - ^h F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*' (with an English translation of L. A. Blanqui's toast).

shouldn't be too lackadaisical in this matter—for he would thereby secure his rear in various directions. Money tomorrow.

Your
F. E.

Barthélemy has made a prize ass of himself—that's *one* consolation.

Tell Schramm to put the whole story down on paper for Harney. Then we shall have GIVEN NOTICE, and that's always something that may later carry weight.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 17 March 1851

Dear Marx,

I have had a very tiresome attack of influenza, which has rendered me incapable of anything, whether sensible or otherwise, hence my silence. All I could do last week was send you a POST OFFICE ORDER—which you'll have received. The 5 shillings are for Lenchen, who happened to be out when I left your house. If at all possible, I will send you the £2 for HIPHIPHURRAH^a if not this week, then next week at the latest. Schramm can take it to him. Not having heard anything from you up to the present—since sending you Weerth's letter—I, of course, am completely in the dark and am, moreover, still awaiting Willich's precious letters.^b I have not seen *The Friend of the People* containing Schramm's statement^c; the thing arrives here at very irregular intervals. Ask Schramm to send me a copy *sous bande*^d; he should be able to get

^a Harney - ^b See this volume, p. 314. - ^c C. Schramm, 'To the Editor of *The Friend of the People*', *The Friend of the People*, No. 14, 15 March 1851. - ^d in a wrapper

one easily enough if he has none to hand. It is good to hear that Landolphe has in the end turned out to be an arrant coward. I am still waiting for him to send me the famous letter.

I am dreadfully irritated by the stupidity of the arrangements here, which make regular and uninterrupted swotting virtually impossible. I have no access to one of the libraries, and in the other, public one, things of immediate interest to me are only to be found sporadically, and the hours are inconvenient, hence all I have to fall back on is the wretched Athenaeum, where nothing is to be had and whose library is in the most frightful disorder. For instance, I have again been vainly pursuing the Napier,^a and it always takes 2-3 weeks before one can get hold of the next volume. In despair I have taken out Cicero's *Letters*,^b which I have been using to study the *règne de Louis Philippe* and the corruption of the Directoire. A very jolly *chronique scandaleuse*. Cicero is really priceless; Professor Krug and Sebastian Seiler rolled into one. Since the world began the ranks of respectability have been able to boast no more infamous canaille than this fellow. I shall duly take excerpts from this charming little volume. No more for today.

Your

F. Engels

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 17 March 1851

Dear Engels,

I haven't written for a week. For one thing, I too had influenza, out of elective affinity. For another, was *criblé de petites misères*,^c all of which came to a head this fateful week.

^a W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*. - ^b Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae*. - ^c riddled with minor ailments

Enclosed you will find the Chevalier de Willich's hilarious letters.^a

Heinzen's disgusting rag^b contains what purports to be a letter from Paris, concocted here in London, in which, I need hardly say, we two are attacked first, and then Rudolf Schramm, the deputy, because 'he did not scruple to fritter away his wife's money', and then the 'half-men Tausenau, Julius and Bucher'; finally, and with much bitterness, the great *Kinkel*. Heinzen will never, ever, forgive him for competing with him in the begging business. Praise is meted out only to the great Ruge and Struve. In this letter from Paris, Ruge lets it be said that he made a one-day excursion from Brighton to London. This scandal-mongering article derived from gossip in a private letter from Ruge and a private letter from Bamberger, i.e. two diametrically opposed accusations, thrown together and edited by Heinzen.

The great banquet, where Ruge performed the part of the 'Infinite Dullard'—Wolff^c and Liebknecht heard him with their own ears—was not attended by deputies from either Berlin or Frankfurt.^d They don't want a Ruge-Struve hegemony.³⁸³ The R. Schramm, Count Reichenbach (the Frankfurt Reichenbach, not the party's beard),^e and Oppenheim, Bucher clique and, finally, Julius off his own bat, have all resumed their intrigues against the deities of dullness. Of course for noble reasons. *Je vous dis, de la merde, la merde tout pure, toute cette canaille-là.*^f

At the banquet Kinkel, who is publishing the scandalous allegations about us, adopted his best red morocco manner, to speak wistfully of conciliation, 'from the simple champion of the Constitution even unto the red republican.'

All the jackasses, while sighing for a republic, and Kinkel even on occasion for a red republic, paid the most abject homage to the English Constitution, a contradiction to which even the innocent *Morning Chronicle* deigned to draw their attention as being short on logic.

Nothing further about Landolphe. As befits an *homme d'honneur*,^g he goes his way unruffled by the knowledge of being a *Grec*^h unmasked.

^a See this volume, p. 314. - ^b *Deutsche Schnellpost* - ^c Ferdinand Wolff - ^d i.e. deputies of the Prussian National Assembly of 1848 and the All-German National Assembly of 1848-49 in Frankfurt am Main - ^e i.e. Oskar Reichenbach, not Eduard Reichenbach - ^f Shits, I tell you, shits pure and simple, all this canaille. - ^g man of honour - ^h Greek (here: cheat)

The Blanqui comedy was not yet over. Vidil, the *ancien capitaine*,^a sent the *Patrie*^b a statement in which he declared that his sense of honour and feeling for truth compelled him to make a statement to the effect that, in the original statement, L. Blanc, and all the others including himself, had been lying. The committee had consisted of 13 persons, not 6. All of them had been shown Blanqui's toast and all of them had discussed it. He had been among the 6. A few days later the noble Barthélemy, without having seen this letter, also sent a statement to the *Patrie*^c saying that *he* had received the toast but had not informed the others; he thus reveals himself to be a threefold liar. Beneath this letter, the *Patrie* appended the remark that it would accept nothing more from these jackasses. Its introductory comment was as follows:

'Nous nous sommes demandés souvent—et la question est difficile à résoudre—qui l'emportait chez les démagogues, de la vantardise ou de la stupidité? Une quatrième lettre de Londres augmente encore notre perplexité à cet égard. Ils sont là nous ne savons combien de pauvres diables, tourmentés à tel point de la rage d'écrire et de voir leurs noms cités dans les journaux *réactionnaires*, qu'ils ne reculent pas même devant la perspective d'une confusion et d'une dépréciation sans borne. Peu leur importe la risée et l'indignation publiques: le 'Journal des Débats', 'l'Assemblée nationale' et la 'Patrie', inséreront leur prose; pour obtenir ce bonheur, rien ne coûte à la Démocratie cosmopolite etc. Nous accueillons donc au nom de la *commisération* littéraire, la lettre suivante du citoyen Barthélemy... C'est une nouvelle, et nous l'espérons bien, une dernière preuve à l'appui du trop célèbre toast Blanqui, qu'ils ont tous nié d'abord, et pour l'affirmation duquel ils se prennent maintenant aux cheveux.'^d

Is that not SUPERB?

I received YOUR POST OFFICE ORDER. If you pay such rates of

^a a former captain - ^b *La Patrie*, No. 69, 10 March 1851. - ^c *La Patrie*, No. 71, 12 March 1851. On the statement of Blanqui and others see this volume, p. 313. - ^d 'We have often asked ourselves, and it is a difficult question to answer, whether the demagogues are notable more for their boastfulness or their stupidity. A fourth letter from London has increased our perplexity. There they are, we do not know how many poor wretches, who are so tormented by the longing to write and to see their names published in the *reactionary* press that they are undeterred even by the prospect of infinite humiliation and mortification. What do they care for the laughter and the indignation of the public—the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale* and the *Patrie* will publish their stylistic exercises; to achieve this no cost to the cause of cosmopolitan democracy can be too high.... In the name of literary *commiseration* we therefore include the following letter from "citizen" Barthélemy—it is a novel, and, we hope, the last proof of the authenticity of Blanqui's famous toast whose existence they first all denied and now fight among themselves for the right to acknowledge.' P. Mayer, [Comments on Barthélemy's letter,] *La Patrie*, No. 71, 12 March 1851.

interest in your business, either your profits or your losses must be vast.

Don't forget to write to Dronke. Galeer is dead. Hence enclosed to be sent to Th. Schuster in Frankfurt.

Your
K. Marx

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, 19 March 1851

Dear Marx,

The business of Blanqui's toast is coming on very nicely indeed. Vidil's statement^a with regard to Louis Blanc is priceless—the fellow branded a common liar in the eyes of France and England. Barthélemy has got himself wonderfully embroiled.—There's part of your letter I don't understand: Vidil declares: 'The committee had consisted of 13 persons, not 6.... He had been among the 6.' Who are the 6? The signatories of the first statement or, perhaps, the faction which voted in favour of reading out Blanqui's toast?³⁸⁴

The tittle-tattle among the Germans also makes agreeable reading. I saw the account of the banquet in the *Daily News*^b—since the thing was respectable it was an occasion which even Mr Mazzini felt able to attend without embarrassment. 'General Haug IN THE CHAIR!' That fellow shows promise of becoming a caricature of *Général* Dubourg as he was in 1830. To judge by the advertisement in *The Times*, Göhringer's Golden Star TAVERN IS NOW VERY RESPECTABLE. Since I must collect together all the tittle-tattle, it might not be a bad idea to send out a patrol to

^a *La Patrie*, No. 69, 10 March 1851. - ^b The banquet held on 13 March 1851 to celebrate the anniversary of the revolution in Vienna on 13 March 1848 (*The Daily News*, 14 March 1851).

reconnoitre there—*il s'en trouvera bien un qui voudra mettre son nez dans cette merde-là, même au risque d'être mis à la porte.*^a

LAST—BUT NOT LEAST—the Willichiana^b did a great deal to enliven my breakfast this morning. What a numskull! How he could regard Schramm's^c letter as an answer to his first one, I really cannot conceive. But the chance of a military dictatorship in the Rhine province, without a press to plague him, *sapristi*,^d that would be quite enough to turn the dense oaf's head. *Capitaine d'armes*^e and sergeant, no more nor less! Social revolution by means of providing paupers' victuals for *Landwehr*³⁸⁵ families; statistics reduced to a register of 'rations, livestock, vehicles, and troops'! This plan for revolution knocks into a cocked hat the earlier one for conquering Germany with 5,000 men. If *that* doesn't make sense to the *Landwehr*, one can only despair of humankind. 'I would take a few men with me and *call upon* others'—and do you know what the fellow's intention was? 'Citizen Karl Marx is called upon to present himself in Cologne within 48 hours and to take charge of public finance and social reforms under the supervision and control of Citizen Gebert. Failure to comply with this order and any contrariness or argument, as also unseemly jokes, will be punishable with death. Citizen Marx will be provided with a guard of one corporal and six men.'—And now, hearken to what this fellow says of Schapper: '*Nous ne voulons plus de jouisseurs!*'^f So even the spartan POT HALF AND HALF and the fat pig's unresisting inamorata count for sybaritism with this self-sufficient sergeant who tipsles gratis. Indeed, who knows whether, if Cologne were to be besieged, the fat pig would not imitate the conduct of the noble Palafox at Saragossa who, throughout the whole of the second (the real) siege of Saragossa,³⁸⁶ never put in an appearance because, together with 3-4 dissolute fellows and a crowd of whores, he was busying himself among the wine barrels in the bomb-proof cellar of a convent, and didn't show his nose until the time came to conclude the capitulation.

But to what is Willich replying in the third, jubilant letter which betrays a certainty of victory and a lack of nothing but funds? Had Schramm written him a second one, or had Becker replied to Willich's 2nd letter? *Explique-moi cela*^g and let me know whether you need the things back yet; I'd like to keep them here for the present so that I can occasionally make what notes I want.

^a there's sure to be someone prepared to nose about in that muck, even at the risk of being thrown out - ^b i.e. Willich's letters to Hermann Becker, see this volume, p. 314. - ^c Conrad Schramm - ^d great heavens - ^e Master-at-arms - ^f We will no longer tolerate sybarites. - ^g Explain that to me

Speculation in railways is again reaching dazzling heights—since 1 January most shares have risen by 40 per cent, and the worst ones more than any. *Ça promet!*^a

Your
F. Engels

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MARX TO ENGELS³⁸⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 22 March 1851]

Dear Engels,

Above you will find the splendid document which I got Pieper to copy out for you. On the pretext of having guaranteed Mazzini's loan, Ruge is calling for money to be converted into 'public opinion'. Among the 'Prussians' here, Bucher, Elsner, Zimmermann, etc., there is great indignation at these 'vigorous provisionals'.

As for the 'six' who have caused you so much TROUBLE,^b those 6 were Landolphe and Blanc, Willich and Schapper, Barthélemy and Vidil, in a word, the 6 matadors; Hungarians, Poles, etc., the unconsulted mob, did not figure.

In the 3rd letter Willich is replying to nothing but the expression of his own thoughts. *N'a reçu ni lettre ni rien de la part des Becker et des Schramm.*^c Today will be an agreeable day for the lad. About a fortnight ago Wolff^d encountered him in a whores' coffee house at 2 o'clock in the morning and loudly exclaimed: 'What? The virtuous Willich here?' Whereupon the virtuous one sloped off.

The actual CONTRIVER of the German central DODGE^e is the tireless,

^a That's promising! - ^b See this volume, p. 319. - ^c Has received neither letter nor anything else from the Beckers and the Schramms. - ^d Ferdinand Wolff - ^e the Committee for German Affairs

leathery Struve, *bunion specialist* and herbivore. All the fellow's up to is the old business of using cranioscopy, morality and suchlike trivialities to draw attention to himself. A quack, and one with a hoarse, laryngitical voice to boot. For the past 25 years the jack-ass has been writing a 'democratic political encyclopaedia'^a and a 'democratic universal history',³⁸⁸ the first being, nothing more than Welcker-Rotteck^b translated into Struvese, the second, Rotteck^c democratically paraphrased. And Ruge has sunk so low that only the compassion of the police prevented him from printing this nonsense in Germany.

That dim-witted Kinkel is good at ridding the philistines of their illusions. No better means of unmasking this jackass than for him to fall into the hands of such *highly experienced harlequins* as Struve and Ruge. In that company, at any rate, he'll lose his lion's skin.

Your
K. Marx

A few days ago Jones came to see me and, especially in view of the latest revelations, is congratulating himself on having been saved by me from taking part in the banquet.

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MARX TO ENGELS⁴³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 March 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

While you busy yourself with military history, I am conducting a little campaign in which I am likely to be vanquished BY AND BY,

^a G. Struve, *Grundzüge der Staatswissenschaft*, Bd. 1-4. - ^b K. Rotteck and K. Welcker, *Das Staats-Lexikon*. - ^c K. Rotteck, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für alle Stände*.

and from which neither Napoleon nor even Willich—the communist Cromwell—would have been able to extricate themselves.

You should know that I had to pay £31.10 shillings to old Bamberger^a on 23 March, and £10 to the Jew, Stiebel, on the sixteenth, all on current bills. I first got Jenny to ask my mother-in-law^b outright. The answer to this was that Mr Edgar^c had been sent back to Mexico with the remainder of *Jenny's money*, and I couldn't extract a *single* centime.

Then I wrote to my mother, threatening to draw bills on her and, in case of non-payment, to go to Prussia and get myself locked up. I had really intended to take the latter course if such should be the case, but this device ceased to be feasible from the moment the jackasses began to fill the press with their jeremiads about the workers deserting me, my declining popularity and the like. As it was, the thing would have looked like a piece of political histrionics, a more or less deliberate imitation of Jesus Christ-Kinkel. The time-limit I set my mater was 20 March.

On 10 March she wrote and told me they intended to write to our relations; on 18 March she wrote to say the relations had *not* written which was intended to mean the matter was concluded. I at once replied, saying that I stood by my first letter.³⁸⁹

On 16 March, with Pieper's help, I paid Stiebel his £10. On 23 March, after I had made a number of fruitless moves, the bill for old Bamberger was inevitably protested. I had a frightful scene with the old man who, moreover, was frightfully abusive about me to the worthy Seiler. Through his BANKER in Trier the idiot had asked for information about me from the banker, Lautz. This fellow, my mater's banker and my personal enemy, naturally wrote and told him the most absurd things about me and, on top of that, thoroughly stirred up my mater against me.

As regards old Bamberger, I had no alternative but to make out two bills for him, one on him in London to run for 4 weeks from 24 March, the other, payable in Trier in 3 weeks, on my mater in order to cover the first. I at once advised my mater of this. Today, at the same time as your letter, one arrived from my mater in which, full of moral indignation, she addresses me in the most *insolent* terms, declaring *positivement* that she will protest any bill I draw on her.

^a Simon Bamberger - ^b Caroline von Westphalen - ^c Edgar von Westphalen

So when 21 April comes round I shall have to expect the very worst from a thoroughly incensed old Simon Bamberger.

At the same time my wife was brought to bed on 28 March.^a Though the confinement was an easy one, she is now very ill in bed, the causes being domestic rather than physical. And thereby I have *verbalement*^b not a FARTHING in the house, so that tradesmen's bills—butcher's, baker's AND SO FORTH—keep mounting up.

In 7 or 8 days' time, I shall have a copy of the will from Scotland.³⁹⁰ If anything's to be made of it, little Bamberger^c is the one to do so, if only in his own interest. But I can't rely on it.

You will admit that this is a pretty kettle of fish and that I am up to my neck in petty-bourgeois muck. And at the same time one is also said to have exploited the workers! and to aspire to dictatorship! *Quelle horreur!*^d

Mais ce n'est pas tout.^e The manufacturer who, in Brussels, loaned me money from Trier, is dunning me for it because his iron-works are doing badly. *Tant pis pour lui.*^f I can't do as he asks.

But finally, to give the matter a tragi-comic turn, there is in addition a *mystère* which I will now reveal to you *en très peu de mots.*^g However, I've just been interrupted and must go and help nurse my wife. The rest, then, in which you also figure, in my next.

Your
K. M.

Apropos, how do merchants, manufacturers, etc., account for the portion of their income which they themselves consume? Is this money too fetched from the BANKER or how is it arranged? I'd be glad to have your answer to this.

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^a Jenny Marx gave birth to a daughter Franziska on that day. - ^b literally - ^c Louis Bamberger - ^d How terrible! - ^e But that's not all. - ^f So much the worse for him. - ^g in a very few words

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MARX TO ENGELS²²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 April^a 1851

Dear Engels,

I return herewith the cover of the letter I received from you today. Might it have been opened by Pitt Ermen? You must *éclaircir*^b this matter.

Your post office order arrived most opportunely. And this time celerity has increased the capital tenfold, like *Signore* Proudhon's railway revenues.³⁹¹

As you can imagine, I'm not being idle. And with the *avances*^c you are making, I hope to collect what is wanting from various parts of the world.

I'm not writing to you about the *mystère* since, *coûte que coûte*,^d I shall be coming in any case to see you at the end of April. I must get away from here for a week.³⁹²

The worst of it is that I now suddenly find myself hampered in my work at the library. I am so far advanced that I will have finished with the whole economic stuff in 5 weeks' time. *Et cela fait*,^e I shall complete the political economy at home and apply myself to another branch of learning at the Museum.^f *Ça commence à m'ennuyer*. *Au fond*,^g this science has made no progress since A. Smith and D. Ricardo, however much has been done in the way of individual research, often extremely discerning.

Send me an answer to the question I put to you in my last letter.

As you are now devoting yourself to military science, couldn't you embark on a fresh study of the Hungarian campaigns with the help of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Palmerston's Blue Book,^h etc.? *Ça serait très utile*.ⁱ Sooner or later I shall be bringing out 2 volumes of 60 sheets, and that would fit in splendidly.³⁹³ If you wish to find out any details about intrigues, battles, personalities, all you have to do is send me the inquiries in unsealed letters addressed to Baroness von Beck. I have established contact with her. She was a spy for Kossuth. And she's a veritable chronicler of

^a The original has March. - ^b clear up - ^c advance payments - ^d cost what it may - ^e And having done that - ^f British Museum - ^g It's beginning to bore me. Basically - ^h 'Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Hungary 1847-49' - ⁱ It would be most useful.

the Hungarian muck. *Il faut l'exploiter*.^a She's too stupid to be able to conceal the truth. I have done some experiments to find out.

My wife, alas, has been delivered of a girl,^b and not a *garçon*.^c And, what is worse, she's very poorly.

Enclosed a letter from Daniels, to whom I wrote at length about his *Physiologie*.^d What little sense there is in his letter is a reflection of my own to him.³⁹⁴ At any rate let me have the scrawl back and *tell me what you think of it*.

Your
K. M.

You would, by the way, oblige me if, *dans les circonstances actuelles*,^e you wrote to me as often as possible. As you know, my acquaintanceship here is confined *plus ou moins*^f to stupid youngsters.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 3 April [1851]

Dear Marx,

The business of my opened letter is strange indeed. It could only have been opened by our clerk in the office and I doubt whether he possesses the nerve; besides, he could only have done it in old Hill's absence and I don't believe the latter left the office for as much as a second. None of the Ermens was in town. It is, of course, impossible to get to the bottom of the matter as there would seem to be a strong possibility—*vu*^g questions in Parliament

^a She must be exploited. - ^b Franziska - ^c boy - ^d R. Daniels' manuscript 'Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie'. - ^e in the present circumstances - ^f more or less - ^g in view of

concerning refugees—that it actually happened at the post office. I had already noticed that the clerk, who is more a servant of Ermen Brothers than of Ermen and Engels, had been regarding me with some suspicion of late, but from there to tampering with letters *il y a loin encore*.^a In any case I shall know how to forestall that sort of thing in future. Even if the fool actually read the letter, it would be of no great moment; for if the fellow ever tried to make use of the information, e.g. if my old man were to come here, it would so compromise him that he would at once get the sack. Anyhow, as I have said, I doubt whether he possesses the nerve.

As to the question raised in your last letter but one, it is not entirely clear. However, I think the following might suffice.

In commerce the merchant as a firm, as a producer of profits, and the same merchant as a consumer are two entirely different people who confront one another as antagonists. The merchant as a firm means capital account and/or profit and loss account. The merchant as a guzzler, toper, householder and procreator means household expense account. Hence the capital account debits the household expense account with every centime that makes its way from the commercial to the private purse and, since the household expense account shows only a debit but no credit and is thus one of the firm's worst debtors, the total debit standing to the household expense account at the end of the year is pure loss and is written off the profit. In the balance sheet, however, and in calculating the percentage of profit, the sum expended for housekeeping is usually regarded as being still in hand, as part of the profit; e.g. if, on a capital of 100,000 talers, 10,000 talers are earned but 5,000 frittered away, it is calculated that a profit of 10 per cent has been made and, when everything has been correctly entered, the capital account in the following year figures with a debit of 105,000 talers. The actual procedure is rather more complicated than I have described here, in that the capital account and the household expense account seldom come in contact save at the end of the year, and the household expense account generally figures as a debtor to the cash account, which serves as broker; but in the end this is what it amounts to.

Where there are several partners, the matter is very simple. E.g. A has 50,000 talers in the business and B likewise 50,000; they make a profit of 10,000 talers and each spends 2,500 talers. So at

^a it's still a far cry

the end of the year the accounts appear as follows—in single entry book-keeping and omitting the imaginary accounts:

A Credit with A & B—capital invested	50,000	talers
A " " " —share of profit	5,000	"
	<hr/>	
	55,000	talers
Debit with A & B—for cash	2,500	"
	<hr/>	
A Credit for the following year	52,500	talers

Similarly B. Yet the firm continues to calculate that it has made 10 per cent profit. In a word: the merchants, when calculating the percentage of profit, ignore the partners' living expenses, whereas they allow for them in calculating the increase in capital resulting from the profit.

I'd be happy enough to write about the Hungarian campaign—or better still, if that were possible, about the campaigns of 1848/50 as a whole—if only all the sources were available. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* could only serve for comparison with the Austrian bulletins, and you know how much these leave to be desired. I should require at least 10-12 works on this campaign alone, and even then wouldn't have what I needed most—Kossuth's *Közlöny* (*Moniteur*). There's no easier way to make an ass of oneself than by trying to argue about military history without having at one's finger-tips all the facts concerning strength, provisioning, munitions, etc. That may be alright for a newspaper when all journals are equally ill-informed and reduced to drawing correct inferences from the few data at their disposal. But I don't believe that as yet sufficient material on the Hungarian war is available to the public to enable one to say *post festum* of every crucial occasion: 'Here such and such ought to have been done, and here what was done was right, even though the outcome might seem to belie it.' Who, for instance, will provide me with data on the establishment of the Austrian and Hungarian armies and of the various corps on the eve of every battle and of every important movement? For that Kossuth's and Görgey's memoirs would have to be published first, and an authentic version of the battle and campaign plans submitted by Dembinski be available. However, even with the existing material, much could be elucidated and perhaps quite an interesting article produced. What is already clear is that, at the beginning of 1849, it was the winter alone which saved the Hungarian insurrection, as it did the

Polish in 1830, and the Russian Empire in 1812.^a Hungary, Poland and Russia are the only countries in Europe where invasion is impossible in winter. But it's always fatal when an insurrection is saved merely by the bottomless mud which surrounds it. If the business between Austria and Hungary had come to a head in May instead of in December, a Hungarian army would never have been organised and the whole mess would have ended up like Baden, *ni plus ni moins*.^b The more I mug up on war, the greater my contempt for heroism—a fatuous expression, heroism, and never heard on the lips of a proper soldier. When Napoleon was not haranguing or making proclamations but speaking coolly he never spoke of *glorieux courage indomptable*,^c etc., but would say at most, *'il s'est bien battu'*.^d

Incidentally, should a revolution break out in France next year, there can be no doubt that the Holy Alliance²⁷¹ will advance *at least* as far as the gates of Paris. And, despite the remarkable attainments and rare energy of our French revolutionaries, it still remains highly questionable whether the forts and the enceinte of Paris are so much as armed and provisioned. But even if 2 forts are taken, e.g. St Denis and the next one to the east, it will be all to hell with Paris and the Revolution, *jusqu'à nouvel ordre*.^e Soon I shall explain this to you exactly in military terms,^f together with the only countermeasure that might at least temper the invasion: the occupation of the Belgian fortresses by the French, and of those on the Rhine by means of a highly problematic insurrectional *coup de main*.

I think you'll enjoy the following joke about the nature of your Prussian foot-sloggers which throws light on the later defeat at Jena,³⁹⁵ etc. So inspired was Prussian General Bülow, of the same school as old Fritz,^g father or uncle to the later Bülow of 1813, by the apparently reckless but *au fond*^h exceedingly sure blows struck by Napoleon at Marengo,³⁹⁶ that he arrived at the following insight: 1) To lay down a system of warfare based on the absurd for the purpose of 'confounding' the enemy with one folly after another and, 2) to provide the infantry, not with bayonets, but with lances as in the Thirty Years' War!³⁹⁷ In order to beat Napoleon, one does away with gun-powder, *qu'en dis-tu?*ⁱ

I'm delighted that, despite everything, you should be coming

^a i.e., during Napoleon's invasion - ^b no more nor less - ^c glorious and undaunted courage - ^d he fought well - ^e until further orders - ^f F. Engels, 'Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852'. - ^g Frederick II - ^h at bottom - ⁱ what do you say to that?

here at the end of the month. But you must make use of the opportunity to bring me the complete run of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, from which I shall compile dossiers on all the German democratic jackasses and the French ones likewise—a task that must in any case be done before we again find ourselves precipitated into some kind of mess. It would be good if for this purpose the worthy Liebknecht, *qui est assez bon pour cela*,^a could go to the Museum^b and look up details of the voting in the Berlin, Frankfurt and Vienna assemblies, which must be there (in stenographic records), and make extracts for the whole of the Left.

You know, I haven't read Daniels' conclusion.^c That the fellow should insist on 'concepts' as mediating between human beings, etc., is explicable; nor will you ever persuade one who writes about physiology that it is not. In the final count he can always argue that, every time an actual fact affects men, it provokes concepts in them, and hence that the reaction to this fact, though in the second instance a consequence of the fact, is, in the first instance, a consequence of the concept. Of course there is no objection to this formal logic, and it all really depends on the manner, which I do not know, of its presentation in the manuscript.^d I think it would be best to write and tell him that, knowing now to what misinterpretations certain sections are open, he should so alter them that his 'true' opinion plainly emerges. That is all you can do, unless you yourself rewrite the more questionable passages of the manuscript, which is not feasible either.

Let me know how your wife is, and give her my warm regards.

I'm glad that you've at long last finished with political economy. The thing has really been dragging on far too long, and so long as you have in front of you an unread book which you believe to be important, you won't be able to settle down to writing.

What are the prospects of finding a publisher for the two volumes of 60 sheets you have in mind? If that turns out ALL RIGHT, we might be able to inveigle the fellow into getting the necessary material for the Hungarian article—I'd let him know about it—the cost to be deducted later, *au besoin*,^e from the fee. In that case I should also need a *very good* special map of Hungary and Transylvania, if possible battle-plans which, to the best of my knowledge, are not contained in existing works—and the map

^a who is good enough for that - ^b British Museum - ^c See this volume, p. 326. - ^d R. Daniels' manuscript 'Mikrokosmos. Entwurf einer physiologischen Anthropologie'. - ^e if need be

alone could cost some 15-20 talers. I would arrange for Weydemeyer to look for one. Apropos, do you know his address? I'd like to ask him about the military ABC books on organisation and tactics, since I can't get that sort of stuff here. You might also see if you can get any books on Hungary out of the Beck woman, or else through her. I shall also need the Decker, which you still have.^a

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO HERMANN BECKER³⁵⁷

IN COLOGNE

[London,] 9 April 1851

Dear Becker,

Herewith the jolly scribble from the School of Kinkel. 15 shillings have accumulated here for the League.^b 10 shillings are still outstanding, having been promised but not yet collected. I shall proceed in the manner you indicate. So debit me with £1. For, owing to the reduced circumstances of the member who should pay it, five shillings cannot be collected....

First published in *Anklageschrift gegen P. G. Roeser, J. H. G. Bürgers, P. Nothjung, W. J. Reiff, H. H. Becker, R. Daniels, C. W. Otto, A. Jacobi, J. J. Klein, F. Freiligrath*, Cologne, 1852

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^a C. von Decker, *La Petite guerre, ou Traité des opérations secondaires de la guerre* (see this volume, pp. 405-06). - ^b Communist League

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 April 1851

Dear Marx,

I thought that by today I would at last have been done with my grand strategical treatise.^a Partly because of interruptions, partly through having to look up details, and partly because the thing is turning out longer than I thought, I shall hardly finish it before the small hours. It is, by the way, wholly UNFIT for publication, is FOR PRIVATE INFORMATION only, and a kind of exercise for me.

I am gradually gaining a clearer conception of Wellington. A self-willed, tough, obstinate Englishman, with all the *bon sens*,^b all the resourcefulness of his nation; slow in his deliberations, cautious, never counting on a lucky chance despite his most colossal luck; he would be a genius if COMMON SENSE were not incapable of rising to the heights of genius. All his things are exemplary, not one of them masterly.^c A general like him is as if created for the English army where every soldier, every second lieutenant, is a miniature Wellington in his own sphere. And he knows his army, its self-willed, DEFENSIVE DOGGEDNESS, which every Englishman brings with him from the boxing ring, and which enables it, after eight hours of strenuous defensive fighting that would bring any other army to its knees, to launch yet another formidable attack in which lack of élan is compensated by uniformity and steadiness. The defensive battle of Waterloo,²⁷⁷ until the Prussians arrived, would have been too much for any army not having a nucleus of 35,000 Englishmen.

During the Peninsular War, incidentally, Wellington showed greater insight into Napoleon's military art than those nations upon whose backs Napoleon left the imprint of the superiority of his military art. Whereas the Austrians simply became confused, and the Prussians, because their judgment *n'y voyait que du feu*,^d declared imbecility and genius to be identical, Wellington showed a measure of finesse and avoided the blunders committed by the Austrians and Prussians. He never imitated Napoleon's man-

^a F. Engels, 'Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852'. - ^b common sense - ^c A pun on the words *musterhaft* (exemplary) and *meisterhaft* (masterly). - ^d could not understand it

oeuvres, but made it exceedingly difficult for the French to employ their manoeuvres against himself. He never made a single mistake, unless compelled by political considerations; on the other hand I have never discovered the least evidence of his having ever betrayed so much as a spark of genius. Napier himself^a says of him that, on occasions when a stroke of genius would have been decisive, no such thing ever entered his mind. So far as I can learn, he never knew how to exploit such an opportunity. He is great in his own way, as great, that is, as it is possible to be without ceasing to be mediocre. He has all the qualities of the soldier, all of them equally developed and in remarkable harmony one with the other; but it is precisely this harmony which prevents any one individual quality from evolving to the point of genius. *Tel soldat, tel politique.*^b Peel, his political bosom friend, is to some extent his replica. Both represent a Toryism which has enough *bon sens* decently to surrender one position after another and to merge with the bourgeoisie. It is the retreat to Torres Vedras.³⁹⁸ *Voilà* Wellington.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 April 1851

Dear Engels,

You have not had a letter and are getting no more than these few lines now, because FROM DAY TO DAY I have been awaiting your letter—the one you promised. Enclosed a letter from Lupus. I wrote to him 4 days ago, but didn't answer the questions addressed to you.³⁹⁹

^a W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula...* - ^b As the soldier is, so are his politics.

A letter from a Fischer in America whom I don't know. In the meantime I have asked Liebknecht to write to him.

I shall send you a letter from Rothacker in my next. That jackass, too, is an editor in America. From his letter it transpires that, from the extreme FAR WEST to the east we are being loudly inveighed against, both in speech and in print. In his rag Weitling published an article said to be from Paris but in fact by Willich, attacking me and you.^a Schnauffer, on the other hand, has attacked the great Willich.

As for *Struve*, no sooner had he made himself answerable for the 10 millions, than he distributed a leaflet in the City begging for money to help him emigrate to America, together with Amalia.^b In this he was successful. Last Friday he pushed off, still with Amalia.

Willich, with Göhringer for mentor, is said to have become very devoted to the TRICKER. Incidentally, for a fortnight after receiving the latest reply from pseudo-Becker, enclosing the toast, he suffered from a bilious fever. For 2 weeks never left the chapel, i.e. the barracks. And on his return to the Windmill,³³¹ he brought up for discussion the question of the toast and the introductory comment,^c presumably so as to equip himself with a *testimonium paupertatis*.^d

Schapper has framed a constitution for England since, after mature consideration and lengthy discussion in that same Windmill, they decided that England had no written constitution and must therefore be given one. And Schapper-Gebert will provide her with this constitution. It's already written.

Schimmelpfennig has been travelling round Germany and has everywhere been busily engaged in intrigues against us, in the common interest of Willich-Schapper, Ruge-Kinkel, Becker^e-Sigel. Especially at the seats of Kinkel-mania, and more particularly in Westphalia, Osnabrück, Bielefeld, etc., where they've never been well-disposed towards us, there is no end to the tittle-tattle.

Your

K. M.

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^a 'Paris, 2. Januar 1851', *Die Republik der Arbeiter*, No. 2, February 1851. - ^b Amalie Struve - ^c See K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Introduction to the Leaflet of L. A. Blanqui's Toast Sent to the Refugee Committee'. - ^d certificate of poverty - ^e Johann Philipp Becker

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Tuesday, 15 April [1851]

Dear Marx,

Herewith POST OFFICE ORDER for £5.

If your wife's state of health and your other circumstances permit, come up the day after tomorrow, Thursday.³⁹² There are three trains for you to choose from: 1. at half past six in the morning, arriving here at 2 o'clock (has 2nd class); 2. the PARLIAMENTARY TRAIN⁴⁰⁰ at seven in the morning (2nd and 3rd class), arriving at half past six in the evening; 3. at 12 o'clock midday, arriving at 9 in the evening (2nd class). Then, from Friday to Monday we could make a tour of the neighbourhood.

Anyway, write and tell me by return whether you're coming and by which train; I shall then be at the station. If you can't come up on Thursday, although *sous beaucoup de rapports*^a that would be preferable, then come up on Friday. At any rate, let me know at once how and when.

All else I'll leave for verbal discussion, since I'd better go and get the POST OFFICE ORDER straight away. My regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

Once again the Post Office was too crowded—enclosed half a five-pound note—the other half by the next post.

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^a in many respects

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 May 1851

Dear Marx,

Within a few days, a week at the most, you will receive another £5—I'd have sent it today, had I not just had to pay out £10 in cash.

For the past few days I have been vainly searching for the letters from Lupus^a and Dronke. You must have taken them both with you.⁴⁰¹ If you find them, send them to me by return and I shall then write at once. Nor have I been able to find Fischer's letter from New Orleans.

Ne nous plaignons pas trop de la mauvaise queue.^b I happen to have Savary's memoirs^c at home. Heaven knows, Napoleon was similarly afflicted. Savary himself providing a splendid example. Nothing could be more mediocre than this fellow. Just as some people think they're UP TO THE MARK, yet don't even understand the *Communist Manifesto*,^d so too Savary imagines that he's got the measure of Napoleon, that he's one of the few elect who can comprehend the full greatness of the fellow, and yet he has failed to comprehend one single campaign- or battle-plan. When he wrote these memoirs, virtually no proper account of these campaigns had been written and, since the thing's an apologia both for Napoleon and for himself, he would certainly not have failed to do his best in this respect; instead, we find nothing but a few general platitudes and a disconnected jumble of detail as seen through the eyes of a subordinate. All the fellow knows about Austerlitz,⁴⁰² for instance, is that the enemy was surprised by a flanking march, and was split up into as many fragments as there were French columns—a word-for-word copy of Napoleon's bulletin. But how it happened, he has no idea. For the rest, a vast amount of Empire and Consulate tittle-tattle; a real prize *crapaud*,^e

^a Wilhelm Wolff (see this volume, p. 333) - ^b Let us not complain too much about our poor following. - ^c A.-J.-M.-R. Savary, *Mémoires du duc de Rovigo*... - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^e philistine

boastful, mendacious, servile, positively revelling in the noble activities of the policeman, both as regards the pleasures of spying and the delight in wielding authority when making an arrest; at the same time lending himself to all manner of tomfooleries and intrigues, yet so mediocre, so obsequious and so blinkered that he had always to be kept on a short rein and issued with definite orders. *Enfin*,^a a far from impressive character, *au fond*,^b neither better nor worse, neither more reliable nor more shady than certain *amici*,^c and yet in course of time Napoleon made a passable machine of him, a Duke of Rovigo and a courtier who did him no discredit with the Tsar of Russia.^d But indeed fellows such as these have to be bought, and that means above all money and power.

Savary's memoirs, which were pretty well known in France, have, by the way, been copied by the worthy Thiers^e with an effrontery which, in terms of plagiarism, yields nothing to that of the English economists, and this not only where tittle-tattle is concerned. Here and there he also uses Mr Savary as his main source on questions of administration, etc., etc.

To go by *The Times*, things must be pretty terrible in London now that the Tatars, French, Russians and other barbarians have taken complete possession of it. And, withal, the prospect of brigades of informers arriving from all parts of the world, and even Prussian gendarmes, not to speak of German democratic friends *à la* Otterberg, who'll be turning up in June to see the Great Exhibition^f and the great men. A fine how-d'ye-do. If you're not careful, you'll have foisted upon you people, with or without letters of introduction, who will demand to be shown Ledru, Mazzini, L. Blanc and Caussidière and who, once back in Germany, will grumble furiously because you failed to procure them an invitation to dinner with Feargus O'Connor. There'll be people coming to you and saying: 'Mr Marx?—Delighted—You'll have heard of me, I'm Neuhaus, leader of the Thuringian movement!'

You probably read about the fracas in the Cologne City Council over Deputy Burgomaster Schenk's address to the Prince of Prussia,^g and also about the latter's insolent speech.⁴⁰³ 'The press is bad, the press in Cologne has got to improve!'^h *Ce pauvre*ⁱ Brüggemann—he, of course, is seizing on the occasion to write a

^a In brief - ^b at bottom - ^c friends - ^d Alexander I - ^e A. Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*. - ^f in London in 1851 - ^g Wilhelm I - ^h 'Köln, 24. April', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 99, second edition, 25 April 1851. - ⁱ poor

lot of twaddle such as, in all modesty and with the best intentions, one used to take the immense liberty of writing under the censorship. But now 'our Stupp' is burgomaster into the bargain, and the greatest man in Cologne, while your brother-in-law^a is confiscating books with praiseworthy zeal. My only fear is that *en Brutus prusso-bureaucrate*^b he will soon be laying violent hands on your stuff, and that might put an unwelcome stop to the payment of fees. This noble fellow's other brother-in-law, what-you-may-call-him Florencourt, has, as announced in the German papers, betaken himself *tambour battant et mèche allumée*^c to the bosom of the Catholic Church. Your family is at least interesting, whereas in mine it's I alone who have to cut the capers.

Apropos, you'd do me a very great favour if you would arrange for Daniels, or anyone else you think suitable in Cologne, to send me a letter (direct here and so with a Cologne postmark) as soon as possible, in which he acknowledges receipt of two five-pound notes, as well as one sent previously, that is, £15 in all, adding that he paid this money to specific individuals in accordance with my instructions, and that my accounts with various people in Cologne are settled in full. He could throw in a few casual remarks, greetings, etc., so that the letter doesn't look contrived. For I foresee a discussion about the monies that have been raised, and hence must have a document which will help me if necessary to prove that I have paid debts in Cologne. The sooner I have the letter the better. How you broach the matter I leave entirely to you, and I would rather it was you who procured the document for me, since the business we two transact between us concerns nobody else. For all I care, you can write and say that it was women who got me into debt, or that, for League purposes, I once stood security for this sum and have now been compelled to pay up, or anything else you choose—*n'importe*.^d The letter will, by the way, be returned promptly in June to the writer. The main thing is the Cologne postmark, date-stamped sometime in the first half of May.

How goes it with your household? My regards to your wife and children, and write soon.

Your
F. E.

^a Ferdinand von Westphalen - ^b like a Prusso-bureaucratic Brutus - ^c with drums beating and flags flying - ^d no matter

I have just found the letters from Lupus and Fischer—but I can't find the one from Dronke. I shall write to Lupus today.^a When you write to Cologne, it would be a good idea to press them for Lupus' fare—you know what these Cologne people^b are!

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ENGELS TO WILHELM WOLFF

IN ZURICH

[Manchester, 1 May 1851]

Dear Lupus,

From the date on your letter which Marx brought me when he visited me here in Manchester a few days ago, I am horrified to see that it is nearly a month old. However Marx tells me that he wrote to you at once.^c

As to your American plans,⁴⁰⁴ dismiss them from your mind. They are superfluous and you'll find something in London straight away, since you know English and there is a demand for people as well-grounded as yourself in ancient languages, especially if you have your testimonials with you. After all, quite insignificant persons have been given the most excellent positions. The American journal^d affair is nothing but humbug; do you imagine that if there were anything in it, the fellow^e would write to Europe for an editor and wait so long? Who knows what is really the case and what has happened in the meantime? You might have to wait till doomsday before being advanced the money for your trip. Moreover at best the thing isn't such as to warrant your going to Chicago on the strength of it; 4 dol-

^a See this volume, pp. 339-41. - ^b i.e. members of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne - ^c See this volume, p. 333. - ^d *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* - ^e Bernhard Höffgen

lars a week is less than the lowliest wood-cutter's daily wage, and, on top of that, one week's notice, which is very general there!

[...] I hope that you'll have it by now and, as soon as it is in your possession, pack your bags, obtain a passport to London and up anchor. I see that newspapers on the Continent are implying that the British Government are not admitting any more refugees. Stuff! Don't let anything put you off, not even, say, a directive from the police that you must have a visa from the British Ambassador in Berne. You need nothing of the kind. All you need is a visa enabling you to cross France, i.e. from the French Embassy, which the Swiss will procure for you. You simply pass through the country and cross over here. Even should the French—and they're quite capable of this—direct you to Le Havre and thence to America, all you have to do at Le Havre is board the steamer for Southampton or London. You know that no one is ever stopped at a port of entry here, and despite all the empty chatter in the reactionary press, I hope to see you in London for the Exhibition.^a As I have told you, don't let anything put you off but, whatever happens, insist on going to London. Should you experience difficulties over transit with the French Government, and if funds permit, it might even be preferable to take the route I took⁴⁰⁵ [...] write Lorenzo Chiozza [...] very nice letter saying you have been given his address by a compatriot of his, and would be much obliged if he would advise you whether any vessels and which, bound for England, are lying there (sailing vessels, there are also steamers) and approximately when they are due to sail. Ask him, too, for the names of the captains. Then you can either communicate with these captains by letter (addressed to them aboard their vessels), or go to them direct. My passage, including food, cost me six pounds (150 French fr.). You might get one cheaper. The trip to Genoa isn't expensive provided you do as much as possible of the journey to Turin on foot—up to that point the country is wonderful—via Geneva and Mont Cenis or, more direct, via the Great St Bernhard (Martigny-Ivrea). From Turin you have the railway almost to the foot of the Apennines. Or by footpath (even more direct) via the Reuss Valley, the Furka, the Simplon, straight to Alessandria. These are all very beautiful trips, the weather is now splendid for a sea voyage (easterlies

^a Great Exhibition in 1851

predominating), and the Mediterranean passage most diverting. If possible an English vessel. In my opinion the whole thing could be done on 250 fr., certainly on 300. But whether the people in Cologne^a will be able to manage this is debatable. But in any case you must get to England. I am on the point of writing to Marx, asking him to write once more to Cologne about the money^b; if you haven't got it yet, it could do no harm if you, too, were to write again to Daniels or Bürgers.

As regards the fares from England to New York, they are devilish high—'tween-deck passengers often come off very badly, one such case being still before Parliament—1st class cabin usually costs £15-20; this we discovered when we ourselves were proposing to press on further.⁴⁰⁶ 2nd class on the Southampton steamers is good and cheap; there are also a few screw-steamers aboard which you could travel 2nd class quickly and cheaply if you chanced on one. But whatever the case, I hope that you will come here and stay here. You would have more opportunities here than in America and it's not so easy, once you're there, to come back again. It's frightful in America where the greatest man is Heinzen and where, too, the prolix Struve is now about to inundate the whole country with his piddle. The devil take the public there. Sooner a galley-slave in Turkey than a journalist in America.

Send us word soon and come soon yourself.

Your
F. E.

F. Engels
Address: Ermen & Engels,
Manchester

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV,
Moscow, 1934

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

^a members of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne - ^b See this volume, p. 339.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 May 1851

Dear Engels,

Lupus himself has written to tell me that he has received from Cologne a passport to England and the fares for himself and Dronke.⁴⁰⁴ Dronke has also sent the people in Cologne^a an essay on the Italian revolution.

Mais ce qu'il y a de drôle^b: Dronke's signature is there for all to see—printed by Louis Blanc—beneath the address to the then committee for the celebration of the February Revolution. *Nous lui demanderons des éclaircissements sur ce fait étrange. Dans le meilleur cas, ce n'est pas un trait d'esprit de la part de ce gnome.^c*

Becker^d has removed his printing and publishing business to Verviers, and wouldn't appear to be harmed by the government's persecution. An instalment of my stuff has arrived here, but only one copy.³⁴⁷

The German Central Democratic Committee⁴⁰⁷ here broke up at the very same time as the great Karl Heinzen announced that he would pay it 'military obedience'. The charming Kinkel has withdrawn, since he must, of course, avoid compromising himself on account of his dramatic lectures to respectable City men—12 lectures for 1 guinea: the charmer distributes these tickets through a committee (including Oppenheim of Berlin) to all and sundry, and has an audience of 300 or so. Haug, too, has quarrelled with everybody. Ruge, whose finances seem to be in extreme disarray, intended to buy a daguerreotype establishment and to travel the country as a daguerreotype photographer.

Weerth has written to me today in the highest dudgeon: he is sick of long noses and smoked meat. Besides, he says, he is threatened with 'an excellent situation'—marriage? but is too old to become a philistine. You know our friend Weerth. He soon gets

^a members of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne - ^b But the curious thing is - ^c We shall ask him for an explanation of this strange fact. At very best it is not a bright idea on this gnome's part. - ^d Hermann Becker

bored, and soonest of all when surrounded by bourgeois comforts. His friend Campe, morosely indicating a pile of unsold copies, told him: 'Everything is well received but nothing sells.' And that's how things are generally in Germany.

This place is swarming with PEOPLE of every kind. I don't think that this will inconvenience me IN ANY WAY. For such of the industrialists as are liberal, radical or even simply curious are carefully bagged by Göhringer or the Kinkel clique and then immediately fed with scandal about us two. *Tant mieux pour nous!*^a

The library has been closed all this week. There's no more news of the red fool.^b

Daniels writes to say that they are nowhere better represented than in Berlin, where they have at their disposal two 'gentlemen' and 'men of talent' who are very active.

Tupman^c has the clap very badly. After a violent scene with Madame la baronesse^d they have partly made it up again but, as a result of his frivolity, his position is now more subordinate than it was.

Foucault's experiment with a pendulum is being demonstrated at the Polytechnical Institute here.

I shall send off the said letter to Daniels tomorrow.⁴⁰⁸ Schramm, *mirabile dictu*,^e has succeeded in obtaining a SEASON TICKET.^f

In his filthy rag^g Heinzen has again been chucking his 'NATIVE' mud at me, the *malheureux*.^h The fellow's so stupid that, under the name Müller, Schramm is acting as a paid correspondent, and surreptitiously introducing all sorts of unsuitable tomfoolery, such as the Blanqui toast, etc., into his journalistic stuff.

A few days ago Willich met Bamberger,ⁱ whom he had seen once before. Walked up to him. Shook him by the hand: 'I've been very ill for 3 weeks. Couldn't leave the house. The revolution's going famously. We are very active, particularly here in London. Two new branches founded. Schapper's working like a Trojan.'

More another time. Next week I shall really get down to finding your L. Blanc sources at the library.

Your
K. M.

^a So much the better for us! - ^b Hermann Becker - ^c Wilhelm Pieper - ^d Baroness Rothschild - ^e wonderful to say - ^f This seems to refer to a ticket Conrad Schramm received for visiting the Great Exhibition of 1851. - ^g *Deutsche Schnellpost* - ^h the wretch - ⁱ Louis Bamberger

My wife sends her regards. She was furious at the importunate way in which *Pieper* promptly thrust himself upon us.

By the way, you invariably make the Post Office the present of a STAMP. ONE WILL DO.

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MARX TO ENGELS

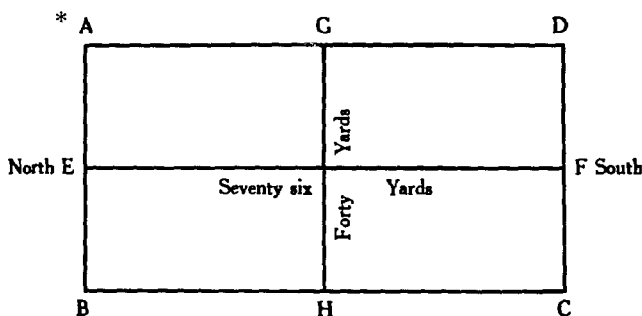
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 May [1851]

Dear Engels,

Below you will find in the original English a copy of an article concerning the application of electricity to agriculture.^a Please be good enough to write by return, telling me

1. What you think of the thing.
2. Explaining the business to me IN PLAIN GERMAN, as I can make little sense of it.



^a 'Remarkable Discovery—Electricity and Agriculture', *The Economist*, Vol. III, Nos. 17 and 18, 26 April and 3 May 1845.

'A field is divided into oblong squares, 76 yards long and 40 yards wide, and containing, therefore, just one acre each.' The above is the plan of such a 'square'.

At each of the points A, B, C and D 'pegs are driven into the ground; the external lines represent strong iron wires, extending from and fastened to each of the 4 pegs, and communicating with each other, so as to form a square of wire, sunk 3 inches below the surface; at the Points E and F poles are fixed in the ground 15 feet high; a wire is connected with the cross wire beneath the surface at the Point E,—carried up the pole and along the centre of the square to the top of the pole at F, down which it is conducted and fixed to the cross wire beneath the surface at that point. We must here remark that the square must be so formed, to run from north to south, so that the wire passing from E to F shall be at right angles with the equator. It is well known that a considerable body of electricity is generated in the atmosphere, and constantly travelling from east to west with the motion of the earth. This electricity is attracted by the wire suspended from E to F, and communicated to the wires forming the square under the surface of the ground, from the points A, B, C and D. ... any quantity of electricity could be generated, that might be required, by placing under the ground at the point G, a bag of charcoal, and plates of zinc at the point H, and to connect the two by a wire passing over two poles similar to those at E and F and crossing the longitudinal wire passing from those points. The cost at which this application can be made is computed at one pound per acre, and it is reckoned to last 10-15 years, the wires being carefully taken up and replaced each year.'

The poles are made of 'dry wood. As the area increases the cost diminishes.... The mode in which the plot is laid out is as follows. With a mariners' compass and measured lengths of common string, lay out the places for the wooden pins, to which the *buried* wire is attached (by passing through a small staple). Care must be taken to lay the length of the buried wire due north and south by compass, and the breadth due east and west. This wire must be placed from two to three inches deep in the soil. The lines of the buried wire are then completed. The *suspended* wire must be attached and in contact with the buried wires at both of its ends. A wooden pin with a staple must therefore be driven in, and the two poles (one 14 feet and the other 15 feet) being placed by the compass due north and south, the wire is placed over them, and fastened to the wooden stake, but touching likewise at this point the buried wire. The suspended wire must not be drawn too tight, otherwise the wind will break it.'*

Voilà l'affaire.^a

The German Central chaps^b have reunited for the nth time, and General Haug has accordingly issued an advertisement announcing the appearance on 10 May of his *Kosmos*, with Messrs Ruge, Kinkel, Ronge, etc., for collaborators. That'll be worth seeing.

Tupman^c has just brought me a letter from Miquel from which it transpires that the German democrats—as well as a number of communists—with Ruge's rotten Bremen rag^d in the lead, are slandering me indefatigably, that sort of thing being, of course,

^a There you are - ^b members of the Committee for German Affairs (see this volume, p. 342) - ^c Wilhelm Pieper - ^d *Bremer Tages-Chronik*

greedily lapped up by German philistines and Straubingers.⁸⁶ The fellows must really be scared to death of me if, even at this stage, they're employing all available means to make it impossible for me to take up residence in Germany.

Your
K. M.

Jones gave a truly splendid lecture yesterday in which he attacked the COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT and assailed his own public *de front*.^a He told me that nothing was likely to come of producing a newspaper with Harney, since the latter's wife^b made it impossible to transact business. For the time being he intends to publish a magazine on his own.¹⁰⁹

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 6 May 1851]

Dear Marx,

You will get the POST OFFICE ORDER TOMORROW or the day after. Today our bookkeeper is again without CASH.

Since when have you been using the enclosed beautiful seal on your letters—or has there been a mishap?

Il paraît donc^c that the whole of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will forgoather in London this summer, minus, perhaps, Freiligrath⁴¹⁰ and the *honorarius*^d Bürgers. I am delighted to hear that Lupus is definitely coming; incidentally, I know for certain that the ALIEN-OFFICES here are far less strict than before and hence all

^a head on - ^b Mary - ^c It would seem, then - ^d honourable

that to-do about the ban on sending refugees here is sheer humbug.

The mandrake's signature to the Geneva address is strange indeed—*une bévue inconcevable*^a—further proof that one must maintain A SHARP LOOK-OUT AFTER THESE YOUNG MEN and that they must be kept on a tight rein. It can only be a *bévue*; the little chap's letters were over-zealous and he may have believed that what he was doing was a wonderful stroke of genius. He must be rigorously questioned, upbraided and told, *surtout pas de zèle!*^b

I shall shortly tell you of an economic treatise written by Wellington in 1811 ON FREE TRADE and monopoly in colonial trade. It's a curious thing and, since it relates to the Spanish and not the English colonies, he can play at being a FREE-TRADER although right at the outset he rails at merchants like the dyed-in-the-wool soldier and aristocrat he is. It never occurred to him that he would later have to help apply these principles in the English colonies. But that's the irony of it. In return for his undeserved victory over Napoleon, the old Irishman subsequently had to yield to Cobden and, *en économie politique*,^c to pass under the Caudine yoke^d of FREE-TRADE. World history does indeed give occasion for a great many pleasing reflections!

The dissolution of the Democratic Provisional Government for Germany in London^d fills me with sorrow. Such a fine opportunity for the jackasses to hold themselves up to public ridicule will no readily recur. On the other hand the great Franz Raveaux has reopened his cliquish polemic in the *Kölnische Zeitung* with Mr Paul Franck and other jackasses. He is again ripe for election to some national mad-house in which to declare: 'Gentlemen, this is a very great day for the city of Cologne!' The oaf is now in Brussels. Our friend Engels, the Commandant, has become General and First Commandant, and the philistines gave a dinner for him at which 'our Stupp' proposed his health. So you see, you can still get somewhere, even if your name is Engels. And, in returning thanks, that fat old swine, once a lieutenant under Napoleon, expressed his pleasure at the specifically Prussian spirit both of the celebration and of the city of Cologne.^f

^a an inconceivable blunder (reference to Dronke's signature to the address sent from Geneva to the organisers of the 'banquet of the equal' on 24 February, see this volume, p. 342) - ^b above all no zeal! (words ascribed to Talleyrand) - ^c in political economy - ^d i.e. the Committee for German Affairs (see this volume, p. 342) - ^e This sentence is in a local dialect in the original - ^f 'Köln, 2. Mai', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 106, 3 May 1851.

I am, by the way, morally convinced that Willich and Co. are hatching an ambitious plan for the revolutionisation of England during the Exhibition, although it's equally certain that they won't raise a finger. It won't be the first or last time.

The 2nd STAMP on my letters is for late posting. The STAMP enables me to get the letter off by the same train 1¹/₂ hours after the ordinary post office has closed. In any case it's the firm that pays.

Your
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday, 8 May^a [1851]
10 o'clock at night

Dear Marx,

I sent you today by the first post a POST OFFICE ORDER for £5, which I hope you have received.

Something's *décidément*^b amiss with the English mails. First, the letter that arrived at your place open. Then your letter to me of the day before yesterday, with the defaced seal, which I returned to you. Now, today, Thursday the 8th, at 7 in the evening, I get your letter of the 5th, i. e. Monday, the one about the electricity business. This letter has three London postmarks dated the 6th (Tuesday), two of which prove that it was posted on Tuesday morning before 10 o'clock. Also a *Manchester* postmark dated the 7th (yesterday) and, finally, two others of today's date. In addition a defaced, badly patched up, unfamiliar seal which I return herewith for your inspection. I am sending the envelope straight

^a The original has: June. - ^b decidedly

off to the postmaster here, demanding an explanation as to why the letter was only delivered this evening instead of yesterday morning. Let me know by return exactly when it was posted and whether the seal is in order. We'll raise such a shindy as will give the scoundrels something to think about. That these fellows are capable of dirty tricks is apparent from today's *Daily News*, which declares outright that Palmerston has asked Vienna and Berlin for spies to keep watch on the refugees, and duly goes on to give the English public a description of Messrs Stieber and Goldheim of Berlin.^a It would be splendid if we could catch Grey in the act, just as Mazzini once caught Graham.⁴¹²

The fact that something untoward befell the letter is also evident from a mark they have made on it. In the address there is a cross before and after the word Manchester, thus:

×Manchester×

only with thicker strokes than mine.

Keep any seals I return to you; we may perhaps need them.

Tomorrow I'll write to you about the other points you raised; now I shall go straight out and post this letter and the one to the postmaster. My kindest regards to your wife.

Your
F. E.

The letter has been so clumsily opened that the outline of the original, larger seal is still plainly visible. Sealing-wax is of little avail if, underneath, there's no wafer to secure all four sides of the envelope. As it happens I have none here and, since I want this letter to reach you unopened, I have no alternative but to send it to Schramm,^b who lives closer to you than Pieper, and through whom you at least have a chance of getting it quickly.

Le tout considéré,^c it would, perhaps, be better to send it to Pieper, which I shall do.

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^a 'The Debate in the First Chamber...; Germany. Prussia. Berlin, 4 May', *The Daily News*, 8 May 1851. - ^b Conrad Schramm - ^c All things considered

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 9 May 1851

Dear Marx,

Yesterday I sent you 2 letters, one containing nothing but a Post Office Order, the other through Tupman.^a I hope you received them both.

As far as the construction goes, the electrical business is simple.^b At the four corners, A, B, C and D—I assume that you have the drawing before you—pegs are driven into the ground and a stout wire, buried 3 inches below ground, is led from one of these pegs to the next, so that it encompasses the whole field below the surface. At E and F, North and South, two poles are driven into the ground, the tops of which, 15 feet above the surface, are also connected by a wire. The two ends of this wire are carried down the poles and connected below ground with the buried wire, A B C D. Similarly a transverse wire from G to H, on two posts, crossing the wire E F at its centre. I'm not quite clear about the function of the bag of charcoal and the plates of zinc, since I have forgotten the electrical properties of charcoal—but I suspect that, by means of this charcoal at G and zinc at H, both of them also buried and connected to the main buried wire, the fellow intends to polarise the electricity, to establish a positive (zinc) and a negative (charcoal) pole.

The rest is concerned with technical matters, insulation of the wires, etc.

Since you say nothing else about the subject, I assume that the business refers to some sort of experiment; I believe you once told me that it had appeared in *The Economist* or some such paper.^c I'm a little doubtful about the success of the thing, but maybe something could be made of it if it were expanded and improved. The question remains: 1) how much electricity can be extracted from the air by this means and, 2) how that electricity affects the growth and germination of plants. Anyhow, let me know if the experiment has already been carried out and with what success, and where an account of it may be found.

^a Wilhelm Pieper - ^b See this volume, pp. 344-45. - ^c *The Economist*, Vol. III, Nos. 17 and 18, 26 April and 3 May 1845.

In any case there are two snags about the thing:

1. The fellow wishes the wire, which is to catch the electricity, to lie due north and south, and instructs the FARMERS to lay it out by compass. He makes absolutely no mention of magnetic variation, which here in England is of the order of 20-23 degrees, and he should at least say whether he has taken this into account. The FARMERS, at any rate, know nothing about magnetic variation and would lay the wire according to the compass needle, which, however, would not be pointing from north to south, but from north-north-west to south-south-east.

2. If the effect of the electricity is to encourage the germination and growth of plants, it will cause them to germinate *too early* in the spring, thus exposing them to night frosts, etc. Anyhow, this would inevitably come to light and could be remedied only by disconnecting the overhead and underground wires during the winter. This point, too, the fellow fails to mention. But either the electricity so caught has no effect whatever on growth, or it forces it prematurely. Here again, elucidation is required.

There's no assessing the thing, however, until it's been tried out and the results are available, so let me know where I can find out more about the subject.

I render thanks to the Lord on high that the Central jackasses^a have come together again, and I don't even begrudge them their *Kosmos*. We shall, after all, have a press organ again soon, so far as we need one, in which we shall be able to repel all attacks without appearing responsible for so doing.⁴¹³ That is the advantage the proposed Cologne monthly will have over our *Revue*. We'll lay the entire responsibility on the *bonhomme* Bürgers; after all, he must get something for his profound thinking.

It was only to be expected that vituperation should breed in Germany no less freely than in America and London. You are now in the proud position of being attacked by two worlds at once, something that never happened to Napoleon. Our friends in Germany, incidentally, are jackasses. To ignore mere vituperation, apart from issuing a brief comment once a quarter on the state of this savoury TRADE, may be all very well. But when it comes to slander, when the democratic philistine, no longer content with the simple conviction that one is the blackest of monsters, begins to lay about him with trumped-up and distorted facts, then it would really not be asking too much of these gentlemen that they should send one the document so that one could take steps

^a members of the Committee for German Affairs (see this volume, p. 342)

accordingly. But your German thinks he's done enough if he *simplement*^a does not *believe* such nonsense. So get Tupman to write to Miquel, telling him that there's no actual need for an immediate reply; rather, having accumulated a few dozen examples of the stuff, one should let fly in earnest and squash the bedbugs *d'un seul coup de pied*.^b As for their seeking to make it impossible for us to live in Germany—*laissons-leur ce plaisir!*^c They can't erase from history the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the *Manifesto*^d and *tutte quante*,^e and all their howling will avail them nothing. The only people in Germany who might be dangerous to us are hired assassins and, now that Gottschalk's dead, no one there would have the courage to turn such people loose on us. *Et puis*^f again, in 1848 in Cologne were we not first compelled to fight for our position—and anyway we shall never be *loved* by the democratic, the red, or even the communist mob.

I'm glad that the Exhibition chaps have so far left you in peace. I'm already being plagued by them. Two merchants from Lecco were here yesterday, one of them an old acquaintance of 1841. The Austrians are managing very nicely in Lombardy. After all the levies, the succession of compulsory loans, and thrice yearly tax demands, things are at last becoming regularised. The average merchant in Lecco has to pay 10,000-24,000 *zwanzigers* (£350-700) a year—in direct, regular taxes, all in HARD CASH. Since Austrian bank-notes are also to be introduced there next year, the government intends to withdraw all metallic currency beforehand. This means that the great aristocracy—*i gran ricchi*^g—and the peasants will, relatively speaking, be let off *very lightly*, the whole burden falling on *il medio liberale*, the liberal middle classes of the cities. You can see the policy these fellows are pursuing. Under this sort of pressure—in Lecco they have sent the government a signed declaration to the effect that they will pay no more even if it means distraint, but rather emigrate en masse if the system is not abandoned, and already several have suffered distraint—it is understandable that the fellows are waiting for Mazzini and declare that things *must* come to a head because they can stand it no longer, *perchè rovinati siamo e rovinati saremo in ogni caso*.^h This explains much of the Italians' furious desire to go into the attack. The fellows here are all republicans and highly respected bourgeois at that—one of them is the leading merchant in Lecco

^a simply - ^b with one stamp of the foot - ^c we'll allow them the pleasure! -

^d K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^e all the rest - ^f And then - ^g the exceedingly rich - ^h because we're ruined and shall in any case be ruined

and pays 2,000 zwanzigers a month in taxes. He asked me straight out when the fun was going to begin, since in Lecco—the only place where I'm popular—they had come to the conclusion that I must know the exact day and hour.

Tomorrow Wellington, whom these fellows have kept me from.

Your
F. E.

This letter is sealed with sealing-wax and our firm's seal, E. & E. So you'll be able to see if it's been opened.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Thursday [15 May 1851]

Dear Marx,

Last week I sent off a whole SHIP-LOAD of letters to you, among them 1 containing money and 1 through Pieper. Then last Tuesday, yet another, to which I was expecting an answer at least today. *Pas une ligne*.^a I can only suppose that all the letters went astray, since I had at least expected an answer to the one sent through Pieper; its failure to arrive has put me in an awkward position vis-à-vis the postmaster here. Or else there's been some mishap, in which case, too, *deux mots*^b would be welcome since I'm *considérablement* worried by the business and, unless I hear from you tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow at the latest, I shan't know what's the matter, or how I should arrange for letters to reach you without going astray.

^a Not a line. - ^b a couple of words

The postmaster here has asked that in future you should not address your letters as up till now, but like this: at the top, the name, beneath it, number and street and, right at the bottom, Manchester. He blames this for the fact that a recent letter of yours made the return journey to London and then back here again. An answer by return, then.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 May 1851

Dear Engels,

I received your letter, which arrived the day before yesterday,⁴¹⁴ too late for me to answer. I was, as it happens, already at the Museum^a by the time the POSTMAN arrived, and didn't return home until 7 o'clock in the evening. Even with the best will in the world I couldn't have written to you yesterday since I had such severe abdominal trouble that I felt as though my head would burst like the negro's drum in Freiligrath's poem.^b

The earlier confusion was due simply to the fact that I immediately gave one of the two idlers (Schramm)^c a note to post off to you in answer to your first letter. He missed the post, and still had the note in his pocket-book yesterday.⁴¹⁵

As for the ELECTRICITY, the account appeared in *The Economist* of 1845^d and contains, besides what I passed on to you, nothing save the statement that the experiment was carried out with great success in Scotland. Even the FARMER is named.

^a British Museum - ^b F. Freiligrath, 'Der Mohrenfürst'. - ^c Conrad Schramm - ^d *The Economist*, Vol. III, Nos. 17 and 18, 26 April and 3 May, 1845.

Freiligrath will be here within the next few days.

Now to the business of the post. I believe the post office to be innocent. At all events I alone am responsible for the poor shape of the seal. The only thing that quite *alienum est*^a to me is the ×Manchester×.^b

Did you see how the impertinent Kinkel got his wife to deny in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that he had any connection with the manifesto of the bold 'Provisionals'?^c and how, in order to titillate the interest of the German philistine, he purports to have a 'serious disease'?

As a result of intervention by my worthy brother-in-law-cum-minister,^d the printing of my things, as of the *Revue*,^e has again come to a standstill.³⁴⁷ It would seem that Becker^f has run into difficulties in Verviers.

In France *Cavaignac* appears to be making spanking progress. While his election would be the rational solution,⁴¹⁶ it would postpone the revolution for years to come. The meeting between Nicholas, Frederick William and Habsburg⁴¹⁷ is neither more nor less significant than that between General Haug, Ruge and Ronge. Incidentally, to tax incomes was at that particular moment the shrewdest thing the Prussians could do.

Now a look at the émigrés here.

Led by a fellow (a German) whose name I don't know, or rather, along with this fellow, the immortal Faucher, the inevitable E. Meyen, now also here, etc., undertook the editing of the German article for the London (DAILY) *Illustrated News*. As none of the chaps knows English, they asked that a German-Englishman should supervise the editing. The superior allotted to them was an old woman who was last in Germany 20 years ago and speaks broken German. Her deletions equalled old Dolleschall's, notably E. Meyen's profound article 'Skulptur'. What this idiot was doing was to reproduce here in London the asinine artistic concoctions that appeared 10 years ago in a Berlin literary gossip sheet.^g Faucher was also unmercifully blue-pencilled. And a few days ago the editor summoned these louts, who humbly, if reluctantly, suffer the old woman's domination, and told the gentlemen that

^a is incomprehensible - ^b See this volume, p. 349. - ^c The reference is to the manifesto 'To the Germans' issued by the Committee for German Affairs (see this volume, p. 342). An excerpt from Johanna Kinkel's letter about Gottfried Kinkel having nothing to do with the manifesto was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 114, 13 May 1851. - ^d Ferdinand von Westphalen - ^e K. Marx, 'Gesammelte Aufsätze' and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. - ^f Hermann Becker - ^g *Athenäum*

he couldn't use their concoctions and that they must confine themselves to translating articles from the English. Since the unfortunate pair know not a word of English, this was tantamount to a polite good-bye. And they went. And Meyen will have to wait and while away another decade before he can find a taker for his 'Skulptur'.

What is more, Mr Faucher was unceremoniously jettisoned by the *Kölnische Zeitung* weeks ago on the grounds that the public found his articles boring.

What is your view of the Portuguese revolution?⁴¹⁸

Mr A. Goegg is here, was immediately taken in tow by Willich & Co., and gives lectures in Windmill Street.³³¹ Hurrah!

Maintenant, mon cher,^a farewell. From now on our correspondence will get properly back on the rails again.

Your
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Monday, 19 May 1851

Dear Marx,

I'm glad that nothing untoward happened to the letters, it's always better thus. The postmaster here also gave me a satisfactory explanation for the late arrival of the letter. In future, when writing the address, put street and number *above* the name of the town, so that 'Manchester' is right at the bottom. It's what the post office clerks are used to and, because the name of the street was at

^a Now, dear friend

the bottom, they overlooked the 'Manchester' in that particular letter and sent it back to London as a local London letter.

The latest is that you have been utterly worsted. You believe you have discovered the correct theory of land rent. You believe you are the first to demolish Ricardo's theory. *Malheureux que tu es,*^a you have been outflanked, destroyed, beaten, overwhelmed, the whole foundation of your *monumentum aere perennius*^b has crumbled away. Harken: Mr Rodbertus has just brought out the third volume of his *Sociale Briefe an v. Kirchmann*—18 sheets. This volume contains a 'complete refutation of Ricardo's doctrine of land rent and the exposition of a new theory of rent'—last week's Leipzig *Illustrierte Zeitung*.^c That's cooked your goose for you!

The great Kinkel's efforts to extricate himself from the disreputable society known as the European Committee without getting into bad odour are most entertaining.^d You'll have seen in Saturday's *Sun*^e that a handful of wailing democrats have succeeded in organising a meeting and some little riots near Elberfeld, at which they distributed these proclamations. This was made possible through German-Catholic connections⁴¹⁹ of Ronge's. Neither Kinkel nor any other member of the chorus would have done anything there.

The Cavaignac business is unfortunate in all respects; if *Girardin* regards him as having the best prospects, it must be true. Besides, the fellows are coming increasingly to realise that a revision⁴²⁰ is impossible—by legal means. And, if illegal, it would be a *coup d'état*, and whoever first embarks on *coups d'état* will be crushed, the *Débats*^f declares. Napoleon is beginning to grow *horriblement* threadbare. Changarnier's done for, permanently pensioned off; however nice coalition may be, it can have no immediate practical results—*il n'y a que Cavaignac*.^g Whether or not the fellow postpones the revolution would after all be of no great moment; a few years of determined industrial development, a crisis surmounted and a new era of prosperity could do no harm at all, particularly if accompanied by bourgeois reforms in France, etc. But in France Cavaignac and bourgeois reform mean tariff reform and an alliance with England and, at the first opportunity, war against the Holy Alliance,²⁷¹ with English help, with due time

^a Wretch that you are - ^b memorial more enduring than bronze (Horace, *Carmina*, III, 30, 1) - ^c *Illustrierte Zeitung*, No. 410, 10 May 1851. - ^d See this volume, p. 309. - ^e *The Sun*, 17 May 1851. - ^f 'France. Paris, 15 May', *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, 16 May 1851. - ^g there's no one but Cavaignac

to arm, with a long prepared invasion of Germany, and that might cost us the Rhine frontier which is, in any case, the best means of quieting *crapaud*^a socialism with a part-payment in *gloire*.^b

The *Débats*, by the way, has fallen so low that it sees no salvation for society except in upholding the new electoral law.⁴²¹

The Faucher and Meyen affair is truly splendid. All I have seen of the German *Illustrated London News* is the front page of the first number in a SHOP window, so I WAS RATHER CURIOUS to know who the 'leading German writers' of this pompous nonsense might be.

The *Frankfurter Journal* purports to have heard from Cologne^c that things are now tolerable for the refugees in London, with the exception of those in the barracks, amongst whom is Willich. The Augsburg *Allgemeine* actually believes that the ALIENS BILL³⁸⁰ is still in force and pictures the refugees—those Wandering Jews of the nineteenth century—creeping round London in mortal terror of this Bill.

I'll say nothing about the Portuguese revolution.⁴¹⁸ Except how remarkable it is that, as a purely *individual* insurgent, as *ôte-toi de là, Costa Cabral, que je m'y mette*,^d Saldanha should have achieved absolutely nothing, but that from the moment he was compelled to ally himself with the liberal bourgeoisie of Oporto and bring to his side an omnipotent representative of this bourgeois power in the person of Manuel^e Passos, the whole army should then have rallied to him. The position accorded to Passos, and what happens next, will show whether or not Saldanha and the Queen^f will immediately set about trying to cheat the bourgeoisie again. Lisbon is nothing, Oporto being the centre of the constitutional bourgeoisie, of Portugal's MANCHESTER SCHOOL.⁴²²

You can thank your stars that Mr Goegg didn't call on you. *Le diable emporte toutes ces médiocrités gonflées*.^g

Your
F. E.

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^a philistine - ^b glory - ^c 'Cologne, 8 May', *Frankfurter Journal*, No. 111, second supplement, 9 May 1851. - ^d get out, Costa Cabral, so I can take your place (Saint-Simon, *Catéchisme politique des industriels*) - ^e The original has: José. - ^f Maria II da Gloria - ^g Devil take all these inflated mediocrities.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 21 May 1851

Dear Engels,

Freiligrath is here and sends you his regards. He's come to look around for a situation. If he doesn't find one, he intends to go to America.

He brought quite good news from Germany. The people in Cologne^a are very active. Their agents have been travelling about since September. They have two tolerably good representatives in Berlin and, since the democrats are constantly coming to Cologne to consult them, they as constantly put spokes in those other gentry's wheels. For instance, the Brunswickers were all set to give Schimmelpfennig 2,000 talers for the London Committee (social). But first they sent Dr Lucius to Cologne, and so the matter came to nothing.

Kinkel is seriously discredited in the Rhine Province, particularly in Bonn. The committee there had sent Johanna^b £200, but after a fortnight she was already asking for more. This greatly displeased the philistines.

In a few weeks' time the people in Cologne will be holding a communist congress.

Sigel, the general-in-chief, is here and has attached himself to Windmill Street.³³¹

Further, General Haug has brought out an issue of *Kosmos*. Contains puffs for Willich, Kinkel and Göhringer. The various bands are becoming more and more alike. Never have I seen or heard such inflated and complacent twaddle. Amongst other things it contains a harlequinade by Arnold Winkelried Ruge.^c This creature pretends to have received a letter from a German 'hospitable friend' in which the latter expresses surprise at everything he reads in the papers about 'English hospitality', and anxiety lest Ruge, 'being overwhelmed by affairs of state', may be

^a members of the Central Authority of the Communist League in Cologne -

^b Johanna Kinkel (Gottfried Kinkel's wife) - ^c Marx compares Arnold Ruge to Arnold Winkelried, a semi-legendary fourteenth-century Swiss warrior.

prevented from enjoying his fair share of this 'sybaritism of hospitality', and asks him:

'It was not, I take it, the traitor Radowitz who was invited to Windsor, but Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Citizen Willich, Kinkel and yourself?'

Ruge then proceeds to disabuse his friend and assure him that English hospitality will not prevent them from returning to Germany torch in hand. *L'imbécile!*

The style of the whole is pretentious, puerile, piffing and of a complacent stupidity unequalled in the annals of world history. To cap it all, an unheard-of want of talent. But I must try and hunt out a copy of this rubbishy sheet for you.

That bedbug Meyen is busily scurrying around here telling everyone who will listen the secret that Marx and Engels have lost all influence and support in Germany. Frightful Meyen!

To give you but one example of the bare-faced forwardness of these blackguards, of their shabby importunities:

Last Sunday^a I was at John Street where old Owen was giving a lecture on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Despite his *idées fixes*, the old man was ironical and endearing. When the old gentleman had finished, one of the *Kosmos's* satellites pushed his way through to him and thrust the *Kosmos* into his hand, saying that the paper expressed his principles. And the old man actually commended it to the audience. *C'est par trop drôle!*^b

That evening, by the way, I was unable to avoid speaking to Harney again; he came up to me, rather the worse for drink and, with a very ingratiating air, asked after you.

Willich's begging business is doing pretty well. When the Schleswig-Holstein refugees arrived here, he wheedled over £200 'for the latter' (!) out of the CITY-MERCHANTS.

Girardin does indeed say that Cavaignac is now the only serious candidate of the *parti de l'ordre*,²⁶⁷ of the bourgeois mass. He himself, however, furiously attacks both him and Changarnier, and his polemic recalls once more the best period of his battle with the *National*. This fellow is responsible for more agitation in France than the whole gang of Montagnards²⁶⁰ and reds^c put together. Bonaparte would seem to be *hors de question*.^d However, if the royalist majority in the National Assembly again violates the Constitution and, with a *simple* majority, decides upon its revision, it will finally be compelled—having lost all legal standing—to

^a 18 May - ^b It's really too funny! - ^c i.e. democrats and socialists of various trends - ^d out of the question

conclude a compromise with Bonaparte as the holder of executive power. In which case there could be serious clashes, since Cavaignac is unlikely to let such an opportunity be snatched away under his nose again.

All the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* lads will be here soon.⁴¹⁰ I'm surprised that Lupus should not have arrived yet, and only hope some misfortune has not befallen him.

I am now spending every day, from 10 in the morning until 7 in the evening, at the library and am saving up the industrial exhibition till you come.⁴²³

Did you read the bogus and the genuine epistle by Mazzini in the *Débats*^a?

Your
K. M.

Musch^b sends his love to 'Friedrich Engels'.

Apropos, Willich and Schimmelpfennig have published the inevitable appeal to 'their brothers in the Prussian Army'.

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ENGELS TO MARX²²⁰

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May 1851

Dear Marx,

I saw with pleasure in the papers that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was represented by you in person also at Soyer's universal press symposium. I hope you enjoyed the *homards^c à la Washington* and the *champagne frappé^d*.³ But I am still in the dark about how M. Soyer found your address.

^a G. Mazzini, 'Au Rédacteur', *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, 18 May 1851. - ^b Edgar Marx - ^c lobster - ^d iced champagne

Do you know what has become of that drunkard Laroche of Great Windmill Street^{331?} He has, according to German newspaper reports, been caught and sentenced in Berlin to death by hanging. It transpires that this self-styled former Prussian lieutenant of hussars is none other than the shoemaker August Friedrich Gottlieb Lehmann of Triebel near Sorau^a in Upper Silesian Wasserpolackei,⁴²⁴ militiaman of the 1st levy, who, on 23 March 1842, had been sentenced to be stripped of military honours and to 16 months' service in a penal detachment for desertion in peacetime, forgery and unauthorised contraction of debts. Yet another ray of light shed on our German revolutionary heroes.

That those great warriors, Willich, Schimmelpfennig and Sigel, should be increasingly consorting with each other is all to the good. This pack of soldiery has an unbelievably sordid *esprit de corps*. They hate each other *à mort*^b and, like schoolboys, begrudge each other the most paltry marks of distinction, but they are all united against the 'civilians'. Punctilious, as in the first French armies of 1792/93, but scaled down to a dwarfish caricature. They all regard the Windmill Street Society as a battalion, ready, willing and eager to march over here; it's the only one left, since the ones in Switzerland were broken up and deported. Small wonder that they all cleave to this noble corps. It's a very good thing that word of this officers' corps spirit should already have reached us from the old barracks and the officers' mess and that we should already see how this cliquishness prevails as much among the émigré officer material as in the 'glorious army'.⁴²⁵ In due course we shall show these gentry what 'civilian' really signifies. All of this goes to show that the very best thing for me to do is to go on with my military studies so that at least one of the 'civilians' is a match for them in theoretical matters. At any rate I want to reach a point where jackasses such as these can't talk me down. I'm delighted, by the way, to hear that they were cheated of 2,000 talers. The news from Cologne is very pleasing, but the people there should be on their guard.

Where begging is concerned that precious Johanna^c really surpasses anything that has ever been known before. Heinzen is quite eclipsed; he has never attained to the same degree of effrontery as this woman who, moreover, is said to be as ugly as sin.

^a Polish name: Żary - ^b like death - ^c Johanna Kinkel (Gottfried Kinkel's wife)

It is clear even from the English press that Girardin doesn't support Cavaignac. But the very fact that *he* remarked on the brightness of Cavaignac's prospects is enough to characterise the situation. You mentioned the possibility that the majority^a might conclude an agreement with Bonaparte and endeavour to carry out an illegal revision⁴²⁰; if they do so, I think it will go awry. They'll never succeed so long as it's opposed by Thiers, Changarnier and the *Débats*,^b and their respective adherents. It would be too fine an opportunity for Cavaignac; and in that case he could, I believe, count on the army.

If there's a fracas next year, Germany will be in the devil of a position.⁴²⁶ France, Italy and Poland all have an interest in her dismemberment. As you'll have seen, Mazzini has even promised the Czechs rehabilitation. Apart from Hungary, Germany would have only one possible ally, Russia—provided that a peasants' revolution had taken place there. Otherwise we shall have a *guerre à mort*^c with our noble friends from all points of the compass, and it's very questionable how the business will end.

The more I think about it, the more obvious it becomes to me that the Poles are *une nation foutue*^d who can only continue to serve a purpose until such time as Russia herself becomes caught up into the agrarian revolution. From that moment Poland will have absolutely no *raison d'être* any more. The Poles' sole contribution to history has been to indulge in foolish pranks at once valiant and provocative. Nor can a single moment be cited when Poland, even if only by comparison with Russia, has successfully represented progress or done anything of historical significance. Russia, on the other hand, is truly progressive by comparison with the East. Russian rule, for all its infamy, all its Slavic dirtiness, is civilising for the Black and Caspian Seas and Central Asia, for the Bashkirs and Tatars; and Russia has absorbed far more cultural elements, and especially industrial elements than Poland, which by nature is chivalrously indolent. The very fact that the Russian aristocracy, from the Tsar^e and Prince Demidov down to the most louse-ridden Boyar, 14th class, who's merely *blagorodno*, well-born, manufactures, haggles, cheats, lays itself open to corruption, engages in all manner of business, Christian and Jewish,—that is in itself an advantage. Poland has never been able to naturalise foreign elements—the Germans in the cities are and will remain Germans. In Russia, every second-generation Russo-German is a

^a the majority in the Legislative Assembly - ^b *Journal des Débats politique et littéraires* - ^c war to the death - ^d a finished nation - ^e Nicholas I

living example of that country's ability to Russify Germans and Jews. There, even the Jews acquire Slav cheekbones.

Napoleon's wars of 1807 and 1812 provide striking examples of Poland's 'immortality'. The only immortal thing about the Poles was their aimless quarrelling. Moreover, the greater part of Poland, what is known as West Russia, i.e. Byelostok, Grodno, Vilna, Smolensk, Minsk, Mogilev, Volhynia and Podolia, has, with minor exceptions, quietly allowed itself to be ruled by Russia since 1772⁴²⁷; save for a few scattered members of the bourgeoisie and the nobility, *ils n'ont pas bougé*.^a A quarter of all Poles speak Lithuanian, one quarter Ruthenian, a small portion semi-Russian, while a good third of the Polish element proper is Germanised.

Fortunately, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, we assumed no positive obligations towards the Poles, save the unavoidable one of restoration combined with a SUITABLE frontier—and even that only on the condition of there being an agrarian revolution. I'm convinced that such a revolution will sooner be fully effected in Russia than in Poland, because of the national character and because of Russia's more developed bourgeois elements. What are Warsaw and Cracow as compared with Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, etc., etc.!

Conclusion: To take as much as possible away from the Poles in the West, to man their fortresses, especially Posen, with Germans on the pretext of defence, to let them stew in their own juice, send them into battle, gobble bare their land, fob them off with promises of Riga and Odessa and, should it be possible to get the Russians moving, to ally oneself with the latter and compel the Poles to give way. Every inch of the frontier between Memel^b and Cracow we cede to the Poles will, militarily speaking, be utterly ruinous to this already wretchedly weak frontier, and will leave exposed the whole of the Baltic coast as far as Stettin.^c

Besides, I am convinced that, come the next fracas, the entire Polish insurrection will be confined to Poseners and Galician nobility together with a few who have come over from the Kingdom, this having been bled so white that it's capable of nothing more, and that the pretensions of these knights, unless supported by French, Italians and Scandinavians, etc., and bolstered up by rumpuses on the part of the Czechs, will founder on the wretchedness of their performance. A nation which can

^a they didn't stir - ^b Lithuanian name: Klaipeda - ^c Polish name: Szczecin

muster 20,000 to 30,000 men at most, is not entitled to a voice. And Poland certainly could not muster very much more.

Give my regards to Freiligrath when you see him, and also to your family, not forgetting Citizen Musch.^a I shall be coming to London about a week later than I thought, the thing being dependent on a host of trifling matters.⁴²³

Apropos, not a word yet from Cologne. Have you written? Unless I get the letter *soon*, it will be no good to me.^b I don't know why Daniels shouldn't oblige me. Couldn't you write again? Daniels could dash off a line or two and let me have it by return. Otherwise I might find myself in the deuce of a predicament.

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Tuesday [27 May 1851]

D. M.,

I shall be coming to London on Saturday if nothing intervenes.⁴²³

My fears for the people in Cologne have all too soon been realised; the arrests of red Becker^c and Röser on charges of high treason and attempts to subvert the state system, and the attempted arrest of silent Heinrich^d are clearly not unconnected with the business of the League.^e Fortunately no papers whatever, according to the *Frankfurter Journal*,^f were found on the two who

^a Edgar Marx - ^b See this volume, p. 341. - ^c Hermann Becker - ^d Heinrich Bürgers - ^e the Communist League - ^f 'Cologne, 20 May', *Frankfurter Journal*, No. 123, 23 May 1851.

were arrested—whether any were found on Bürgers is not specified.⁴²⁸ No doubt Heinrich will be coming to London, to make up the complement of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.⁴¹⁰ The affair could take an unpleasant turn if the fellows have acted foolishly.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 May 1851

Dear Engels,

The reasons for Daniels' failure to reply (I shall, by the way, send him another letter tomorrow if I get none today),⁴²⁹ are most disturbing. Nothjung has been arrested in Leipzig, at the station. I don't know, of course, what papers were found on him. Thereupon (or simultaneously, I don't know) Becker and Röser were arrested in Cologne and their houses searched, as was that of Bürgers, too. The latter is in Berlin with a warrant out against him; no doubt he will soon turn up here.⁴³⁰

The measures adopted by the police against the emissaries, etc., can be attributed purely and simply to the wretched braying of the jackasses in London. These gasbags know that they are neither conspiring, nor pursuing any real goal, and that they have no organisation behind them in Germany. All they want is to *seem* dangerous and set the treadmill of the press turning. In this way the canaille hamper and imperil the real movement and put the police on the *qui vive*. Has there ever been a party like this, whose avowed aim is simply to show off?

Freiligrath instinctively chose the right moment to leave and thereby avoid capture. No sooner was he here than snares were set

for him by all the émigré cliques, philanthropic Kinkel-lovers, aestheticising Howitts, etc., in order to lure him into their coterie. To all these attempts he replied very rudely, saying that he belonged to the *Rheinische Zeitung*,^a had nothing to do with cosmopolitan offal, and would consort only with 'Dr Marx and his most intimate friends'.

Presently I shall have something to tell you about the *Kosmos*. But first one more *mot*^b about the situation in France.

I am becoming *de plus en plus*^c convinced that, in spite of everything, Napoleon's chances are, for the present, better than those of any other candidate. They will *en principe* decide on a revision but *en pratique*^d will confine themselves to a revision of the Article relating to the President.⁴²⁰ Should the minority kick up too much fuss, a simple majority [resolution]^e will be taken whereby the National Assembly will be dissolved and a new one convoked, which will then function under *auspiciis Faucheri*,^f of the telegraph and of the law of 31 May.⁴³¹ The bourgeoisie would prefer Cavaignac; but the threat to the *status quo* of a radical change of choice seems to them too grave. Already a great many manufacturers have compelled their HANDS to sign petitions for a revision of the Constitution and the prolongation of presidential rule. *En tout cas*^g the thing must soon be decided and *nous verrons*^h!

The *Kosmos*, then, has made a prize ass of itself.

Under the heading *Kinkel's Lectures*, and signed 'A Worker', it carries the following:

'While looking once at Döbler's misty images I was surprised by the whimsical question of whether it was possible to produce such chaotic creations in "words", whether it was possible to utter misty images. It is no doubt unpleasant for the critic to have to confess, at the very outset, that in this case his critical autonomy will vibrate against the galvanised nerves of a stimulating reminiscence, as the fading sound of a dying note echoes in the strings. Nevertheless I would prefer to renounce any attempt at a bewigged and boring analysis of pedantic insensitivity than to deny that tone which the charming muse of the German refugee caused to resonate in my receptive imagination. This keynote of Kinkel's paintings, this sounding board of his chords is the sonorous, creative, formative and gradually shaping "word"—*modern thought*. The human "*judgment*" of this thought leads truth out of the chaos of mendacious traditions, and places it, as the inviolable property of mankind, under the protection of spiritually active, logical minorities who will lead mankind from a credulous ignorance to a state of more sceptical science. It is the task of the science of doubt to profane the mysticism of pious deceit, to undermine the absolutism of a stupefied tradition; through scepticism,

^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* - ^b word - ^c more and more - ^d in principle, in practice - ^e an ink blot in the original - ^f the auspices of Faucher - ^g In any case - ^h we shall see

that ceaselessly labouring guillotine of philosophy, to decapitate accepted authority and to lead the nations out of the misty regions of theocracy by means of revolution into the luscious meadows of democracy' (of nonsense). 'The sustained, unflagging search in the annals of mankind, and the understanding of man himself, is the great task of all revolutionaries and this had been understood by that proscribed poet-rebel who on three recent Monday evenings uttered his "DISSOLVING VIEWS" before a bourgeois audience in the course of his lectures on the history of the modern theatre.'

'A Worker'⁴³²

If that's not champion drivel,
Then I really don't know what is.^a

Vale faveque!^b

Your
K. M.

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MARX TO ROLAND DANIELS⁴³³

IN COLOGNE

[London, second half of May 1851]

... Communists must demonstrate that technological truths already attained can only become practicable under communist relations....

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^a Here Marx paraphrases a proverb current in Westphalia (see this volume, p. 249). - ^b Good-bye and farewell.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 June 1851
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Daniels' house has been searched and he himself arrested. I don't think anything was found there.⁴³⁴

This morning I received a letter, obviously in Daniels' handwriting but unsigned, informing me of the above and asking me to remove *all* letters since it had been learnt from a 'reliable' (thus in the original) source that house searches would also be taking place here in England.

Whether that is legally possible I don't know. At any rate, I shall remove everything. You, too, would be well-advised to burn all—irrelevant—letters and to deposit the rest, those containing any data and the like, under seal with Mary^a or your clerk.

It seems probable that an introduction from Daniels was found on Jacobi.

This morning at the same time I received, through a merchant, a letter from Weydemeyer, who is in hiding near Frankfurt. I enclose that letter. Do you happen to know the exact ratio, home to foreign, of Britain's trade, a figure which Weydemeyer wishes to know? The thing has changed significantly of late.

Salut!

Your
K. Marx

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time

^a Mary Burns

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ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER⁴³⁵

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Manchester, 19 June 1851

Dear Hans,

Marx has just communicated to me a letter of yours from which I at last find a definite address for you, which I have been seeking for some time past. For I wish to consult you about the following matter:

Since arriving in Manchester^a I have been swotting up military affairs, on which—at least to start off with—I found fairly adequate material here. I was prompted to do this by the immense importance which must attach to the *partie militaire*^b in the next movement, combined with a long-standing inclination on my part, my articles on the Hungarian campaign in the days of the newspaper^c and finally my glorious exploits in Baden,²⁶⁴ and I would like to take it at least far enough to be able to join in theoretical discussion without making too much of a fool of myself. Now the material available to me here—on the Napoleonic and, to some extent, revolutionary campaigns—presupposes a mass of detail, my knowledge of which is non-existent or very superficial, and about which only superficial, if any, information can be obtained by dint of laborious research. Autodidacticism, however, is sheer foolishness and, unless one devotes oneself systematically to the thing, one achieves nothing worthwhile. What I now actually need, you will better understand if I remind you that—disregarding, of course, my promotion in Baden—I never rose higher than a Royal Prussian Bombardier in the *Landwehr*.⁴³⁶ and consequently my comprehension of the details of the campaigns—and indeed as regards the various arms of the service—is hampered by the absence of the middle link which, in Prussia, is provided by the subalterns' examination. I am not concerned, of course, with the tedious minutiae of military drill, etc., which would be of little use to me since my eye trouble, as I have now found out once and for all, renders me completely unfit for active service of any sort; rather, I am concerned with an

^a since mid-November 1850 - ^b military aspect - ^c *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, vols. 8 and 9)

overall survey of the elementary knowledge needed in the various branches, going into detail only in so far as is necessary to enable me to understand and correctly evaluate historical facts of a military nature. Hence, e.g. elementary tactics, the theory of fortification, from a more or less historical point of view, comprising the various systems from Vauban up to the modern *forts détachés*,^a along with an investigation into field works and other matters associated with the engineering branch, e.g. the various types of bridge, etc.; further, a general history of military science and the changes brought about by the development and perfection both of weapons and of the ways in which they are employed. Then something really sound on artillery, since I have forgotten a great deal and there is much I simply don't know; also other requirements which I can't think of just now, but which will certainly occur to you.

I would ask you to indicate sources on all these elementary matters and this in such a way that I can immediately get hold of the things. Indeed, what I would like best of all would be things from which I could see, on the one hand, the present general average state of individual branches and, on the other, the differences existing between the various modern armies. For instance, the different construction of field-piece carriages, etc., the different methods of sub-dividing and organising divisions, army corps, etc. Again I should be particularly interested in learning about the organisation of armies, commissariat, hospitals, about every aspect of the matériel necessary to any given army.

From this you will be able to gauge approximately what I need and which books you should recommend to me. I would suppose that as regards such manuals German military literature contains more useful matter than does the French or the English. I need hardly say that I am concerned with the knowledge of what is practical and really exists rather than with the systems or quirks of some unrecognised genius. As regards artillery Bem's manual^b would no doubt be the best.

Anything I am able to find here on more recent military history—earlier periods are of relatively little interest to me and I've got old Montecucculi^c for those—is naturally in French and English. Among the latter more especially Lieutenant-General William Napier's history of the Peninsular War—by far the best

^a detached forts - ^b J. Bem, *Erfahrungen über die Congresschen Brand-Raketen...* -

^c This seems to refer to R. Montecucculi's main work *Memorie della guerra ed istruzione d'un generale*.

work of military history I have seen up till now. If you don't know it and are able to get hold of it there, it would be worth your while reading it (*History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France*, 6 volumes). I have no German stuff and must certainly obtain some; Willisen and Clausewitz immediately spring to mind. What do you think of these two, and what is and what is not worth reading? Theoretical as well as historical. As soon as I have made some progress, I shall mug up properly on the campaigns of 1848/49, especially the Italian and Hungarian. Do you happen to know of a more or less official or otherwise reasonably sober account of the Baden affair from the Prussian side?

In addition can you recommend some good, specialised maps of Germany, not too expensive but adequate for the study of the campaigns since 1792 (in particular maps of Württemberg, Bavaria, Austria for 1801-1809, Saxony, Thuringia, Prussia for 1806/7 and 1813, North-East France for 1814, Lombardy, Hungary, Schleswig-Holstein, Belgium). I have the large Stieler^a here, which, however, is far from adequate. Though I have here battle-plans for the period 1792-1814 in the atlas to Alison's *History of Europe*^b since the French Revolution, I have discovered that several of them are inaccurate. Are there similar collections in Germany which, without being too dear, are nevertheless reliable?

Do you know Monsieur Jomini, of whom the French make such a fuss? I know of him only through Mr Thiers who, as everyone is aware, plagiarised him outrageously.^c This little Thiers is one of the most bare-faced liars in existence; there is not one battle in which the relative strengths are correctly given. Since, however, Mr Jomini later made off to Russia, it may be supposed that he must have had motives for cutting down the *exploits de la bravoure française*^d to something less than the super-human dimensions vouchsafed them by Mr Thiers, according to whom 1 Frenchman always whacks 2 foes.

Voilà a whole heap of questions. I hope, by the way, that the present persecution of Jews in Germany will spread no further.⁴³⁷ However, I find Daniels' arrest disquieting. It would seem that they want to make searches here in order to implicate us; that would be no easy matter, however, and would fail dismally since they would find nothing.

^a *Stieler's Handatlas über alle Theile der Erde...* - ^b A. Alison, *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution...* - ^c A. Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* - ^d exploits of French bravery

Marx will no doubt be writing to you about the scheme for organising from London a lithographic bureau for America.^a But if this sort of thing is done properly, it rapidly runs into great expense here, and most of the American papers are by no means sound financially. Lupus is in London and Freiligrath likewise; at the beginning of this month I, too, was there for a fortnight.⁴²³

Since, by all accounts, you will also be arriving here soon, it would be best for you to come to some arrangement with one or more papers or periodicals to act as correspondent, etc. That sort of thing is very profitable in London, though admittedly most of the best-paying newspapers are already provided for. Another question is what the press is like in Germany just now.

Capitano Willich continues to live in, on, and with his barracks. What do you say to our erecting a magnificent counterpart to it?

Write soon to your

F. E.

Address:
Ermen & Engels,
Manchester

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 27 June 1851

Dear Marx,

It is very *bonasse*^b of the good Saxon police actually to inform us themselves of what we did not previously know or could not have discovered. Bürgers' didactically dignified circular letter with the

^a See this volume, pp. 489-90. - ^b kindly

familiar *clair-obscur*^a of its reasoning must have cost them much fruitless brain-racking⁴³⁸; they even picked out all the wrong passages for printing in bold. A pretty figure the great Windmilers^b cut now, thrown out of their own party before the eyes of the whole world, the great Willich bracketed with Haude, Gebert and other such unknown rabble, with a certain 'Schopper' (derived from 'Schoppen')^c whose rare services are so little known that even in *Cologne* they can't print his name correctly! SO FAR ALL RIGHT. But Article 1 of the Rules bodes ill for the arrested men: 'all methods of revolutionary activity', or however it goes.⁴³⁹ It removes the business from the sphere of mere prohibited association to that of high treason. To judge, by the way, from an allusion in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, I would seem to be right in supposing that the intention is to arraign the whole company in Berlin before the State tribunal which is to be brought into being specifically for this grandiose occasion.

The utter failure of the government's attempt to make a bogey out of the great Dresden disclosure augurs well for the mood of the bourgeoisie. So little terror does the red spectre now hold for the bourgeois that he refuses to listen to talk of a big communist plot and is already beginning to fear that the system of house searches will ere long be extended to himself.

Not a single paper has taken the bait and the government's frantic endeavour to discover further machinations in gymnastic societies, 'free communities'³⁵⁰ and among democratically-minded master tailors proves, on the one hand, how much it is vexed by the indifference of the bourgeoisie whose curiosity it is seeking to whet, and, on the other, how little the Rules and the circular letter have led to further disclosures. It would seem that Miquel's house also was searched in vain.

Qu'y a-t-il de nouveau à Londres?^d

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913

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^a half-light - ^b members of the London German Workers' Educational Society - ^c 'Der communistische Bund', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 150, 24 June 1851. Instead of 'Schapper' the paper had 'Schopper', on which Engels made a pun by deriving it from 'Schoppen'—'a pint pot'. - ^d What's new in London?