

**KARL  
MARX  
FREDERICK  
ENGELS**

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**Collected  
Works**



Volume 39  
Marx and Engels  
1852 -1855

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### KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

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## Preface

Volume 39 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains their letters to each other and to third persons from 1852 to 1855.

The letters in this volume give us a glimpse of the creative methods of Marx and Engels, the background to their theoretical writings from 1852 to 1855, and of the genesis of many of their theories. These letters cover the period of political reaction that descended on Europe with the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution. From 1852 to 1855 fairly substantial changes took place in the world's economic and political life. The economic boom that had begun at the end of the 1840s in Europe proved unstable. There were already signs, in 1853, of another economic crisis that came to a head in 1857 and reached world dimensions for the first time. The Crimean War broke out in 1853, and this substantially changed the distribution of political forces on the Continent and influenced the internal development of a number of leading European powers.

The economic and political processes that took place in this period did much to determine the nature of the scientific and practical activities undertaken by Marx and Engels. From 1851 their main objectives were the further development of economic theory and research. Marx's scientific studies in this field were temporarily interrupted in 1852, when he and Engels concentrated on the theoretical generalisation of the results of the revolution, on the struggle against police persecution of members of the Communist League, and on the unmasking of the divisive activities of the sectarian elements in the League and the

pseudo-revolutionary pronouncements of various petty-bourgeois refugee groups. From 1853 to 1855, Marx and Engels followed with intense and unflagging interest the development of the conflict over the so-called Eastern Question and the course of the Crimean War. Throughout all these years, as in the previous period, they were both still principally concerned with the struggle for the proletarian party, for the organisational and ideological unity and education of the proletarian revolutionaries, and for the preservation and development of the proletariat's international connections.

In the personal lives of Marx and Engels, these years were among the most difficult. The harsh privations of life in emigration cost Marx and his wife Jenny the lives of two of their children, the one-year-old Franziska and the eight-year-old Edgar. Extremely difficult conditions constantly undermined Marx's health. Engels at this period was forced to give much of his time to commerce, which compelled him to renounce many research plans; however, this work provided a living not only for himself, but for the Marx family. In addition, as we see from many of their letters, Marx and Engels were preoccupied throughout these years with their comrades and sympathisers living in poverty in emigration or languishing in German prisons.

The letters in this volume, as in Volume 38, reflect the enormous amount of work done by Marx and Engels on the theoretical analysis of the experience of the 1848-49 revolution. During the first months of 1852, Marx wrote one of his outstanding works, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11). The material in this volume makes it possible to trace clearly the story of the publication as well as of the writing of this work, set down immediately after the counter-revolutionary coup in France on 2 December 1851. In addition, the letters contain an analysis of the processes at work after *The Eighteenth Brumaire* was written, at a time when Louis Bonaparte had consolidated his regime and was preparing to proclaim the Empire (see Engels to Weydemeyer on 30 January, Engels to Marx on 18 March, and Marx to Engels on 23 September 1852).

Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of 5 March 1852 is a very important document that seems directly to continue the theoretical generalisation of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. In it, Marx briefly outlined the substance of his revolutionary deduc-

tions about the world historical role of the proletariat, the innovation that he introduced into the theory of the classes and the class struggle. 'Now as for myself, I do not claim to have discovered either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me, bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle between the classes, as had bourgeois economists their economic anatomy. My own contribution was 1. to show that the *existence of classes* is merely bound up with *certain historical phases in the development of production*; 2. that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*; 3. that this dictatorship itself constitutes no more than a transition to the *abolition of all classes and to a classless society*' (see this volume, pp. 62-65). Noting the enormous theoretical value of this letter, Lenin wrote: 'In these words, Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity, first, the chief and radical difference between his theory and that of the foremost and most profound thinkers of the bourgeoisie; and, secondly, the essence of his theory of the state' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 411).

The correspondence contains much interesting information about the writing of Engels' work, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (see present edition, Vol. 11), in which Engels examines the prerequisites, nature and motive forces of the 1848-49 revolution in the German states from the standpoint of historical materialism. The letters in this volume show clearly how much creative contact there was between Marx and Engels in the composition of this work (see, for instance, Engels' letters to Marx of 29 January and 29 April, and Marx's letter to Engels of 18 February 1852).

A large part in the life of Marx and Engels in 1852 and the first half of 1853 was taken up by practical revolutionary activity. In an atmosphere reflecting the general decline of the revolutionary movement, Marx and Engels had to wage an intensive struggle against ideas alien to the working class and against revolutionary adventurism; they also had to overcome the pusillanimity, apathy and ignorance of certain members of the movement.

Of particular interest in this connection is the correspondence with Weydemeyer and Cluss, Communist League members who had emigrated to the USA. Marx and Engels supported in every way the aspirations of these two men to organise the publication in the USA of a German-language weekly, *Die Revolution*. Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and Engels' article 'England' (see present edition, Vol. 11) were specially written for it. Seeing



contributions to the magazine as an important party task, Marx, as his wife Jenny wrote to Weydemeyer on 13 February 1852, had 'commandeered on your behalf pretty well all available communist quills', that is to say, Wilhelm Wolff, Georg Weyth, Ferdinand Wolff, Ernest Jones, Wilhelm Pieper, Johann Eccarius and Ferdinand Freiligrath (p. 35).

For nearly three years, Cluss and Weydemeyer drew on letters from Marx and Engels when writing their own articles, which were printed in the American and German-American democratic press, and especially in the newspaper *Die Reform*, published in New York (see Marx's letters to Cluss of 17 April, about 14 June, 18 October, mid-November 1853, and others).

In England, Marx and Engels actively assisted and supported the proletarian publications being brought out by Ernest Jones, leader of the Left-wing Chartists. In Ernest Jones's *Notes to the People*, Marx wrote, 'you will find all the day-to-day history of the English proletariat' (see this volume, p. 42). They contributed to *The People's Paper* themselves and induced others to contribute likewise (Eccarius, Pieper, Cluss and their associates), and took part in the actual editorial work (see Marx's letters to Engels of 2 September and 23 September 1852 and 23 November 1853).

The advanced development of capitalist industry in England and its huge working class, together with the revolutionary traditions of Chartism, gave Marx and Engels grounds to assume that conditions existed there for the creation of a mass proletarian party. As their letters show, Marx and Engels helped Jones and other Left-wing Chartist leaders during these years to reorganise the National Charter Association, believing that the struggle for the rebirth of the Chartist movement was vital for the political unification of the proletariat in England. It was only natural that they constantly followed the progress of the strike movement of the English working class (see, for example, Marx's letter to Engels of 30 September 1853).

The struggle for the independence of the working-class movement and its freedom from other class influences was a matter of constant concern to Marx and Engels. They condemned in the strongest terms the shift towards bourgeois radicalism on the part of George Julian Harney, the former Chartist leader, and had a high opinion of the revolutionary firmness of Ernest Jones, who opposed the efforts of the reformists. 'Jones is moving in quite the right direction,' wrote Engels to Marx on 18 March 1852, 'and we may well say that, without our doctrine, he would not have taken the right path' (see this volume, p. 68). When Jones

later began vacillating and seemed inclined to make concessions to the petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx reacted with much disapproval (see Marx's letter to Engels of 13 February 1855).

The correspondence reflects the fierce ideological battle fought by Marx and Engels against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats who were trying to divert the proletarian revolutionaries from the real objectives of the class struggle. Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc were all criticised for ignoring the objective economic laws and for their subjectivist approach to crucial decisions, as well as for their extremely limited social programmes and their Bonapartist illusions. Moreover, Marx and Engels firmly rejected the conspiratorial tactics of Mazzini and his adherents (see, in particular, Engels' letter to Marx of 11 February and Marx's letter to Engels of 23 February 1853).

Marx and Engels were implacably hostile to the internal squabbles of the various petty-bourgeois refugee organisations which were turning political activity into careerism and intrigue and were threatening to discredit the revolutionary movement. The letters reveal the background to their joint authorship of the richly comic satirical pamphlet, *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11) in which they denounced the fatuous self-importance and the futile activities of the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois emigration (Kinkel, Ruge, Heinzen, Struve and others).

The founders of Marxism saw a particular danger at this time in the activities of the Willich-Schapper separatist group which had caused a split in the Communist League in 1850. Its pseudo-revolutionary catch-phrases and adventurism brought down police repression on many League members, especially the German workers. Marx wrote angrily to Engels on 30 August 1852: '...from a secure hiding-place, they are playing into the hands of the German governments, especially the Prussian, for the purpose of pseudo-agitation and self-aggrandisement' (p. 169).

The adventurism of the Willich-Schapper group took a particularly dangerous turn, since in 1852 there began in Cologne a trial trumped up by the Prussian police against the communists. This volume (and Volume 38) illustrates Marx's and Engels' struggle, from the very start of the investigation (in May 1851), against the provocative nature of its preparation and conduct, and against the inhuman treatment of the detainees. Through press agitation and publicity they did all they could to protect the communists from slander and treachery and to unmask the forgeries and irregularities

of the Prussian police and court authorities (see, for example, the letters of Marx to Engels of 24 January, Engels to Marx of 28 January, and Marx to Cluss of 7 and about 15 May 1852).

Marx and Engels were particularly active during the trial itself in October and November 1852, when they virtually handled the defence of the accused, supplying the lawyers with the necessary material. A picture of the tremendous work done at the time by Marx, Engels and their comrades in the Communist League is given by a letter from Jenny Marx to Cluss of 30 October 1852, published in the Appendices to this volume. The outstanding contribution to the struggle to expose the Cologne communist trial was Marx's pamphlet, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11), the background to which can be traced in the letters in this volume. Attributing great importance to the publication and distribution of this work, which denounced the entire Prussian governmental system, Marx wrote to Cluss on 25 March 1853: '...at the present moment, we could deal our beloved Prussians no more telling blow' (p. 299).

After sentence had been passed in Cologne on the Communist League members, Marx organised, through Cluss, the collection in the USA of money for assistance to the condemned men and their families. On 7 December 1852, sending Cluss a written appeal for the collection of money, Marx wrote: 'Here it is a matter of ... a definite party aim whose fulfilment is demanded by the honour of the workers' party' (p. 260).

After the Cologne trial, it became clear that it would be inadvisable to continue, under conditions of reaction, the activities of the Communist League as a relatively narrow illegal organisation. On 19 November 1852, Marx informed Engels that, at his suggestion, a resolution had been passed by the London District of the Communist League on the disbanding of the organisation. After the League had been dissolved, Marx, Engels and their associates continued, in other forms, their activities in welding together the ranks of the proletariat so that the best revolutionary and internationalist traditions of the Communist League should be absorbed and spread by successive generations of participants in the proletarian struggle. Their correspondence, in particular, shows that even during the years after the Communist League ceased to exist, Marx and Engels maintained contact with representatives of the proletarian movement in various countries.

As if summing up what had been achieved, and setting up the targets for the proletarian revolutionaries in the period of reaction and the movement's temporary decline, Engels wrote to

Weydemeyer on 12 April 1853: '...German communism ... has passed its matriculation' (see this volume, p. 308). Engels noted the heightened ideological level of Marx's adherents and their preparedness for new revolutionary battles: '...the Marx party does do a good deal of swotting, and one only has to look at the way the other émigré jackasses snap up this or that new catchword, thereby becoming more bemused than ever, to realise that our party's superiority has increased both absolutely and relatively. As indeed it must, for *la besogne sera rude* [it will be a tough business]' (p. 309). Engels' letter, marking out the line of conduct for the proletarian revolutionaries under the conditions of an expected upsurge in the movement, was an extremely important example of how to decide the tactics of the proletarian party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

After the close of the Cologne trial and the publication of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, Marx and Engels once again concentrated their main efforts on theoretical research. Their letters from 1853 to 1855 testify to the scope and variety of their scientific interests. Apart from the works and articles published during these years, several dozen of Marx's notebooks have been preserved with plans, copied passages and notes concerned primarily with economic problems and also with the history of Europe, the Orient and Ancient Rome, the problems of the colonial policy pursued by England and other capitalist states, and so on. Engels began studying the theory of war more intensively, and also world history, philology and other sciences.

The urgent theoretical elaboration of the problems of economics and the criticism of bourgeois political economy were not dictated by scientific interest alone, as Marx had already shown by the mid-40s, but also by the objective demands of arming the revolutionary proletariat ideologically. Economic theory was to introduce the maximum clarity into the understanding of the relationship between labour and capital. Consequently, Engels regarded the completion of Marx's economic research as most urgent. 'You ought to finish your Economy,' he wrote to Marx on 11 March 1853, 'later on, as soon as we have a newspaper, we could bring it out in WEEKLY NUMBERS... This would provide all our by then restored associations with a basis for debate' (p. 293).

In the first half of the 1850s, Marx made important progress in preparing the ground for a revolution in the science of economics—the discovery of the tendencies underlying the

capitalist mode of production. However, as is shown by the above-quoted letter from Engels, and also by Marx's letter to Cluss of 15 September 1853 (p. 367), neither Engels nor Marx himself yet realised how much ground had to be covered before the appearance of the first volume of *Capital*.

Meanwhile, the letters in this volume are convincing testimony that certain propositions of Marx's political economy had become known even before the appearance of the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and *Capital*. Marx frequently expounded his economic views in his letters to Engels, Lassalle, and also Cluss and Weydemeyer. He endeavoured in this way to arm his associates for the battle of ideas with the petty-bourgeois democrats and their ideologues. For example, in his letter to Weydemeyer of 5 March 1852, already quoted above, in his letter to Engels of 14 June 1853 and in the letters to Cluss of 5 and 18 October 1853, Marx severely criticised the vulgar bourgeois economist Henry Charles Carey, whose views on the 'harmony of classes' in the USA had become fairly widespread by this time. Marx dwelt on certain peculiarities in the development of capitalism in the USA, on its place in the general system of capitalist relations, and on its competitive struggle with English capital and the resulting specific nature of development of American economic thought. Carey's views, wrote Marx, show that 'in the United States bourgeois society is still far too immature for the class struggle to be made perceptible and comprehensible' (p. 62).

Marx notes in his letters the decline of bourgeois political economy, and the marked tendency among the epigones of the English classical school of economists to distort and vulgarise the teachings of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Comparing the views of Ricardo and Carey on rent and wages, Marx stressed that Carey's attacks on English political economy in the person of Ricardo expressed only Carey's desire to gloss over the contradictions of capitalist production or to prove the possibility of abolishing those contradictions while preserving the foundations of bourgeois society.

Revealing the groundlessness of Carey's claims about the harmony and co-operation of the classes in American society, Marx wrote: 'It is *par trop* [altogether too] naive to suggest that, if the *total product of labour* rises, the three classes among whom it is to be shared will share *equally* in that growth. If profit were to rise by 20%, the workers would have to strike to obtain a 2% rise in WAGES' (p. 384).

Marx's critique of Carey's views in his letters was published by Cluss as an article ("The "Best Paper in the Union" and Its "Best Men" and Political Economists") in the newspaper *Die Reform* (see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 623-32). It thus became available to a certain section of the American readership. This material of 1852-53 subsequently served Marx as the basis for a more substantial critique of Carey's views and vulgar bourgeois political economy in the *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858* and in *Capital*.

Marx invariably passed on to Engels the results of his economic research. Their letters show how closely they followed the economic development of the European countries and America, and how carefully they analysed the statistical material confirming the antagonistic and cyclic nature of capitalist production's development. The elaboration of the problem of crises was of special interest to them, since they associated a new revolutionary upsurge with the end of the prosperous phase and with an inevitable economic decline (see Engels' letter to Marx about this on 24 August 1852 and Marx's letter to Lassalle of 23 January 1855).

From the analysis mainly of English trade and industry, they detected the symptoms of an imminent and inevitable economic crisis which could, under prevailing conditions, serve as a powerful stimulus to the revolutionary movement in Europe (see Engels to Weydemeyer on 27 February 1852, Marx to Engels on 29 January 1853, Engels to Weydemeyer on 12 April 1853, Marx to Cluss on 15 September 1853, and Engels to Marx on 29 September 1853).

Marx and Engels paid great attention to the problems of history. They were stimulated to take up historical research by the desire for a deeper understanding of the processes of social development, especially during the capitalist period, and in order to comprehend the historical factors behind the events and phenomena of their own times. This was important for the development of the correct revolutionary tactics. The letters in the present volume give an idea not only of the range of historical subjects in which Marx and Engels were interested, but of their conclusions and generalisations.

The study of world history enabled Marx and Engels to elucidate certain characteristics in the development of capitalism and also of precapitalist social-economic formations. Thus, dealing with the history of Ancient Rome, Marx disclosed the material causes of the class struggle in ancient society. In his letter to Engels of 8 March 1855, he wrote: 'Internal history resolves itself

PLAINLY INTO the struggle between small and large landed property, specifically modified, of course, by slavery relations' (p. 527). In his letter to Engels of 27 July 1854, analysing the distinguished French historian Thierry's *Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et du progrès du tiers état* he traces how the elements of the future capitalist system emerged and developed in the bowels of feudalism, and he notes the part played by the struggle of the Third Estate against the feudal aristocracy during the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism. While acknowledging Thierry's merits, Marx points out the limitations of his views, and his inability to understand the material roots of class contradictions or the nature and character of class antagonisms under capitalism. 'Had Mr Thierry read our stuff, he would know that the decisive opposition between bourgeoisie and *peuple* does not, of course, crystallise until the former ceases, as *tiers-état*, to oppose the *clergé* and the *noblesse*' (p. 474). This letter of Marx's is of fundamental importance for pinpointing the general methodological shortcomings in the views common to French bourgeois historians during the Restoration and to bourgeois historiographers in general.

The letter also contains an important formulation on the decisive significance of the alliance between the bourgeoisie and the peasantry in the struggle against feudalism. Lenin laid special emphasis on this idea of Marx's: 'The French bourgeoisie won *when it decided* to go with the peasants' ('Conspectus of "The Correspondence of K. Marx and F. Engels. 1844-1883"', Moscow, 1968, Russian edition, p. 7).

In connection with the revolutionary events in Spain in 1854, Marx studied the history of the revolutionary movement of the Spanish people in order to 'discover exactly the springs behind developments' (p. 480).

On the eve of the Crimean War, when inter-state contradictions became suddenly prominent in Asia Minor and the Balkans, Marx and Engels devoted special attention to analysing the history of Turkey, Persia and the countries of the Arabian peninsula, especially their social and political development, the role of communal landownership, their way of life, culture and religious trends (see Engels to Marx on about 26 May, Marx to Engels on 2 and 14 June, and Engels to Marx on 6 June 1853). These letters illustrate the formation of Marx's and Engels' materialist interpretation of religious movements in the East, showing their connection with the material conditions of life as a result of the transition from the nomadic to the settled life, the changes in trade routes, and so on. The letters in this volume also show the special attention Marx

devoted at this time to India, then Great Britain's most important imperial possession.

Studying the history of these countries enabled Marx and Engels to bring out the salient characteristics of their social development. 'The absence of landed property is indeed the key to the whole of the East. Therein lies its political and religious history,' remarked Engels in a letter to Marx of 6 June 1853 (p. 339). In the same letter, he disclosed the reasons for the weak development of private landownership in all the Eastern countries, especially during the Middle Ages: the natural conditions in these countries necessitated the building and maintenance of irrigation works, and this was only possible within the scope of the central authority. 'In the East, the government has always consisted of 3 departments only: Finance (pillage at home), War (pillage at home and abroad), and *travaux publics* [public works], provision for reproduction' (p. 339). Marx used this idea and developed it in his article 'The British Rule in India' (see present edition, Vol. 12). The concentration of considerable means of production in the hands of despotic governments, the closed and isolated position of the village commune, the chief economic and social unit of Asiatic societies—these, concluded Marx and Engels, were behind the more retarded historical development of the Eastern countries when the transition from feudalism to capitalism was being accomplished in the West.

Marx and Engels sharply denounced England's system of colonial domination in India, underlining its destructive consequences. By preserving the worst features of Eastern despotism in the conquered countries, the English had ceased to worry about maintaining irrigation, as a result of which, Engels pointed out, 'Indian agriculture is going to wrack and ruin' (p. 340).

The process by which the colonial and dependent countries were drawn into the orbit of world capitalism led Marx and Engels to the conclusion that there was a deep mutual relationship and mutual dependence between the destiny of the capitalist countries and that of the colonial world. They became increasingly convinced that the proletarian movement in the metropolitan countries could find its own natural ally in the maturing national liberation movement.

During these years, Engels' gifts as military theoretician of the proletarian party came to the fore. He gave great attention to the history of the revolutionary wars of 1848-49, intending to write a book on the subject. 'I should like to have time before the next revolution,' he wrote to Weydemeyer on 12 April 1853, 'to study and



describe thoroughly at least the campaigns of 1848 and 1849 in Italy and Hungary' (p. 309). He did not carry out this intention, and this gives all the more significance to his letters to Marx of 6 July 1852, 10 June 1854, and a number of others in which he gives a critical analysis of the military operations of the revolutionary armies in 1848 and 1849. A number of letters contain fundamental observations by Engels on military and military-historical science and its theoreticians, Clausewitz, Napier, Jomini, Willisen, and about the generalship of Napoleon, Wellington and others. Engels outlined his approach to the analysis of military operations and military science in a letter to the editor of *The Daily News*, 30 March 1854. His extensive knowledge of military history and his use of dialectical materialist methodology were demonstrated in his articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* during the Crimean War. 'Your military articles,' wrote Marx to Engels on 5 January 1854, 'have created a great stir. A rumour is circulating in New York that they were written by General Scott' (p. 407).

Philological studies were always among the scientific interests pursued by Marx and Engels. During these years Marx studied Spanish, reading Calderon and Cervantes in the original. Engels studied the Slavonic (including Russian) and Oriental languages, especially Persian, showing outstanding linguistic abilities. Of considerable interest is Engels' outline of the principles of translation when he was analysing a translation of the first chapter of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* done from German into English by Wilhelm Pieper (see Engels' letter to Marx of 23 September 1852).

The period from 1852 to 1855 was one of intensive political journalism on the part of Marx and Engels. Their articles provide rich and often witty insights into and valuable analyses of the capitalist world of their times. Their journalistic activity was closely bound up with their theoretical studies. Research helped them to understand the underlying causes of current events, and important theoretical generalisations frequently emerged from articles on specific subjects. This mutual interaction of the various sides of their work is clearly reflected in their correspondence.

A recurrent idea in the letters of Marx and Engels is that of the necessity for using any opportunity during the years of reaction to promote the revolutionary point of view on the most important political questions in order to influence public opinion in the interests of the working class. 'We are not doing our enemies a favour by writting for them. *Tout au contraire* [Quite the contrary].

We could hardly play them a worse trick..." wrote Marx to Cluss on 14 June 1853 (p. 350).

Marx and Engels, who began contributing to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in 1851, continued writing for it in 1852-55. Marx was the official correspondent for the newspaper, but many articles were written at Marx's request by Engels. At first, as can be seen from the letters in this volume, Marx wrote his articles in German and sent them to Engels in Manchester for translation. In January 1853, Marx himself began writing in English. This enabled him to keep his work as correspondent very much up-to-date. From 1853 to 1855, Marx sent to New York nearly every week or twice weekly his own or Engels' articles, devoted to the most topical and varied problems of the time.

The articles by Marx and Engels for this bourgeois newspaper are a model combination of sober analysis and high principles. Frequently, Marx and Engels even managed to publicise ideas opposed to the views of the newspaper's editors (see Marx's letters to Engels about this on 14 June 1853 and 3 May 1854). The articles aroused great interest among the reading public and Marx's services were frequently acknowledged by the newspaper itself (see, for example, Marx's letter to Engels of 26 April 1853).

However, writing for this newspaper, for all its progressiveness, was not easy. The editors treated the articles with scant ceremony, arbitrary interpolations were frequently allowed, and many articles were printed as unsigned leaders. Marx wrote to Engels on 14 December 1853: 'Needless to say, the *Tribune* is making a great splash with your articles, poor Dana, no doubt, being regarded as their author. At the same time they have appropriated "Palmerston" [Marx's work 'Lord Palmerston'], which means that, for 8 weeks past, Marx-Engels have virtually constituted the EDITORIAL STAFF of the *Tribune*' (see this volume, p. 404). Marx frequently protested against these irregularities (see Marx to Engels on 2 November 1853, 5 January, and 22 April 1854).

From the end of December 1854, a great deal of Marx's journalistic writing went on contributions to the German *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, one of the few German opposition papers to continue appearing during the years of the reaction. The invitation to contribute to this newspaper gave Marx and Engels the chance of direct contact with the German public, including the proletarian readership. A description of the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* is contained in Marx's letter to Moritz Elsner, the editor, on 11 September 1855: 'Considering the difficult circumstances and the limited space at your disposal, your paper is, in my opinion, edited

with great skill and tact, and in such a way that the intelligent reader may read between the lines' (p. 553).

The letters show the extent of Marx's and Engels' creative rapport and day-to-day collaboration. For instance, the details on the activities of the Aberdeen coalition cabinet as given in Marx's letter to Engels of 31 January 1855, were used by Engels for his article 'The Late British Government' (see present edition, Vol. 13). They often edited each other's articles. Engels frequently wrote dispatches instead of Marx, who was busy with urgent party matters (for instance, during the period of the Cologne trial) or was unable to work owing to illness or domestic problems.

In their letters, Marx and Engels paid much attention to England's economic and political position, to describing the various classes of English society and to the struggle of the political parties. Acknowledging that the English political system was at that time more progressive than those of other European countries, Marx nevertheless unmasked the myth of England as a bulwark of constitutional freedoms and civic equality. He tried to show the real class nature of the English constitutional monarchy—the oligarchic domination, tricked out in parliamentary forms, of the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. In a series of letters, Marx stressed the anti-democratic nature of the English electoral system, which deprived the majority of the people of voting rights (see, for example, Marx's letter to Cluss of 20 July 1852).

As far back as 1852, Marx had detected signs of crisis in the English oligarchic system of government—a system which helped the ruling classes give their domination the semblance of free rivalry between two political parties, the Whigs and the Tories. From the formation of the Aberdeen coalition government at the end of 1852 until its fall in 1855, Marx and Engels observed the disintegration of these old bourgeois-aristocratic parties of the ruling oligarchy. Marx's letter to Cluss on 20 July 1852 and one from Engels to Weydemeyer on 12 April 1853 developed the idea that the reform of the state system had become urgently necessary and that the crisis of the existing political parties could be overcome only 'from without by the pressure of the masses' and that it would 'no longer be possible to govern England without considerably extending the *pays légal* [franchise]' (pp. 136 and 306-07). In this way, Marx and Engels drew attention to the fact that the English working class, despite the decline of its political activities in the first half of the 1850s in comparison with the period of Chartism at its height, was stepping into the arena of the

country's political life as a force without whose participation no progressive changes would be possible.

Marx and Engels showed great interest in the economic and political development of France because they set great store by the revolutionary traditions of the French people and the French working class and did not lose their faith in its vigour and heroism. They foresaw the dangerous consequences for the French and for the whole European proletariat in the consolidation of the Bonapartist dictatorship. The letters disclose the essence of the anti-popular regime of the Second Empire and note the most characteristic feature of Bonapartism—the combination of the traditional policy of crude police and military terror towards the oppressed classes with broad demagoguery in social and national questions both in home and foreign policy. The correspondence gives a vivid picture of the stock exchange machinations and speculative ventures of the bourgeoisie during the Second Empire, the corruption and adventurism in the country's economic life as well as in government circles. In 1853, Marx and Engels had already predicted a short life for French industrial 'prosperity', stressing that the government's policy would inevitably plunge the French economy into chaos. They noted with delight the awakening dissatisfaction with the Bonapartist regime on the part of the broad masses and forecast the inevitable collapse of Napoleon III's empire (see Engels to Weydemeyer on 12 April and to Marx on 26 April 1853; Marx to Engels on 12 October 1853 and to Elsner on 8 November 1855).

The main power which was destined to play a decisive role in the struggle with the Bonapartist regime was, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, the French proletariat. 'So you can see,' wrote Marx to Cluss on 25 March 1853, 'that the proletarian lion isn't dead'—thus drawing attention to the mass anti-Bonapartist demonstration at the funeral of Madame Raspail, wife of the famous revolutionary (this volume, p. 300). At the same time, they also bore in mind the demoralising influence on the workers of Bonapartism's social demagoguery. 'They will have to be severely chastened by crises if they are to be good for anything again *soon*,' wrote Engels to Marx on 24 September 1852 (pp. 196-97).

As a result of the preparations for and outbreak of the Crimean War, there was a considerable widening of the range of questions with which Marx and Engels were concerned. Above all, they became aware of the need to study seriously the foreign policy of the ruling classes. Marx wrote to Engels on 2 November 1853: 'I am glad that chance should have led me to take a closer look at

1853 and 18 May 1855). It was very much under the influence of Herzen's books that Marx and Engels arrived at the opinion that internal contradictions in Russia were growing and resistance to the Tsarist regime was stiffening in that country. On 12 April 1853, Engels wrote to Weydemeyer that should a European revolutionary war break out against Tsarism, 'an aristocratic-bourgeois revolution in Petersburg with a resulting civil war in the interior is a possibility' (pp. 305-06). The letters also contain a number of critical comments on Herzen's conception of 'Russian socialism', which was based on the Utopian idea of the 'rejuvenation' of Europe by means of the Russian peasant commune (see, for instance, this volume, p. 523).

At the same time, Marx and Engels clarified their position concerning the plans of certain circles of the Polish emigration to wrest Byelorussian and Ukrainian lands from Russia. The above-mentioned letter by Engels to Weydemeyer contains the following: 'As to the former Polish provinces on this side of the Dvina and Dnieper, I want to hear nothing more of them, knowing as I do that the peasants there are all Ukrainians, only the aristocracy and some of the people in the towns being Polish, and that to the peasant there ... the restoration of Poland is synonymous with the restoration of the old ruling aristocracy, its powers unimpaired' (p. 306).

The period 1852-55 was one of the most difficult in the lives of Marx and Engels, and their letters to each other clearly show how they were helped to survive their tribulations by the friendship which they maintained throughout their lives. This was expressed very touchingly by Marx at a moment of great personal loss: 'Amid all the fearful torments I have recently had to endure, the thought of you and your friendship has always sustained me, as has the hope that there is still something sensible for us to do together in the world' (p. 533).

\* \* \*

Volume 39 contains, printed in chronological order, 293 letters written by Marx and Engels from 1852 to 1855. By no means all their letters have been preserved, in particular, Engels' letters for 1855, of which only one survives. The letters were written mainly in German, apart from three in English. Twelve were written in two languages—German and English, German and French, and German and Italian. The overwhelming majority are being published in English for the first time. Only 43 letters (of which 39

in incomplete form) have been published before in English. All these publications are indicated in the notes. The text of former English publications has been checked and improved where necessary.

The Appendices contain letters written by Jenny Marx on her husband's instructions, and also extracts from the letters of Cluss to Weydemeyer giving the contents of a number of letters from Marx to Cluss which have not come down to us. Most of the material in the Appendices is also being published in English for the first time.

In the course of work on this volume, the earlier dating of certain letters has been corrected. The letter from Marx to Cluss of 3 September 1852, previously published as a single document, has been divided in this volume into two, dated 3 September and [after 5 September] 1852.

Study of the correspondence for 1852-55 has made it possible to attribute certain articles to Marx and Engels, and also to date the writing of certain already known articles of that period more accurately. All such attributions and details of dates are mentioned in the notes.

The authors' own contraction of proper and geographical names and of certain words have been reproduced in full. Obvious errors and inaccuracies have been corrected. Defects in the manuscripts, when the text is missing or illegible, are indicated by three dots 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. Passages struck out by the authors have, as a rule, not been reproduced, except where they represent variant readings which are given in the footnotes.

Foreign words and expressions have been retained in the original language and are given in italics; if they were underlined by the authors they are set in spaced italics.

In the letters written in German, words used by Marx and Engels in English are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks. If a fact or event is referred to in several letters, the same note number is used every time.

The volume was compiled, the texts of the letters and appendices for 1852-53 prepared, and the preface and the relevant notes written by Velta Pospelova; the texts of the letters and appendices for 1854-55 were prepared and the relevant notes written by Irina Shikanyan; the volume was edited by Valentina Smirnova. The index of quoted and mentioned literature was

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KARL MARX  
and  
FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

January 1852-December 1855





1852

1

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>1</sup>  
IN NEW YORK

[London,] 1 January 1852

Dear Weiwi,

A happy New Year to you, and greetings to your wife<sup>a</sup> from myself and wife.

I have not been able to send you the article until now,<sup>2</sup> having been interrupted not only by events coming one on top of another but to an even greater extent by private affairs. Henceforward, I shall be regularity itself.

Lupus<sup>b</sup> has fallen seriously ill and hence has not yet been able to send anything. Red Wolff's<sup>c</sup> article seemed to me unusable, hence I did not send it off.<sup>3</sup>

If, *which I hope will not happen*, your undertaking<sup>d</sup> has to be postponed for any length of time on financial grounds, *let Dana have* the article so that he may translate it into English for his paper.<sup>4</sup> However, I hope this will not be necessary.

Give Dana my regards. Tell him I have received his newspapers and his letter and shall be sending him a new work next week.<sup>5</sup>

As for the *Revue*s,<sup>e</sup> since they are not ready to hand but have to be obtained at some expense and trouble from Hamburg, please let me know roughly how many sales you think I can count on in America.<sup>6</sup>

I shall be sending you from here *Notes to the People* by our friend Ernest Jones, the most important leader of the English party; you should find them a veritable mine when it comes to filling the gaps in your paper.

---

<sup>a</sup> Louise - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Wolff - <sup>c</sup> Ferdinand Wolff - <sup>d</sup> the publication of *Die Revolution* - <sup>e</sup> *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue*.

Send me at once (and in future regularly) a few copies of your weekly.

Greeting and fraternity.

Your  
K. Marx

Yesterday I hammered away at Freiligrath for all I was worth and he promised me to concoct a poem for you on the most recent occurrences.<sup>a</sup>

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2

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 6 January 1852

Dear Marx,

BY THIS TIME, you will, I trust, have completely recovered from your afflictions; I also hope that your wife will no longer be angry with me about the coup d'état which plunged you for two days into such depths of melancholy.<sup>7</sup> At any rate, please give her and your children my kindest regards.

I shall get an article done for Weydemeyer in time for next Friday's steamer and hope you will let me have something topical for the *Tribune*, which I shall at once translate. It's really not a paper that calls for any serious exertion. Barnum stalks its columns large as life, and the English is ghastly—but this apart, it has some good qualities which, however, have nothing at all to do with OUR LINE. If you can see that it reaches me by Thursday—even by the 2nd post—you shall have the translation back in London in time for Saturday's steamer, i.e. by the 2nd post arriving there on Friday. Then, next week, I shall set to work on the articles on Germany and shall soon be done with them.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 8. - <sup>b</sup> This presumably refers to Article VII of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.

The lack of originality with which the Austrians have aped Louis Napoleon and promptly abolished their constitution is certainly deplorable. Now there'll be a fine how-d'ye-do in Prussia—there's no doubt that Prussia has been betrayed and sold by Austria and, if it does not likewise abolish its constitution,<sup>a</sup> may very well be crushed by a Russian-Austrian-French alliance.

In 1851 the English cotton industry consumed 32,000 bales a week as against 29,000 bales in 1850.<sup>a</sup> The entire surplus, and a good deal more, went to the East Indies and China; at present Manchester is almost wholly dependent on deliveries to these two markets and to the HOME TRADE, since very little is going to the Continent. This cannot last much longer. They are sailing very near the wind here, and the fact that, e.g., cotton prices are soaring, despite an exceptionally heavy crop, merely in the expectation of even heavier demand, is of itself significant enough.

Weerth dropped me a few lines today from Bradford inquiring about the insufferable Lüders who has written to him. If you can tell me whether and to what extent this old jackass has been involved in the intrigues there, I should be grateful and it might come in handy. Otherwise, nothing else to report, BUSINESS WITH US SLACK, fog and smoke in abundance.

Your  
F. E.

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## 3

## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 January 1852

Dear Mrs Marx,

I would have answered your kind letter<sup>b</sup> long ago had I not been totally prevented from doing so by a whole mass of things—in particular the presence of my brother-in-law<sup>c</sup> whom I

<sup>a</sup> 'State of Trade. Manchester, Jan. 3', *The Times*, No. 21003, 5 January 1852. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 567-69. - <sup>c</sup> Emil Blank

had to keep amused for a whole week, certainly no light task here in Manchester. There could, of course, be no question of work during that time, and only now can I turn my mind to what may be done before next Friday's STEAMER. At all events, either this evening or tomorrow evening something will be ready for the *Tribune*, nor will Father Weydemeyer go empty-handed. In the meantime I have heard and seen nothing from the latter—I hope that today will have brought you a letter from him telling us about the prospects for the New Year, since the letters that arrived by yesterday's STEAMER were dated up to 1 January.

I trust that in the meantime the paterfamilias<sup>a</sup> will have arisen from his bed of pain and penance, and only hope that the Library<sup>b</sup> will not entirely drive the *Tribune* from his mind. The information about the honourable Lüders was conveyed forthwith to Weerth, likewise as much as was necessary concerning the worthy Kinkel.

The lambastings received by the great Willich are most pleasing so far as we are concerned, while for him there would appear to be an excellent prospect of repeated applications. Once the spell of inviolability and invincibility cast around himself by the great warrior has been broken by a *bonne volée*,<sup>c</sup> not one blackguard of an émigré, right down to the last Conrad,<sup>9</sup> will rest until he has repeated the experiment and wreaked upon the noble fellow tangible vengeance for his private GRIEVANCES. The great man's *courage malheureux*<sup>d</sup> may then console itself with the thought that those who did the thrashing were all of them 'men of principle'. Thrashings he may have had, but they were 'principled thrashings'.

I return Cluss' letter herewith.<sup>e</sup> As an agent, the fellow's beyond compare. When the business of Willich's mystification<sup>10</sup> comes out, there'll be a fine how-d'ye-do! The philistines will no longer dare to write letters for fear of their falling into our hands. How scurrilously hypocritical it was on Kinkel's part to maintain that he had written to London, telling them to get in touch with us! This fact only goes to show that he has been constantly and most disagreeably 'challenged' on our account in America and that, among the democratic rabble there, we too have a SET of adherents who swear by us, as do the others by Kinkel or Heinzen or Hecker, heaven knows why; these must be adherents *à la* Magnus Gross, Wilhelmi, etc., people who would only have to spend a short time in our company to be better informed both about us and themselves, and to return to the common fold where they belong.

<sup>a</sup> Karl Marx - <sup>b</sup> of the British Museum - <sup>c</sup> sound thrashing - <sup>d</sup> discomfited courage - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 568-69.

I must say, Louis Napoleon grows daily more amusing. While not a single one of those great measures for the abolition of pauperism, etc., has yet managed to see the light of day, the little fellow contrives to provoke all philistines in the world by measures which are merely intended to ensure a temporary consolidation of his authority.<sup>11</sup> No longer does any non-French paper dare speak up for him, even the *Sun* and the *Kölnische* remain silent, and only the good-for-nothing correspondent of the *Globe* continues to deposit his daily scurrilities in the corner allotted to him for the purpose. On top of that, Louis Napoleon has aroused universal suspicion, the whole of Europe resounds with war and rumours of war,<sup>a</sup> and even the peaceable *Daily News* has *volens volens*<sup>b</sup> to join in the call FOR NATIONAL DEFENCES. Along with the side of his character which has been most in evidence since 2 December—the GAMBLER—the fellow is gradually beginning to develop another, that of the mad pretender who regards himself as a predestined world redeemer and who swears by his star. And when the time was come, God sent the nephew that he might redeem the world from the bondage of the devil and from the hell of socialism. Luckily parliament will be meeting shortly, which always introduces a little variety into the humbug of politics.

Warm regards to Marx and the little ones from your

F. Engels

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4

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>12</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 16 January 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Today I got up for the first time in a fortnight. From this you will see that my indisposition—not yet wholly overcome—was a

<sup>a</sup> Matthew 24:6. · <sup>b</sup> willy-nilly

serious one. Hence, even with the best will in the world, I could not send you No. III of my article on Bonaparte<sup>a</sup> this week. Instead, you will find enclosed a poem<sup>13</sup> and a personal letter from Freiligrath. I beseech you now to: 1. See that the poem is carefully printed, with adequate intervals between the verses and allowing plenty of space for the whole. A great deal is lost if poems are too closely printed and over-compressed. 2. Write Freiligrath a friendly letter. Nor need you be over-fearful of paying him compliments, for poets, even the best of them, are all *plus au moins des courtisanes*<sup>b</sup> and *il faut les cajoler, pour les faire chanter*.<sup>c</sup> In private life our Freiligrath is the most amiable, least pretentious of men who conceals beneath a genuine *bonhomie un esprit très fin et très railleur*<sup>d</sup> and whose passion is 'authentic', yet does not render him either 'uncritical' or 'superstitious'. He is a true revolutionary and a man of honour to the marrow, a compliment I would pay to only a very few. Nevertheless a poet, whatever he may be as an *homme*,<sup>e</sup> needs applause and ADMIRATION. This is, I believe, peculiar to the genre as such. I am only telling you all this to remind you not to lose sight, when corresponding with Freiligrath, of the distinction between the 'poet' and the 'critic'. It is, by the by, very nice of him to address his poetical letter directly to you. I think that this will be helpful to you in New York.

I do not know whether I shall manage to send you another article today. Pieper had promised me to write an article for you. Up till this moment he has not yet turned up and when he does, the article will have to be put to the test—i.e. whether it is consigned to the flames, or is considered worthy of crossing the ocean. I am *trop faible encore*<sup>f</sup> to go on writing. More today week. Regards from my family to yours.

Lupus is still not fully recovered and hence has not yet sent anything.

Your  
K. Marx

Apropos. Enclosed is yet another 'statement' from a member<sup>14</sup> of our League<sup>15</sup> which you should insert in your paper in small print among the advertisements or below the line.

---

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, III. - <sup>b</sup> more or less courtesans - <sup>c</sup> they have to be cajoled to get them to sing - <sup>d</sup> a wit very subtle and very mocking - <sup>e</sup> man - <sup>f</sup> still too weak

Daniels, Becker and Co. have again not been brought up before the January Assizes on the pretext that the investigation was so difficult that it must be begun all over again.<sup>16</sup> They have now been in jug for 9 months.

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## 5

MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 January 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Only since yesterday have I been up and about again and it was not until today that I again took up my pen.

Since I was unable to go out and visit Chapman as I had planned, Pieper, with the enthusiasm he habitually displays in the first ten minutes, offered to discount the bill for me. The other evening he brought me the money, only to declare that he would send you the bill so that you could have it discounted in Manchester. I, as well as my wife, told him that we knew you couldn't do so. But he had already written his letter and, since he made it pretty clear that I appeared, for reasons of my own, to be putting obstacles in his way, I gave him his head and be damned to it, feeling sure that you would return the stuff to him. Now, when he informs me of this *fait*,<sup>a</sup> it turns out that he was not in such a hurry after all, but was merely seeking to give himself airs. For me, it was a nasty business, since you might have thought I had been guilty of an indiscretion.

In France *les choses vont à merveille*.<sup>b</sup> And I hope *la belle France* will not pass through this school too casually but will have to spend a longer time in class. War, whether it comes a few months

<sup>a</sup> fact - <sup>b</sup> things are going splendidly



sooner or later, seems to me inevitable. *Nous avons eu le Napoléon de la paix.*<sup>a</sup> Louis<sup>b</sup> can BY NO MEANS emulate Louis Philippe. *Et alors?*<sup>c</sup>

As you know, our people in Cologne have not been brought before the Assizes under the pretext that the case is so difficult that the investigation must be begun all over again.

Madier has just been here. He proved to me *de la manière la plus crapaude*<sup>d</sup> that the FRENCHMEN are capable of taking London by breakfast time and assaulting all of England's coasts within five hours. One has too much *pitié*<sup>e</sup> for the poor devils not to hold one's tongue *quand ils déraisonnent!*<sup>f</sup>

Write soon.

Your  
K. M.

How is *le commerce*?

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## 6

### ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 22 January 1852

Dear Marx,

Herewith the 7th article for the *Tribune*. The eighth, etc., will be done tomorrow evening, and today I shall get something ready for Weydemeyer. In his case, I am for a start restricting myself to England,<sup>17</sup> being unable to bring myself to read German newspapers and do something on Germany. Could you not perhaps persuade Lupus, who, I hope, is fit as a fiddle again, to send off something 'From the German Empire'<sup>18</sup>?—Weerth will produce something for Weydemeyer next week; this week he cannot. I hope to see him here the day after tomorrow and he

<sup>a</sup> We have had the Napoleon of peace (Louis Philippe's nickname) · <sup>b</sup> Louis Bonaparte · <sup>c</sup> What then? · <sup>d</sup> in the most philistine manner · <sup>e</sup> pity · <sup>f</sup> when they talk nonsense

may come up to London in a week or a fortnight's time since, out of sheer impatience, he is once again champing at the bit.

The *Pacific* having arrived from New York yesterday, there's a chance that tomorrow might bring the numbers<sup>a</sup> promised me by Weydemeyer—but I am not counting on this since he may have waited for the regular ENGLISH MAIL STEAMER. By the way, he should not send so many, 50 copies is too much and will probably cost a mint of money, and who are they all to be sent to? I will find out what the charges are and if needs be—that is, if he can't arrange the business more cheaply through parcels consignment agencies—10 copies would be quite sufficient; for he cannot after all count on *subscribers* in Europe. A few in London, perhaps; otherwise maybe only in Hamburg. And that would also call for an agency, which would not pay for itself.

I trust you'll soon be sending me an article to translate for the *Tribune*.

Jones has written to me asking for contributions. I shall do my best and have given him my word.<sup>19</sup> All this means that any spare time I might have for swotting is frittered away piecemeal, and that's bad. I must see how I can arrange things and diddle the office. Jones mentions a dirty trick Harney played on him<sup>20</sup> and says he was cheated out of £15, concerning which you would be able to tell me more—what is all this? He was, of course, VERY BUSY and his letter consists largely of unfinished sentences and exclamation marks.

As to Pieper's DODGE in the matter of the bill, the whole stratagem was, of course, perfectly plain to me, and *Monsieur le bel homme*<sup>b</sup> will have realised that he needs rather more cunning to conjure eight pounds out of my pocket. Being well aware how he stood financially on 2 January, I chaffed him about his supposed shortage of money, warned him against dishonest and unsound bill-brokers in London, declared that the bill must be dispatched as quickly as possible, and finally advised him to have it cashed through Weydemeyer—in which case, it would again pass through your hands and, upon the arrival of the notification of payment, which would, of course, come to you or me, it would quite spontaneously give rise to a further discounting transaction with this youthful trading house. I owe him 2 pounds, for which he also asked; this I also promised to repay, but not before the beginning of February.

That the good Louis Napoleon must go to war is clear as day and, if he can come to an understanding with Russia, he will

<sup>a</sup> of *Die Revolution* - <sup>b</sup> Mr Handsome

probably pick a quarrel with England. This would have its good and its bad aspects. The French notion that they could conquer London and England in 5 hours is a very harmless one. But what they *can* do now, is carry out sudden raids with 20, or at the most 30 thousand men, which, however, would nowhere be very effective. Brighton is the one town seriously threatened; Southampton, etc., are safeguarded, not so much by fortifications as by their situation on deep inlets navigable only at high tide and with the help of local pilots. The greatest EFFECT a French landing could hope to achieve would be the destruction of Woolwich, but even then they would have to take damned good care not to advance on London. In the case of any serious invasion, the combined forces of the Continent would inevitably give the English at least A YEAR'S NOTICE, whereas 6 months would suffice to place England in a state of readiness against any attack. The present alarms are being deliberately exaggerated—with the greatest help from the Whigs. All the English have to do to safeguard themselves for the time being is to recall a dozen ships of the line and STEAMERS, fit out another dozen of both kinds which are lying in port half completed, recruit 25,000 more troops, organise volunteer rifle battalions equipped with Minié rifles and, in addition, some militia and some training for the YEOMANRY. But the alarms serve a very good purpose; the government had really excelled itself in allowing things to go to wrack and ruin and this will cease. And then, if it comes to the point, they will be so well armed that they will be able to repulse any attempt at a landing and at once retaliate.

Otherwise, so far as I can see, there are only 2 prospects open to Louis Napoleon if he wants to start a war: 1. against Austria, i.e. against the entire Holy Alliance, or 2. against Prussia, if the latter is dropped by Russia and Austria. However, the second is very doubtful and, as for his picking a quarrel with the Holy Alliance, this is most questionable. Neither England nor the Holy Alliance will abandon Piedmont, Switzerland and Belgium to him. The business is becoming so prettily entangled that in the end pure chance must decide.

And à l'intérieur, what splendid goings-on! Attempted assassinations almost a daily occurrence and the measures taken ever prettier. If only Mr de Morny, who still to some degree plays a virtuous hero, were at last thrown out, and if only the noble one<sup>a</sup> were to confiscate the property of the Orleans.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Louis Bonaparte

It would hardly be possible to pave the way for a Blanqui government more surely than does this jackass.

Your  
F. E.

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7

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

[London,] 23 January 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Unfortunately my indisposition has up till now prevented me from writing to you this week, i.e. for your paper.<sup>a</sup> *With much effort* I concocted an article for Dana,<sup>b</sup> who had received nothing from me for six weeks or more. For years, nothing has so pulled me down as this damned haemorrhoidal complaint, not even the last French fiasco.<sup>c</sup> *Enfin*,<sup>d</sup> I shall be all the better for having been forcibly kept away from the library<sup>e</sup> for 4 weeks, hard though this was.

You will be getting two more articles about the 18th Brumaire,<sup>f</sup> of which the first will be dispatched, come what may, on Friday next and the other immediately afterwards, if not at the same time.

Enclosed Pieper's article.<sup>g</sup>

As for Lupus, I have been chivvying him a great deal and he seems to have made up his mind to take a retrospective look at Kossuth's Hungarian *carrière*<sup>h</sup> for your paper. You have made two mistakes, first in failing to name Lupus along with ourselves in your announcement,<sup>g</sup> and secondly in *not approaching him direct*. Make good the *second* with a letter which you may enclose in one

<sup>a</sup> *Die Revolution* - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, VII. - <sup>c</sup> An allusion to Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état of 2 December 1851. - <sup>d</sup> Well - <sup>e</sup> of the British Museum - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, III and IV. - <sup>g</sup> career

to myself and in which you urge him to write. No one else among us all has his popular style. He is *extrêmement modeste*. All the more must one avoid giving the impression that his cooperation is regarded as superfluous.

Because I live some distance from Freiligrath and because I received Pieper's article only just before the post left, we have today been compelled to send you *two* letters instead of *one*.<sup>a</sup> This will be avoided next time.

Enclosed another statement from my friend Pfänder (Bauer no longer belongs to our League). You will have to publish it, since the Windmill Streeters' statement against him appeared in both the *American* and the European papers.<sup>24</sup> It would be a good idea if, beneath this statement, you were to print the comment that it contains *only* what could be published under *present police conditions* (the accounts between Bauer and Pfänder on the one hand and the former League on the other, further, the control exercised by the *Central Authority* over the administration of those monies, we being in the majority on the C.A.—none of these things can, of course, be published *yet*); that, counting on the political precautions we, for our part, have to take in Germany, Arnold Winkelried Ruge,<sup>b</sup> that old gossip and 'Confusius'<sup>c</sup> of European democracy, made an allusion to those matters (i.e. those of Pfänder and Bauer) about which he himself knew only from hearsay at 3rd or 4th hand, in the hope of incriminating *myself* and *Engels* in the eyes of the public, although the business was no concern of ours,<sup>d</sup> in just the same way as the jackass suggested that it was the Windmill Streeters who threw us out when it was we who had broken with that society,<sup>e</sup> as Pfänder's letter also implies.

You might also announce that a *new workers' society* has been formed in London under Stechan's chairmanship,<sup>25</sup> which will keep aloof from 'Emigration', 'Agitation'<sup>26</sup> and Great Windmill Street alike, and pursue a serious line.

*Tu comprends, mon cher,*<sup>f</sup> that this society belongs to us, although we only send our younger people there; I refer to our 'educated'<sup>g</sup> people' not to our workers. They all go there.

<sup>a</sup> See next letter. - <sup>b</sup> Arnold Ruge is ironically compared with Arnold Winkelried—a semi-legendary hero of the Swiss war of liberation against the Austrian yoke in the fourteenth century. - <sup>c</sup> A play on the resemblance between *Confusius* (confusion) and Confucius, the name of the Chinese philosopher. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement' (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 535-36). - <sup>e</sup> See K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement on Resignation from the German Workers' Educational Society in London' (present edition, Vol. 10). - <sup>f</sup> You will understand, my dear fellow. - <sup>g</sup> Marx uses Berlin dialect: *jebildeten*.

*Stechan* has about him something of the solidity of a guild brother and the fickleness of a small master-artisan, but he is educatable and has considerable influence in Northern Germany. That is why I have also called on him to provide contributions for you.<sup>a</sup> We have BY AND BY pushed him into the foreground, which he likes to shun, and into contradiction, which he likes to gloss over. Willich had asked him to guarantee Kinkel's loan<sup>27</sup> but he refused. At first enthusiastically welcomed by Schapper and Willich, and set against us by them, he was soon enabled by his better nature to see through the shabbiness and hollowness of these fellows and their following. And so (with a little help from Lochner and other assistants with whom we had provided him incognito) he openly broke with the rabble.

Is A. Hentze our Hentze from Hamm? If so, I would write to him, for as it is Willich has done everything to blacken me in his eyes. *L'infâme!*<sup>b</sup>

Warmest regards from my family to yours.

Your  
K. Marx

I am sending material for pamphlets, etc., all in *one batch*, likewise Jones' *Notes*.<sup>c</sup> Sent piecemeal, they cost too much. *The Northern Star* is no longer in O'Connor's hands but in those of a Chartist faction which is secretly in touch with the Financial and Parliamentary Reformers.<sup>28</sup>

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## 8

ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>12</sup>

IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 23 January 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

I hope that in the meantime you will have received my first letter, which I posted on 18 or 19 December in time for the *STEAMER Africa*.<sup>d</sup> It contained an article written in haste and a letter,

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 19-20. <sup>b</sup> The scoundrel! - <sup>c</sup> *Notes to the People* - <sup>d</sup> This letter has not been found.

likewise written in haste. You should have had it long before the 5th, but it may have only gone with the next STEAMER. Meanwhile, last week I sent you by the *Niagara* an article unaccompanied by a letter,<sup>29</sup> but doubt whether I posted it in time; if it was too late, it will arrive with this one, by the *Europa*, in which case you will have some material in hand. You'll have already had several things from Marx, an anti-Kinkel poem from Freiligrath<sup>a</sup> and also, perhaps, something from Lupus and Pieper. Weerth is very busy just now and has not really settled down in Bradford (Yorkshire); however, he has promised me he will send something by the next STEAMER. I shall probably see him here tomorrow and prod him yet again to make him keep his promise. Unfortunately Marx has been seriously ill for the past fortnight as a result of an almighty binge when I was in London over the New Year, and I was prevented from working until last week, partly because of the fortnight spent in London and partly because of various snags that subsequently cropped up. However, I think I shall be able to send you something regularly each week now, and shortly, perhaps, something for a feuilleton by way of a change.

I am settled here in Manchester for the present, luckily in a position which, besides much independence, affords me various advantages; Marx and other friends occasionally come up from London to see me and, so long as Weerth is in Bradford, we arrange a regular shuttle-service between here and there, as the railway journey only takes 2 1/2 hours. But now he will probably leave; he cannot abide that beastly hole, Bradford, and he's never happy anywhere if he has to spend more than a year sitting on his backside in the same place. I am considering a trip to the STATES, either next summer or, if there are no political changes in the meantime, the summer after that; to the STATES, New York, and particularly New Orleans. But this depends on my old man,<sup>b</sup> not me, and also on how things go in the cotton market.

Fifty copies of the *Revolution* is too much and the cost will probably be enormous, i.e. four shillings or more each time. In view of the wholesale arrests, dispersion, etc., and the German press laws, we can count on only a few subscribers here and, in Germany, only one or two at most in Hamburg, hence specimen numbers will be of no use to us. Newspapers, one or more to a wrapper, open at the sides, cost 1d (2 cents) per sheet. So send 4 to me and 6-8 direct to London, for otherwise I have to restamp

<sup>a</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I. - <sup>b</sup> Friedrich Engels senior, Engels' father

them from here to London and I can hardly saddle the business with these massive postal charges. Ten to twelve copies will suffice for us and, if there seems to be any prospect of subscribers here, we can organise a regular agency in London to which the back numbers can be sent all at one time and under the same cover to complete the series. I shall discuss the matter with the people in London and see what can be done.

In France, things are going splendidly. Yesterday evening the *Patrie* reported that the creation of a Police Ministry for de Maupas would be announced in today's *Moniteur*.<sup>a</sup> De Morny who, along with Fould and a few others, represents the material interests of the bourgeoisie (but not their participation in political power) in the Cabinet, will be thrown out, and the reign of those died-in-the-wool adventurers Maupas, Persigny and Co. will begin. That will be the start of imperial true socialism<sup>50</sup>, the first socialist measure will be the confiscation of Louis Philippe's property,<sup>b</sup> for the Act of 6 August 1830, by which he left his property to his children instead of to the State as ancient custom demanded, is invalid. The portion of the Condé estates inherited by Aumale is also to be seized. The news might even arrive by next Saturday's STEAMER if things develop quickly enough. In the southern *départements*, the insurgents are still being hunted like game.<sup>51</sup>

The English Press is now the only reliable one for French news, and occasionally too, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. The paper in which you will find the best news about France is the London *Daily News*, which I therefore specially commend to you. The *Tribune* takes it, and you will certainly also be able to lay hands on it elsewhere, it being far too expensive to take. You will, I am sure, have no difficulty in finding it in the coffee houses of the city's commercial quarter.

Dronke may soon be paying you a visit; I hear that anyone who has to leave Switzerland is sent via France only to America, not to England. But now he will be compelled to leave; as we have heard nothing whatever from him he must be in hiding.

GRAM, a former Baden artilleryman and brewer, who went over on the same ship as Heinzen, is a sterling fellow. With them went

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<sup>a</sup> The decree of 22 January 1852 on the creation of a Police Ministry under de Maupas and the decree of 22 January on the resignation of the Minister of the Interior de Morny and appointment of Persigny were printed in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 23, 23 January 1852. - <sup>b</sup> The decree of 22 January 1852 on the confiscation of Louis Philippe's property was printed in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 23, 23 January 1852.



Rothacker, a student from Upper Baden; he used to be a good chap but he may have changed and is, moreover, dangerous on account of his versifying. Little Schickel of Mainz, whose address you can get from Cluss (away in the Alleghenies), will exert himself on behalf of the *Revolution*. Please send him my kind regards, which may be done through Cluss.

Below, a few supplementary notes on my remarks concerning the prospects for an invasion of England,<sup>32</sup> which will explain things to you:

1. Any landing west of Portsmouth runs the risk of being forced into the wedge formed by Cornwall—hence impracticable.

2. Any landing too far north of, or too close to, Dover faces the same hazard between Thames and sea.

3. London and Woolwich—the first *but d'opération*.<sup>3</sup> Detachments to be sent against Portsmouth and Sheerness (Chatham). Strong occupation force in London, strong guard posts between the coast and London. Out of a landing force 150,000 strong, at least 60,000 needed for this purpose (and that not enough). Thus continuation of operations could proceed with 90,000 men.

4. Birmingham the second objective (on account of the arms factories). Secure the area south of the Bristol Channel and the Wash, i.e. a line from Gloucester to King's Lynn; in addition, a strong spearhead aimed at Birmingham. However weak and broken the opposing army might be, I consider this impossible with the 90,000 men available. But assuming it succeeds, no tenable defence position will have been won, particularly if the English Navy bestirs itself. The line will be too long and too weak. Hence it will be necessary to resume the advance.

5. Manchester the third objective; all country south of Mersey (or Ribble) and Aire (Humber) to be secured and this line to be held. It is shorter and more tenable, but here again the forces greatly weakened by the need to detach troops. Hence, since the defenders still have room and resources enough to reorganise, either the advance must continue, or else there must be an early retreat.

6. The first tenable line in the relatively narrow part of northern England, either the Tees or even better the Tyne (the line of the Roman wall against the Picts<sup>35</sup>) from Carlisle to Newcastle. But then the agricultural, industrial and commercial resources of the Scottish Lowlands still remain in the hands of the defenders.

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<sup>a</sup> objectives

7. The conquest of *England proper* can be regarded as complete, and *then only for a time*, only after the capture of Glasgow and Edinburgh, the retreat of the defenders into the Highlands, and the occupation of the admirably short strong line between Clyde and Firth of Forth, having an extensive railway system to the rear.

Only after the conquest, however, would the difficulty, and an *unavoidable* one, be felt—that of consolidating once communications with France have been cut.

In such circumstances, how many men are needed to conquer and hold the entire country from Dover to the Clyde, and to present a decent front on the Clyde?

To my mind, 400,000 would not be too many.

These CONSIDERATIONS are much too detailed for your paper and I lay them before you as a PROFESSIONAL MAN. Take a look at a map of England and tell me what you think. It is an aspect of the matter that is totally neglected by the English.

The letters are going off to the post. I must close. Kindest regards to your wife.<sup>a</sup>

Your  
F. E.

First published in part in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No. 29, Stuttgart, 1906-07 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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9

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>34</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London [between 23 January  
and 2 February 1852]

Dear Weydemeyer,

Stechan sends you the following notes, but do not mention his name. Later he will send the original article over his signature.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> Louise

Dear Weydemeyer,

Do not print this stuff *word for word*, only make use of it. It is written in a very philistine style.

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10

MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 January 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

No more than a few lines, since a letter has just arrived from Bermbach in Cologne which I would like to be in your hands tomorrow. It is essential that you 1. send me a letter TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES* on the Cologne affair, together with a few lines which I shall send in advance of the *corpus delicti*<sup>a</sup>; 2. that you do the same in your own name to *The Daily News* although, of course, the actual *corpus delicti*, i.e. the insertion itself, will be signed 'A PRUSSIAN' or some such. I think that for *The Times* 'Doctor' and for *The Daily News* 'Manchester MERCHANT' would do better, i.e. have more chance of being accepted. Refer to people by their titles. Dr Becker, Dr (!) Bürgers, Dr Daniels, Dr Klein, Dr Jacobi, Otto (a chemist well known in German scientific circles), Röser and Nothjung. The Board of indicting magistrates at Cologne is the *nec plus ultra*<sup>b</sup> of cowardice. By the way, under the terms of the new disciplinary law, judges are, at least nominally, no longer 'irremovable'.

Your article for Dana<sup>c</sup> is splendid.

Of course I have only been able to send poor Weydemeyer one more article<sup>d</sup> since you were here. This time my piles have afflicted me more grievously than the French Revolution. I shall

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*' (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 210-11). - <sup>b</sup> the extreme. - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, VII. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, II.

see what I can do next week. The state of my posterior does not permit me to go to the Library yet.

Confiscation of the estates begged or stolen by the Orléans! Resignation of Fould! Persigny!<sup>35</sup> Bravo! *Ça marche!*<sup>3a</sup>

It is strange how ARMY, NAVY, COLONIES, FORTIFICATIONS AND THE WHOLE ADMINISTRATION have gone rotten under the rule of this curious regime of an aristocratic clique which the English bourgeois have by tradition lugged along with them at the head of the Executive power ever since 1688.<sup>36</sup> After all that English presumption and liberal outcry inspired by Kossuth, after the cosmopolitan-philanthropic-commercial hymns of peace during the EXHIBITION,<sup>37</sup> in short, after this period of bourgeois megalomania, it is refreshing when the canaille now come to discover that not something, but everything, is rotten in the State of Denmark.<sup>b</sup> And then, too, these gents take an altogether too complacent view of the struggles on the Continent.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

Send back the two enclosed letters by return, Cluss', at any rate.

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11

MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN LONDON

[London,] 26 January 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Freiligrath,

The verse you sent me to have a look at is delicious and expresses the *corpus delicti* in a masterly manner, but I believe it impairs the effect of the whole.<sup>38</sup> *D'abord,*<sup>c</sup> is Kinkel a 'German

<sup>a</sup> Things are moving. - <sup>b</sup> Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 4. - <sup>c</sup> Firstly

poet? I and a great many other *bons gens*<sup>a</sup> venture modestly to express some doubt upon this point. Then: will it not detract from the significant contrast between the 'German poet' and the 'commercial' Babylon to deal yet again with the contrast between the 'free' and the 'servile' poet? The more so as the relationship of the puffed-up *man of letters* to the world that confronts the 'poet' is already depicted exhaustively in *Andersen*.<sup>39</sup> Since, as I see it, there is no intrinsic need to bring in Kinkel at this point, your verse would only provide our opponents with the opportunity of coming down on it as the expression of personal pique or rivalry. But as it is so felicitous and ought not to be wasted, you will—if you agree with my view in other respects—certainly have a chance of using it in a different context, in one of the later poetical letters. For the sketch is delicious.

Since Engels-Weerth have not returned the copy of your first poem<sup>b</sup> which I sent them, all I had to offer red Wolff<sup>c</sup> yesterday were the few bits I knew by heart which, however, sufficed to bring on one of his fits of enthusiasm.

*Quant à notre ami*<sup>d</sup> Ebner,<sup>40</sup> he has undoubtedly had letters from Pieper, the best proof being that Pieper possesses a reply from him. Besides, he wrote him another long letter quite recently, excusing my silence on the grounds of my indisposition.

I have had a letter from Bermbach consisting of some 30 lines. He asks why he has not heard from me for so long. The answer is quite simple. I send about half a sheet to Cologne and, after a very long delay, receive in return a few lines, none of which ever answers my questions. For instance, never a word about Daniels' state of health and the like. You will get this letter as soon as it comes back from Manchester. Engels is going to use it for articles for the English papers.<sup>e</sup> There is nothing of importance in the scrawl save the following: The Board of indicting magistrates, *remarquez le bien*,<sup>f</sup> in view of the fact 'that there was no actual evidence of an indictable offence', rules that the investigation must start *all over again*.<sup>41</sup> First then, on the basis of some stupid presumption, you have to spend 9 months in jug. Next, it transpires that there are no legal grounds for your being in jug. Conclusion: You must remain in jug until the examining magistrate finds himself *à même*<sup>g</sup> to present 'actual evidence of an indictable offence' and, if the 'actual evidence' is not forthcoming, in gaol you remain until you rot.

<sup>a</sup> good people - <sup>b</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I. - <sup>c</sup> Ferdinand Wolff - <sup>d</sup> As for our friend - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 20. - <sup>f</sup> note it well - <sup>g</sup> in a position

Such shameless poltroonery is unbelievable. The main fault lies with the wretched 'Press' which utters not a word. A few articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *National-Zeitung* and the *Breslauer Zeitung*—and the Cologne Board of indicting magistrates would never have dared do anything of the sort. But the liberals and democrats, like the curs they are, rejoice at the removal of their communist rivals. Did we not stand up for the Temmes and every imaginable variety of democratic riff-raff whenever they found themselves in conflict with the police and the courts?<sup>a</sup> Not once does Kinkel, for whom Becker was a hearth and Bürgers a haven,<sup>b</sup> render them any thanks in the *Lithographische Korrespondenz* which he sustains with American funds. *Les canailles!*

If I knew of a safe bourgeois address in Cologne, I would write to Mrs Daniels and endeavour to reassure her to some extent about political conditions. From what Pieper tells me, it would seem that every counter-revolutionary advance is exploited by the 'worthy citizens' to alarm and vex her.

Enclosed a note from Miss Jenny to Master Wolfgang.<sup>c</sup>

Kind regards,

Your

K. M.

First published in part in *Die Neue Zeit*, Ergänzungshefte, No. 12, 12 April, Stuttgart, 1912 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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<sup>a</sup> Marx refers, in particular, to his article written for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 'The Prussian Counter-Revolution and the Prussian Judiciary'. - <sup>b</sup> Pm in the original on the name of Becker and 'hat gebacken' (has baked—figuratively, set up in the world) and the name of Bürgers and 'hat geborgen' (went security for). During the legal proceedings in May 1850 the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, whose editor was Hermann Becker, came out in defence of Kinkel by publishing Bürgers' articles 'Die Logik in dem Prozesse Kinkels und Genossen' and 'Die Freisprechung Kinkels', Nos. 102-104, 107, 30 April, 1, 2 and 5 May 1850. See also this volume, pp. 34 and 570. - <sup>c</sup> Marx's daughter to Freiligrath's son

12

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 January 1852

Dear Marx,

Enclosed the thing for *The Times*.<sup>a</sup> All you have to write is: \* Sir, I believe the publication of the scandalous facts contained in the annexed letter will contribute to throw some light upon the state of things on the Continent. The correctness of these facts I guarantee,\* etc. Name and address.

Mine to *The Daily News* will be going off this evening by the second post; if you arrange matters similarly, both letters will arrive at the respective OFFICES at almost the same time and thus may appear in Friday's issue.<sup>42</sup> But post the letter in *Charing Cross*; there is too much delay at the branch OFFICES.

I return herewith the two letters from Cluss and Bermbach. The seal on your Saturday's letter<sup>b</sup> was once again in a sorry state; I enclose it herewith. What can be afoot?

In *The Daily News* I shall simply sign myself A GERMAN MERCHANT. Write soon.

Your  
F. E.

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time

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, "To the Editor of *The Times*". - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 20-21.

13

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 January 1852

Dear Marx,

How annoying that one cannot rely on anything being done unless one does it oneself. Owing to our messenger's stupidity, my letter to *The Daily News* did not go off yesterday; now it's too late. So all I can do is to keep it in abeyance until I see whether yours is in tomorrow's or Saturday's *Times*. If not, it will go off at once. In the meantime there's one thing to consider: whether *Freiligrath* is not the right man for *The D. News*. Were he to write to them, I could try *The Weekly Press* and *The Sun*. We 2 have been cold-shouldered by *The D. N.* once already.<sup>42</sup>

Enclosed another article for Dana.<sup>a</sup> It might, perhaps, be divided into two at the point where the Polish business ends—though it would be better to keep it entire. If you split it up, you can send both halves by the same STEAMER, since there is not another sailing before tomorrow week. I will now see that I get on fairly quickly, say, 2 articles a week, so as to have done with the SUBJECT. There will be 15-16 articles in all.<sup>43</sup>

No copies<sup>b</sup> received from Weydemeyer. No letter either. This surprises me. I shall finish another article<sup>c</sup> for him this evening.

The French are real jackasses. Madier approached me about an industrial matter and, since my brother-in-law,<sup>d</sup> who knows the DODGE, happened to be here, I gave him some very useful hints and advice. Now the dolt writes to say that, as a result of silly chatter by some *crapaud*<sup>e</sup> who knows nothing of this matter, he intends to go about it in a different and MOST UNBUSINESSLIKE way, and I am to obtain, not for him, but for his associate, a man whom I have never seen, letters of introduction from my brother-in-law (who, fortunately, is on the Continent)! You will recall that Madier introduced us to a calico printer who was bound for Manchester. The fellow calls on me, I go to immense pains to be helpful, do

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, VIII and IX. - <sup>b</sup> of *Die Revolution*. - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'England', II. - <sup>d</sup> Emil Blank. - <sup>e</sup> philistine (literally: toad)



what I can, treat him with the utmost consideration, and in return for all this the dolt suddenly vanishes without my being able to learn what has become of him. A fine race!

Your  
F. E.

First published much 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

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14

## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

[London,] 30 January 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Enclosed you will find:

1. A further instalment of my article.<sup>a</sup>
2. A piece by Eccarius,<sup>44</sup> whose grammatical mistakes, punctuation and so forth you yourself will have to correct, since he brought me the thing too late for me to attend to this myself.
3. Translation of an interesting article in *The Times* by Lupus<sup>b</sup> who, however, does not wish his name to appear, the thing being merely a translation.

How goes it with the German book-trade in America? Might I find a publisher there for my *Economy*,<sup>45</sup> now that things have miscarried in Germany?

Salut.

Your  
K. Marx

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, III · <sup>b</sup> Presumably K. Bathányi's article "The Hungarian Revolution. To the Editor of 'The Times'", *The Times*, No. 20998, 30 December 1851.

15

ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>1</sup>

IN NEW YORK

[Manchester,] Friday, 30 January 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

I sent you by last Saturday's STEAMER (the *Europa*, I think) an article together with a letter.<sup>a</sup> Herewith a few more lines.<sup>b</sup> The issues of the *Revolution* you promised have not yet turned up, although your last letter of 5 Jan. gave good reason to believe that they would come by the next STEAMER, and since then 1 Southampton and 3 Liverpool STEAMERS have arrived here with mails from New York dated up to 17 Jan. I hope no snags have arisen to prevent publication. At all events, I expect to hear from you by the next STEAMER, the *Cambria* (out of Boston 21 Jan.), which is due here on Monday 2 Feb.

My anticipations regarding the confiscation of Louis Philippe's fortune and a Persigny Ministry<sup>c</sup> have been confirmed sooner than I could have hoped: given a reasonably well-organised service, news of it must have arrived in New York by way of the Liverpool newspapers at the same time as my letter; hardly was my letter in the post when the telegraphic dispatch about it likewise arrived here. So much the better. The thing's going splendidly and there's better still to come.

Weerth is on his travels again, will be visiting Holland, France, Switzerland, etc., and must at this moment be in London. I have written and told Marx that he should again chivy him a little about sending you a few things, although he will hardly have the peace and quiet to do so. When one has spent the whole day tramping round calling on Dutch Jews with samples of wool and linen yarn, one feels small inclination to spend the evening at the hotel in writing that sort of thing. However, if anything is to be extracted from him, Marx is the man to do it.

The sudden lull in the émigrés' tittle-tattle brought about by the new turn of events in France is truly comical. Not a whisper do I hear about the whole caboodle.

The prisoners in Cologne are in a serious position. Since there is

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'England', I (see also this volume, pp. 15-19). - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'England', II. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 17.

no charge whatever against them, the Board of indicting magistrates has neither released them nor brought them before the Court of Assizes but—has referred the matter back to the first examining magistrate for a fresh investigation! In other words, they will remain provisionally in clink without books, without letters, without being able to communicate either with one another or with the outside world, until the new state tribunal is ready.<sup>a</sup> Just now we are trying to denounce this outrage in the English bourgeois Press.<sup>b</sup>

Many regards.

Your  
F. E.

[On the back of the letter]

PET LIVERPOOL STEAMER *Mr. J. Weydemeyer*, 7 Chambers' Street,  
New York (City)

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16

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 2 February 1852

Dear Marx,

Do you recall a refugee by the name of *Richter* from Torgau (Prussian Saxony), a saddler and upholsterer—who used to be in London? This man, whom I recall having seen in London—tall, fair, the manners of a refugee—suddenly calls on me here, ostensibly having returned from Barmen where, he maintains, he worked for a time without papers; he brings greetings from Hühnerbein, etc. I can call to mind absolutely nothing about him except that I have seen him before. At all events, our register of refugees and Pfänder's or Rings' good memory should be able to

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 22. - <sup>b</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 20, 24, 25, 29 and 30.

tell us more particulars about him. I rather suspect the fellow is a member of Willich's clique<sup>46</sup>—in which case I shall chuck him out at once. The man has already found work here.

So far, I've been able to discover nothing in *The Times* about the business of our people in Cologne.<sup>a</sup> I am only awaiting your reply to write immediately, *s'il y a lieu*,<sup>b</sup> to *The Daily News*. The American STEAMER is in but, much to my surprise, no letter from Weydemeyer, or any copies of the paper,<sup>c</sup> at least up till now. However, it's still possible that these may arrive tomorrow.

Your

F. E.

Tell Pieper I shall shortly be sending him his £2, now the new month has begun.

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

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17

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 February 1852<sup>a</sup>  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Weerth left this morning for Holland. Where will he go from there? I do not know and neither does Weerth himself perhaps. He was as always very much disgruntled at his lot and, as for ours, the only disagreeable thing about it seemed to him our being forced to remain here in London instead of Cadiz, Saragossa, or some other confounded place in Spain. Indeed, since he's been living in Yorkshire again, Weerth has been saying that the time spent in Spain was the best in his life. He maintains that he can't stand the English climate and may therefore find that of Holland very COMFORTABLE. Let us wish him *le bon voyage* and wait and see whether he keeps his word and remembers about Weydemeyer.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 24. - <sup>b</sup> if necessary. - <sup>c</sup> *Die Revolution*. - <sup>d</sup> The original has 1851.

My 'LETTER TO THE EDITOR' was sent to *The Times* last Thursday,<sup>a</sup> *il y a donc presque une semaine*.<sup>b</sup> It would seem that this paper, now that it makes a métier of polemicising against Bonaparte, deems it necessary to spare Prussia. So you must approach *The Daily News*. If that, too, misfires, which I doubt, there still remains *The Spectator*. *Il est presque sûr*.<sup>c</sup>

Yesterday G. J. Harney sent me the first issue of his resuscitated and somewhat enlarged *Friend of the People*.<sup>d</sup> If that's what he withdrew from the world for 8 months and buried himself in melancholy Scotland for...! But *un seul passage suffira pour te faire goûter ce fruit délicieux*.<sup>d</sup>

\* *Justice—Immutable, Universal, Eternal*—proclaims the sublime principle which will be, at once, our guiding star, the rule of our conduct, and the test, etc.\*<sup>e</sup>

*En voilà assez!*<sup>f</sup> Bonaparte, however, he has adequately chastised by calling him 'Louis THE BASE'.

I do not know whether our EXDEAR sent me his little paper in order to wring our hearts or whether, out of spite towards us, he has become even more tritely democratic than we would have believed possible. By the by, alongside the platitudes and the 'JUSTICE IMMUTABLE' there are barefaced tricks played by the TRADING DEMAGOGUE. Against Jones—via the 'SPIRIT OF FREEDOM',<sup>g</sup> via that SPOUTER Massey, secretary of the Tailors' Association of Castle Street, lickspittle to the clerics who keep this SHOP-Herald, *à tort et à travers* of the *petits grands hommes*<sup>h</sup> whom the Continent has spewed out, calumniator of Jones, married to a *saltimbanque*<sup>i</sup> who has duped him into believing that she is clairvoyant—he gets this Massey to have an apologia published for the associations in general and the AMALGAMATED SOCIETY in particular, a piece which threatens to extend over numerous issues.<sup>h</sup> And Rhadamanthus Harney had told Jones in person that *au fond*<sup>i</sup> he shared his views on the Associations. At the same time he announces: 'KOSSUTH'S RECEPTION AND PROGRESS IN AMERICA',<sup>k</sup> although in a letter to Jones he described Kossuth as a HUMBUG. That is what the gentlemen of 'SUBLIME PRINCIPLE' are like. *Je ne sais que c'est que des principes, sinon des règles qu'on*

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 24. - <sup>b</sup> i.e. nearly a week ago. - <sup>c</sup> It is almost a certainty. -

<sup>d</sup> But a single passage will suffice to give you the flavour of this delicious fruit. - <sup>e</sup> [G. J. Harney,] 'Prologue', *The Friend of the People*, No. 1, 7 February 1852. - <sup>f</sup> That's enough! - <sup>g</sup> An allusion to the journal *Spirit of Freedom* edited by Massey. - <sup>h</sup> without rhyme or reason; petty panjandrums. - <sup>i</sup> a charlatan - <sup>j</sup> basically. - <sup>k</sup> A. Bell's article 'Reception and Progress of Kossuth in the United States', *The Friend of the People*, No. 2, 14 February 1852.

*prescrit aux autres pour soi.*<sup>a</sup> Harney retired for a while, allowing Jones, with his *tempérament fougueux*,<sup>b</sup> to spoil the broth of popularity and then drink it himself. But even though he may harm Jones, he himself will achieve nothing. The fellow's completely done for as a writer and also, according to Lupus who heard him *SPEECH*-making in Jones Street,<sup>49</sup> as a speaker, but above all as a man. May the devil take these popular movements, more especially when they are *pacifiques*. In the course of this Chartist agitation O'Connor has gone *mad* (have you read about his latest scene in court?),<sup>50</sup> Harney has gone stale and Jones bankrupt. *Voilà le dernier but de la vie dans tous les mouvements populaires.*<sup>c</sup>

Yesterday 'Colonel Bangya' came to see me. Amongst other things he said: 'Kossuth made the following speech to the Hungarian refugees who had foregathered with him in London: "I will take care of you all but I demand that you all remain loyal, devoted and attached to me. I am not such a fool as to sustain people who intrigue with my opponents. I demand that everyone declare himself unconditionally."<sup>d</sup> Thus the *HUMBLE* Kossuth behind the scenes. I further learned from Bangya that Szemere, Kasimir Batthyány and Perczel (*le général*) are coming to London and will set up an anti-Kossuth committee. Lastly, the *MASTER* mind behind the whole *DODGE* is Signore Mazzini. He is using Kossuth as a mouthpiece and, in his cabinet, regards himself as something of a Machiavelli. It is he who pulls the strings. But this gentleman is unaware that the puppets he causes to dance are heroes only in his own eyes and in no one else's. Thus he wrote and told Kossuth to get on intimate terms with Kinkel, saying that he personally had been unable to do so because he already had the other lot of German bigwigs *sur le bras*,<sup>d</sup> Kossuth must now really make friends with Kinkel and Kinkel must write in all his letters about his worthy, his eminent friend and "equal", Kossuth. As for Kossuth, however, his idea is to lean on Germany's dictator, Kinkel, on the one hand, and on Italy's dictator, Mazzini, on the other, and to secure his rear with his ally, the dictator of France, Ledru-Rollin. The poor devil has sunk low.

A Frenchman, Massol by name, has paid me a visit. For a short spell he was on the *Réforme* under Lamennais. Formerly one of the *civilisateurs*<sup>e</sup> whom Mohammed Ali had summoned from Gaul,<sup>51</sup> he is also one of the few *hommes d'esprit*<sup>f</sup> still to be found

<sup>a</sup> I don't know what principles are unless rules which one prescribes for others for one's own benefit. - <sup>b</sup> fiery temperament - <sup>c</sup> That is the ultimate end of life in all popular movements. - <sup>d</sup> on his hands - <sup>e</sup> civilisers - <sup>f</sup> men of wit

among the French. According to him, Sasonow's stay in Paris (which, by the way he must now leave) is wholly attributable to his possession of a very reliable false passport and to his connections with a few *femmes galantes*<sup>a</sup> who have INFLUENCE in the top circles. You will like Massol.

In addition I have seen *les citoyens*<sup>b</sup> Vallières (former Barbèsiste and officer at the barricades), Bianchi and Sabatier. Though very refined, the latter is *en général* not above the usual run.

Dronke, I hear, is in Savoy.

Bangya has suggested that Szemere and Perczel should write for Weydemeyer. What are the main points in the Hungarian business (military or otherwise) upon which elucidation should be sought from these gentlemen? It goes without saying that they must not write under their own names, for we do not want to identify ourselves with *any coterie*. But Perczel is *du moins bon républicain*,<sup>c</sup> and very knowledgeable.

Be so good—and mind you don't forget—as to send me the *Tribunes*. Johnson—Freiligrath's friend—wants to read the articles on Germany.<sup>d</sup> Lupus wants to write an anti-Kossuth piece for Weydemeyer.

As for the commercial business, I can no longer make head or tail of it. At one moment crisis seems imminent and the City prostrated, the next everything is set fair. I know that none of this will have any impact on the catastrophe. But at the present moment London is not the place in which to observe the current tendency.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

The matter of the seal is highly suspect.<sup>e</sup> Send *this one* back to me; I have examined it minutely.

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<sup>a</sup> women of easy virtue - <sup>b</sup> the citizens - <sup>c</sup> at least a good republican - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 24.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Friday, 6 February 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have just received your article.<sup>a</sup>I am writing no more than a line or two, being short of time because of the departure of the mail for America and thus unable to go out to inquire about 'Richter'<sup>b</sup> until later.I would, by the way, be glad if in the meantime you could send me the £2 by postal order. I shall be receiving SOME MONEY next week and shall then deliver the £2 to Pieper in your name. But it is important for me to have it at the *beginning* of the week whereas to him it can only be a matter of indifference, since he is well provided for just now.Your  
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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>52</sup>

IN NEW YORK

[London,] 13 February 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Herewith the continuation of my article.<sup>c</sup> The thing seems to grow of its own accord, and you will be getting two more articles about it. In addition I shall be sending you by the next post something on<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, X. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 28. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, IV.



Signore Mazzini. But it is high time that we had some copies of your paper.<sup>a</sup> After all, to be able to write for a journal one needs to see it, and the zeal of my colleagues is stimulated by seeing their things in print.

Herewith a note, which you should turn into an article, about the position of our imprisoned friends in Cologne.<sup>53</sup>

These people have now been in jug getting on for ten months.

In November the case went through the Ratskammer, and was referred to the Court of Assizes. Next the case came up before the Board of indicting magistrates which, before Christmas, delivered a verdict, which was motivated as follows: 'In consideration of the fact that there is no actual evidence of an indictable offence and hence no grounds for sustaining the charge...' (but that, in view of the importance attached to the matter by the government, we fear for our posts if we drop the case against these people) 'we accordingly refer the case back to the first magistrate for instruction on various points.' The chief reason for this procrastination is the government's conviction that, before a jury, it would fail ignominiously. Meanwhile it hopes to see the creation of a High Court for high treason, or at least the withdrawal of JURIES in all cases of political offences, to which end a petition has already been laid before the First Prussian Chamber. Our friends are locked up in cells, cut off from one another and from the world, may receive neither letters nor visits nor even books—things that are never denied common criminals in Prussia.

The Board could never have pronounced such an outrageous verdict had the Press evinced the least concern for the case. But liberal papers such as the *Kölnische* remained silent out of cowardice and 'democratic' ones (including the *Lithographische Korrespondenz*, published by Kinkel with the help of American money) out of hatred for the communists, out of fear of forfeiting some of their own importance, out of rivalry towards 'new' martyrs.<sup>54</sup> Such is the gratitude shown by these curs to the *N.Rh.Z.*, which always stood up for the democratic rabble whenever they clashed with the government (e.g. Temme *et al.*). Such is the gratitude shown by Mr Kinkel to the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, in which Becker was his hearth and Bürgers his haven.<sup>b</sup> *Les canailles! Il faut les attaquer à mort.*<sup>c</sup>

Greetings from my family to yours.

Your

K. M.

<sup>a</sup> *Die Revolution*. <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 23. <sup>c</sup> 'The scoundrels! They must be fought to the death.'

[From Jenny Marx]

We all of us long to hear from you, dear Mr Weydemeyer, but alas, one ship after another comes in without bringing news of you, your dear wife,<sup>a</sup> your children, your paper, etc., etc. I trust you have safely received all the help sent from London. My husband has commandeered on your behalf pretty well all available communist quills (and has also turned to Germany), and some of these pieces, for instance Freiligrath's poem,<sup>b</sup> will assuredly secure circulation for your paper. If you could somehow contrive to publish pamphlets, I would beg you to think it over. We are in a very sad plight here, there being no more hope for us in Europe. My husband believes that his articles on France, which will run to two more,<sup>c</sup> are of the greatest topical interest and would thus provide the most suitable material for a small pamphlet, if only as a sequel to his *Revue* articles.<sup>d</sup> If a New York bookseller were able to establish contact with Germany, he could count on not inconsiderable sales there. In any case the thing is written for Europe rather than America. However, we shall, of course, leave this to your own discretion. My husband further asks that you urge Dana to give us the name of a business house here in London where we can collect the fees with the minimum of delay. At this distance, Karl could not possibly give Dana any real idea of our circumstances or the urgency of the matter, since the situation was quite different when Dana knew us in Cologne and such a comfortably situated American has no idea how everything hangs in the balance here, and how ten shillings, coming at the right moment, can often rescue one from a horrifying situation. Sometime or other you may, perhaps, find an opportunity of telling him this personally. With kindest regards and warm greetings to your wife

from Jenny Marx

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Marx's letter is printed according to the original, Jenny Marx's note according to a copy in unknown hand

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 17 February 1852

Dear Marx,

You will be furious with me for being so cursory, but I'll be damned if I know whether I'm coming or going, what with all this

<sup>a</sup> Louise. <sup>b</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. See also this volume, p. 40. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*.

work and COMMERCE. *Voici les faits*<sup>a</sup>: 1. Charles<sup>b</sup> has gone to Germany and has left me not only with all his own work, but also with a nice little residue of tasks left undone at the year's end; 2. Last year's balance sheet shows a *definite loss* for my old man which may be a good lesson for him, but means that I am inundated with an unholy mass of vexations, calculations, and jobs of various kinds; 3. One of the Ermens<sup>c</sup> has given notice of termination and you can imagine the intrigues and correspondence which that brings in its train. Enough: this evening I shall be stuck in the office until 8 and, instead of being able to write to you at greater length, still have to write a letter to my old man and take it to the POST OFFICE before twelve o'clock tonight; tomorrow evening I must do something for Jones<sup>d</sup> and the day after tomorrow I shall see to it that I finish an article for the *Tribune*.<sup>e</sup> For the present there can be no thought of spare time before 7 or 8 in the evening, and the worst of it is that, for some time to come, I shall have to devote my whole attention to filthy commerce, otherwise everything will go wrong here and my old man will cut off my SUPPLIES.

You will have received the £2. I hope to hear from you soon, even if I don't have sufficient leisure to answer your last letter at length.

According to today's *Daily News* Louis Napoleon is certain to exhume Kaspar Hauser and to claim succession to the throne of Baden through his Aunt Stéphanie. *Voilà de grandes nouvelles pour le citoyen Seiler dont l'étoile va se lever incessamment*.<sup>f</sup> Could you not persuade Kaspar Hauser's great historian<sup>g</sup> to write to Louis Napoleon and offer him his important sources on this matter? *Il y a là de quoi faire un grand coup*.<sup>h</sup>

Your  
F. E.

How is it that Weydemeyer sends no word? If a letter doesn't arrive by the *Arctic* tomorrow morning, I shall despair; something

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<sup>a</sup> Here are the facts. - <sup>b</sup> Roesgen - <sup>c</sup> Gouffier - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last', I. - <sup>e</sup> for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* - <sup>f</sup> That's great news for Citizen Seiler, whose star will be constantly in the ascendant - <sup>g</sup> An allusion to Sebastian Seiler's work *Kaspar Hauser, der Thronerbe von Badens*. - <sup>h</sup> A great deal could be made of that.

must have gone wrong. So far as I know, he has not written since 5 January, or at least I have heard nothing.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 18 February [1852]  
28 Dean Street, Soho

I shall write to you at length on *Saturday*. Only a few lines today.

I have not yet received the money that was promised me from home and so have not yet been able to hand over your £2 to Pieper, but have told him I have had a few lines from you in which you informed me that I should be receiving money for him from you. I hope I shall be able to pay him before the week is out.

If your time is very much taken up, you would certainly do better to write for Dana than for Jones. The enclosed letter from Weydemeyer<sup>55</sup> will show you even more plainly how essential it is not to interrupt these articles.<sup>a</sup> What must be done now is to redouble our attacks in the *Tribune* on the Frankfurt Left,<sup>56</sup> especially when you come to the 'March Association'.<sup>57</sup> To help you, I am today sending you Bauer's book,<sup>b</sup> in which at least a few facts are to be found.

*I again pray you to send me the issues of the 'Tribune' by return, since Johnson is the only Englishman to whom I can turn when in extremis<sup>c</sup>—and I hover constantly on the brink. Don't forget it this time!*

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>b</sup> B. Bauer, *Der Untergang des Frankfurter Parlaments*. - <sup>c</sup> in extreme need

How is it that Weydemeyer has not received a *single one* of your articles?<sup>2</sup> You must set an inquiry on foot.

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 February 1852

Dear Marx,

Despite tremendous efforts—your letter only arrived this morning—I have still not finished the article for Dana<sup>b</sup> and it is now 11 o'clock at night. I have received the Bauer<sup>c</sup>—it is coming in very useful. In return, and whatever happens, you will receive 2 articles for Dana for next Tuesday's STEAMER. Since your letters reach Weydemeyer and mine don't, I'd be glad if you would forthwith dispatch the enclosed note to W.<sup>d</sup> in one of your own. It's an altogether curious business. It seems that two or three of my letters to my old man have also failed to reach him. *Cela n'est pas clair.*<sup>e</sup>

Tell Jones he will be getting something from me next week, or write him a note to that effect. God knows why so many snags should crop up all at once and prevent me from getting down to anything. But on Saturday and Sunday I shall shut myself away, and then I hope to get something done.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'England'. - <sup>b</sup> for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>c</sup> B. Bauer, *Der Untergang des Frankfurter Parlaments*. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 39-40. - <sup>e</sup> It's not clear (Beaumarchais, *La folle journée, ou le mariage de Figaro*, Act. V, Scene 16).

Why doesn't that accursed Weydemeyer enclose Simon's article<sup>a</sup> so that we can attend to it ourselves? A stinging counter-article would soon show Dana that nothing is to be gained by accepting articles that attack us.

Your

F. E.

Write some time giving me the exact address under which you have written to Weydemeyer.

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## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 19 February 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

To my intense surprise I see from your letter of 6 Feb. per the *Arctic* that not one of my letters to you has arrived. I have sent you 4, if not 5, articles on England<sup>17</sup> and only desisted a fortnight ago because I had heard absolutely nothing from you: my last article went by the STEAMER which left on Saturday 31 Jan. from Liverpool, and concerned the REFORM BILL to be anticipated from little Russell. The first 2 letters were addressed to Mr J. Weydemeyer, Deutsche Vereinsbuchhandlung, William Street, New York; the others to Mr J. W., 7 Chambers' Street, New York (City). Since this matter requires investigation, I am sending you this through Marx whose letters, it seems, are reaching you; I would ask you, 1. to go to the above places and see whether the letters were presented there; 2. if not, to go and inquire at the N. Y. CITY POST OFFICE. If they are not to be found there, advise me by the first Liverpool STEAMER and I shall see what further steps can be taken here; I can easily get the thing into the newspapers over here if the local postmaster fails to give me a satisfactory answer. I posted several of the letters myself, the rest went with the business mail, and that proves that they were

<sup>a</sup> L. Simon's 'Movements of the German Political Exiles', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3369, 4 February 1852. See also this volume, p. 37.

properly attended to, since all our business letters have arrived. Take these steps, I beg you, without delay, for otherwise there is little point in my sending you any more articles when the *Revolution* comes to life again.

Make sure you send us L. Simon's *Tribune* article,<sup>a</sup> either a cutting—giving the date of the issue—or the whole issue in a wrapper, since that sort of thing is always good reading.

My address is still the same.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>12</sup>

IN NEW YORK

[London,] 20 February 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

I can send you nothing this week for the simple reason that for a week or more I have been so beset by money troubles that I have not even been able to pursue my studies at the Library,<sup>b</sup> let alone write articles.

However, I think that by Tuesday (the 24th) and Friday (the 27th) I shall be able to send you Nos. 5 and 6 of my article,<sup>c</sup> which are the concluding ones.

I received your letter, along with Cluss' concluding remarks on 18 February. You have been particularly unfortunate in two respects: 1. unemployment in New York; 2. the raging westerlies, which have driven vessels bound from London to America off course. For, with the exception of the early days, contributions have been sent you from England (by me, Engels, Freiligrath,

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 39. - <sup>b</sup> of the British Museum - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

Eccarius, etc.) as *regularly* as any newspaper could hope for. However, the people here have begun to flag because no news has arrived from America, albeit a multitude of ships. I did not think fit to inform anyone other than Engels and Lupus of the suspension of your paper.<sup>a</sup> It would only make people more dilatory.

If, by the by, you wish to receive regular support from here, you will have to fulfil the following conditions:

1. Write *every* week and give the date of the letters you have received from us.

2. Keep us fully *au courant* with everything over there and regularly supplied with relevant documents, etc., newspaper cuttings, etc.

You will realise, *mon cher*,<sup>b</sup> how difficult it is to contribute to a paper on the other side of the ocean without any knowledge of its readers, etc. But if you fulfil the above conditions I can guarantee you the necessary contributions. I am here at their backs, whip in hand, and shall have no difficulty in keeping their noses to the grindstone. From Germany, too, I have received promises on your behalf of contributions and collaboration. If I only knew that the paper would survive, I would have someone *in Paris* who is *READY* to send you a *weekly contribution gratis*. I shall write to the man,<sup>c</sup> who is one of my best and most intelligent friends. The worst of it is that no one likes to work *pour le roi de Prusse*,<sup>d</sup> and daily reports lose all value if not published immediately on arrival. Since, then, you are unable to make any payment, it is all the more necessary to convince people that they are doing *real* party work and that their letters are not being pigeonholed.

It seems to me that you are making a mistake in having your letters delivered instead of doing what every newspaper must do, that is, advise the Post Office that you will have them collected regularly on the arrival of a vessel. In this way misunderstandings and delays are more easily avoided.

Apropos. Do not print Hirsch's statement<sup>14</sup> if you have not already done so.

A mass of blackguards is leaving here for New York (amongst them tailor Lehmann and tailor Joseph Meyer). Some of them will approach you in my name. But don't trust anyone who does not bring with him a few lines in my *writing*. The fellows will serve

<sup>a</sup> *Die Revolution* - <sup>b</sup> my dear fellow - <sup>c</sup> R. Reinhardt - <sup>d</sup> for the king of Prussia, i.e. for nothing



well enough to answer questions about Willich, etc. Lehmann and Meyer are devotees of Jesus Willich.

As for Dana, I think it was foolish of him to accept articles from Simon.<sup>a</sup> If my money-box allowed, I should immediately refuse to send him any further contributions. Let him publish attacks on myself and Engels but not by such an impertinent nincompoop. It's sheer stupidity to permit Agitation and Emigration,<sup>26</sup> those twin fictions which exist only on newspaper pages, to be presented to the American public as historical realities by a vain fellow who has imposed upon Germany the Prussian Emperor,<sup>58</sup> the March Associations<sup>57</sup> and the Imperial Regent, Vogt,<sup>59</sup> and now, with his bankrupt accomplices, would like to impose *himself* afresh upon the people, along with Parliament and a somewhat modified Imperial constitution. *Rien de plus ridicule que ce gredin-là qui du haut des Alpes laisse tomber des paroles d'homme d'état.*<sup>b</sup> I should have credited Dana with more tact. Ludwig Simon—*von Trier!* When will this fellow drop his patent of parliamentary nobility?

Here in London, you know, all these fellows have completely drifted apart. The only thing that keeps them in any way together is the prospect of being *redeemed* by Gottfried Christ Kinkel's money. On the other hand we have that idiot Ruge, together with Ronge and two or 3 other jackasses, who conceal their lazy still-life by calling it 'agitation', just as a stagnant swamp might be dubbed 'open sea'.

Europe, of course, is now busying itself with other troubles than these. Ledru-Rollin himself has collapsed here like a punctured balloon since 2 December<sup>c</sup> and the arrival of new revolutionary elements from France. Mazzini is making ultra-reactionary speeches, one of which I shall shortly analyse for you.

As regards Ernest Jones' *Notes to the People*, in which you will find all the day-to-day history of the English proletariat, I shall send you it as soon as my financial circumstances permit. I have to pay 8 shillings every time I send a parcel to America.

Give Cluss my warm regards. We are eagerly awaiting his letters. Why haven't you sent us his statement<sup>60?</sup>

I, together with my wife, Freiligrath and wife,<sup>d</sup> and Lupus, all send our heart-felt greetings to your wife, whom please assure of

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<sup>a</sup> In particular L. Simon's 'Movements of the German Political Exiles', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3369, 4 February 1852. . <sup>b</sup> There's nothing more ridiculous than this scoundrel who, from Alpine heights, lets fall these statesmanlike pronouncements. . <sup>c</sup> coup d'état in France on 2 December 1851. . <sup>d</sup> Ida

our sincere regard. We hope that the new world citizen will make his appearance cheerfully in the New World.

Farewell.

Your  
K. Marx

If it does not work out with your newspaper, could you not bring out my pamphlet,<sup>a</sup> sheet by sheet or, if possible, in sections as sent to you? Otherwise it will take too long.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 February [1852]

DEAR Frederic,

I must again chivy you about the *Tribune* since I am myself being chivvied daily by Johnson.<sup>b</sup> I would also ask you to send me such documents as you may have received from Weydemeyer. The address you gave for Weydemeyer was perfectly correct.

Apropos. By Pfänder's account the Straubinger<sup>61</sup> Richter is a creature of Willich's.

E. Jones has been puffing your article for all he is worth without, of course, mentioning your name.<sup>c</sup> He has been compelled thus to cry his wares by competition from Harney who has got hold of some money, the devil knows where from, and has large *advertising waggons* driving round the City, with the legend 'READ THE *FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE*', the paper being displayed and on sale in all socialist shops.

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 32 and 37. - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last'. See also [E. Jones,] 'Continental Notes', *Notes to the People*, No. 43, 21 February 1852.

I shall search out and send you the issue of the *Tribune* in which Mr Simon blows his own trumpet.<sup>55</sup> The incompetent nincompoop! He still goes on signing himself 'Simon von Trier'. The fellow can't make up his mind to dispense with his parliamentary nobility title. Seiler has read the translation of the crap in the *Staatszeitung*. You know how garbled his accounts always are. So far as I could gather it went something like this: Ludwig Simon von Trier, speaking on behalf of the Swiss émigrés, treats the great controversy between 'Agitation' (the name used by Ruge and Co. to conceal the dullness of their still-life) and 'Emigration',<sup>26</sup> with the most prodigious pomposity, as Europe's *question brûlante*<sup>a</sup> from his 'Alpine height'. At this juncture—and here Willich is also cited as a man of the utmost importance, all manner of diffuse reflections being proffered concerning the acquisition of this hero—he comes to the third of the dangerous parties in London, 'the party of imposition', the leaders of which are Engels and Marx. For we seek to impose 'liberty' on the peoples by force. We are worse tyrants than the Emperor of Russia. We were the first to treat 'universal franchise', etc., with 'scorn and contumely'. And even before that, we ruined everything with our 'lust for imposition'. *Le pauvre garçon!*<sup>b</sup> Did we impose the Prussian Emperor,<sup>58</sup> the 'March Associations',<sup>57</sup> or the Imperial Regent Vogt, on the Germans<sup>59</sup>? On him we shall impose a *coup de pied*.<sup>c</sup> So far as these jackasses are concerned, Bonaparte has lived in vain. They still go on believing in 'universal franchise', and are solely preoccupied with paltry calculations as to how they can again impose their rotten personalities on the German people. One can hardly believe one's ears when one hears the fellows indefatigably bawling out the same old tune again. They are proper blockheads, incorrigible blockheads. As to how the vain little rogue found his way into the *Tribune*, I am in no doubt. *Le citoyen Fröbel aura été l'homme intermédiaire*.<sup>d</sup> He has long been connected with Dana.

Enclosed a letter from Reinhardt, which contains some pretty *cancans*.<sup>e</sup>

Russell has been overthrown in the drollest possible manner.<sup>62</sup> I can ask nothing more than that Derby should take the helm. During this short session you will have seen how pitiable the Manchester men<sup>63</sup> can be when not driven by *la force des choses*.<sup>f</sup> I don't hold it against these fellows. Each successive democratic

<sup>a</sup> burning question - <sup>b</sup> Poor chap! - <sup>c</sup> a kick - <sup>d</sup> Citizen Fröbel will have acted as intermediary. - <sup>e</sup> gossip. Excerpts from Reinhardt's letter see on pp. 47-49 of this volume. - <sup>f</sup> force of circumstances

victory, e.g. the BALLOT,<sup>64</sup> is a concession which, of course, they make to the workers only *en cas d'urgence*.<sup>a</sup>

Yesterday I was talking to a French MERCHANT just come from Paris. Business wretched. And do you know what the jackass said? Bonaparte *fait pire que la république. Les affaires allaient mieux*.<sup>b</sup> It is truly fortunate that the French bourgeois should always hold their government responsible for commercial crises. No doubt Bonaparte is also to blame for the unemployment in New York and the bankruptcies in London.

Another very interesting piece of information (*tu sens ici l'influence de l'illustre Seiler*<sup>c</sup>) about Bonaparte. Bangya, as I have already told you, is connected with Szemere and Batthyány.<sup>d</sup> He is an agent of the latter's. He confided to me that Batthyány and Czartoryski are in collusion with Bonaparte and see him nearly every day. He wants to secure allies behind the backs of Russia and Austria amongst the *aristocratic émigrés* and those streaming in from Poland and Hungary and has, moreover, definitely told them that, in spite of Nicholas and all the rest, he is going to invade Belgium and perhaps Baden as well, and this in the near future.

Ewerbeck has sent me 12 copies of his bulky work, *L'Allemagne et les Allemands*. One for you. Nothing quite like it has ever been seen or heard of before. The historical part, which begins *ab ovo*,<sup>e</sup> is copied from out-dated primers. You may judge how competent he is as regards more recent history from the following particulars: *F. List* introduced the doctrine of Free Trade, and Ruge that of social science, into Germany. Hegel has immortalised himself by (literally) enlightening the Germans on the categories of quality, quantity, etc., and Feuerbach has proved that men cannot extend their knowledge beyond the range of human understanding. Pedro Düsar (brother of the Struve woman) is one of the greatest German nien of liberty, and Freiligrath made his name as a *collaborateur* on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. On top of that a style *à pouffer de rire*,<sup>f</sup> e.g. how Jason's warriors grew from dragon's teeth, which is why the German tribes are perpetually at odds with one another. Romulus Augustulus *était un jeune homme doux et agréable*,<sup>g</sup> and for three hundred years Germans have been

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<sup>a</sup> in case of need - <sup>b</sup> is doing worse than the Republic. Business used to be better. - <sup>c</sup> here you may descry the influence of the illustrious Seiler - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 31. - <sup>e</sup> from the egg—from the very beginning - <sup>f</sup> to make one split one's sides - <sup>g</sup> was a nice, gentle young man

used to hearing themselves referred to by their neighbours as *des bêtes*.<sup>a</sup>

Have you read Mazzini's simple-minded infamous speech?

Your  
K. M.

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26

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 23 February 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Lassalle,

I should greatly like to know whether my second letter<sup>65</sup> similarly failed to arrive. Knowing how punctilious you are about answering, I can only attribute the delay in hearing from you to some accident.

Since I last wrote my state of health has again improved, although I am still having much trouble with my eyes. My social circumstances, on the other hand, have deteriorated. I have had a definite *refus*<sup>b</sup> from the publisher in respect of my *Economy*<sup>65</sup>; my anti-Proudhon manuscript,<sup>c</sup> which for the past year has been wandering around Germany, has likewise failed to find a berth; the financial crisis has finally reached a level comparable only to the commercial crisis now making itself felt in New York and London. Unlike the gentlemen of commerce, I cannot, alas, even have recourse to bankruptcy. Mr Bonaparte was in similar straits when he chanced his *coup d'état*.

<sup>a</sup> beasts · <sup>b</sup> rejection · <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

As to this Mr Bonaparte, I feel I can do no better than give you extracts from a letter conveyed to me by a friend in Paris,<sup>a</sup> *un ami qui est très sceptique et qui ne partage pas les opinions les plus favorables sur le peuple. Maintenant, écoutez*<sup>b</sup>:

'All in all, the mood of the Parisian public has experienced a noticeable change and, even though it has as yet not gone beyond resignation, this last is felt all the more genuinely and grimly, and far more generally. The main reason for this, among the middle and lower classes, is that trade and hence employment, despite initial favourable appearances, simply cannot be got going, whereas those same classes had sacrificed all other considerations to the hope that these things would improve. And then the slow-witted majority of the less advanced workers—which places more hope in the Republic than in the monarchies of long and bitter memory—has, as a result of Napoleon's decrees, gradually come to realise that the President is in no way concerned with the preservation of the Republic; and he has done himself great harm in the eyes of property owners by confiscating the Orleans' estates, a measure which, after all, sets a dangerous official example. Chaps such as Fould, de Morny and Dupin—for reasons of private interest of course—have even refused to subscribe to this measure, a fact all the more striking on account of their spotless antecedents, which are more or less common knowledge. As for Dupin, the President of the defunct National Assembly, it has since been learnt that his last pretty move was to suppress, on the morning of 2 December and with the connivance of Bonaparte, a letter from the Archbishop of Paris inviting the representatives to assemble in the church of Notre Dame while he himself intended to stand in the porch to protect them, in their capacity as the representatives of popular sovereignty, against the soldiers of the usurper. This might have given quite a different turn to the whole thing, the more so since the *haute cour de justice*<sup>c</sup> had assembled at the same time and had already begun to register a protest against the *coup d'état*.

'As for de Morny, the minister who resigned with Dupin, he was known as the *escroc*<sup>d</sup> of his mistress' (Countess Lehon's) husband, a circumstance which caused Émile de Girardin's wife to say that while it was not unprecedented for governments to be in the hands of men who were governed by their wives, none had ever been known to be in the hands of *hommes entretenus*.<sup>e</sup> Well, at present this same Countess Lehon holds a salon where she is one of Bonaparte's most vociferous opponents and it was she who, on the occasion of the confiscation of the Orleans' estates, let fall the well-known witticism: '*C'est le premier vol de l'aigle*'!<sup>f</sup> Because of this remark of his wife's, Émile de Girardin was expelled. Rémusat's expulsion is attributed to a similar cause. The latter is said to have arrived one morning at the Ministry of the Interior where Morny had installed young Lehon as *Chef de Bureau*; upon catching sight of Rémusat, Lehon rudely asked him his name, whereat R. replied: '*Monsieur, dans ma famille on porte le nom de son père, c'est pourquoi je me nomme de Rémusat*'.<sup>g</sup> At much the same time Lehon is said to have

<sup>a</sup> Reinhardt - <sup>b</sup> a friend who is very sceptical and does not have the highest opinion of the people. Now, listen: - <sup>c</sup> High Court of Justice - <sup>d</sup> swindler - <sup>e</sup> kept men - <sup>f</sup> 'It is the first flight (theft) of the eagle.' (This witticism and Madame de Girardin's remark cited above are used by Marx in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 196-97.) - <sup>g</sup> 'In my family, sir, we bear our father's name. That's why I am called de Rémusat.'

had another row, on this occasion in Ham. When he gave General Le Flô official notification of expulsion, the general threw him out, shouting: "*Comment, c'est vous, gredin, qui osez venir m'annoncer mon exil?*"<sup>a</sup> In such circumstances, it is not difficult to assess how much respect a fledgling government will continue to command, even from the most mediocre of *honnêtes gens*.<sup>b</sup> A lady known to me personally, a ward of Napoleon's, who had been in close contact with him ever since she was a child, told him on 2 December that she would have nothing more to do with him, adding that he and his associates were a *gouvernement de voleurs et d'assassins*.<sup>c</sup> True, the real plutocrats continue to adhere to Napoleon as being the only possible expression of authority just now and the last bulwark of existing society, but their faith in the possible durability of his régime has been much undermined by his measures, with the result that, after a brief interval, they have again begun to hug their money, as is evident from the stagnant Bourse and the check to the revival of trade. Thus the President's only real following consists of those who are bound to him by the most blatant self-interest, along with the privileged clerical clique and the army, although considerable dissatisfaction and a feeling of uncertainty and irresolution has crept into the latter as a result of the many dismissals of Orleanist officers, a state of affairs which enormously impairs its power. Moreover, personally and in private, the President is said to be most anxious and downcast. Indeed, in this changed climate of opinion, all that is needed is the removal of his sorry person and everything would be thrown into chaos again without any effort. Little or no attempt would be made at resistance. In this connection the remark by the experienced Guizot, on learning of the successful *coup d'état*, is worthy of note: "*C'est le triomphe complet et définitif du socialisme!*"<sup>d</sup>

Having both before and after fallen out with every party without exception, Bonaparte is seeking a counterbalance by means of this or that popular measure—vast expansion of public works, prospects of a general amnesty for the participants of 2 December, etc.—just as he will soon attempt something similar by means of this or that measure in favour of this or that class, and all without consistency of purpose. And what matters most of all is his failure to win back the masses, since he is unable to give them bread, i.e. any source of labour for their livelihood, and has actually deprived them of their favourite pastime, the innocent consolation they derived from the trees of liberty and the republican inscriptions in the streets; similarly they can no longer while away an hour in the wine and coffee shops, since all political discourse is strictly prohibited there. The peaceable bourgeois are angered by the loss of their hobby-horse, the National Guard... Nor do they fancy those aristocratic routs, the state balls, from which they stay away; thus, apart from foreigners and two or three Parisian exceptions, the only people to attend the last, splendide, Tuileries ball were ladies of doubtful virtue. The reckless squandering that goes on is a source of disquiet to the thrifty citizens, who look ahead to the day when the Orleans funds will be exhausted.

What particularly offends all who have a modicum of intelligence is the destruction of the Press.

Again, the organisation of the resuscitated Police Ministry and the spy system associated with it generates bad blood throughout the *départements*. The Parisian salons are again full of distinguished, unsuspected informers, just as in the days of the Empire.

<sup>e</sup>And all the time much *tripotage* on the Bourse on the part of those who, in

<sup>a</sup> 'What, it's you, you scoundrel, who dares to come and tell me of my expulsion?' - <sup>b</sup> respectable people - <sup>c</sup> government of thieves and murderers - <sup>d</sup> 'It is the total and definitive victory of socialism!' - <sup>e</sup> sharp practice

one way or another, arbitrarily grant or withdraw concessions for railways, etc., the instructions about which they alone had knowledge of, and upon which they speculate the previous day. It was believed that a secret college of Jesuits, headed by Montalembert, who had always been on terms of some intimacy with the President, exerted direct and immediate influence on his decisions; but as for Montalembert, it soon emerged that, after availing himself of his advice, Bonaparte suddenly dismissed him from his presence never to receive him again, so that ever since they have been the bitterest of enemies, and M., personally no less *misérable*, used the Orleans decree merely as a pretext for dissociating himself officially with honour. Now there is talk of nothing but B.'s craving for conquest. It will be his complete undoing.'

So much for my *ami*.

The important news from here is that the Tories have replaced the Whigs, and formed a ministry headed by the Earl of Derby (Lord Stanley).<sup>62</sup> This *événement*<sup>a</sup> is splendid. In England our movement can progress only under the Tories. The Whigs conciliate all over the place and lull everyone to sleep. On top of that there is the commercial crisis, which is looming ever closer and whose early symptoms are erupting on every hand. *Les choses marchent*.<sup>b</sup> If only we can manage *tant bien que mal*<sup>c</sup> through the interim period! It is nearly time for the post. I must close.

*Salut.*

K. Marx

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27

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 February 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I see that last time I forgot Reinhardt's letter.<sup>d</sup> The article has gone off to Dana,<sup>e</sup> who has not yet replied to my request that he advise me of a business house here in London. Despite her

<sup>a</sup> event - <sup>b</sup> Things are moving. - <sup>c</sup> somehow - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 47-49. - <sup>e</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XI.



promise, I have still heard nothing from my mater.<sup>a</sup> Nor has there as yet been any reply to my letters to acquaintances in Germany. A week ago I reached the pleasant point where I am unable to go out for want of the coats I have in pawn, and can no longer eat meat for want of credit. Piffing it all may be, but I'm afraid that one day it might blow up into a scandal. The only good news comes from my ministerial sister-in-law,<sup>b</sup> namely the news that my wife's indestructible uncle<sup>c</sup> is ill. If the cur dies now I shall be out of this pickle.

I shall not be writing at length today, being busy with the dictation of an article for Weydemeyer<sup>d</sup> and the dispatch and correction of the other contributions for him.

I see from the Augsburg paper (through the humble offices of Seiler) that Mr Stirner has produced a 'history of the counter-revolution'.<sup>e</sup> He tries to prove that the revolution collapsed because it was 'sacrosanct' whereas the counter-revolution prevailed because of its 'egoistical' stance.

On 25 February the French held a February banquet, or rather a dry MEETING accompanied by tea and sandwiches. I and wife were invited. The rest of the public had to pay 1 franc to go in. Since I neither could nor wished to attend, I sent my wife there with a FRENCHMAN. Ledru, Pyat, Thore, Martin Bernard, etc., in short the whole Rollinist clique by whom the affair had been mooted, failed to appear because they considered the *entree*,<sup>f</sup> for the benefit of the refugees, to be beneath their dignity. L. Blanc had also cried off. Only the lowest dregs of the emigration were there, most of whom style themselves Blanquists. But the little pseudo-Corsican<sup>g</sup> was waiting in some near-by parlour; after being assured by his spies of the absence of Ledru and Co., he appeared and, in view of the total lack of talent and authority, his natty, steel-blue tail-coat was received with RAPTUROUS APPLAUSE. His speech, after which he immediately departed, sent his enemies into transports. Enchanted them. Vanquished them. And what did THAT LITTLE MAN say, that Johnny Russell of socialism? That here abroad, people were wondering at the strange events in France, that he believed more firmly than ever in the star *de la patrie*.<sup>h</sup> And why? *Je veux*, said he, *vous expliquer le mouvement historique*,<sup>i</sup> etc. Namely, that in

<sup>a</sup> Henriette Marx - <sup>b</sup> Louise von Westphalen - <sup>c</sup> Heinrich Georg von Westphalen - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, V. - <sup>e</sup> An anonymous review of M. Stirner's *Geschichte der Reaction* in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 56, 25 February 1852, supplement: 'Buchmacherei' - <sup>f</sup> entrance fee - <sup>g</sup> Louis Blanc - <sup>h</sup> of the fatherland - <sup>i</sup> I wish, said he, to explain historical tendencies to you.

the lives of all great soldiers, e.g. of *Frédéric le Grand*, of *Napoléon le grand*, there are *des grandes victoires et des grands revers*. *Eh bien! La France est une nation militaire*.<sup>a</sup> She has her *élans* and her catastrophes. *Quod erat demonstrandum*. What she wanted she has always achieved, feudalism banished in 1789, the monarchy in 1830. Whom did she wish to overthrow in 1848? The bourgeoisie, do you suppose? Certainly not. *La misère, la hideuse misère*.<sup>b</sup> There follows a flood of socialist tears over *la misère*. *La misère, ce n'est pas quelque chose de fixe, quelque chose de saisissable*,<sup>c</sup> — nevertheless, the French nation will overcome *la misère* in the new revolution and then *la mère ne détruira plus de ses propres mains le fruit de ses entrailles, la petite fille de sept ans ne se 'groupera' plus sous la machine*<sup>d</sup> and more inanities of the same kind. Such was his prodigality that his speech contained three whole jokes. He called Bonaparte 1. *un aventurier*, 2. *un bâtard* and 3. *le singe de son oncle*.<sup>e</sup> This last novelty threw those present into a veritable St. Vitus' dance. *Qu'en dis-tu?*<sup>f</sup> It's enough to make one despair of the *crapauds*.<sup>g</sup> Seen as a whole, their story is epigrammatic, a genuine dramatic work of art, but the fellows themselves! *Mon dieu!* Mr Blanc's sally reminds me of a joke I was told by Massol. By midnight Bonaparte is invariably befuddled, in the company of the *mâles* and *femelettes*<sup>h</sup> he collects around him for his orgies. Then he begins to curse and swear. *'Mais c'est un militaire!'*<sup>i</sup> says one of his lady acquaintances in exoneration.

*Addio.*

Your

K. Marx

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<sup>a</sup> Frederick the Great, Napoleon the great, there are great victories and great reverses. Well, France is a *military nation*. - <sup>b</sup> Poverty, hideous poverty. - <sup>c</sup> Poverty is not something permanent, something tangible. - <sup>d</sup> the mother will no longer destroy with her own hands the fruit of her womb, the little seven-year-old girl will no longer 'huddle' beneath the machine. - <sup>e</sup> 1. an adventurer, 2. a bastard and 3. his uncle's (i.e. Napoleon I's) pantograph. - <sup>f</sup> What do you say to that? - <sup>g</sup> philistines. - <sup>h</sup> males and little females. - <sup>i</sup> 'But he's a soldier.'

28

ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER <sup>12</sup>

IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 27 Feb. 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

I am glad to see that some of my letters have at last arrived and hence that no further obstacles stand in the way of our correspondence.<sup>66</sup> The first two were addressed to J. W., Deutsche Vereinsbuchhandlung, William Str., New York. The copies of the *Revolution* and the *Demokrat* have arrived safely and are being forwarded to London today. Mr Heinzen will be delighted by your riposte.<sup>a</sup> You summed him up very neatly. Send all further consignments of printed matter in the same way, open at both ends; the postage costs very little.

Of my articles, you could *at very most* include only the one on the invasion<sup>67</sup> in any future miscellany. The others are unsuitable and have already been overtaken by events.

As for *confrère* Standau, the fellow's an erstwhile conspirator who fits exactly into the category we depicted in the *Revue*, in the critique of Chenu<sup>b</sup>—very useful in certain respects, very prone to idleness, not always reliable and something of a Rodomonte. Anyhow, give him my regards.

Schmidt of Löwenberg is conducting a crusade against the Jesuits in the neighbourhood of St. Louis and has for chief ally the ex-trickster and agent of Duchâtel, Mr Börnstein of Parisian fame. What else he is up to I do not know. That Dr Maas is a supporter of the Marx clique is news to me. I know him only as an ex-Palatinate ranter. Fischer, the editor of the New Orleans *Deutsche Zeitung*, is an acquaintance of mine and was a member of my bodyguard in Kaiserslautern,<sup>68</sup> but this day-dreamer has since become infernally corrupted and Kinkelified, and if Kinkel himself has been in New Orleans, he will have done a great deal of mischief since he will have met with no opposition.

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to Weydemeyer's article against Heinzen, *New-Yorker Demokrat*, No. 311, 29 January 1852. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, Reviews from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, No. 4: 'Les Conspireurs', par A. Chenu', *La naissance de la République en février 1848*, par Lucien de la Hodde'.

So far as the question of a war against England is concerned,<sup>a</sup> just now it interests me primarily as a military problem which one tries to elucidate and solve in just the same way as an exercise in geometry. But I do not regard a coalition war of this kind as out of the question although for the time being, so long as Derby remains at the helm, it will certainly be deferred. The gentlemen of the Holy Alliance<sup>69</sup> assess their forces today no less incorrectly than was done in the various coalitions from 1792 to 1807. And as for Russia's dependence on England, 1. one cannot expect the Tsar<sup>b</sup> to be sensible of it, and secondly, a suspension of trade, while it would result in stagnation, poverty and the spoiling of produce, could, after all, be endured for 2-3 years just as could a commercial crisis of the same duration. Bear in mind that in Russia virtually no money circulates in the country among the peasantry, the vast majority, and that these barbarians' every household necessity can be produced in any village. True, the cities and the aristocracy would suffer, but the Russian Empire is founded on peasants and on petty country gentry. An uprising on the Continent instigated by England presents great difficulties; Spain was helped by her terrain, her great size and sparse population, and the lack of provisions, and also the fact of being surrounded on nearly all sides by the sea. But Hungary and Poland are land-locked countries while Italy, save for the islands, could hardly be held by the English and the insurgents against the superior forces of the coalition. Furthermore, England is not now in a position, and will not be so a year after the outbreak of war, to muster an army like the one sent to Wellington in Spain.<sup>70</sup> But ships without a landing force can never gain a foothold.

It's a real stroke of luck that the Tories should have taken the helm. As a result of the continual victories in the field of commercial policy and the long era of prosperity, the manufacturers had grown thoroughly indolent. Parliamentary reform, even when more far-reaching than Russell's paltry Bill,<sup>71</sup> failed to arouse the *slightest interest*. Now, with the devil hard on their heels, they are already scared out of their wits, the more so since *every one* of the new ministers represents, and most brazenly, some aspect or other of protectionism. The Anti-Corn Law League<sup>72</sup> is being revived here. Parliamentary reform, the extension of the franchise, the equalisation of constituencies, secret ballot, have all become *questions of vital moment to the industrial bourgeoisie*, whereas before

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 18-19. - <sup>b</sup> Nicholas I

they were of immediate interest only to the philistines. Derby must announce a dissolution and will probably do so as soon as the Army Act and the taxes for the coming year have been voted. In May we shall doubtless have another election. The Protectionists will gain a few votes and in exchange throw out a few Peelites.<sup>73</sup> But they are still in the minority and, should Derby dare to propose the immediate introduction of protective tariffs, he will unquestionably take a tumble. But he may be cunning enough to defer this. At any rate the movement is now FAIRLY under way in England. With Palmerston's dismissal<sup>74</sup> the fun began, as it was bound to do after the endless ministerial defeats of the previous session. Derby is the second act. Dissolution will be the third. As for England's foreign policy under Derby it too, of course, will be reactionary; but little that is decisive will happen; maybe a few prosecutions of refugees, in which the government will fail, attempts to introduce Aliens Bills,<sup>75</sup> which will likewise fail, perhaps support for attempts to form an anti-Louis Napoleon coalition, which will also come to nothing. The Tories are frightfully circumscribed in England and, unless they attempt to restore the Sidmouth-Castlereagh despotism of 1815-21, whereby they could burn their fingers devilish badly for, within the law and on behalf of FREE TRADE, YOUR English bourgeois fights like a tiger—the conservative gentlemen will make sorry fools of themselves. But Derby (formerly, in his father's lifetime, Lord Stanley) is a hot-head and may well have recourse to extreme, if not illegal, measures.

All that is lacking now is a commercial crisis and, with Derby up, I rather suspect that it will soon be upon us. The rapid succession of English FREE TRADE measures, followed by the opening up of the Dutch colonies, the lowering of tariffs in Spain, Sardinia, etc., etc., and the fall in cotton prices (since Sept. 1850 down to half their former value), are keeping prosperity going longer than might have been expected. But, given the state of the Indian and to some extent the American markets (appreciably fewer manufactures were exported to the United States last month than in the same period last year), the thing cannot be expected to last much longer. If, as seems hardly probable, the crisis comes as early as May, then the fun will begin. But it will hardly be here before September or October.

My regards to your wife.

Your  
F. E.

Shortly an article on the position of the English industrial bourgeoisie and on commercial matters<sup>76</sup>—I shall be very busy for the next fortnight or so.

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## 29

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 March 1852

Dear Marx,

By now you will have received the £5 I sent off yesterday, half of it direct to you and half under cover to Lupus. My congratulations on the news of the illness of the old Brunswick inheritance-thwarter<sup>a</sup>; I trust the catastrophe will at last come to pass.

According to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Stirner's *Geschichte der Reaktion* is a wretched compilation, or rather a patchwork of gleanings from what he has read and from his own published and unpublished newspaper articles—'rejected leaves and blossoms' on everything in the world and somewhat more—2 volumes which conclude with the threat that the third will contain 'the groundwork and the system'.<sup>b</sup> Far from aspiring to sacrosanctity, his own glosses seem rather to be destined for higher schools for young ladies.

Little Simon von Trier must inevitably make an absolute ass of himself in Dana's eyes by attributing such ludicrous nonsense to us, when Dana can see for himself that our articles contain ANYTHING BUT THAT.<sup>c</sup> It is preposterous of Dana not to send us the *Tribune* or you the money; I think the best plan would be to set Weydemeyer onto him, he at least would be able to send us the *Tribune* and at the same time settle the money question by word

<sup>a</sup> Heinrich Georg von Westphalen - <sup>b</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 56, 25 February 1852, supplement: 'Buchmacheri'. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 37 and 43-44.

of mouth. Whether he advises you of a business house in London or sends a bill of exchange is immaterial. My article, which was to have gone by the Southampton STEAMER, missed it since I had miscalculated its departure by one day. Now you will be getting it on Friday, along with another which will bring the thing up to the end of 1848.<sup>a</sup> These will be followed by the Prussian Chambers, the campaign for the Imperial Constitution<sup>77</sup> and, finally, the Prusso-Austrian squabbles of 1850/51, lastly the conclusion—altogether the whole may, perhaps, run to another six-8 articles, *summa summarum* 17-20 articles.

Charles<sup>b</sup> will be back here in a fortnight, when I shall have more time. Until then Jones will have to be patient.

So Mr Derby declares outright that, à la Sir James Graham, he will again help the Austrians and Co. to lay their hands on any likely bandieras.<sup>78</sup> Hence once again letters will be broken open *en masse*. The main sufferers will be Mazzini and the Hungarians. We ourselves will be little inconvenienced.

But what effrontery on Derby's part! 'I hereby declare that given a suitable opportunity, I shall impose a tax on corn. Just when that will be is for me alone to decide. But if you, the majority in the House of Commons, do not wish to be *des factieux*,<sup>c</sup> you must leave me in peace until I have so far consolidated my position and so far toryfied the land that I can undo unperturbed all that has been accomplished during the past twenty years.'<sup>d</sup> POOR HOUSE OF COMMONS! In place of a ministry that found itself in a relative minority, they now have one that is in absolute and permanent minority; and they are not even permitted to oppose it. But those milksops, the FREE TRADERS, have got no more than their deserts. The fellows won a battle, captured a new strategic line, and failed to occupy and fortify it, failed, indeed, to profit by their victory and even merely to pursue the enemy. Now they must again join battle on the same ground. The Tory *avènement*,<sup>e</sup> however, has suddenly made these questions abundantly plain to the fellows. Parliamentary reform, taken to the point at which Tories and Whigs, at least in their unadulterated form, are forever precluded from power and a majority of industrialists in the Cabinet and in Parliament is assured, has now become a vital question to the manufacturers. Here these GENTLEMEN are again very active. At this moment the Anti-Corn Law League<sup>72</sup> is meeting and discussing whether to reorganise itself. Cobden, Bright,

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XII and XIII. -

<sup>b</sup> Roesgen - <sup>c</sup> sedition-mongers - <sup>d</sup> Engels ridicules Derby's speech in the House of Lords on 27 February published in *The Times*, No. 21050, 28 February 1852. - <sup>e</sup> accession

Milner Gihson, etc., are here. No doubt they will at least piece together again the bare bones of the organisation. But not until the dissolution will the real fun begin. The dissolution, however, cannot be long in coming for, despite Derby's honied words and his pacific and conciliatory intentions, clashes are unavoidable.

Unfortunately there is little prospect of the commercial crisis coinciding with the dissolution. Business here continues splendid. The news from America is exceedingly favourable. What is staving off the crisis, and may continue to stave it off for a little while longer, is 1. California, both the TRADE it provides and the masses of gold coming into circulation, as well as emigration thither, in short, all the stimulus that California exerts upon the whole of the United States; 2. the curb imposed by the high cotton prices of 1849 and 1850 upon the cotton industry which did not experience brisk progress until the spring of 1851; 3. the enormous fall in cotton prices—almost 50%—during the past eighteen months. In New Orleans the price of cotton (MIDDLING—the average kind) on 1 Sept. 1850 was  $13\frac{1}{2}$  cents= $7\frac{3}{4}$ d in Liverpool; today the price of MIDDLING in New Orleans is  $7\frac{5}{8}$  cents= $4\frac{7}{8}$ d in Liverpool, and for a time it stood at 7 cents. Obviously this is bound to bring about a considerable increase in consumption. Last year—Jan. and Feb.—here in the cotton district, 29,000 hales were consumed weekly, this year 33,000 and that solely American; in addition there is Surat, Egyptian, etc.<sup>a</sup>—If things continue thus, England will consume 800-850 million pounds of cotton this year; 4. the general timidity to speculate and to launch with any persistent enthusiasm even into gold mines and steamships. From everything I see I should say that another 6 months of such intensive production as at present would suffice to inundate the whole world; if another 4 months or so be allowed for the goods to reach their destination and positive news of over-supply to come back, as also for an interim period of reflection before people are seized by panic,—then the most likely time for the onset of the crisis will be somewhere between Nov. 1852 and Feb. 1853. But all this is GUESS-WORK and we could just as well have it in September. It should, though, be a fine how-d'ye-do, for never before has such a mass of goods of all descriptions been pushed onto the market, nor have there ever been such colossal means of production. The foolish ENGINEERS' strike<sup>79</sup> will hold it up for at least a month; virtually no machines are being made now and they are

<sup>a</sup> Engels takes statistical data from 'The Spirit of the Annual Trade Circulars. The Year That Is Past', *The Economist*, No. 437, 10 January 1852.



very much in demand. Hibbert, Platt and Sons have hundreds of orders from both here and abroad, not one of which they can, of course, execute. And when this commercial thunderstorm moreover breaks over Mr Derby's head, it will be bad for him!

The last balance sheet made my old man really hopping mad for it shows him as having lost money, despite the general prosperity, and he is likely to give notice of termination (i.e. of his corporate contract with the Ermens). In which case this business will probably shut down as early as next year. The chaos arising out of all these goings-on has now reached a peak, and is partly why I have such a mass of things to do.

Don't bother to send me Ewerheck's book. It's not worth the 6d the postage would cost.

My warm regards to your wife and children.

Your  
F. E.

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## 30

## MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 March [1852]  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I received the £5 on Monday, although Lupus lives at 3, not 4, Broad Street. Also today your very felicitous article for Dana.<sup>a</sup>

Your package containing the *Revolution* and the *Tribune* had been opened. They had not even taken the trouble to do it up again.

From the enclosed letter you will see how we stand with the police.<sup>80</sup> The facts are wrong, save that Lupus took the chair

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XII.

instead of myself on 5 February and that the denouncer mistook our letter to *The Times*<sup>a</sup> for a reply to Mrs Daniels.<sup>81</sup> The spy is 'Hirsch' of Hamburg whom we had already thrown out of the League<sup>b</sup> a fortnight before. He became a member in Germany and, since I never really trusted him, I never mentioned anything in the least compromising in his presence.

With regard to Weydemeyer's anti-Heinzen article,<sup>c</sup> Jones has sent him by today's post an official letter in which he treats Heinzen *avec un dédain suprême*<sup>d</sup> and enlightens him on the 'WAR OF CLASSES'.<sup>82</sup> The day before yesterday the National Reform League<sup>83</sup> held a big meeting with an audience of at least 2,000. Jones subjected Messrs Hume, Walmsley and Co. to some rough treatment and scored a real triumph. London and Manchester now seem to divide the work between them in such a way that the bourgeois there tend to launch political attacks, and those here commercial ones.

A few days ago a manifesto by Signore Mazzini written in *Italian* fell into my hands. He is the *holy* bourgeois *quand même*<sup>e</sup> and fumes at the 'profane' French bourgeois. He shifts the initiative from Paris to Rome. '*Il materialismo*' and '*il egoismo*' have ruined France. The workers have inherited both vices from the bourgeoisie. Since 1815 France has no longer been the country of initiative. Italy and Hungary are now the chosen countries.

While 'signore Mazzini', as Peter the Hermit, castigates the wicked French, he licks the boots of the English FREE TRADERS who doubtless personify '*le dévouement*' and '*la foi*'. *L'imbécile!*<sup>f</sup>

Please return the enclosed letter. Only very little today because what with getting things off to America my hands are full.

Your  
K. Marx

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*'. <sup>b</sup> the Communist League. <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 52. <sup>d</sup> with supreme disdain. <sup>e</sup> all the same. <sup>f</sup> 'devotion' and 'faith'. The idiot!

31

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>84</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 5 March 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weywy,

I am afraid there has been a bit of a muddle because, HAVING MISUNDERSTOOD THY LAST LETTER, I addressed the last 2 packages to: Office of the *Revolution*, 7 Chambers' Street, Box 1817. What caused the confusion was that damned 'Box 1817', since you had written telling me to append this to the 'old address' without drawing any distinction between the first address and the second. But I hope the matter will have resolved itself before this letter arrives, the more so since last Friday's letter<sup>a</sup> contained the very detailed fifth instalment of my article. This week I was prevented from finishing the sixth, which is also the last one.<sup>85</sup> If your paper is appearing again, this delay will not prove an obstacle since you have an ample supply of material.

Your article against Heinzen, unfortunately sent to me too late by Engels, is very good, at once coarse and *fine*, and this is the right combination for any polemic worthy of the name. I have shown this article to Ernest Jones and enclosed you will find a letter from him addressed to you, intended for publication.<sup>82</sup> Since Jones writes very illegibly and with abbreviations, and since I assume that you are not yet an OUT-AND-OUT Englishman, I am sending you, along with the original, a copy made by my wife, together with the German translation; you should print them both, the original and the translation, side by side. Below Jones' letter you might add the following comment: As to *George Julian Harney*, likewise one of Mr Heinzen's authorities, he published our *Communist Manifesto* in English in his *Red Republican* with a marginal note describing it as 'THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT EVER GIVEN TO THE WORLD',<sup>b</sup> and in his *Democratic Review* he translated the

<sup>a</sup> Jenny Marx's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 27 February 1852. See this volume, pp. 572-73. - <sup>b</sup> *The Communist Manifesto* was published in English in *The Red Republican*, Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24 of 9, 16, 23 and 30 November 1850. It was on this occasion that Marx and Engels were first named as its authors. In this letter Marx gives the quotations in English followed by the German translation.

words of 'wisdom brushed aside' by Heinzen, namely my articles on the French Revolution from the *Revue der N. Rh. Z.*,<sup>a</sup> and in a paper on Louis Blanc he refers his readers to these articles as being the 'true critical examination' of the French affair.<sup>b</sup> By the way, in England there is no need to have recourse only to 'extremists'. If, in England, a Member of Parliament becomes a minister, he must have himself re-elected. Thus *Disraeli*, the new Chancellor, LORD OF THE EXCHEQUER, writes to his constituents on 1 March:

\* 'We shall endeavour to terminate that *strife of classes* which, of late years, has exercised so pernicious an influence over the welfare of this kingdom.\*<sup>c</sup>

Whereupon *The Times* of 2 March comments:

\* 'If anything would ever divide classes in this country beyond reconciliation, and leave no chance of a just and honourable peace, it would be a tax on foreign corn.'\*

And lest some ignorant 'man of character'<sup>d</sup> like Heinzen should suppose that the aristocrats are *for* and the bourgeois *against* the Corn Laws<sup>72</sup> because the former want '*monopoly*' and the latter '*freedom*'—your worthy citizen sees opposites only in this ideological form—we shall content ourselves with saying that, in England, in the eighteenth century, the aristocrats were for 'freedom' (of trade) and the bourgeois for 'monopoly',—precisely the same attitude as is adopted by the two classes in present-day 'Prussia' towards the 'Corn Laws'.<sup>66</sup> There is no more rabid FREE TRADER than the *Neue Pr. Z.*

Finally, if I were you, I should tell the democratic gents *en général* that they would do better to acquaint themselves with bourgeois literature before they venture to yap at its opponents. For instance they should study the historical works of Thierry, Guizot, John Wade and so forth, in order to enlighten themselves as to the past 'history of the classes'. They should acquaint

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. Published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. By the English translation of this work Marx means Engels' review of the first chapter published under the title 'Two Years of a Revolution; 1848 and 1849' in *The Democratic Review*, April-June 1850. - <sup>b</sup> [G. J. Harney,] Review of Louis Blanc's *Historic Pages from the French Revolution of February 1848* in *The Democratic Review*, May 1850, pp. 465-66. - <sup>c</sup> Here and below Marx quotes from Disraeli's 'Address to His Constituents' published under the date-line: 'London, Tuesday, 2 March 1852', *The Times*, No. 21052, 2 March 1852. - <sup>d</sup> Presumably an allusion to Heine's satirical poem *Atta Troll*, Chap. XXIV—'kein Talent, doch ein Charakter' (Talent none, but character).

themselves with the fundamentals of political economy before attempting to criticise the critique of political economy. For example, one need only open Ricardo's magnum opus to find, on the first page, the words with which he begins his preface:

\* 'The produce of the earth—all that is derived from its surface by the united application of labour, machinery, and capital, is divided among *three classes* of the community; namely the proprietor of the land, the owner of the stock or capital necessary for its cultivation, and the labourers by whose industry it is cultivated.'<sup>a</sup>

Now, in the United States bourgeois society is still far too immature for the class struggle to be made perceptible and comprehensible; striking proof of this is provided by C. H. Carey (of Philadelphia),<sup>b</sup> the only North American economist of any note. He attacks *Ricardo*, the most classic representative<sup>c</sup> of the bourgeoisie and the most stoical opponent of the proletariat, as a man whose works are an arsenal for anarchists and socialists, for all enemies of the bourgeois order.<sup>d</sup> He accuses not only him, but also Malthus, Mill, Say, Torrens, Wakefield, MacCulloch, Senior, Whately, R. Jones, etc.—those who lead the economic dance in Europe—of tearing society apart, and of paving the way for civil war by showing that the economic bases of the various classes are such that they will inevitably give rise to a necessary and ever-growing antagonism between the latter. He tries to refute them, not, it is true, like the fatuous Heinzen, by relating the existence of classes to the existence of *political* privileges and *monopolies*, but by seeking to demonstrate that *economic* conditions: rent (landed property), *profit* (capital) and wages (wage labour),<sup>e</sup> rather than being conditions of struggle and antagonism, are conditions of association and harmony.<sup>87</sup> All he proves, of course, is that the 'undeveloped' relations in the United States are, to him, 'normal relations'.

Now as for myself, I do not claim to have discovered either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me, bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle between the classes, as had bourgeois economists their economic anatomy. My own contribution was 1. to show that the *existence of classes* is merely bound up with *certain historical phases in the development of production*; 2. that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the*

<sup>a</sup> D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Third Edition, London, 1821, p. V. - <sup>b</sup> See H. Ch. Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages...* - <sup>c</sup> Above 'representative' Marx wrote 'interpreter'. - <sup>d</sup> See also this volume, pp. 345-46. - <sup>e</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 378-84 and 392.





*proletariat*; 3. that this dictatorship itself constitutes no more than a transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*. Ignorant louts such as Heinzen, who deny not only the struggle but the very existence of classes, only demonstrate that, for all their bloodthirsty, mock-humanist yelping, they regard the social conditions in which the bourgeoisie is dominant as the final product, the *non plus ultra*<sup>a</sup> of history, and that they themselves are simply the servants of the bourgeoisie, a servitude which is the more revolting, the less capable are the louts of grasping the very greatness and transient necessity of the bourgeois regime itself.

Select from the above notes whatever you think fit.<sup>88</sup> By the way, Heinzen has adopted our 'centralisation' in place of his 'federative republic', etc.<sup>89</sup> When the views on classes we are now disseminating have become familiar objects of 'sound common sense',<sup>b</sup> then the scoundrel will proclaim them aloud as the latest product of his 'own sagacity' and yap his opposition to our onward progress. Thus, in the light of his 'own sagacity', he yapped at Hegelian philosophy<sup>c</sup> so long as it was progressive. Now he feeds on its stale scraps, spat out undigested by Ruge.

Herewith also the end of the Hungarian article.<sup>d</sup> It is all the more essential that you should try to make some use of this—assuming your paper exists—because *Szemere*, the erstwhile prime minister of Hungary, now in Paris, has promised me to write a long article for you, *signed with his own name*.

If your paper has come into being, send *more* copies so that it can be distributed more widely.

Your  
K. Marx

Kind regards to you and your wife from all your friends here, especially my wife.

Apropos, I am sending you the *Notes*<sup>e</sup> and a few copies of my Assizes speech<sup>f</sup> (this last for Cluss, to whom I promised it) by the

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<sup>a</sup> the uttermost point - <sup>b</sup> An allusion to Heinzen's expression 'sound common sense' (*der gesunde Menschenverstand*). See K. Marx, 'Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality', present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 317, 330 and 337. - <sup>c</sup> An allusion to Heinzen's comedy *Doktor Nebel, oder: Gelehrsamkeit und Leben*, Cologne, 1841. See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*, present edition, Vol. 11, p. 277. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 32. - <sup>e</sup> *Notes to the People* - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx, 'The First Trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*' and 'The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats' in *Zwei politische Prozesse*, Cologne, 1849.



hand of the ex-Montagnard Hochstuhl (an Alsatian).<sup>90</sup> There's nothing to the fellow.

Herewith the Rules.<sup>91</sup> I would advise you to arrange them in more logical order. *London* is designated as the district responsible for the United States. Hitherto we have been able to exercise our authority only *in partibus*.

If you have not already done so, do not accept 'Hirsch's' statement.<sup>14</sup> He's an unsavoury individual, although in the right where Schapper and Willich are concerned.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>92</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 18 March 1852

Dear Marx,

I return herewith Pixie's<sup>a</sup> letter. I am *pour le moment entièrement dépourvu*<sup>b</sup> and would not be able to raise the £2—at least this month; moreover, his letter is dated the 5th and there is absolutely no knowing whether the money would still reach him. And then it's always a ticklish business sending money to Ewerbeck; the fellow is capable of making superannuated claims for God only knows what old postal expenses, and of pocketing the whole amount or the best part of it. For all these reasons I am unable just now to help the little sprite,<sup>a</sup> doubtful though I am that he will be able to extract more than five sous at one go from Monsieur Ewerbeck. Meanwhile, the *piccolo*<sup>a</sup> has left Geneva for Paris and thus will no doubt also come to London, if at the cost of some 'toil and trouble'; and then we shall know just how much his dunning letters mean.

<sup>a</sup> Ernst Dronke . <sup>b</sup> At the moment I am completely penniless

If the little man<sup>a</sup> does come, you will have some difficulty in restraining his pugnacious temperament, surely much exacerbated by prolonged 'toil and trouble'; in this country fisticuffs and brawls cost too much money for him to be permitted to indulge in them.<sup>93</sup> It would be best if you entrusted him to Pieper so that the latter could instruct him in political economy. What you told me about Massol<sup>b</sup> is very interesting, and if he stays over there I should very much like to meet him.

I am delighted by what you tell me about Jones<sup>c</sup>—just now I have damnably little time, otherwise I would send him more articles. But Charles<sup>d</sup> is not yet back from Germany and then, after toiling all day in the office, it would really be too much to write a regular weekly article for him and/or Weydemeyer on top of the article for the *Tribune* and the weekly report for my old man. Moreover, I must at long last get to grips with the Slav business.<sup>94</sup> In my previous dilettante fashion, I achieved nothing for a whole year and, having at least made a start and got too far to abandon the thing, I must now regularly devote some time to it. For the past fortnight I have been swotting hard at Russian and have now got the grammar pretty well licked; in another 2-3 months I shall have acquired the necessary vocabulary, and then I shall be able to tackle something else. I must be done with the Slavonic languages this year and *au fond*<sup>e</sup> they are not so very difficult. Apart from the linguistic interest I derive from the thing, there is the further consideration that, come the next big political drama, at least one of us should be familiar with the languages, history, literature and the minutiae of the social institutions of those particular nations with which we shall immediately find ourselves in conflict. In effect, Bakunin only came to anything because no one knew Russian. And a great deal is going to be made of the old pan-Slavic bonce of transmogrifying the old Slav system of communal property into communism and depicting the Russian peasants as born communists.

Now that old O'Connor has definitely gone mad, Jones is perfectly right to crowd on all sail. This is his chance and if, in addition, CITIZEN Hip-hip-hurrah<sup>f</sup> gives up, his cause is won. From all that I see, the Chartists are in such a state of complete dissolution and disintegration, and at the same time are so lacking in able people, that either they must disband altogether and break up into cliques, i.e. in effect become a mere appendage of the

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<sup>a</sup> Ernst Dronke - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 31-32. - <sup>c</sup> *ibid.*, p. 59. - <sup>d</sup> Roesgen - <sup>e</sup> at bottom - <sup>f</sup> Harney

FINANCIALS,<sup>28</sup> or else be reconstructed on a new basis by some competent fellow. Jones is moving in quite the right direction and we may well say that, without our doctrine, he would not have taken the right path and would never have discovered how, on the one hand, one can not only maintain the only possible basis for the reconstruction of the Chartist party—the instinctive class hatred of the workers for the industrial bourgeoisie—but also enlarge and develop it, so laying the foundations for enlightening propaganda, and how, on the other, one can still be progressive and resist the workers' reactionary appetites and their prejudices. MASTER HARNEY, by the way, is in for a surprise if he continues as he is; the group of enthusiasts which supports him will very soon kick him out, and not even the portraits of Kościuszko and other 'patriots'<sup>95</sup> that adorn his bumf will save him.

*Quoad Napoleonem*,<sup>a</sup> did the man not tell L. Blanc when he went to France: '*Quand je serai président, je mettrai en pratique vos idées*'<sup>b</sup>? And now we see how a financial predicament may drive even a true socialist like L. N. to financial measures of an impeccably bourgeois kind, such as the conversion of bonds.<sup>96</sup> Your SHOPKEEPER and small industrialist is prepared to overlook twenty socialist capers in return for this one saving of 18 millions, and *The Daily News* admires the measure. Anything more stupid or more abject than the *Débats*' comments on this topic would be hard to imagine.<sup>c</sup> The same old story: postal reform=socialism! Conversion of bonds=socialism! FREE TRADE=socialism! My only fear is that Mynheer Napoleon who, for all that he proceeds very diffidently when it comes to his genuinely socialist undertakings and goes no further in the matter of mortgages than the bourgeois Prussian credit institutions, may, in the end, be compelled, by force of circumstances, to transform all his socialist inclinations into simple bourgeois reforms, and then nothing can deliver us but the inevitable financial predicament. *The Daily News* is right, conversion of bonds is a *mesure éminemment pacifique*<sup>d</sup> as well as being a most ominous indication that L. N. is tending to fall into the ways of bourgeois COMMON SENSE. BUT when, I ask you, has it ever been possible to rule France with COMMON SENSE, and what a hotch-potch of circumstances would be required to bring together a L. N. and COMMON SENSE! At all events the climate on the Continent does not seem

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<sup>a</sup> As regards Napoleon - <sup>b</sup> When I am President, I shall put your ideas into practice. - <sup>c</sup> This refers to the article by Armand Bertin 'Paris, 14 mars', *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, 15 March 1852. - <sup>d</sup> eminently peaceable measure

very revolutionary to me, although the little sprite will bring quite different news.

I do not think that Derby will obtain a majority although this place, where unanimity reigns when it comes to the Corn Laws,<sup>72</sup> is a poor *point d'observation*. However, I should like him to obtain one, for then things must come about as you say. He is, by the way, a fool for not dissolving Parliament at once. The longer he procrastinates, the greater the risk of the election coinciding with a commercial crisis, and then he'll get fanatical Tories in Parliament who are too rabid even for him, and determined, rapacious MANCHESTER MEN<sup>63</sup> under threat of bankruptcy, these latter probably in the majority and hence the determining element.

Our CONCERN here seems likely to collapse within the year. In which case, while the liquidation is under way, I shall at first enjoy far more liberty and be less tied down by the regular routine of the office. Later, my old man writes, he might be able to find me a *better* position—I suspect that he will fall in with my old plan to remove to Liverpool and buy cotton for him there. That would be splendid and, if it comes off and you have completed your preliminary work on economics,<sup>45</sup> you and your whole family must come up for 6 months—we would live by the sea at New Brighton, and you would, besides, save money. At all events, I shall get myself a rise—there's no doubt about that.

Today, unfortunately, I shall not have a quiet moment in which to do the *Tribune* article, but an American STEAMER sails next Wednesday, so you shall have it by Monday or Tuesday, and then I'll do another one for Friday's STEAMER.

Many regards.

Your  
F. E.

This is the first time the seal on your letter has been intact and undamaged.

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>12</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 25 March 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

Good luck to the new world citizen! There is no more splendid time to enter this world than the present. Come the day when people can travel from London to Calcutta in a week, both our heads will long since have rolled or started to loll. And Australia and California and the Pacific Ocean! The new world citizens will be unable to comprehend how small our world once was.

If you did not receive the final instalment<sup>a</sup> enclosed herewith a week ago, your total silence is to blame.

Now in the pamphlet,<sup>97</sup> too, I would like my article to be divided up as it was sent to you, under headings I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII. These figures serve as sign-posts for the reader. They take the place of titles. At the end of V, add the following words: 'But Bonaparte answered the Party of Order as Agesilaus did King Agis: "*I seem to thee an ant, but one day I shall be a lion.*"'<sup>98</sup> But the thing must, of course, be brought out now all at once in its entirety.

Where my wife has failed to leave space enough to indicate the paragraphs, I have marked them with a Γ.

Cluss' statement<sup>60</sup> is splendid.

Why not—it strikes me as a good idea—include Ernest Jones' letter in your first issue?<sup>82</sup> A couple of introductory words would suffice to explain it.

*Maintenant*<sup>b</sup>: Cluss will already have told you about the Szemere business.<sup>99</sup> First a publisher will have to be contacted through me and arrangements made for his pamphlet—some 10 sheets—on Kossuth, L. Batthyány and Görgey—to be brought out in German and later in English. You might, if it can be managed, publish the German original as your second instalment without, of course, any other additions. But the publisher must pay for the thing if you don't publish it yourself.

<sup>a</sup> of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, VII - <sup>b</sup> Now

When this has been arranged—and perhaps even before that—the *Revolution* will receive 500 dollars from this source, on condition that Bangya comes in as co-editor, i.e. only in the sense that part of the paper is allotted to the *Hungarians* and run by Bangya, Szemere's agent. But you'll have no difficulty in getting on with him, *car il est bon homme*.<sup>a</sup>

I am very glad to hear that you have found employment as a surveyor. You will be able to operate with greater confidence and peace of mind.

One of these days I shall be starting on Mazzini. Whereas Mr Kinkel, whose wisdom, by his own admission, derives from nursery tales, now chooses to see nothing but unity among the 'great men', he finds on his return the battle raging *optima forma*.<sup>b</sup> For Ledru and Mazzini have bought the Brussels daily *La Nation* for 10,000 fr. drawn from the Italian loan. *Mais voilà que*<sup>c</sup> *il Signore Mazzini* looses off an opening article, in which he vents all his infamous anti-French, anti-socialist inanities about the initiative lost by France,<sup>d</sup> and this so wildly that Ledru now feels compelled—and has, it seems, made up his mind—to take issue with him personally. On the other hand, the socialists L. Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Cabet, Mallarmet, etc., have joined forces and published a venomous retort composed by dear little L. Blanc. At the same time the majority of the French émigrés are violently incensed against Ledru, whom they rightly hold responsible for Mazzini's stupidities. Fire has broken out in the very midst of their camp.

Should you happen to get hold of *Der Tag ist angebrochen*, a book by that miserable cleric, Dulon, who fancies himself as a Lamennais, mind you give the cur a good dusting.

Dronke has been arrested in Paris where he lingered too long on his way here from Switzerland instead of hurrying through.

I like your selection very much. Pieper's article<sup>e</sup> might do well enough for a newspaper. For a pamphlet it was dashed off too hastily and perfunctorily.

Can you not get news of Edgar<sup>f</sup> from Braunfels? We have heard nothing from the lazybones and this is causing his mother<sup>g</sup> great anxiety. A crazy lad!

Cluss' protest<sup>h</sup> was greeted with general applause at the League<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> for he's a good fellow - <sup>b</sup> for all it's worth - <sup>c</sup> But now - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 59. - <sup>e</sup> W. Pieper, 'Die Arbeiter Assoziation in England'. - <sup>f</sup> Edgar von Westphalen - <sup>g</sup> Caroline von Westphalen - <sup>h</sup> A. Cluss, 'An den Garanten-Congress des deutschen Anleihens in Cincinnati'. - <sup>i</sup> the Communist League

meeting here, and both we and Stechan's society<sup>25</sup> found your *Revolution* to our liking.

Warm regards from my family to yours.

Your  
K. M.

In case the infamous reply from Willich's society to Pfänder's statement<sup>100</sup> should appear in some paper or other (e.g. Weitling's<sup>a</sup>), I am sending you Pfänder's 2nd statement.

What can red Becker<sup>b</sup> be doing? Has he, too, become a Kinkelian?

Apropos. Some of the engineering workers have come to their senses and sent apologies to Jones. By now the English workers have collected sufficient money for Jones to bring out a big STAMPED weekly<sup>101</sup> in addition to his *Notes*.<sup>c</sup> The jackass who is to convey these to you has still not left.<sup>d</sup>

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 March 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Just received your article.<sup>e</sup> Enclosed you will find a whole bundle of new stuff from America which would have reached you sooner, had it not been necessary to make copies of some of it for communication to League<sup>f</sup> members.

<sup>a</sup> *Republik der Arbeiter* - <sup>b</sup> Presumably Max Joseph Becker. - <sup>c</sup> *Notes to the People*.  
<sup>d</sup> Hochstuhl - <sup>e</sup> Presumably, XIII for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>f</sup> the Communist League, see also this volume, pp. 71-72

All sorts of things have been happening here. Gottfried Christ Kinkel is dispatching, or rather has dispatched, the student Schurz and Schimmelpfennig to drum together people from Switzerland, Paris, Germany and Belgium for a congress to be held in London in mid-April, the purpose being to guarantee the revolutionary loan<sup>27</sup> and to lay down definitive regulations for the administration of this exchequer and of the democratic government *in partibus*. But you must let me have the trash back by Saturday.

Kossuth, exposed in America by Szemere<sup>102</sup> and completely at odds with the committee he left behind him in London,<sup>103</sup> will be surprised to learn by what schisms the democratic clerics has meanwhile been rent.

For Mr Mazzini, who for the past 2 years has been pope of the democratic church *in partibus*, thought the time at last ripe to discharge his venom in the French tongue against socialism and France, to wit in the Brussels *Nation* which, with Ledru's connivance, he had acquired for 10,000 fr. drawn from the Italian fund. In it he blamed the socialists for the 2nd December, the capture of Rome,<sup>104</sup> in short for the counter-revolution generally and, in his high-flown Dominican style, thundered against heretics, sects, materialism, scepticism, the Romance Babylon, with the same single-mindedness he displays when licking the arse of the English liberal bourgeoisie. France, he said, had lost the revolutionary initiative. The *peuple-roi*<sup>a</sup> no longer existed. Now it was the turn of other nations, etc. In short a veritable bull of excommunication which was done the honour of being taken up by the *Patrie* and the *Constitutionnel*. This was altogether too much for the French. Little L. Blanc, who further saw in it an opportunity to rehabilitate himself and thrust himself to the fore, drummed up Cabet, Pierre Leroux, Bianchi, Nadaud and Vasbenter (Proudhonian). In *The Morning Advertiser* they attacked Mr Mazzini in crudest fashion. The theoretical part of their retort is almost as weak as Mazzini's attack. The personal part, for which Massol gave Leroux the material, annihilates the arrogant *theopompos*.<sup>b</sup>

Ledru, for his part, felt it incumbent upon him to *resign* from the European Central Committee in order not to lose all influence. He too has replied in the *Nation* to the attacks on France. Pitiful. An article with neither head nor tail. Upholds 'France's revolutionary initiative', but in what fashion! *C'est pour faire pitié!*<sup>c</sup> Ledru, it is said, now intends to go to the United States.

Thus, on the one hand, the idiot Ruge forfeits his European

<sup>a</sup> regal nation · <sup>b</sup> divine envoy · <sup>c</sup> It's pitiful.



Central Committee. On the other, Kinkel—who, in America, fawned like a dog on his rival Kossuth—sees the general 'confusion', i.e. fusion of all democratic pretenders under the banner of the now stale catchwords of 1848, e.g. 'democratic republic', 'universal franchise', etc., dissipating. Thus the worthy Willich is drawn into the conflict as a 'communist'.

Meanwhile each week the English government is shipping the French émigré mob in crowds out to America at public expense. The wretched LITTLE Blanc proposes to exploit a quite fortuitous general demonstration against Mazzini to set himself up as the visible head of the *ecclesia pressa*.<sup>a</sup> In order to thwart his little intrigues, I shall get Massol to egg on Pierre Leroux. Finally, to complete the confusion, Proudhon is coming here.

How low the official bigwigs sink, you may see from the fact that the delectable Félix Pyat, *cet homme artiste*<sup>b</sup>—an expression used by the French to gloss over an individual's every weakness, his lack of character and intelligence—has written a melodrama on the December days. He has found an English impresario and together they will put on the trash in New York, etc., the murder scenes, expulsions, deportations, etc., etc. Could anyone seek to profit by the misfortunes of his country in a more despicable manner? And the jackass regards this prostitution of France's misfortune as a patriotic act.

*Tripotage*<sup>c</sup> is the secret key to the historical drama staged by émigré politicians here; thus Siegwart<sup>d</sup>-Kinkel has acted as procurer between the student Schurz and Mrs Ronge's sister, who is said to be rich.

The only misfortune is that by their boastful intrigues these jackasses provide the police with a continuous supply of fresh material and make things worse for our friends in Germany.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> church oppressed - <sup>b</sup> that artistic man - <sup>c</sup> Intrigue - <sup>d</sup> Title character from J. M. Miller's book *Siegwart. Eine Klostergeschichte*.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 April 1852

Dear Marx,

Got your letter this morning, actually intact. The new address seems to do some good.

The mirth-provoking émigré documents will be returned to you tomorrow. I shall extract some notes from them.

Little Dronke seems to have got himself properly caught in Paris, otherwise we should probably have heard from him. Do you suppose that some people belonging to 'the Marxian sect' really foregathered at the Café D.,<sup>a</sup> as the *Kölnische Zeitung* alleges?<sup>b</sup> I don't know where these remnants could have come from. In any case it would have been unpardonable of Dronke to have gone to the café and associated *publiquement*<sup>c</sup> with these people. But if he is still at liberty and there is any possibility of corresponding with him, we must certainly do everything we can now to bring him over to London—he is under an expulsion order and the fellows are quite capable of sending him to Algiers for *rupture de ban*.<sup>d</sup> So if we can find out more particulars, I shall see to it that I get hold of the £2, for we must certainly bring the little chap to safety. Write and tell me if you hear anything about him.

I am going home now to finish another article for Dana which, if it is ready, will go off to you by the second post. Last week I had a terrible cold and still have it, so that for several evenings I have been capable of absolutely nothing. Otherwise, more would have been done.

Tell Jones that he will be getting something from me next week,<sup>e</sup>—all my articles for him have, alas, been wretched, since the brevity of each and the negligible room available make me regularly forget what I wrote the week before—in addition, I have to write quickly and cursorily, and have no time whatever to collect and arrange material on the latest happenings in France. This constant improvisation becomes demoralising.

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<sup>a</sup> du Danemark - <sup>b</sup> '\* Paris, 24. März' and <sup>c</sup> 'Paris, 24. März', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 74, 26 March 1852. - <sup>c</sup> publicly - <sup>d</sup> violation of the ban - <sup>e</sup> 'Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last', III.

Should I not finish the article for Dana this evening, it will be chiefly because I still have to go through the better part of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for April and March 1849,<sup>a</sup> for on this occasion the Frankfurters<sup>b</sup> must be given a *thorough* lambasting. The Bauer<sup>c</sup> is not adequate for the purpose.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 April 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Enclosed a further consignment from Cluss<sup>105</sup> which I must have back by Wednesday (the day of the League<sup>d</sup> meeting).

The other day, just after you returned his first letter, Dronke wrote to Freiligrath from prison; I had forgotten to tell you. Freiligrath at once sent the letter to Lassalle for the latter to send some money to Paris for him, which could doubtless be done with all the more dispatch since Lassalle could use the letter to touch all the liberal bourgeois of Düsseldorf. Unfortunately, according to the *Patrie*, compromising letters were found on Dronke. Can he have been stupid enough to carry around *testimonia* of his fatuous *Lyonnais*<sup>e</sup> and other connections?

As I foresaw, Louis Blanc is trying to exploit the joint statement against Mazzini to create a new '*réseau d'action*'<sup>f</sup> and to thrust

<sup>a</sup> A reference to the material for *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XIII - <sup>b</sup> former deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848-49 - <sup>c</sup> B. Bauer, *Der Untergang des Frankfurter Parlaments*. - <sup>d</sup> the Communist League - <sup>e</sup> Guillermain - <sup>f</sup> action network

himself to the fore as head of the revolutionary party. He has even sought to draw me into his fusion of all 'French' socialists and sent me an invitation to meet him. I did not, of course, even deign to answer and instead conveyed to his *intermédiaire* my amazement at such importunity. Since Proudhon is coming here, an alliance with me just now would have been very convenient for the little man.

Dana has written at last and paid £9 according to the number of articles *published*.<sup>a</sup> As the presidential elections will for the present be taking up every column in the paper, he asks me at the same time to condense the remainder into 5-6 articles and, more especially, to discuss in the last one the PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTIONARY GERMANY. This will provide a splendid chance to castigate the émigrés and in a later letter I shall write to you at length about my views on the matter.

Szemere is sending me, in 3-4 batches, his (German) manuscript on 'Kossuth, Görgey and Louis Batthyány'. Weydemeyer is to publish it in America,<sup>99</sup> which means excellent business for him, the more so since he will, in addition, probably receive 500 dollars for his paper<sup>b</sup> from that quarter.

But before the thing goes off to America in German, it must be translated into English here so that, after it has appeared in German in America, it can be brought out as a pamphlet for readers over here. You will hardly have the time for this task, even if you neglect Dana for a while. In which case I shall have to give it to Jones. The payment for translation is £1 per sheet.

Here I have made the acquaintance of Colonel Szerelmey, who is a very cultivated man. In Hungary he took part in 17 battles. Since he is also a first-rate painter, he is now bringing out a magnificent work, with battle reports in the text, and battle illustrations. He himself did the sketches, which were finished off by leading French painters. He has promised me a copy. Each will cost £10. So you will receive an addition to your military library.

Your  
K. M.

As you see, Kinkel has been a good deal more arbitrary than Louis Bonaparte. First he nominates the members of his chamber of deputies, the Guarantors' Congress.<sup>c</sup> Next he takes fright at his

<sup>a</sup> Engels' series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>b</sup> *Die Revolution* - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 73.

own creation, keeps neither to the appointed day nor place, but convenes the assembly at a time and place at which only 7 people can attend. Six of those 7 give him a vote of confidence. With these he drafts his constitution. By these he gets himself nominated representative of America, and he makes the committee he has created responsible to them.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 April 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Only a couple of lines to let you know that our little child<sup>a</sup> died this morning at a quarter past one.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> Franziska

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ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>12</sup>

IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 16 April 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

Yesterday received your letter of 30 (?) March, together with the account of the revolutionary assembly.<sup>106</sup> I note that you have begun to stamp your letters, which is nonsensical; this CONCERN, *id est* Messieurs Ermen & Engels, can pay the postage. The things have been sent on to Marx.

The day before yesterday I arrived back here from London, where I had spent Easter. Marx's youngest child<sup>a</sup> was very ill and, as I now learn from him,<sup>b</sup> has since died—the second already in London. As you can imagine, his wife is greatly afflicted by it. There has also been some illness in Freiligrath's family, but things are going better there.

Dronke, as you will know, was arrested on his way through Paris. It was partly his own fault for, despite his earlier expulsion, the little man had lingered there for 3 weeks. Now he writes to say that he has been removed from the Mazas prison and taken back to the Préfecture de Police, to be sent to Boulogne and England on Good Friday evening. But up till now we have heard nothing more of him. The little man shows a remarkable talent for constantly getting INTO MISCHIEF, but no doubt he will turn up one of these days. Then the whole of the *N. Rh. Z.* will be in England, for Weerth, though he is in Hamburg again just now, still has connection with Bradford and, no matter how he struggles, will always find himself cast up there again.

It seems probable that our Cologne friends<sup>c</sup> will appear before the Court of Assizes in May, since the Board of indicting magistrates was expected to have decided their case by Monday, 5 April, and will certainly not have discharged them. This is just as well; the public prosecutor would immediately have appealed against an acquittal. If a certain Hansen of Cologne, a working man, should arrive in New York, treat him according to his deserts. The fellow, a member of the League since 1848,

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<sup>a</sup> Franziska - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 78. - <sup>c</sup> the Communist League members arrested and detained under investigation

administered, i.e. drank, the monies collected for the prisoners before absconding to America.

In the camp of the National Loaners there is considerable dissatisfaction with Reichenbach, the treasurer, for keeping so tight a hold on the purse-strings, since in any case more money has already been spent than can decently be accounted for and, as a well-to-do and respectable citizen, he is faced with the ominous prospect of the forthcoming audit. Hence Kinkel and Willich are furious, but to no effect: Kinkel must return to his tutoring and now, as in the past, Willich is begging and borrowing with an impudence hitherto found only among Polish patriots. Thus, throughout the noble émigré alliance, the most glorious confusion reigns and, if the Guarantors' Congress takes place, or has already taken place, things will come to a very pretty pass. Löwe of Calbe and the rest of the Frankfurters<sup>a</sup> are now also at daggers drawn with Kinkel, 'a chap with whom one can but compromise oneself'.

Has Telling got his statement into any of the papers?<sup>107</sup> *Voilà ce qu'il nous importe de savoir*<sup>b</sup> for, if so, Marx can attack it. We would, by the way, be very glad if Dana would send us copies of Marx's articles<sup>c</sup>; we have only had the first 6 and should be glad to have the following ones. If Dana pleads too much work, the best thing would be for you to get hold of them yourself and send them here. Marx has long been meaning to write to you about this, but just now is probably not in a state to turn his thoughts to it. See what you can do, for we must have a complete set here; later on that sort of thing will also be important as a document.

My strategical article<sup>d</sup> is no longer any good and is all the less suitable for a collection<sup>108</sup> as the essentials were not really in it, but in my letter to you.<sup>e</sup> So do not hesitate to file it away. As soon as I have time to work undisturbed and some prospect of publication, I shall send you articles on the development of commerce and on the present state of the English industrial bourgeoisie.<sup>17</sup> For the present I must spend the next fortnight or 3 weeks exclusively on the study of Russian and Sanscrit, in which I am now engaged<sup>f</sup>; later, when my material arrives from Germany, I shall turn to

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<sup>a</sup> former deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848-49 - <sup>b</sup> That is what it is important for us to know - <sup>c</sup> Engels is referring to his series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, 'England', I. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 18-19. - <sup>f</sup> *ibid.*, p. 67.

military matters, but there is plenty of time for that and as a task it is less arduous.

The post is about to go—many regards to your wife and to Cluss.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 20 April 1852

Dear Marx,

I was grieved to see that my fears concerning your little daughter have been all too soon confirmed. If only there were some means by which you and your family could move into a more salubrious district and more spacious lodgings!

I would gladly have sent you some money, but while in London<sup>109</sup> I spent so much more than I had anticipated that I shall be pretty short myself until the end of the month, and next month I shall have to pay out at once £12 in bills and for books ordered from Germany. But I shall see if I can get hold of something for you by the beginning of May. I wish I had known beforehand how things stood in London, for in that case I should have foregone what was *au fond*<sup>a</sup> a quite superfluous trip there, and my hands would not have been quite so tied.

Pindar is here, having failed to find employment in Liverpool. He is looking for a position or for private lessons and I shall, of course, do what I can for him. As a token that I am well disposed towards him I have been taking Russian lessons from him. But if I am to recommend him here, I must know something more about him, and since such intelligence can only be dragged out of him with the utmost difficulty, I should be glad if you would write and tell me what you know about him and his circumstances, how you

<sup>a</sup> at bottom



became acquainted with him, etc., etc. With his taciturn manner, by the way, it doesn't seem to me as though he'll be lucky here.

In considering the present state of commerce, particularly as regards India, there is one point that should not be overlooked.<sup>a</sup> Despite 3 years of colossal and ever-increasing imports of English industrial goods into India, the news from there has for some time been moderately good again, stocks are gradually being sold and are fetching higher prices. The reason for this can only be that, in the provinces most lately conquered by the English, Sind, the Punjab, etc., etc., where native handicrafts have hitherto almost exclusively predominated, these are now finally being crushed by English competition, either because the manufacturers here have only recently come round to producing materials suitable for these markets, or because the NATIVES have finally sacrificed their preference for local cloths in favour of the cheaper price of the English materials usually exported to India. The last Indian crisis of 1847 and the concomitant sharp DEPRECIATION of English products in India may have contributed greatly to this; and it is already clear from old Göllich that even the parts of India occupied by the English in his day had not for a long time completely abandoned their traditional domestic manufactures.<sup>b</sup> This is the only explanation for the fact that the 1847 affair has not long since recurred in more acute form in Calcutta and Bombay. But all this will be changed once the 3,000,000 bales of cotton from the last crop have come onto the market, been processed and consigned as finished goods, predominantly to India. The cotton industry is now so flourishing that, despite this season's crop, which is 300,000 bales more than that of 1848/49, cotton prices are rising both here and in America, that American manufacturers have already bought 250,000 bales more than last year (when they used in all only 418,000 bales), and that manufacturers here are already beginning to maintain that even a crop of 3 million bales would be insufficient for their needs. Up till now, America has exported 174,000 bales more to England, 56,000 more to France and 27,000 more to the rest of the Continent than she did last year. (Each season runs from 1 Sept. to 7 April.)<sup>c</sup> And, given prosperity of this order, it is of course easy to explain how Louis Napoleon can prepare at leisure for his *bas-empire*<sup>110</sup>; the surplus

<sup>a</sup> See also this volume, pp. 83-84. - <sup>b</sup> G. Göllich, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Handels, der Gewerbe und des Ackerbaus der bedeutendsten handeltreibenden Staaten unserer Zeit*, Bd. 3, S. 263-64. - <sup>c</sup> Engels may have used the article 'Commercial Intelligence. New York, 7 April' in *The Times*, No. 21094, 20 April 1852, but the figures given by him somewhat differ from those in the newspaper.

of direct cotton imports into France between 1850 and 1852 now amounts to 110,000 bales (302,000 against 192,000), i.e. more than 33%.

According to all the rules the crisis should come this year and will, indeed, probably do so; but if one takes into consideration the present quite unexpected resilience of the Indian market, the confusion created by California and Australia, the cheapness of most raw materials, which also means cheap industrial manufactures, and the absence of any heavy speculation, one is almost tempted to forecast that the present period of prosperity will be of exceptionally long duration. At any rate it may well be that the thing will last until the spring. But WITHIN SIX MONTHS MORE OR LESS it is, after all, safest to stick to the old rule.

Many regards to your wife, and write soon.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>111</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

London, 22 April 1852

... The chief industry, the cotton industry, is doing more splendidly than ever.<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that the present cotton crop exceeds that of 1848/49 by 300,000 bales, cotton prices are rising both here and in America, so that American manufacturers have already bought 250,000 more bales than last year and manufacturers here are already beginning to maintain that even a crop of 3 million bales would be insufficient for their needs. Up till now America has exported 174,000 bales more to England, 56,000 more to France and 27,000 more to the rest of the Continent than she did last year (each season runs from 1 Sept. to 7 Apr.). On the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. this volume, pp. 82-83.

one hand this prosperity explains how Louis Bonaparte can prepare at leisure for his *bas-empire*. The surplus of direct cotton imports into France between 1850 and 1852 now amounts to 110,000 bales—302,000 against 192,000, i.e. more than 33%. On the other hand, it explains the flaccid condition of politics in this country. Given such prosperity, the Tories cannot, for their part, compete with the 'blessings of FREE TRADE', even though they are at the helm, while the FREE TRADERS for their part refrain from provoking political agitation because, so long as business is flourishing, the manufacturers do not want political upheavals and disturbances. The thriving state of the cotton industry is due chiefly to the Indian market, whence there has been good news for some time past—despite continuing colossal imports from England. This may be explained by the fact that in the territories most lately conquered by the English, Sind, the Punjab, etc., where native handicrafts have hitherto almost exclusively predominated, these are now finally being crushed by English competition. The last Indian crisis of 1847 and the concomitant sharp DEPRECIATION of English products in India may have contributed to this. This unexpected resilience of the Indian market, California, Australia, as well as the cheapness of most raw materials in the absence of any heavy speculation, give reason to suppose that the period of prosperity will be of exceptionally long duration. It may well be that the thing will last until the spring, etc., etc., etc....

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## 41

MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>112</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, 23 April 1852]

... You will realise that Weydemeyer's letter<sup>a</sup> made a very unpleasant impression here, particularly on my wife, since it arrived on the day of my youngest child's<sup>b</sup> funeral; for two years

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 85. - <sup>b</sup> Franziska

now she has seen all my enterprises regularly come to grief. The prospect held out by your letter (arrived 19th Apr.) of receiving the 'Bonaparte'<sup>a</sup> in print was therefore all the more welcome to me, for by nature she is very resilient and your letter set her up again...

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## 42

## MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 April 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

You cannot imagine what a wretched time I had last week. On the day of the funeral, the money I had been promised from various quarters failed to arrive, so that I was finally compelled to go to some French neighbours in order to pay the English vultures. And on top of this, alas, a letter arrived from Weydemeyer giving reason to suppose that in America, too, all our hopes have been dashed. Cluss, whose letter you will be getting next week, now holds out better prospects. *Quoique de dure complexion*,<sup>b</sup> I was, on this occasion, very hard hit by the wretched business.

Enclosed a letter from that cur Ewerbeck, who never uses a stamp and consistently robs one of one's last 10d. Then an article by B. Bauer from the *Daily New-York Tribune*,<sup>c</sup> to whose pages your article<sup>d</sup> has attracted all the rag-tag and bobtail. Bauer's

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>b</sup> Although by nature tough - <sup>c</sup> B. Bauer, 'The Present Impossibility of War', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3417, 31 March 1852. - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.

revelations about 'the armies' will make you laugh. If you are going to send me articles for Dana now, wait until you have several so that I can send them all off at once.

Mr Telling is publishing a monthly or weekly in New York; the cur himself sent me the first issue—unadulterated third-form drivel.

Heise (of the *Hornisse*) is now an intimate of Willich's. They are as thick as thieves. What can he see in the fellow? Once again they are bragging about a proposed coup in Germany.

Dronke is a real *imbécile*. His appetite whetted by the £4 we got for him from the Rhineland, he went to Coblenz in the hopes of extorting some more. It never occurred to the jackass that he would be providing fresh ammunition for use against the people in Cologne.<sup>a</sup> The fellow's behaviour is really too disgraceful.

Apropos. Do not forget to send *immédiatement* two notes to London as follows: 1. for *Liebknecht*, empowering him to obtain the £1 from *Hain*. 2. Write a brief note yourself to *Hain*, telling your 'good friend' in a couple of lines that, having heard he was doing well, you had referred *Liebknecht* to him *re* the £1. We must be careful not to make an enemy of him.

The fact is that one of our acquaintances, who has hitherto found shelter for the night at *Liebknecht's* lodgings, was thrown out by the latter's landlords, and not one of us has been able to raise a penny for the poor devil. Accordingly I yesterday sent *Liebknecht* a note in which I told him you had referred him to *Hain re* the £1. Mr *Hain* appeared somewhat incredulous and told *Liebknecht* he must first see it in your handwriting.

Let me have a few STAMPS, for I have a mass of stuff to send you.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> the Communist League members arrested and detained under investigation

43

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 April 1852

Dear Marx,

Yesterday evening I received a note from Hain which I sent you together with my reply to it. After this, I think, Mr Hain will pay.

Herewith the STAMPS, more to follow shortly. Also returning the other stuff. Ewerbeck's letter is a worthy pendant to his book.<sup>a</sup> 'Pray help me oppose Ribbentrop! I shall denounce him to Democracy as a hypocrite and *débaucheur*.'<sup>b</sup> The man must be in his dotage.

Nor has friend Bruno increased in wisdom or divine knowledge.<sup>c</sup> *Il valait bien la peine*<sup>d</sup> to set the American press in motion from Berlin thus, by this most roundabout route, proclaiming to an astonished world that the continental armies are there to maintain internal peace. Mr Bruno still represents the Hegelian dialectic in its deepest stagnation. At this stage of development, his concept of history goes no deeper than providing circumstantial proof of the most banal platitudes by an ample display of solemnity and pseudo-logical development, and then dishing them up as the brand-new findings of zealous research. All this is tolerable in the case of the distant past, but to be thus bamboozled about the immediate present is really too much and any fool should be able to see that there's nothing at all at the bottom of it. And as for the profound truth that governments are right vis-à-vis revolutions because the latter are still immature, but revolutions are also right vis-à-vis governments because they represent the ideas of the future, admittedly in embryonic and immature form, but nevertheless [...] to a substantial degree—that is an old Hegelian joke whose novelty has certainly worn off even in America! And then the eternal 'ill-temper', 'peevisness', 'fundamental indifference' of the 'bourgeois'. 'In some countries, classes war against classes, in others nations against nations.' Strictly speaking, this prodigiously clever sentence is all that Bruno has learnt from the revolution.

Mr Telling has apparently been chased out of France as being

<sup>a</sup> H. Ewerbeck, *L'Allemagne et les Allemands*. - <sup>b</sup> Ewerbeck to Marx, 21 April 1852. - <sup>c</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>d</sup> It was well worth while

a homeless, vagrant member of the *lumpenproletariat* and of no use even to the Société du 10 Décembre.<sup>113</sup>

Unless you know positively that Dronke went to Germany of his own free will, I would think it more probable that, having been already once expelled from France, he was this time transported not to any frontier but to the *German* frontier. But once safely in Nassau, why did the silly fool go to Coblenz when he'd have done far better to go to Hamburg, where no one knows him and he would have found Weerth and Strohn, hence also cash, and from there to England! But Coblenz being so close, he was obviously drawn there from Nassau by the prospect of money, and if he had managed to get through safely, would certainly have gone on to Cologne. At all events, it is fortunate for the Cologne people that they have already been dealt with by the Board of indicting magistrates, otherwise Dronke's arrest would have provided occasion for another six months' examination. But very soon they'll take him to Cologne and maybe attempt to produce him as a witness before the Court of Assizes. This time it serves him perfectly right. He could certainly have found such money as he needed in Frankfurt, or have got Lassalle to send it to him somewhere, but no, the little chap must needs go to Coblenz where he's known to every gendarme and every dog in town. *En attendant il est sûrement logé.*<sup>a</sup>

Your

F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 April 1852

Dear Marx,

Herewith Weydemeyer's latest, which sounds rather more hopeful. For the time being I am keeping your article<sup>114</sup> here 1. so as to read it, and 2. so as to translate it into English at some later

<sup>a</sup> Meanwhile he is out of harm's way.

date, which will be easily done, omitting such figures of speech as are comprehensible only to Germans.

*Voilà donc*<sup>a</sup> Moses Hess, in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, with a warrant out against him for high treason.<sup>b</sup> I'll be hanged if this hasn't happened because Father Dronke was found carrying those idiotic papers concerning their important business in Geneva. *Cela valait bien la peine!*<sup>c</sup> In the meantime Moses again becomes a martyr, which will greatly enhance his *otium cum dignitate*<sup>d</sup>; maybe he will shortly be dispatched to London—*est-ce que nous n'échapperons jamais à cet imbécile?*<sup>e</sup> At any rate, all this can make things extremely awkward again for the poor devils in Cologne and provide new grounds for dragging out their trial; had they already been referred to the Court of Assizes, we should surely have heard about it.

Freiligrath has written asking for an introduction to my brother-in-law<sup>f</sup>—I am sending it to him today; evidently he is determined to look round for a post.

Warm greetings to your wife and children.

Your  
F. E.

Splendid division on the Militia Bill last night.<sup>115</sup> If the Almighty vouchsafes a few more like it, the new election will be postponed until September or October. SERVES THE WHIGS RIGHT AND THE FINANCIALS<sup>28</sup> TOO! I see that Jones intends after all to bring out his PAPER straight away—it was a mean trick Harney played him over the *Star*, but it was lucky that Jones did not acquire that doomed, discredited, wretched old paper.<sup>116</sup> Let Harney dig its grave and his own at the same time.

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<sup>a</sup> Here we have - <sup>b</sup> 'Amtliche Bekanntmachungen', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 99, 24 April 1852. - <sup>c</sup> It was well worth while! - <sup>d</sup> dignified leisure (Cicero, *Oratio pro Sextio*, 45) - <sup>e</sup> shall we never escape this imbecile? - <sup>f</sup> Emil Blank



45

ENGELS TO MARX<sup>117</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 April 1852

D. M.,

Herewith another letter from Weydemeyer. I have not received the newspapers; but the *Atlantic* was reported by telegraph this morning, and they will probably arrive tomorrow morning. Weydemeyer appears to have misunderstood one or two practical hints I gave him on how to pack and dispatch his things in such a way as not to pay unnecessarily high postal charges; however, I have already pointed out his mistake.<sup>a</sup>

So the Coblenz story about the *piccolo*<sup>b</sup> was a pure fabrication and, if the *Kölner Zeitung* is to be believed, Father Dronke must already be in London, his adventures have achieved a purpose. *Tant mieux pour lui*.<sup>c</sup> But this makes the business of Moses'<sup>d</sup> warrant even more inexplicable. Anyhow, it would seem to imply further vexations for the Cologne people. God knows what sort of scrawl the police have picked up this time. *Pauvre*<sup>e</sup> Moses, fancy becoming so egregiously and *post festum*<sup>f</sup> a martyr *in partibus infidelium*!

Next week I shall write several articles in succession for Dana,<sup>118</sup> and make sure that I take the thing up to the end of the Imperial Constitutional campaign. In order that we may be able to conclude directly, it would be a good idea if you could provide me with a short memorandum for the final articles—THE REVOLUTIONARY PROSPECTS OF GERMANY, and our party's situation during and after the revolution. It is precisely these concluding pieces which are important, and moreover a memorandum of this kind would enable me to write these articles not only better but far more quickly. In this way I could, if I tried hard enough, finish all the 5-6 outstanding articles within a fortnight and meanwhile you could get in touch with Dana about a new series on a subject of greater *actualité*, *soit la France, soit l'Angleterre*.<sup>g</sup> Since Weydemeyer's pamphlet will probably be coming out soon, it will no longer be

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 79. - <sup>b</sup> the little one (Ernst Dronke). - <sup>c</sup> So much the better for him. - <sup>d</sup> Hess. See this volume, p. 89. - <sup>e</sup> Poor. - <sup>f</sup> after the event - <sup>g</sup> topicality, either France or England

possible to sell Dana the *18th Brumaire*, even in a different guise; for he will then be able to have it FOR NOTHING and translate it himself. But you could still ask Dana whether he would like to have a modified version in translation, one suitable for the Anglo-American public. In this case the events leading up to 2 December '51 would for the most part be excised and the thing finally brought right up to date, so that successive weekly or fortnightly reports on France would follow straight on.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 April 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

You will receive at the same time as this letter a colossal parcel from America. Today I have also had a letter from Cluss, of which I give excerpts below, as I shall be needing it until next week.

Dronke has arrived here *sain et sauf*<sup>a</sup> I like him better than I had feared. He has grown taller and has broadened out as well. This has also made him more self-possessed. For the present he hob-nobs with Anschütz, who welcomed him with open arms. He is going to start up a small business, having contracted in Paris to sell cigar cases and purses over here. 10% commission. And, through Anschütz, he will at once acquire the necessary connections for this TRADE.

He tells me that the 'worthy' Techow has sent character sketches of us to Switzerland in which he roundly inveighs against us and

<sup>a</sup> safe and sound

you in particular. You have aroused the professional jealousy of the military, *et je pense*<sup>a</sup> that one day you will justify *leurs pressentiments*.<sup>b</sup> Further: from Geneva, Schily demanded that the gentlemen come to terms with us. This elicited an authoritative statement signed by Willich, Techow, Schapper and Schimmelpfennig in which, *inter alia*, it was pointed out that 1. there had been a complete break with this wholly impotent party; 2. there are police spies in our midst who have been reporting everything to the Prussian government.

I don't know whether I have already told you, or whether you heard during your stay here,<sup>119</sup> that Messrs Kinkel *et Co.* possess a mere 3,000 dollars in cash *all told*, that all respectable people such as Löwe of Calbe have all withdrawn, that relations between Willich on the one hand and Kinkel and Reichenbach on the other are very strained, and that the whole dunghheap is in process of disintegration.

You will receive the memorandum on Germany.<sup>c</sup>

Yesterday the curs held a meeting of guarantors here and elected a definitive committee. Mr Ruge wrote a letter of protest. Willich was not present. From the start Reichenbach refused to have anything more to do with the filthy business. The committee will be paid. Those elected are Kinkel, Willich (doubtful that he'll accept), Löwe of Calbe (will in any case refuse), Fickler, Ronge, Schütz of Mainz and one other. They will make up the total from out of their own midst. In his letter, Ruge attacks Kinkel as an agent of the Prince of Prussia<sup>d</sup> and a freemason.

Here is a passage from Cluss' letter:

Huzel (not to be confused with Huzzelwitt), Cluss' friend, [present as a guarantor] at Kinkel's Cincinnati congress<sup>60</sup> writes and tells Cluss *inter alia*:

'Kinkel tried to floor me with *vulgar invective* against Marx and Engels. I succeeded in doing what I wanted, namely in cornering him so effectively that I shall have him at my mercy for some time to come. He tried to cover himself by obtaining my word of honour not to say anything about the incident or to write anything that would get him "into a stink"... In a letter to Anneke a certain Telling scolds like a fishwife at Marx...'

Cluss himself goes on:

'In New York, at the inimitable meeting which I reported in my last letter, the numerous gymnastic clubs<sup>120</sup> constituted themselves a separate body and declared

<sup>a</sup> and I think . <sup>b</sup> their presentiments - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 90. - <sup>d</sup> Cf. this volume, p. 573.

their support for my protest<sup>a</sup> and for Weydemeyer's article<sup>b</sup> against Kinkel's memorandum.<sup>121</sup>

Apropos. I gave Bangya a few pen-sketches of the great German men in London for him to pass on to Szemere.<sup>122</sup> This letter, I know not how, has been read to a German publisher without my name being mentioned. He is now asking for 'character sketches' of these gentlemen and, according to Bangya, is prepared to pay £25 for a few sheets. Anonymous or pseudonymous, of course. Well, *qu'en penses-tu?*<sup>c</sup> We would really have to do a humorous piece of this kind together. I have some doubts. If you think I should take this crap on, you will have to make a compilation from my letters and anything else you have which may contain fragments on the peculiarities of these curs. At all events you would have to send me a few notes about Willich 'in action'<sup>123</sup> and 'in Switzerland'.

Among the things I am sending you, you will find the draft of an advertisement for an illustrated book of battle reports by old Szerelmey. He wants it gingered up a little and done into English as an advertisement, in return for which he promises each of us a copy of his work. *Je crois que ça vaut la peine de faire un petit puff.*<sup>d</sup>

As soon as I set eyes on Mr Carey's first work in print<sup>e</sup> I foresaw that he would bring out an economic work on the 'harmony of interests'.<sup>f</sup>

*Mais que dis-tu, mon cher,*<sup>g</sup> to the fact that, in the *Janus* we sent you, Ruge seeks—and *how* he seeks, *mon Dieu!*—to appropriate communism as the latest product of his 'humanist thought'.

Have you read the cock-fight between Harney and Jones?<sup>116</sup> If not, I shall send you their mutual philippics.<sup>h</sup> Both of them, the one voluntarily, the other involuntarily, descend to the level of German émigré polemics.

Your

K. M.

<sup>a</sup> A. Cluss, 'An den Garanten-Congress des deutschen Anleiheens in Cincinnati. Washington, Jan. 23', *Turn-Zeitung*, No. 6, 1 March 1852. - <sup>b</sup> J. Weydemeyer, 'Die revolutionäre Agitation unter der Emigration', *Turn-Zeitung*, No. 6, 1 March 1852. - <sup>c</sup> what do you think of it? - <sup>d</sup> I think it warrants the trouble of a little puff. - <sup>e</sup> H. Ch. Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages...* - <sup>f</sup> H. Ch. Carey, *The Harmony of Interests...* In a letter of 15 April 1852 Cluss wrote Marx about the second edition of this book. - <sup>g</sup> But what, my dear fellow, do you say. - <sup>h</sup> G. J. Harney, 'To the Readers of *The Star*, and the Democrats of Great Britain and Ireland', *The Star*, No. 753, 17 April 1852 and E. Jones, 'An Appeal for the Judgment of the People', *Notes to the People*, No. 52, 24 April 1852.

Have you ever read more egregious nonsense than B. Bauer's article in the *Tribune*: 'The Decline of England'? The passage most characteristic of the incorrigible old theologian runs as follows:

'While the English Parliament has hitherto persecuted the Romish policy, and availed itself of the popular impulses for the establishment of its sovereignty—while, in the old Romish spirit, it has taken advantage of *internal domestic differences*, as for example, the *differences of High Church, of Scotch Presbyterianism, and of Irish Catholicism*, for the formation and development of its aristocratic art of Government, [...] it has now become a party to the Continental struggle between the peoples and the Governments, and it appears as the advocate for Constitutionalism at the very moment when that is approaching its undeniable downfall.'

If that's not champion drivel, I don't know what is.

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## MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>12</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 30 April 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

The news of the printing is very welcome.<sup>124</sup> You must not take Lupus' letter<sup>125</sup> so much *au sérieux*.<sup>a</sup> In our very straitened circumstances there is, you know, inevitably a surplus of irritation which must always be 'discounted' if one is to strike a right balance.

Neither I nor Engels has received your anti-Kinkel article in the *Turn-Zeitung*.<sup>b</sup> I await it with keen interest since your anti-Heinzen polemic was a model of its kind.<sup>c</sup>

I am *horrified* to learn that Pfänder's statements are appearing in the pamphlet.<sup>126</sup> That sort of thing is all very well for a weekly where what crops up today is submerged tomorrow in the welter of time. In a pamphlet, on the other hand, it acquires altogether

<sup>a</sup> seriously - <sup>b</sup> J. Weydemeyer, 'Die revolutionäre Agitation unter der Emigration', *Turn-Zeitung*, No. 6, 1 March 1852. - <sup>c</sup> Weydemeyer's article in the *New-Yorker Demokrat*, No. 311, 29 January 1852.

too much permanence, looks too much like a party manifesto and, if we want to attack the swine, there are, of course, better and different ways of doing so than in Pfänder's statement. Unfortunately this will arrive too late.—Just now I am negotiating with a bookseller here who is to get your *Revolution* sent to Germany. More about this next week.

As regards the newly invented lacquer varnish about which I and Bangya wrote to you,<sup>127</sup> you must not let the thing out of your own hands. It might set you up in funds at one stroke. Write and tell me *when the EXHIBITION opens* in New York,<sup>128</sup> and all you know about it. You can make use of the opportunity both to strike up acquaintances and to establish all the connections with foreign businessmen necessary to a forwarding agency. Write to me at once, giving full details of the expenses you thereby incur. We must, of course, let you have these *en avance*. In the first place you will need a fellow to keep a constant eye on the stuff at the Exhibition, since you yourself cannot spend the whole day in the building for the sake of it. Secondly, you will need money for advertisements and announcements in the newspapers. So let us have a detailed estimate of expenses.

As to Szemere, his pamphlet<sup>a</sup> will soon be READY. But since I cannot, as he asks, send him a 'bundle' of copies of the *Revolution*, and since our enemies may have whispered in his ear that your paper has appeared only twice before submerging again, I cannot just now get any money from that quarter, for the confidence of these people has been shaken. But he is coming here *in person* and I shall then straighten everything out.

It would be a pity if your anti-Kinkel polemic were not to appear in the very first number. The fellow is going utterly to pot. A Dane by the name of Goldschmidt lampooned him splendidly in the feuilleton of the *Kölner Zeitung*, recounting his meeting with him and Schurz in London.<sup>b</sup> Dronke, finally released from custody in Paris, has arrived here and is saying that in private friend Schurz declares Kinkel a jackass whom he only intends to exploit. This man, Kinkel's 'modest liberator', has smuggled an article into the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*<sup>c</sup> in which he proclaims himself

<sup>a</sup> The pamphlet was published later, in 1853, under the title: B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Charakterskizzen aus dem Ungarischen Freiheitskriege.* - <sup>b</sup> M. Goldschmidt, ['Einige Skizzen aus seiner Reise nach England während der Zeit der großen Ausstellung'] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 100, 25 April 1852. - <sup>c</sup> An anonymous article ['Hansestädte. Hamburg, 13 April'] in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 108, 17 April 1852.

'the only important man among the London émigrés', declares Kinkel and Ruge to be 'out-moded' and, in proof of his own greatness, cites the fact that he is marrying a 'rich' girl, Ronge's sister-in-law, and that, after completion of the nuptials, he will remove to America. *Quel grand homme! Quant à Telling,*<sup>a</sup> keep me *au fait* about this individual. As soon as I think *fit*, I can destroy him, not only in the eyes of *our* party, but in the eyes of *all* parties.<sup>b</sup>

Yesterday, then, Mr Kinkel held his Guarantors' Congress.<sup>c</sup> Mr Willich did not appear; he is very embittered with Kinkel as a result of the news which we conveyed to him by a roundabout route (we had had it from Cluss). Mr Ruge sent a letter in which he declared Kinkel to be an agent of the 'King of Prussia',<sup>d</sup> and gave himself superior airs. Mr Reichenbach declared that he wanted to have nothing more to do with the filthy business. Thus a definitive committee was elected, seven in number—of the alleged communists only Willich, who is unlikely to accept. In addition, Löwe of Calbe, who has already refused. Next, Kinkel, Schütz of Mainz, Fickler. I do not know who the other two are. According to some reports, the curs have 3,000 dollars in cash and, according to others, 9,000. They immediately resolved that *the 7 members of the provisional government* should receive **payment**, a fact you must report in the *Turn-Zeitung*.<sup>129</sup> For the rest, the whole dungheap is disintegrating.

Keep at least some of the copies of the *Revolution* READY FOR *Germany* until you receive my order.

I have forwarded your letter to Jones. He cannot *possibly* pay anything. He is as *dépourvu*<sup>e</sup> as ourselves, and we all write for him gratis. Cluss will have told you about the battle between Jones and Harney. I have sent him details of it.<sup>130</sup> However, the things must be kept from the American Press for as long as possible.

Big business and industry are now doing better than ever in England and hence on the Continent. As a result of the exceptional circumstances—California, Australia, England's commercial penetration of the Punjab, Sind and other only recently conquered parts of India, it may well be that the crisis will be postponed until 1853. But then its eruption will be appalling. And until that time there can be no thought of revolutionary convulsions.

The trial of the Cologne people has again been deferred, this

<sup>a</sup> What a great man! As for Telling - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 105. - <sup>c</sup> *ibid.*, p. 92. - <sup>d</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 92 and 573. - <sup>e</sup> penniless

time until the July Assizes. By then the Assizes, i.e. the JURIES, will probably have been abolished in Prussia.

Philistine Lüning, so Dronke tells me, has been here with his spouse in order to unify Agitation and Emigration<sup>26</sup>—fruitlessly, of course.

Farewell. Warmest regards to your wife from my wife and myself.

Your  
K. M.

Hardly ever have I seen anything more stupid than Bruno Bauer's article on 'the decline of England'.<sup>a</sup>

How did the fellow manage to get in with Dana?

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 May 1852

Dear Marx,

Enclosed a 30/- POST OFFICE ORDER, which is all I can spare for the moment. True, you will not be able to cash the thing tomorrow, on account of its being Sunday, but at least you know that you've got it. Should I find myself able to send off more of the same later on this month, you can be sure you'll get it come what may, but just now I cannot say.

It's very nice to hear that the little man<sup>b</sup> has turned up and is getting on well, and it is all to the good that he has, for the time being, found A FRIEND IN NEED, A FRIEND INDEED in Anschütz. He must visit me some time this summer, once I have seen the back of my old man.

As to the question of the biographical sketches of the great men,<sup>c</sup> I have, oddly enough, long been turning over in my mind a similar

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 85 and 87. - <sup>b</sup> Ernst Dronke - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 93.



idea for an alphabetically arranged collection of such biographies, which could continually be added to and kept in readiness for the great moment 'when it all starts', and then they could all at once be precipitated into the world. As for the publisher's offer, £25 is not to be sneezed at, but we must not forget that, however great the ano- and pseudonymity, everyone will realise *de quel côté ces flèches viennent*,<sup>a</sup> and the responsibility would be laid at both our doors. If published in Germany under the present regime, the thing would seem to be supporting the reactionaries, and not even prefaces expressing the most irreproachable views in the world would make it seem otherwise. And that is always fatal. If the affair were restricted to a few—say, a dozen—of the more noteworthy jackasses, Kinkel, Hecker, Struve, Willich, Vogt and so forth, it might be more feasible, for the omission of our own names would not then matter very much and the things could be taken as issuing direct from the reactionaries. At any rate we ought, if possible, to write it together.<sup>131</sup> So decide what you think is best and *nous verrons*. £25 valent bien un peu de scandale.<sup>b</sup>

Cluss' letter will be returned next week. I'll do the thing for Szerelmey.<sup>c</sup> By midday today the Americans had not yet arrived, maybe they are waiting for me now at home.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 May 1852

Dear Marx,

Your fat American parcel has not yet arrived.<sup>d</sup> I have made inquiries at Pickford's, since the houses in my street have been renumbered, which gives rise to confusion. But at Pickford's there

<sup>a</sup> which direction these barbs are coming from - <sup>b</sup> we shall see. £25 is well worth a bit of a row. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 93. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 91 and 100.

is no parcel for me. Either you didn't send the thing off or, if by post, perhaps not in the prescribed manner, or else something has happened to it. So try and find out what has become of the thing.

I shall be having a visit from my respected pater here this week, when the whole bloody matter of the firm will be settled and my position, too, will be further regulated. Either the contract will be renewed and the firm will continue as it is, which is not very probable, or I shall try so to arrange matters that my old man quits by the end of the year at the latest, and perhaps even by the end of June. Then there'll be the hellish liquidation which, however, should be more or less completed in 6 to 8 months, after which I shall turn my hand to something else, either go to Liverpool or God knows what. This will probably be decided within the next fortnight. I am glad that my old man will soon be here so that the inevitable mess is over as soon as possible and I know where I am.

I return Cluss' letter herewith. I have Jones' articles here, but not those of Harney, which you might send me some time so that I can acquaint myself with both sides and observe Father Harney in his new role. The industrious Jones will soon drive this indolent cur from the field if only he can hang on for a while. And he will certainly be able to raise the circulation<sup>a</sup> to 4,000 a week, which alone means a profit (3,600 covers costs).

The arrival of my old man will, of course, put back my Dana plans<sup>b</sup> by a week or a fortnight. On the other hand you could meanwhile continue, through Szemere, to negotiate with the publisher over the sketches, to look through your correspondence and the *N. Rh. Z.* (especially votes and speeches in the National Assembly) apropos the heroes to be depicted and, if the matter reaches a favourable conclusion, you could come up here for a week and we'd have a go at the thing.<sup>c</sup> I really think it could be done in such a way that no one will discover its *paternité*,<sup>d</sup> and even if they did, little harm would be done.

According to a letter from Ebner, he is still negotiating over your *Economy*<sup>e</sup> with Löwenthal, who wants to establish himself in Brussels and in the meantime remains a partner in the Frankfurt business.

How is Freiligrath progressing with my brother-in-law?<sup>c</sup> Don't

---

<sup>a</sup> of *The People's Paper* - <sup>b</sup> i.e. work on the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>d</sup> here: authorship. - <sup>e</sup> Emil Blank (see this volume, p. 89).

forget to let me know about Pindar, *c'est une bête ennuyeuse et assez confuse*.<sup>a</sup> Is he a member of the League?<sup>b</sup>

The copies of the *Turn-Zeitung* advised by Weydemeyer have still not arrived; there must have been some oversight on his part.

Write soon.

Your  
F. E.

In the case of parcels which do not go by post, it would be best if, instead of the old No. 70, you include the old and new nos. In the address, thus:

No. 44/70, Great Ducie St., Strangeways, Manchester.

Szerelmey's thing<sup>c</sup> tomorrow perhaps.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

London, 6 May 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

The parcel didn't go off to you because Pickford's demanded 2/6d from my wife. And the whole lot put together isn't worth that much.

The strange note enclosed herewith is a hastily made copy of a circular sent out by Messrs Kinkel and Willich to their affiliates.<sup>152</sup> The funniest thing about it is that one of their heads of sections invariably carries these scraps to Hebel, the Prussian Consul-General, who pays him for them. The Prussian government, of course, no less than Kinkel-Willich, possesses the key to these

<sup>a</sup> a tedious and rather muddle-headed creature - <sup>b</sup> the Communist League - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 93.

portentous mysteries. Indeed Willich, for all his principles and scruples, has after all accepted a position on the definitive committee. Where the money is, there you will find Willich.

A *coup quelconque*<sup>a</sup> is intended, so much is certain. General Klapka has already left for Malta, in his pocket a commission signed by Kossuth and Mazzini appointing him general commanding the Italo-Hungarian army. I believe a start is to be made in Sicily. Unless these gentlemen suffer defeat and receive a drubbing twice a year, they feel ill at ease. That world history continues to unfold without their help, without their intervention, and without, indeed, official intervention, is something they refuse to admit. If things go wrong, as they are sure to do, Mr Mazzini will have a renewed opportunity for self-assertion in outraged letters to a Graham *quelconque*.<sup>b 133</sup> Nor will his digestion suffer in consequence.

I am now correcting Bangya's translation of Szemere's character-sketches<sup>c</sup> written in Hungarian. While the original must be splendid, it has to be laboriously reconstructed from the wretched and often almost incomprehensible translation which is constantly at loggerheads with the rules of grammar and the *consecutio temporum*.<sup>d</sup> This much is clear: the deposition of the Austrian dynasty which, at the time of its proclamation, was unpolitical and pernicious, was engineered by Mr Lajos Kossuth so as to secure for himself the post of governor, for he feared that, if he hesitated, he would later see it devolve unopposed on the victorious Görgey. Lajos was also responsible for the mistake of storming Ofen instead of marching on Vienna, since he was itching to celebrate with his family his triumphant entry into the capital.<sup>134</sup>

Apropos. I have just received a letter from Bangya. The publisher in Berlin has now made a definite offer: £25 for 5-6 sheets of character-sketches, 24 free copies. I shall receive the money from Bangya as soon as I deliver the manuscript to him. But the man wants it quickly.

My plan is as follows: for the time being I shall do a *brouillon*<sup>e</sup> with Dronke, which will *plus ou moins*<sup>f</sup> obliterate my style. So it might be possible for you and me to get the thing<sup>g</sup> READY in a fortnight's time. At all events you must let me have some more

---

<sup>a</sup> some coup or other - <sup>b</sup> some or other - <sup>c</sup> B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Charakterskizzen aus dem Ungarischen Freiheitskriege*. - <sup>d</sup> sequence of tenses - <sup>e</sup> rough draft - <sup>f</sup> more or less - <sup>g</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.

information about Willich (during the campaign<sup>a</sup> and in Switzerland) in your CURRENT LETTERS.

Enclosed letter from Cluss.

Yesterday Freiligrath and I were with Trübner, the bookseller. He believes he can dispose of a number of copies of the *Revolution*<sup>b</sup> here in London and place a further quantity in Germany through Campe. So as soon as Weydemeyer's copies arrive, forward them here. The *Turn-Zeitung* seems to have gone astray.

Your  
K. Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 May 1852

Dear Marx,

I return Cluss' letter herewith. In this connection it has occurred to me that now that Mr Dana is in touch with B. Bauer and Simon of Trier and is, at the same time, restricting your space on account of the presidential election, it would certainly not be out of place to give Mr Dana a taste of Yankee medicine. Cluss and a number of others should write to Mr Dana from various quarters inquiring why it is that these INCOMPARABLE articles should appear so rarely and irregularly and expressing the hope that the fault does not lie with the editorial board which, rather, might be expected to correct this situation and find it possible to publish articles by K. M. more frequently, etc., etc. Weydemeyer could very easily organise this; the only reason we need to give him is that Dana wants to restrict your space and hence a demonstration of this

<sup>a</sup> Willich's service in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in the spring of 1849. - <sup>b</sup> The issue of *Die Revolution*, in which Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* appeared.

kind is called for if we are to continue to have access to this organ. A *Barnum, Barnum et demi*.<sup>a</sup> If you agree, I can put this to Weydemeyer per the next STEAMER.

The circular sent out by the convention to the sections is exquisite. I'll be hanged if the St Petersburg, Warsaw, Berlin, Rome, etc., sections are situated more than 4 miles from Charing Cross. This carbonari-like, self-important, bustling, order-of-the-dayish attitude again betrays how mistaken these gentlemen are as to their ostensibly organised forces. To propose a coup just now is a *bêtise*<sup>b</sup> and a dirty trick. But truly, 'something has got to happen, something has got to be done'. It would be desirable for the supposed leaders of the thing to be all of them captured and shot; but needless to say the great men will make sure this doesn't happen and the heroic Willich will stay quietly in London so long as there is still money in the cashbox, credit at Schärttner's and free coats and boots *ad libitum* at the 'tailor's and shoemaker's'. That is what Mr Willich means by supplies for the army!

As for the matter of the character-sketches,<sup>c</sup> so far so good. The thing can be ready in a month's time. But mind you find someone reliable to make a fair copy, so that it goes out in a completely unknown hand. When you come up, bring the Americana, the complete run of the *N. Rh. Z.* and the necessary manuscript documents. My old man arrives tomorrow and is unlikely to be able to stay here for longer than 8-10 days.

I've at last received my stuff on military science from Germany. So far I have been able to read only little of it. At this stage, I should say that Mr Gustav von Hoffstetter, of wide renown, is not exactly a Napoleon but rather a thoroughly reliable commander of a battalion or so in a minor engagement. But I haven't yet finished reading his thing.<sup>d</sup> Not unpleasing, on the other hand, is a booklet on new fortifications in general by Küntzel, a Prussian captain of engineers<sup>e</sup>—both better history and more materialist than anything I have so far read in *militaribus*.<sup>f</sup>

Now as for Mr Willisen, be it said here that the victory at Idstedt<sup>135</sup> was won, not by the Danes over the Schleswig-Holsteiners, but rather by the usual tactics of common sense over

<sup>a</sup> A *Barnum, Barnum et demi* (Against one Barnum one and a half) is modelled on such an expression as 'à Corsaire Corsaire et demi', the idea of which is roughly 'to beat someone at his own game'. - <sup>b</sup> piece of stupidity - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>d</sup> Gustav von Hoffstetter, *Tagebuch aus Italien, 1849*. - <sup>e</sup> H. Küntzel, *Die taktischen Elemente der neuen Fortifikationen*. - <sup>f</sup> in the military sphere

Hegelian speculation. Willisen's book<sup>a</sup> should really be called the *philosophy* of great wars. This in itself would indicate that it contains more philosophising than military science, that the most self-evident things are construed *a priori* with the most profound and exhaustive thoroughness and that, sandwiched between these, are the most methodical discourses on simplicity and multiplicity and such-like opposites. What can one say about military science which begins with the concept of art *en général*, then goes on to demonstrate that the art of cookery is also an art, expatiates on the relationship of art to science and finally subsumes all the rules, relationships, potentialities, etc., etc., of the art of war under the one, absolute axiom: the stronger always overcomes the weaker. Every now and again there are some nice *aperçus*<sup>b</sup> and some useful reductions to basic principles; it would indeed be bad if there were not. As to its practical application, I haven't yet got to that, but it doesn't say much for Willisen that every one of Napoleon's greatest victories was achieved in defiance of Willisen's elementary rules, a result that your orthodox Hegelian can, of course, readily explain away without the least violence being done to those rules.

I see that Görgey's memoirs have just come out<sup>c</sup>—but since they cost 6 talers, I doubt that I can buy them just now. With these, the material on the *military aspect* of the Hungarian war may be regarded as complete for the time being. At any rate, I shall do something on the Hungarian war, and possibly on all the wars of 1848/49.<sup>136</sup> As soon as I am clear in my mind about earlier military history, I shall look round for a publisher onto whom I can then shift most of the expenditure on sources.

You will have received the 30/- sent you last Saturday.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> W. Willisen, *Theorie des großen Krieges angewendet auf den russisch-polnischen Feldzug von 1831*. - <sup>b</sup> insights - <sup>c</sup> A. Görgey, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849*.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>157</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, 7 and about 15 May 1852]

... Herewith you will find a wrapper, in which the contemptible, craven, half-crazed *Telling* mailed his defamatory opus. (Address:) CHARLES MARX, THE FUTURE DICTATOR OF GERMANY.<sup>158</sup> NOW I ask you, what is to be done with the cur? To start a public row with a lunatic of this sort would be doing him too much honour and is the whole object of his manoeuvre. Could you not send the MANIAC'S wrapper to the New York postal service in my name? Or might not a sound thrashing be the simplest course? I leave the whole thing to you. Naturally any packages of the kind will in future be returned. But by indulging in this sort of gutter-snipe's trick, the cur also brings me to the notice of the English police, which, under the Tories, is far from pleasant...

*Ad vocem*<sup>a</sup> Szemere: I am not by nature inclined to be unduly trusting, least of all when it comes to the official great men of 1848/49. But in Szemere's case, it's quite a different matter. I am correcting the German translation—for he originally wrote in Hungarian—of his 'character-sketches'.<sup>b</sup> Every line betrays a superior intellect, and the rage of the democrats may be attributed to the CONTEMPT AND MOCKERY-SYSTEM which he employs with supreme skill. Although, of course, in accordance with the Hungarian line, he places, as in Antiquity, 'the fatherland and the citizen' above all else, his writing is imbued with a fundamentally critical spirit. A man who thinks and writes in this way is no Austrian agent. As for the 'DEAR COLONEL WEBB', he was negotiating with him without knowing who he was, but broke off as soon as he was informed what was afoot. The story of his fortune is very simple. Szemere himself does not possess a centime. But his wife is the daughter of a (now deceased) Austrian '*Hof-agent*' (as the Austrian *Procureurs du roi*<sup>c</sup> are called in Hungary); her old man possessed a fortune of a million. Throughout the 1848/49 revolution Mrs Szemere lived in Vienna with her mother. He had even ordered her to refrain from writing to him and to sever all ties with him until the old

<sup>a</sup> As to - <sup>b</sup> B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Charakter-skizzen aus dem Ungarischen Freiheitskriege.* - <sup>c</sup> King's prosecutors



woman's death, when she could collect *her* fortune. His old mother-in-law died at the end of 1849 and Mrs Szemere, who was, of course, in no way suspect, surreptitiously sold all her worldly goods and turned them into CASH. In this she was aided by the minister, Bach, her father's lawyer, who seized on this opportunity and surreptitiously *took his cut*. Once her fortune was liquid, Mrs Szemere converted it into bills on London and English STOCKS, obtained a passport authorising her to visit the water-cure doctor, Priessnitz, in Prussia, but instead travelled to London and thence to her husband in Paris. Those Austrians, however, could lay their hands on nothing with which to gladden their Exchequer. Well, what does all this prove? That Szemere is much too astute to make his enemies a present of a million. I have written to Sz. himself, telling him that, without mentioning Kossuth, he should make a statement about his personal circumstances which I shall get into the *New-York Tribune* for him.

The Austrian spies are in Kossuth's immediate entourage, notably Madame Pulszky. This Count Pulszky is a Galician Jew by origin. Madame Pulszky, daughter of an ultra-reactionary Jewish banker in Vienna, writes to her mater each week, and from this source the Austrian government finds out anything it wants. It may even be asked whether Count and Countess Pulszky (*The Times* regularly derided both these individuals for the ASSUMPTION of their title)<sup>a</sup> have not promised to lure Mr Kossuth into the snare in the hope that they may thereby retrieve their confiscated land. It is known for a fact that as a student, Pulszky denounced his comrades' demagogic activities<sup>139</sup> to the Austrian government...

Enclosed you will find General Klapka's declaration of principles,<sup>140</sup> from which you will see that he, too, is starting to rebel against Kossuth. The last part of the document means nothing more than that Klapka is going to participate in Mazzini's projected coup. I have, if I am not mistaken, already written to you about the plans for a coup hatched by Messrs Mazzini, Kossuth, etc. Nothing could be more welcome to the great powers, especially Bonaparte, and nothing *more damaging to ourselves*.

I have just received a letter from Cologne, dated 3 May.<sup>b</sup> They are asking for 200 or 250 copies of the *Brumaire*. So pray ask Weydemeyer to send me forthwith 300 copies via *Engels*. At the same time, he should advise me of the selling price. I take it that he has already dispatched the 50 copies as promised...<sup>141</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *The Times*, No. 20955, 10 November 1851, leader. - <sup>b</sup> Bermbach's letter to Marx of 3 May 1852; the original has 11 May.

'To return to Klapka's document. I would beg you to keep it secret for the time being. It was given me in confidence, but with permission to publish it. I shall send it to the New York *Tribune*, and I do not want it to come into circulation before then...

JONES' STAMPED PAPER has come out and the first number has sold surprisingly well. I enclose a cutting from the Notes<sup>a</sup> from which you will see that he has knocked Harney out completely. Mr Harney is proceeding down the primrose path. One article in his paper, signed Spartacus,<sup>b</sup> attacks Chartism for being only a CLASS MOVEMENT which ought to be replaced by a GENERAL AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT, genuine Mazzinian hot air, etc., etc., etc....

Extracts from the Cologne letter<sup>c</sup>:

'Recently Mrs Daniels was favoured yet again with a domiciliary visit in the certain expectation that it would yield a letter from you. The Prussian police seem to be as putty in the hands of the first jackass to come along. The prisoners' case seems to be approaching its conclusion. The examination has been concluded and, for over two months, the files have been back in the possession of the local public prosecutor at the Court of Appeal where, however, they seem incapable of deciding upon the wording of a petition to the Board of indicting magistrates. It is generally rumoured that the thing will be dealt with before a special Court of Assizes in June.'

Apropos. Ask Weydemeyer if he has yet been to see Dana, who is waiting for him to pass on the information I sent him about the situation of the Cologne prisoners and the conduct of the Prussian government, before writing a LEADER on the subject.<sup>d</sup> He mustn't for God's sake fail to do this, if it can possibly be helped.

If you manage to bring out Freiligrath's poem against Kinkel *et Comp*<sup>e</sup> as a broadsheet, you will have an assured sale of 500 copies in the Rhineland alone. But the thing must be done quickly. Otherwise it will be *trop tard*.<sup>f</sup>

Do not allow the articles, etc., in your possession to age so much that they lose their bouquet. If you can't get them printed (Eccarius, Engels, etc.),<sup>142</sup> give them to some paper or other, e.g. the *Turn-Zeitung*, as you think fit. In any case, it is better they should be read than left unread.

If you can't get Freiligrath's poem printed, give it to whatever

<sup>a</sup> [E. Jones.] 'Current Notes', *The People's Paper*, No. 1, 8 May 1852. - <sup>b</sup> Spartacus [pseudonym of W. J. Linton], 'The Sense of the Country', *The Star of Freedom*, No. 1, 8 May 1852. - <sup>c</sup> Below is an extract from Bermbach's letter to Marx of 3 May 1852. - <sup>d</sup> *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3446 of 4 May 1852 used this material for its leader 'Justice of Prussia'. See also this volume, p. 115. - <sup>e</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - <sup>f</sup> too late

newspaper you think best.<sup>13</sup> If, as a party, we make no effort to be quick off the mark, we shall always arrive *post festum*..<sup>a</sup>

Few mortals, other than yourself, can boast of having received letters from me on 4 successive mail days; but I was anxious to show Papa Lupus which of us two is the more punctilious..

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 May [1852]  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Only a couple of lines today. Old Szerelmey, whose first volume is now ready, chivvies me daily about the advertisement for his book of battle reports.<sup>b</sup> If you can't do it now, at least send me back his *brouillon*<sup>c</sup> by return.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> after the event - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 93. - <sup>c</sup> rough draft

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 May 1852

Dear Marx,

*Les affaires vont bien.*<sup>a</sup> Tomorrow or the day after my old man will be leaving again, very satisfied with his affairs. The business here is to be completely reorganised and will be run on a new basis. I have succeeded in obtaining a rise and, as soon as the contracts have been signed and my old man is out of the way, the banknote I promised you will materialise. The best thing about all this is that I am signing nothing at all; my old man was wise enough not to trust me entirely on the political score, thus perhaps safeguarding himself against becoming involved through me in any further unpleasantness. Moreover, in this case, and providing certain proprieties are observed, I can arrange to be replaced by one of my brothers in such a way that my old man would lose nothing by my departure save, perhaps, a few illusions, and it would be I, not he, who would be making the sacrifice. Let me know by return how your character-sketches<sup>b</sup> are going. All these changes are going to saddle me with a fair amount of work for a while, so that there would seem to be no immediate prospect of our doing very much together, and yet I should like very much to see you here as soon as possible. It would therefore be good if you and Dronke could complete the things so far as you are able, after which we could polish them off here in a few evenings. And before you come up I would make the necessary extracts about the people in question (whose names you must give me) from the documents up here, thereby enabling us to get on quickly. It has just occurred to me that it would be best for you to come at Whitsun, i.e. on the previous Friday—the day after tomorrow week—when there are general HOLIDAYS here. If the weather is fine we can go to the Isle of Man or somewhere, and if bad we shall work. But mind you come on your own. I should be very glad to see Dronkius later on, but I have no use for him just now, and he would only disturb our work.

By the way, the best thing about the new arrangement is that, as

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<sup>a</sup> Things are going well. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.

from 1 July, not only shall I have more money, but it will be all *mine*, so that no one will have any right to ask what use I make of it. Further details when we meet.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX  
IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 May 1852

Dear Marx,

My old man has left. ALL IS RIGHT. Herewith the first half of the ten-pound note. I hope to see you here at the end of next week. Presumably a letter from you is this moment awaiting me at home but I haven't the time to go there. The second half of the note will follow either today by the second post, or tomorrow.

Your  
F. E.

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

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 May 1852

Dear Marx,

I am writing to you today simply to make sure you know that yesterday I sent direct to you by the first post 1/2 a £10 note, and that the 2nd half went off at the same time under cover to Lupus for transmission to you. I trust you have received it all right.

There is now great ELECTIONEERING ACTIVITY here—two of the WHIG FREE TRADERS<sup>a</sup> were put up by the Tories with the intention of ousting Bright and Gibson, and nothing goes on here but canvassing and boozing. Of course the fellows don't stand a chance, but it's going to cost them a mint of money.

Three weeks ago, as I anticipated, there was a flush of speculation on the cotton market; but since opportunities are not yet sufficiently pronounced and the spinners and merchants here were operating against it, the thing momentarily subsided again. However, it will recur before very long, as soon as the whole weight of the American crop has been delivered. Wool, too,—because of the sudden ruin of the Australian sheep-farmers—lends itself splendidly to speculation and, all things considered, there is every prospect that by the autumn speculation will be in full spate. Railway stocks, etc., etc., are again beginning to rise—the better ones continue to yield more than the 1 to 1 1/2% now still to be had from the banks in respect of deposits. In America, speculation in cotton has been well under way for the past six weeks, and the proliferation of strange new joint-stock companies now being announced all over the place indicates the extent to which capital is feeling around for *debouchés*<sup>b</sup> in all the big money markets. *Après tout*<sup>c</sup> the straws in the wind may now

---

<sup>a</sup> Joseph Denman and George Loch - <sup>b</sup> outlets - <sup>c</sup> After all

be seen rather more clearly and in greater quantity. *Cela sera beau.*<sup>a</sup>

I hope to receive a letter from you by tomorrow morning at the latest.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London] 22 May [1852]  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

The first half of the 10-pound note arrived this morning.

I intend to leave here on Friday,<sup>b</sup> this time by ship to Liverpool and thence to Manchester.

Apropos. Citizen Schramm<sup>c</sup> is travelling to America via Liverpool. Well, the fellow proposes, or so he confides to us, to descend upon you on Wednesday or Thursday. You must see if you can give him the slip.

Willich has had a rather nice adventure. Mrs von Brüningk, who provided him with free board, used to enjoy flirting with this old he-goat, as with the other ex-lieutenants. One day the blood rushes to the head of our ascetic, he makes a brutally brutish assault upon madame, and is ejected from the house with éclat. No more love! No more free board! *Nous ne voulons plus de jouisseurs.*<sup>d</sup>

Cherval, about whose heroism before the Paris Assizes in the matter of the *Complot allemand-français*<sup>e 143</sup> you will have heard, has, as you may also have seen in the English papers (*Morning*

<sup>a</sup> It will be a fine how-do-you-do. - <sup>b</sup> 28 May - <sup>c</sup> Conrad Schramm - <sup>d</sup> We want no more sybarites. - <sup>e</sup> Franco-German plot

*Advertiser*), escaped from the catchpools in prodigiously daring manner—as it later transpired, with the connivance of the police to whom he betrayed everything he knew. Even the Great Windmillers<sup>144</sup> were forced to throw out the hero with whom they had been parading round London.

The Cologne people have at last been referred by the Board of indicting magistrates to the Court of Assizes. Unless a special Court of Assizes is appointed, they will not appear before July.<sup>16</sup>

Dronke sends his regards.

Your  
K.M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 May [1852]

Dear Marx,

If you intend to wait till Friday before leaving by boat for Liverpool, you won't be here till Monday evening, perhaps not till Tuesday morning. If you are absolutely intent on coming by sea, arrange to come via Hull—a boat leaves the CITY three or four times a week at 8 o'clock in the morning and the journey doesn't take so long—you would have to leave on Wednesday morning, or Thursday morning at the latest, the FARE to Hull being 6/6d, and from Hull to here 3rd class, some seven or eight shillings. You must be here by *Friday afternoon*, so that we can leave for Liverpool at about 6 o'clock the same evening. The PARLIAMENTARY TRAIN<sup>145</sup> direct from London leaves too late to be any good to you on Friday. You can take the sea-route from Liverpool on the return journey.



Well, *quoi que tu fasses, il faudra que tu sois ici le vendredi, à 4 heures de l'après-midi.*<sup>a</sup>

Awaiting further details.<sup>146</sup>

Your  
F. E.

The story about Willich is most entertaining. So fate has caught up with that pure and noble man after all!

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MARX AND ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 28 May 1852

Dear Weiwei,

I am staying with Engels for a few days and have found your letter here. Today you must be content with a few lines.

The main purpose of this letter is to inform you about three individuals who will be arriving in America:

1. *Heise* (of the Kassel *Hornisse*), *Willich's agent* (who, unbeknown to Kinkel with whom he is on bad terms, is seeking to spread *Willich's* renown). Apropos. Mr Willich was among the *cavaliere servante*<sup>b</sup> of Baroness von Brüningk who, once a week, provided him, Techow, Schimmelpfennig, etc., with free board. The Brüningk woman is a flirtatious little woman and it amuses her to tease the old he-goat, who plays the ascetic. One day he made a direct carnal *attaque* upon her and was ignominiously shown the door. Keep an eye on Heise and don't trust him out of your sight.

<sup>a</sup> whatever you do, you must be here by Friday, at four o'clock in the afternoon · <sup>b</sup> knights in attendance

2. *Schütz* from Mainz. Kinkelian. Member of the Committee for the Administration of the European-American National Loan.<sup>27</sup>

3. *Conrad Schramm*. He has in his hands a credential from us, so worded that *without you* he cannot take a step. In his relations with his brother<sup>a</sup> and the latter's other friends, his conduct has not always been beyond reproach. The confidence you accord him should not be *unconditional* but rather *tempered with caution*. In the adverse circumstances here he has, furthermore, gone very much *downhill*, is quite unreliable and not over-scrupulous in money-matters, tends to swagger and boast like a *commis voyageur*<sup>b</sup> and hence may well compromise those in his surroundings. On the other hand he has a number of good qualities. I feel it my duty to put you *au fait* in advance. You should also pass on this information to Cluss.

As to Lupus' letter, you should not take it too literally. Wolff wrote in a moment of agitation and is very well aware of the many obstacles that stood in your way.<sup>c</sup>

Don't forget to send me in your next a detailed report on 'Willich's Corps'<sup>147</sup> in New York.

My warm regards to your wife. I hope that, 'for all that',<sup>d</sup> your affairs will yet progress.

Dana has written to say he wants to do an essay on the Cologne people<sup>e</sup> as soon as you provide him with the necessary information. So go and see him. The Cologne people are to appear before a special Court of Assizes in June. Daniels is said to have consumption and Becker<sup>f</sup> to be half blind. Mind you settle the matter quickly with Dana and send me the article. It will provide consolation for Mrs Daniels.

Your  
K. Marx

Dear Weydemeyer,

As regards Heise, I first met him in the Palatinate. A democratic loafer who lends a willing ear to bad jokes about Tom, Dick or Harry, but a no less willing hand to Tom, Dick or Harry's pompous, democratic schemes for world conquest and world

<sup>a</sup> Rudolf Schramm - <sup>b</sup> commercial traveller - <sup>c</sup> Wilhelm Wolff's letter to Weydemeyer of 16 April 1852. - <sup>d</sup> An allusion to F. Freiligrath's verse 'Trotz alledem!' published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on 6 June 1848. - <sup>e</sup> Reference to the leading article 'Justice of Prussia', based on the material sent in by Marx and published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3446, 4 May 1852. - <sup>f</sup> Hermann Heinrich Becker

liberation. Recently—since his arrival in London—he has con-  
 sorted exclusively with the others, never coming to see us; now, of  
 course, wholly in the others' clutches. No time for any more.  
 Greetings to your wife.

Your  
 F. E.

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MARX TO JENNY MARX  
 IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 June 1852  
 70 Great Ducie Street

Dear Heart,

I was very pleased to get your letter. By the way, you must  
 never have any qualms about telling me all. If you, my poor little  
 wretch, have to endure bitter reality, it is only fair that I should  
 share that torment, at least in my thoughts. In any case, I know  
 how unendingly resilient you are and how the slightest encourage-  
 ment is enough to revive your spirits. I hope that the other £5 will  
 reach you this week or on Monday at the latest.

I did of course pack the *Schnellpost*. But I haven't got the back  
 numbers in which Ruge deposited the better part of his ordure.  
 The process of curing these stock-fish<sup>a</sup> makes us laugh till we cry.

Though Oswald's package won't yield very much, something  
 may be made of it. Our dear A. Ruge is incapable of writing 3  
 lines without compromising himself. 'Moute'<sup>b</sup> has already been  
 corrected by me, unless I am mistaken.

The printer in the City seems to be a lesser *lumen*<sup>c</sup> who, not  
 having a superfluity of underlings, will certainly require an

<sup>a</sup> Marx refers here to his and Engels' work on *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>b</sup> The  
 misprint which cropped in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, VII  
 published in *Die Revolution*, should read: *Toute*. - <sup>c</sup> luminary

unconscionable time to do one sheet. His paper is 3 x worse than the American, and his type likewise, this being clearly quite worn out. But you have managed the business splendidly.

Harro's pamphlet<sup>a</sup> is truly touching in the naivety of its stupidity! Be so kind as to cut *Engels' article* on Heinzen out of the *Brüsseler-Zeitung*<sup>b</sup> and send it to us,—and that very soon. If the *Kosmos* doesn't arrive, no matter. We have a letter of mine up here which contains the gist of the thing.<sup>148</sup>

Love and kisses to my manikins.

Your

K. M.

Engels has further pointed out that whereas, throughout the pamphlet, I always deliberately write 'Louis Bonaparte', Mr Weydemeyer has entitled it 'Louis Napoleon'.<sup>149</sup>

P.S.

Dear Jenny, be so kind as to tell Eccarius that he should write a short postscript to his 'Mechanics' Strike',<sup>44</sup> since Weydemeyer is 'considering' publishing it. We should agree to this, if only on Cluss' account.

Dear Heart, send Jones the 2 enclosed pieces, 'Chevalier Hülsemann's Farewell' and 'John Barney and the French Minister', together with the short cutting about 'Cayenne'—preferably by post, unless he comes to see you.<sup>150</sup> I beg you not to bother Mr Pieper with such errands. To him, everything provides occasion for rodomontade and I don't want Jones—who, by the way, was responsible for making him so uppish—to regard him as my *alter ego*. Since Pieper believes the letters are written for 'the party', he must not henceforward set eyes on any more of them.

[From Engels]

*Prego il Signor Colonello Musch di gradire le mie migliori e più cordiali felicitazioni.*<sup>d</sup>

F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> Harro Harring, *Historisches Fragment über die Entstehung der Arbeiter-Vereine und ihren Verfall in Communistische Speculationen*. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'The Communists and Karl Heinzen' (published in *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*). - <sup>c</sup> Etienne Gilbert Sarriges - <sup>d</sup> Will Colonel Musch please accept my best and most cordial felicitations.

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## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 11 June 1852

Dear Weydemeyer,

We have received the first issue of the *Revolution*,<sup>a</sup> but we had imagined you would contrive to include Freiligrath's poem about Kinkel,<sup>b</sup> which would not after all have increased the cost very much. While the closeness of the print and the large format were unavoidable due to lack of funds, it is a great pity that this should have made it so difficult to read, particularly when misprints distort the meaning. But what surprises us is the difficulty you seem to have about dispatching the 300 copies we ordered other than by post. Your friends over there, Hehnich and Korff, must be colossal asses indeed if they can't so much as tell you that the mail steamers also carry parcels and even heavy bales of merchandise, and that all details concerning freight, etc., etc. can be obtained at the steamship offices—not, of course, at the post office. The location of these steamship offices may be found in any newspaper announcement, beneath which there is always the name of a local business house. Moreover there are any number of forwarding agents concerned with handling such things, for example Edwards, Sandford & Co. of Liverpool and London, who also have an office in New York. You simply address the parcel as follows:

(at the top) per ... Steamer

*care of Messrs Edwards, Sandford & Co.,  
Liverpool*

(underneath)

F. E.  
care of Messrs Ermen & Engels  
Manchester

*Printed books, not bound.*

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<sup>a</sup> containing K. Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - <sup>b</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II.

That's all, and sent in this way it costs only a few shillings which Ermen & Engels can stand. But it's really too bad that people like Helmich and Korff, who have been in New York so long and who, moreover, also do a certain amount of business, should be ignorant of matters with which any child over here is familiar.

The copies of the *Turn-Zeitung* have *not* yet arrived, either here or in London; you should make inquiries at your post office.

The printing costs are colossal; for £5 per sheet—scarcely more than you have had to pay—we could get the thing similarly printed in London. Paper should, after all, be cheaper over there, since here it carries a duty of 1½d (3 cents) per lb. Perhaps you could inquire about the price from the local wholesale paper merchants and let us know what it is.

Just send here anything destined for Europe. Marx has a German bookseller in London who is reliable and upon whom, moreover, he can keep an eye; this man will see to distribution both here, and in Germany, Switzerland, etc., etc., in return for a modest percentage. If, then, when you receive this letter you have *not* yet sent off the parcel with the 50 copies for London and 250 for Cologne, take the opportunity of including in it as many as you think appropriate, or can spare, for the German bookseller to dispose of. But should it already have gone, send nothing more until we ask for it. We shall, of course, charge a higher price here, if only to defray our costs and the bookseller's commission. 15 silver groschen is well within the means of the German philistine.

Since the second issue is to be devoted exclusively to Freiligrath's poems, it is presumably already in print. These things, particularly the Kinkel poem, should not be held back a moment longer than is unavoidable. This should really have been published in one way or another<sup>13</sup> after Kinkel's return to New York; but the longer it lingers, the more it loses in topicality and, even for things which are largely written with an eye to immortality, there is a certain period during which they are especially rewarding and at their most topical. But since I deliberately write, not with an eye to immortality, but rather for the immediate present, my article on the English bourgeoisie<sup>a</sup> may well be somewhat long-drawn-out, especially since a work of this kind lends itself very well to piecemeal publication amongst other material in a newspaper or weekly; in a review, however, where because of its very length it takes up most of the space, it would not be topical or interesting enough for the American-German public. Besides, Mr Derby may

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 55.

very well topple before August, and that's a ticklish sort of thing to prognosticate.

While beholden to Korff for his goodwill, Dronke has no intention of going to America since he has just started a wholesale business in cigar cases, etc., etc., as agent for a Parisian house. For that matter, neither Dronke nor any of the rest of us is on the same easy terms with Korff as during the first months of the *N. Rh. Z.*; we still remember all too clearly the circumstances of Korff's dismissal from the newspaper<sup>151</sup> and how subsequently, in New York, he published my Hungarian articles under his own name.<sup>152</sup> He may be of some use to you in small ways, but you would be well advised not to trust him out of sight, and Marx is particularly anxious that Korff should not come butting in between himself and Dana, having, it seems, already caused some sort of ruction in this respect. In your letter you say that Marx will have been able to see for himself from Dana's letter how unresponsive the *Tribune* is to our cause; this passage we find totally incomprehensible since Dana had written Marx a most cordial letter in which he requested, not only further instalments of the German article,<sup>a</sup> but other contributions as well. It would certainly not suit us if Korff were in any way to thrust himself forward as the representative or CHAMPION of either of us in personal matters.

Since there is so much delay over the American exhibition,<sup>128</sup> it would be better if you were to take no further steps in respect of the leather business<sup>b</sup> until you have again heard from us about it. Marx is up here just now and hence cannot for the time being speak to the Hungarian.<sup>c</sup> For he and I are now engaged in a most interesting and amusing piece of work<sup>d</sup> which is to be published directly. As soon as we receive the first copies we shall send you one, then we shall also be able to discuss to what extent you can use the thing and, perhaps, make money out of it towards the production of new pamphlets, for this time it's going to be something that will indubitably sell.

Eccarius has been written to about his final instalment<sup>e</sup>; he will have little to add, the workers—as was to be expected—having been beaten.

Our dear, worthy Willich has suffered a grave misfortune. Once a week Baroness Brünigk used to invite the Prussian lieutenants in London and other such great men to her table, when it was her

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<sup>a</sup> Engels' series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 95. - <sup>c</sup> Bangya. - <sup>d</sup> *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 117.

custom to flirt with these gallant knights. This, it seems, caused the blood to rush violently to the head of our virtuous Willich, who, finding himself one day tête-à-tête with the young lady, was suddenly overwhelmed by a fit of uncontrollable lust and, quite without warning, made a somewhat brutish attack upon her. But this had in no way been madame's intention, and she ordered our paragon of knightly virtue to be thrown out of the house *sans façon*.<sup>a</sup>

'Blessed is he that virtue loves,  
Woe to him that's lost it..

A wretched stripling, here am I  
Chucked out into the street'<sup>b</sup>

and the morally pure stoic, who as a rule felt a far greater sympathy for fair-haired young tailor's apprentices than for pretty young women, may thank his stars that he did not in the end find himself back 'in the guardroom at Kassel'<sup>c</sup> as a result of this involuntary, instinctive outbreak of his physical ego so long kept enchained. The thing has been noted and circulated with great glee throughout London. There is, by the way, some prospect that you may have this gallant fellow in New York before too long. Over here the man 'who enjoyed the respect of all parties and even of his enemies', is daily losing more ground. He maintains relations with Kinkel and Schapper, his right and left hand props, only with reluctance (and in Kinkel's case on pecuniary grounds), for he hates them both and they him; he has several times received rough treatment at the hands of the inferior refugees, since when he has given them up. After this latest business he will never again be allowed into houses where there are young women, in addition to which he has now lost his aura of virtue. On the other hand he hears talk of how the men of Willich's Corps in New York stick together and he has the gallant Weitling there—hence, and more particularly when the flow of money from the loan fund<sup>27</sup> begins to dry up, he will probably make himself scarce. Indeed, he has already sent out an apostle in the shape of Heise from Kassel—this fellow forms part of his *personal* entourage. In addition he is now dispatching another harbinger, poor old Mirbach, who fell into his clutches through sheer, bitter necessity and, as a result of his total ignorance of the emigration's antecedents and his theoretical confusion, was naturally dazzled by

<sup>a</sup> without further ado. <sup>b</sup> Heine, 'Klagelied eines altdeutschen Jünglings' (*Romanzen*). <sup>c</sup> *ibid.*



such fine airs. He is *au fond*<sup>a</sup> a very good fellow, a political nonentity, but otherwise honourable and, militarily speaking, I find him 10 times preferable to all the London great men. He used to call on Marx, but never unchaperoned by that lout Imandt and that philistine jackass Schily, so that it was never possible to talk to him frankly.

In America our Willich would be in his element; the old crew in New York, which by now must have run completely wild and disintegrated into ROWDIES AND LOAFERS, would very soon grow sick of him and beat him black and blue—even over here his relationship with the swine finally degenerated into the low vulgarity of a mob of rogues bickering over plunder—while his friend, that experienced trickster Weitling, would likewise ensure him a brilliant future.

But I must close now. Marx sends his regards—many regards from us both to your wife.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>153</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

Manchester, [before 26 June 1852]

... Napoleon II<sup>b</sup> is getting into more and more of a scrape. Apart from his other new taxes, the jackass has got caught up in the same snare as the provisional government,<sup>154</sup>—that is, by imposing a new tax on the peasants; an increase of 25% on the existing succession duty and the CONVEYANCE OF LANDED PROPERTY. He is

<sup>a</sup> at bottom - <sup>b</sup> Napoleon III, whom Marx ironically calls 'the second'.

moving quickly. True socialism is being achieved by a most fatuous acceptance, if not an intensification of, the old French financial procedures...

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 June 1852

Dear Marx,

Either you people down there must be working terribly hard at copying out the manuscript<sup>a</sup> or something unpleasant must have happened, otherwise I should undoubtedly have heard from you by now. *En attendant*,<sup>b</sup> herewith a letter along with cuttings from Weydemeyer.

Your little wallet with the letter from Cologne has come to light. I haven't got it with me today, otherwise I should have enclosed it.

Warmest regards—in haste.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>b</sup> Meanwhile

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 July 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I am late, but I have come.<sup>a</sup> How the delay came about, you will see from the tale recounted below:

In London, the manuscript<sup>b</sup> was copied out at once. By Monday noon<sup>c</sup> it was all ready and complete. I dictated it by turns to my wife and Dronke. At midday on Wednesday I received the money. Bangya deducted the £7 about which you know. Add to that what was owed Dronke for his collaboration. This left an amount that did not even suffice for household needs. Strohn's CIRCUMSTANCES were such that he could not pay. And then came a run of exceptional ill-luck.

Klose's wife, long ailing and wasting away in hospital, was discharged by the dirty dogs at the precise moment she was entering her final crisis, and died in his house three days ago. Not a centime available, funeral expenses, etc. Freiligrath could do nothing, having just bled all his acquaintances in order to help send Heilberg's wife and child back to Breslau, keep Heilberg himself alive and, finally, get him into hospital. Thus the thing devolved on me, and a vast amount of time and trouble it cost me before it was settled. *Maintenant*<sup>d</sup> all is peace and quiet again.

The 'gang' are racking their brains over our pamphlet. Notably the Meyen-bug,<sup>e</sup> who is in a cold sweat. He is 'quite unable to recall the least trespass against us'. Willich has had me sounded as to whether the Brüningk affair appears in it. The thought makes him exceedingly uneasy.

'The true course' of this curious happening would now appear to be as follows:

First, as you know, Willich denied it outright. His 2nd version ran: 'Mrs Brüningk has sought to corrupt him *politically*. Used Mr von Willich left and right, and other such means of corruption.' It

<sup>a</sup> The German original is reminiscent of Schiller, *Die Piccolomini*, Act I, Scene 1.

- <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>c</sup> 28 June - <sup>d</sup> Now -

<sup>e</sup> Eduard Meyen (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 306).

was with 'moral intent', therefore, that he created a diversion in the region of her private parts.

But now our partisan leader has put yet another construction on the case. 'The Brüningk woman (or so Imandt once told him) is a Russian spy. She tries to entrap young refugees. Old Willich stood in her way. Hence the anecdote intended to ruin him in the eyes of the émigrés. How political, deliberate and diabolical was this trumped-up "anecdote", emerges from the very fact of its having been Mrs Brüningk's own husband who circulated the rumour of the outrage for the sole purpose of discrediting Willich.'

But that is not all. The chivalrous Schimmelpfennig maintains that Willich invented the spy story to conceal the insubordination of his 'cazzo'.<sup>a</sup> As things now stand, the issue remains undecided between these two worthies, and Willich, taking refuge in one lie after another, is well and truly compromising himself.

The cuckold Brüningk reminds me of a nice joke I found a few days ago in one of Machiavelli's *commedia*:

*Nicia* (cuckold): *Chi è San cu cu?*

*Ligurio*: *È il più honorato santo che sia in Francia.*<sup>b</sup>

Willich and Kinkel mightily worried about how best to effect a revolution on £1,200. Schurz, Schimmelpfennig, Strodtmann, etc., are drawing further and further away from Kinkel.

Not even 100 horsepower could drag Willich away from the *coffre-fort*.<sup>c</sup>

Kinkel, knowing that Imandt and I see each other, calls on Imandt a week ago and says, 'What a pity it was my Economy had not yet come out, so that one might at last have a positive basis to go on.' Imandt questions him about Freiligrath's poem.<sup>d</sup> 'Never read such things,' retorts Godofredus.

The most ludicrous thing about it is that, having existed for years solely by abusing us the cnrs now declare it beneath 'our dignity' and 'station' to write such t-t-tittle-tattle. *Les drôles!*"

However, a new prospect has opened up before the wretched Willich-Kinkel, the pair who are to effect the revolution. Messrs Rodbertus, Kirchmann and other ambitious ministerial candidates have dispatched a legate to London. For these gentlemen, in imitation of the French, want Vogt to set up a German Carbonari association. Connections with even the most extreme of parties. Paper money is to be issued in Germany to defray the costs. Since

<sup>a</sup> 'organ'. <sup>b</sup> *Nicia*: Who is St. Cuckoo? *Ligurio*: The most venerated saint in France. (Machiavelli, *Mandragola*, Act 4, Scene IX.) . <sup>c</sup> safe . <sup>d</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. . <sup>e</sup> 'The rogues'

they are, however, anxious to emerge more or less unscathed, it is the émigrés, and of 'all' parties, who are to underwrite this paper.

Schapper has been sounding me and making contrite admissions through Imandt. Replied that he must first break *publicly* with Willich, and then we should see. That was the *conditio sine qua*.<sup>a</sup>

You will have read about the new arrests in Paris.<sup>159</sup> The boobies (this time the Ruge clique) naturally had to come up with yet another pseudo-conspiracy. Their correspondent in Paris, as I was informed some considerable time ago, is one *Engländer*, a notorious police spy (in Paris) who, of course, immediately passes all their letters to the service. Not content with that, the French police have sent Simon Deutsch over here to pump Tausenau. Louis Napoleon must have a conspiracy, cost what it may.

But he has got one on his hands about which as yet he seems to know nothing. That of the Orleans family, whose agent Mr Bangya (with the assent of the Hungarian 'radicals') has now become. The plan: Bonaparte is to be caught out one evening with his drab, to whom he goes slinking behind the Englishwoman's back. A senior police officer has been suborned. Two generals are said to have been won over. Nemours himself was in Paris a fortnight ago. Large sums paid out for the distribution of anti-Louis Napoleon pamphlets.

What do you think of it? If one of the Orleans were again to visit Paris and we happened to know when, should we, *d'une manière ou d'une autre*,<sup>b</sup> denounce the 'vrai prince' to the 'faux prince'?<sup>c</sup> Let me have your views on the matter.

Cherval, the cur, has also handed over to the Prussians the letter sent him by Pfänder.

*Au revoir*

Yours  
K. M.

Not a word from that blessed Weydemeyer. Bonaparte will probably be in America before my pamphlet about him<sup>d</sup> reaches Europe. If possible, send me an article for Dana soon.<sup>e</sup>

Herewith the introduction to the *Dubbii amorosi* by Pietro Aretino, the forefather (but wittier) of Cassagnac.

<sup>a</sup> indispensable condition - <sup>b</sup> one way or another - <sup>c</sup> 'true prince', 'false prince' - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>e</sup> Presumably, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XV.

Prefazione. Magnifico utriusque Ser Agnello,  
 Voi qui scribere scitis quare, quia,  
 Espelle, volte fatte co'l cervello,  
 Di Bartolo e Baldo notomia,  
 E le leggi passate co'l castello,  
 Nella vostra bizzarra fantasia,  
 Questi dubbii, di grazia, mi chiarite  
 Ch'oggi in Bordello han mosso un gran lite.

Vi sono genti fottenti, e fottute;  
 E di potte e di cazzi notomie.  
 E nei culi molt' anime perdute, etc.<sup>a</sup>

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 July 1852

Dear Marx,

It's a good thing that the manuscript<sup>b</sup> has gone off. I hope that copies will arrive in 3-4 weeks' time. You must have been really in the soup if, as antidote, you had to take Pietro Aretino's *porcherie*.<sup>c</sup> *Cazzo di Dio, queste sono forti*.<sup>d</sup>

I am up to my eyes in work here. I still have eleven business letters to write today and it is nearly 7 o'clock. However, I will do an article for Dana,<sup>e</sup> if possible today and if not, by tomorrow evening at the latest.

<sup>a</sup> O twice magnificent Ser Agnello,  
 You who of all the why and wherefore  
 know,

Whose mighty mind can grasp  
 the fate  
 Of Bartolo's and Baldo's earthly frame  
 And whose keen fancy apprehends  
 the laws  
 Of heavenly bodies and their course!

Dispel for me the doubts, I pray,  
 Which in the brothel raised strife  
 today.

Some folks seduce and others  
 are seduced  
 But one and all by lust are ruled.  
 How many souls through arses  
 go astray...

- <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>c</sup> obscenity - <sup>d</sup> God's prick, this is strong meat. - <sup>e</sup> Probably article XV from *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.

I am just tackling Mr Görgey. At that time, drawing on *Austrian* bulletins, we of the *N. Rh. Z.* made splendidly accurate guesses as to the course of the Hungarian war, and prognostications, if cautious, proved brilliantly correct.<sup>a</sup> Görgey's book<sup>b</sup> is truly wretched, nothing could be more pettily invidious, infamously *mesquin*<sup>c</sup> and mediocre. The military part is good, Görgey to the life,—sudden transformation of talented ex-lieutenant into general; still bearing unmistakable traces of the company officer and tactical tyro. Hungarians who maintain that Görgey is incapable of having written this are *jackasses*. The genuine Görgeyesque and Austrian elements are as easily distinguishable here as are the two heterogeneous elements in Chenu.<sup>156</sup> But otherwise the book may—with some caution—very well be used as a source. The fellow's malicious mediocrity is such that he cannot help making a fool of himself, witness the affair of the proclamation of Waitzen<sup>157</sup> in which he reproaches Kossuth for having been shrewder in practice than in his bombastic speeches, or again, the very inept descriptions which lead the author, always involuntarily, into compromising himself. This mediocrity never permits Görgey to draw a true portrait of any one chap, but the thing has some pleasant traits and individual comments on Kossuth and most of the others. Despite the mediocrity of his malice, Görgey—as is everywhere apparent—was after all superior to any of the others—so what must the others be like!

At all events, I shall write about the Hungarian war.<sup>156</sup>

Judging by the facts, the Paris plot<sup>155</sup> would seem more likely to have emanated from our *carrément* and *crânement*<sup>d</sup> sinister Barthélemy, etc.—the daring artillery preparation is something *qui sent son Willich de vingt lieues*.<sup>e</sup> It is more than likely that Ruge, etc., also had a finger in the pie, but those cannons fashioned out of gas pipes and draped with tarpaulins are of Hohenzollern origin.

Your  
F. E.

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'The Kölnische Zeitung on the Magyar Struggle', 'The War in Italy and Hungary', 'Hungary' and also reviews of military operations in Hungary published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from February to May 1849. · <sup>b</sup> A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849*. · <sup>c</sup> mean · <sup>d</sup> fairly and squarely · <sup>e</sup> which smells of Willich 20 leagues away

As for the Orleans, *pourquoi pas?*<sup>a</sup> To see the estimable Joinville or whomsoever treated *à la duc d'Enghien*<sup>158</sup> would be delightful, and *pourquoi le neveu ne ferait-il pas fusiller aussi son Bourbon?*<sup>b</sup>

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 July 1852

Dear Engels,

There being no letter from you, I conclude that the worthy Weydeneyer must, for all that,<sup>c</sup> be still persevering with his 'system'. The thing's becoming really incomprehensible and, quite aside from the pecuniary loss, which is just now very perceptible, is turning me for good measure into the laughing stock of the émigré vermin and of the booksellers whom I had approached about this unfortunate affair.

I have not written an article on the elections because I feel it would be better to await the full results.<sup>159</sup> From what I have seen so far, it seems to me that, apart from 5-6 more votes for the Whigs, the old Parliament will rise again unchanged. The fellows are in a *cercle vicieux*<sup>d</sup> from which they cannot break out. The only ones to have suffered any significant losses so far are the Peelites.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, in an apologia for Graham, *The Morning Chronicle* declares that only one alternative remains, that Whigs are as incompetent as Tories, and that the only capable people, apart from Graham and his supporters, are Cobden, Bright and Co. And these should govern together. Curiously enough, the following day—as you may perhaps have seen,—*The Times* carried an article which likewise contained an apologia for Graham.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> why not? - <sup>b</sup> why shouldn't the nephew have his Bourbon shot too? - <sup>c</sup> from Freiligrath's 'Trotz alledem!' - <sup>d</sup> vicious circle - <sup>e</sup> *The Times*, No. 21164, 10 July 1852, leader.



The great Techow is emigrating to Australia next week, together with Madame Schmidt-Stürner. But—and this will wound you more deeply—even *Damm* is no less eager to turn his hand to AUSTRALIAN GOLD-DIGGING. Another few months of peace, and all our 'world underminers'<sup>a</sup> will be busily mining for dirt in the dirt of Australia. Only Willich, firmly chained to the *coffre-fort*,<sup>b</sup> remains faithful to his motto: to live but BY NO MEANS WORK.

Bangya is now on very close terms with the Orleanist intriguer, 'de Rémusat'. Some Hungarian *quelconque*<sup>c</sup> warned him against the man who is said to have 'betrayed' the Germans during the *complot allemand-français*.<sup>143</sup> Rémusat has agents right in the Paris Préfecture. So, *sans mot dire à M. Bangya*<sup>d</sup> he writes asking for a report on this gentleman. The reply, which was communicated to me, stated that Bangya was *in no way suspect*, that he had got out in time, otherwise he too would have been arrested. The traitor was 'un certain Cherval, nommé Frank, mais dont le véritable nom est Crämer.'<sup>e</sup>

From the outset this Cherval is said to have been hand in glove with the police. What is more, Rémusat is receiving original letters written by Cherval to the Prussian Embassy, stating that, in accordance with promises made to him in the Mazas,<sup>160</sup> and now that he had professed the 'principe' of *ordre*, it was 'leur devoir'<sup>f</sup> to provide him with the necessary 'moyens'.<sup>g</sup> The Prussian Embassy, however, declared that since he was being *paid* as a spy by the French, and *double emploi*<sup>h</sup> was out of the question, he could have no claims on the Prussians. He was therefore sent to London to observe the German refugees and, in addition, to 'keep an eye on Claremont'.<sup>161</sup> In the latter capacity he called on Rémusat and offered him his services as an agent. Rémusat, on instructions from Paris, pretended to agree and assigned to him a go-between in the person of a valet at Claremont; this man was now entrusted with the task of misinforming the Paris police through Cherval.

So well organised is the Orleanist agitation that the fellows possess what amounts to a regular clandestine postal service by which one can send letters, parcels, and pamphlets to France as safely as innocuous matter by ordinary mail.

My main concern in all this was to procure an original letter of Cherval's relating to his connections with the Prussian Embassy.

<sup>a</sup> The original has *Weltumwähler* by analogy with *Wähler* (agitators), the name the bourgeois constitutionalists in Germany in 1848-49 applied to republican democrats. - <sup>b</sup> safe - <sup>c</sup> or other - <sup>d</sup> without a word to Mr Bangya - <sup>e</sup> a certain Cherval, known as Frank, but whose real name is Crämer - <sup>f</sup> principle of order, it was their duty - <sup>g</sup> means - <sup>h</sup> double employ

Such a *pièce* could topple the whole fabric of the bill of indictment.<sup>16</sup>

I have arranged with Bangya that, as soon as another copy has been made, you will receive Szemere's pamphlet in manuscript.<sup>a</sup> It is a document that is indispensable to your work<sup>b</sup> since it contains letters from Görgey, Kossuth, etc., which have not been published anywhere.

My wife is very poorly, she has a cough and is losing weight. However, the doctor says it is nothing dangerous and has, in addition to medicine, prescribed plenty of porter.

If you can manage to send me another article<sup>c</sup> by Friday, I will try to discount with Johnson the £5 that will then become due from Dana.

Apropos. The Domenichi '*Orlando Innamorato*' *riformato* is an adaptation. The original is very rare and only to be had in large libraries, as here. Even the Domenichi edition is rare. More readily available is the *Orlando, rifatto*<sup>d</sup> by Berni.<sup>162</sup>

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 July 1852

Dear Marx,

As regards Weydemeyer, you concluded rightly. There hasn't been a line from him. Since we wrote and told him exactly how to send the stuff here, he seems to feel it his bounden duty to

<sup>a</sup> B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth. Politische Charakterskizzen...* The reference is to the German translation, which Marx helped to edit. - <sup>b</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>c</sup> Next article from the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>d</sup> redone

withhold any further news from us. By the way, things cannot be going very well for him and, when all's said and done, he's got to earn his daily bread.

Did you read the article 2-3 days ago in *The Morning Herald* on the various leading men in the Opposition? It could only have been written by Disraeli himself. The 'AND NOW STAND FORTH, THOU MAN OF "UNADORNED ELOQUENCE", RICHARD CORDEN' is splendid. In it Master John Bright was rightly recognised as the only dangerous fellow, although the gentlemen are not free from illusions in regard to Graham. Precisely now this unscrupulous old *ambitieux*<sup>a</sup> constitutes a very real danger to the Tories.

*Bon voyage* to the patriotic gold diggers! Thus the term 'underminer' at last acquires a true meaning and content.<sup>b</sup>

The new connection with Mr Rémusat is excellent. A letter from Cherval to the Prussian Embassy would be a capital document in this trial. Don't fail to get hold of one. What a long face our old friend, *le jeune*,<sup>c</sup> the self-important Saedt will pull,<sup>165</sup> if we thus reduce to chaff the fifty sheets of his bill of indictment which he has already announced to the world through the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*!<sup>d</sup> Has Rémusat already got these letters? By the way, it would appear from the news in the papers, not only that Mr Manteuffel proposes to turn the Cologne trial into a magnificent political drama—with, of course, some sort of coup in the wings—but also, on the other hand, that there is absolutely no evidence, and that the weakness of the indictment has to be veiled in a cloud of rumour on the part of the police and lies on the part of their spies. Have you heard nothing more from Bangya? I return herewith the gallant fellow's letter, hitherto forgotten.

But if you get hold of Cherval's letter, is there any way of attesting it, so that its authenticity is established? Otherwise a presiding judge of this ilk would be capable of prohibiting so much as a reading of the document.

Since, as I hear, the trial is to take place on the 28th, it is important for us just now to have several reliable links with Cologne. If only we knew to what extent one can count on Bernbach's doing anything! Letters could be safely sent to him via Bradford. If we knew that Weerth was in Hamburg, the thing would be in order. I shall write to Strohn about it this very day. At the same time we might even make use of Naut, if needs be. For, contrary to all my expectations, the latter—who has left Em-

<sup>a</sup> ambitious man · <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 130. · <sup>c</sup> the young · <sup>d</sup> 'Der Communisten-Proceß', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 195, 13 July 1852.

manuel's and is now an agent for a small Jewish firm in Bradford—obtained some military stuff for me from a second-hand bookseller in Cologne with *the utmost promptitude*; the mystery will be cleared up when I tell you that he wants to become an agent for Ermen & Engels and has further asked me to secure him the agency for a local twist house. I have promised him all this and shall recommend him to my old man. We can, therefore, rely on his being punctilious for as long as these negotiations last.

The military material obtained for me by Naut—clearly the library of a retired artillery officer—is coming in very handy, the more so since it is mainly concerned with the *more elementary* aspects of military science, the actual day-to-day routine, etc. That was just what was wanting. In addition, some splendid stuff on fortifications, etc., etc. I shall soon have got to the stage when I can venture to advance, even in public, an INDEPENDENT military opinion.

The Szemere piece<sup>a</sup> will be *extremely welcome*; but I cannot think of working it up as yet.

Herewith the article for Dana.<sup>b</sup> I shall now make haste to conclude the series; but you do something on England as well. If we can extract £3 a week out of the fellow, I'll be damned if we can't manage to send your wife into the country for a spell before the summer's over—that would do her more good than any amount of porter. At all events, I'm glad to hear that her indisposition is not serious.

Just give me another year's military study, and the democratic lieutenants will get the surprise of their lives.

Regards to your wife and children and Dronke and Lupus from

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 131. <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XV.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 20 July<sup>a</sup> 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Dronke will be bringing you the manuscript on Görgey,<sup>b</sup> admittedly a wretched, muddled affair; likewise the *Neveu de Rameau* and *Jacques le fataliste*<sup>c</sup> in the original.

Yesterday received a letter from Bernbach in Cologne, the gist of which is as follows:

'Latterly they have been visiting all sorts of people in various places in an attempt to find correspondance from you which, they are convinced, was to be conveyed through the agency of these persons to democrats in the Rhineland. Your friends in Cologne are at last to be brought before the Court of Assizes. The bill of indictment, a most compendious work, has been drawn up, the date for the public hearing has been fixed for the 28th of this month, and the usual preliminaries are under way. They will be tried according to the *Code pénal*, since their offence antedates the new Prussian Statute Book.<sup>d</sup> As I understand the case they are, *legally speaking*, in an exceptionally good position but, as you will know, before a jury the moral standpoint is all important, and in this respect there can be no denying the danger for some of the accused. For the principal defendants, Röser, Bürgers, Notjung and Reiff, have given away far too much: they have admitted a connection with specific tendencies over a definite period; have talked of the enrolment of new members attended by certain formalities and pledges, and other such things, which in themselves do not constitute a crime, but may, depending on circumstances, have an adverse effect on the jurymen, most of whom have been chosen from the peasantry—particularly when there is such evident lack of respect for God and landed property. Grave difficulties will also arise in connection with the defence; the advocates know nothing about such matters, most are hostile on principle and dread the thought of the ten-day sitting fixed for the case. Freiligrath will be beheaded *in contumaciam*.<sup>e</sup>

'I have just read the bill of indictment which contains no less than 65-70 pages. If they're convicted, these people have only their own statements to blame. I doubt [there] can be any more consummate jackasses than these German working men: Reiff made some statements that were regular denunciations, and various others behaved no less ineptly. One sees what a dangerous business it is to establish connections with working men, when those connections are supposed to be kept secret. Small wonder that the fellows were so much harassed; the longer they were held in solitary confinement, the more satisfactory statements they made. That aside, facts don't come into it and, if the accused had not for the most part themselves talked so readily, there would be nothing whatever to go on. The bill of

<sup>a</sup> August in the original. - <sup>b</sup> B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...* (reference to a part of the MS). - <sup>c</sup> by Denis Diderot. - <sup>d</sup> for refusal to obey the summons

indictment contains all kinds of incidental details from which it transpires that, with the help of spies and intercepted letters, a fairly accurate knowledge has been gained of certain persons and relationships.'

So much for Bernbach.

*Vis-à-vis* Schimmelpfennig, Willich has retracted his statement about the B[rüningk] woman. Schimmelpfennig has now put it about that he was seeking to destroy Mrs Brüningk's virtue by magnetising her. The *vertueux*<sup>a</sup> Willich.

A certain Cœurderoy (*d'ailleurs très bon républicain*),<sup>b</sup> who has already published a little pamphlet against Mazzini, Ledru, L. Blanc, Cabet, etc.,<sup>c</sup> is about to bring out what amounts to a book on the entire French emigration.<sup>d</sup>

Proudhon is publishing a new work.<sup>e</sup> Religion, the State, etc., having become impossible, only 'individuals' remain, a discovery he has lifted from Stirner.<sup>f</sup>

That jackass W[eydemeyer]'s impardonable procrastination has put me in such straits that today I can't even afford a STAMP for this letter.

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>165</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, 20 July 1852]

... With a difference of at most 10 votes in favour of either Whigs or Tories, the elections here will produce the same old Parliament. The *cercle vicieux*<sup>g</sup> is complete. The same old

<sup>a</sup> virtuous - <sup>b</sup> in other respects a very good republican (an allusion to *cœur du roi*—king's heart) - <sup>c</sup> E. Cœurderoy, O. Vauthier, *La Barrière du Combat qui vient de se livrer entre les citoyens Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Étienne Cabet, Pierre Leroux, Martin Nadaud, Mallarmet, A. Bianchi (de Lille) et autres hercules du nord.* - <sup>d</sup> E. Cœurderoy, *De la révolution dans l'homme et dans la société.* -

<sup>e</sup> P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre.* -

<sup>f</sup> An allusion to M. Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenenthum.* - <sup>g</sup> vicious circle

constituents produce the same old Parliament. In that Parliament what have hitherto been the ruling parties are rotting from within, mutually offsetting and paralysing each other, so that they are compelled to appeal yet again to their constituents and so on, *ad infinitum*, until the circle is broken from without by the pressure of the masses, and that may soon be the case. At no previous election has the conflict between the real majority and the official majority of voters created by the electoral privileges been so glaringly in evidence. You should know that at every English election voting is done 1. by a SHOW OF HANDS when the whole population votes, and 2. by a POLL, the decisive one, in which only the enfranchised vote. Those NOMINATED by the SHOW OF HANDS do not include a *single* Member of Parliament, while those returned by the POLL (i.e. really ELECTED), do not include anyone nominated by the SHOW OF HANDS. Take Halifax, for example, where Wood, the Whig Minister (Finance) was opposing E. Jones. At the SHOW OF HANDS, Wood was hissed. Jones received 14,000 votes and was carried in triumph through the town. At the POLL, Wood was elected while Jones received only 36 votes.

There is little new to report about émigré affairs. But for a few louts, Willich stands more and more isolated, no one believing in his probity any longer. As I have told you, Reichenbach, though he resigned from the committee long ago, *refuses* to hand out a *penny* from the loan until a definitive committee has been formed. In his eyes, Willich and Kinkel are as unacceptable as the handful of blackguards who elected them. Reichenbach *est un honnête bourgeois, qui prend sa responsabilité au sérieux*.<sup>a</sup>

The French emigration has split into 3 camps: 1. Revolution (Ledru). 2. Delegation (the more progressive). 3. 1,500 opponents of both, the plebs or, as the aristocrats used to call them, the 'populean'. A certain Cœurderoy (*d'ailleurs très bon républicain*)<sup>b</sup> has published a pamphlet against Mazzini-Ledru and Cabet-Blanc and is shortly to bring out something else. You will receive both when they appear.

Yesterday a letter from Cologne, from which the following<sup>c</sup>:

'Latterly they have been visiting various places in an attempt to find correspondence from you which, they are convinced, was to be conveyed through the agency of these persons to democrats in the Rhineland. Your friends are at last to be brought before the Court of Assizes. The bill of indictment, a most compendious work, has been drawn up, the date for the public hearing has been fixed for the 28th of this month, and the usual preliminaries are under way. As I

<sup>a</sup> is an honest bourgeois who takes his responsibility seriously - <sup>b</sup> in other respects a very good republican (an allusion to *cœur du roi*—king's heart) - <sup>c</sup> Marx quotes here Bernbach's letter of 9 July 1852 (see also this volume, pp. 134-35).

understand the case they are, *legally speaking* in an exceptionally good position but, as you will know, before a jury the moral standpoint is all important, and in this respect there can be no denying the danger for some of the accused. For the principal defendants, Röser, Bürgers, Nothjung and Reiff, have given away far too much: they have admitted a connection with specific tendencies over a definite period; have talked of the enrolment of new members attended by certain formalities and pledges, and other such things, which in themselves, however, do not constitute a crime, but may, depending on circumstances, have an adverse effect on the jurymen, most of whom belong to the peasantry, particularly when there is such evident lack of respect for God and landed property. Grave difficulties will also arise in connection with the defence: the advocates know nothing about such matters, most are hostile on principle and dread the thought of the ten-day sitting fixed for the case. It should not be forgotten that, on the occasion of the Assizes, proceedings will be taken in *contumaciam*<sup>a</sup> against F. Freiligrath, at present in London. So Freiligrath will shortly be able to parade round London as a German poet who has been beheaded in effigy.—

'P.S. I have just read the bill of indictment which contains no less than 65-70 pages. If they're convicted, these people have only their own statements to blame. I doubt there can be any more consummate jackasses than these working men: Reiff made statements that were almost regular denunciations, and various others behaved no less ineptly. Small wonder that the fellows were so much harassed; the longer they have been held in solitary confinement, the more satisfactory statements they made. That aside, facts don't come into it.'

*Voilà* our Straubingers,<sup>61</sup> it's tough that world history should have to be made with people such as these...

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70

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 July 1852

Dear Marx,

Enclosed the article for Dana.<sup>b</sup> The information sent by Bernbach is not pleasant; if only those who have *not* chattered manage to get off! The trial, by the way, is directed *autant*<sup>c</sup> against us as against the Cologne people; we too shall have some rough

<sup>a</sup> for refusal to obey the summons. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XVI. - <sup>c</sup> as much



treatment, especially since *le jeune*<sup>a</sup> Saedt now believes that he will be able to avenge himself with impunity.<sup>163</sup>

Could you perhaps get hold of Cœurderoy's things for me? I.e. if they're worth the trouble, and contain anything more than mere rhetoric.

Our Worcell, as I learn from Smitt,<sup>b</sup> really was a count and a protagonist of the Volhynian insurrection; he distinguished himself by being cut off and leading a kind of robber band in the woods for some 3-4 weeks, until taken off to Poland by Rózzzycki; our Sznayde commanded some cavalry—from what I know so far—without distinction. A work by Mierosławski on the Polish campaign, which came out in Berlin in 1847,<sup>c</sup> is very highly spoken of by Smitt.<sup>d</sup> This Mierosławski is certainly the most eminent among Poles and is likely to make a name for himself.

Mind you don't forget the English article!<sup>e</sup>

I am expecting Drunkel<sup>f</sup> this evening, together with a bag of books. I am particularly in need of the *N. Rh. Z.* just now and hope he is bringing it.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your  
F. E.

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71

MARX TO GOTTFRIED KINKEL<sup>166</sup>

IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

[London,] 22 July 1852  
5 Sutton Street, Soho  
Office of *The People's Paper*

To Dr J. G. Kinkel

You are alleged, or so I am informed, to have ventured the following statement before Anneke or others at Cincinnati:

'Marx and Engels...'

<sup>a</sup> the young. <sup>b</sup> F. Smitt, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes und Krieges in den Jahren 1830 und 1831*. - <sup>c</sup> L. Mierosławski, *Kritische Darstellung des Feldzuges vom Jahre 1831*. - <sup>d</sup> F. Smitt, op. cit., Dritter Theil, S. XI-XII. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 145. - <sup>f</sup> Ernst Dronke

I await your answer by return of post.  
Silence will be regarded as an admission.

Dr K. M.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>167</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, 30 July 1852]

... Huzel's letter<sup>168</sup> was greeted with Homeric laughter. It gave rise to the following intermezzos:

5 Sutton Str., Soho  
Office of *The People's Paper*

'To Dr Johann Gottfried Kinkel<sup>169</sup>

'You are alleged, or so I am informed, to have ventured the following statement before Anneke or other Germans at Cincinnati: "Marx and Engels etc." (there follows the treasonable passage). I await your answer *by return of post*. Silence will be regarded as an admission.

Dr Karl Marx'<sup>a</sup>

This note was kept deliberately vague: 'alleged ... Anneke or other Germans', etc. in order to leave Mr Kinkel plenty of latitude for ambiguities. The following reply arrived *by return*:

1 Henstridge Villas, St. John's Wood,  
24th July 1852

To Dr Karl Marx

Since the article about me was published under your auspices<sup>170</sup> during my imprisonment, I have wanted to have nothing more to do with you. If you believe that you can, through the testimony of Anneke or other honourable men, rather

<sup>a</sup> See also this volume, p. 149.

than through anonymous insinuations, provide proof that I untruthfully said or published anything detrimental to your own or Mr Engels' honour, I must point out to you, as I would to anyone with whom I have neither personal nor political contacts, the usual way which, under the law, is open to everyone who feels himself insulted or libelled. Except in this way, I shall have no further dealings with you.

Gottfried Kinkel

I have not succeeded in making the final stroke of the pen<sup>a</sup> as in the original. *N'est-ce pas*<sup>b</sup> very cunning? I am to have recourse to an English court on account of insults offered at Cincinnati. And how coolly everything is rejected that might smack of a duel and the like.

Since I could only assume that the worthy Gottfried Kinkel, who drops the Johann when in public, would refuse to accept further letters bearing a Soho postmark, I hit upon the following ruse. I asked Ernest Jones to write the address and Lupus to post the letter itself in Windsor, where he had business. Inside the envelope, Gottfried found a second little *billet-doux*, its margin adorned with a posy of forget-me-nots and roses printed in colour and with the following content:

24th July 1852  
5 Sutton Str., Soho  
Office of *The People's Paper*

To Dr Johann etc. Kinkel

'In juxtaposition with a written statement, now before me, by your *guarantor* Huzel, whom at Cincinnati you cravenly required to give his word of honour to keep silent about your mendacious gossip there, a promise which, however, was given only conditionally by Huzel; with a letter, likewise before me, written at some time by Dr Gottfried Kinkel *in his own hand* to his ex-guarantor Cluss,<sup>171</sup> in which the same Kinkel boasts of his intention to enter into *political* relations with me:

'your letter—and this is precisely why it was *provoked*—provides a new and striking proof that the said Kinkel is a cleric whose baseness is only equalled by his cowardice.

Dr Karl Marx<sup>172</sup>

<sup>a</sup> An imitation of the flourishes in Kinkel's signature. - <sup>b</sup> Is it not

This last was self-complacently pocketed by Mr 'Johann etc.' and is now circulating among the ranks of the émigrés. But the cream of the jest will only become plain to Kinkel later on, with the appearance of the first instalment of *The Great Men of the Exile*. Namely, that, shortly *before* this fearsome attack on Gottfried, I diverted myself by doing him direct and personal injury, while at the same time justifying myself in the eyes of the émigré *louts*. To that end I needed something 'in black and white' from Johann etc.

Now for greater matters.—Mazzini, no less, has for the past few days been dashing round like mad in an attempt to bring about an agreement between all those who officially make up the bourgeois emigration here. Also betook himself to Johann etc. And with the following result: Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin and Kinkel constitute Europe's Executive. Each member of this authority has the right to co-opt 2 subjects of his nationality. However, the decision as to these co-options rests with the majority among the four originals, i.e. *Mazzini*. Accordingly, co-opted among the Germans are A. Ruge and A. Goegg. Who among the other nationalities, I don't yet know. Kinkel, for his part, is said to have laid down 2 conditions: 1. a demand of 20,000 dollars for his loan. This I hold to be a *fabrication*. 2. The continued and independent existence of the Kinkel-Willich, etc. finance committee. This is no more than formal deference to Willich, for in fact it has already been decided to transfer the entire loan fund to A. Goegg. Finally, Kinkel & Co. will most humbly recognise the Revolutionary League in America.<sup>173</sup> This is the latest turn of events. How far they have progressed towards concluding this important treaty or whether they are still lingering over the preliminaries I do not know. *In any case the thing must be noised abroad in America*, with particular emphasis on the following. At the last guarantors' meeting in London, in *May 1852*, when the Kinkel-Willich committee was definitively elected, Kinkel most solemnly declared on his **word of honour** that if A. Ruge were elected to the committee, he himself would walk out, for he would never serve on the same committee as a man who had publicly described him as an agent of the Prince of Prussia.<sup>9</sup>

Secondly: What will Weitling & Co. say, if the dollars raised in America by Kinkel are expended by the Finance Minister, A. Goegg? For this is what is intended, in order to subsidise 'K. Heizen's' *Janus* and to put into circulation the immortal articles of Ruge, Heizen, etc.

<sup>9</sup> See this volume, pp. 96 and 150-51.

As for Mazzini, this wily enthusiast is steadily descending to the level of an Italian 'Gustav Struve' or some such. For the past 4 years he has been shouting 'Action, action'. Now it so happens that the Austrian police in Italy are running in 600 Mazzinists whose correspondence is conducted on pocket handkerchiefs in invisible ink. But these people have no wish to be detained and their family connections are extensive. So Mr Mazzini has received from Italy a letter announcing their intention to take 'action' in real earnest and hit out. All at once, and *post festum*,<sup>a</sup> 'sober reason' stirs in the bosom of the bombastic man of action, and he adjures them for God's sake to lie low, since on their own they can do nothing, the country is swarming with foreign soldiers, and similar *loci communes*<sup>b</sup> none of which are either more or less true now than they were in 1849. Action, action! *Italia farà da sé!*<sup>c</sup>

A few days ago Lupus met an Italian member of Mazzini's committee and taxed him with most of these absurdities. What of it? retorts the Roman, more than 600 people are killed in a battle. However, since the Italians fear that in this way they will BY AND BY be caught, shot or locked up, and since this or that victim of his exhortations is sending relatives to London, our man of action is afraid that some misunderstanding may lead to his being stabbed by a deluded and Irenzied fellow-countryman; so every night he changes his lodgings on the pretext of having to hide from the Austrians. Yet it is not Austrians but 'deluded' Italians from whom he abjectly slinks into hiding. Surely this antipope deserves the gallows? To harass, tease, wear down a nation in this way! The inevitable result, particularly in the case of a people like the Italians, is a state of appalling, passive dejection, of complete and utter collapse.

Our people were to have appeared before the jury in Cologne yesterday, but suddenly came the announcement of a further adjournment because one of the witnesses for the prosecution, Schulz, a police official in Berlin, had fallen ill. So if Mr Schulz were to die, the defendants might well remain under preliminary investigation until doomsday. In the meantime Becker is going blind and Daniels is getting consumption. *C'est par trop infâme.*<sup>d</sup> In all this, the bourgeois press is playing a most abominable role.

I saw the notice of adjournment in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.<sup>e</sup> A few days earlier I had received the following report from Cologne.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> after the event - <sup>b</sup> commonplaces - <sup>c</sup> Italy will manage on her own! - <sup>d</sup> It's too iniquitous. - <sup>e</sup> [Report from Cologne of 26 July.] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 183, 27 July 1852. - <sup>f</sup> Below is a passage from Bernbach's letter to Marx of mid-July 1852.

'When Becker was arrested the following letters from you were seized; those of 8.2.51, 21.2.51 and 9.4.51. From the latter the ensuing passages have been picked out by the prosecution as exceptionally incriminating: "Herewith the jolly scribble from the School of Kinkel, 15 shillings have accumulated here f.t.l.<sup>a</sup> 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." The prosecution makes out that the letters f.t.l. stand for "Für the League", while Becker claims that they are an abbreviation indicating an arrangement made between him and yourself concerning the acquisition of cheaper literature for you in London. That passage constitutes one of the chief items in the indictment, since there is otherwise hardly any evidence, unless fabricated, against B. Aguin, the indictment, starting in the year 1831, traces the rise of the Communist League from an association of Germans in Paris which underwent various modifications under the names "League of Germans",<sup>174</sup> "League of the Just",<sup>175</sup> but continued uninterruptedly right up to the present society now appearing in the dock. This information apparently derives from data provided by the Hanoverian government. The prosecution attaches no importance whatever to the split in London in 1850<sup>b</sup>; in their opinion this was simply a personal squabble, the whole lot of them were, after all, pursuing the same criminal aims and shared the same views and would, moreover, act in concert at the hour of decision. Thus, besides the two addresses previously published in the press, a 3rd has been incorporated in the indictment; this address is said to be dated June or July 1850<sup>176</sup> and to have been intercepted in Leipzig.

'The only statements of any note are those of the witnesses Haupt, who gave a fairly detailed and comprehensive story, and Hentze, an ex-lieutenant, who to some extent attacked Becker. On Saturday Erhardt, a cashier with Stein, the banker, was arrested on the same charge. He is said to be slightly compramisid by reason of the recommendation he gave to Nathjung and of a few letters discovered on the latter which seemed to indicate some understanding between the two... By the way, so nicely have the jurymen been selected that, if you consider the odds, the State could not be better placed.'

The most important news politically is the treaty concluded between Prussia, Austria and Russia during the Czar's<sup>b</sup> visit to Vienna.<sup>177</sup> It was first announced in *The Morning Chronicle* the day before yesterday. Yesterday there was a reprint of it in *The Times*,<sup>c</sup> so you will be able to read it for yourself. Here the election results are such that the Tories, who will drop the Corn Law question, possess a large counter-revolutionary majority on all other issues and this Cabinet will, I believe, give way before nothing short of a more or less revolutionary manifestation. The bourgeois now realise what a blunder they made in failing to draw the political conclusions from their anti-Corn Law victory in 1846. *Ils y penseront*.<sup>d</sup> My list of printing errors for the *Brumaire* will soon

<sup>a</sup> Here 'F.d.B.' in German means 'für die Bücher'. Below it is taken to mean 'für den Bund'. - <sup>b</sup> Nicholas I. - <sup>c</sup> 'Secret Treaty of the Three Northern Powers' (from *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 26705, 28 July 1852), *The Times*, No. 21180, 29 July 1852. - <sup>d</sup> They'll think of it.

moulder away; had I realised this would happen, I should have done better to send you for postage the money thus expended. But as Spinoza tells us, it is a comfort to consider all things *sub specie aeterni*.<sup>a</sup>

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## 73

MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>178</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, beginning of August 1852]

... Now the secret is out, namely the reason why the Cologne people have yet again failed to appear. The principal witness, Haupt, the traitor from Hamburg, has taken himself off to Brazil. The 2nd most important witness, a journeyman tailor, has likewise shown a clean pair of heels. This leaves the government without even the semblance of a proof. The scoundrels are taking their revenge by prolonging the period of preventive detention...

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<sup>a</sup> From the viewpoint of eternity

74

MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 August 1852

Dear Engels,

Herewith the stuff for Dana.<sup>179</sup> We must assail the fellow from all sides, the more so since that old *farceur*, Ruge, has actually deposited one of his stylistic excretions in a recent number.<sup>a</sup>

The Cologne affair has been adjourned by the court for 3 months at the request of the public prosecutor.<sup>b</sup> In other words, the principal witnesses have slipped through his fingers, Haupt to Brazil and a journeyman tailor to some *lieu inconnu*.<sup>c</sup>

Do you think that Dana might take offence because of the *similarity in the names* of the English and American Whigs?<sup>180</sup>

A detailed dispatch, probably, tomorrow.

Your  
K. M.

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75

MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 August 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Don't forget to let me have the *rest of the thing*<sup>d</sup> by *Tuesday*. The section on the Tories is too short by itself. This time there is a twofold reason why the portions sent to Dana should not be too niggardly. 1. In Cincinnati that blackguard Heinzen is siding with

<sup>a</sup> A. Ruge, 'The Public Law of Europe', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3506, 14 July 1852. - <sup>b</sup> Saedt. - <sup>c</sup> place unknown - <sup>d</sup> See previous letter.



the Whigs against the Democrats, because he rightly believes this ELECTIONEERING TIME is the best moment at which to sell himself. Greeley reported in the *Tribune* the speech Heiuzen made there, and went on to praise the man.<sup>a</sup> So storm clouds are threatening *me* from that quarter. 2. Having for weeks, and particularly for the past fortnight, been forced to spend 6 hours a day chasing after 6d for grub, on top of which I am again being pestered by my LANDLADY, I had no other alternative but to write to Johnson yesterday inquiring whether he would discount a bill on the *Tribune* for me. Should the man agree to do what I ask, which is still *in dubia*,<sup>b</sup> I shall have to inform Dana, and if we send him short articles, he will think he is being fleeced and will cast me out of the temple, since he now has such a plentiful SUPPLY from Heinzen, Ruge and B. Bauer. What is even more unfortunate, I see from today's *Times* that the *Daily Tribune* is protectionist.<sup>c</sup> So it's all VERY OMINOUS. We must send the fellow something as quickly as possible before he countermands. I can't yet send off my dispatch<sup>d</sup> since I have a frightful headache—not, however, from the effects OF PALE ALE.

It's regrettable that Dronke will not be here on Saturday.<sup>e</sup> Goegg has called a *general* meeting of refugees for that day and the little man's presence would have been very desirable. For Pieper isn't the right person. At all events, Dronke must see to it that he is here when the rabble arrives from Berlin, for I cannot cope with these blackguards all by myself.

I have all manner of stuff from Cluss, too, to send you, which you will receive as soon as you send me a few STAMPS; otherwise the trash will cost you double and *pour le moment*<sup>f</sup> I haven't a penny to send.

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> 'A German View of American "Democracy"', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3505, 13 July 1852. - <sup>b</sup> in doubt. - <sup>c</sup> 'The Approaching Election in the United States', *The Times*, No. 21186, 5 August 1852. - <sup>d</sup> for Engels to translate (see this volume, p. 145) - <sup>e</sup> 7 August. - <sup>f</sup> for the time being

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 6 August 1852

Dear Marx,

You will have got back the first half of the article<sup>a</sup> in English and German yesterday afternoon. The second<sup>b</sup> you shall have on Tuesday morning. As for being thrown out of the *Tribune*, you need have no worries.<sup>c</sup> We are too firmly ensconced there. Furthermore, to the Yankees, this European politicising is mere dilettantism in which he who writes best and with the greatest *esprit* comes out on top. *Heinzen* can do us no harm; if he's bought by the Whigs, it means that he will obey them, not that he will give the orders. Ruge, Baner, etc., etc., in addition to ourselves ensure that the *Tribune* has an 'all-round' character. As for protectionism, it does no harm. American Whigs are all industrial protectionists, but this by no means implies that they belong to the landed aristocracy, Derby variety. Nor are they so stupid not to know just as well as does List that FREE TRADE SLITS English industry better than anything else. By the way, I could at a pinch insert a word here and there to that effect with the FREETRADERS, which you could cross out if not to your liking. But there's really no need for it.

I thought you had long since settled the discounting affair with Johnson and very much hope something will come of it. As for me, I get deeper in the mire financially every day. While I much enjoy having Papa Dronke here, it is impossible to work of an evening, and so a fair amount of money is being frittered away; on top of that there are current DISBURSEMENTS besides £20 owing to the business, which make things very tight. Dronke intends to return next week (at the beginning), after which I shall do a spell of hard work, having sufficient material here, and then, by the end of September, I shall again have some money at my disposal—a few pounds in September<sup>d</sup> for sure. Most unfortunately, in an evil hour Mr Pindar also asked me for a loan. He is still keeping afloat on three lessons a week and seems to have

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'The Chartists'. - <sup>c</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>d</sup> December in the original.

fallen touchingly in love—*pauvre garçon, il faut l'avoir vu sous l'empire de l'émotion plus ou moins vierge.*<sup>a</sup>

Moreover, towards the end of June I was unable, owing to all sorts of circumstances, to charge up to my old man a number of extras which have now been placed to my account. Meanwhile, we are busy with the balance sheet; actually it is no concern of mine, but it will at least give me some indication of how far I can go. If it turns out well—which I shall know in some 4-6 weeks' time, I might be able to chance something, in which case you will at once receive some money. Only this month, because of the £20 or £25 I owe the business, I am absolutely stuck.

I don't know how I can arrange to do an article on GERMANY for Dana behind Dronke's back—he knows nothing about the matter.<sup>181</sup> At the office I have my hands completely full until 7 o'clock in the evening, so I can't do it there. *Cependant je verrai.*<sup>b</sup>

Warmest regards to your wife and children from

Your  
F. E.

Enclosed STAMPS to the value of 9/- and a few pence.

Dronke asks me to tell you that he will probably be coming at the beginning of next week.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>182</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 August 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

*D'abord,*<sup>c</sup> then, the incident with Johann Gottfried Kinkel.<sup>d</sup>

You will see from one of the enclosed letters from Cluss that Mr Kinkel stated in a BOURGEOIS CIRCLE in Cincinnati: 'Marx and Engels

<sup>a</sup> a poor lad, you ought to see him in the throes of more or less virginal emotion. <sup>b</sup> However, I shall see. - <sup>c</sup> To begin with. <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 138-39.

are no revolutionaries, they're a couple of blackguards who have been thrown out of public houses by the workers in London'.<sup>183</sup> Knowing my Gottfried, I began by sending him the following note in which I pretended to be not quite sure of the facts, thereby giving him fresh occasion for ambiguities:

'5 Sutton Street, Soho, Office of *The People's Paper*,  
'22 July 1852

'To Dr Johann Gottfried Kinkel

'You are alleged, or so I am informed, to have ventured the following statement before Anneke or other Germans at Cincinnati (the passage follows). I await your explanation by return of post. Silence will be regarded as an admission.

Dr K. Marx'

Kinkel sent the following note by return:

'To Dr Karl Marx

Since the article about me was published under your auspices during my imprisonment, I have wanted to have nothing more to do with you. If you believe that you can, through the testimony of Anneke or other honourable men, rather than through anonymous insinuations, provide proof that I untruthfully said or published anything detrimental to your own or Mr Engels' honour, I must point out to you, as I would to anyone with whom I have neither personal nor political contacts, the usual way which, under the law, is open to everyone who feels himself insulted or libelled. Except in this way, I shall have no further dealings with you.

Gottfried Kinkel

Since it was evident from this scrawl that Mr Gottfried would neither accept letters bearing a SOHO POSTMARK nor admit messengers, I got Lupus to post a note to him from Windsor on paper of the kind used for a *billet-doux*, bearing a posy of roses and forget-me-nots printed in colour, and having the following content:

'To Dr Johann etc. Kinkel

'In juxtaposition

with a written statement, now before me, by your *guarantor* Huzel whom you cravenly required at Cincinnati to give his word of honour to keep silent about your mendacious gossip there, a promise which, however, was given only conditionally by Huzel;

'with a letter, likewise before me, written some time earlier by Dr Gottfried Kinkel in his own hand to his *ex-guarantor* Cluss, in which

the same Kinkel boasts of his intention to enter into *political* relations with me:

'your letter—and this is precisely why "it was provoked"—provides a new and striking proof that the said Kinkel is a *cleric* whose baseness is only equalled by his cowardice.

Dr Karl Marx'

This last was swallowed in silence by Mr Johann etc. who, since then, has carefully avoided letting us hear anything more from him.

Kossuth's secret circular, which Chuss speaks of in his last letter, you will find in English in tomorrow's issue of Jones' PAPER.<sup>184</sup> Hence I am not enclosing it.

The meeting of Kinkel's guarantors took place on Tuesday 3 August. The chief item was the following: Reichenbach is guarding the exchequer like a Cerberus. The £200 so far spent by Kinkel and Willich was *received* from Gerstenberg, etc., against the revolutionary deposits. Statutorily, they may dispose of these only after at least 3 people have been nominated by the guarantors. And Reichenbach insists on observance of this formality. To remedy the inconvenience, Kinkel and Willich had decided to have Techow as the third nominee. True, Techow is sailing for Australia in 3 weeks' time. But, under the statutes of the loan, once the committee had its full complement of 3 members, it could on its own authority propose two more. Hence, the sole purpose of Techow's nomination was 1. to make Reichenbach hand over the exchequer, 2. to enable them later on to bring in 2 men of straw in Techow's place. However, the meeting immediately decided against Techow on the grounds that he was only being used as a cover and was leaving for Australia. Kinkel and Willich were told that their conduct of affairs was unsatisfactory, that they inspired no confidence and that they must submit a detailed account concerning the expenditure of the £200 before it could be ratified. This last and other decisions are to be settled today, Friday the 6th, at a further guarantors' meeting.

At the sitting on the 3rd, Reichenbach proposed that the £1,000 be deposited in the Bank of England and left untouched until the outbreak of the revolution. Löwe (in alliance with Ruge) proposed that the money be handed over to the Revolutionary League in America.<sup>173</sup>

And although Kinkel himself stated, in the enclosed note to Huzel, that Ruge falsely suspected him of being an agent of the

Prince of Prussia,<sup>185</sup> and although he, upon the strength of that, *pledged his word* at the guarantors' meeting last May that he would never sit on the same committee as Ruge, our Gottfried now declares himself ready, for the sake of the cause, to act *in concert* with Goegg, Ruge, etc. and to administer the money in concert with them, in order to get a hand in the administration at all. Willich, however, now convinced that the £1,000 will not, like the 200 already spent, produce any further windfalls for him is said to have decided to emigrate to America, whither he has already been preceded by the trusty Gebert and Dietz.

Last week Papa Goegg again convened his Agitation Club.<sup>26</sup> An exact count revealed that it consisted of exactly 8 people, the place of Sigel and Fickler, who had disappeared, being taken by the newly-joined Oswald and Dralle. In addition it was found that, though Goegg had in the meantime acquired great fame as Kossuth's servant and has rendered 'sterling service' as an agitator for the Revolutionary League, he had otherwise not brought back even enough cash to cover the debts 'incurred to defray travelling expenses'. In these doubtful circumstances the agitators<sup>a</sup> felt compelled to attempt an alliance with Kinkel, in order that they might with decorum get at the £1,000. Kinkel likewise sees therein the last chance of avoiding an irreversible divorce from the £1,000. With the secret purpose of furthering this design, Goegg has convened a *general* meeting of refugees for tomorrow, the 7th, at Schärtner's. Ostensibly to report on his *grands œuvres*.<sup>b</sup> In fact, to be swept by general acclaim into an alliance with Kinkel and the £1,000. This may now not be accomplished.

But a third complication arises now, whose immediate effect is to debar both sides, Kinkel and Goegg, from the 'exchequer'. *To be precise, on the one hand, our Eduard Meyen is agitating for the money to be used to launch a big LONDON WEEKLY PAPER.* And, on the other, the 'critical' Edgar Bauer, who had barely heard of the predicament in which the £1,000 found itself, before he too crept forth and, taking up position behind Schily, Imandt, Schimmelpfennig, etc., also solicited a newspaper for himself. Imandt, etc., see this as the only means of rescuing the money from Kinkel and Goegg. Edgar Bauer adopts towards these people the appearance of a 'harmless humorist'.

I shall obtain an exact account of today's sitting since Imandt is now an L.M.<sup>c</sup> To revert to the one of the 3rd, I would mention the following: After questions of high policy had been dealt with,

<sup>a</sup> members of the Agitation Club - <sup>b</sup> great works - <sup>c</sup> Communist League member

the chivalrous Schimmelpfennig arose; certain persons had, he said, put it about that the Brüningk woman was a spy and he now declared them to be vile calumniators. Kinkel denied that he for his part had ever made any such assertion. (He had in fact made it to the whoreson Kamm of Bonn when the latter passed this way.) Willich, on whom all eyes were turned, sat tight and said nothing. *Techow* declared that it was even more vile when such suspicions were bandied about by persons who, for a whole year, had enjoyed the Brüningk woman's hospitality. It was their duty rather to refute such a talk whenever they got wind of it.

All eyes were turned on Willich. Willich did not stir, but throughout the whole of this sitting, which saw the fading of so many 'golden' dreams, is said to have been the very personification of 'unhappy consciousness'.

Well, enough of that crap for today.

I have just received the enclosed letter from Freiligrath, from which it appears that cur Johnson remains adamant.<sup>a</sup> Hence I am utterly at a loss what to do and my position is becoming abominable.

So honest Goegg has sent Freiligrath an invitation! He's one they can still never do without, but in the end they will have to.

My regards to the mandrake.<sup>b</sup>

Your  
K. M.

It seems unlikely that your letter will arrive today, it being already 2 in the afternoon.

Enclosed letters from *Cluss*:

1. 20 June.
2. 4 July.
3. 8 July, with Kinkel's circular.
4. Kinkel's circular of 2 August.
5. Cincinnati, 6 February,<sup>c</sup> letter from Kinkel to Huzel.
6. Letter from Hillgärtner to Huzel.
7. Letter from Cluss of 22 July.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 147. - <sup>b</sup> Ernst Dronke - <sup>c</sup> April in the original

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday evening [9 August 1852]

Dear Marx,

I've done a stupid thing. In its MAIL TABLE the *Daily News* does not mention any American STEAMER for Wednesday—so I succumbed to the Sunday indolence so natural to a *commerçant*.<sup>a</sup> And today I see from a commercial circular that a STEAMER is in fact leaving the day after tomorrow. I have begun to work,<sup>b</sup> but nothing is ready. I have Pindar coming to see me this evening and even if I sent him away, I doubt whether I should get anything done in the few hours before the last post. *Donc*<sup>c</sup> you and I have been duped. But I shall never again make the mistake of believing the commercial intelligence provided by the organ of the bourgeoisie.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>182</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 August 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

First, I enclose the original text of Kossuth's SECRET CIRCULAR.<sup>184</sup>

Next, the report 1. on the guarantors' sitting of 6 August, 2. on Goegg's meeting of 7 August.

<sup>a</sup> businessman. <sup>b</sup> Apparently on the English translation of Marx's article, "The Chartists". <sup>c</sup> So



As to 1. Present: Kinkel, Willich, Reichenbach, Löwe of Calbe, Meyen, Schurz (not Techow this time), Schimmelpfennig, Imandt; I know of no others. Not forgetting Schärttner.

Kinkel had had the indispensable third member (Techow) of the alliance<sup>a</sup> elected in America and Switzerland. There still remained the participation in the election of the 12-15 London guarantors. Here, as I told you, the election of Techow fell through and then he declared that he could not accept as he was leaving for Australia.<sup>b</sup>

*Kinkel* proposed to proceed with a new election of the third man. Fell through again.

*Löwe of Calbe: First:* 'The German loan has miscarried because the political circumstances (May 1852<sup>186</sup>) in view of which it was undertaken are no longer present, and the presupposed amount of 20,000 dollars has not been raised.' *Second:* 'The monies to be returned to the American committees.'

The first part of this motion was carried, the second rejected.

*Imandt:* 'If the majority of the remaining guarantors share my view, the money to hand should be used to publish a German newspaper in London.' 'Reichenbach will remain TRUSTEE of the money.' 'A committee is to be elected consisting of Reichenbach, Löwe and Schimmelpfennig, and Kinkel and Willich will hand over to it the lists of the guarantors in America and Switzerland; the previous committee has nothing more to do with the matter; the new committee will advise the guarantors abroad of the resolutions taken and will obtain their opinion.'

Reichenbach supported Imandt's motions, all were carried. Kinkel and Willich protested on the grounds that the disposal of the money did not rest solely with the body of guarantors. Only the donors of the money, or respectively the finance committees set up in America, could exercise the right of disposal.

*Sic transit gloria.*<sup>c</sup> Willich is more determined than ever to go to America, provided he can raise the fare.

As to 2. Meeting called by Finance Minister Goegg, back from America without finances.

Present: *In the chair:* 'Damm' himself (not yet slipped off to Australia). *Goegg. Ronge. Dr Strauss. Sigel,* the other one.<sup>d</sup> *Franck* (from Vienna). *Oswald. Dralle.* (These all 'agitators'.<sup>e</sup>) *Kinkel. Schurz. Meyen. Willich. Imandt. Schily. Becker.* One of Schärttner's

<sup>a</sup> A paraphrase of the expression 'in eum Bunde der dritte' from Schiller's poem 'Der Bürgschaft'. - <sup>b</sup> America in the original. See this volume, p. 150. - <sup>c</sup> Thus passes the glory. - <sup>d</sup> Albert Sigel. - <sup>e</sup> members of the Agitation Club

*waiters.* The tipsy Lumpenproletarian *Herweg* from Neuss. Candidate *Hentze* from Königsberg. *Garthe*. A *stripling* (unknown) from Vienna.

*Goegg* opened the sitting, described his activity in America, owing to which birth was given to a revolutionary league,<sup>173</sup> an act as a result of which the American Republic was supposed to be 'tumbled' and hence birth to be given to a German-Baden republic—the victory of the American Democrats over the Whigs to be ensured, etc. The modest young man further asserted (an opinion *attested* by the newly arrived candidate of philosophy *Hentze*) that Germans in all provinces stood with their eyes fixed on London so that, at the crucial moment when those present at the meeting fell into each other's arms, they could let out a thunderous hurrah that would resound across the ocean a thousand times o'er. Hence he demanded that the meeting constitute itself a branch of the Revolutionary League and no longer leave their poor compatriots to languish in that attitude of expectancy.

*Imandt*: Thanked *Goegg* for his information on American conditions. Suggested moreover that the meeting should disperse, since only a general and publicly convened meeting of refugees could take a decision.

*Damm* ruled him out of order.

*Kinkel*: (Already during *Goegg*'s eloquent speech, this sensitive poet-martyr had, by rolling his eyes, signified his irrevocable determination to spread out his arms in reconciliation). He, too, was aware that Germany was looking to them. He was in a position to clasp the conciliatory hand. As a sacrifice to the cause, he would forget the grave injustice he had suffered. He, too, was aware that not only the liberation of Germany, but also the revolutionising of America, lay in their hands. None so great, said he, in an allusion to *Ruge*'s 'agent of the Prince of Prussia',<sup>2</sup> as he who mastered himself. However he, for his part, demanded that the Revolutionary League should also now guarantee his loan. Even though he and the 'honourable' *Willich* might not see eye to eye politically, nevertheless they would, he believed, have achieved great things together.

*Imandt*: Respected the Christian humility of *Kinkel* who had forgotten that *Ruge* had called him an agent of the Prince of Prussia, who had, for sheer love of the revolution, had repressed the indignation in his burning breast which, 2 months earlier

<sup>2</sup> See this volume, pp. 150-51.

(May), had prompted, in the presence of the guarantors, the solemn declaration: 'as a good republican, he could only regard as injurious to his honour the suggestion that he should go with Ruge, his wicked detractor, and, rather than reconcile himself with the wicked Ruge, would retire from all political activity'. It was out of Christian humility that Kinkel had drained the bitter cup which Fickler had prepared for him with his horribly insulting letters (in one of those letters Fickler had described him as 'a turkey strutting on a dung-heap'); he had become, as indeed Goegg's friends maintained he had always been, simple of heart if he could bring himself to fall into the arms of his American rivals. The 'union' between Messrs Kinkel and Goegg was a fine thing, for although it really had no other purpose than that the former with the help of the latter should strive to get the upper hand in the administration of the loan funds, and that the latter with the help of the former should seek to worm his way into that administration, yet a peace agreement between two men of such stature might nevertheless ensure that the political parties throughout the world similarly became reconciled, that the constitutionalist held out his hand to the republican and the socialist to the republican, that henceforward the proletarians would no longer be exploited by the bourgeois and, in short, that everyone would embrace every one else and shout hip-hip-hurray. For the fact of Kinkel's having said in America that he regarded the proletarians as cannon fodder (as once in Bonn and Cologne he had adulated Cavaignac) and this, despite his alliance with the 'honourable' Willich, did not affect the issue. There was at most one trifling matter outstanding: like all people who, instead of studying the difference between the various parties and championing their interests, indulged in scatter-brained folly about uniting opposing elements, Kinkel could be reproached with a total lack of principle, etc. He would further draw Kinkel's attention to the fact that he could at most conclude agreements on his behalf, but not on behalf of the body of guarantors. Finally, Imandt moved that the Revolutionary League in America be left to its own devices and that all should go home. Whereupon Imandt went.

*Incidents:* Damm constantly interrupted Imandt and wanted to rule him out of order. As a Rhinelander, the tipsy *Herweg* felt obliged, so long as Imandt was present, to manifest approbation and, while Imandt was speaking of 'great men', he 'forgotten' the company with his pipe. During the passage about 'the proletarians', the painter, *Franck*, rose in indignation and said: 'I can't stand it any more. I grunt.' Imandt replied that this was

something he had in common with other animals, whereupon Franck decamped. Kinkel denied the 'cannon fodder'. Imandt told the whole story about Schnauffer and the *Wecker*, whereat Kinkel fell silent. At the word 'Cavaignac', he again broke in: 'Citizen Imandt, when did the *Bonner Zeitung* appear?' Imandt: It was all the same to him whether it had been before or after the June insurrection. He had read about the thing himself.

*Conclusion:* The sitting went on for 2 more hours. Goegg pleaded that they should join the Revolutionary League, at least temporarily. The afore-mentioned stripling from Vienna declared anyone who delayed in joining by so much as an hour to be a 'traitor to his country'. Nevertheless, after the majority had rejected *every*, I repeat, *every motion*, the company went home without having founded a branch of the American-European-Australian Revolutionary League.

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 16 August 1852

Dear Marx,

This evening I have been promised the £2 borrowed from me a short while ago; if I get it, I shall send you it at once tomorrow by P.O. order and shall also write at great length.

Since we've heard nothing further from Weydemeyer and, according to Cluss' letters, the things seem at last to have been sent off,<sup>a</sup> it might be advisable for us to inquire from Edwards, Sanford and Co. in Liverpool whether they have received any

<sup>a</sup> Copies of the *Revolution* containing Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, see this volume, p. 160.

packages. If you hear nothing more (last night the STEAMER had not yet arrived), I, at any rate, could do that.

From your report it would seem that the resolutions of 3 [August] have for the present snatched the money from Mr Kinkel's grasp.<sup>a</sup> Mr Imandt does pretty well for himself after his own fashion. *C'est drôle, quand un Schapper nous échappe, un Imandt est toujours sûr de revenir à nous.*<sup>b</sup> But he is at any rate a *deus minimorum gentium, canis domesticus communismi germanici*,<sup>c</sup> and as such is useful, since we have now learnt to keep lesser folk of this kind on a short rein.

The noble Willich's bosom must be much lacerated now that separation from the emigration's *coffre-fort*<sup>d</sup> has sprung the last band holding his noble consciousness together. He must, moreover, have notified his trustees over there long ago of his arrival since the latter, on the strength of an important letter from Willich, have already convened big extraordinary general meetings. Mr Willich will become head of the LOAFERS and ROWDIES there, and as such will have a rare opportunity of distinguishing himself. What is more, he will also find his old enemy Schramm<sup>e</sup> there, and that will lead to some pretty rows.

How delectable that Mr Kossuth has actually already caused companies to be drilled and Napoleon-Sigel is playing the instructor of the recruits. What an unspeakable swindler this Kossuth is; driving him out of America was one of the most splendid coups ever perpetrated by Cluss.<sup>184</sup>

By the way I shall very soon be doing the Hungarian campaign<sup>f</sup> and shall write direct to Brockhaus this very week. If he has no faith in my military qualifications, I shall arrange previously to do one or two cogent articles for the *Gegenwart* so that he can see what there is to them. Dronke's connection with Brockhaus is very good and must be exploited. For Brockhaus is after all one of the more tractable booksellers. *Nous allons voir.*<sup>g</sup>

I was interrupted while writing the article for Dana<sup>h</sup> last Thursday and shall, if possible, make up for it by doing 2 this week. I also expect something more from you on England.<sup>187</sup> Last week there could be little thought of work. While Dronke was here

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 149-50. - <sup>b</sup> It's curious, whenever we lose a Schapper, an Imandt is always sure to come back to us (pun on Schapper and *échappe*). - <sup>c</sup> god of the minor nation, house-dog of German communism - <sup>d</sup> strong-box - <sup>e</sup> Conrad Schramm - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, pp. 104 and 128. - <sup>g</sup> We shall see. - <sup>h</sup> for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*

I had neglected much of what I had previously been doing. Now I am gradually getting back in TRAIN.

Regards to your wife and children.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>188</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 August 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I had 10/- handed to me by Dronke. Yesterday £2 by post. However welcome the money was, I find it most *ennuyant*<sup>a</sup> that you should squeeze yourself dry for me, and this at a moment when you yourself are *plus ou moins*<sup>b</sup> in a fix.

As regards the Hungarian war, you would probably do well to have a look also at the following:

*The Fortress of Komárom (Comorn) during the War of Independence in Hungary*, by Colonel Sigismund Thaly. Translated (from the German) by William Rushton. James Madden, Leadenhead Street.

As regards works on military matters, since you intend to go thoroughly into the whole LINE, I would cite the following in case you might consider one or another of them worth acquiring:

Carrion-Nisas: *Essai sur l'histoire générale de l'art militaire etc.* Paris 1824.

Kausler: *Kriegsgeschichte aller Völker*. Ulm 1825. *Wörterbuch und Atlas der Schlachten*. 1825 and 1831. (The only two general military histories. Said to be meagre.)

Guerard: *Encyclopédie der Kriegskunst*. 2nd ed. Vienna 1833.

<sup>a</sup> annoying - <sup>b</sup> more or less

*Handbibliothek für Offiziere über das Ganze der Kriegskunde für Eingeweihte und Laien von einer Gesellschaft Preussischer Offiziere.* Berlin 1828.

J.A.M.-r (Millerbacher): *Das Kriegswesen der Römer, nach antiken Denkmalen geordnet von Ottenberger.* Prague 1824.

Löhr: *Das Kriegswesen der Griechen und Römer.* 2nd ed. Würzburg 1830.

Blesson: *Geschichte des Belagerungskriegs.* Berlin 1821.

Hoyer: *Geschichte der Kriegskunst.* Göttingen 1797.

Chambray: *Die Veränderungen in der Kriegskunst von 1700-1815.* German. Berlin 1830.

Stenzel: *Geschichte der Kriegsverfassung Deutschlands, besonders im Mittelalter.* Berlin 1820.

Barthold: *George v. Frundsberg.* Hamburg 1833.

Letters have arrived from Cluss which I shall send you as soon as I have shown them to Lupus and the little League.<sup>189</sup>

As regards Weydemeyer, Cluss writes as follows<sup>a</sup>:

'Not long ago, after some goading on my part, Weydemeyer wrote that he would have to put serious pressure on Korff who was supposed to have sent off the 50 *Brumaires*.<sup>b</sup> Weydemeyer has, I believe, small sums owing to him from Korff and will therefore have charged him with the dispatch, and/or payment of the postal costs.

'The remaining 300 *Brumaires* ... not yet dispatched ... He claims that 500 copies are still held at the printers as a security and he hasn't yet been able to redeem them, etc. ... *Financially*, for one thing I *cannot* under any circumstances intervene just now, and for another I *would not wish* to do so even if I could. For time and again I have been told that such and such a sum would resolve everything, and time and again such and such a sum has been provided and resolved nothing. When the *Revolution* began, we were told to have faith and send in advance-payments without delay. I at once sent subscriptions to the tune of 10 dollars, which I, of course, subsequently lost... Later it was said that the periodical was being put on its feet again and I was to find 20 dollars to that end; 18 dollars went off forthwith, 15 dollars from me personally and 3 dollars subscriptions. *Instead of being used to carry on the business*, this went to pay for the same old stupid bag of tricks, i.e. for the first 2 issues which had been sent out at random. The *Brumaire* arrived. Weydemeyer in despair. I told him I would instantly contribute 25-30 dollars if that would help, otherwise he was to send me the manuscript. Send me 25 dollars, he says; I do so. After a while it transpires that only 500 copies can be printed with the money available; no good, I tell him, how much more would it cost to print 1,000? 20 dollars, comes the reply, and the next day the money is already on its way.

'Now the poems<sup>c</sup> arrive; they are to be printed in New York; when I insist that the nonsense must cease and the printing begin, I get the poems back, it having unfortunately proved impossible to print them just now in New York. I at once

<sup>a</sup> Cluss to Marx, 5 August 1852. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>c</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II.

have them printed and bound for some 15 dollars (400 copies<sup>a</sup>) and send the stuff off in all haste so that it can be disposed of at the choral festival just then taking place in New York. They were touted round by *one solitary vendor*<sup>b</sup> who is said to have actually disposed of 60 (!) copies. So the printing of the 2nd thousand (I had left the type set up), the money for which Weydemeyer had promised to provide as he had already informed me, was, of course, stopped; and in the same way, the whole business appears to have remained inert and lifeless in his hands ever since.

I shall write and tell Weydemeyer that, in so far as I am financially involved in this affair, I want you to use it in Europe for further publications in the interests of the party, or in any other way *you yourself* think fit, hence that so far as my share in all this is concerned, to send no money to America. In the case of the poems, I alone am involved, and so I alone have the final say in the matter.

'I shall therefore stake everything on getting the stuff sent off.'

Isn't that an exact replica of our Brussels-Westphalian *aventure*?<sup>190</sup> Last week I wrote to F. Streit in Coburg about the printing of the *Brumaire*; he deals in articles of this kind.<sup>191</sup>

Apropos. No. 15<sup>c</sup> appeared in the *Tribune*.

In St Louis, Heinzen is now figuring for a change as an 'aristocrat of the intellect' (sic), ludicrous second-hand rehash of Feuerbach-Stirner; and since the Revolutionary League<sup>173</sup> is going to pot, the 'aristocrat of the intellect' proposes a 'humanist' union.

In addition I have the following to report:

On the 3rd, Kinkel and the *coffre-fort*<sup>d</sup> were duly divorced. Reichenbach deposited the money in the Bank of England in his own name.

At this gathering Kinkel feigned ignorance of the meeting convoked by Goegg and hence challenged Imandt in public to read out in public the invitation he had received. On the 6th, however, Goegg, turning to Kinkel, remarked: 'in accordance with the arrangement I made with you at your house', Willich was not present.

Hentze, the candidate, endorsed all his own remarks by adding: 'as a D. Phil. I ought to know'.

Goegg explained how his Revolutionary League 1. provided a stay and support for Germans in America, 2. might, by influencing the elections, sway American policy and induce the United States to adopt a policy of intervention. On the material side, too, a start had been made. Contributions of one cent per week. BOXES in all public houses. Gottfried declared himself in agreement with all this. Only, he opined, contributions of a dollar would be preferable to contributions of a cent, no one in America

<sup>a</sup> Cluss says 1,000 in his letter. - <sup>b</sup> Helmich - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XV. - <sup>d</sup> strong-box



having sufficient patriotic devotion to count up the cents. He also came out against BOXES.

Quoth the great Kinkel, staring hard at Imandt the while:

'Despite all the calumnies that have been spread against me, I can stand up with *unruffled* brow and say that I have never spoken ill of any exiled fellow citizen—not a single one.'<sup>a</sup>

*Consequence:* Since Kinkel had no money, but only his esteemed person, to offer by way of dowry, the latter was spurned, despite all his boot-licking and self-humiliation. The eight dynasts organised themselves into a Revolutionary League off their own bat and without co-opting Kinkel. The *malheureux!*<sup>b</sup>

Schmolze, a born painter, is said to have done a rather nice set of cartoons, Kinkel as King Lear and Willich as the Fool. Also a cartoon in which Willich, as a sloth, squats in a fruit-tree while Mrs Schärttner on the ground shakes the tree to dislodge him.

Willich has been stupid enough to extend his ostracism to the honourable and elderly Mr 'Schily' and to expel him from his little League<sup>189</sup> for all sorts of imaginary crimes. Schily is appealing to a general meeting. Today is the day of the ordeal. For his part Schily accuses Willich of '*unmistakable insanity*', as a proof of which he will this evening produce a letter from *Heise*, Willich's alleged friend in Liverpool, wherein *Heise* describes *Willich as mentally deranged*.

Last week friend Jones came within an ace of losing his newspaper.<sup>c</sup> Every week a deficit. At odds with the committee<sup>192</sup> and with the 2 citizens who have so far been putting up the money. Sudden reprieve. MacGowan has taken over publication, will make good the weekly deficit, and Jones is now ensconced in the office of the old *Northern Star*. MacGowan has sacked Harney, and the idiot bought the old *Star* from him for £40.

According to the *Gazette Agricole*, the next harvest in France will be  $\frac{1}{3}$  BELOW THE AVERAGE which in France, according to J. B. Say, = FAMINE.<sup>d</sup> In Germany a middling harvest. In England there is already an outflow of gold from the Bank for corn purchases. At the same time, wild speculation in the City. Last week, bankruptcies on the STOCK EXCHANGE. Finally, in North America, as I see from the *New-York Herald*, the wildest of wild speculation in RAILWAYS, BANKS, housing, unprecedented expansion of the credit

<sup>a</sup> Indirectly addressing to Marx in this way, Kinkel tried to justify himself in the face of the accusations moved against him, see this volume, p. 149. - <sup>b</sup> Poor thing! - <sup>c</sup> *The People's Paper* - <sup>d</sup> J. B. Say, *Cours complet d'économie politique pratique*, Paris, 1840, p. 394.

system, etc. Is that not APPROACHING CRISIS? The revolution may come sooner than we would like. Nothing could be worse than the revolutionaries having to provide bread.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO HEINRICH BROCKHAUS

IN LEIPZIG

London, 19 August 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you to ask whether you could use in your *Gegenwart* a paper on 'Recent Literature on the Economy in England, from 1830-1852'. So far as I am aware, no work of this kind has yet been published either in English or in German. It would cover 1. general works on political economy, 2. specialised writings which appeared during that period, in so far as they relate to really important controversies, for instance on population, the colonies, the banking question, protective tariffs and free trade, etc.

Should you feel inclined to fall in with this proposal, I should have to know the length prescribed for such a paper by the economics of your publication, since the subdivision of the whole would have to be arranged accordingly.

Another paper which might perhaps be pertinent just now is 'The Present State of the Parties', i.e. those that will confront each other in the next Parliament. Awaiting your reply, I am

Yours faithfully  
Dr K. Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 24 August 1852]

Dear Marx,

This evening I shall translate the final part of your article<sup>193</sup> and shall do the article on 'Germany'<sup>a</sup> tomorrow or Thursday. Charles<sup>b</sup> has gone away for a few days and I have a great deal to do in the office so that by evening my mind is often in a whirl.

Thanks for the suggestions on military history.<sup>c</sup> Could you sometime have a look in the British Museum to see if they have 1. The *Oesterreichische Militärische Zeitschrift* from 1848 onwards, 2. the Prussian *Militär-Wochenblatt*, the Berlin *Wehr-Zeitung*, 3. any other military periodicals, especially reviews, including French ones—from 1848 onwards? Also a set of the Augsburg *Allg. Ztg.*, particularly from 1850. I need these things very badly and, if it could somehow be arranged, would find time to work through them there, when I have got to that stage.

The excerpt from Cluss' letter<sup>d</sup> shows up *père*<sup>e</sup> Weydemeyer in an even more Westphalian light<sup>194</sup> than we had ever expected. Bielefeld *tout pur*.<sup>f</sup> It beats everything.

Johann Gottfried's<sup>g</sup> end is pleasing indeed. All that is left to the noble fellow is the cold comfort of knowing that he has done his duty and swollen the STOCK OF BULLION in the Bank of England. Furthermore, in fixing a new date for the liberation of the world, he had based himself, not on vague trade crises, but on hard, ineluctable fact, namely a spurious document in *The Morning Chronicle*!

The Willich-Schily farce<sup>h</sup> must have been a hilarious performance. *Pauvre*<sup>i</sup> Willich, how often during his harassment by the philistines must he have wished himself back in red Wolff's<sup>j</sup> company!

So Harney's star of freedom has faded away?<sup>195</sup>

There seems little doubt about the advent of the crisis, even if the recent bankruptcies were no more than precursors. Unfortunately the harvests in north-east Germany, Poland and Russia

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<sup>a</sup> for the series *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. - <sup>b</sup> Roesgen - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 159-60. - <sup>d</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 160-61. - <sup>e</sup> Father - <sup>f</sup> pure, unalloyed - <sup>g</sup> Gottfried Kinkel is ironically called after his wife 'Johanna'. - <sup>h</sup> See this volume, p. 162. - <sup>i</sup> Poor. - <sup>j</sup> Ferdinand Wolff

show signs of being passable, and in places even good. Here the recent good weather has likewise borne fruit. But France is still in the soup, and that's enough to be going on with.

The MINOR PANIC in the money market appears to be over, CONSOLS and RAILWAY SHARES are again rising merrily, MONEY IS EASIER, speculation is still pretty evenly distributed over CORN, COTTON, STEAM BOATS, MINING OPERATIONS, etc., etc. But cotton has already become a very risky proposition; despite what is so far a very promising crop, prices are rising continuously, merely as a result of high consumption and the possibility of a brief cotton shortage before fresh imports can arrive. Anyway I don't believe that the crisis will this time be preceded by a regular *rage* for speculation; if circumstances are favourable in other respects, a few mails bringing bad news from India, a PANIC in New York, etc., will very soon prove that many a virtuous citizen has been up to all kinds of sharp practice on the quiet. And these crucial ill-tidings from overstocked markets must surely come soon. Massive shipments continue to leave for China and India, and yet the advices are nothing out of the ordinary; indeed, Calcutta is DECIDEDLY OVERSTOCKED, and here and there NATIVE DEALERS are going bankrupt. I don't believe that PROSPERITY will continue beyond October or November—even Peter Ermen is becoming worried.

At all events, whether a revolution is immediately produced—immediately, i.e. in 6-8 months—very largely depends on the intensity of the crisis. The poor harvest in France makes it look as though something is going to happen there; but if the crisis becomes chronic and the harvest turns out after all a little better than expected, we might even have to wait until 1854. I admit that I should like another year in which to swot, having still a good deal of stuff to get through.

Australia also does some harm. First, directly through her gold and the stoppage of all her other exports, as also through the correspondingly heavier imports of all COMMODITIES and the fact that she is draining off the SURPLUS POPULATION here AT THE RATE OF 5,000 A WEEK. California and Australia are two cases which were not foreseen in the *Manifesto*<sup>a</sup>: creation of large new markets out of nothing. They will have to be included.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 August 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederick,

You will find enclosed:

1. Letter from Massol to me. The man upon whom he exerts influence is Proudhon, and the book which he regards as the happy (!) fruit of that influence is the latter's most recent book on Louis Bonaparte.<sup>a</sup> I shall be writing about this in one of my next letters.

2. Cluss' letter, an excerpt from which you have already had.<sup>b</sup>

3. A highly interesting letter from Jakob Huzel about Godofredus.<sup>196</sup>

4. A scribble by Goegg in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*.

5. and 6. 'Draft of a treaty of union' between Kinkel, Willich and Goegg. A circular letter from the first-named gentlemen to their American committees and guarantors.<sup>197</sup>

The whole is a cry of distress from Kinkel-Willich. They wish 1. to remove the inflexible Reichenbach from the proximity of the Holy Grail<sup>198</sup> so that they may use the funds 'with the utmost dispatch'.

2. Now that Kinkel no longer has an army behind him he wants to join the so-called Revolutionary League with £1,000 behind him, expecting the said League to show its gratitude by electing him to its highest committee.

3. Willich, hard-pressed and in an untenable position, wants to go to America once he has, as he puts it, 'solved *one* more problem'. The problem is to feather a parasitical swindler's nest for himself in America by handing over the £1,000 to the Revolutionary League and by joining same.

More next time. *Salut!*

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 160-61.

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## MARX TO PETER IMANDT

IN LONDON

[London,] 27 August 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Imandt,

2 truly memorable memoranda!<sup>197</sup> If that's not champion drivel<sup>a</sup> ... or however the saying goes.

However, in your place I would *reply to the lads*<sup>199</sup>:

At your guarantors' meeting you nominated a committee (provisional), consisting of Reichenbach, Löwe and Schurz, to settle matters. You were to await that committee's report. Kinkel and Willich were in no way empowered either to ask questions or to receive answers. Their threat that anyone in Europe failing to answer by 1 September (extremely short notice) would be held to be in agreement with them, is merely an attempt by them and Co., after their failure at the meeting, to *take over the administration of the funds* by stealth. You should protest against this procedure and say you will, if necessary, publish your protest with your full reasons for it.

At the same time I would write to *Reichenbach*:

Repeat the foregoing and declare that he must see to it that *not a centime* is paid out until *the committee nominated by yourselves* has submitted *its report*. Draw his attention to a few of the chief points of the document, but more especially to the following:

'In order that we may make use of the funds if need arise, we propose that the guarantors in America accord us with the utmost dispatch the right to co-opt a third colleague. In which case we should elect either Goegg or some other local member of the Revolutionary League, etc.'<sup>200</sup>

I.e. what the gentlemen have in mind is to get the money out of Reichenbach's hands 'with the utmost dispatch' because great 'need has now arisen' for Willich and Co. to 'make use of the funds'.

You could slip into both these letters a few jokes about the 'treaty of union'.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Marx uses the German saying: 'Wenn das nicht gut für die Wanzen ist, so weiß ich nicht, was besser ist.' <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 166.

Return me the documents as soon as possible, so that I can send reports to Germany and America (for which the next post leaves on Tuesday<sup>a</sup>) 'with the utmost dispatch'.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>182</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 August 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You will have seen from the documents I sent you how Kinkel-Willich are manoeuvring.<sup>b</sup> They are ignoring their deposition by the guarantors in their immediate vicinity and are endeavouring to obtain individual votes by stealth, which is partly why *Schurz* left for America immediately after the 12th. (A further object is to set up kindergartens there, of the Friends of Light.<sup>201</sup>) What the gentlemen have in mind is at long last to play a real role in the *administration of the funds*, from which they threaten to resign if not given their way. The *point d'argent*<sup>c</sup> is this. The chaps have spent £200, which would hardly be ratified here. Hence the attempt to obtain from America, directly and 'with the utmost dispatch', authority to make use of the funds or to co-opt a third colleague so that they may act as a properly constituted body. They have, after their usual fashion, set about things very artfully. First, they sent the documents to America and Switzerland, *behind* the backs of the London guarantors. Then the letters were delivered to the latter on the 26th (although dated 11 and 12), with the remark that silence would be taken for consent.

<sup>a</sup> 31 August - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 166. - <sup>c</sup> money matter

But since there is a possibility that the majority of the guarantors, even in America and Switzerland, might vote against these gentlemen, they have, on the quiet, called a meeting of guarantors (friends of Kinkel) for 14 or 15 September in Antwerp, in order to safeguard themselves against all eventualities by means of an alleged congress resolution.

The nature of their much-vaunted 'strong' organisations in Germany will be plain to you from the following.

As you know, Gebert has *allegedly* left for America. *Tout le monde le croit.*<sup>a</sup> But this is how things really stand.

At the beginning of this month Kinkel-Willich sent an emissary to Germany, i.e. *Gebert*, the tipsy journeyman tailor. In Magdeburg he assembled a so-called communist community; for 3 consecutive days discussions were held, 26-30 members taking part; in the chair was one *Hammel*; during the debates Marx and Engels were attacked with much acrimony;—in addition to various administrative and organisational questions there arose the question of how and in what manner a printing-house might be set up. They succeeded in finding an impoverished printer of books with a business in or near Magdeburg and concluded an agreement with him. He placed his office at their disposal for propaganda, the name of the firm being retained. In return he was paid 100 talers down and given a bill of exchange for 350 talers, maturing in a year's time reckoning from now.

The police knew about everything, beginning with Gebert's departure, and had him followed everywhere. They had their informant at the loutish gathering in Magdeburg. They don't intend to pull him in until he has completed his mission and compromised as many people as possible. The affair is most unfortunate for our prisoners in Cologne. If Gebert is pulled in, etc., I think the time would be ripe to denounce the fellows publicly and to issue a warning about them, namely that, from a secure hiding-place, they are playing into the hands of the German governments, especially the Prussian, for the purpose of pseudo-agitation and self-aggrandisement. I notified Cologne immediately. I can tell you only *by word of mouth* how I found out about the business.<sup>202</sup> Over here, too, secrecy of mails is somewhat problematic.

Willich is quite gone to the dogs. He can no longer borrow from anyone on the strength of the imminence of '*the great day*'. A few days ago his friend Schärttner told him *coram publico*<sup>b</sup> that '*free*'

<sup>a</sup> Everybody believes this. - <sup>b</sup> in public



grub and booze must now cease. He turned red as a turkey-cock and the implacable Schärttner, promptly suiting action to word, insisted on his paying cash for the pots he had just imbibed. However Willich still obtains some, if inadequate, sustenance by tumbling his old philistine of a landlady. That, too, has become notorious and no one any longer believes in the asceticism of this Sancho Panza. When, together with Johann,<sup>a</sup> etc., he writes, 'the time of the pen is past, the time of the sword has come',<sup>203</sup> this last should read IN PLAIN GERMAN: 'The time of *fencing* has come.'<sup>b</sup>

Techow, the revolutionary general, is only sailing for Australia in a few days, accompanied by Madame Stirner<sup>c</sup> and his fiancée. As you know, he has for some time been staying here *with* the Stirner woman. But then his fiancée arrives, a person of substance. Upon becoming aware of this, the Schmidt woman declares she will stand down. But now the fiancée, on learning that Techow has been living with the Schmidt woman, declares she no longer wants him and sends for her *potential* fiancé, an East Prussian farmer. Nevertheless he lives in the same house as herself, and the fiancé (the other one) an hour away from London. Poor Buridan-Techow!

A few days ago Pyat (Félix) called a reunion of his French adherents and laid before them a programme which is now to be published. Needless to say, 'God' had had a hand in it. One of those present objected to 'God' finding lodgment in a revolutionary programme. In conformity with *gouvernement direct*,<sup>d</sup> Pyat put it to the vote. 'God' got by with a majority of 7. *L'être suprême est sauvé encore une fois*.<sup>e</sup> God doth not forsake his own, as the saying used to go. Now it is: God's own do not forsake him. One good turn deserves another.

For a long time General Vetter was not seen in London; no one knew where he had gone. The *mystère* has now been cleared up. Vetter was travelling on an American passport, in which he figures as a painter, accompanied by his mistress, a singer named Ferenczi. He passed for an artist. She gave concerts at all places of importance and thus he travelled from Genoa and Milan to Rome, Naples and Palermo. Mazzini-Kossuth had provided him with PASSWORDS and recommendations. This gave him access to clandestine circles in Italy, while his ostensible TRADE introduced him into

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<sup>a</sup> Kinkel - <sup>b</sup> Play on the word *Fechten*, which, besides 'fencing', can also mean 'door-to-door-begging'. - <sup>c</sup> wife of Caspar Schmidt, whose pen-name was Max Stirner - <sup>d</sup> direct government - <sup>e</sup> The Supreme Being is saved once again.

the higher *cercles*.<sup>a</sup> He came back here some time ago and submitted a report to the 'European' Central Committee.<sup>103</sup> (Notabene: Darasz died and was buried last week.) In brief, to the great mortification of the 'pious' Mazzini, *L'Italie s'est tout à fait matérialisée. On n'y parle que commerce, affaires, soies, huiles et autres misères mondaines. Les bourgeois calculent d'une manière terriblement positive les pertes que la révolution de Mars les a fait subir et ne pensent qu'à se reprendre sur le présent. Quant à l'initiative insurrectionnelle ils sont heureux de la laisser aux Français, à ce peuple frivole et sensualiste. La seule chose, dont ils ont peur, c'est que les Français ne se hâtent trop.*

*Tu penses bien, mon cher, quel coup de foudre pour l'archange Mazzini. Le général Vetter, nommé déjà comme commandant supérieur des forces Mazzini-Kossuthiennes leur a déclaré que les choses étant ainsi, il ne saurait mieux faire que de passer avec sa maîtresse en Amérique. Au bout du compte, le malheureux Mazzini est convenu avec Kossuth de vouloir bien laisser aux Français l'initiative insurrectionnelle.*<sup>b</sup>

Not to the *vile multitude*,<sup>c</sup> however, but to Bonaparte.

I have had a letter from Paris<sup>d</sup> about this and other matters:

'Kiss, Kossuth's ambassador, has entered into relations here, not only with the Orleanists, but also with the Bonapartists. Kiss is acquainted with Jérôme's<sup>e</sup> sons. On the strength of this formal acquaintanceship, he was able to lambast Kossuth into concluding with the French government an alliance favourable to Hungary. The whimsical agitator fell into the trap and to this end dispatched Kiss to Paris, provided with *gulden*. Kiss enjoys himself in coffee and *other* houses, from time to time appears in the antechamber of Pierre Bonaparte, pulls the wool over the latter's eyes, writes splendid reports to Kossuth, and Hungary's liberation is no longer in doubt. These revolutionaries *par excellence* send agents to conclude a life and death alliance with a "tyrant"!

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<sup>a</sup> circles - <sup>b</sup> Italy has grown wholly materialist. The sole topics of conversation there are commerce, business, silks, oils and other wretchedly mundane things. The bourgeois reckon in the most dreadfully positive way the losses they incurred as a result of the March revolution and think only how they may recoup them from the present. As for insurrectionary initiative, they are glad to leave this to that frivolous and sensual people, the French. Their only fear is that the French might be in too much hurry.

You can imagine, my friend, what a thunderbolt this was to the Archangel Mazzini. General Vetter, already appointed commander-in-chief of the Mazzini-Kossuthian forces, told them that in the circumstances he could do no better than betake himself to America with his mistress. In the final count, the unfortunate Mazzini agreed with Kossuth that insurrectionary initiative was best left to the French. - <sup>c</sup> These words were used by Thiers in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on 24 May 1850, *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 145, 25 May 1850. - <sup>d</sup> from Zerffi - <sup>e</sup> Jérôme Bonaparte

*Mais ce n'est pas tout.<sup>a</sup>*

I have it from a reliable source that that old fool Lelewel and Thaddäus Gorzowski have been here on behalf of the Polish 'Centralisation'.<sup>204</sup> They submitted to Kossuth-Mazzini an insurrectionary plan of which Bonaparte's co-operation is the pivot. These old jackasses of conspirators are always putting their foot in it. They had, and continue to have, as agent here a certain Count Lanckoróński or some such. This lad (lives at 7 Harington Street, Hampstead Road) is a *Russian* agent, and *their* insurrectionary plan was done the honour of being amended beforehand in Petersburg.<sup>205</sup>

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>206</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, 30 August 1852]

... This is how the gentlemen<sup>b</sup> have manoeuvring. They are ignoring their deposition by the guarantors in their immediate vicinity who have seen through them, and are endeavouring to obtain individual votes by stealth, which is partly why Schurz left for America. (A further object is to set up kindergartens there, after the style of the Friends of Light.<sup>201</sup>) They, who up till now have been vainly angling for unrestricted access to the administra-

<sup>a</sup> But that's not all. - <sup>b</sup> Kinkel and Willich

tion of the funds—which Reichenbach is withholding from them—are behaving as though they propose to withdraw from it *now*, unless allowed to do as they please. What they really want is *to get at it*.

The *point d'argent*<sup>a</sup> is as follows: The chaps have spent £200, which would hardly be ratified here. By this coup, by the special powers they have received from the other guarantors, they hope to get the money out of Reichenbach's clutches and, above all, *to make good the £200*. This was their ploy: First, they send the documents of 11 and 12 August to America and Switzerland, *behind the backs of the London guarantors*. Then the letter was delivered to the latter on the 26th with the instruction that, if they failed to answer by 1 September, their silence would be taken for consent.

What will Weitling say on learning that the money will now be indirectly finding its way to the worthy Heinzen? The gentlemen were likewise careful not to mention that, despite Kinkel's recommendation and Goegg's pleading, the Revolutionary League's attempt to establish itself over here was a lamentable failure. Not a man allowed himself to be moved by them. What they now call the Revolutionary League in London is Ruge's clearly circumscribed following, seven in number, which formerly went by the name of Agitation Club. The said league comprises the following gentlemen: Ruge, Goegg, Franck (Vienna), Ronge, Tausenau, Sigel (the other one)<sup>b</sup>; Oswald, the tobacconist, and the arrogant Tralle have joined in place of Gen. Sigel and Fickler.

Tralle was denounced by Dulon in person because, at a time of peril, he ratted on his little Bremen paper.<sup>c</sup>

Willich is completely and utterly gone to the dogs. Schärttner has refused him his free meals and publicly shown him the door. He now proposes to go to America, where he hopes to be given a kind welcome from the Revolutionary League in return for his intention to bring them the £1,000 by way of a dowry. Schärttner had been solicitously accepted into the central authority of Willich's league. Willich's position in London has become completely untenable; his parasitical existence is over once and for all. It would do no harm were these plans and grand designs of the patriots made public.

In the Kinkel-Willich document you will find the beautiful

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<sup>a</sup> money matter - <sup>b</sup> Albert Sigel - <sup>c</sup> *Bremer Tages-Chronik*

axiom: 'The time of the pen is past, the time of the sword has come'<sup>203</sup>; this should read IN PLAIN GERMAN, and in a higher sense, the time of 'fencing' has come.<sup>204</sup>

In a few days' time the revolutionary general Techow is leaving for Australia with Madame Schmidt (Stürner's wife). He has been living with her in this country for some time. But along comes his fiancée, on learning which Mrs Schmidt declares she will stand down. Then his affianced acquires another 'fiancé' and says she doesn't want Techow any more because of his having lived with the Schmidt woman, and that she is going to marry the other man. Nevertheless he lives in the same house as herself, and the fiancé (the other one) a few miles outside London. Poor Buridan-Techow!

Madame Pulszky was terribly put out, one of the American papers in which you mentioned her having arrived over here.

A *propos*. Szemere has sent his manuscript<sup>b</sup> to Webb; but first he got a written agreement that it must be published *as it stands*. Let me solve the Szemere *mystère* for you. The chap is very *tight-fisted*, which is why he would rather get Webb to print his thing than do so himself, as he could perfectly well do...<sup>207</sup>

... A few days ago Félix Pyat called a reunion of his French adherents and laid before them a programme which is now to be published. 'God' had had a hand in it. One of those present objected to God finding lodgment in a revolutionary programme. In conformity with the *gouvernement direct* principle, Pyat put it to the vote. 'God' got by with a majority of 7. *L'être suprême est sauvé encore une fois.*<sup>c</sup> God doth not forsake his own, the saying used to go. Now it is: God's own do not forsake him. One good turn deserves another...<sup>208</sup>

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Published in English for the first time

<sup>a</sup> Play on the word, *Fechten*, which, besides 'fencing', can also mean 'door-to-door begging'. - <sup>b</sup> B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...* - <sup>c</sup> 'The Supreme Being is saved once again.'

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 September 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed pissabed letter from the great Weydemeyer, you will see how matters stand. With it the brute sent 10 copies.<sup>a</sup>

I have not yet had an answer from Mr F. Streit,<sup>b</sup> *ce qui est de très mauvais augure.*<sup>c</sup> There is now some, if little, prospect of its being published in English by a London bookseller. For the time being I am to give him the first chapter by way of a sample. I have therefore had it translated by Pieper. The translation is swarming with mistakes and omissions. However, its correction will not be such an imposition on you as the boring task of translation.<sup>d</sup> I would like you to write an English preface of not more than 10 lines, saying that this paper originally appeared in the form of newspaper articles between the end of December and the beginning of February, that it was published as a pamphlet in New York on 1 May, that a 2nd edition is now to appear in Germany,<sup>209</sup> and that it was the first anti-Bonaparte paper to appear; the few details no longer of relevance may be accounted for by its date of origin.

E. Jones is a thoroughly egotistical rascal. For 2 months he has been dangling before me the promise that he will do a translation (for his journal<sup>e</sup>). For my part, I have done him nothing but favours. In spite of my own money bothers I have spent days with him traipsing all over the place in connection with his paper's financial affairs. All the foreign intelligence *exclusive* to his *pauvre*<sup>f</sup> little paper came from me. Whenever he got into a scrape with his committees,<sup>192</sup> opponents, etc., he came running to me, and my advice invariably got him out of it. Finally, when his journal became altogether too deplorable, I gave him my EDITORIAL SUPPORT for several weeks, and indeed the wretched thing gained some 100 additional subscribers in London.

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 161. - <sup>c</sup> which is a very bad sign - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 179. - <sup>e</sup> *The People's Paper* - <sup>f</sup> wretched

He, for his part, does not even observe the common civilities. Help him concoct his journal today and he'll forget to send you a copy tomorrow, but this *forgetfulness* recurs every seven days since his paper does not come out twice a week.

I have told him it's all very well to be an egotist but he should be so in a civilised way and not so inanely. Since, however, the paper is the only Chartist organ, I shall not break with him but LET HIM SHIFT FOR HIMSELF for a few weeks.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>210</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, 3 September 1852]

It has been put about here that *Gebert*, a bottle-loving journeyman tailor and a myrmidon of Willich's, had left for America. That is not so. At the beginning of August Kinkel and Willich sent him to Germany as their emissary.

As these people harp on 'organisations' in their circular—the last one to the guarantors—and on the whole have no connections in Germany, the remnants of the Communist League there who for one reason or another have no contact with Cologne were to provide a semblance of, and pretext for, such 'organisations'.<sup>a</sup> And then the gentlemen also had to account for the sum of £200. Hence a certain sum of money had to be spent in one quarter or another in such a manner that it could decently be described as 'revolutionary expenditure'. They hoped the remainder of what had been spent could then be more easily passed off. Finally, Marx, Engels and co. were to be destroyed (sic) in the eyes of working men in Germany. Kinkel thought that, having begged

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 169.

and lied his way into the esteem of the remnants of the Communist League, he could palm off the latter on to his bourgeois guarantors as a *bourgeois-democratic* connection. Willich, the representative imposed upon the German workers by himself and Kinkel, at last saw a chance of creating for himself a real following of workers in Germany.

To continue. In Magdeburg, Gebert assembled a so-called communist community; for 3 consecutive days discussions were held, 26-30 members taking part; in the chair was one Hammel (*nomen omen*<sup>a</sup>); during the debates Marx and Engels were attacked with much acrimony, the main task laid down being to destroy them, their influence and their 'doctrines'. (Brother Hammel may not find this last so easy.) In addition to various administrative and organisational questions, there arose the question of how and in what manner a printing-house might be set up. They succeeded in finding an impoverished printer of books with a business in or near Magdeburg and concluded an agreement with him. He placed his office at their disposal for propaganda, the name of the firm being retained as it was. In return he was paid 100 talers down and given a bill of exchange for 350 talers, which he is to receive after *one* year.

Thus the revolutionary funds are to serve the purpose of propaganda for that creature, Kinkel-Willich, and of promoting intrigue to split up the 'organisations' in Germany.

But the best is still to come. The Prussian police *were informed of everything* from the moment the innocuous Gebert left London, whereas everyone here imagined he had slipped off to America. The government had its informant at the loudish assembly at Magdeburg; he took down the entire debate in shorthand. Gebert, who has now gone to Berlin, had a Prussian policeman in train. He is not allowed out of sight for an instant. The government intend to allow him to fulfil his mission, by which time he will have compromised dozens of others besides himself.

I have this intelligence—Willich, too, has been bragging about his 'agents' in Germany—from a Prussian police headquarters in which I have planted a *séid*.<sup>b 202</sup>

*Qu'en dis-tu?*<sup>c</sup> So these knaves are providing the Prussian government with an opportunity to introduce fresh complications into the Cologne trial, etc.

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<sup>a</sup> The name is significant (Hammel means sheep). - <sup>b</sup> a devoted follower - <sup>c</sup> What do you say to that?



And to what purpose? To cover up their shady accounts, to disguise the pointlessness of all their revolutionary committee doings hitherto, to excite their feeble spirits against their foes, etc., etc. Just now the thing *must still be kept secret*. But as soon as you see that Gebert has been pulled in, or that arrests of 'communists' have begun, let fire without waiting to hear anything more....

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>211</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, after 5 September 1852]

... Enclosed copy of a manuscript from Paris by Häfner<sup>212</sup> (sometime editor of the *Constitution*, the only tolerable newspaper in Vienna). This man once allowed himself to be misused to bluster against me in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* in the interests of Kinkel. The manuscript was not addressed to me but to an acquaintance of mine in Paris,<sup>a</sup> through whose 'indiscretion' it came into my hands, probably not wholly without the author's prior knowledge. Hence, you can make use of the document if opportunity arises, but only in such a way as to omit everything that might betray its *origin*, or rather directly indicate it. Though he may have a hump both fore and aft, little Häfner writes and thinks better and has a great deal more to him than many a straight-limbed revolutionary philistine...

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<sup>a</sup> Zerffi

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Tuesday, 7 September 1852

Dear Marx,

I am having a great deal of trouble over Pieper's translation.<sup>a</sup> The beginning is particularly difficult to translate and *l'aimable candidat*<sup>b</sup> Pieper seems to have given rein to charming lightheartedness. If possible, I'll let you have it on Thursday.

Pindar has been involved in a romance up here. I don't know whether I have already told you this, but recently I went to his house and found his mother there, A VERY RESPECTABLE OLD ENGLISH LADY, with a young lady of very un-English appearance whom I took to be a Russian. Last Friday I asked Pindar whether this *krasnávitza* (*beauté*)<sup>c</sup> was his wife or his sister—*ni l'un ni l'autre*,<sup>c</sup> was the reply. On Monday his mother comes to my house: her dear Edward had gone, vanished. I wasn't in but, hearing about it, at once went to see her. *Je trouve la digne mère en pleurs*<sup>d</sup> and am told the following: In Petersburg Pindar fell madly in love with a Swede (or Finn) with whom, it seems, he ran away after his father's death. He married her in England—'her' being the afore-said *krasnávitza*. In London he makes the acquaintance of a Frenchwoman—an erstwhile Parisian whore and mistress of an English Grub Street dramatist by the name of Taylor, says his mother who, of course, makes her out to be a thoroughly bad lot. He gives her lessons, and the quiet candidate becomes amorously entangled with her. His wife discovers the affair (in the meantime his mother had come over from Kronstadt with some money and had made her peace with the Swedish woman) and, to wean Pindar from the Frenchwoman, the whole family moves to Liverpool. But again he sends for the lady of joy, and the Swede, evidently a woman of great patience and tenacity, finds out once more. Fresh migration to Manchester, where the mother finally establishes herself and even buys 2 houses (she is living on what remains, after her

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 175. - <sup>b</sup> the amiable candidate - <sup>c</sup> neither the one nor the other - <sup>d</sup> I find the worthy mother in tears

fritterings, of the former Pindar fortune, made in the TIMBER AND BISCUIT TRADE). Here again, however, Pindar sends for his Frenchwoman—she has undoubtedly visited him three times, as I know from the fact that on each occasion he regularly touched me for a loan and as regularly paid me back afterwards. But last Saturday he brought things to a head by running away with her—as his mother maintains, to Australia, but either New York or simply Paris would seem more probable to me. He took from the FUNDS £190 belonging to him and promptly lost £20 in the omnibus (the waiter in the hotel where the Frenchwoman was staying thinks that she relieved him of it). The fellow had money enough, his mother kept him in everything and he had £100 pocket money.

Yesterday the Swede followed him to Liverpool. I am curious to know what comes of it.

For the rest of his life the poor devil will be plagued by this foolish early marriage to his Swedish ideal—*voilà ce qui a toujours pesé sur lui*.<sup>a</sup> With a little more experience and *savoir-faire*, he could have kept his Frenchwoman very nicely here on his £100, but how is a fellow to gain experience if at 21 he falls madly in love with a Swede, runs away with her and enters into respectable wedlock! If the silly boy had only told me about the affair, it would have been easy enough to straighten things out. But to go and let himself in for a *plus ou moins*<sup>b</sup> enduring, at any rate serious, affair with a Frenchwoman *à l'étranger*,<sup>c</sup> and to run away with her—*quelle bêtise!* *Elle lui en fera voir, ma foi*,<sup>d</sup> especially if he has really gone to Australia. Besides, his mater is a terribly kind and soft-hearted person and God knows what he couldn't have got her to agree to. But just as Kinkel sees betrothal,<sup>e</sup> so Pindar would seem to see elopement, as the essence of every love affair.

Your news about Vetter, etc. and the London people is splendid. I am returning Massol's letter<sup>f</sup> and also Weydemeyer's—Cluss' I shall keep here *jusqu'à nouvel ordre*.<sup>g</sup> What about the articles for Dana? Pindar's absence gives me more time; I am now doing Russian more *con amore sine ira et studio*,<sup>h</sup> and can already manage a little. At the moment things military are AT A DISCOUNT. Office work very lively.

<sup>a</sup> that's what has always weighed him down - <sup>b</sup> more or less - <sup>c</sup> abroad - <sup>d</sup> how stupid! Upon my soul, she'll lead him a pretty dance - <sup>e</sup> Allusion to the facts from Kinkel's biography made fun of in the pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, pp. 166 and 182. - <sup>g</sup> until further order - <sup>h</sup> with love, without undue zeal (the latter part from Tacitus, *Annals*, I, i)

As soon as I possibly can, i.e. in a few days' time, I shall send you £2 which is all I can screw out for the moment.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>213</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 8 September 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Your letter today found us in a state of great agitation.

My wife is ill. Little Jenny is ill. Lenchen<sup>a</sup> has some sort of nervous fever. I could not and cannot call the doctor because I have no money to buy medicine. For the past 8-10 days I have been feeding the FAMILY solely on bread and potatoes, but whether I shall be able to get hold of any today is doubtful. Such a diet is not, of course, beneficial in present climatic conditions. I have not written any articles for Dana because I didn't have a PENNY to go and read the papers. By the way, as soon as you send No. XIX, I shall write and give you my views on No. XX, i.e. a résumé of the present dirty business.<sup>214</sup>

When I was with you<sup>146</sup> and you told me you would be able to find me a somewhat larger sum by the end of August, I wrote and told my wife that to reassure her. Your letter of 3-4 weeks ago<sup>b</sup> hinted that there were no great prospects, but still left some. Accordingly I had put off all creditors—who, as you know, are

<sup>a</sup> Helene Demuth. · <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 147-48.

always paid by dribs and drabs—until the beginning of September. Now the storm is breaking out on all sides.

I have tried everything, but in vain. First I am cheated out of £15 by that cur Weydemeyer. I write to Streit<sup>a</sup> in Germany (because he had written to Dronke in Switzerland). The brute does not deign to answer. I approach Brockhaus<sup>b</sup> and offer him an article of entirely innocuous contents for the *Gegenwart*. He sends a very polite letter of refusal. Finally I spend the whole of last week trailing round with an Englishman<sup>c</sup> who said he would find someone to discount the bills on Dana for me. *Pour le roi de Prusse*.<sup>d</sup>

The best and most desirable thing that could happen would be for the LANDLADY to throw me out. Then I would at least be quit of the sum of £22. But such complaisance is hardly to be expected of her. On top of that, debts are still outstanding to the baker, the milkman, the tea chap, the GREENGROCER, the butcher. How am I to get out of this infernal mess? Finally, and this was most hateful of all, but essential if we were not to kick the bucket, I have, over the last 8-10 days, touched some German types for a few shillings and pence.

You'll have seen from my letters that, as usual, when I myself am in the shit and not just hearing about it at second-hand, I plough through it with complete indifference. Yet, *que faire?*<sup>e</sup> My house is a hospital and so worrying is the crisis that it compels me to devote all my attention to it. *Que faire?*

Meanwhile Mr Goegg is again on a pleasure trip to America, STEAMER FIRST CLASS. Mr Proudhon has pocketed a few 100,000 fr. for his anti-Napoleon<sup>f</sup> and Papa Massol has been generous enough to leave the *miner, fouiller*,<sup>g</sup> etc., to me.<sup>215</sup> *Je le remercie bien*.<sup>h</sup>

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 161. - <sup>b</sup> *ibid.*, p. 163. - <sup>c</sup> Poenisch - <sup>d</sup> Literally: for the king of Prussia, i.e. for nothing - <sup>e</sup> what's to be done? - <sup>f</sup> P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre*. - <sup>g</sup> digging and rummaging - <sup>h</sup> I thank him very much.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 September 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Received, the £4 Sperlinge.<sup>a</sup>I have again written to my mater and think that at least it may do some good.<sup>191</sup>Besides, I have today made another attempt, which I trust will at long last succeed, to obtain the money on Dana, for I am very hard-pressed, *et je n'ai pas à perdre du temps.*<sup>b</sup>The doctor has just been and prescribed something for the whole FAMILY *excepté moi.*<sup>c</sup> My wife is getting better; little Laura's condition is worst of all.

You have no idea what a silly ass Pieper is!

Every day he asks me whether you have sent the thing<sup>d</sup> back yet and *what* you had to say about his outstanding piece of work. Of course I couldn't tell him and now the clown imagines that out of envy I am withholding the praises you showered on him.Today, when I went out to call the doctor, I ran into the humbug. 'Has Engels written and sent the translation?' Not yet, I told him, to which Pieper replied: 'But he will, *for I myself* have written to him.' Should you reply you might point out to him that there is no call for him to have any say in *my* transactions with you.Enclosed a memorandum from Paris<sup>212</sup>; it fell into the hands of a friend of mine<sup>e</sup> there who sent me a copy of it, and I have made a further copy for the Manchester archives.<sup>216</sup>Your  
K. M.First published considerably abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1929Printed according to the original  
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<sup>a</sup> Marx wrote *Sperlinge* (sparrows) instead of 'sterling'. - <sup>b</sup> and I must lose no time - <sup>c</sup> except me - <sup>d</sup> Translation into English of the first chapter of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* made by Pieper (see this volume, p. 175). - <sup>e</sup> Zerffi

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 14 September 1852

Dear Marx,

Pieper has written asking me to send him the corrected translation<sup>a</sup> by *return of post*. *Cela me convenait bien*.<sup>b</sup> I had a pain in the abdomen and was unfit for any kind of work. Tell him that if he wants answers to his letters, the least he can do is give his address; Pieper, Esq., is not as well known as all that in London, even if he has become a clerk at 25/-a week. Apart from that, there's no reason why he shouldn't go on with the translation, but he must take a little more trouble or, if he can't, at least leave blank spaces to be filled in by me, when he strikes a difficult patch, which is after all better than writing nonsense out of sheer carelessness. His pretext for writing to me, by the way, was simply that he didn't know whether I thought him capable of doing the thing at all. He shall have a detailed list of his principal mistakes, with comments.<sup>c</sup>

I might be able to get the thing done tonight and tomorrow evening, as I am now feeling better.

For the rest, his letter faithfully echoed everything he had heard at your house and which I, of course, already knew.

I take it that Pindar has been to see you? He wrote to me from London and is on his way to Paris. I shall write to him this evening. I have also made the acquaintance of his Swede or Finn; *c'est une oie, petite bourgeoise au plus haut degré, qui paraît s'être bientôt consolée du départ de son époux*.<sup>d</sup> He was right to give the creature the slip. I shall visit his mater once or twice more for appearances' sake and then drop the whole thing; *c'est embêtant*<sup>e</sup> to listen to the cold-blooded little witch maligning her husband.

I hope the discounting affair turned out all right and that things at home are going a little better. I am now thinking up a new way of saving a few pounds; if it succeeds, I shall probably be able to

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see this volume, pp. 175 and 183). - <sup>b</sup> That suited me very well. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 190-93. - <sup>d</sup> she's a goose, petty bourgeois to the marrow, who seems quickly to have consoled herself for her husband's departure - <sup>e</sup> it's a bore

send you something more by the beginning of next month—i.e. in about 14-16 days. It depends partly on whether my brother-in-law<sup>a</sup> comes here and if so, when.

Enclosed two things from Weydemeyer: you might let me have the *Lithogr.*<sup>217</sup> back some time for the archives. Häfner's memorandum<sup>212</sup> is interesting, though obviously written for our consumption—*c'est une pétition*.

Best wishes to your wife and children.

Your  
F. E.

You'll be glad to see that Heinzen is on his last legs.<sup>218</sup>

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

London, 18 September 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

If you delay sending back the translation<sup>b</sup> for another few days, the possibility of getting it taken will be absolutely nil. Interest in Bonaparte, having again attained a peak,<sup>219</sup> is now giving way to fresh topics, as always happens in London.

The discounting affair has come to naught after a week spent on a wild goose-chase with a rascal from the City *nommé*<sup>c</sup> Poenisch. I therefore wrote to Dana yesterday.<sup>191</sup> At the same time I told him that there were only two more articles, 19 and 20, to come ON GERMANY. As soon as you send me 19<sup>d</sup> I shall write to you

<sup>a</sup> Emil Blank - <sup>b</sup> of the first chapter of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see this volume, pp. 175 and 183) - <sup>c</sup> named - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XIX.



again, giving my views on 20, the concluding one. Within the next few days the Customs Union business, too, will have been decided, and without it 20 cannot be finished.<sup>220</sup>

Physically, my wife is lower than ever before, i.e. sheer debility. On doctor's orders she has been taking a spoonful of brandy every hour for the past 3 days. There is however some improvement, inasmuch as she has at least got up today. She has been in bed for a week. Little Laura is convalescent, the others ALL RIGHT. I shall not be able to write at length before next week. This week has been wasted on abortive business errands and the most nauseous wrangling *cum creditoribus*.<sup>a</sup>

Your  
K. M.

With next week's letter I shall also return the documents.<sup>b</sup> Let me have Massol's letter back.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 20 September 1852

Dear Marx,

I didn't know that you were in such a hurry for the translation<sup>c</sup> and let the thing slide for a bit because, as I said,<sup>d</sup> I wasn't well, and also because I wanted to tease Pieper a little for having been so pressing. However, I immediately set to work yesterday and would have finished had not the aging Mr Schily<sup>e</sup> walked into my room at about 2 in the afternoon. He wishes to open a factory in

<sup>a</sup> with creditors - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 185. - <sup>c</sup> into English of the first chapter of K. Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 184. - <sup>e</sup> Victor

Liverpool for the production of a purported patent soda which would yield 400-500 per cent clear profit and might, depending on circumstances, produce 4 1/2 million talers a year. He wanted to discuss this fantastic plan with me—and was all ready to fall for the swindle with a few thousand talers which his brother says he will procure for him. Mr Heise is in it too, but is investing nothing but his talents. After the dispassionate advice he has received here, the noble Schily will probably keep his hands off the thing and will take advantage of a possible opening as Liverpool human cargo agent for a fleecer of emigrants in Le Havre. Mr Heise once had a natty little plan whereby the funds of the National Loan were to be used for this soda swindle; the work was to be carried on democratically and the millions thus raked in<sup>a</sup> devoted to the liberation of Europe. It is a pity that nothing came of this scheme, which would seem to have foundered largely on the impossibility of mustering thirty refugees able to *hold their tongues*.

I was, of course, under an obligation to get the noble Schily tipsy—*il n'y avait pas moyen à y échapper*.<sup>b</sup> It's some time since I encountered such an innocuous beast. The stupidity and ignorance and thoughtlessness of such a man of principle has to be seen to be believed. When he had become a little tipsy—I was engaged in an argument with a third German, Charles'<sup>c</sup> cousin—he shouted incessantly, although very good-humouredly: Don't you believe that; Engels believes in nothing, there's nothing at all Engels believes in, none of the fellows of the *N. Rh. Z.* believe in anything, no one can fathom them. There's nothing at all Engels believes in! I, of course, replied that the fellows of the *N. Rh. Z.* did not find it in the least difficult to fathom the likes of him. This morning the worthy fellow, after a sober handshake, set course for Liverpool again, and by tonight the translation will be finished. But I get dreadfully held up over the thing since I have to make a new translation of all the more difficult bits without exception—Pieper makes shift with a literal translation in every case, the result being utter nonsense. There are, by the way, some bits which are almost impossible to translate.

However, I will do my utmost to have finished by tonight so that you can have it tomorrow.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> An ironical reminiscence of Schiller's words 'Seid umschlungen, Millionen!' in his ode 'An die Freude' ('To Joy'). - <sup>b</sup> there was no escaping it - <sup>c</sup> Roesgen

If at all possible, I shall send you another pound within the next few days.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>221</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 23 September 1852]

Dear Marx,

The day before yesterday I sent you the translation<sup>a</sup> and a Post Office order for a pound. A few more pounds will follow at the beginning of October—i.e. in 9-10 days. I should like to send you more at a time because, then even though the total amount is the same in the end, it has the advantage of enabling you to plan your expenditure more methodically, but my own pecuniary circumstances are in such a muddle just now that I never know exactly how much I shall need for the month, and hence pounds only become available singly, so it seems best to send them to you straight away. Next month I shall put things on a business-like footing, after which I shall soon be able to make some rough estimates.

From the enclosed memorandum you will see that Pieper has made a number of fairly bad howlers—I haven't, of course, enumerated his transgressions against grammar and Donatus,<sup>b</sup> *cela n'aurait jamais fini*.<sup>c</sup> You may give it to him if you think it would do any good; otherwise, if it might lead him to abandon the translation, you had better keep it. Should he grumble over this or that correction, you can always use it as an opportunity to point out his imperfections.

Individual bits are, by the way, almost untranslatable.

<sup>a</sup> into English of the first chapter of K. Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - <sup>b</sup> Fourth-century Roman grammarian. - <sup>c</sup> there'd have been no end to it

Incidentally, it might also be advisable for the bookseller to see the *last* chapter in particular; he would then be vastly more impressed; I suggest that Pieper might translate it and you send it straight on to me; having already looked at it with this in mind, I am not wholly unprepared and progress would therefore be rapid. Even if it can't be published now, the translation must be completed; the chap<sup>a</sup> will soon become Emperor,<sup>222</sup> and that would provide another splendid opportunity for adding a postscript.

I am going straight home to finish the article for the *Tribune*<sup>b</sup> so that it catches the 2nd post and you can send it off by tomorrow's STEAMER. What prospect is there of a new English article for Dana?

I trust the brandy has set your wife on her feet again—warm regards to her and your children, also Dronke and Lupus.

Your  
F. E.

Massol's letter with the article for Dana by the 2nd post—I haven't got it here.

Did you see the statistics from Horner, the FACTORY INSPECTOR, on the growth of the cotton industry in yesterday's *Times* and day-before-yesterday's *Daily News*?<sup>c</sup>

Oct. 1850-Oct. 1851—

2,300 horsepower in newly built factories

1,400 horsepower in extensions to existing factories

3,700 horsepower increase in the Manchester district

and the cotton industry alone.<sup>223</sup> The following particulars reveal that during that period there were factories still under construction which would require some 4,000 horsepower and which will now have been completed. Since that time, work has undoubtedly begun on factories of 3,000-4,000 horsepower, more than half of which might be completed by the end of the year; if we assume that the increase between Jan. 1848 and Oct. 1850, i.e.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  years, is no more than 4,000 horsepower, the steam-power of the Lancashire cotton industry will have risen between 1848 and the end of 1852 by  $3,700+4,000+1,500+4,000=13,200$  horsepower.

<sup>a</sup> Louis Bonaparte - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XIX. - <sup>c</sup> 'Cotton Manufactures', *The Times*, No. 21227, 22 September 1852; 'Progress of Cotton Manufactures', *The Daily News*, No. 1975, 20 September 1852.

In 1842 the total steam-power of the cotton industry in Lancashire amounted to 30,000 and in 1845 (end) to 40,000 horsepower; in 1846/47 there was little installed, hence almost 55,000 horsepower, nearly twice that of 1842, will now be in use.

On top of that there is hydraulic power—about 10,000 horsepower (1842) which has barely increased, hydraulic energy having been fairly well exploited for some time past. From this it may be seen where prosperity's additional capital has gone. For that matter the crisis cannot be very far off, although *here* excess over-speculation is almost entirely confined to *omnibuses*.

#### Memorandum on the Translation of the 1st Chapter

##### *Ad generalia*<sup>2</sup>:

1. Pieper is evidently more used to writing English spontaneously than to translating. Hence, if he wants for a word, he should guard all the more against having recourse to that worst of all known aids, the *dictionary*, which, in 99 cases out of 100, will regularly provide him with the most inappropriate word and invariably gives rise to a disastrous jumbling of synonyms, examples of which follow.

2. Pieper should study elementary English grammar, in which he makes a number of mistakes—especially as regards the use of the article. There are also spelling mistakes.

3. Above all Pieper must guard against falling into the Cockney's petty-bourgeois floridity of style, of which there are some irritating examples.

4. Pieper uses too many words of French derivation, which are, it is true, sometimes convenient because their vaguer, more abstract meaning is often of help in a quandary. But this emasculates the choicest turns of speech and often renders them completely incomprehensible to an Englishman. In almost every case, where vivid, sensuous images occur in the original, there is a no less sensuous, vivid expression of *Saxon* derivation, which at once makes the thing plain to an Englishman.

5. Where there are difficult bits, it would be better to leave blanks to be filled in, rather than—on the plea of literal translation—put in things which Pieper himself knows full well to be sheer nonsense.

6. The main criticism of the translation, and which sums up 1-5, is gross carelessness. There are passages enough to prove that, if

<sup>2</sup> In general

he really tries, Pieper is reasonably capable, but such superficiality, in the first place, makes more work for *himself* and secondly twice as much for me. Some passages are quite admirable, or could be so, had he tried a little harder.

*Ad specialia*<sup>a</sup>:

*schuldenbeladene Lieutenants*<sup>b</sup>: here the word lieutenant can only mean 'representative'. In English and French a lieutenant is not, as in German, primarily a figure of fun;

*unmittelbar gegebne, vorhandene und überlieferte Umstände*<sup>c</sup>: CIRCUMSTANCES IMMEDIATELY GIVEN AND DELIVERED. Pieper himself was very well aware that this translation made nonsense. 'DELIVERED' can here only mean 'delivered of a child';

*sich und die Dinge umzuwälzen*: THE REVOLUTION OF THEIR OWN PERSONS. This revolution can be nothing other than a somersault;

A NEW LANGUAGE (*eine neue Sprache*) means a *newly invented* language. AT MOST, A LANGUAGE NEW TO THEM.

MIDDLE CLASS SOCIETY for *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* is not strictly grammatical or logically correct; it is as if one were to translate *feudale Gesellschaft* AS NOBILITY SOCIETY. An educated Englishman would not say this. One would have to say BOURGEOIS SOCIETY OR, depending on circumstances, COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, to which one might append the following note: \*By Bourgeois Society, we understand that phase of social development in which the Bourgeoisie, the Middle Class, the class of industrial and commercial Capitalists, is, socially and politically, the ruling class; which is now the case more or less in all the civilized countries of Europe and America. By the expressions: Bourgeois society, and: industrial and commercial society, we therefore propose to designate the same stage of social development; the first expression referring, however, more to the fact of the middle class being the ruling class, in opposition either to the class whose rule it superseded (the feudal nobility), or to those classes which it succeeds in keeping under its social and political dominion (the proletariat or industrial working class, the rural population, etc., etc.)—while the designation of commercial and industrial society more particularly bears upon the mode of production and distribution characteristic of this phase of social history.\*

TO ARRIVE AT ITS OWN CONTENTS (*bei ihrem eignen Inhalt anzukommen*) can only mean: to arrive AT THE CONTENTS OF ITS OWN STOMACH.

<sup>a</sup> In particular - <sup>b</sup> debt-ridden lieutenants (this expression was omitted in the 1869 second German edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*) - <sup>c</sup> circumstances immediately given, existing and handed down

OLD SOCIETY (*alte Gesellschaft*) won't do in English and at most means feudal rather than bourgeois society. Owen's writings have been forgotten; and whenever he mentions OLD SOCIETY, it is always accompanied by a plan and elevation (if possible in colour) of the NEW SOCIETY, SO THAT THERE CAN BE NO MISTAKE, WHICH IS NOT TO BE EXPECTED NOW-A-DAYS.

SET IN FIERY DIAMONDS (*in Feuerbrillanten gefasst*<sup>a</sup>) is nonsensical in English, since in English usage it is diamonds *themselves* that are set, and FIERY DIAMONDS is in any case something of a hyperbole.

STORM AND PRESSURE PERIOD does not translate *Sturm- und Drangperiode*<sup>b 224</sup> but *Sturm- und Drückperiode*.

A FUTURE THAT WAS TO COME (*die Zukunft, die ihnen bevorsteht*<sup>c</sup>) is nonsense, as Pieper himself knows (EVERY FUTURE BEING TO COME), and altogether in the style of Moses & Son,<sup>d</sup> as in an earlier bit where '*die Geister der Vergangenheit*'<sup>e</sup> is rendered as THE SPIRITS OF THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN.

THE CIRCLE SHOULD BE INCREASED (*erweitert werden*<sup>f</sup> p. 4, bottom).<sup>g</sup> *Un cercle est élargi, il n'est pas agrandi*.<sup>h</sup>

THE GENERAL INDEX (*der allgemeine Inhalt der modernen Revolution*<sup>i</sup>) means the general list of contents of modern revolution! *Le citoyen Pieper le savait, du reste, aussi bien que moi*.<sup>j</sup>

AS IT COULD BUT BE, *wie es nicht anders sein konnte*—*lapsus pennae*; should read 'AS IT COULD NOT BUT BE'; otherwise it would mean: *wie es kaum sein konnte*.

UNWIELDINESS (p. 5, top in the orig.) is *Unbehülflichkeit* in the passive sense, 'inertia' in physics but, applied to persons, can only mean that they cannot move for fat. *Unbeholfenheit*, used of persons, in the active sense, means CLUMSINESS. This mistake was suggested to Pieper by his dictionary.

CONSTITUTIONAL STANDARD (*die Nationalversammlung sollte die Resultate der Revolution auf den bürgerlichen Maßstab reduzieren*<sup>k</sup>). *C'est un peu fort*<sup>l</sup> that, in order to evade the difficulty of translating 'bürgerlich', Citizen Pieper should everywhere render it as 'CONSTITUTIONAL' because '*konstitutionelle Republik*' and '*bürgerliche Republik*' are used synonymously. *Je demande un peu*,<sup>m</sup> what does CONSTITUTION.

<sup>a</sup> set in sparkling brilliants - <sup>b</sup> Storm and Stress period - <sup>c</sup> the future that is in store for it - <sup>d</sup> A hint at Moses Hess. - <sup>e</sup> the spirits of the past - <sup>f</sup> be widened - <sup>g</sup> Here and below Engels refers to the first edition of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, published in New York in 1852. - <sup>h</sup> A circle is *widened*, it is not *increased*. - <sup>i</sup> the general content of modern revolution. - <sup>j</sup> For that matter Citizen Pieper knew it as well as I do. - <sup>k</sup> the National Assembly was to reduce the results of the revolution to the bourgeois scale. - <sup>l</sup> That's too bad - <sup>m</sup> I ask you

AL mean in this context? It becomes even more delectable later on, when *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* figures *sans façon*<sup>a</sup> as CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY. *C'est assomant*.<sup>b</sup>

FOR EVER AND THE DURATION (*für die ganze Dauer des Zyklus*). Why not rather FOR EVER AND A DAY, as the saying goes?

UTOPIAN JUGGLES (*utopische Flausen*). JUGGLES means legerdemain, not flights of fancy.

TRANSPORTED WITHOUT JUDGMENT means *déporté contre le sens commun*, transported in defiance of common sense and should read without TRIAL.

TO PASS AS A REAL EVENT doesn't mean 'um überhaupt als ein Ereignis passieren zu können',<sup>d</sup> but to pass for something that *has really happened*.

FOUNDED doesn't mean *fondue*<sup>e</sup> but *fondé*. It has nothing to do with the illogical but accepted term CONFOUNDED for *confondu*.

All these are things which Pieper, if only he paid a little attention, would know as well as I do but, as already mentioned, it is easier to translate difficult things oneself than to correct a translation that is carelessly thrown together and dodges the difficulties. If he tried a little harder, he could translate quite well.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 September 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Received the £1 and the corrected translation.<sup>f</sup> You went to too much trouble over the latter. If the thing is passable (success will depend on this No. 1), you must take it easier: I mean, forget about figures of speech or other inessentials, if difficult to translate.

<sup>a</sup> without more ado · <sup>b</sup> It's infuriating. · <sup>c</sup> for the entire duration of the cycle · <sup>d</sup> to be able to pass for an event at all · <sup>e</sup> melted · <sup>f</sup> See previous letter.



*Weerth* has been here since Sunday. On Saturday he leaves for Manchester where he will spend 3 or 4 weeks before disappearing to the West Indies, etc.

Enclosed:

1. A letter in Schurz's handwriting, found in the pocket of a waistcoat which Kinkel gave to a refugee of our acquaintance.

2. Letter from Cluss.

3. Two excerpts from the revelations about the émigrés, first published in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* and then reprinted by the *Angsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*, etc.,<sup>a</sup> in case you haven't seen the things yourself.

Dr Piali (in Paris) writes *inter alia*:

'Kossuth intends to go into action in October. From here, Kiss has been giving Kossuth all manner of assurances which probably belong to the realm of fable yet could, given the fabulous nature of circumstances here, *actually be possible*. Kossuth is said to have received a note from Bonaparte *in his own hand* summoning him to Paris. A word-for-word copy of this note is believed to be circulating throughout the counties of Hungary. Everything in Hungary is in readiness for an all-out blow by Kossuth. Even Royal and Imperial officials are involved in the great conspiracy...'<sup>225</sup>

'Countess Kinski, née Zichy, has been arrested for infanticide. The child was fathered by Dr Chaises,' (our well-known shit<sup>b</sup>), 'a Polish Jew, etc. Madame Beckmann (wife of the police spy and newspaper correspondent) will figure as *dame de compagnie*<sup>c</sup> at the hearing before the Assizes.'

As for the Kossuth affair, it is quite possible that Bonaparte is setting snares for him in order to curry favour with Austria.

Piali has got Häfner to enter into correspondence with Ruge-Tausenau, so that now it is just as if we were corresponding with Mr Arnold direct. In this way we shall learn at first hand about the *mystères des grands hommes*.<sup>d</sup>

The *Volksverein*,<sup>226</sup> 8 man strong, (out of which, according to W's<sup>c</sup> letter to you, Ruge, with well-known virtuosity, formed 3 committees) is now (Ronge and Dralle included) trailing round the City on the pretext of simultaneously founding a 'free community'. What the devil has that German-Catholic, Ronge, to do with 'free communities'?<sup>227</sup> A few German-Catholic and, in particular, Jewish merchants have put their names on the list, if only in the form of

<sup>a</sup> 'Die deutsche revolutionäre Propaganda in London und die Revolutionsanleihe', *Karlsruher Zeitung*, Nos. 208-210, 212, 214, 217-220, 224; 3-22 September 1852. And also in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 255-257, 11-13 September 1852. - <sup>b</sup> As pronounced by Germans, 'Chaises' closely resembles Scheiße—shit. - <sup>c</sup> lady companion. - <sup>d</sup> mysteries of the great men - <sup>e</sup> presumably Wolff

initial letters, and contributed a few pounds, as was actually envisaged.

Willich, for his part, now makes a public collection every Saturday at the Great Windmill Street Society,<sup>24</sup> ostensibly towards the cost of correspondence.

What do you say to the ovations accorded Bonaparte in the provinces?<sup>228</sup> The French are indeed making ignominious fools of themselves.

The Customs Union<sup>220</sup> seems to me to be on the brink of certain collapse. Austrian bankruptcy shows itself still capable of dealing with Prussian prosperity.

I see that Dana has accepted the article.<sup>a</sup> The *Staatszeitung* (New York) has already published an excerpt in German.

Old Wellington's death came at the right time. At a moment of crisis the old bull would still have commanded an authority grown legendary. With him and Peel the COMMON SENSE OF OLD ENGLAND has been DULY BURIED.

So our 'people' are to appear on 4 October.<sup>16</sup> Bürgers admits everything, at least so far as he himself is concerned. In keeping with his profession, he will defend himself, 'on principle'. During the examination he placed on record a 30-sheet memorandum on the 'essence of communism'.<sup>229</sup> *Honi soit qui mal y pense*.<sup>230</sup> Daniels is said to be fairly well. The prosecutor will begin by reverting to the St.-Simonists; attorney Schneider will attempt TO BEAT him by beginning with Babeuf. We can consider ourselves lucky if neither of them harks back as far as the Incas or Lycurgus.

Pindar, whose *mystères*<sup>b</sup> I found most entertaining, did not come to see me. YOUR ADVENTURES WITH OLD SCHILY WERE EXQUISITE.<sup>c</sup>

*Ad vocem*<sup>d</sup> Jones. Though I personally have little to say in his favour, I and the whole lot of us stood by him last week—he came pestering me again because *il y avait crise*.<sup>e</sup> The other fellows had summoned two or three meetings for the purpose of tabling a motion, namely 'THAT THIS MEETING IS OF OPINION, THAT NO CONFIDENCE CAN BE PLACED IN THE SUCCESS OF ANY DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT WHILE MR ERNEST JONES IS CONNECTED THEREWITH'.<sup>f</sup> They HAVE BEEN BEATEN, and that right thoroughly.<sup>231</sup> The jackasses first tried to throw financial dirt at him. In this they failed. Then they attacked him for the same reason that we support him, *because he stirs up 'UNFRIENDLY FEELINGS*

<sup>a</sup> Marx probably means his article 'Corruption at Elections'. - <sup>b</sup> mysteries - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 186-87. - <sup>d</sup> As for - <sup>e</sup> there was a crisis - <sup>f</sup> 'Defeat of Faction.—Triumph of Principle', *The People's Paper*, No. 21, 25 September 1852.

AMONGST THE DIFFERENT CLASSES'. For Harney-Holyoake, Hunt of the *Leader*, Newton (CO-OPERATIVE) *et tutti quanti*<sup>a</sup> have united to found a 'NATIONAL PARTY'. This NATIONAL PARTY WANTS GENERAL SUFFRAGE, BUT NOT CHARTISM.<sup>252</sup> The same old story. But before they launched their campaign Jones was TO BE CRUSHED. They have RATHER miscalculated. He has raised the price of his paper<sup>b</sup> by a penny without losing a single subscriber.

Your  
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>84</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 24 September 1852

Dear Marx,

Encl. I return the envelope of the letter received from you today; an attempt, incidentally abortive, seems to have been made to break it open.

The translation<sup>c</sup> and Massol's letter went off yesterday evening by the 2nd post.

Cluss' description of Kinkel and Co.'s reception by the German Yankees is really nice. The chaps in the Alleghenies are the very spit of those in the Black Forest and the Taunus.

I haven't read the revelations in the German papers<sup>d</sup>—in fact, yesterday was the first time in some while that I saw a German paper.

The *crapauds*<sup>e</sup> are in clover.<sup>253</sup> The workers would appear *après tout*<sup>f</sup> to have become utterly bourgeoisified as a result of the present PROSPERITY and the prospect of *la gloire de l'empire*.<sup>g</sup> They

<sup>a</sup> and all the rest. <sup>b</sup> *The People's Paper* - <sup>c</sup> into English of the first chapter of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 194. - <sup>e</sup> philistines - <sup>f</sup> after all - <sup>g</sup> imperial glory

will have to be severely chastened by crises if they are to be good for anything again *soon*. Should the next crisis be a mild one, Bonaparte will be able to weather it. But it looks as though it is going to be damned serious. No crisis is worse than when over-speculation develops slowly in the sphere of production, so that its results take as many years to mature as they would months on the stock and commodity exchanges. And it was not just the COMMON SENSE of Old England that was buried along with old Wellington, but OLD ENGLAND herself, in the person of her sole surviving representative. All that remains are SPORTING CHARACTERS without a *suite*,<sup>a</sup> like Derby, and Jewish swindlers like Disraeli—who are caricatures of the old Tories in exactly the same way as is Monsieur Bonaparte of his uncle.<sup>b</sup> There'll be a merry dance here when the crisis comes, and one can only hope that it will last long enough to develop into a chronic condition with acute periods, as it did in 1837/42. From what is known of him, by the way, old Wellington would have been a truly formidable military leader in case of insurrection—the fellow studied diligently, read all the military treatises with the utmost zeal and was pretty well-versed in his subject. Nor would he have balked at extreme means.

From what you tell me, the Cologne trial threatens to be terribly *ennuyant*.<sup>c</sup> Unhappy Heinrich,<sup>d</sup> with his defence 'on principle'! He will demand that his 30 sheets be read in court and, if he gets his way, will be *perdu*.<sup>e</sup> The jury will never forgive him for having bored them so. The prosecution, by the way, seems to be out of luck. For Haupt is off to Brazil, the anonymous journeyman tailor has similarly vanished and seems unlike to reappear, and now the police official,<sup>f</sup> because of whose illness the whole affair was adjourned in July, must needs go and die on them. But what will such good fortune be worth if Heinrich elucidates the thing from the philosophical standpoint?

So the gallant Schurz is carping at Kossuth for preaching the gospel of action, after he and Co. have for years eked out a bare living from this same gospel! IT IS ALL VERY WELL to try and settle Kossuth's hash because he takes the lion's share, but it's really very stupid to write things of that sort when the whole world knows better.

That Kossuth will commit some folly seems most probable; what has *le malheureux*<sup>g</sup> got after all but battered saddles, outranged

<sup>a</sup> following - <sup>b</sup> Napoleon I - <sup>c</sup> tedious - <sup>d</sup> Bürgers (see this volume, p. 195) -  
<sup>e</sup> lost - <sup>f</sup> Schulz - <sup>g</sup> the unfortunate man

muskets, companies drilled by Sigel, and Klapka and Garibaldi? (The latter commands the Italo-Hungarian fleet in the Pacific Ocean to wit one merchantman plying between Lima and Canton under the Peruvian flag.)

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>234</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 28 September 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

You have not had a letter from me for some time. The main cause of this is Weerth who—not I might say, to my unalloyed delight—has *plus ou moins*<sup>a</sup> monopolised my evenings which are usually given over to writing. As you know, I'm very fond of Weerth, *mais*<sup>b</sup> it's embarrassing, when one's up to one's neck in trouble, to have to face so fine a gentleman, *auquel il faut cacher les parties trop honteuses*.<sup>c</sup> Such a relationship creates twice as much *gêne*<sup>d</sup> and I hope he will leave for Manchester tomorrow and will on his return find me in circumstances that will enable me to consort with him *franchement*.<sup>e</sup> However, I don't believe that, aside from my wife's ill-health, he had any inkling of my predicament.

I have given him a big parcel to take to you. It contains documents that belong in the archives<sup>216</sup>; some, if not most of them are already familiar to you.

Enclosed the extract from a letter from Barthélemy to Willich. Barthélemy gave this letter to a Frenchman by the name of

<sup>a</sup> more or less - <sup>b</sup> but - <sup>c</sup> from whom the most shameful aspects must be concealed - <sup>d</sup> embarrassment - <sup>e</sup> frankly

Durand to take to Willich. Durand, unable to read the signature, asked Dronke if he would see to it that Willich got the letter. Dronke of course agreed, came to my house, and Lupus, who is a great artist in this line, opened the letter most expertly. Dronke copied out all that was of note—the rest mere twaddle. *Que penses-tu de ce brave Barthélemy, 'auquel il est impossible de se résigner à laisser Bonaparte jouir paisiblement de son triomphe'.*<sup>a</sup> Tremble, O Byzantium!<sup>b</sup> As to the alleged letter from Blanqui, this strikes me as a piece of melodramatic falsehood on the sinister Barthélemy's part. For what news does he give of Blanqui? That the situation of the *prisonniers de Belle-Ile est bien triste*.<sup>c</sup> If that is all Blanqui had to divulge to him, he would have done better to keep his *libri tristium*<sup>d</sup> to himself. Incidentally, Barthélemy's whole letter shows that he is completely out of touch with the French emigration and the French societies in France.

In order that you, too, may 'adopt to some extent the standpoint of world history'<sup>e</sup> I enclose an article from the Augsburg *Allgemeine* on the spy A. Majer who, here in London, was actually 'chucked out of the house' by his bosom friends, Willich and Schapper.

I have, I presume, already told you that Herzen is here and is sending round memoirs against Herwegh,<sup>235</sup> who has not only cuckolded him but has extorted 80,000 fr. from him.

I have not yet been able to do any work on an article or even on the draft of the final instalment of the German article.<sup>214</sup> So engrossed have I been by the incessant correspondence arising out of my domestic troubles that it is 3 weeks since I went to the library—which I also forbore from doing in order to sustain my wife during what was for her a ghastly time.

Apropos!

There is *no doubt* that the Orleanist conspiracy shows greater activity, scope and prospects every day. The gentlemen have coalesced with Cavaignac, Charras, Lamoricière, Bedeau. Of L. Bonaparte's aides-de-camp 3 have been bought, i.e. substantial sums have been deposited on their behalf in the Bank of England. The following contract has been entered into with the out-and-out

<sup>a</sup> What do you think of the honest Barthélemy 'who finds it impossible to resign himself to allow Bonaparte to enjoy his triumph in peace'. - <sup>b</sup> Words from Donizetti's opera *Belisario*, libretto by S. Cammarano, Act II, Scene 3. - <sup>c</sup> the prisoners on Belle-Ile is very sad. - <sup>d</sup> tale of woe (an allusion to Ovid's *Tristia*) - <sup>e</sup> From Jordan's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly (July 1848) (see 'The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question', present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 360-64).

republicans. *Firstly*: Formation of a provisional government consisting solely of *generals*. *Secondly*: By way of guarantee, Cavaignac is to receive Marseilles, Lamoricière Lyons, Charras Paris, Bedeau Strasbourg. *Thirdly*: At the preliminary elections the people will be called on by the provisional government to decide whether they want the constitution of 1830 and the Orleans dynasty, or the constitution of 1848 and a president. In the latter case, Joinville will come forward as a candidate.

The Jew, Fould, is in constant touch with the Orleans. The undertaking has been tentatively fixed for the month of March, when Bonaparte will, if necessary, be assassinated by his aides-de-camp. But they would prefer Bonaparte to have become emperor first and done further damage to himself.

I myself have talked to the Orleanist agent<sup>a</sup> who travels freely to and fro between Paris and London. The day before yesterday he and Bangya went to see the Duc d'Aumale.

I see from a letter of Piali's that, at a private audience in London, Lord Palmerston told a fugitive Italian noblewoman<sup>b</sup> all manner of comforting things about Italy, and held out what was to him the no less 'comforting' prospect of becoming British prime minister within the space of a year. How addicted to lies and *vanité* is old age! Incidentally on one point at least Mr Palmerston did not mince his words. In case of insurrection Lombardy and Venice must, he said, at once unite with Piedmont. The pipe-dreams of an 'Italian republic' must be left to 'the future'.<sup>236</sup>

Dronke, inmate of the MODEL LODGING HOUSE, says he is sorry he has not written. 'He has his reasons.'

Your  
K. M.

There is no doubt that an attempt, obviously clumsy and unsuccessful, was made to open my last envelope, which you returned to me.

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<sup>a</sup> Rémusat - <sup>b</sup> Marquise Visconti

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, after 28 September 1852]

Dear Marx,

Have still not seen or heard anything of Weerth. Why the devil should you feel ill at ease with the fellow? In any case, he knows quite well that you've been down on your luck for years and he also knows how things are now, if only from the fact that you're still stuck in those old lodgings.

I have been removed, i.e. my old landlady has removed, and has carted me with her *sans façon*.<sup>a</sup> It's two doors away, so in future address letters to No. 48 (new numbering) instead of No. 70.

In haste,  
Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 October 1852  
48 Great Ducie Street

Dear Marx,

Encl. £2. 10. -. Give the 10/- to Dronke, who has searched out a very valuable Slav book<sup>b</sup> for me—the amount by which he beat the fellow down is his commission for the discovery; *puisqu'il est commerçant, il faut le traiter selon les principes du commerce*.<sup>c</sup> But tell

<sup>a</sup> without more ado - <sup>b</sup> R. A. Fröhlich, *Kurzgefaßte tabellarisch bearbeitete Anleitung zur schnellen Erlernung der vier slavischen Hauptsprachen*. - <sup>c</sup> Since he's a businessman he has to be treated in accordance with business principles.



him to go and post the book to me at once in a plain wrapper like a newspaper, with 6 STAMPS if it weighs less than a pound, and 12 STAMPS if it weighs more, N.B., if it's 1 volume; otherwise 6 STAMPS for each volume, in which case it would be best to send it in a parcel, unstamped, by Pickford & Co. or Carver & Co. If you can discover Carver & Co's office (I believe they are known down there as Chaplin, Horne & Carver or Chaplin, Horne & Co.), it had best go through them to Friedrich Engels, CARE OF Ermen & Engels—they are OUR CARRIERS. Indeed, this is always the best way to send me parcels.

As soon as I can see my way somewhat more clearly this month, you shall get more. There are a few debts to be paid, how many I don't yet know. On this will depend how much I can send you.

Weerth is in Bradford. He won't be here for a week, yet.

*Le roman Pindar prend une tournure tout à fait bourgeoise.*<sup>a</sup> The poor boy is already suffering from remorse. Because I have given him no news of his wife and mother since the *fifteenth of September*, he is bombarding me with letters and threatening to write to them direct for news! The fellow seems to imagine that I spend all my days there, as though the Finnish features and Scandinavian-Germanic heart of his cold-blooded better half were as bewitching to me as they were and still are to him. By his *evasion*,<sup>b</sup> Master Pindar had once more gone up a little in my estimation, but these letters bring him right down again. He is a Slav through and through, sentimental in his frivolity and even in his beastliness, servile and arrogant; and he has nothing of the Englishman save in exaggerated—being a Russian, he must exaggerate—taciturnity. Recently the fellow had grown somewhat more garrulous, yet when the long-closed sluice gates finally opened, nothing came out but *fadaise*.<sup>c</sup> On top of that the lovelorn Pindar has exceedingly unsavoury appetites and likes nothing better than to discuss unnatural discoveries. He's wholly uncultivated and withal pedantic, knowing absolutely nothing except a language or two; *en matière de science*,<sup>d</sup> even the most ordinary mathematics, physics and other school subjects, and especially in history of the most elementary kind, he is utterly ignorant. *Ce n'est que son silence acharné qui ait pu faire croire qu'il soit profond.*<sup>e</sup> He is *ni plus ni moins*<sup>f</sup> than a little Russian bourgeois with the appetites of the

---

<sup>a</sup> Pindar's romance is taking an altogether bourgeois turn. <sup>b</sup> running away - <sup>c</sup> fiddle-faddle. <sup>d</sup> in the field of science. <sup>e</sup> It's only his obstinate silence which has lent him a semblance of profundity. <sup>f</sup> neither more nor less

Russian nobility, lazy, dilettante, soft-hearted, would-be blasé and at the same time, alas, a born pedagogue. For as long as I could, I tried to maintain a good opinion of the fellow, but it can't be done. What can one say of an individual who, on reading Balzac's fiction for the first time (and the *Cabinet des antiques* and *Père Goriot* at that) considers it infinitely beneath him and dismisses it with the utmost contempt as something commonplace and quite unoriginal, yet a week after running away, and apparently in all seriousness, writes from London to his deserted wife in the following platitudious terms: 'MY DEAREST IDA, APPEARANCES ARE AGAINST ME, BUT BELIEVE ME, MY HEART IS STILL ENTIRELY YOURS!' There you have the fellow in a nutshell. Though the Swede may possess his heart, as is proved also by his letters to me, he intends that no one but the Frenchwoman shall be presented with his cock. So far as he is concerned, the real piquancy of the whole affair lies in this clash, this Slavonic, sentimental, vulgar contradiction. The Swede, however, has much more sense; she tells anyone who will listen that he can do what he likes with his heart provided he keeps his carnality at home. Besides, the fellow's lack of ideas and worldly wisdom contrast ludicrously with the spiritual pretensions he harbours as a Russian. He has understood neither the *Manifesto*<sup>a</sup> nor Balzac; of that he has given me ample and frequent proof. He doesn't know German, no doubt of that, since he fails to understand the simplest things. I also greatly doubt whether he knows French. Once the *mystère* with which he held one's interest has gone, nothing remains but *une existence manquée*.<sup>b</sup> Yet in his letters the fellow tries to spin out the *mystère* that has long since been unveiled; it's ridiculous. You'll see! Within three months *gospodin*<sup>c</sup> Pindar will be back again, *bon fils, bon époux, bon bourgeois, plus taciturne que jamais*,<sup>d</sup> and will continue as before to squander what remains of his mother's fortune without making the slightest attempt to set his hand to anything or study anything. And a fellow like that goes and runs away with an experienced Parisienne—she'll make him rue the day.

The latest story about the truthful Willich's falsehood is good indeed.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - <sup>b</sup> wasted existence -

<sup>c</sup> Mr. <sup>d</sup> a good son, a good husband, a good bourgeois, more taciturn than ever. <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 195.

I am also writing to Dronke so that the book will not get lost.<sup>287</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

IN WASHINGTON

London, 5 October 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Cluss,

Your letter of 16 September<sup>a</sup> arrived very late today. I am therefore sending only a few lines in reply, since you ask for an answer by return. Next Friday a rather more substantial report will be going off to you.<sup>b</sup> My information about the Brüningk woman (she's not a spy but corresponds with her aunt, the Princess Lieven, in Paris, who is notoriously one) came from Bangya. The latter, however, has *very important reasons* for not being named. If he were, he would forfeit many 'sources of information' which, being important to us, must be preserved.

You can write and tell Schnauffer that he merely has to answer that no further authorities need be cited since his (Brüningk's) two *friends*, *Kinkel* and *Willich*, have themselves been spreading it about in London that Mrs von Brüningk has suspect political connections.

That *Willich* has been saying things of this kind is so well known that Schimmelpfennig has taken him to task about it. If necessary, witnesses can be cited to support this.

*Kinkel* voiced this suspicion outright, e.g. to his friend Kamm,

<sup>a</sup> 26 September in the original. - <sup>b</sup> See next letter.

the brushmaker (from Bonn), when the latter passed through here on his way to America. Kamm helped to spread it further.

(Willich, of course, did not discover that the woman was suspect until after she had dropped him.)

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS

IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 8 October 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Cluss,

So necessary have your weekly letters become to me that I am far from satisfied with your change of method and, out of vexation at your silence, have likewise remained silent.

You'll have had my letter about Brüningk.<sup>a</sup> We must—*et nous sommes dans le vrai*<sup>b</sup>—repay the shameless Gottfried<sup>c</sup> in kind. According to Imandt's last report of the London guarantors' meeting,<sup>d</sup> extracts of which appeared in the *Wecker*, *Tschow* (now departed for Australia) rose and said: '...those in particular who had enjoyed Brüningk's hospitality should be ashamed of themselves for spreading calumnies about Mrs von Brüningk.' Kinkel, of the unashamedly unruffled brow, protested his innocence, although Imandt could have proved that he was lying. Willich sat as though nailed to his seat.

As regards the second matter, that of remuneration,<sup>e</sup> I can do nothing further since my informant, Biskamp (*whom I would beg*

<sup>a</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> and we are in the right - <sup>c</sup> Kinkel - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 161-62. - <sup>e</sup> *ibid.*, p. 96.

you not to name) has settled in France and I have no correspondence with him. However, salary or no salary, this much is certain:

1. that Kinkel and Willich spent £200 and failed adequately to account for it to the London guarantors' congress;

2. Willich, on the pretext of meeting the cost of correspondence, remunerated himself for as long as he could;

3. that when Kinkel—proof of his purity in money matters—arrived in Paris after his escape<sup>238</sup> he immediately approached one of the leaders of the Slav-German etc. revolutionary committee there and informed him in confidence that it would be desirable if the German democrats in Paris were to give him a welcoming supper which he would then get the press to trumpet abroad. (As in fact later happened.) To the remark: where is the money coming from? Gottfried replied that it could be taken out of the revolutionary committee funds. To the further remark that there was no money in the exchequer but rather a considerable deficit, Gottfried opined that the member (Bangya) to whom he was speaking could advance it, he himself being so frightfully popular in Germany that money would come flowing in. Subsequently this same Kinkel got Bangya to advance him 500 fr. for his *personal use* on the account of the revolutionary committee. *His reçu<sup>a</sup> is still in existence.* He has not repaid it to this very day.

I have seen the *reçu*. But Bangya insists on not being named, likewise Häfner, who was also present. These people are right. The object of Kinkel's policy is by means of bare-faced denials (that the man is lying is proved by the business with me<sup>b</sup> and with Dr Wiss, whom he forced to make a *public statement* by asserting that he had no connection with the 'loan in his name'. See *New-Yorker Deutsche Zeitung* and Wiss' own statement therein.<sup>239</sup> Cite *this last fact*), his object, I say, is to compel me to show my hand and BY AND BY to discover whence I draw the information with which to catch him out. This, he thinks, would draw my sting. *Ça ne va pas.<sup>c</sup>*

You'll be able to follow in the *Kölnische Zeitung* the proceedings against our friends that opened on the 4th of this month in the Court of Assizes. The jury is damn bad. It consists of big landowners and big capitalists, viz: Regierungsrat von Münch-Bellinghausen, Häbling von Lanzenauer, Freiherr von Fürstenberg, von Bianca, von Tesseler, vom Rath; Joest (the biggest manufacturer—sugar—in Cologne); Herstadt (one of the leading

<sup>a</sup> receipt. <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 149-50. - <sup>c</sup> That won't do.

bankers in Cologne), D. Leiden (big capitalist). Finally Leven (wine merchant) and Professor Kräusler.

Have my last two articles on the GENERAL ELECTION appeared in the *Tribune*?<sup>a</sup> The first two caused a great stir here in England. Jones reproduced them.<sup>b</sup>

Enclosed you will find:

1. Letter from Imandt.

2. Copy of an article from *The Morning Advertiser* of 6 October,<sup>c</sup> in which the luckless Ruge-Ronge endeavour to assert themselves. The League here<sup>d</sup> would now ask you to write by return a letter to *The Morning Advertiser* (signed Dr Smyth OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT) in which you make fun of the German LONE STAR which has neither LONE NOR STAR, and reassure *The Morning Advertiser* about the threat to America presented by this soap-bubble that has long since burst there. (Copy to be sent to us.)<sup>240</sup>

3. A letter from Massol in Paris,<sup>241</sup> which please return. Massol is one of the cleverest of the older Frenchmen (those of the forties), former St Simonist, Proudhonist, etc. *The man and the book* he alludes to are Proudhon and his book on Bonaparte.<sup>e</sup>

It seems to me that you people should now go for Heinzen in such a way as to torture him by pointing out how, since '47, this oaf has systematically ignored every attack relating to matters of principle (as, of late, that of Weydemeyer and subsequently your own<sup>242</sup>), only to reappear a few months later as much of a charlatan as ever, *quasi re bene gesta*.<sup>f</sup>

Your

K. M.

N. B. The morsel of erudition (striking in view of Heinzen's well-known ignorance) which he reveals in treating of the historical development of marriage, was borrowed by the unhappy man from G. Jung, *Geschichte der Frauen*, Part 1, Frankfurt am Main 1850. Jung himself drew his material from:

C. Meiners, *Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechts*, 4 vols. Hanover 1788-1800, and from:

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'Corruption at Elections' and 'Results of the Elections'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'The Elections in England.—Tories and Whigs' and 'The Chartists' published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and reproduced in *The People's Paper*, Nos. 22 and 23, 2 and 9 October 1852. - <sup>c</sup> 'The German "Lone Star"': *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19122, 6 October 1852. - <sup>d</sup> The London District of the Communist League - <sup>e</sup> P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre* (see this volume, p. 166). - <sup>f</sup> just as though nothing had happened

J. A. de Ségur, *Les femmes* etc., 3 vols. Paris 1803, and sprinkled it with Hegelian-Young German sauce.

Meiners and Ségur drew on:

Alexander (W.), *History of Women* etc., 2 vols. London 1782, 3rd ed.

Thomas (de l'Ac. franç.), *Essai sur le caractère etc. des femmes* etc., Paris 1773.

For the manner in which the Hegelian school finally sums the thing up—that old buffoon Ruge, now apparently in his dotage, is too stupid to count—see:

Unger (J.), *Die Ehe in ihrer welthistorischen Entwicklung*. Vienna 1850.

This 'bibliography' will enable you not only to deprive the unhappy Heinzen of all desire to pass off as new discoveries a few platitudes filched from the socialists but also to provide the German-American public, if interested in the subject, with the sources where the material may be found.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Sunday, 10 October 1852

Dear Marx,

I am fed up with the perpetual delays over the pamphlet.<sup>a</sup> Month after month we are told it will appear and it never does. One excuse after another is trotted out and then dropped. Finally it is said to be definitely coming out at Michaelmas. *La Trinité se passe, Marlborough ne revient pas.*<sup>b</sup> Quite the contrary, for now we hear *the man is dead* and Bangya doesn't know what has become

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. <sup>b</sup> Trinity goes by but Marlborough does not return (from a French satirical song composed during the War of the Spanish Succession).

of the manuscript. It's too maddening. We must at long last insist on being told the plain truth. The thing's getting more suspicious every day. I don't, and you certainly don't, want our joint work to fall into the wrong hands. We wrote it for the benefit of the public, and not for the private delectation of the police in Berlin or anywhere else, and if Bangya proves intractable, I intend to act off my own bat. Our clerk Charles,<sup>a</sup> whom you know, is going to the Continent next week, via Hamburg and Berlin. I have asked him to inquire carefully into the matter in Berlin and, if the week he is spending there should not suffice, to enlist the help of our local agent. But I'll wager that we'll see what's at the bottom of this stink. What is all this about Eisermann or Eisenmann, the bookseller of whom there is no trace whatever in the directory of booksellers? But tracking down the 'editor of the former *Constitutionelle Zeitung*' should not prove difficult. If things aren't in order, it is absolutely essential that we make a *public statement*, and that in all the more widely read German papers, so that the same trick won't be played on us as was played on Blanqui with the *pièce*<sup>b</sup> Taschereau.<sup>243</sup> As for Bangya's mystery-mongering, it is, in this instance at least, utterly uncalled-for, and having, for my part, had enough of TERGIVERSATION, I shall now take what steps I think fit.

Papa Kinkel is coming up here to give German lectures under the auspices of third and fourth rate poetical Jews. *Cela sera beau.*<sup>c</sup> The secretary of the Athenaeum<sup>244</sup> tried to induce me to subscribe with the remark: 'WHEREVER THERE WAS SOMETHING LIKE A CHEQUERED LIFE, WERE IT ONLY AN ESCAPE FROM A SHIPWRECK OR SO, THERE WAS ALWAYS A NATURAL AND FAIR GROUND FOR SYMPATHY.' *Voilà les arguments qu'on emploie pour lui mendier un auditoire.*<sup>d</sup>

No other news. Write and tell me if you hear anything more about the affair of the pamphlet, but it's hardly likely to affect my decision respecting Charles. Warmest regards to your wife and children.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Roesgen - <sup>b</sup> document - <sup>c</sup> That will be nice. - <sup>d</sup> Such are the arguments used to obtain an audience for him.



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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 October [1852]  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

More about your letter later.

Enclosed:

1. A document, 'The German Loan Star Society', smuggled into the *Advertiser*<sup>a</sup> by Ruge-Ronge.

2. A cutting from Weydemeyer's *Lithographierte Correspondenz* about the effect of this dangerous 'SOCIETY' on their League congress at Wheeling.<sup>245</sup>

3. An article for Dana.<sup>246</sup> But the whole of it must go off, as I have a mass of political stuff for next time. I had a bad headache when I was scribbling the thing. So don't be afraid to deal with it FREELY in translating.

You may have read the infamous article in yesterday's *Times*, a contribution dated Berlin.<sup>b</sup> All the cur has done is to translate from the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (the Cologne trial) and add one or two scurrilous comments from his own stock.<sup>247</sup>

Your  
K. Marx

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<sup>a</sup> 'The German "Lone Star"', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19122, 6 October 1852. Here Marx puns on the title of the article and the attempt of the American Revolutionary League to raise a loan. - <sup>b</sup> 'From our own correspondent' in the section 'Prussia', *The Times*, No. 21243, 11 October 1852.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 14 October 1852]

Dear Marx,

It is physically impossible to translate the whole article for you. I received it this morning. Have been so busy at the office all day that I didn't know whether I was coming or going. This evening took tea at 7-8 and just glanced through the thing. Then got down to translating. Now—11.30—have done the part I am sending you,<sup>a</sup> up to the natural break in the article. At 12 o'clock it must be in the post. So, you see, you will get as much as can possibly be done.

The rest<sup>b</sup> will be translated directly—next week you can send it either via Southampton or on Friday.<sup>c</sup> In the meantime finish off your next article; part of it might be able to go on Friday, if not, the following Tuesday, when there is another YANKEE STEAMER. So it doesn't really matter. But make sure I get the manuscript *early*; I am expecting Weerth any day and will then have to try to make best use of my time, since my days are more than fully taken up with business.

Regards to your wife and children, Dronke, Lupus, Freiligrath.

Your  
F. E.

Mark my word, the Cologne people won't get off. What a cur the presiding judge<sup>d</sup> is to bait Bürgers so.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'Pauperism and Free Trade.—The Approaching Commercial Crisis'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Political Consequences of the Commercial Excitement'. - <sup>c</sup> 22 October - <sup>d</sup> Göbel

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

M[anchester,] 18 October 1852

Dear Marx,

Herewith the remainder of the recent<sup>a</sup> article.<sup>b</sup> Yesterday I also received the next one.<sup>269</sup> You can at once dispatch VIA LIVERPOOL PER UNITED STATES MAIL STEAMER the piece I am posting you today; the *Pacific* sails on Wednesday morning. You will be getting some more on Friday.<sup>c</sup>

You really must stop making your articles so long. Dana cannot possibly *want* more than 1-1½ columns, it would be too much for one number. I shall again have to split this new article, but it's difficult to do and I don't yet know where. Five-7 pages in your wife's handwriting is *quite enough* and if you give more in one article, Dana won't even thank you for it.

Bürgers and Röser, and perhaps Otto and Nothjung likewise, seem to me pretty well done for. There doesn't appear to be anything at all against Daniels, Becker<sup>d</sup> or Jacobi, and I hope that these at least will get off. Becker has extricated himself with great effrontery. The more these are exonerated the greater, I think, will be the zeal with which the judges and jury will set about the compromised men; the injured bourgeoisie and the injured State want their victims.

The edges of the seals on all the letters I am getting from you show signs of having been gone over with a hot iron but, so far as I can judge, *pour le roi de Prusse*.<sup>e</sup> The gum on the envelope prevents them from getting inside.

Weerth is here, has brought me the parcel, and sends his regards to you all. Szemere's manuscript on Kossuth is far better than the one on Görgey—he's a match for Kossuth. I have not yet

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<sup>a</sup> Barely legible in the original. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Political Consequences of the Commercial Excitement'. - <sup>c</sup> 22 October. - <sup>d</sup> Hermann Becker - <sup>e</sup> literally: for the king of Prussia; figuratively: in vain

been able to look at Pieper's translation,<sup>a</sup> being very busy at the office and dog-tired most evenings.

Warmest regards to your wife.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO A. von BRÜNINGK

IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

[London,] 18 October 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

To Baron A. von Brüningk

I have received by today's post the *Baltimore Wecker* dated 27 September 1852, together with your statement. Since I, as *one* of the correspondents of A. Cluss in Washington, am directly involved in this matter, I would request you to appoint a meeting-place for Thursday or Friday (of this week).<sup>b</sup> I for my part shall bring a witness with me and would therefore request you to do likewise, but would point out in advance that the said witness may not be either *Ruge*, *Ronge*, *Kinkel*, or *Willich*, since these gentlemen are *implicated* in the matter now pending, nor can it be Mr *Schimmelpfennig*. When in Paris, that gentleman swore in so many words to 'destroy me by *slander* of every possible description'. While I do not believe in his destructive ability, I cannot, in view of this assertion, possibly consent to meet him.

<sup>a</sup> into English of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, I. <sup>b</sup> 21 or 22 October

I shall then explain to you my connection with the *Baltimore* article<sup>250</sup> and, should my explanation not suffice, I shall be prepared to give you the satisfaction customary among gentlemen.

Yours truly

Dr Karl Marx

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 20 October 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I recommend most highly to you the bearer of these lines, Colonel Pleyel. Although I am not personally acquainted with him, he is most 'highly recommended' by Colonel Bangya whom, of course, you know.

Your

K. Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 22 October 1852]

Dear Marx,

If you want to count on receiving the articles for Dana punctually in future, you must take care not to send me Hungarian COLONELS, especially of a Thursday night. Yesterday the

fellow<sup>a</sup> took up the whole of my evening and intends to come back today—he is pretty well-versed in a number of subjects, military included, and is the most interesting Hungarian I have met so far, but he is also a German-Austrian aristocrat.

So we are now recognised by the State, and even by the police, as 'intelligent' people, *teste*<sup>b</sup> Stieber. A fine business. The way that stupid Stieber tries to shuffle off responsibility for his own spy, Cherval, onto our chaps!<sup>251</sup> Have you any idea why Kothes and Bermbach have been arrested?<sup>c</sup> Those two, of all people—it's ominous! But we shall discipline Haupt.<sup>252</sup> Weerth will find out where he is in South America and, on his arrival there, will unmask him. To that end we shall have to get hold of the *Kölnische Zig.* or some other paper containing his statements. Could you not attend to this? Do everything you can; it would really be splendid to make the rascal feel the power of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as far away as Brazil.

More in a day or two, and also translations.<sup>253</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 October 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

We must make some other arrangements about our correspondence. We undoubtedly have a *fellow*-reader in Derby's Ministry. Moreover, there is again someone keeping watch, or at least attempting to do so, outside my house (of an evening). Hence I

<sup>a</sup> Pleyel. <sup>b</sup> witness - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 216.

can write and tell you nothing I deem it inadvisable for the Prussian government to learn at this moment.

Dana is treating me very badly. I wrote to him about 6 weeks ago, telling him exactly how things stood with me and that I must be paid *by return* for the articles I had sent. He has regularly published the articles but has not yet sent the money. I, of course, must continue punctiliously, notwithstanding. Otherwise it is I who will suffer in the end.

Now, as much as 5 weeks ago, I mollified my LANDLORD with my prospects in America. Today the fellow calls and makes a fearful scene in front of me and the HOUSEKEEPER. Upon my finally resorting to the *ultima ratio*,<sup>a</sup> i.e. abuse, he retired, threatening that if I didn't produce any money this week, he would throw me out into the street, but first would land me with a BROKER.

4-5 days ago 130 copies of the *Brumaire* arrived from Cluss. As yet I have been unable to get them from the customs because this would mean paying 10/9d. As soon as I've got the stuff out, I'll send it to the place you know and at once draw a bill on the same. With this and the Dana business I now have over £30 outstanding, yet often have to lose an entire day for a shilling. I assure you that, when I consider my wife's sufferings and my own impotence, I feel like consigning myself to the devil.

Kothes and Bermbach were arrested because I had sent the latter through the former a work necessary to the defence, which (despite thin paper and small pearl type) was somewhat bulky.<sup>254</sup> The government thought it had made a splendid catch. But on the closer examination *jeune*<sup>b</sup> Saedt raised heaven and earth to have the thing suppressed, for the document contained curious STRICTURES on the capability, etc., of *jeune* Saedt and could, if communicated to the juries, only help to acquit the *accusés*.<sup>c</sup>

In the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, 'G. Weerth' is said to be a member of the Central Authority in Cologne, and, indeed, this is cited from the bill of indictment.

Tell Weerth that I have heard nothing from Duncker.<sup>255</sup>

Your  
K. M.

As soon as the trial is over, and whatever its outcome, we two must bring out one or two sheets, 'For the Enlightenment of the

<sup>a</sup> last resort - <sup>b</sup> young - <sup>c</sup> accused

Public'. No such favourable moment to address the *nation en large*<sup>a</sup> will ever recur. Furthermore, we must not tolerate any semblance of RIDICULE which not even the moral dignity and scientific profundity of the gentle Heinrich<sup>b</sup> are capable of dispelling.

Cherval has himself written to the German Workers' Society in London<sup>24</sup>: saying that he 'is a *spy*, but in the noble sense of "Cooper's spy"<sup>c</sup>. I have conveyed the necessary explanation to one of the lawyers<sup>d</sup> by a safe route.

We should already start casting about with a view to the publication on the 'Cologne trial' mooted above. I think it would be best if you were to write to Campe asking him to give you the name of a *reliable agent*, should he himself be too afraid. Since your credit is good, the agent can be told that he will receive the money in, say, 3 months' time (against a bill), if he has not in the meantime repaid himself from the sales (as he certainly will do). For that matter, the cost of printing this sort of stuff would amount at most to 25 talers.

*Vale!*<sup>e</sup> And think the matter over. We cannot remain silent and if we don't see to the printing in good time, we shall again miss the boat. We should, of course, have to make sure that the agent is not downright dishonest, for the thing will even have 'commercial' value.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 October [1852]

Dear Engels,

Tomorrow morning Weerth will find, along with this scrawl, a letter from me addressed to him at Steinthal's and enclosed in it another to Schneider II,<sup>256</sup> which you should attend to forthwith. The

<sup>a</sup> nation at large - <sup>b</sup> Bürgers - <sup>c</sup> Harvey Birch, character in F. Cooper's *Spy*. - <sup>d</sup> Schneider II. The letter has not been found. - <sup>e</sup> Farewell.



thing is of the utmost importance and must not be delayed for an instant. So please neither of you embark on your daily round until you have read the thing and sent it off.

Your  
K. M.

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## 114

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 October 1852

D. M.,

When I wrote yesterday,<sup>257</sup> I had only cursorily read Stieber's statements and was therefore most agreeably surprised today when your document<sup>a</sup> gave a turn to the case which *now* no longer makes me despair of the acquittal of *all* the accused. *En effet*,<sup>b</sup> Stieber will be utterly discredited. I made a further copy of the thing and dispatched it to Cologne by 2 different and very good routes<sup>258</sup>; I also did what should already have been done in London, namely affixed the 2 notes in Hirsch's handwriting<sup>259</sup> to the original with sealing-wax, at the same time recording the fact by appending my signature so that, if the worst comes to the worst, they cannot be detained unless the whole thing is detained. I have now discovered several more ways of communicating with Cologne and, although there is a 99% chance that the things will reach Schneider safely and on the same day by the first two routes (which, however, cannot be used again), it might be advisable for you to send me a 3rd copy, *authenticated by you*, with *fresh* samples of Hirsch's handwriting, which I could then send by yet another route. Anyway, the Prussians *cannot* detain this thing; it would mean criminal proceedings against those involved.

<sup>a</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> Indeed

Your letter received today had been tampered with, not all 4 corners of the envelope being properly secured by the seal. Whether the one to St.<sup>a</sup> had also been tampered with is difficult to say, for the firm had opened the outer cover. But it proved so easy to open that I am inclined to assume that here too someone had already been at it. So the Steinthal address is no longer any good either. Write to our old friend, James Belfield, Golden Lion, Deansgate, Manchester, with 'F. E.', no more, on the inside envelope. In the case of very important and dangerous things, do as I am now doing: Make up a parcel of anything with your letter inside it, and send it to my house per Pickford & Co.; alternatively, per Chaplin, Horne & Carver, addressed to me at Ermen & Engels, unstamped. That is perfectly safe. But see that the addresses, particularly if sent by post, are written by turns in different hands and, when parcels are sent by carrier, don't have them always taken to the office from the same place by the same person. Then the latter way will be perfectly safe. So you must either give me a safe address in London to which I can send things in this way, or get someone with an unsuspecting landlord to assume a false name, à la Williams, or let me know whether Lupus is still at 4 Broad Street and Dronke at the Model Lodging House, and where any of our other reliable people live so that I can use different addresses.

By employing all these methods alternately we shall achieve adequate security. In addition, to make it less conspicuous, you should send letters containing matters of no consequence direct by post, and I shall do the same.

Copying out the document has made such demands on my time that I really don't know whether I shall be able to keep my word in the *fullest* sense as regards Dana and Friday's<sup>b</sup> STEAMER. At all events, *something* will be forthcoming. You might bear in mind that a lengthy spell of more or less uninterrupted chaste living is again causing me to burgeon like mad at a certain spot, and at times prevents me from sitting down; *il faut que cela finisse*.<sup>c</sup>

The statement made by old Justizrat Müller will have put Stieber into a blue funk over his original minutes.<sup>260</sup> It also reveals how incensed jurists over there must be by the infamies of the police which Stieber, in his old-Prussian ignorance of Rhenish law, judicial procedure and Rhenish public opinion, is so unashamedly

<sup>a</sup> Steinthal, see this volume, p. 217. - <sup>b</sup> 29 October. Engels had in mind the translation of Marx's two articles: 'Political Parties and Prospects' and 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party'. - <sup>c</sup> this must cease

proclaiming from the house-tops with childish glee at his own cleverness. *C'est de bonne augure.*<sup>a</sup>

It's a pretty state of affairs: the police steal, forge, break into desks, perjure themselves, give false evidence and, withal, claim this privilege vis-à-vis communists who are *hors la société*<sup>b</sup>! This, and the way in which the police, at their most rascally, are usurping all the functions of the prosecution, pushing Saedt into the background, and submitting unauthenticated scraps of paper, mere rumours, reports and hearsay, as things legally proven, as evidence—*c'est trop fort!*<sup>c</sup> It's bound to have an effect.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

London, 27 October 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I wrote and told you that I would compose a 'Lithographed Circular' about the 'Cologne trial'.<sup>d</sup> That 'L. C.' has now become a pamphlet of some 3 sheets.<sup>261</sup> The thing cannot be lithographed now for two reasons: firstly, such an extensive lithograph would prove very expensive while yielding *nothing*, for one could not in all decency sell a lithographed circular of this kind. Secondly, nobody could read or be expected to read, a lithograph of 3 printed sheets.

So the only thing to do is to get the thing printed. IMPOSSIBLE in Germany. London is the only conceivable place. It will also be

<sup>a</sup> It's a good portent. - <sup>b</sup> outside society - <sup>c</sup> it's too much! - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 217.

possible to obtain *credit* if only I am in a position to make a part payment in advance. I would like you to discuss the matter with Weerth and Strohn. But not a day is to be lost. If the thing doesn't come out now, it will no longer be of any interest. My pamphlet is not a vindication of principles, but rather a denunciation of the Prussian government based on the facts and the course of events. Needless to say, I myself am incapable of contributing so much as a centime to the thing. Yesterday I pawned a coat dating back to my Liverpool days in order to buy writing paper.

The Empire is progressing splendidly.<sup>262</sup> Bonaparte knows better than anyone how to ensure that this time the commercial crisis will hit France even more cruelly than England.

Your  
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 October 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Have received the money and, today, a parcel with the letter.<sup>a</sup> In my last to you and Weerth<sup>b</sup> I deliberately refrained from mentioning anything which, had the letter been opened, might have further enlightened the Prussian government as to the steps we have taken against them. Today I shall give you a detailed account. I believe we have laid a countermine that will blow the whole governmental humbug sky high. Those Prussians shall see *qu'ils ont à faire à plus fort*.<sup>c</sup>

On Monday Schneider II will be receiving via Düsseldorf (addressed to a merchant, an acquaintance of Freiligrath's) a letter

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 218-20. - <sup>b</sup> *ibid.*, p. 217. - <sup>c</sup> that they're up against somebody stronger

from me,<sup>263</sup> the content of which is briefly as follows: 1. In 1847,<sup>264</sup> when I was in *Brussels*, Cherval was admitted into the League<sup>a</sup> in London by Mr Schapper and at the latter's suggestion. Not, therefore, in 1848 by me in Cologne. 2. From the late spring of 1848 to the summer of 1850 Cherval lived continuously in London, as his *HOUSEKEEPERS* can testify. Hence, he did not spend this period in Paris as a propagandist. 3. Not until the summer of 1850 did he go to Paris. The papers found on him and the statements he made before the Paris Assizes prove that he was Schapper-Willich's agent and our enemy.

That Cherval was a *police spy* is borne out by the following: 1. His miraculous escape (along with Gipperich) from prison in Paris immediately after sentence. 2. His unmolested stay in London although a *common* criminal. 3. Mr de Rémusat (I have authorised Schneider to name him if necessary) tells me that Cherval offered him his services as an agent for the Prince of Orleans; thereupon he, Rémusat, wrote to Paris and was sent the following documents (to be kept for a few hours, so that copies might be made; these he showed me), from which it emerges that Cherval was first a Prussian police spy and is now a Bonapartist one. The Prussian police reject his demand for money on the grounds of '*double emploi*'<sup>b</sup> and the fact that he is being paid by the French.<sup>265</sup>

Finally, I provided Schneider with a few simple explanations on points of theory which will enable him to distinguish between the Schapper-Willich documents and our own and to show how they differ.

Besides the letter to Schneider II sent off by you,<sup>c</sup> the same document went via Frankfurt am Main (where it was posted by old Ebner who obtained a *reçu*<sup>d</sup>) to the lawyer, von Hontheim; this was on Tuesday.<sup>e</sup> The same package contained: 1. A letter from Becker to me, with both London and Cologne postmarks, from which it emerges that our correspondence was primarily concerned with the book-trade.<sup>266</sup> 2. Two enclosures from Daniels to me in Becker's letter, which relate solely to his manuscript.<sup>267</sup> 3. Two excerpts from Hirsch's minutes.<sup>268</sup> 4. An excerpt from *The People's Paper* in which by good fortune Cherval actually gives his address. 5. Letters from Mr Stieber (in his own hand) to me<sup>269</sup> at the time of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; see p. 3 of this letter.

On Tuesday evening a letter from Schneider arrived with an occasional traveller; from this it transpires that his first, sent by

<sup>a</sup> the League of the Just - <sup>b</sup> double employ - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 217 and 218. <sup>d</sup> receipt. <sup>e</sup> 26 October

post, was intercepted. However, he received a registered letter from here, written to him at my request by Dronke, in which he was told that 6-8 weeks ago *Hentze* was over here at Willich's, that Willich was entertained by him and that Willich himself boasted that he had given Hentze instructions about how to proceed against us. Schneider writes that all the lawyers are convinced that the documents are bogus, and he urgently asks for proof of this and, in particular, of the fact that Mrs Daniels never wrote to me.

For want of money *nothing* could have been done on Wednesday, but luckily your £2 arrived. I therefore went to the [Great] Marlborough Street POLICE COURT (BEFORE MR WINGHAM, MAGISTRATE OF THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICT, who asked for an account of the affair and *furieusement* declared himself *for us and against* the Prussian government) where I had two things authenticated:

1. The handwriting of Rings and Liebknecht; according to Schneider II's letter they signed nearly *all* Hirsch's minutes. As you know, Rings is barely able to write and as a taker of minutes was therefore a splendid choice on Hirsch's part.<sup>259</sup>

2. I got the landlord of the pub where we hold our meetings to testify that, since March, the 'SOCIETY OF DR MARX' (I'm the only one the fellow knows), some 16-18 strong, has been regularly foregathering once a week and no more, namely on Wednesdays, and that neither he nor his WAITER[S] have ever seen us put pen to paper. The stuff about Wednesdays was also testified by a neighbour of his, a German baker and householder.

Both documents, bearing the seal of the POLICE COURT, have been written out in *duplicate*. The first copy of the same I sent via [...] to G. Jung who, by a stroke of good fortune, wrote to me 3 days ago saying that he was living in Frankfurt am Main, and giving his address. Jung will take the things to Cologne himself or send them by express delivery. The letter he received is addressed to Schneider II and contains, besides the documents mentioned and authenticated by the police court: a) A copy of the first letter to Schneider<sup>270</sup> along with 2 more copies of excerpts from Hirsch's minutes. b) Excerpt from a letter from Becker to myself, the reverse side of which fortunately bears London and Cologne postmarks. To quote Becker's own words (the bit I have sent contains no more than this):

'Willich is sending me the funniest letters; I do not reply, but this does not prevent him from describing his latest plans for a revolution. He has appointed me to revolutionise the Cologne garrison!!! The other day we laughed till the tears came. His idiocy will spell disaster for x people, for a single letter would suffice to guarantee the salaries of a hundred Demagogue<sup>139</sup> judges for three years. As soon

as I have completed the revolution in Cologne he would have no objection to assuming the leadership for all subsequent operations. Very kind of him! Fraternal greetings. Your Becker."<sup>271</sup>

c) Three letters from Bernbach to me which reveal the nature of our correspondence and one of which (that of March) also contains an answer to my letter<sup>272</sup> about Hirsch, the denunciation of Mrs Daniels and the consequent searching of her house.<sup>a</sup> This letter proves that she did not correspond with me. d) Copy of the letter from Stieber. e) Instructions to Schneider, in which I inform him among other things that the *authenticated documents* (or *duplicate*) will be sent on Thursday (28 October) by registered post from London direct to his address, and that he will at the same time receive the *certificate of registration* via Düsseldorf from W., the merchant. So if the government detain it this time, we can show that we have caught them *au flagrant délit*<sup>b</sup> while they, for their part, will have deprived the defence of nothing more than a duplicate.

In the *Advertiser* next Saturday (30 October) you will find a short statement on the infamous articles in *The Times*<sup>c</sup> and *The Daily News*. It will be signed: 'F. Engels, F. Freiligrath, K. Marx, W. Wolff.' Also in several weeklies.<sup>d</sup>

This time, I think, the Prussian government will be discredited in a manner not even they have ever experienced, and will see for themselves that the people they are dealing with are not blundering democrats. Through Stieber's intervention they have saved our fellows. Even Bernbach's arrest is a stroke of luck. For otherwise his letters could not have been sent over there. He would have strenuously objected for fear of being placed in temporary custody. Now that he's in jug everything's ALL RIGHT.

Père Barthélemy, born for the galleys, will make the acquaintance of Van Diemen's Land<sup>273</sup> this time for a change.<sup>274</sup> One of this fellow's dirty tricks is his persistent refusal to admit the facts, thereby implicating the seconds yet further. However, 2 have already stated that they were Cournet's seconds. As the gallows loom larger, no doubt the 3rd will forswear his *dévouement*<sup>e</sup> and likewise admit to having been a second.

A few days ago the guarantors met at Reichenbach's, all being present save for Kinkel and Willich who have been more or less expelled. Reichenbach, Löwe of Calbe, Imandt, Schimmelpfennig,

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 107. · <sup>b</sup> red-handed · <sup>c</sup> 'From our own correspondent' in the section 'Prussia', *The Times*, No. 21243, 11 October 1852. · <sup>d</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'. · <sup>e</sup> loyalty

Meyen, Oppenheim, Reichenbach, and the rest along with him, resolved to return the money to the donors. Reichenbach stated that their main reason was as follows:

'Willich and Kinkel are engaged in downright *escroquerie*.<sup>a</sup> Thousands of notes bearing his (Reichenbach's) signature are still circulating in America and they are disposing of them at a discount through their agents, pocketing the proceeds and using them for private purposes.'

Only the winding up of the whole filthy business would provide him with the pretext for exposing in public the *escroquerie* being perpetrated in his name, and forestalling any further embezzlement. You can see what those respectable citizens Willich and Kinkel have come to. *Des escrocs ... voilà le dernier mot*.<sup>b</sup>

Best regards to Weerth.

Your  
K. M.

Safe addresses down here in my next.<sup>c</sup>

'No. 177 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* contains a news item from your correspondent in Frankfurt am Main dated December 21 in which a base lie is reported to the effect that being a police spy I went to Frankfurt to try to discover the murderers of Prince Lichnowski and General Auerswald. I was in fact in Frankfurt on the 21st but stayed only one day and as you can see from the accompanying certificate I was engaged in purely private business on behalf of a lady from here, Frau von Schwesler. I have long since returned to Berlin and resumed my work as defence counsel. I would refer you moreover to the official correction in this matter that has already appeared in No. 338 of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamt-Zeitung* of December 22<sup>d</sup> and in No. 248 of the *Berlin National-Zeitung*. I believe that I may expect from your respect for the truth that you will print the enclosed correction in your paper without delay and that you will also give me the name of your slandernous informant in accordance with your legal obligations, for I cannot possibly permit such a libel to go unpunished, otherwise I shall regretfully be compelled to proceed against your editorial board.

'I believe that in recent times democracy is indebted to no one more than *myself*. It was I who rescued hundreds of democrats who had been charged from the nets of the criminal courts. It was I who even while a state of siege was proclaimed here persistently and fearlessly challenged the authorities (and do so in this very day), while all the cowardly and contemptible fellows (the so-called democrats) had long since fled the field. When democratic organs treat me in this fashion it is scarcely an encouragement to me to make further efforts.

'The real joke, however, in the present case lies in the clumsiness of the organs of democracy. The rumour that I went to Frankfurt as a police agent was spread

<sup>a</sup> swindling - <sup>b</sup> Swindlers ... that's all there is to be said. - <sup>c</sup> The text of Stieber's letter to Marx is in Mrs Marx's hand. - <sup>d</sup> The letter has 21. The newspaper of 22 December carried a news item datelined 'Frankfurt, 21. Dec. Berichtigung'.



first by that notorious organ of reaction, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, in order to undermine my activities as defence counsel that gave that paper such offence. The other Berlin papers have long since corrected this report. But the democratic papers are so inept that they parrot this stupid lie. If I had wished to go to Frankfurt as a spy it would certainly not be announced beforehand in every newspaper. And how could Prussia send a police official to Frankfurt which has enough competent officials of its own? Stupidity has always been the failing of the democrats and their opponents' cunning has always brought them to victory.

It is likewise a contemptible lie to say that years ago I was a police spy in Silesia. At that time I was openly employed as a police officer and as such I did my duty. Contemptible lies have been circulated about me. If anyone can prove that I insinuated my way into his favour let him come forth and do so. Anyone can make assertions and tell lies.—I think of you as an honest, decent man and so I expect from you a satisfactory answer by return of post. The democratic papers are generally in disrepute here because of the many lies they publish. I hope that you are a man of a different stamp.

Respectfully yours,

Stieber, Doctor at Law, etc.,  
Berlin, Ritterstrasse 65.

'Berlin, December 26, 1848'<sup>275</sup>

I herewith certify that last week Dr Stieber travelled to Frankfurt and Wiesbaden on my behalf in order to settle a private lawsuit.

Widow of the late President von Schwezler von Lecton,  
Dame of the Order of Louise.<sup>a</sup>

Seal

Now I would ask you to write the following message to Schneider, and dispatch it *without delay* by the 3rd route to Cologne indicated in your letter.<sup>b</sup>

While it is true that Stieber *bought* the 14-16 documents belonging to the Willich-Schapper clique, he did at the same time *steal* them. For he incited a certain Reuter to steal in return for cash. It was some time since Reuter had actually been a 'police official' but he had OCCASIONALLY been a *spy paid à la tâche*<sup>c</sup> by the Prussian embassy. He had *never* belonged to a communist society, not even the public German Workers' Society in London.<sup>24</sup> Reuter lived in the same house as Dietz, secretary and archivist to the Willich-Schapper central authority.<sup>276</sup> Reuter broke into Dietz's

<sup>a</sup> Here Marx wrote 'Verte' (see over). - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 218-19. - <sup>c</sup> by the job

bureau and handed over the papers to somebody, either Stieber or Schulz. The affair came out long before proceedings began in the Cologne Court of Assizes. For while under arrest in Hanover, Stechan was confronted by the examining magistrate with several letters he had written to Dietz in the latter's capacity as secretary to the refugee committee presided over by Schapper.<sup>277</sup> As everyone knows, Stechan then escaped from prison. Once in London, he wrote to Hanover demanding those letters so that he could proceed against *Reuter* in the English courts:

1. For forced entry and theft.

2. For *false evidence*. For he maintains that in his letter—which has now also been placed before the Cologne jurymen by Stieber—the words “530 talers, 500 for the leaders” are an *interpolation* for which the police were responsible. At the time, all he had sent to London was 30 talers, nor had he said a word about *leaders*.

‘Needless to say, the Hanoverian court did not accede to Stechan’s demand. The said Reuter stole all the documents by breaking into Dietz’s bureau. Dietz and the Schapper clique did not find out about the matter until Stechan arrived here.’

I have this moment received your parcel, my dear Engels. So *there is no need for you to copy out the above*. I shall send it myself direct, in one of the envelopes I have received.

Tell Weerth that he is now permanently assured of one of the ‘ministerial’ appointments put at my disposal by Stieber, if he doesn’t prefer the post of ambassador to Paris that was intended for him.<sup>278</sup>

Your  
K. M.

If you have *important* things to tell me, address the letter to: A. Johnson, Esq., (Bullion Office, Bank of England).

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 October 1852

Dear Marx,

Yesterday I sent you a volume of Dureau de la Malle<sup>a</sup> and a letter per Carver & Co.<sup>b</sup> Enclosed herewith you will find various covers done up to look like commercial ones, and enclosed therein envelopes for Hontheim and Esser I, who are less likely than Schneider to arouse the suspicions of the philistines. If you think it advisable, you can always enclose a sealed envelope for Schneider. However, I don't see why you shouldn't every now and again write a line or two to the other defence counsel to make them feel that they are important. I also enclose a commercial seal; your old one bearing Weydemeyer's arms and the clumsy S are useless. When writing to Manchester also use any other old SIXPENNY seal.

Every so often send Schneider a relatively unimportant letter by registered post so as to mislead the fellows and make them believe that we have dropped our clandestine methods for want of addresses.

There can be no doubt that the citizens whose addresses you will find here will see to it that the letters reach their destination.

You should draw counsel's attention to the obvious *CRIMES* and *délits*<sup>c</sup> committed by the police and make sure they enter a plea for Stieber's arrest on grounds of perjury and false evidence; the fellow has effectively committed *PERJURY* in the case of your letter to Kothes.<sup>279</sup>

By this evening's post a letter about more humdrum matters.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> A. J. Dureau de La Malle, *Économie politique des Romains*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 218-20. - <sup>c</sup> offences

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 October 1852

By the 2nd post

Dear Marx,

Herewith 1 article for Dana—the thing couldn't be broken off at any other point.<sup>a</sup> If I manage to finish the whole lot this evening, I shall take it<sup>b</sup> to the post later. In the meantime this will do so that you may at least have *something* on time. For that matter, Dana will have to be content with  $\frac{3}{4}$  à  $\frac{1}{5}$  of a column for a change, especially if he pays so slowly.

It wouldn't surprise me at all if the Cologne trial were to last another month. There does not seem to have been a sitting on Monday, maybe because one of the accused or a couple of jurymen were unwell, or because everyone needed two consecutive days of rest. Especially with all the fine witnesses, none of whom can give any evidence. Mr Hentze has really been taken down a peg; Weerth met the gallant man in Hamburg, whereupon he railed against you most frightfully—*cela t'acquitte de toute obligation envers lui.*<sup>c</sup> Moreover, he admitted frankly that, if he was angry, it was for philistine reasons.

So write direct—by REGISTERED LETTER—to one of the lawyers, pointing out that the prosecution has been taken completely out of the hands of Mr Saedt and put into those of Stieber, the police spy who, with the Public Prosecutor's tacit consent, is advancing wholly novel legal theories, namely:

1. that it is a crime if, from abroad, someone morally involved in the trial provides a lawyer with documents and other information for the benefit of the accused, and exposes for what they are the lies of the police told by a fellow like Stieber; that it is likewise a crime to receive such letters;

2. that the police, on the other hand, have the right not only to permit themselves all manner of crimes, but actually to boast openly before the court and the public of:

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'Political Parties and Prospects'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party'. - <sup>c</sup> that relieves you of any obligation towards him

a) *Forced entry and theft*—the breaking open of Dietz's bureau and the purloining of the documents therein.

b) *Incitement thereto*, avowedly by offers of cash; likewise *bribery*.

c) *Theft of documents* belonging to the defence, inasmuch as part of your memorandum to the lawyers was excised and detained; I won't even mention their tampering with letters, because afterwards the fellows did at least try to give it a semblance of legality.

d) *False testimony and perjury*, inasmuch as Mr Stieber deliberately represented the Cologne people as being the accomplices and associates of Cherval, etc., as he himself knew better and subsequently admitted it; notably inasmuch as he stated on oath that a letter sent through the post had not reached Cologne until 19 October, when in fact it was already there on the 15th; inasmuch as he cooked up all those lies about the special courier, etc.

e) *Forgery*, inasmuch as the alleged minutes were fabricated by the police themselves and submitted as genuine, whereas we were deprived of all means of providing the defence with counter-evidence.

And so on.

If the lawyers conduct themselves boldly and adroitly, the case might end, not in a verdict against the Cologne people, but in the arrest of Mr Stieber for perjury and various other Prussian crimes against the godless French *Code pénal*.<sup>164</sup>

There was something else I wanted to write to you about but I forgot it completely when I started chatting with Weerth, who has just got home.

I have just heard from him that Mrs Daniels has also been called as a witness for the defence—*tant mieux*.<sup>a</sup> The minutes will come to a glorious end. And *ce pauvre*<sup>b</sup> Bermbach would appear to have been unceremoniously bundled into the dock with the rest. What can they want of this poor, innocent devil?

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> so much the better - <sup>b</sup> that poor

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 31 October 1852]

Dear Marx,

The way the case has been opened, it can hardly go wrong. The letter from Stieber<sup>a</sup> is a discovery that's worth more than all the gold-mines in Australia. What luck that the *malheureux*<sup>b</sup> Nothjung kept these old *N. Rh. Z.* papers and sent them to London at the time! I only hope the thing arrives; for not even the Chief Public Prosecutor would consider it a crime to suppress stuff of that kind. You'd have done better not to send this letter by registered mail but in some other way. There's still a possibility that something may go wrong between Frankfurt and Cologne and, even though the copy provides a fair amount of proof, the original is still all-important. Somebody should have taken it to Cologne, or else it should have gone by express delivery. However, I hope all will be well.

The other documents are likewise admirable, and we shall now raise a really tremendous hullabaloo.

Yesterday, for safety's sake, I sent a letter to v. Hontheim,<sup>280</sup> for posting in Amsterdam, in which I gave him a summary of what you had written in the letter intended for Schneider,<sup>c</sup> and told him about the non-arrival of Schneider's letter addressed to Dronke. 4 copies, then, and one summary.

Today I shall send another copy of Stieber's letter to Cologne by a different route, likewise dispatch to the Rhine Province cuttings containing the article in Friday's *Advertiser*,<sup>d</sup> and the statement in Saturday's,<sup>e</sup> and shall in general throw at the bourgeoisie items of information about the crimes of the police.

Now for some suggestions:

1. In view of the highly equivocal—and, as it now behoves us to show, in passages unequivocal—nature of the only incriminating pieces of evidence, your evidence and that of Lupus, Pieper, etc., etc., if given *on oath* and *authenticated*, is of great importance. It

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 225-26. - <sup>b</sup> unhappy - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 217. - <sup>d</sup> 'Germany. From our own correspondent. Cologne, Oct. 27', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19142, 29 October 1852. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'.

does not matter what the Public Prosecutor says, the jury regards ourselves and the accused as GENTLEMEN. Now nothing could be easier than for 2 or 3 of you to go to Wingham and there record *on oath* those matters relating to London which all of you know about. For example:

a) that to the best of your knowledge there is no such person as H. Liebknecht, but only a W. Liebknecht, and that you people have never known any H. L.;

b) that you yourself never received a letter from Mrs Daniels;

c) that, aside from the Wednesday meetings, you did not hold any other meetings—on Thursdays in any other pub,—and

d) that you declare the evidence, contained in Hirsch's minutes as to speeches, lectures, etc., etc., allegedly given by yourselves, to be UTTERLY UNTRUE;

e) that the scrap of paper found with the red catechism and regarded by the Public Prosecutor as being in your handwriting, did not emanate from you<sup>281</sup>—and anything else in the latest proceedings and Stieber's first statements which seems untrue and worth refuting.

When all this has been recorded on oath before Wingham, he will draw up an ordinary affidavit—you might as well take a draft in English along with you—and you should ask him to hand it to a POLICEMAN, who will accompany you to Hebel, the Prussian consul in the City; the latter *must* certify Wingham's signature, *otherwise he will forfeit his exequatur*. 2 copies of this, drawn up as above, can then be dispatched to Cologne and cannot fail to have an effect. I regard this as extremely important, for it means that *all* the legal formalities have been complied with and that the thing is a legal document. Should Hebel nevertheless refuse to sign, go to any NOTARY PUBLIC, who will certify it<sup>282</sup> (the latter procedure was indicated to my old man in a similar case by the Prussian authorities).

2. Yesterday I received a lengthy dissertation from Dronke about Bangya.<sup>283</sup> I must confess that, in view of those wretched lies about our manuscript,<sup>a</sup> in view of Duncker's letter sent you on Tuesday by Weerth,<sup>284</sup> and assuming that it is true he addressed the last letter but one to Kothes, I find no reason to doubt that he is a Prussian spy. The fact that he keeps in with the Hungarians is no proof of the contrary; if he refers us to the Hungarians, he will likewise refer the Hungarians to us. This matter must be

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.

investigated without fail and as expeditiously as possible. And if, within *vingt-quatre heures*,<sup>a</sup> Mr Bangya fails to provide satisfactory information as to the whereabouts of the manuscript, the previous *address* of the alleged Eisermann, giving street and no., and about his highly questionable means of subsistence, I would strongly recommend that counsel in Cologne ask Stieber outright what he knows about a certain Colonel Bangya. After the revelations that have already been made, Mr Stieber will no longer dare to give false evidence, since he cannot know what will be coming next; at the same time Schneider should be informed about the business of the manuscript so that he can pass the story on to the court, after which no further statement need be made for the time being.

3. A few people from Stechan's workers' society,<sup>2b</sup> committee members, etc., might also go to the magistrate, not with little scraps of paper, but with whole pages, or as large samples as possible, of Hirsch's handwriting, and *declare on oath* that these are in Hirsch's hand. *Cela vaut infiniment mieux*<sup>b</sup> than mere unauthenticated cuttings.

On Monday we shall see that some more money is sent to you, so that none of you will get into difficulties. *Your own* affidavit could be dispatched last of all—which would have certain advantages; but we must ensure that everything arrives before the cross-examination of the witnesses is over.

Don't forget to let me have a few safe addresses as soon as you can.

Stechan's statement about the forgery<sup>c</sup> must also be sworn before a magistrate. *Cela pourra avoir de brillants résultats*.<sup>d</sup>

Kinkel has today been sneaking round the Exchange here, in tow of a RABBLE of local German Jews. However, we have been putting a few ideas in our people's heads and, here as in Bradford, Weerth will make things pretty hot for him.

Could you not obtain direct evidence of Kinkel's *escroquerie*<sup>e</sup> from Reichenbach through Imandt or someone, and send copies of it to the *Examiner and Times*, the *Guardian*, or the *Courier* here, and also to the Bradford papers? Such direct evidence, of course, that the fellows need have no fear of a LIBEL action. You might also send it to Dr J. W. Hudson, secretary of the Manchester Athenaeum.<sup>244</sup>

Strohn is back in Bradford, somewhat indisposed, and will be coming here on Wednesday or Thursday. I am writing to him

<sup>a</sup> twenty-four hours - <sup>b</sup> That is worth infinitely more. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 227. -

<sup>d</sup> That could have splendid results. - <sup>e</sup> Swindle



today and will provide him with adequate instructions<sup>285</sup> so that, when you send him things, you can count on his attending to them efficiently and in such a way as not to clash with *my* arrangements. The main thing is that none of the commercial addresses should be used more than *once*.

We must take things to such lengths that in future people will no longer talk about 'stealing' but 'stiebering'.<sup>2</sup>

Then, too, there is the lawyer Schürmann, one of the defence counsel, whose address can be used for enclosures. Schneider is really too risky.

There's another reason why the Bangya affair is important: Granted that the original minute-book was *not* in Hirsch's hand, but copied—what then? Stieber has sworn in any case that he doesn't know Hirsch.

Should the Cologne people be sentenced after all, which I regard as exceedingly unlikely if we go on doing everything in our power to send over all available information and documents, we must write something without fail. If they are acquitted, I believe that this would merely soften down the government's defeat. Meanwhile we can only wait and see. Above all an exact copy must be taken of every document, affidavit, etc., all of them fully authenticated, etc., etc., for these things will provide a splendid series of *pièces justificatives*.

Dronke has asked me for 10/- as he is ill and down on his luck. Let him have it, or perhaps a bit more, when the next lot of money arrives, i.e. on Tuesday.

You had best send me the addresses per Pickford or Carver.

Regards to all and write soon.

Your  
F. E.

Up here we are keeping a careful register of all outgoing documents, with dates, how sent, etc.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> In the original there is a pun on *Diebereien* (thefts, stealing) and *Stiebereien* from the name Stieber.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 November 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Received your letter together with £5. 10/- given to Dronke.

The time when we had to be coy about writing openly to each other's actual addresses is now past. On Saturday (30 October) the lawyers received the bulk of the documents, on Sunday, the second letter from Frankfurt, and yesterday my last letter with the DECLARATION before the magistrate.<sup>a</sup> Today I have sent by registered post direct to Schneider II the declaration<sup>b</sup> which appeared in today's *Morning Advertiser*, not so much because there was still any necessity to do so, as to show the Prussian government that we possess the means to insist on the integrity of its mails or, failing that, to expose it before the London public.

The lawyers received all they needed in good time, i.e. *before* the prosecution *closed* its case. At present I am of the opinion that, unless some incident should prolong the trial and thus necessitate renewed intervention on our part, *nothing* more should go off to Cologne.

Herewith a letter from Imandt to Cluss, which contains more details about Kinkel's and Willich's *escroquerie*.<sup>c</sup> Up till now I hadn't had time to read the letter and had done no more than have it copied out for you by Pieper. It went off to Washington last Friday.<sup>d</sup>

Fleury, a merchant in the Crry, says that he can bear witness that he and other businessmen have been invited by Kinkel and Willich to purchase Loan Notes.

Just now that *chevalier d'industrie*,<sup>e</sup> Willich, is living on the bounty of the Russian, Herzen.

From what Freiligrath told me yesterday, it would appear that, before his departure for Manchester, Kinkel had been grovelling with renewed zeal before a crowd of CITY ALDERMEN, merchants, etc., in his role of fund-raiser, rhetorician and lesson-giver.

<sup>a</sup> Wingham - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'The Trials at Cologne. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*'. - <sup>c</sup> swindle - <sup>d</sup> 29 October - <sup>e</sup> swindler

As for the scrap of paper wrongly attributed to me,<sup>287</sup> all I still need is the *address of Moses Hess*, who is living in Liège. For I am going to write to him and say: 'Tell me who it was you gave the *Catechism* to and who hawked it round Germany. Otherwise I shall denounce you as a FORGER in the *Indépendance*.' Moses is bound to spill the beans, if it transpires that on this occasion it was not the police but Kinkel-Willich who imitated my handwriting, I shall have them up in court here for imitating another's hand.

Don't forget to send me the last bit for Dana.<sup>a</sup> Parliament assembles on Thursday.<sup>b</sup> The article is already somewhat out-of-date. But *after* Friday it will be completely worthless.

Kind regards to Weerth and Strohn.

Your  
K. M.

The merchant, Fleury, further testifies that, *almost every week*, Willich extorts *pounds* from him and his English friends on the plea that he needs this for the refugees. Now, it can be proved that Willich-Kinkel rudely turn away *all* refugees with the remark that they have not a centime to spare for such purposes. Willich tells them that he hasn't enough himself for his daily bread; Kinkel points with emotion to his children, and at most gives away a waistcoat cast off by the late Julius, the absent Schurz or his own august person.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>c</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 4 November 1852 (?)

Dear Engels,

I am having to dictate these few lines to you today since the perfidious haemorrhoids will not let me sit down.

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party'. - <sup>b</sup> 4 November - <sup>c</sup> The letter is written in Mrs Marx's hand. Marx himself inserted only the year with a question mark and signed the letter.

Enclosed a letter from Schneider which arrived yesterday evening and 1 letter from Collmann to Bangya<sup>288</sup> which kindly send back.

As you see, Szemere wants to have his manuscript<sup>a</sup> back.

Vehse told me yesterday that Weerth had arranged an appointment with him in London but had got the date wrong: I duly explained things to him.

Your  
K. M.

[From Mrs Marx]

Warm regards from the secretary, Marx's spouse.

Kossuth is furious with Marx for having told Dana about his DODGE with Bonaparte, Vetter, etc.; Dana has made this material into a fulminating article.<sup>b</sup>

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 5-6 November,] 1852,<sup>c</sup> Friday

Dear Marx,

I am glad to hear that I am not the only sufferer. Strohn was here yesterday and the day before which, of course, meant some hard drinking; he left at three this morning and will have sailed today, I hope. For me this was the *coup de grâce* and means that today I shall be no good at all. For the same reason you won't get a translation today, not that it matters, since there's bound to be some steamer or other from Southampton which the thing<sup>d</sup> can go by and there certainly won't be even a Speech from the Throne in Parliament before the 11th.

<sup>a</sup> B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...* - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston'. - <sup>c</sup> The year was added later by Engels. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, 'Attempts to Form a New Opposition Party'.

So the documents, including the original of Stieber's letter,<sup>a</sup> arrived safely. Things will liven up once the gallant Public Prosecutor has done. One might strain one's faculties to the utmost, yet never succeed in producing inanities such as those uttered by Seckendorf. Because Engels has stated in print that the best communists made the most courageous soldiers,<sup>b</sup> it follows that Bürgers must be convicted of conspiracy. What the cross-examination evidently implies is that the accused harboured the *intent—suspect de suspicion d'incivisme*<sup>c</sup>—hence that it is a matter of *perfect indifference* whether or not the accused belongs to the League<sup>d</sup>—in other words, Mr Seckendorf, despairing of a verdict against Daniels and Co., positively invites the jury to acquit Bürgers and Röser too! To have become so utterly addle-pated, the fellow must have been swilling strong BRANDY AND WATER every evening for at least a week. Nowhere in all this mummery is there a single word TO THE PURPOSE. Incidentally, ever since the presiding judge<sup>e</sup> released particulars of the cross-examination, I have not for a moment doubted Bürgers' and the others' acquittal. Neither his plaintive manifesto<sup>f</sup> nor his circular tour could possibly be transmogrified into an 'enterprise' whereby the constitution, etc.<sup>289</sup> Or are the annals of history to read thus: 'In May 1851, at the time the Crystal Palace<sup>290</sup> was opened in London, the tailor Nothjung travelled from Berlin to Leipzig in order to overthrow the Prussian constitution and start a civil war.' In any case, the minute book has been set aside and, from Strohn's account, some of the jurymen are quite decent, namely v. Rath, v. Bianca, Leven, Leider, Herstadt and one other.

I also believe that, in view of the way the case is turning out, we ought at all costs to publish something. But it would be advisable, if not essential, for Schneider and one of the accused to come over to London after the trial, in which case I should arrange to come up there for a Saturday and Sunday. Then, when all has been discussed, you could go back with me and the manuscript could be ready within a few days. Meanwhile, write to old Ebner, asking

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 225-26. - <sup>b</sup> Engels refers to the words 'the most resolute Communists made the most courageous soldiers' in his work *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 226). - <sup>c</sup> under suspicion of suspected civic disloyalty - <sup>d</sup> the Communist League - <sup>e</sup> Göbel - <sup>f</sup> The Manifesto of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League of 1 December 1850 drawn up by Bürgers and others. The text of the Manifesto was confiscated during the arrest of the Communist League members and published in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger*, No. 171, 22 June and the *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 150, 24 June 1851.

him whether he couldn't place this little pamphlet with Löwenthal—so far as I am concerned, we could go halves with him, both as regards profits and losses.

As for Bangya, the most immediate case against him necessarily falls to the ground if it is established that he did not address the last letter but one to Kothés.<sup>a</sup> I was completely flabbergasted when Dronke said in his letter that it was Bangya who had addressed the last letter but one, i.e. the last letter to have *arrived safely*. How did the *fiévreuse*<sup>b</sup> little man come to invent such a story? But the Collmann business looks fishy too.<sup>286</sup> This letter of Collmann's is written *in exactly the same hand* as the earlier ones from Eisermann<sup>c</sup>; I shall send it back to you tomorrow, but it seems to me that *we ought to hold on to it. Il y a là un faux*.<sup>d</sup> Before long we shall know through Weerth what is the matter with Collmann<sup>e</sup>; in the meantime you should ask Bangya to explain how Mr Collmann comes to be writing under a false name, etc., and why 'the man', and what man, died, and how it is that he has now suddenly come to life again. And find out from Mr Bangya the name of 'the commission agent' in London whom he 'knows' according to one of the letters. And, so that Dronke may also have something to do, get him to make inquiries with a German bookseller about Collmann.

It is most odd that all the letters should arrive by carrier; there's never a postmark on them, and their tone is always so perfunctory and nonchalant that one can't help smelling a rat. This one again has been written from 'a friend's at an inn'. None of this seems at all BUSINESSLIKE, any more than does the absurd evasion that it is *his* business when the manuscript<sup>f</sup> should be published. Enough. Even if in this instance Bangya is acting as honourably as can be expected of a mendacious Slav, it nevertheless seems to me that his friend in Berlin is an archscoundrel. Now, however, everything should be cleared up since Mr C. figures here as the immediate owner of the manuscript, and also as publisher. If there is no bookseller of this name, that clinches the matter.

Anyway, the notion that a publisher can leave a manuscript lying in his drawer for years is a novel one and hardly smacks of the book-trade. To my mind, that story about the children's books is also a *ponge*; in England such muck never comes out at Christmas time. Moreover, it is written in such a vague and disjointed way

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 216 and 232. - <sup>b</sup> feverish - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 237 and 256. - <sup>d</sup> There's a forgery there. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 251-52. - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.

that Bangya could not possibly infer a firm order from it. Nor does one write at an inn on such rotten paper, which looks more likely to come from a Prussian government office. *Enfin, nous verrons.*<sup>a</sup>

However, I myself can't possibly write to Bangya at this point, since I have no details of what happened between you and him, what he said to you, what other letters he may have shown you, etc. But we've got him now.

Saturday, 6 November

For physical reasons I did not manage to send off the foregoing yesterday. Since then I have read another 'Stieberiad' in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.<sup>b</sup> So the original minute-book has been dropped and in its stead H. Liebknecht has risen from the dead in the shape of a cash receipt. Monsieur Hirsch and company—for there must be a number of them—seem to have well and truly done the stupid Prussian police out of a lot of money. *Il valait bien la peine,*<sup>c</sup> their sending a police lieutenant<sup>d</sup> to London merely to find themselves imposed upon in this manner and, on top of that, fobbed off with the information about the *most secret* meeting at your house.<sup>e</sup>

But what is all this about Dronke's friend, Fleury, whom we here find openly and unequivocally described as a police spy? This will deflect some of the little man's wrath from Bangya. It would also seem that someone has blabbed about Stieber's letter, not that it matters; the way Stieber himself is drawing attention to this document and speaking of 'infamous calumnies' can only serve to enhance its effect.

Weerth is in Liverpool and will not be back for several hours so that I shall have to hold on to the letters from Schneider and Bangya<sup>e</sup> until tomorrow.

<sup>f</sup>By his own admission, Bürgers worked for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.<sup>f</sup>

That, of course, is enough to send him to the gallows. I've never heard anything like it before.

<sup>a</sup> Anyway, we shall see. - <sup>b</sup> 'Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 283, 4 November 1852. - <sup>c</sup> It was hardly worth the trouble. - <sup>d</sup> Goldheim - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 237. - <sup>f</sup> 'Assisen-Procedur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen...'

This evening, no doubt, the *Kölnische Zeitung* will bring the first news that the tide has turned. The lawyers were perfectly right to keep everything back, if only they now really put their shoulders to the wheel.

Your  
F. E.

Don't forget to send me *by return* copies of Freiligrath's poems about Kinkel.<sup>a</sup> We have already people in Bradford who want to ask him to read them aloud.

Hirsch must still be here, at least, he was *positivement*<sup>b</sup> here last week, for I saw him at the Athenaeum.<sup>244</sup> Another chap who is the spit image of him was here as well and this confused me at first. Perhaps he has a post here, or is looking for one? By the way, when you were last here<sup>292</sup> we met a fellow once in Broughton who cried 'Good morning, Marx', and we couldn't place him. It was Hirsch! So the fellow goes 'on tour'. As soon as the trial is over, he must be given a good drubbing.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 November 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Enclosed my wife's report<sup>c</sup> on yesterday's Robert Blum meeting.<sup>293</sup> She was with Imandt in the gallery of the Freemason's Tavern where it was held.

<sup>a</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - <sup>b</sup> positively - <sup>c</sup> [Jenny Marx,] 'Der Volksbund für zerschiedene Welten in Poesie', *Philadelphier Demokrat*, 1 December 1852.



As far as Bangya is concerned, just hold on to Collmann's letter. Whenever he inquires after it, I shall say I kept forgetting to ask you to send it back. Had there been intentional deception on Bangya's part he would have supplied the incriminating evidence himself. So much is clear. Originally Bangya was accused of having betrayed the Paris conspiracy<sup>143</sup> and later of double-dealing in the Cologne affair. In both instances the contrary has proved to be the case. According to Schneider's letter, Kothes' address<sup>a</sup> would appear to have been betrayed by one of Kothes' own acquaintances.<sup>294</sup> Finally, as regards our pamphlet,<sup>b</sup> Weerth will by now have made inquiries about Collmann's address and the thing will inevitably be cleared up. I have given Bangya a letter to Collmann in which I point out that, though his publication date for the pamphlet is contractually agreed, there is no contractual agreement forbidding us to publish the original manuscript—still in our possession—in Brussels or New York, should we so desire. Nor is there any contractual agreement forbidding publication in a fortnight of the 2nd part by another bookseller under a separate title if it is ready and of itself constitutes a complete whole, etc.<sup>295</sup>

Now for the Cologne affair.

Had I been in Bürgers' etc. place, I should never have allowed Mr Becker<sup>c</sup> to flaunt himself so brazenly and at the expense of everyone else as *l'homme supérieur*,<sup>d</sup> or to debase as he did the character of the whole proceedings, much to the delight of the democrats. To defend oneself is one thing but quite another to deliver an apologia for oneself at others' expense. Becker is one of the revolution's epigones, possessed of a great deal of cunning but little intelligence and well able to calculate just how he can trick his way up to become a great man. His talents remain those *d'un infiniment petit*.<sup>e</sup>

As you already know, the government has, out of sheer desperation, resorted to heroic means, namely Goldheim's retrospective report,<sup>291</sup> only to find itself once again ensnared.

Goldheim's testimony furnished 2 data: 'Greif' and 'Fleury'.

I therefore instituted inquiries about Greif (*to which end I myself engaged a Prussian informer*). In this way I obtained his address and found out that he lived at 17 Victoria Road, Kensington. This, however, is Mr Fleury's house. Hence it was established that Greif lives with Fleury. It further transpired that Greif's official position here is not that of 'police lieutenant' but of attaché to the Prussian

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 232. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>c</sup> Hermann Becker - <sup>d</sup> the superior man - <sup>e</sup> of an infinitely small one

Embassy. Finally, that on Saturday, 6 November, he left here for a few weeks. Probably to go to Cologne. By his own account, he left because he was afraid of the Marxians, because Fleury had swindled him, etc.

So much was now clear: Greif was Fleury's superior and Fleury Hirsch's superior. And so, indeed, it has turned out.

On the other hand, Imandt and Dronke called on Fleury on Friday, 5 November, *Kölnische Zeitung* in hand. He, of course, feigned surprise, said he knew no one by the name of Greif, expressed his readiness to make any statement in the presence of a magistrate, but first wanted to consult his lawyer, made two appointments for Saturday, 6 November, one for 2 and the other for 4 o'clock, but took good care not to turn up and so gained for the police one more day on which we were unable to operate, apart from sending a few preliminary letters to Cologne. Finally, on Sunday, 7 November, Dronke and Imandt extracted from him a statement which you will see in the *Kölnische*.<sup>296</sup> I shall send you a copy but cannot at this moment lay hands on it. Having his statement safely in their pockets, they told him he was a spy, that Greif was living at his place, that we had known all about it and had been hoodwinking the police, whereas they had believed they were hoodwinking us. He, of course, continued to protest his innocence.

Finally I sent round some fellows (among them the tipsy General Herweg) to track down Hirsch's lodgings. It transpired that he also lived in Kensington, not far from Fleury.

One more thing before I go on. The *whole of Goldheim's testimony* becomes perfectly explicable if you consider that, 1. Goldheim was here on 30 October (Saturday) and, in company with Alberts, secretary at the Prussian Embassy, went to see Greif and Fleury; 2. that on the *morning of that same 30 October* our statement about the forthcoming revelations<sup>a</sup> appeared in 5 English papers; 3. that Fleury had arranged a rendez-vous with Imandt and Dronke for *that same 30 October* because Dronke was to take over French lesson for him instead of Imandt. 4. But that *before* Stieber made the revelations about London at his 2nd interrogation and *immediately* after his *first* interrogation on the subject of Cherval, etc., I had sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Frankfurter Journal* and the *National-Zeitung*, a statement in which Stieber was already threatened with the disclosure of his letter to me.<sup>b</sup> Admittedly this

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 225-26.

statement did not appear in any of the papers. But both post office and police had incontestably taken note of it.<sup>297</sup>

This provides a highly prosaic explanation for Stieber's 'clairvoyance' and the omniscience of his police agents in London. Everything else Goldheim said was '*fabulae*.'<sup>a</sup> I have conveyed such information as is necessary about these things to Cologne by *diverse* channels, together with Fleury's statement.<sup>b</sup>

But the best is yet to come.

It was, of course, my intention to take out a WARRANT against Hirsch, for which purpose I made inquiries about his lodgings. But it was not till Saturday that I obtained the address. I felt sure that, if I could get the WARRANT against Hirsch, he would implicate Fleury, and Fleury Greif.

What happens? On Friday Willich, very secretively, betakes himself with Hirsch to the court in Bow Street where, in Schärttner's presence, he obtains from Hirsch what is purported to be a written confession in triplicate stating *that some six months ago he and Fleury fabricated the spurious minutes*, he then sends off the 3 documents, 1. to Göbel, the presiding judge at the Assizes, 2. to Schneider, 3. to the *Kölnische Zeitung*—and gives Hirsch the money to *escape*, indeed, even has him accompanied to the steamer, ostensibly so that he can confess in person in Cologne.

We all only heard of this through the inquiry we had set on foot about Hirsch, and partly, too, at Bow Street, where we went to take out the WARRANT. Schapper himself told Liebknecht that Willich had breathed *not a word to him* of all this. Thus, our intention of initiating proceedings of our own in London was thwarted by Mr Willich's sleight of hand. To what end? The answer is very simple if we reflect that for the past year he has been the merchant Fleury's *homme entretenu*<sup>c</sup> and that *in any case, therefore, some highly compromising things must have emerged had we had Fleury apprehended*.

An instance, by the by, of the high esteem in which this man Fleury (I have *never* set eyes on him) is held by the democrats—*Techow, leaving for Australia and already on board ship, wrote him a letter in which he commended him for having both heart and head in the right place*.

The money Hirsch was given for his journey by Willich had *undoubtedly* been handed to the latter for this purpose by Fleury.

Hirsch has admitted that he tried to copy Liebknecht's writing and that he was working under the direction of the merchant Fleury (this cur is, besides, a *man of substance* and has married into

<sup>a</sup> fabrication - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 235. - <sup>c</sup> kept man

a very *respectable* English Quaker family), just as Fleury himself was under the direction of Greif. This confirms in every particular what I deduced straight away from the content and dates of the original minute-book published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and which none of the lawyers has hitherto duly exploited.<sup>296</sup>

To my mind there is no doubt that the Cologne accused will *all*, without exception, be acquitted.

I should be grateful if you could write and tell *Strohn* that he would greatly oblige me if he could send me a few pounds *forthwith*. Of the £4.10/- received through you, nearly £3 has been spent on errands, informers, etc. Our impoverished League friends naturally took advantage of the many errands, appointments, etc., to tot up pretty substantial *faux frais de production*<sup>a</sup> for beer, cigars, omnibuses, etc., which I, of course, had to make good.

You will be receiving Freiligrath's poems.<sup>b</sup>

Apropos, Reichenbach has issued a '*Lithographed Statement*'<sup>299</sup> to all American papers in which a dirty trick is played on Willich-Kinkel. It discloses that Kinkel claimed, *inter alia*, £200 for his journey alone. I shall get hold of the document and let you have it for the archives.<sup>216</sup>

Your

K. M.

Greetings to Weerth. Vehse left yesterday. Have already written to Frankfurt about our pamphlet.<sup>300</sup> Unless we write something, Becker will seize upon all this business *ad majorem gloriam Beckeri*.<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> false expenses - <sup>b</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer', I and II. - <sup>c</sup> to the greater glory of Becker

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 November 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

If you can, do a *Tribune* article on the Cologne affair<sup>a</sup> for Friday. You are now as familiar with all the material as myself and, for the past 4-5 weeks I have so neglected my domestic pother for the sake of PUBLIC BUSINESS that, with the best will in the world, I shall not be able to get down to work this week.

You haven't told me whether you received the Reichenbach circular<sup>299</sup> sent off to you last week.

This evening we are to discuss a statement for the English Press on the Cologne affair.<sup>b</sup> There will hardly be time to send it for you to see beforehand. However, if you could do one to reach me by *Thursday morning*,<sup>c</sup> that would be even better.

Regards to Weerth.

Your  
K. M.

At the Ruge meeting<sup>293</sup> on the 9th, messages were received from Kossuth-Mazzini pleading sickness. However, on the 10th they put in an appearance at the 'Friends of Italy'.<sup>301</sup> Ledru did not make his excuses at all.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'The Late Trial at Cologne'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials'. - <sup>c</sup> 18 November

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>302</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 November 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Last Wednesday,<sup>a</sup> at my suggestion, the League here<sup>b</sup> *disbanded*, similarly the continued existence of the League on the Continent was *declared* to be *no longer expedient*. In any case, since the arrest of Bürgers-Röser, it had to all intents and purposes already ceased to exist there. Enclosed a statement for the *English* papers,<sup>c</sup> to complement our first one.<sup>d</sup> You should, however, put it into better and CONCISER *English*. I no longer have the German original.<sup>e</sup><sup>303</sup> In addition I am writing for a lithographed article a detailed account of the dirty tricks played by the police,<sup>f</sup> and also an appeal to America for money for the prisoners and their families. Treasurer Freiligrath. Signed by all our people.<sup>304</sup>

The article for the *Tribune*,<sup>g</sup> however, is dependent on the time at your disposal. You must return the enclosed statement, or rather an amended version of the same, *as soon as possible*, since not a day longer is to be lost where the London press is concerned.

Regards to Weerth.

Your  
K. Marx

First published in part in *Die Neue Zeit*, Ergänzungshefte, No. 12, 12 April, Stuttgart, 1922 and in full in: Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Briefwechsel*, Bd. 1, Moskau-Leningrad, 1935

Printed according to the author's copy in a notebook for 1860

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<sup>a</sup> 17 November - <sup>b</sup> the London District of the Communist League - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials'. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press'. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Erklärung', London, 18 November 1852, *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 39, 10 December 1852. - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - <sup>g</sup> F. Engels, 'The Late Trial at Cologne'.

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## ENGELS TO MARIE BLANK

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 November 1852

Dear Marie,

I really must beg your pardon most humbly for not having already long since replied to your first letter. But at the office where I was formerly in the habit of dealing with my private correspondence, I now have so much to do that there can no longer be any question of that, and at home, *mon Dieu*,<sup>a</sup> my writing materials are always in such poor shape (as, e.g., my calligraphic experiments at the beginning of this letter go to show) that I can hardly bring myself to grapple with them. Nevertheless, I am doing so this evening in the hope that you will marvel at my sense of duty and regard my bad handwriting as yet another token of my brotherly love.

There was, besides, another reason that prevented me from writing to you. Namely the fact that, when you were in Germany, it occurred to me that there was something I wanted to ask you about; but when you came back I couldn't for the life of me remember what it was. You will understand that such lack of character, or rather such lack of memory, was bound to arouse considerable qualms of conscience in a self-respecting man. In all sincerity I must confess that I could not bring myself to write to you so long as I had not got to the bottom of this weighty matter. But your second letter, and the increased mental activity induced by a WELSH RABBIT and a few glasses of SHERRY, have at last brought me up to the mark again and I now recall what it was I wished to ask you. The matter in question is as follows: Did I, at Christmas or at Easter, leave two cotton shirts at your house? For these have long been missing from my wardrobe and if you have found them I should be quite glad, inasmuch as this would demonstrate that I am not at all a slipshod person.

You ask me what my wishes are. *Ma chère soeur*,<sup>b</sup> it's some time since I indulged in wishes, for nothing comes of them. Besides which, I really have no talent for it, for if by chance I catch myself being weak enough to wish for anything, it always turns out to be

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<sup>a</sup> My God - <sup>b</sup> My dear sister

something I can't have and it would therefore be better for me to get out of the habit of wishing altogether. As you see, even on this subject I cannot help relapsing into the moral tone of Ecclesiastes, SO THE LESS WE SAY ABOUT IT, THE BETTER IT WILL BE. If, therefore, you intend to put me under an obligation by providing yet another token of your love this Christmas, my bungling and untutored talent in the matter of wishing is unlikely to be of much assistance to you, though I console myself with the thought that you do not in fact require such assistance, *à en juger par le passé*.<sup>a</sup>

I am glad to hear that you are all flourishing. Apart from a couple of colds I, too, have been pretty well on the whole; in particular there was no recurrence of toothache with the change of season and I hope it's now a thing of the past. I am still living in Strangeways, though a few doors further away,<sup>b</sup> but am considering leaving this district next month and moving a bit closer to Little Germany<sup>305</sup>; it really is too lonesome here and this winter I shall, for a change, allow myself a little entertainment, in so far as such a thing is possible in this smoky place. For six months past I have not had a single opportunity to make use of my acknowledged gift for mixing a lobster salad—*quelle horreur*<sup>c</sup>; it makes one get quite rusty. Anyhow, I shall have to write another book next spring, probably in English, about the Hungarian war<sup>136</sup> or the novels of Mr Balzac, lately deceased, or about something else. This, however, is a great secret, otherwise I wouldn't breathe a word to you about it.

What is Elise<sup>d</sup> up to? If she's a good cook, and can darn stockings, she might well come over here after Christmas and keep house for me. Now that Gottfried<sup>e</sup> (or is it Franz<sup>f</sup>?) the lute-player has set up house on his own, I am virtually under an obligation to follow suit to outshine him, which is very easy, for Elise would undoubtedly be able to do the honours of the house quite famously, while all your old stick-in-the-mud bachelor has is an ancient, crotchety, six-foot-tall, skin-and-bone, intimidating, snarling, blear-eyed, doddering, unkempt, ex-kitchen maid of a housekeeper, but never a wife, despite his gallantries at concerts, balls and suchlike; *pauvre bonhomme que Dieu le bénisse!*<sup>g</sup>

Come to that, it's time I stopped, for I am beginning to say all manner of horrid things about my fellow-men, if not about a

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<sup>a</sup> to go by the past - <sup>b</sup> Strangeways, 48 Great Ducie Street. See this volume, p. 201. - <sup>c</sup> how frightful - <sup>d</sup> Engels' sister - <sup>e</sup> Gottfried Ermen - <sup>f</sup> Franz Ermen - <sup>g</sup> may God bless him, poor fellow



member of the firm, and this one ought never to do unless there's something to be gained by it, as the Quakers say.

My greetings to Emil,<sup>a</sup> Elise and the children and please give my kindest regards to Mr and Mrs Heilgers. The weather was too bad and there was too much work at the office for me to come up for the funeral of the OLD DUKE<sup>b</sup>; we only took half a day off. In any case I shall be in town four weeks from now.

With much love,

Your

Friedrich

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Saturday, 27 November 1852

Dear Marx,

Assuming I can raise anything towards the cost of printing the pamphlet,<sup>c</sup> it will be at most £2-3—at the moment I am myself in a fix. But 3 printed sheets will cost between £10 and £12, and even more with stitching, etc., etc. Unless the thing is printed on the Continent for the account of, or at least in partnership with, a bookseller, it will not get round at all. On reaching Prussia, etc., etc., it will be confiscated, and we shall be cheated by the booksellers. So we shall have to regard the money as sacrificed on this business, for there certainly won't be any return in the way of £. s. d. The question now is whether we can spend this amount upon it; or at least, whether it might not be better to condense the thing into 1-1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> sheets, so that the cost is rather more commensurate with our resources. December and January are for me the two most difficult months in the whole year; I can hardly

<sup>a</sup> Blank · <sup>b</sup> The Duke of Wellington · <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

consider making any further contribution to the cost before February. If we have it printed on credit, the printer will, as with Weydemeyer, end up by withholding copies until he has been paid.<sup>306</sup> And whatever we do, we must begin by finding out what prospects there are of its being distributed; at the moment there would seem to be virtually none.

Weerth is coming up to London tomorrow and sails from Southampton on 2 December. His *OUTFIT* cost him a great deal of money. Strohn, too, will shortly be travelling to London and thence to the Continent. The travelling expenses he must incur in establishing himself (on foreign capital to boot, or so I hear) are so heavy that we shall not be able to squeeze anything out of him either. So we are all of us in a fix.

It is my opinion that, unless you have reasonably good channels of distribution through booksellers, the thing won't even be heard of, and, like all literature published by émigrés, will go before anyone in Germany has a chance to see it. And that is very bad—even worse, in some ways, than if nothing were done at all. For it would provide public proof that we are dependent on hole-and-corner German emigrant printing presses and are powerless to get anything done. We were able to disassociate ourselves from the fiasco of Bürgers' circular<sup>a</sup> by withdrawing into our literary sanctum, but even this could be compromised were we to admit literary impotence in such a way. The Prussian government would be delighted to see us reduced in matters of publicity to the same expedients as were available to the demagogues of 1831 during their exile,<sup>307</sup> i.e. virtually zero. Lamentable though this is, it would, I think, be better, if *we* at least did not blazon it abroad. Furthermore, now that the new crime of treasonable correspondence [...] has been recognised by the jury, we could not send a single copy to the Rhine Province, which would be the chief market, without compromising hundreds of people.

I shall send you the money on 1 or 2 December. Consider the matter once more and, if you still think it would be better to print the pamphlet in this way rather than not at all, you should at least try so to arrange things that we do not run into difficulties over payments for, as I have said, I can commit myself to nothing before February.

Weerth may already have written and told you that Mr Chr.

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<sup>a</sup> The Manifesto of the Cologne Central Authority of the Communist League of 1 December 1850 drawn up by Bürgers and others. See also this volume, p. 238.

Collmann is *not to be found* at the address indicated, 58 or 59 Neue Königsstrasse or, for that matter, in Berlin, nor does anyone know a bookseller of that name.<sup>a</sup> *Après tout, il paraît pourtant qu'on a voulu nous jouer.*<sup>b</sup> For the time being I shall not let Mr Bangya have any of the stuff back. So Schulz, the 'commercial traveller', and the dead policeman,<sup>c</sup> were one and the same person after all!

Warmest regards to your wife and children. I shall be in London in somewhat over a fortnight.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Monday, 29 November 1852

Dear Marx,

I've been toiling over the enclosed article<sup>d</sup> until one o'clock in the morning, but another post goes at 9 a.m. I'll try it as an experiment and see whether you get it in time for the STEAMER (Tuesday evening per first MAIL to Liverpool); if not, you'll have to send it by Friday's steamer.

Tomorrow I have to go out of town. If I'm back early enough I shall send you some money.

Shall I be getting an article on England for the *Tribune* soon? I am now able to work again.

Cobden seems to have been disappointed in the ministerial hopes

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 239. - <sup>b</sup> It looks as though they have been trying to hoodwink us after all. - <sup>c</sup> A pun on Schultz—the name and *Polizeischult*—a police official. - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, 'The Late Trial at Cologne'.

he had pinned on Graham and Russell; the latter would appear to be giving him the cold shoulder. I can see no other explanation for his rage on Friday.<sup>a</sup> Not since 1844 has the fellow spoken with such fury. HE IS A DISAPPOINTED DEMAGOGUE AGAIN for as long as this continues. By the way, it's a good thing the Tories were in a majority, for now we shall get to hear about Disraeli's budget after all.<sup>308</sup> If the chap's knowledge and intelligence were greater and his cunning and thieving propensities less, nothing would be easier than to arrange a FREE TRADE BUDGET for the FREE TRADERS that would make them see stars. If only the fellows hold out until the crisis comes! We are *décidément* in EXCITEMENT. Although even this is still going very *piano piano* But no matter. The six pages of JOINT-STOCK prospectuses in today's *Daily News*—on the strength of which it thinks to outshine *The Times*—are bound to have an effect, likewise the 50-80 or so foreign railway, gold mining, steamship, etc., etc., companies. Inevitably this will create a taste 'for more'. Fortunately the only circumstance which might have brought over-production in the cotton industry to a premature end has now been eliminated; the new crop will be *far in excess of 3 million bales*, i.e. the biggest there has ever been, and cotton is again going down; so there'll be no shortage of raw material. Only let the corn harvest fail next year and we shall see a merry dance. But unless it does so, it is difficult to say whether anything decisive will happen as early as next year, given the abnormal conditions, given the mushroom growth of the markets in Australia and California where, as there are hardly any women and children, one individual consumes perhaps four times as much as elsewhere and gold is freely squandered in the towns, given the new market which the Calcutta houses are already exploiting in Burma, given the way Bombay and Karachi are expanding their trade with North-East India and the adjacent territories (particularly so in the case of the latter), etc.

Your  
F. E.

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

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<sup>a</sup> R. Cobden, [Speech in the House of Commons on 26 November 1852.] *The Times*, No. 21284, 27 November 1852.

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## MARX TO KARL EDUARD VEHSE

IN DRESDEN

[Rough copy]

[London, end of November 1852]

Sir,

No doubt you thought it unusual that I, a stranger, should have written to you like an old friend.<sup>191</sup> For this you must ascribe the blame to Weerth and Reinhardt. However, I realise that I was thoroughly mistaken. As an acquaintance of Campe's, that old usurer, *parjure*<sup>a</sup> and maid-wife-widower, you must have been aware that this individual is one of my mortal enemies, and hence you had no right to offer him my pamphlet,<sup>b</sup> thereby affording him the opportunity he desired of conveying his impertinences to me indirectly and at no risk to himself. I am not personally acquainted with the individual, although possessed of some specific information about him. The fact that I am engaged in a fight *à mort*<sup>c</sup> with the SHAM LIBERALS is enough to expose me to his intrigues which, *il en peut être sûr*,<sup>d</sup> I shall answer when the time is ripe.

In the second place you had no right whatever, upon receiving an inquiry from me, to write to Mr Bangya. So far as I am aware, it was I who introduced you to Mr Bangya, but in no sense did I present him as my confident in private matters. And it is strange to have Campe's insolence conveyed to me through a 3rd party whom Mr Campe—I have this on the authority of Weerth here and shall inform Bangya accordingly—declares to be a *spy*.

Should this letter cause you offence, you need only come to London; you know where I live and may be assured that you will always find me prepared to give you the satisfaction customary in such cases.

Dr K. Marx

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<sup>a</sup> perjurer - <sup>b</sup> Apparently K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>c</sup> to the death - <sup>d</sup> he may be sure of it

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 3 December 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

You would long ago have had an answer to your letter (enclosing the article for Dana<sup>a</sup>), had I not been occupied with the dictation of the final version of my pamphlet,<sup>b</sup> and then delayed by visits from Weerth, Strohn, Damm, etc.

In all probability the pamphlet will be printed in Switzerland by Schabelitz JUNIOR, who has left his old man and set up his own bookshop. Moreover, if Cluss thinks he can recoup the cost of production, he can have the thing printed in Washington. Printed it *must* be, if only so that it may be available as a public document after the outbreak of the revolution. I have made some further, very interesting discoveries about the Cherval conspiracy, etc., which I hope you will be reading in print.<sup>309</sup>

Weerth called on Sunday evening, and found me very busy and not in the best of moods. He asked me 'what did I propose, actually, to write about the Cologne affair?'—and this in somewhat superior, nasal tones. I asked 'what did he propose to do in the West Indies?' and, after a quarter of an hour or so, he made off. On Tuesday evening he reappeared and said he had not wished to come back, actually, but had yielded to Freiligrath's insistence. For on Sunday I had seemed to him very busy and out of temper. I took the liberty of pointing out to Mr Weerth that, for 9/10ths of the time I had known him, he had always been out of temper and MALCONTENT, which was something he couldn't say of me. After I had given him a piece of my mind, he pulled himself together and became the old Weerth again. He seems to me to have become damned bourgeoisified and to be taking his career too much '*au sérieux*':<sup>c</sup> Strohn at least is the same as ever, and *pas trop fin*.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'The Late Trial at Cologne'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - <sup>c</sup> seriously - <sup>d</sup> not too clever

Today Mr Bangya has received the following letter from me<sup>a</sup>:  
 'I have today received from Engels a letter containing some highly curious pieces of information.'<sup>b</sup>

'Engels has not written to the address indicated by you for, as he points out, what is actually proved by an answer to a letter that is sent not direct but only poste restante, through the medium of a second address?

'Instead, Engels asked some business friends in Berlin to make inquiries. After the most painstaking investigations they now tell him that:

- '1. no such firm as Collmann exists.
- '2. no such person as Collmann exists at the address indicated, 58 or 59 Neue Königsstr.
- '3. no one at all by the name of Collmann is to be found in Berlin.

'Engels further draws my attention to the fact that the two letters signed Eisermann and the letter signed Collmann were written by the same hand, that all 3 possess the unusual quality of being loose bits of paper bearing no postmark, that in the first two Eisermann, and in the third Collmann, figures directly as publisher, etc., and that on pretexts that are mutually incompatible the thing has been allowed to drag on for nearly 7 months.'<sup>310</sup>

'Now that Collmann has proved to be as much of an illusion as was previously the non-existent publisher of the *Constitutionelle Zeitung* Eisermann, I ask you yourself, how can all these contradictions, improbabilities and mysteries over something so simple as the publication of a pamphlet<sup>c</sup> be *rationaly* explained?

'"Trust" will not conjure away facts, nor do people who respect one another demand unquestioning faith of one another.

'I confess that, the more I turn this matter over in my mind, the more I am compelled, even with the best will in the world, to find it damned *obscure*; also that, were it not for my feelings of friendship towards you, I would unhesitatingly echo Engels' concluding remark: "*Après tout il paraît pourtant qu'on a voulu nous jouer.*"<sup>d</sup>

Yours etc.,  
 Marx

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 257-58. - <sup>b</sup> *ibid.*, p. 252. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>d</sup> 'It looks as though they have been trying to hoodwink us after all.'

'P.S. Engels finally draws my attention to the fact that, even were the manuscript in question to reappear for a few days in London,<sup>311</sup> absolutely nothing would be proved and nothing gained. What could it prove, save the existence and identity of the manuscript, of which nobody is in doubt.'

Tomorrow we shall see what reply comes from Mr Bangya.

Bonaparte is spending some glorious months honeymooning with his empire. The fellow has always lived on tick. Simply make loan institutions in France as universal and as accessible as possible to all classes of Frenchmen—and the whole world will believe that the millennium is here. On top of that, a bank of one's own, no less, for STOCKJOBBERY and RAILWAY HUMBUG.<sup>312</sup> The fellow never changes. Not for one moment does the *chevalier d'industrie*<sup>3</sup> deny the pretender, or vice versa. If he doesn't go to war and that right soon, he'll founder on his finances. How good that Proudhon's plans for salvation should find realisation in the only form in which they are practicable—that of the credit racket and more or less barefaced fraud.

I am looking forward very much to your arrival here.<sup>313</sup>

Your

K. Marx

First published considerably 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

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## MARX TO JÁNOS BANGYA

IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

London, 3 December 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Bangya,

I have today received from Engels a letter containing some highly curious pieces of information.<sup>b</sup>

Engels has not written to the address indicated by you for, as he points out, what is actually proved by an answer to a letter that is

<sup>a</sup> swindler - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 252.



sent not direct but only poste restante, through the medium of a 2nd address?

Instead, Engels asked some business friends in Berlin to make inquiries. After the most painstaking investigations they now tell him that:

1. no such firm as Collmann exists;
2. no Collmann exists at the address indicated, 58 or 59 Neue Königsstr. and
3. no one at all by the name of Collmann is to be found in Berlin.

Engels further draws my attention to the fact that the two letters signed Eisermann and the letter signed Collmann were written by the *same* hand, that all 3 possess the unusual quality of being loose bits of paper bearing no postmark, that in the first 2 Eisermann, and in the 3rd Collmann, figures directly as *publisher*, etc., and that on pretexts that are mutually incompatible the thing has been allowed to drag on for nearly 7 months. Now that Collmann has proved to be as much of an illusion as was previously the non-existent publisher of the *Constitutionelle Zeitung*, Eisermann, I ask you yourself, how can all these contradictions, improbabilities and mysteries over something so simple as the publication of a pamphlet be *rationaly* explained?

'Trust' will not dispose of facts, nor do people who respect one another demand unquestioning faith of one another.

I confess that, the more I turn this matter over in my mind, the more I am compelled, even with the best will in the world, to find it damned *obscure*; also that, were it not for my feelings of friendship towards you, I would unhesitatingly echo Engels' concluding remark: '*Après tout il paraît pourtant qu'on a voulu nous jouer.*'<sup>a</sup>

Yours ever,

K. Marx

P.S. Engels finally draws my attention to the fact that, even were the manuscript in question to reappear for a few days in London,<sup>311</sup> absolutely nothing would be proved and nothing gained. What could it prove, save the existence and identity of the manuscript, of which nobody is in doubt.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. I,  
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time

<sup>a</sup> 'It looks as though they have been trying to hoodwink us after all.'

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>31a</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 7 December 1852

... Enclosed you will find: 1. A manuscript of mine: *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. This manuscript went off to Switzerland yesterday to be printed there and thence pitched into Germany as *étrennes*<sup>a</sup> for the Prussian gentlemen. You should have it printed locally<sup>31b</sup> if you believe that sales in America will enable you to recoup at least the *production costs*, if more, *tant mieux*.<sup>b</sup> In which case, advance notices should appear in the Press to whet people's curiosity. If the pamphlet does come out in America, it should be published *anonymously*, as in Switzerland. To appreciate to the full the humour of the thing, you must know that its author, for want of anything decent to wear on his backside and feet, is as good as interned and, moreover, is and continues to be threatened with *truly ghastly misère*<sup>c</sup> engulfing *his family* at any moment. The trial dragged me even deeper into the mire, since for 5 weeks, instead of working for my livelihood, I had to work for the party against the government's machinations. On top of that, it has completely alienated the German booksellers with whom I had hoped to conclude a contract for my *Economy*.<sup>45</sup> Finally, Bermbach's arrest has deprived me of the prospect of making anything out of the *Brumaires* sent through you—300 had been ordered through him as long ago as May. So it's a pretty kettle of fish.<sup>d</sup>

Here in London I have made it generally known that the pamphlet is to be printed in North America, if only so that we can make an incursion from Switzerland behind the Prussians' backs. They suspect that something is afoot and by now will have ordered the *douaniers*<sup>e</sup> and police in Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck to be on the qui-vive.

2. Herewith also an appeal for money for the Cologne prisoners

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<sup>a</sup> New Year's gifts - <sup>b</sup> so much the better - <sup>c</sup> poverty - <sup>d</sup> The original has 'Holland in Not' (Holland in distress)—an expression used by the Dutch during the struggle for independence (1572-1609), to call out their fellow-countrymen to pierce the dykes and drive away the Spanish invaders. - <sup>e</sup> customs men

and their families.<sup>a</sup> See that it appears in various papers. It might also be a good idea for you to form committees over there. Here it is a matter of a party demonstration. You will observe that Ernest Jones actually appears as a party member. In an introductory note, signed by you both, you might specially emphasise that this is not a case of begging for the revolution Kinkel-fashion, etc., but rather of a *definite* party aim whose fulfilment is demanded by the honour of the workers' party.

A longish statement (signed by me, Lupus, Freiligrath and Engels) about the government's infamies at the Cologne trial has appeared in various London papers.<sup>b</sup> What especially riles the Prussian Embassy is the fact that the most *distinguished* and *respectable* London weeklies, the *Spectator* and the *Examiner*, have accepted this unvarnished denunciation of the Prussian government.

*The Morning Advertiser* did not print your letter<sup>c</sup>; can it have smelt a rat?

The item from the *Abendzeitung* received from you today, according to which I, etc., the police, etc., is a scurrility on the part of Mr M. Gross, who has been put up to it by some Willichian or other in New York. You will see from my manuscript what kind of role this 'honourable' Willich plays in the Cologne trial. I have kept a good deal back, partly so as not to impair the literary scheme of the whole, and partly for use as fresh ammunition should the fellow—which I hardly dare hope—have the courage to reply.

I am tickled by Fickler's letters. Blind, who is now living here with his wife, tells me that, during the industrial exhibition,<sup>316</sup> Fickler, good, honest Fickler, rented a large house and furnished it sumptuously for the purpose of reletting. The speculation misfired. Not only did Fickler make off to America to escape his creditors. He also made off without breathing a word of his plans to his marriageable daughter who lived with him, and without leaving her a single centime. She, of course, was thrown out of the house. What became of her after that, no one knows. Good, honest Fickler!

As regards Proudhon, you are both right.<sup>317</sup> Massol's delusions were due to the fact that Proudhon, with his usual industrial

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Appeal for Support of the Men Sentenced in Cologne'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'A Final Declaration on the Late Cologne Trials'. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 207.

quackery, adopted as his 'latest discoveries' some of my ideas, e.g., that there is *no such thing as absolute knowledge*, that everything is explicable in terms of material conditions, etc., etc. In his book on Louis Bonaparte<sup>a</sup> he openly admits what I had to deduce for myself first, from his *Philosophie de la Misère*, namely, that his ideal is the *petit bourgeois*.<sup>b</sup> France, he says, consists of 3 classes: 1. Bourgeoisie; 2. Middle class (*petit bourgeois*); 3. Proletariat. Now the purpose of history, and of revolution in particular, is to dissolve classes 1 and 3, the extremes, in class 2, the happy mean, this being effected by Proudhonian credit transactions, the final result of which is the abolition of interest in its various forms.

*General Vetter* will be looking up Weydemeyer in New York and yourself in Washington.

*Ad vocem*<sup>c</sup> *Kossuth*. When I learnt through what you sent about the initial scandal in the German-American Press over my 'PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE' in the *Tribune*,<sup>d</sup> I sent a statement<sup>e</sup> to the *Tribune*, signed 'YOUR PRIVATE CORRESPONDENT' of which herewith a summary<sup>f</sup>:

But to continue. On receiving from you the cutting in which one of Kossuth's secretaries describes me as an infamous calumniator, etc., and at the same time works for Pierre,<sup>g</sup> etc., I informed Mr Kossuth of the contents of my first statement to the *Tribune* and asked the gentleman for a definitive explanation. Whereupon Kossuth replied 1. *on his word of honour*, that he has no secretary; that possibly Benningsen in America, his one-time clerk of chancery, had arrogated this office to himself; and 2. that the first he had heard of the alleged statement had been through me (I having sent him the *corpus delicti*, the slip of paper contained in your letter); 3. that he was grateful for my 'WARNING' and would again invite me to meet him somewhere on neutral ground.

Next Friday I shall convey points 1 and 2 to the *Tribune* again.<sup>h</sup> Keep me *au fait* with this affair.

*Ad vocem Kinkel*. Well, Kinkel has been roving around lecturing on modern poetry, etc., in Bradford and Manchester where, like the clerical, aesthetic, liberal parasite he is, he paid court to the German Jews. People who attended his lectures have informed me

<sup>a</sup> P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre*. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 190). - <sup>c</sup> re - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston'. On details see this volume, pp. 268-69. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, 'Kossuth, Mazzini, and Louis Napoleon'. - <sup>f</sup> Note by Cluss in the original: (there follows the piece you know). - <sup>g</sup> Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte. - <sup>h</sup> K. Marx, 'A Reply to Kossuth's "Secretary"'. -

on his aesthetic derring-do as follows: he announces that he will be giving a *lecture on Goethe's Faust* in Bradford, admittance 3/- per head. Hall packed. Great expectations. And what does Gottfried do? Reads them *Faust* from cover to cover, and calls this a lecture on 'Faust'! Needless to say, Gottfried was wily enough to save up this *piece of cheating* for the very last lecture. In Manchester Gottfried declared:

'Goethe is *no* poet, he rhymes "erbötig" with "Venedig"; but *Immermann* is the greatest of all German poets.'

And again:

'I would venture to say that, of the more recent German poets, 3 in particular have enjoyed the favour of the public—Herwegh, Freiligrath and—if I would venture to say—*Gottfried Kinkel*.'

But easy-going Gottfried also lectured on politics, e.g. on the parties in North America. Here is what he said in Manchester and Bradford:

'True, I announced that I was going to speak about the American parties, e.g. Democrats, Whigs, Free Soilers,<sup>318</sup> etc. But in fact there are no more parties left in America, than there are in Europe. There remains only the *one great party of the liberals*, as would also become apparent in Germany, if only the defeated party were allowed to resume its former position.'

Finally *Gottfried* spoke about the *Mormons*<sup>319</sup> of whom, among other things, he declared:

'He who wishes to be rid of all earthly cares should betake himself to the Mormons', etc.

His pronouncements even led people in Bradford to believe that he was a *Mormon agent*. Be that as it may, Gottfried Kinkel left the two manufacturing towns profoundly convinced that he *must never show his face there again*.

At the Assizes in Cologne Becker<sup>a</sup> has discredited both himself and the party. It had been mutually agreed from the outset that he would come forward as a non-League<sup>b</sup> member, so as not to lose the good-will of the democratic petty bourgeoisie. But being very weak in theory and pretty strong in the matter of petty ambition, he was all of a sudden overcome by vertigo. He wanted to play the great man of democracy at the communists' expense. Not only did he want to get off scot-free, but also carry off in

<sup>a</sup> Hermann Becker . <sup>b</sup> The Communist League

person what laurels were to be won at the trial. He is not only as shameless as ever, he is growing despicable.

In conclusion, a few words on France. Bonaparte, who has always lived on tick, believes that there is no better way of bringing about the golden age in France than by making loan institutions universal, and as accessible as possible to all classes.<sup>a12</sup> His transactions have a twofold advantage: They pave the way for an atrocious financial crisis, and demonstrate what results from Proudhon's credit manoeuvres when they are put into practice and not confined to theoretical day-dreams, namely a stock-jobbing swindle unparalleled since the days of John Law.

The Orleanists—I know one of their agents<sup>a</sup> very well—are tremendously active. Thiers is here at the moment. They have many allies in the army and in Bonaparte's immediate entourage. They intend to murder him (in January) in his bed. *Nous verrons.*<sup>b</sup> At all events, I shall be notified a fortnight *before* the attempt, and shall in turn notify the revolutionary proletarian party in Paris through the secret society of '*frères et amis*'<sup>c,320</sup> to which I belong. If the Orleanists pull the chestnuts out of the fire, they must in no case be allowed to eat them.

Should Heinzen, etc., brag about Becker's performance in Cologne, thereby compromising us all, you must publish a statement signed with your name, to the effect that Becker was a member of the communist society<sup>d</sup> and that shortly before his arrest, he invited me to write a paper *against* the democrats, but asked me not to reply to the attacks of Heinzen and Ruge, those wretched allies of Müller-Telling. Of course, you should only make use of this weapon *if absolutely necessary*. In which case you declare outright that Becker took the stage as arranged, but grossly over-acted, did not play his part *skilfully enough*—which is all that he can be reproached with.

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> Presumably, F. M. Rémusat. - <sup>b</sup> We shall see. - <sup>c</sup> brothers and friends - <sup>d</sup> the Communist League

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 December 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Like you, I have been suffering all this while from piles. But this time they did not, in my case, reach the 'perfidious' stage, since they luckily occurred during the time of lean kine. If necessary you should use leeches. *C'est le grand moyen*.<sup>a</sup>

The money arrived a week ago yesterday.

From the following copy of a letter from Schabelitz junr. you will see how things stand with the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

'Basle, 11 December 1852

'Dear Marx,

'I received the manuscript intact day before yesterday, and today am already going through the first sheet of proofs. The pamphlet is **SPLENDIDLY** set in a completely new type and will appear in 16mo. We shall get the proofs as best we can. The whole will amount to 70-80 printed pages and we could, I think, fix the price at 10 silver groschen per copy, since part at any rate of the edition (2,000 copies) is likely to be confiscated. The main consignment will go to the Rhine Province. I feel sure the pamphlet will create a tremendous sensation, for it is a masterpiece. There were four of us reading through the manuscript, two highly competent and discriminating men'

(do you suppose Schabelitz numbers himself among the 'competent'?)

'and we were all unanimous in our praise of it. It certainly constitutes a "memorial" to the Prussian government.

'With kind regards to the Marx party.

Yours

J. Schabelitz'

This last is an allusion to certain misgivings of mine lest Schabelitz should take offence at the rough treatment meted out to the Willich-Schapper party, to which he himself *plus ou moins*<sup>b</sup> belonged.

<sup>a</sup> That's the drastic means. - <sup>b</sup> more or less

Secrecy being all-important if the thing is not to be confiscated as soon as it reaches the German border, I have been putting it about here that a pamphlet on the Cologne affair is to appear in America.

In order not to overburden you in your present haemorrhoidal condition I got Pieper to translate *tant bien que mal*<sup>a</sup> a critique of Disraeli's budget<sup>b</sup> written for Dana and it went off to America last Friday.<sup>c</sup>

Excuse me for not writing more this time. I have the most infernal headache.

Your  
K. Marx

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>321</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 14 December 1852

... No more than a few lines today. Brüningk has written to me. I replied in writing,<sup>322</sup> telling him that Kinkel and Willich were the *instigators of the rumour* and that I had alluded to, but not named them, in my letter to you.

Should Kinkel issue a public denial in the American Press, I shall publish the whole correspondence and/or the record of what happened between him, myself and J. Huzel,<sup>d</sup> as proof of his veracity and his courageous vindication of the imputations he had made.

Should Brüningk demand that you recant or publicly attack you for 'deliberate distortion of the material with which I provided you', confine yourself to the following points: 1. You could perfectly well have concluded that Mrs von Brüningk was an agent whom *even* her friends suspected her of being one,<sup>e</sup> the more so

<sup>a</sup> as well as he was able - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Parliament.—Vote of November 26.—Disraeli's Budget'. - <sup>c</sup> 10 December 1852 - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 139-40 and 149-50. - <sup>e</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 125, 152, 204 and 205.



since she was an agent for the notorious Russian agent, Princess von Lieven.

2. You had all the less reason to stand on ceremony since Schimmelpfennig—Mrs von Brüningk's crony—had established the principle that Marx and Co. were to be *calumniated*.

3. You might have issued a statement yourself had Brüningk approached the *Wecker* direct, and then yourself instead of dragging in the miserable Ruge-Ronges. *Ça suffira*.<sup>a</sup>

*Ad vocem*<sup>b</sup> E. Jones. Jones is now rising rapidly. Harney's paper—and J.'s rival—*The Star of Freedom*, set some 3 weeks ago.

*Ad vocem Kinkel-Willich*. The effrontery of these two fellows' anti-Reichenbach statement surpasses all bounds.

1. Reichenbach acted too leniently in respect of these fellows in concealing the *real* reason which above all motivated his action.<sup>323</sup> For in America Loan Notes bearing Reichenbach's signature still continue to circulate. *Kinkel and Willich* got their agents in America to *convert them into silver*, even at a discount, and send the *proceeds direct* to them, long after they had been disowned *qua* financial committee by the London guarantors; similarly, they hawked these notes round London. *At no time have they accounted for* the sums thus received. It was *downright escroquerie*<sup>c</sup> and Reichenbach deemed a statement necessary in order to clear himself of all responsibility for it.

2. The *German papers applauded* the resolution to return the money to America, Kinkel coming in for especial *praise*. The rascal received these bourgeois plaudits in silence—nor, in Bradford and Manchester, did he show any inclination whatever to confess his *opposition* to the said resolution. He seeks to appear respectable to bourgeoisie in Germany in order to make money, and poses as a believer in revolution before the revolutionary philistines in America in order to wrest from the clutches of the Cerberus Reichenbach the money he has swindled from them.

3. Willich pins his faith to the distance between America and London. Over here the fellow is regarded by all the refugees as a proven spy and a rogue unmasked. He believes that in America he will still be able to play the treasurer of the revolution.

*Hirsch* has told a working men's club in Blamich Street<sup>d</sup> that Willich is his accomplice. He himself, the sly Hirsch (!!!) says, is a spy in the interests of democracy, but Willich in the interests of the police, no less. Willich's society heard about this. Questions

<sup>a</sup> That will be enough. - <sup>b</sup> re - <sup>c</sup> swindle - <sup>d</sup> In the original there is a question mark above this word.

were asked, etc. (you may have read about it already in my *Revelations*).<sup>324</sup> He could think of nothing better than to remove with a minute nucleus of his society to another establishment where *visitors were not admitted*, and to shift his own domicile to a remote corner of London. These two blackguards must now be unmasked in America as well. Here they are completely done for.

*Ad vocem Goegg.* Goegg, who for months was telling everyone that he attended the Wheeling Congress,<sup>245</sup> was in Strassburg at the time, getting together what remained of his fortune, £300. Now, in company with Ronge, he is setting up kindergartens and similar German-Catholic<sup>227</sup> educational establishments.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO GUSTAV ZERFFI

IN PARIS

London, 28 December 1852  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Friend,

Sincerest thanks for your letter.

There were two circumstances which enabled Bangya to hoodwink me for so long. *Firstly*, his acquaintanceship with Szemere, whom I instantly recognised as *l'esprit fort*<sup>a</sup> of Hungary from his manuscript on Görgey, Kossuth, etc.,<sup>b</sup> also, your friendship with Bangya, since you inspired me with complete

<sup>a</sup> brains · <sup>b</sup> B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...*

confidence, despite the fact that we have known each other for so short a time. *Secondly*: So long as I was able, I attributed the inconsistencies, lies, etc., to Bangya's urge, which manifests itself at the slightest occasion, to shroud his activities in mystery and play at hide-and-seek not only with others but actually with himself.

At this very moment I am still inclined to believe that he is not a true spy; rather, as you rightly say, his function as 'intermediary' between the various parties and as political match-maker has led him into dubious ways.

But first a point that is of particular concern to yourself.

Szirmay is certainly an agent of Kossuth's. His mission, or so I have gathered from some unguarded remarks, is to establish contact with Bonaparte through Mr de Maupas. A short time previously Kossuth had tried to raise a loan of 1½ million from the Orleanists through the agency of Bangya and Malingre, his correspondent in Paris, but had met with a rebuff.

To return to Bangya.

I have with my own eyes seen a *commission* made out by Kossuth and countersigned by Szirmay, by which Bangya is appointed prefect of police in *partibus*, as it were, by Kossuth—as chief of an anti-government counterpolice force. On the one hand, my fears over otherwise suspect contacts and acquaintanceships of Bangya's were allayed by this commission, for it gave them an air of being official connections which, if exploited with skill, could be of use to our party; thus I myself have obtained from him some details of importance concerning the Prussian government. On the other hand, I asked him outright: 'How can you reconcile your relationship with Kossuth and your relationship with Szemere?' He replied very candidly that firstly he was acting in Szemere's interest, and then the latter had *authorised* his relationship with Kossuth. I therefore never again alluded to the subject.

Bangya several times invited me on Kossuth's behalf to visit the latter. I replied that I lived at such and such a place and that, if Mr Kossuth wished to speak to me, he need only take the trouble of coming to see me. Kossuth then suggested that we should meet on neutral ground.<sup>a</sup> I left the matter pending. In the meantime, however, an article of mine appeared anonymously in the *Tribune* (New York), in which I attacked Kossuth, Mazzini, etc., with especial reference to the intrigues in Paris conducted through Kiss, etc.<sup>b</sup> Frightful hullabaloo in the American Press! Kossuth

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 261. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston'.

contacting the tyrant! IMPOSSIBLE! Bangya, questioned by Szirmay, named me as the author, whereupon I personally told Mr Szirmay, that I was indeed the author. Also that, so far as I was aware, I was at complete liberty to write anything I chose about and against Mr Kossuth. Shortly afterwards I received from America newspapers in which Kossuth had had me denounced 'as a calumniator' by a supposed 'private secretary' of *Monsieur le Gouverneur*. I then, via Bangya, requested Mr Kossuth to state whether this démenti had originated with him, in which case I would chastise him with scorpions, whereas hitherto I had merely touched him with a rod.<sup>a</sup> Kossuth replied, through Szirmay, 1. that he knew nothing about the statement, 2. that he had no private secretary, and repeated his invitation, which I ignored, to meet him on neutral ground. I, for my part, published in the *Tribune* Kossuth's statement to me,<sup>b</sup> and there, for the time being, the matter rests, although the entire inept and insipid German-American press is still buzzing with it. Nevertheless, the storm of indignation evoked by his article against me shows that Kossuth will be *perdu*<sup>c</sup> the moment the fact of his alliance with Bonaparte is established.

I am now wholly of the opinion that we should both of us observe the *utmost discretion* for, as soon as Bangya knows that we have seen through him, he could do you and Szemere harm, perhaps considerable harm, particularly as regards your remaining in Paris. Moreover, were Bangya to be in any way publicly unmasked *before* the manuscript<sup>d</sup> appears, it could at best only make me look ridiculous. Finally, I believe it is important—until the point has been reached at which we can publicly unmask him—that a close watch be kept on Mr Bangya. This is particularly important while he remains in Paris. He is astoundingly indiscreet and, if only to retain your confidence, will keep you and Szemere informed of every move made by the various parties he serves.

My attitude towards him, therefore, will be cool and reserved—as he can only expect after his latest coup—but I shall not let him know either the full extent of my suspicion or that I am 'secretly' corresponding with you.

Bangya himself, in the note enclosed in his anonymous friend's letter, writes:

'I think you are now at liberty to have the work published elsewhere.'

<sup>a</sup> A reference to 1 Kings 12:11. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'A Reply to Kossuth's "Secretary"'. - <sup>c</sup> lost. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.

In giving this advice, which, by the by, is merely the echo of a threat I made him,<sup>a</sup> he is, I think, trying to cover his rear.

However, I fully agree with Szemere and yourself that it is high time this was done. The only difficulty lies in the execution. A pamphlet of mine, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* has just been brought out by a Swiss bookseller.<sup>325</sup> (I shall arrange for 2 copies to be sent to you and Szemere as soon as possible.) This same bookseller is busy with an edition of my *18th Brumaire* for Germany.<sup>326</sup> There is no prospect of inducing him to embark on a third undertaking. No bookseller in Germany now dares to publish anything of mine. Hence my only recourse would be to print it *at my own expense*, which, in my present circumstances, is impossible. And yet the thing is *vital*. I shall consider what can be done.

You will see from the *Revelations* that Greif is a thoroughly infamous creature. In December 1851 he visited Paris *in connection with the Franco-German plot*<sup>143</sup> and in order to establish a *spurious connection* between my friends in Cologne and the idiots in Paris.<sup>327</sup>

However, it is true that, while Greif was still here in London, Bangya received *money from Berlin* regularly on the 3rd or 4th of each month. Do you know from what sources he is drawing this money?

Our watchword in this business should be: '*à Corsaire Corsaire et demi*.'<sup>b</sup> Should Bangya show signs of becoming 'dangerous', all we have to do is remind him that his connections with Malingre and the Orleanists have placed him at our mercy.

Write soon, and assure Szemere that in me he has a sincere admirer.

Yours  
Ch. Williams<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 257-58. - <sup>b</sup> Set a thief to catch a thief. - <sup>c</sup> Marx's pseudonym

1853

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 January 1853

Dear Marx,

I had hoped that I might have been able to call in on you again yesterday on my way to the station for, as a result of a somewhat unpleasantly outspoken letter about my prolonged absence<sup>313</sup> and the work accumulating up here, I was compelled all of a sudden to pack my bags and hasten back to the office. Having scandalously neglected my business in the City, I had to settle it yesterday at the last moment. This held me up so long that I had no option but to set course *recta via*<sup>3</sup> if I was to appear today, as I needs must, AT A DECENT HOUR at the office; anyhow, I would have turned up at your house at a time in the evening when all your disciples are wont to foregather there, in which case I couldn't have answered for the consequences, i.e. pots at Göhringer's, Zimmermann's, Wood's and other night haunts.

It would be best if you were to make a PARCEL of the letters from Cluss, etc., etc., American newspapers and other such stuff, and send it per Pickford & Co., or Chaplin, Horne & Co., addressed to me here at Ermen & Engels, so that the firm pays the carriage.

Waiting for me here was a letter from Madier, in passable English, about a patent of his which might have some impact on our industry. Whether or not the thing is any good, he has all sorts of grand ideas; however, I'll see what I can do. If the invention is a *good* one, it will earn him a hefty sum, the market being almost unlimited. Should you happen to run into him, tell him I should have written to him one of these days, but I am again more than fully occupied.

---

<sup>3</sup> direct

I wish some of our lads in London would really settle down to a *plus ou moins*<sup>a</sup> steady job, for they're becoming inveterate loafers and, once you get that way, it's 10 to one you'll be tipsy for 36 hours at the least, as has twice happened to me, to the great astonishment of my sister.<sup>b</sup>

In the spring or early summer I shall again come up to London. Hasn't that thing<sup>c</sup> arrived from Schabelitz yet?

Warm regards to your wife and children and to the tipsy crew likewise.

Your

F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 January 1853

Dear Engels,

If *at all possible*, kindly translate the whole of the enclosed<sup>d</sup> and send it off *direct from Manchester (signing it with my name)* via Liverpool or Southampton, depending on sailings, to 'A. Dana, One of the Editors of the "New-York Tribune", New York'.

This is how matters stand:

Now that our misfortunes here have reached a CLIMAX, I have drawn £20 on Greeley for 10 articles (*including the enclosed*) and have written, telling him that the copyist has not quite finished copying the article (which must therefore be dated Friday), *and that it will be sent off to him on Tuesday*. I have charged him £2 per article, which is what Dana promised in his letter of 16 December

<sup>a</sup> more or less - <sup>b</sup> Marie Blank - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see this volume, p. 264). - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, 'Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery'.

1851, a promise he has so far failed to keep (in respect of CURRENT LETTERS).<sup>328</sup>

The little Jew Bamberger has not yet given me a centime but I have his *promise* and shall by degrees extract at least £15 from him against the bill (pending its arrival).

Now that we are charging £2, the above article must be sent off in its entirety. The piece about the Duchess of Sutherland will cause an uproar in America.

Apropos, Blind has already dunned me twice for Herzen's book.<sup>a</sup> So you must return it to me.

It is 2 o'clock in the morning. Hence I cannot now have this letter STAMPED, and must send it off unstamped.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>329</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London,] 21 January 1853

... Yesterday I read a letter from Heinzen to Bamberger. He complains of money troubles and says he has been *forced* to resign from the *Janus*. As regards Dr Kellner, he was for a time correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. You should see if you can't make contact with him *d'une manière ou d'une autre*.<sup>b</sup> Once Weydemeyer has put out feelers, your first step might be to send him a 'pithy' article... The wretched Willich, who is done for here, sailed for America last week as Kinkel's agent; so it is important that *at least* those parts of the pamphlet<sup>c</sup> which relate to him should appear in the press. It would be best if you could arrange

<sup>a</sup> A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*. - <sup>b</sup> in one way or another - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.



for the pamphlet to be published in magazines; it has already come out in Switzerland, so it is no longer so important. Could not *Börnstein*, who wants to catch us with 'his bait', also be of some use in this matter? From what I know of him and his *compagnon*<sup>a</sup> Bernays, they will be much tickled by the account of the trickery of the police. I think it *politic* to establish contact with these people. I can assure you that if Bernays finds the means—and we must provide him with it—to re-establish contact with us, I could have these two chaps eating out of my hand. Have you heard nothing more from *Schramm*<sup>b</sup> or, on the other side, from *Tellerling*?...

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 January 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Have received the £3 and the manuscript you returned.

You must excuse me for not having written for so long, the explanation being PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT.

About a fortnight ago Willich pushed off to America as Kinkel's agent.

Mrs von Brüniugk was buried a few days since.

As a result of clumsy manoeuvring by the Parliamentarians Reichenbach and Löwe, and negligence on Imandt's part, the £1,000 have again fallen into the hands of Mr Kinkel in the sense that the money has been deposited in the Bank of England in *his* name and Reichenbach is to hand over the certificate of deposit to him in May, unless the guarantors should decide otherwise. Such decisions are, of course, now quite worthless.

<sup>a</sup> companion . <sup>b</sup> Conrad Schramm

Mr Bangya has been in Paris for the past three weeks. Liebknecht has obtained a very good post with the Jew Oppenheim. The rest of the folk, Imandt EXCEPTED, still at a loose end.

Schabelitz did not have the pamphlet<sup>a</sup> ready until 11 January. About 6 sheets. But he seems unwilling to send anything to London until the thing has been successfully dispatched to every part of Germany and receipt acknowledged.

The gentlemen in Cologne, notably Daniels, persist in maintaining a dignified silence. The answer to our having subordinated all business to their affair for the space of 4-5 weeks.

In the enclosed cutting from the *Arbeiterrepublik*<sup>b</sup> (editor Weitling) you will see the venom which this tailor king and dictator of the 'Communia' colony<sup>390</sup> expends upon the communist trial in Cologne and the Marx party and Co.

Yesterday I ventured for the first time to write an article in English for Dana.<sup>c</sup> Pieper made some corrections and, once I have a good grammar and write away gamely, I should do *passablement*<sup>d</sup> well.

Two apropos:

*D'abord*.<sup>e</sup> Blind is incessantly dunning me for Herzen's book.<sup>f</sup>

Second: Don't forget to enclose in your next Reichenbach's circular and his statement of accounts.<sup>299</sup> Dronke needs it to establish himself as a new correspondent.<sup>g</sup>

The state of the winter crops being what it is, I feel convinced that the crisis WILL BECOME DUE. So long as the STAPLE ARTICLE, FOOD, remains tolerably ABUNDANT and cheap, and what with Australia, etc., the thing could have been a long time in coming. Now a STOP will be put to all that. Incidentally, is it not somewhat unusual to find e.g. *The Economist vindicating* the Bank of England's most recent DISCOUNT REGULATION, on the ground that its purpose is 'TO PREVENT THE EXPORTATION OF CAPITAL'<sup>h</sup>? We know very well what is intended. But could one not trouble one's FREE TRADER'S conscience by asking: Do you also wish to PREVENT 'EXPORTATION OF CAPITAL' in the form of COTTONS, YARNS, etc.? Why, then, in the form of GOLD? Is the FREE-TRADE ECONOMY destined to revert to MERCANTILISM pure and simple and regard the EFFLUX and INFLEX OF GOLD as the *nervus rerum*<sup>i</sup>?

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

<sup>b</sup> 'Schlußbemerkung zum Kölner Kommunistenprozeß', *Republik der Arbeiter*, No. 52, 25 December 1852. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, 'Capital Punishment.—Mr. Cobden's Pamphlet.—Regulations of the Bank of England'. - <sup>d</sup> passably. - <sup>e</sup> Firstly. -

<sup>f</sup> A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*. - <sup>g</sup> See this volume, p. 282. - <sup>h</sup> 'The Bank of England and the Rate of Discount', *The Economist*, No. 491, 22 January 1853. - <sup>i</sup> prime mover

Since Bonaparte's last speech<sup>a</sup> all the talk in the City has been of war. I have also had a letter from old Ebner in Frankfurt in which he speaks of the terror inspired in Germany's pampered puppets, especially the diplomats in Frankfurt am Main, by Bonaparte's wedding speech. The doltishness of our compatriots was brought home to me yesterday by, *inter alia*, the *Frankfurter Journal* in which a correspondent writing from Heidelberg remarks that, what with a propagandist war in the offing and Bonaparte throwing in his lot with 'democracy', the authorities must already be ruing their prosecution of the great Gervinus.<sup>351</sup> I fear that Crapulinski<sup>b</sup> will be hailed as 'friend and saviour' by German peasants and philistines. Apparently the vocation of this burlesque figure is to stand all traditional ranks and parties on their heads and turn them into a laughing-stock.

What is the effect of a bad harvest on an *incipient* war?

Let me know, too, what the position is in the MANUFACTURING DEPARTMENT, particularly in cotton.

Jones' paper<sup>c</sup> is again *en ascendant*.<sup>d</sup>

Cobden's pamphlet<sup>e</sup> and the MANCHESTER PEACE CONFERENCE<sup>352</sup> are, I feel, utterly nonsensical at the present time. So now you know, says Palmerston's journal, *The Morning Post*, these bourgeois parvenus are totally incapable of governing a country; that's a thing only the aristocracy can do.<sup>f</sup> *The Morning Herald* publishes a letter addressed to itself and written, or so it asserts, at Bonaparte's own dictation, in which the latter says he would come to England only if the QUEEN needed 200,000 of his 'heroes of order' to combat the perilous growth of democracy. Which democracy, says the *Herald*, is you, Mr Cobden, you and associates.

Concerning *The Times*, I have been given the following, fairly reliable, particulars which may be of interest to you:

Mr Walter, MP for Nottingham, is still the PAPER'S constitutional monarch, still its PRINCIPAL SHAREHOLDER. Mr Mowbray Morris is *The Times*'S LORD OF EXCHEQUER, its FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL MANAGER—a very adventurous and 'RECKLESS' FELLOW. Mr Delane JUNIOR (a friend of Disraeli's) is SECRETARY FOR THE HOME OFFICE. His father is EDITOR OF THE *Morning Chronicle*. Mr Dasent is SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. IN

<sup>a</sup> [Speech of Napoleon III in the Senate on 22 January 1853 on the occasion of his marriage to Eugénie de Montijo.] *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 23, 23 January 1853. - <sup>b</sup> i.e. Napoleon III thus called after a character in Heine's satirical poem 'Zwei Ritter'. - <sup>c</sup> *The People's Paper* - <sup>d</sup> in the ascendant - <sup>e</sup> R. Cobden, *1793 and 1853. In Three Letters*. - <sup>f</sup> 'London, Friday, Jan. 28, 1853' (leader), *The Morning Post*, No. 24681, 28 January 1853; 'The Peace and Arbitration Conference', *The Morning Post*, No. 24682, 29 January 1853.

addition, *The Times* has A SORT OF PRIVY COUNCIL, the most important member being Mr *Lowe*, MP for Kidderminster, an albino with pink eyes and white hair. He is said to be very talented and particularly knowledgeable about financial matters. Next to him comes Mr *Henry Reeve*, an admirer of Orleanist statesmen, who holds a minor post in the STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT of the BOARD OF TRADE. Mr *Lampon* writes the MONEY ARTICLE, but otherwise has no influence on the direction of the whole.

According to a letter from Zerffi, it is generally believed in Paris that Bonaparte is plotting with the Sultan against Austria and Russia in the Montenegro affair.<sup>333</sup>

*Vale faveque.*<sup>a</sup>

K. Marx

[Note written on an enclosed illustration  
from an unknown Italian book]

Which Italian town does the above female belong to?

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MARX TO J. G. MAYER<sup>334</sup>

IN LONDON

[London, after 3 February 1853]

Charles Williams presents his compliments to Mr Mayer and he<sup>b</sup> takes the liberty to transmit him the enclosed letter for Mr Szemere.

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<sup>a</sup> Good-bye and farewell. - <sup>b</sup> Here the words 'will be much obliged' are crossed out in the original.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 February 1853

Dear Marx,

Well, here it is, the *grande affaire*<sup>a</sup> of Messrs Kossuth and Mazzini.<sup>335</sup> Our news up here is very incomplete but my own view is that tomorrow or on Monday we shall certainly hear that all is over. Milan is first-rate terrain for street-fighting, few straight streets, none connecting with the other, almost everywhere narrow, crooked alleys with tall, massive stone houses, each a fortress in itself, their walls often 3-5 feet or more thick and virtually impossible to breach, the *rez-de-chaussée*<sup>b</sup> windows provided with iron grills (almost invariably) as here and there in Cologne. But much good will all this do—they don't stand a chance. After 1849 Radetzky ordered the restoration of the old citadel's fortifications and, if the work is complete—and there has been time enough for this—Milan will belong to the Austrians so long as they occupy the citadel which is impregnable to insurgents unless abetted by a military insurrection. The fact that no further news is forthcoming from Bellinzona whence, from time immemorial, the Tessinese have inundated the world with lies in support of every Italian movement,<sup>336</sup> argues strongly against the spread of the insurrection in the surrounding region.

I regard the whole business as very *mal à propos*<sup>c</sup> since its only *point d'appui*, apart from Austrian tyranny in general, is the commotion in Montenegro<sup>333</sup> where also, *après tout*,<sup>d</sup> Turkish 'order' is bound to prevail over Homeric Czernogorzan barbarism. Thus these great dictators, having allowed themselves to be bamboozled, altogether *à la* Seiler, by the usual diplomatic melodramas, invoke the world-historical importance of the 'oriental question'! They are obviously counting on some sort of WINDFALL

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<sup>a</sup> great affair - <sup>b</sup> ground floor - <sup>c</sup> untimely - <sup>d</sup> after all

from Louis Napoleon but, unless everything turns out otherwise than expected, he will leave them to stew in their own juice and treat them as anarchists. It would further seem probable that, as with all insurrections organised in advance, the moment of outbreak is liable to be determined far more by the pettiest of local incidents than by crucial events.

Mazzini does at least seem to be on the spot; it could hardly be otherwise. However stupid his bombastic proclamation, it may well prove something of a hit with the grandiloquent Italians. On the other hand we have Kossuth, that man of boundless activity! *Celui-là est absolument mort, après cela.*<sup>a</sup> Such absurd pretensions cannot be trumpeted with impunity in the year of our Lord 1853. However preposterous Mazzini's abstract passion for insurrection may appear on this occasion, the man comes off splendidly when compared with the worthy Kossuth, who reassumes the role he played at Vidin<sup>337</sup> and, from the safety of the rear, decrees the liberation of the fatherland from nothing, with nothing, for nothing. The fellow really is a *lâche* and a *misérable*.<sup>b</sup>

Now we shall see what the Italian peasants will do; even if, by some unheard of and incredible stroke of luck, *père* Mazzini, his bourgeois and his aristocrats, should succeed, they might still be in for something very unpleasant at their hands; and should the Austrians find an opportunity to unleash these same peasants against the aristocracy they will not hesitate to do so.

The Austrians must still have 120,000 men in Italy; how, in the face of this, a rebellion can be staged unless there are mutinies among the troops, I cannot conceive. And I refuse to believe that there could be Honved<sup>c</sup> mutinies *in Italy*, even on Kossuth's orders,<sup>d</sup> this would demand events of greater magnitude, while 3 years of discipline and peace have enabled the Austrians to flog many an unyielding Honved posterior into tractability.

The whole business is of importance, I think, only as a symptom; a reaction has set in against the state of oppression obtaining since '49 and, naturally, at the most sensitive spot. The thing has made a great impact here, and the philistines are beginning to agree that this year will not elapse without trouble.

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<sup>a</sup> After this the man will be completely and utterly done for. - <sup>b</sup> a coward and a wretch - <sup>c</sup> soldiers of the Hungarian national army during the 1848-49 revolution; here: Hungarian soldiers serving in the Austrian army. - <sup>d</sup> An allusion to the so-called Milan proclamation 'In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy (February 1853)', *The Times*, No. 21348, 10 February 1853 (see this volume, pp. 280, 283 and 290).

Now for a poor CORN AND COTTON harvest, financial difficulties and all that goes with them, and *nous verrons!*<sup>a</sup>

Have you had the £3 I sent you last week—on Thursday or Friday?

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>338</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 February 1853

Dear Engels,

I have been *sérieusement*<sup>b</sup> indisposed; for the 'perfidious Prussians' have not permitted me either to stand, sit or lie down. Hence my long silence and my failure so much as to acknowledge the money.

You will have seen that Kossuth, through an American filibuster, Captain Mayne Reid, has disavowed his alleged Milan proclamation.<sup>c 339</sup> Well, yesterday Szemere wrote to me from Paris, saying he knew *for certain* that the proclamation was *authentic*, as was evident in any case from its contents. *The Leader* (pro-Mazzini)

\*deems it his duty to caution his readers, that this affair lies entirely between Mr Kossuth and Mr Mazzini and that the latter is *absent* from England.\*<sup>d</sup>

You will yourself have seen, in *The Daily News*, Della Rocco's statement<sup>e</sup> aimed directly at Agostini, but also indirectly at

<sup>a</sup> we shall see. <sup>b</sup> seriously. <sup>c</sup> 'In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy (February 1853)', *The Times*, No. 21348, 10 February 1853. - <sup>d</sup> Cf. 'Kossuth and the Milan Revolt', *The Leader*, No. 152, 19 February 1853. - <sup>e</sup> Della Rocco, 'Mazzini's Proclamation. (To the Editor of *The Daily News*)', *The Daily News*, No. 2107, 21 February 1853.

Kossuth.<sup>340</sup> The *par nobile fratrum*<sup>a</sup> seems to have fallen out. Kossuth is as false as he is cowardly.

You have rated Mazzini too high if you imagine he was present in person at Milan. At critical moments like these he absents himself from England so that he may be suspected of being in the theatre of war.

Pitiable finale though the Milan business is to Mazzini's eternal plotting, and despite my conviction that he has done himself personal injury, I am sure that the revolutionary movement as a whole will benefit by what is happening. I.e., by the brutal manner in which the Austrians are exploiting [...]. Had Radetzky followed Strassoldo's example, had he praised the Milanese citizenry for their 'orderly conduct', had he described the whole thing as the wretched uprising of a few 'MISCREANTS' and, as a token of his confidence, appeared to loosen the reins a little, the revolutionary party would have been discredited in the eyes of the whole world. But as it is, by introducing a system of wholesale plunder, he is turning Italy into the 'revolutionary crater' which Mazzini, for all his declaiming, was unable to conjure into existence.

And another thing. Could any one of us have believed that, after its 4 years of victory, military preparations and rodomontade, reaction should feel itself so infinitely weak that, at the first sign of a riot, it lets out a scream of genuine terror? The fellows' belief in revolution is unshakable. Once again they have testified to the whole world how insecure they feel. Whereas *realiter*<sup>b</sup> the 'emigration' is totally bankrupt and impotent, they loudly proclaim its power through all government papers and encourage the belief that a net of conspiracy is closing in from all sides on the worthy citizens.

*Ad vocem*<sup>c</sup> Bangya. Is presently in Paris. I now possess actual proof that the gallant fellow is an agent of the Austrian government. He bought his way back to France by accepting a clandestine post in the French Police Ministry. At the same time he is in Paris as official agent for Kossuth, who wants money from Bonaparte. In Paris, by the by, the fellow has woven a net in which he himself will become ensnared. As to our manuscript,<sup>d</sup> he sold it to Greif, who was travelling under the name of 'Schulz'. Incidentally, both of them misled the government into believing that they had 'managed to procure'—note the professional term—this 'document' from the archives of a 'secret society'.

<sup>a</sup> noble pair of brothers (Horace, *Satires*, II, 3) - <sup>b</sup> in reality - <sup>c</sup> re - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*.



Still no news from Schabelitz, save that the thing<sup>a</sup> is circulating in Germany. He still doesn't dare send anything here, for fear that the French police will open the parcel and denounce the business to the Prussian police.

I have heard from a *reliable* source, *mais c'est un secret*<sup>b</sup> (which Napoleon doubtless knows as well as I do), that Ledru intends to go into action in Paris in 3-4 weeks. I have been told by an eye-witness that the first news of the rising in Milan created a great sensation in Paris. Gatherings in the streets, etc., not to rebel but to confer. On the whole the FRENCHMEN here are well content that Mr Mazzini should have discredited himself by his 'ACTION'. They see themselves avenged.<sup>c</sup>

Thanks to Cluss our appeal on behalf of the Cologne people<sup>d</sup>—6 lines long—has appeared in all the American papers, in each case under the auspices of the local gymnastic club.<sup>e</sup> *Nous [verrons].*<sup>f</sup> Our dear acquaintances in Cologne itself have as yet given no sign of life. That's caution for you! One of them, ex-lieutenant Steffen, who figured as a defence witness at the Cologne trial, is here and promptly found himself a teaching post in Friedländer's establishment. Blind is dunning me daily for the *Herzen*,<sup>g</sup> as is Dronke for Reichenbach's circular.<sup>h</sup> This is essential to Dronke since he wants to become a correspondent of the *Volkshalle* in Cologne under another name.

What do you think of the lively sympathy shown by the clerics of the Established Church towards the unfortunate Ten Hours Movement<sup>i</sup>? Always the same old game. On Saturday I'll send you a parcel containing all the remaining newspapers, and letters from Cluss.

Of all LITTLE FINALITY JOHN'S<sup>j</sup> PERFORMANCES, the last was probably the MOST classical.<sup>k</sup> Even *The Times* was forced to admit that JOHNNY EXCITES MIGHTILY LITTLE ENTHUSIASM.<sup>l</sup>

Mrs Harney<sup>m</sup> is dead. Likewise Mrs von Brüningk. A short while ago there was an exchange of letters between myself and

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - <sup>b</sup> but it's a secret. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 73. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Appeal for Support of the Men Sentenced in Cologne', *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 45, 21 January 1853. - <sup>e</sup> We shall see. - <sup>f</sup> A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*. - <sup>g</sup> Nickname given by the Radicals to John Russell who qualified the 1832 Parliamentary Reform as finality of Britain's constitutional development. - <sup>h</sup> *The Times*, No. 21350, 12 February 1853 [leader]. - <sup>i</sup> Mary

Brüningk, in which everything hinged on Kinkel and Willich.<sup>a</sup> As I have already told you, Willich sailed for America 4 weeks ago.

*Salut*

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 10 March 1853]

Dear Marx,

Yesterday I sent off one half of a fiver to you and, at the same time, the other half under cover to Dronke. I'm really in a fix; in February I had to fork out some £50 to repay debts, etc., and there'll be another £30 or so to be paid out this month and next. Otherwise I'd have sent you more. A reform of my PERSONAL EXPENSES is urgently called for and, in a week or a fortnight's time, I shall move into cheaper LODGINGS and also resort to less potent liquor so as to prepare myself for the great moment when the balance is struck. Last year, thank God, I gobbled up half of my old man's profits from the business here. As soon as my old man's arrival becomes imminent, I shall remove to select LODGINGS, buy select cigars and wines, etc., so that we can impress him. *Voilà la vie.*<sup>b</sup>

By his statements,<sup>c</sup> Monsieur Kossuth has utterly ruined himself in the eyes of people up here, German as well as English. Mazzini likewise, by the insurrection itself<sup>355</sup> and by his sordid way of

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 213-14. - <sup>b</sup> That's life. - <sup>c</sup> Two statements by Kossuth published in various English newspapers in February and March 1853 which denied his participation in the Milan uprising. See, in particular, 'M. M. Kossuth and Mazzini' and 'The Times' and 'A Letter from Kossuth', *The Daily News*, Nos. 2105 and 2117, 18 February and 4 March 1853.

starting a fracas with the cowardly murder of individual soldiers, this being particularly abhorrent to the English. It would be difficult to imagine anything more craven and blackguardly than these two letters of Kossuth's and withal the constant pretension: I AM A PLAIN, HONEST MAN. The gentlemen should, by the way, beware: given the evidence, *ce cher*<sup>a</sup> Aberdeen is just the sort of man to have them locked up and prosecuted without more ado and whether, after all this, they could be quite so sure of an acquittal, I do not know.

THE MINISTRY OF ALL THE TALENTS<sup>345</sup> TURNS OUT A COMPLETE HUMBUGH. Johnny,<sup>b</sup> more shrunkened than ever; the great Gladstone, a self-complacent know-all *à la* Mevissen; Aberdeen, full of diplomatic-toryistic reminiscences and consummate courtier; the late messiah Peel's apostle John, Sidney Herbert, a wholly incompetent Secretary at War,—they're a fine LOT. At the same time they all feel somewhat out of place, except for shameless old Palmerston, who is at home everywhere and, witness the Mazzini debate in both Houses,<sup>344</sup> as MUTINOUS as ever. Indeed, ever since the debate on Greece,<sup>345</sup> the Militia Bill<sup>62</sup> and the debate on the Address,<sup>346</sup> he has been *de facto* LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, and it is bitterly ironical that, for form's sake, poor Johnny should be given this post. But when, in this capacity, Johnny goes on to ask for a salary, it is carrying effrontery beyond all bounds; however a new post is, of course, a godsend to both parties. I shall be curious to see Master Gladstone's budget; what he said about the ESTIMATES and Hume's Tariff motion<sup>347</sup> leads one to expect that he will leave everything more or less as it was, which is about all that is likely to result from this patriotic coalition ministry. Meanwhile, the tales of corruption during the last election are really capital and will doubtless necessitate some sort of Reform Bill during the next session. If, by then, TRADE has deteriorated and the Continent bestirs itself, we can expect some fine goings-on.

I now have at home the book by Urquhart,<sup>c</sup> the mad MP who denounces Palmerston as being in the pay of Russia. The explanation is a simple one: the fellow's a Celtic Scot with a Saxon-Scottish upbringing, by inclination a Romantic, by upbringing a FREE-TRADER. This chap went to Greece as a Philhellene<sup>348</sup> and, after 3 years of fighting the Turks, proceeded to Turkey and went into raptures about these self-same Turks. He enthuses over Islam on the principle, 'if I wasn't a Calvinist, I could only be a

<sup>a</sup> that dear - <sup>b</sup> Russell - <sup>c</sup> [D. Urquhart,] *Turkey and Its Resources: Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade...*

Mohammedan'. Turks, particularly those of the Ottoman Empire in its heyday, are the most perfect nation on earth in every possible way. The Turkish language is the most perfect and melodious in the world. All the foolish talk of barbarism, cruelty and absurd barbaric arrogance stems solely from European ignorance of Turkey and from the biased calumnies of Greek dragonans. If a European is maltreated in Turkey, he has only himself to blame; your Turk hates neither the religion of the Frank, nor his character, but only his narrow trousers. Imitation of Turkish architecture, etiquette, etc. is strongly recommended. The author himself was several times kicked in the bottom by Turks, but subsequently realised that he alone was to blame. Contact with Europeans, and attempts at civilisation, have only enervated and disorganised the Turks. The Turkish Constitution in its 'purity' is the finest there is, and is almost superior to the English. The Turk enjoys SELF-GOVERNMENT through customs going back a thousand years and through the Koran. The Sultan, far from being a 'despot', is more circumscribed than the MOST GRACIOUS QUEEN.<sup>a</sup> Freedom of religion exists *only* in Turkey. In this paradise there are no class differences, class struggles or political parties, nor can there be, for in matters of internal politics all are of the same mind. Nowhere is there less centralisation than in Turkey. In short, only the Turk is a gentleman and freedom exists only in Turkey.

The Czar<sup>b</sup> is now intriguing against this happy land through the agency of Greek clerics, and England has constantly allowed this same Czar to lead her by the nose. England must support Turkey, etc., etc., and other commonplaces as hoary as they are trivial. On the whole this book is highly entertaining. The really choice thing about it is that it forms the basis for the entire policy of the English, anti-Palmerston liberals, e.g. all the articles in *The Daily News* on the Turkish mummery are simply paraphrases of Urquhart who, *qua* FREE-TRADER, enjoys absolute confidence, although he blames the English for destroying Thessaly's industry with their imports—but in a HIGHLANDER a certain licence may be permitted.

There is one good aspect to it, namely that *The Times*, even though primarily in the Russian interest, is at long last attacking the old philistine nonsense about Turkey's integrity.<sup>c</sup> The asinine *Daily News* which, in its blinkered bourgeois way, can see no

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<sup>a</sup> Victoria - <sup>b</sup> Nicholas I. - <sup>c</sup> *The Times*, Nos. 21365 and 21369, 2 and 7 March 1853, leaders.

further than the end of its nose, is whining about betrayal but can offer nothing better to counter it than the same old diplomatic rubbish.<sup>a 349</sup> If the fun goes on much longer, the gentlemen will soon have to resort to other arguments and come round to the view that only a continental revolution can put an end to the mess. Surely even the most egregious philistines must in due course come to realise that, without one, absolutely nothing can be solved.

The Austro-Prussian tariff business<sup>350</sup> is the only step forward Germany has succeeded in making—*et encore!*<sup>b</sup> The thing has so many strings attached, and so many vital issues have been left to later committees, while the actual tariff reductions are so minimal, that little will come of it. Come the great industrial crisis, and the whole trade agreement will vanish into thin air in the face of the general débâcle.

Here all that happens is thieving, broken bones on the railways, and flying up in the air. The local philistines are quite dumbfounded by the extraordinary events of the past week. Fortunately cotton is going down, which is why nothing is happening on the Exchange and people can concern themselves to their heart's content with these momentous occurrences. The spinning mills and most of the weaving mills are still fully occupied, but in coarse calicoes (DOMESTICS) there is *total stagnation* and, as from Monday, all factories in this trade will be working only 3 days a week.

Regards to your wife and children.

Dronke will have received the Reichenbach thing.<sup>c</sup>

Your  
F. E.

Will get the Herzen<sup>d</sup> one of these days; the snag is that just now I'm unable to write to my brother-in-law.<sup>e</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> *The Daily News*, No. 2117, 4 March 1853 (see this volume, p. 283). - <sup>b</sup> Here; and that's not much. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 245 and 275. - <sup>d</sup> A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie* (see this volume, pp. 273 and 275). - <sup>e</sup> Emil Blank

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 March 1853

Dear Engels,

Received the £5.

This week I was within an inch of kicking the bucket. From hepatitis, or something very similar. This is hereditary in my family. My old man<sup>a</sup> died of it. During the 4 years I have been in England there hasn't been a sign of the thing and I thought it had gone for good. But now the worst is over and, what is more, *sans médecin*.<sup>b</sup> But I am still somewhat knocked up.

Yesterday I received the following 'pleasing' letter from Basle:

'Basle, 7 March 1853. 9 o'clock in the morning.

Dear Marx,

I have just heard that the whole consignment of *Revelations*,<sup>c</sup> amounting to 2,000 copies, which has been lying in a village on the other side of the border for the past 6 weeks, was intercepted yesterday while being conveyed elsewhere. What will happen now, I do not know; first of all, a complaint lodged by the Baden government with the Federal Council, then, no doubt, my arrest or at least commitment for trial, etc. In either case, a terrific shindy! This briefly for your information; further communications, should I be prevented from making them myself, will reach you through a third party. When writing to me, address the envelope: "Mad. Brenner-Guëniard, magasin de modes, Basle" and, on the sealed enclosure for me, simply write "For Jacques". I shall deposit the manuscript on the *coup d'état*<sup>d</sup> in a safe place. Adieu. Before long, I hope, I shall be able to tell you more than I now know. Let me have a safe address; yours and Bamberger's are probably known.

Yours  
Jacques<sup>e</sup>

Well, *qu'en pensez-vous, mon cher maître renard?*<sup>f</sup> Has the 'Suisse'<sup>g</sup> sold me to the Prussian government for cash? 6 weeks in a village on the other side of the border, the affectation of fear, not a word

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<sup>a</sup> Heinrich Marx - <sup>b</sup> without a doctor - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>e</sup> Schabelitz - <sup>f</sup> What do you think of it, dear Master Renard? - <sup>g</sup> Swiss

about the copies still in Switzerland, not a copy sent here despite my insistence!

It's enough to put one off writing altogether. This constant toil *pour le roi de Prusse*<sup>a</sup>!

*Que faire?*<sup>b</sup> For the 'Suisse' must not be allowed to get away with it like this.

Quant à<sup>c</sup> Dana, he has *honoured* my bill. Originally the 'worthy' Bamberger gave me £5 against it, but then kept me traipsing to and fro between here and the City for a fortnight, and it was not until this week that he finally paid out, after weeks of 'moaning' (literally) on the part of my landlady. Since then I have sent 7 more articles to the *Tribune* and another one goes off tomorrow.<sup>351</sup> I could now begin to see my way out of the wood but for the accursed *dette consolidée*<sup>d</sup> hanging round my neck. And even this would have been largely paid off had that wretched Swiss not precipitated me again into *néant*.<sup>e</sup>

To keep in with Dana I shall now be forced to write a somewhat longer article on *haute politique*.<sup>f</sup> In other words, the *détestable question orientale*, regarding which a miserable YANKEE here is trying to compete with me in the *Tribune*.<sup>352</sup> But this QUESTION is primarily military and geographical, hence outside my *département*. So you must once more *exécuter*.<sup>g</sup> What is to become of the Turkish Empire is something I have no clue about. I cannot therefore present a general perspective.

However, for a newspaper article—in which, by the by, you must do your best to skirt the QUESTION as such in favour of its military, geographical and historical aspects—it seems to me that you should touch on the following basic points, which arise directly out of Montenegro<sup>353</sup>:

1. Despite all the chicanery and the political twaddle in the Press, the *question orientale* will never be the *occasion* for a European war. The diplomatists will keep quietly tinkering at it until here, too, a general hullabaloo puts an end to their tinkering.

2. ENCROACHMENTS OF RUSSIA in Turkey. Austria's greed. France's ambitions. England's interests. Commercial and military significance of this bone of contention.

3. Should there be a general hullabaloo, Turkey will compel England to come in on the revolutionary side, an Anglo-Russian clash being inevitable in such a case.

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<sup>a</sup> for the king of Prussia, i.e. for nothing. - <sup>b</sup> What's to be done? - <sup>c</sup> As for - <sup>d</sup> consolidated debt - <sup>e</sup> void - <sup>f</sup> high politics - <sup>g</sup> put yourself out

4. Inevitable disintegration of Mussulman Empire. *D'une manière ou de l'autre*<sup>a</sup> will fall into the hands of European civilisation.

At the present, you should dwell more particularly on the Montenegro affair, on the deplorable role England is now officially playing in it. The Sultan only yielded because France and England did not pledge their help. In this affair, both countries used the *entente cordiale* to mask their competing for the favours of the Holy Alliance.<sup>353</sup> You should point out that the ruling oligarchy in England is bound to fall if only because it has become incapable of performing its traditional role abroad, namely maintaining the pre-eminence of the English *nation vis-à-vis* the Continent.<sup>354</sup>

*Tout ça est très pauvre, mais enfin, il me faut un ou deux articles sur cette question pour tuer mon concurrent.*<sup>b</sup>

Your  
K. M.

Your translation of my Sutherland article<sup>c</sup> is splendid. I myself would seem to possess some talent for writing in English, if only I had a Flügel,<sup>d</sup> a grammar, and a better man than Mr Pieper to correct my work.

Today I shall again write to the Continent. Should I succeed, now that there's nothing doing with Schabelitz, in scraping together at least enough money to ensure my wife's peace of mind until a second bill has been drawn on Dana and returned—this time I intend to get him up to £30—I might perhaps come and spend a few days with you in April, *pour restituer mes forces*.<sup>e</sup> Then we could, for once, chat undisturbed about present conditions, which in my view must soon lead to an EARTHQUAKE.

According to *The Morning Post*, manufacturers in Lancashire have put all their hands on SHORT TIME. PROSPERITY is drawing to an end, etc.<sup>f</sup> What is the situation in this respect?

Your  
K. M.

It's already 11.30 and Dronke has still not brought me No. II<sup>g</sup>. No doubt the fellow is still in bed. What milksops these chaps are!

<sup>a</sup> One way or another. <sup>b</sup> All this is very weak, but after all I must have one or two articles on this question to dispose of my rival [Pulzsky]. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, 'Elections.—Financial Clouds.—The Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery'. - <sup>d</sup> J. G. Flügel, J. Sporschil, *Vollständiges Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch*. - <sup>e</sup> to restore my strength. - <sup>f</sup> 'Manchester Manufactures.—A Grave Fact', *The Morning Post*, No. 24712, 5 March 1853. - <sup>g</sup> The other half of the £5 note (see this volume, p. 283).



With their idleness, lack of stamina and inability to sustain any PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT, they are absolutely hopeless. We must recruit our party entirely anew. Cluss is a good man. Reinhardt in Paris is hardworking. Lassalle, despite his many 'buts', is *dur*<sup>a</sup> and energetic. Pieper would not be without his uses if he possessed less childish *vanité* and more *esprit de suite*.<sup>b</sup> Imandt and Liebknecht are tenacious, and each is useful in his own way. But that doesn't add up to a party. Ex-lieutenant Steffen, ex-witness at the Cologne trial, at present a schoolmaster in an establishment near London, seems to me efficient. LUPUS GROWS FROM DAY TO DAY OLDER AND BECOMES MORE CROTCHETY. Dronke is and ever will be a 'congenial loafer'.

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### MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

London, 10 March 1853<sup>c</sup>

I have received your last lines. You will have read Kossuth's various statements.<sup>d</sup> Even before Mazzini's statement<sup>e</sup> was published I knew that he [Kossuth] had written a most *embittered private letter* about Kossuth to one of his friends here, an Englishman.<sup>f</sup> In connection with this I wrote the following to the *Daily New-York Tribune*: \* 'As Mr Mazzini himself has now broken the ice I may as well state that Kossuth disowned his own document<sup>g</sup> under the pressure of his Paris friends. This is not the first symptom, in Kossuth's past career, of vacillating weakness, inextricable contradictions and false duplicity. He possesses all the attractive virtues, but also all the feminine faults, of the *Artist* character. He is a great artist "*en paroles*".<sup>h</sup> I recommend Mr

<sup>a</sup> hard - <sup>b</sup> singleness of mind - <sup>c</sup> The original has 1852. - <sup>d</sup> Two statements published in various English newspapers denied his participation in the Milan uprising. See in particular: 'M. M. Kossuth and Mazzini and *The Times*', 'A Letter from Kossuth', *The Daily News*, Nos. 2105 and 2117, 18 February and 4 March 1853. See also this volume, pp. 283-84. - <sup>e</sup> 'A letter from Mazzini', *The Daily News*, No. 2115, 2 March 1853. - <sup>f</sup> Mayne Reid - <sup>g</sup> L. Kossuth, 'In the Name of the Hungarian Nation.—To the Soldiers Quartered in Italy (February 1853)', *The Times*, No. 21348, 10 February 1853. - <sup>h</sup> in words

Szemere's lately published biographies 'Batthyány, Görgey and Kossuth to those who, unwilling to bow to popular superstition, are anxious to form a matter-of-fact judgment.'\*<sup>a</sup> I sign all my articles. Attacks will now follow, so I shall have an opportunity to go deeper *en matière*.<sup>b</sup> I should be obliged if you would communicate to me in good time any news you hear about the emigrants, particularly as regards the *par nobile fratrum*.<sup>c</sup> With a couple of pieces of such information I can always buy myself the right to deal with the *matter itself* in the *Tribune*.

Quant à<sup>d</sup> Zerffi, whom I have not seen for a fortnight, I told him at any rate that if I knew Kossuth personally I would have felt it was my duty to warn him against Bangya. It seems to me that Zerffi is talkative and somewhat indiscreet. But I do not by any means believe that he is to be placed on the same level as Bangya, but that he is much more honourable.

2,000 copies of my *Revelations Concerning the Cologne Trial* (sent to Switzerland on 6 December 1852)<sup>e</sup> were *confiscated* on the Baden border 3 months later. I am convinced that Bangya had something to do with that too. *C'est un infâme qu'il faut écraser*.<sup>f</sup>

Pulszky went to America about 4 weeks ago. I think Kossuth sent him there to restore the renown he has lost with the Press and to intrigue against his *opponents*. Pulszky will try to get me too a bad name with the *New-York Tribune*, but I prophesy no great success for him.

I remain yours most respectfully

Ch. Williams

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden' (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 532.) - <sup>b</sup> into the matter - <sup>c</sup> noble pair of brothers (Horace, *Satires*, II, 3) - <sup>d</sup> As for - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 264-65. - <sup>f</sup> He is the infamous thing that must be crushed.—From the expression *Ecrasez l'infâme* frequently repeated by Voltaire in his letters of 1759-68. By the infamous thing he meant the Catholic Church.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 11 March 1853]

Dear Marx,

You shall have the articles within a few days<sup>a</sup>; I see that my CONSIDERATION of Urquhart<sup>b</sup> was opportune. Unfortunately it's too late for tomorrow's STEAMER, since I can hardly have finished at the office before 8 o'clock and some preparation is, of course, still necessary. It's grand that *père* Dana is now paying £2 and promptly honouring bills; *avec ça*,<sup>c</sup> we shall at last be out of the wood. Incidentally, I would never have believed that you had sent off seven English articles in such a short space of time<sup>d</sup>; when you come up here, which I much look forward to, you will learn more English in a week than in 6 weeks with Mr Pieper.

As for Monsieur Jacques,<sup>e</sup> it is more than likely that the little man wants to imitate the trick played on the Baden government by Mr Jenni (whom he greatly resembles), namely sell part of the edition<sup>f</sup> to the German governments, and afterwards do business so much the better with what is left. I don't believe he is so bad as to have sold the whole lot outright. Booksellers established in Basle may be justified in feeling nervous; the Basle government won't stand any nonsense and is on neighbourly terms with Baden. But mind you insist on his sending you forthwith *per messagerie*, i. e. by train, a packet of at least a few copies addressed direct to London or, if you like, to me, CARE OF Ermen & Engels, Manchester. Nobody would think of opening such a packet, and even were this to happen, the cat is in any case already out of the bag. It's fishy that he should so far have refused to let a *single copy* out of his hands. Surely he must know some manufacturer in Basle who sends ribbons, etc., etc., to London, and could include some in a consignment.

There's nothing more to the Lancashire story in *The Morning Post* than what I told you in my yesterday's letter.<sup>g</sup> In answer to an inquiry of ours about prices, Houldsworth and Murray, the two

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 288-89. - <sup>b</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 284-85. - <sup>c</sup> with that. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 288. - <sup>e</sup> Schabelitz (*ibid.*, pp. 287-88). - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - <sup>g</sup> Engels to Marx, 10 March 1853, see this volume, p. 286.

leading fine spinners in England, told us yesterday that it was useless to quote any prices since they were booked up a long way ahead and could not accept a single new order. Between them these two have about 150,000-200,000 mule spindles in operation. In coarse WATER-TWIST, on the other hand, No. 6/16, business is very slack precisely because of conditions in DOMESTICS which are sticking not only here but also in America and Germany.

We must destroy the competing YANKEE<sup>a</sup> with a great SHOW of omniscience. I shall take a look at a few more books on Turkey of which there are quite a LOT in the Athenaeum.<sup>244</sup>

It is not very pleasant to hear about the DECLINE of our friends. Nor will it be pleasant if these *citoyens*<sup>b</sup> go into the next affair as wise as, but no wiser than, they emerged from the last one, though when it comes to the point, the 'best' of them will no doubt pull themselves together. After Cluss, Lassalle is by far the most useful of the lot, and will be all the more so from the moment *où les biens du comte Hatzfeldt seront irrévocablement réunis au domaine public*.<sup>c 35b</sup> He may have his foibles, but he also has *esprit de parti et ambition*,<sup>d</sup> and we are already aware that he will always make official business a pretext for indulging his lesser appetites and pursuing his own little private affairs. As for recruiting, that's the way it is; once we are back in Germany we shall, I think, find plenty of talented young fellows who have, in the meantime, and not without result, tasted the forbidden fruit. If we had had the means to conduct propaganda scientifically and steadily for the space of 2 or 3 years, writing books about *n'importe quoi*,<sup>e</sup> as we did before 1848, we should have been appreciably better off. But that was impossible, and now the storm is already brewing. You ought to finish your Economy<sup>45</sup>; later on, as soon as we have a newspaper, we could bring it out in WEEKLY NUMBERS, and what the *populus*<sup>f</sup> could not understand, the *discipuli* would expound *tant bien que mal, mais cependant non sans effet*.<sup>g</sup> This would provide all our by then restored associations with a basis for debate.

That Dana is paying £2 per article without demur is the best proof of how firmly ensconced you are at the *Tribune*. Anyway, there is a certain advantage in our being the only one of all the parties of European revolution to have expounded its ideas before the English-American public. The YANKEES know absolutely nothing

<sup>a</sup> Pulszky (see this volume, p. 288). - <sup>b</sup> citizens - <sup>c</sup> when Count Hatzfeldt's property reverts irrevocably to public ownership - <sup>d</sup> party spirit and ambition - <sup>e</sup> no matter what - <sup>f</sup> people - <sup>g</sup> disciples would expound after a fashion but not, however, without profit

about the rest, for all Kossuth's twaddle amounted to was money for, and intervention on behalf of, the great man Kossuth. Doubtless Monsieur Bamberger will advance more against the next bill, the first having been paid so promptly.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22[-23] March 1853

Dear Engels,

Your article on Turkey<sup>a</sup> splendid. Sent off.

I don't know if you have seen the following comments in a recent number of *The Economist* on the 'VALUE OF TURKEY'.

\* 'While our commerce with Austria and Russia is either stationary or on the decline, with Turkey it is rapidly increasing. We are not able to state what proportion of our exports may find their way to Austria through Germany, but we believe it [is] only small. Our direct trade with Austria is absolutely insignificant. Our exports of British produces to her Adriatic ports (the only ones she has) were not given separately from those to the rest of Italy till 1846, when they reached £721,981. In 1850 they had fallen to £607,755 and in 1851 had risen to £812,942. Our exports to Russia were on the average of 1840 and 1841: £1,605,000, in 1846 and 1847, £1,785,000, and in 1850 and 1851, £1,372,000.' 'Our exports to the

<sup>a</sup> See section on Turkey in the article by Marx and Engels, 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey'.

Turkish dominions, including Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Moldavia and Wallachia, have progressed as follows:

	£		£		£
1840	1,440,592	1844	3,271,333	1848	3,626,241
1841	1,885,840	1845	3,134,759	1849	3,569,023
1842	2,068,842	1846	2,707,571	1850	3,762,480
1843	2,548,321	1847	3,530,589	1851	3,548,959

Our exports are therefore *threefold* those to Russia and nearly double those to Russia and Austria together.<sup>1</sup>\*<sup>356</sup>

So much for *The Economist*.<sup>a</sup>

There must be a considerable row going on about the 'TURKISH QUESTION' within the English Ministry itself, for the tune being piped by Palmerston's journal, *The Morning Post*, is altogether different from that in *The Times*.

Disraeli has happily been deposed from his LEADERSHIP of the 'GREAT CONSERVATIVE PARTY' and his place taken by Sir John Pakington, A MOURNFUL MAN OTHERWISE. It is the first time since 1828 that the Tory party has possessed a 'LEADER' no less mediocre than its rank and file.

You will have seen that during the last division on the Clergy Reserves Bill, when the worthy Russell himself PROPOSED THE OMISSION OF THE 3RD of his 3 original CLAUSES, it was only the votes of the conservative minority that secured victory for the Ministry.<sup>357</sup> A bad sign, that.

Mazzini has been here for a few days, but for the time being incognito.

That the 'GOOD ABERDEEN'<sup>b</sup> is much inclined to pick on the refugees will be evident to you from the fact that last week the English police took a kind of census of refugees. Two or three detectives IN PLAIN CLOTHES went from SQUARE TO SQUARE and from street to street, jotting down information, most of it culled from neighbours or nearby *ale-house keepers*. In exceptional cases, however—e.g. at Pulszky's, the blackguard himself being now in America—they actually pushed their way into the homes of the refugees on the pretext that a theft, etc., had been committed, and scrutinised their papers.

<sup>a</sup> 'Turkey and Its Value', *The Economist*, No. 498, 12 March 1853. · <sup>b</sup> Marx quotes Louis Philippe.

The estimable Barthélemy got away with 2 months' imprisonment.<sup>274</sup> The fellow had the effrontery to have Ledru-Rollin informed he would shoot him down like a dog. To this Ledru replied that he would never exchange shots with such a man. Barthélemy, for his part, retorted that, if he wanted to induce a man to exchange shots with him, he knew very well how to do it—tested methods being to box his ears in public, spit in his face, etc. Whereat Ledru sent word that, in such a case, Barthélemy would become acquainted with his stick and with an English MAGISTRATE. This Barthélemy seems intent on becoming the Rinaldo Rinaldini of the emigration. Some ambition!

*Père* Willich has landed in New York. Friend Weitling organised a banquet for him attended by 300 persons, at which Willich appeared in a vast red sash, made a long speech to the effect that bread is worth more than liberty, and was presented by Weitling with a *sword*. Then Weitling took the floor and proceeded to prove that Jesus Christ was the first communist and his successor none other than the well-known Wilhelm Weitling.

I have received a letter from Schabelitz, which I enclose and from which it emerges 1. that, though he has not betrayed us politically, he has behaved very stupidly indeed; 2. that he meant, and still means, to swindle me, at least commercially. Originally, and under the contract, he was to run off only 2,000 copies.\* From his letter it appears that he has run off more. How many, he has still not divulged. At the same time Dronke has received an answer from Dr Feddersen to whom he had written about the matter. Feddersen confirms Schabelitz's letter, but at the same time states that, in his opinion, nothing would come of a judicial inquiry concerning Schabelitz. The question is, *what is to be done?* The Prussian government wants to hush the whole thing up, so much so that the Foreign Minister<sup>b</sup> is looking for a *Theory of Communism* allegedly published by me in Basle. So even the title is to be kept from the public. *Que faire?*<sup>c</sup>

Schabelitz sent me 2 copies, 1 direct to me and 1 to Freiligrath, which together cost me 15/-. A fine *return!* So far I have not been able to drag the copies away from the gang. But I think I might succeed in getting hold of one by Wednesday (tomorrow) and will send it with the parcel that has long been waiting to go off to you.

Zerffi is here. He fled from Paris during the *razzia* on foreign correspondents. He believes that friend Bangya (who, by the by

\* of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - <sup>b</sup> Presumably Manteuffel. - <sup>c</sup> What's to be done?

and *en passant*, is said to be finding life difficult and intends to return here in May) had denounced him as the author of a number of articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung* compromising to the 'Blonde Souveraine'.<sup>a</sup> Zerffi is a chatterbox, but his opinions on conditions in Hungary are more independent and accurate than any I have yet heard expressed by refugees from that country. This may be due to the fact that he is no Magyar born and bred, but a 'Swabian', and not only a Swabian but the son of a Hanover Jew, whose name was probably Cerf and was magyarised as Zerffi.

What wretchedly indolent dogs our people in Germany are! Not a word has come through from the fellows. By now they'll have seen from the newspapers that a pamphlet has been published about their case. But they don't so much as inquire about it. There's no responsiveness, no *élan* about the chaps. Old women — *voilà tout*.<sup>b</sup>

A funny piece of news in *La Nation* will hardly have come your way in Manchester. That angel Montijo suffers, it seems, from a most indelicate complaint. She is passionately addicted to *farting* and is incapable, even in company, of suppressing it. At one time she resorted to horse-riding as a remedy. But this having now been forbidden her by Bonaparte, she 'vents' herself. *Ce n'est qu'un bruit, un petit murmure, un rien, mais enfin, vous savez que les Français ont le nez au plus petit vent*.<sup>d</sup>

Is there no news of Weerth in Manchester yet?

Your  
K. M.

23 March. Yesterday, in response to our appeal<sup>c</sup> consisting of three lines and all our names, Freiligrath, the treasurer, received from the gymnastic club in Washington the sum of £20 17s. for the Cologne people.

Schimmelfennig has inherited £1,000 from the Brüningk woman.

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<sup>a</sup> Eugénie Montijo, Napoleon III's wife. <sup>b</sup> that's all. <sup>c</sup> A paraphrase of Don Bazile's words in Beaumarchais' *Le barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile*, Act II, Scene VIII. <sup>d</sup> It's only a noise, a faint murmur, a nothing, but then, you know, the French are sensitive to the slightest puff of wind. <sup>e</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Appeal for Support of the Men Sentenced in Cologne' (see also this volume, p. 282).



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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>234</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

London, 25 March 1853<sup>a</sup>  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Cluss,

Your complaints about our (or at least my) laziness in the matter of writing are not WHOLLY justified. I used to write—save when ill—once a week. It was you who first replaced this with a different system, and often just sent newspapers in the interval instead of letters. There are ALL IN ALL 3 letters from you that have remained unanswered. Of those 3, two came on the same day, one enclosed with the money sent to Freiligrath, one direct to myself. Hence, only 2 unanswered letters.<sup>358</sup> If you go back to writing once *every* week, whether at length or briefly, I too will again adopt this regular MANNER. Or rather, I shall do so without waiting. But then I shall expect the same of you.

Schabelitz has now written to me at length. He had printed the *Revelations* pamphlet 2 months ago and, for the space of 5 weeks, left it lying at Weil, a Baden village on the other side of the border. Instead of posting a reliable man there, the jackass went and left everything to the smuggler who, having gradually extracted from him a substantial sum of money, ended up by giving himself away to the Baden government. The rest you will have seen in the last issue of the *Tribune*.<sup>b</sup> But you will be even more convinced of the interest taken by the Prussian government in this pamphlet, and hence of its importance to the 'Fatherland', when I tell you that the heroic Stieber has not only become police superintendent in Berlin but is co-opted onto every ministerial council concerned with precautionary measures against revolutionaries and revolutionary activities. I am almost beside myself with anger at the pamphlet's temporary suppression. You for your part would not appear to have handled matters on this occasion with your usual felicity. The *Neu-England-Zeitung* may take a year to get it out by thus printing it in dribs and drabs,<sup>359</sup> whereas it devotes whole columns to the '*figure de fouine*'<sup>c</sup> of the wretched Ruge who, over here, has still not succeeded in acquiring

<sup>a</sup> In the original, 1852. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—*The Times* and the Refugees'. - <sup>c</sup> weasel-like features

more than a 'strictly circumscribed train' of 5 persons. Why didn't you put the thing into the *Demokrat*, a *much more widely read* organ, to which you yourself contribute? Next time you write you must tell me frankly whether or not the thing can be produced as a pamphlet in America. It would be for *European consumption* and would be tossed into Prussia via Hamburg. If I were not utterly devoid of means I would arrange for it to be printed in Altona forthwith. It is not partiality to the little lampoon, but my perfect knowledge of conditions in Prussia which prompts me to say that, at the present moment, we could deal our beloved Prussians no more telling blow.

Don't lose sight of that blackguard Willich. He is the most rabid of enemies and an idiot into the bargain.

Pulszky has not come among you simply to engage in high politics. He has also been sent across the ocean for the purpose of appeasing General Vetter who, having become *DISAFFECTED*, is intriguing from America against the 'GREAT Kossuth'. To my amazement I see in the *Daily Tribune*, received from you today, that it has accepted my attacks upon Kossuth-Mazzini.<sup>a</sup> I had thought this highly improbable, the more so since Greeley's *WHITE-RED-BLACK FRIEND*, the Jew Pulszky,<sup>b</sup> is over there.

Szemere wrote to me from Paris giving me the news I published in the *Tribune*, namely that there had been a lengthy conference between Kossuth and his *PARISIAN PARTISANS* about his now '*DISOWNED PROCLAMATION*'<sup>c</sup> and that they forced the miserable little man to make a disavowal.

Barthélemy, Willich's friend, whom you will remember from his duel with Schramm<sup>360</sup> (the latter, by the by, lives in Cincinnati whence he has written once), has received a 2 months' sentence for fighting a duel on English soil in the course of which he killed Cournot. He got off so lightly, despite the sordid *DISCLOSURES* which were made during the trial, because according to English law, seconds are punished as severely as duellists and also because they didn't want to make the poor devil pay the full penalty for what he had done. The fellow had the effrontery when in prison to have a message sent to Ledru saying that as soon as he came out he would shoot him down like a dog. Ledru replied that he would

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'The Attack on Francis Joseph.—The Milan Riot.—British Politics.—Disraeli's Speech.—Napoleon's Will'. - <sup>b</sup> An allusion to F. and Th. Pulszky, *White, Red, Black Sketches of Society in the United States During the Visit of Their Guest*, Vols. 1-3, London, 1853. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, 'Forced Emigration.—Kossuth and Mazzini.—The Refugee Question.—Election Bribery in England.—Mr. Cobden's (see also this volume, p. 280).

not exchange shots with such a scoundrel. *Barthélemy*: He was very well able to induce a man to exchange shots with him by boxing his ears in the open street, and other such tested methods. *Ledru* (riposte): That being so, he would regale him with his stick.

The winsome warrior, Schimmelpfennig, has inherited £1,000 sterling<sup>a</sup> from the Brüningk woman. Indeed, *Monsieur le Lieutenant* had appointed himself to the post of sycophant, nursery-maid, fan-bearer, political oracle, companion, admirer, boots, and any other agreeable function you may care to name.

Reichenbach wants to go to America, as does—up to a point—Kalb of Löwe,<sup>b</sup> the first as a farmer, the second as a doctor.

In the West, the most important, if least conspicuous event, has been the burial of Madame Raspail in Paris<sup>c</sup>. The unexpected turn-out of 20,000 proletarians IN FULL DRESS utterly dumbfounded the Bonapartists. So you can see that the proletarian lion isn't dead. For Ledru, too, the event was a most bitter pill. Raspail is his arch-enemy.

One more *FACT*. Don't blame me if it is unaesthetic. The 'blonde souveraine', Montijo-Lola,<sup>d</sup> is subject to a most repellent constitutional complaint—incessant *farting*. It is known as tympanomania. Formerly she used to combat the 'ACCIDENT' with energetic horse-riding which Bonaparte has now forbidden her on the grounds that it is beneath her station. Thus at several 'réunions' her 'détonations fortes'<sup>e</sup> have even brought blushes to the cheeks of braided Décebraillards.<sup>f</sup> And that is saying a great deal. *Ce n'est qu'un petit bruit, un murmure, un rien<sup>g</sup>; mais enfin, vous savez que les Français ont le nez au plus petit vent.<sup>h</sup>*

In a year at the most you will, I think, be with us. *Les choses marchent.<sup>i</sup>*

Your  
K. M.

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Moscow, 1934

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Published in English in full for the  
first time

<sup>a</sup> For 'sterling', Marx wrote in jest 'Sperling'—sparrow. - <sup>b</sup> Marx jokingly transposed personal and place-names, misspelling the latter, to give 'Calf of Lion'. - <sup>c</sup> on 13 March - <sup>d</sup> An analogy between the Empress Eugénie and Lola Montez, a well-known dancer and adventurer. - <sup>e</sup> loud reports - <sup>f</sup> Omnibus word meaning 'loud-mouthed men of December' (the time of Louis Napoleon's coup). - <sup>g</sup> A paraphrase of Don Bazile's words in Beaumarchais' *Le barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile*, Act II, Scene VIII. - <sup>h</sup> It's only a small noise, a murmur, a nothing; but then, you know, the French are sensitive to the slightest puff of wind. - <sup>i</sup> Things are moving.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Sunday, 10 April [1853]

Dear Marx,

I return herewith Cluss' letter.<sup>361</sup> And there, it seems, the matter will have to rest until we have before us the whole of Hirsch's document,<sup>a</sup> and also his first statement<sup>b</sup> which Weydemeyer has retained (do you know anything more about this?). The Bangya business isn't very nice; however, *au bout du compte*,<sup>c</sup> it is better to settle it now than later. According to what you write you have full proof against Bangya to hand now, and, of course, there is also Zerffi to vouch for the Greif business.<sup>d</sup> Knowing as we do now what is coming, we have time to prepare a proper answer.<sup>e</sup> I shall look out Bangya's and the fictitious Collmann's letters.<sup>f</sup> So far as I am concerned, the pamphlet<sup>g</sup> can be printed in America.

Some of the things in Hirsch's statement are perfectly correct, e.g. concerning your letter from Manchester.<sup>362</sup> At the same time, of course, he does his fair share of lying and keeping things under his hat. For instance, he forgets to say that he followed you to Manchester, clearly not by accident, and that, meeting us one Sunday in the Bury New Road with another loafer, he called out quite loudly as he went by: 'Good morning, Marx!' You will recall that we wondered who it might be; *ce fut notre cher Hirsch*.<sup>h</sup> Likewise the affair of Mrs Daniels' letter and the domiciliary visit.<sup>360</sup>

It is curious how many spies *à la Cooper*<sup>363</sup> seem to be turning up just now. Chenu, Cherval, Hirsch. It's a good thing Hirsch now testifies that Bangya was never able to report anything about you except personal tittle-tattle.

Inquiries must be made about the persons mentioned. Lanckoroński is clearly none other than the 'Count L.' denounced by

<sup>a</sup> W. Hirsch, 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie. Rechtfertigungsschrift', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 3-6, 1, 8, 15 and 22 April 1853. - <sup>b</sup> W. Hirsch, 'Erklärung [of 12 January 1852]', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 7, 29 April 1853. - <sup>c</sup> after all - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 242-45. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'. - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, pp. 239, 256 and 258. - <sup>g</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>h</sup> It was our dear Hirsch.

you as a Russian agent in the Kossuth-Bonaparte article.<sup>a</sup> As far as Bangya is concerned, we are fully covered by Kossuth and Szemere and, if he possessed a manuscript of Szeinere's,<sup>b</sup> why not one of ours?<sup>c</sup> It's an excellent thing that we have *always* kept *everything* that came our way.

Apropos. Not long ago Dronke made a terrible fuss about my not providing him AT A MOMENT'S NOTICE with the Reichenbach circular<sup>299</sup> and now, in the parcel of American papers, I find it reproduced at least ten times. Couldn't the lazy devil have searched it out himself?

*Pour revenir.*<sup>d</sup> I don't believe anything can be done publicly for the time being, i.e. until we've had a thorough examination of the documents; preliminary steps, no more—for instance, finding out where the document came from, the present whereabouts of Hirsch and what he is doing and, if necessary, confronting the fellow in order to extract another written statement from him. I shall also take immediate steps to find out more about the business of Fleury and the theft<sup>364</sup>; unfortunately my informant, a personal acquaintance of his, is ill. Mind you send me without delay the requisite personal description, etc., etc.

Today I have leafed through most of the American papers sent to me. Much is very amusing but, when there's such a pile of them, it's a very trying and stultifying job. By comparison, Cluss' letters are a delight. I see that the *Revelations* are already appearing in the *Neu-England-Zeitung*<sup>365</sup>; it's really too bad of Weydemeyer not to have got them into the *Criminal-Zeitung*. The least he can now do is to catch up with the main content—drop him a heavy hint to that effect by the next STEAMER, otherwise it may never occur to him.

I have not yet read the pile of (New York) *Demokrats* in which Weydemeyer publishes his articles; I'm saving them up for this evening.

Between ourselves, I am now pretty well convinced that it was, after all, Monsieur Bangya who betrayed Kotlies' address.<sup>e</sup> It's a good thing nobody knows about it.

If the business of Hirsch and Bangya becomes any more involved, there'll be another job for us to do when you come up.

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'Movements of Mazzini and Kossuth.—League with Louis Napoleon.—Palmerston'. - <sup>b</sup> B. Szemere, *Graf Ludwig Batthyány, Arthur Görgei, Ludwig Kossuth...* - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>d</sup> To return. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 232 and 239.

What are your prospects of a visit? I am counting on seeing you here in May at the latest.

You will have had my Friday's letter<sup>366</sup> and with it £3. Warm regards to your wife.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER<sup>1</sup>

IN NEW YORK

Manchester, 12 April 1853

Dear Weydemeyer,

Herewith Marx's statement on Hirsch's *Confessions*<sup>a</sup> which you should *immediately* get into *as many papers as you can*. If you send Cluss a copy at once, he will undoubtedly be able to take over a large part of the task. It would, I think, do no harm if you were to append the words, 'The undersigned express their full agreement with the above, E. Dronke, F. Engels'. As far as the business of the manuscript<sup>b</sup> is concerned, and relations with Bangya generally, we are just as responsible as Marx and it would not be right if we were to let him bear the responsibility alone. The copy that was handed over<sup>c</sup> is partly in Dronke's hand, the original almost entirely in mine. There is now a prospect of the thing being published in Switzerland.

This statement was composed solely on the strength of the excerpts made by you and sent to us by Cluss.<sup>d</sup> Whether the remainder contains anything that will necessitate a further statement, we cannot, of course, yet say, but doubtless you'll have

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - <sup>c</sup> to Bangya - <sup>d</sup> excerpts from Hirsch's article 'Die Opfer der Mouchar-derie. Rechtfertigungsschrift', then being prepared for the press.

extracted everything relating to ourselves. In a few days' time you will, I trust, send us the whole thing in print.

As for Bangya, we have him completely in our power. The fellow's so deeply implicated that he is utterly done for. Fresh grounds for suspicion kept cropping up and, in order to cover himself he was compelled to show Marx little by little his entire hoard of documents from Kossuth, Szemere, etc. This is how I come to possess the original manuscript of Szemere's pamphlet on Kossuth and Görgey. Mr Kossuth, then, has been badly compromised through Mr. Bangya. This magyarised Slav's petty cunning was foiled by Marx's tenacity and the skill with which he implicated him. *We*, and no one else (save perhaps Szemere, up to a point), now possess complete documentary evidence as to Bangya's character, but what purpose would be served by raising the alarm just now? The fellow is said to be returning to London in May, and then we can press him hard and possibly extract a great deal more useful information. All manner of things have been going on between Willich and Hirsch which are still very far from clear and if, as you maintain, it was through Kinkel's agency that Hirsch's manuscript found its way over there, this again conjures up the most bizarre speculations. *Il faut tâcher d'y voir clair*,<sup>a</sup> and Bangya can be useful there. So don't say anything about it for the moment; that apart, let the Hungarian gentlemen themselves come forward for once and speak their minds, Kossuth in particular. Why should we give them a helping hand? If they make fools of themselves in a public statement, *tant mieux*,<sup>b</sup> then it will be our turn.

The émigrés are carrying on as disreputably as ever, though with less public offence than hitherto. When I was in London at Christmas-time,<sup>313</sup> we used to mingle *sans façon* with the crowd in the Kinkel-Willich-Ruge pubs, something we could scarcely have done 6 months earlier without risking a brawl. Often the small fry would come up to us quite amiably and patiently allow us to twit them, particularly the gallant Meyen-Julius Vindex.<sup>c</sup> Amongst our own people, everything is still much the same. Lupus is said to be keeping himself very much to himself. Dronke has been angling for a clerk's post these past six months and now there's a scheme afoot to get him one in Bradford, 2½ hours by railway from here. Weerth, when I last heard from him, was in St Thomas in the West Indies, where he had survived the yellow fever season. Red

<sup>a</sup> We must try to clarify this - <sup>b</sup> so much the better - <sup>c</sup> An analogy between Eduard Meyen and the Roman general Julius Vindex.

Wolf<sup>a</sup> who, as you know, is a husband and father, takes his wife and child out on jaunts and seldom puts in an appearance. Freiligrath is still living in Hackney and engages in commerce under the auspices of Mr Oxenford.<sup>b</sup> As for myself, I have made substantial progress this past winter in Slavonic languages and military affairs and, by the end of the year, shall have a passable knowledge of Russian and South Slav.<sup>c</sup> In Cologne I accoutred myself at little expense with the library of a retired Prussian artillery officer and for a time felt myself quite the bombardier again, what with the old Plümicke,<sup>d</sup> the Brigade Training Manual and other well-thumbed volumes which you will remember. However, Prussian military literature is positively the worst there is, the only tolerable stuff being what was written with the campaigns of 1813/15 still fresh in mind. But after 1822 this gives way to a repulsively pretentious pedantry, to a bogus omniscience, which is the very devil. Quite recently a number of passable things have again appeared in Prussia, but not many. Unfortunately the French stuff is completely inaccessible to me owing to my unfamiliarity with specialised literature.

I have swotted up pretty well on the old campaigns (i.e. after 1792); the Napoleonic ones are so simple that it would be difficult to go wrong on them. However, *au bout du compte*<sup>e</sup> Jomini gives the best account of them; despite many fine things, I can't really bring myself to like that natural genius, Clausewitz.<sup>367</sup> For the immediate future, i.e. for us, the Russian campaign of 1812 is the most important, the only one where important strategic problems still remain to be solved; Germany and Italy do not admit of any lines of action other than those laid down by Napoleon, whereas in Russia everything is still very confused. The question whether, originally, Napoleon's plan of operations in 1812 was to march directly on Moscow or, during the first campaign, simply advance as far as the Dnieper and Dvina, repeats itself for us with the question as to what a revolutionary army should do in the event of a successful offensive against Russia. This question—accidents apart, of course, and assuming no more than an approximately equal balance of forces—can be solved, or so it has seemed to me up till now, only by water—in the Sound and in the Dardanelles, at Petersburg, Riga and Odessa. Apart also, of course, from *internal* movements in Russia—and an aristocratic-bourgeois

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<sup>a</sup> Ferdinand Wolff - <sup>b</sup> i.e. Oxford - <sup>c</sup> Serbo-Croat - <sup>d</sup> J. C. Plümicke, *Handbuch für die Königlich Preussischen Artillerie-Offiziere*. - <sup>e</sup> in the final analysis



revolution in Petersburg with a resulting civil war in the interior is a possibility. Mr Herzen has made things much easier for himself (*Du progrès des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*<sup>a</sup>) by positing, Hegel-fashion, a democratic-social-communist-Proudhonist Republic of Russia under the triumvirate Bakunin-Herzen-Golovin, so that it cannot possibly fail. Meanwhile it is by no means certain that Bakunin is still alive and in any case Russia, with its huge expanses and sparse population, is a country that is very difficult to conquer. As to the former Polish provinces on this side of the Dvina and Dnieper, I want to hear nothing more of them, knowing as I do that the peasants there are all Ukrainians, only the aristocracy and some of the people in the towns being Polish, and that to the peasant there, as in Ukrainian Galicia in 1846,<sup>368</sup> the restoration of Poland is synonymous with the restoration of the old ruling aristocracy, its powers unimpaired. In all these countries, outside the kingdom of Poland proper, there are barely 500,000 Poles!

It is a good thing, by the way, that this time the revolution should have found a respectable antagonist in Russia and not such spineless scarecrows of opponents<sup>b</sup> as in the year 1848.

In the meantime all sorts of symptoms keep appearing. Prosperity in cotton has reached such heights as to become vertiginous, whereas certain branches of the cotton industry (coarse qualities, DOMESTICS) are completely stagnant. Speculators hope to escape this vertigo by promoting it *en gros*<sup>c</sup> solely in America and France (railways with English money), but over here piecemeal in penny packets, thus by degrees spreading the condition to *all* articles. The quite abnormal weather we've had here during the winter and spring must have damaged the corn and if, as usually happens, the summer is also abnormal, it will spell ruin to the harvest. To my mind the present prosperity cannot last beyond the autumn. In the meantime the 3rd English ministry in 12 months—and, indeed, the last one that will be possible without the direct intervention of the radical bourgeoisie—is falling into disrepute. One after another Whigs, Tories and Coalitionists come to grief as a result, not of a tax deficit, but of a SURPLUS.<sup>369</sup> That typifies the whole policy of the old parties and also their extreme impotence. If the present ministers tumble, it will no longer be possible to govern England without

<sup>a</sup> A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*. - <sup>b</sup> governments of numerous German states - <sup>c</sup> wholesale

considerably extending the *pays légal*<sup>a</sup>; hence, this is likely to come about at the beginning of the crisis.

The protracted tedium of prosperity has made it almost impossible for the unhappy Bonaparte to maintain his dignity; the world is bored and he bores the world. Unfortunately he cannot remarry every 4 weeks. This trickster, drunkard and cheat will come to grief through having to make a pretence of putting Engel's *Fürstenspiegel* into practice. The vagabond as 'father of the fatherland'! He is *aux abois*.<sup>b</sup> Yet he can't even start a war: everywhere serried ranks bristling with bayonets as soon as he makes the slightest move. And then this period of tranquillity affords the peasants most desirable time in which to reflect upon how the man who promised to subdue Paris for the peasants' benefit is now using the peasants' money to embellish Paris and how, despite everything, mortgages and taxes are going up rather than down. In short, this time the thing is being methodically prepared, and that's very promising.

In Prussia the government has raised a veritable hornet's nest among the bourgeoisie with its income tax. The bureaucrats have increased the rates of tax in the most barefaced manner, and you can imagine the glee with which those egregious quillpushers are now poking their noses into the trade secrets and ledgers of all the merchants. Even my old man, a dyed-in-the-wool Prussian, is fuming with rage. These fellows must now endure to the bitter end the blessings of a constitutional, fatherly, Prussian *gouvernement à bon marché*.<sup>c</sup> Prussia's national debt,—some 67 mill. talers before 1848,—must since have swollen to four times that amount, and already they are wanting to borrow again! One can only assume that the portly monarch<sup>d</sup> would cheerfully sweat now, as once he sweated during the March days,<sup>e</sup> if only he were to be guaranteed this credit for the rest of his mortal life. Yet Louis Napoleon has helped him set the Customs Union on its feet again, Austria, fearing war, has drawn in her horns,<sup>370</sup> and now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace into the grave!<sup>f</sup>

The Austrians are doing everything in their power to set things in motion again in Italy, a country which, before the Milan uprising,<sup>35a</sup> was completely given over to commerce and prosperity in so far as this was compatible with taxation; and if everything goes on like this for another few months, Europe will be in a splendid state of readiness, needing only the jog of a crisis. On top

<sup>a</sup> franchise - <sup>b</sup> at bay - <sup>c</sup> cheap government - <sup>d</sup> Frederick William IV - <sup>e</sup> of 1848 (beginning of the revolution in Prussia) - <sup>f</sup> Luke 2:29

of this, one must consider that prosperity, unprecedented in its scope and duration—having begun early in 1849—has restored the strength of the exhausted parties (in so far as these were not beyond repair, like the monarchist party in France) much more quickly than was the case after 1830, for example, when trading conditions long remained unsettled and, on the whole, indifferent. In 1848, too, only the Paris proletariat, and later Hungary and Italy, were exhausted by severe struggles; after June 1848, the insurrections that took place in France were hardly worth speaking of and, in the final count, *ruined* only the old monarchist parties. Add to this the curious result produced by the movement in *all* countries, a result in no way serious or significant save for the colossal historical irony and the concentration of Russian military resources; and in view of all this, it seems to me that, even taking the most sober view, the present state of affairs cannot possibly continue beyond the spring of 1854.

How splendid it is that on this occasion *our party* is taking the stage under wholly different auspices. All the socialist stupidities which one still had to advocate in 1848 vis-à-vis the pure democrats and the South German republicans, the vapourings of L. Blanc, etc., and, indeed, even the things *we* were compelled to propound if only to find *points d'appui* for our views in the confused state of affairs in Germany—all this is already being advocated by our respected opponents, by Ruge, Heinzen, Kinkel and so forth. The preliminaries to proletarian revolution, the measures by which the field of battle is being made ready and the way cleared for us—a single and indivisible republic, etc., things which originally *we* had to advocate *in the teeth* of those whose natural, normal calling it should have been to implement, or at least demand them,—all this is now *convenu*,<sup>a</sup> has been learnt by the gentlemen. This time we shall start off straight away with the *Manifesto*,<sup>b</sup> thanks largely to the Cologne trial in which German communism (most notably through Röser) has passed its matriculation.

All this, of course, relates merely to theory; in practice we shall, as always, be reduced to insisting above all on resolute measures and absolute ruthlessness. And that's the pity of it. I have a feeling that one fine day, thanks to the helplessness and spinelessness of all the others, our party will find itself forced into power, whereupon it will have to enact things that are not immediately in

<sup>a</sup> agreed - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

our own, but rather in the general, revolutionary and specifically petty-bourgeois interest; in which event, spurred on by the proletarian *populus* and bound by our own published statements and plans—more or less wrongly interpreted and more or less impulsively pushed through in the midst of party strife—we shall find ourselves compelled to make communist experiments and leaps which no one knows better than ourselves to be untimely. One then proceeds to lose one's head—only *physiquement parlant*<sup>a</sup> I hope—, a reaction sets in and, until such time as the world is capable of passing *historical* judgment of this kind of thing, one will be regarded, not only as a brute beast, which wouldn't matter a rap, but also as *bête*,<sup>b</sup> and that's far worse. I don't very well see how it could happen otherwise. In a backward country such as Germany which possesses an advanced party and which, together with an advanced country such as France, becomes involved in an advanced revolution, at the first serious conflict, and as soon as there is *real danger*, the turn of the advanced party will inevitably come, and this in any case will be *before* its normal time. However, none of this matters a rap; the main thing is that, should this happen, our party's rehabilitation in history will already have been substantiated in advance in its *literature*.

We shall, by the way, cut a far more respectable figure on the stage than last time. In the first place we are happily rid of all the old idlers in the persons of Schapper, Willich and Co., secondly, we have grown somewhat stronger, thirdly, we can count on the rising generation in Germany (if nothing else, the Cologne trial is enough to guarantee us this), and finally we have all of us benefited substantially in exile. There are, of course, some amongst us who proceed on the principle: 'What need is there for us to swot? That's what *père* Marx is there for, it's his business to know everything.' But in general the Marx party does do a good deal of swotting, and one only has to look at the way the other *émigré* jackasses snap up this or that new catchword, thereby becoming more bemused than ever, to realise that our party's superiority has increased both absolutely and relatively. As indeed it must, for *la besogne sera rude*.<sup>c</sup>

I should like to have time before the next revolution to study and describe thoroughly at least the campaigns of 1848 and 1849 in Italy and Hungary. Generally speaking, I have a pretty clear notion of the business, despite imperfect maps, etc. But the very

<sup>a</sup> physically speaking · <sup>b</sup> stupid · <sup>c</sup> it will be a tough business

accuracy of detail required to depict it calls for a great deal of trouble and expense. On both occasions the Italians behaved like nincompoops. Willisen's account and analysis, while accurate on the whole, is often silly,<sup>a</sup> and the total superiority of Austrian strategy, which he stresses as early as 1848, only becomes apparent in the Novara campaign,<sup>371</sup> without doubt the most brilliantly fought affair in Europe since Napoleon's day (*outside* Europe, however, the feats performed by old General Napier in India in 1842 are of quite another order and, indeed, reminiscent of Alexander the Great; on the whole I regard Charles Napier as the foremost living general). Strange in Italy, just as in Baden in 1849, is the traditional superstitious belief in positions occupied during the campaigns of the 1790s. Nothing would have induced Mr Sigel to fight anywhere save in the position made classical by Moreau, and Charles Albert's belief in the Virgin Mary's virginity was no more steadfast than his belief in the miraculous powers of the plateau of Rivoli. So immutable was this conviction in Italy that the Austrians commenced every important manoeuvre with a feint attack on Rivoli and *every time* the Piedmontese fell into the trap. The joke is, of course, that the relative positions and lines of communication were quite different.

Despite everything, Monsieur Görgey remains the only fellow in Hungary who was superior to everyone else and to whom everyone else was hostile out of sheer envy; I think it probable that had not Görgey, despite his great military talents, been a very vain, petty chap, this for the most part stupid hostility would have finally turned him into a traitor. Ever since the Világos affair<sup>372</sup>—entirely justified in *military* (but *not* revolutionary) terms—the fellows have subjected Görgey to such a plethora of insane accusations that the chap almost compels one's interest. The actual 'betrayal' took place after the relief of Komárom,<sup>373</sup> before the Russians got there, and for this Kossuth is just as much to blame as Görgey. A cloud of uncertainty still envelops Bayer, Görgey's Chief of the General Staff, who is now in London. From the memoirs of Görgey<sup>b</sup> and other sources, it would seem that it was *he* who inspired Görgey's *strategic* plans. From what Pleyel told me, Bayer is the principal author of the official *Austrian* book on the campaign.<sup>c</sup> (Bayer was captured in Pest and escaped); it is said

<sup>a</sup> W. Willisen, *Der italienische Feldzug des Jahres 1848*. - <sup>b</sup> A. Görgei, *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849*. - <sup>c</sup> Presumably *Sammlung der für Ungarn erlassenen Allerhöchsten Manifeste und Proklamationen, dann der Kundmachungen der Oberbefehlshaber der kaiserlichen Armee in Ungarn*.

to be excellent, but I haven't yet been able to get hold of it. Görgey speaks of Klapka with great respect, but everyone admits that he was very weak. Perczel is regarded as a jackass, the 'democratic' Hungarian general. Old Bem always thought of himself only as a good partisan and commander of a detached corps intended for a definite purpose; so far as I can judge, this is all he was, but to a superlative degree. He did two stupid things, once with his fruitless expedition into the blue after Banat; next, during the great Russian invasion when he repeated, literally, the highly professional manoeuvre he had successfully executed before Hermannstadt and was trounced in consequence.<sup>374</sup> *Père Dembiński*, however, was an incorrigible visionary and braggart, a partisan who believed himself born to conduct great campaigns and embarked on the maddest enterprises. Smitt's Polish Campaign of 1831<sup>a</sup> contains some good stories about him.

Apropos. Could you give me a short description of Cologne's fortifications with a few drawings—rough sketches—done from memory? If I remember rightly, the main wall is bastioned and the forts are said to be of the Montalembert type; is that so, and how many of them are there? You can use any military engineering terms, since I have some quite passable manuals and drawings here. Do you know details of any other Prussian fortresses? I am fairly familiar with Coblenz (Ehrenbreitstein, at least), and have seen a plan of Mainz. What interests me particularly is the manner in which the new Montalembert structures are built in Germany; it's impossible to find out anything about this owing to Prussian secretiveness.

Write soon. Warmest regards to your wife<sup>b</sup> and to Cluss from

Your

F. Engels.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Smitt, *Geschichte des polnischen Aufstandes und Krieges in den Jahren 1830 und 1831*. - <sup>b</sup> Louise

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>375</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, 17 April 1853]

... Today I have received the first 5 numbers<sup>a</sup> from New York, whether from Weydemeyer or from Kellner I do not know. With most of them I was already familiar through you. This is at least a *decent* paper—a rare thing in America—and a working man's paper. However, I cannot say I very much care for the chief editor's affected effusions concerning '*questions personnelles*' which are at one and the same time party questions, or for his pseudo-naive gentility and biblical portentousness. But you have to take this newspaper as it comes. What I liked best of all was Weydemeyer's introduction to his '*Ökonomische Skizzen*'. Good stuff that. I have approached our people here; Dronke and Pieper have, I think, already sent something. I shall speak to Jones. On the whole it is difficult to get contributions. I myself have too much to do. The others unfortunately are still somewhat put off by their earlier experiences. Lupus is in a wretched state. Eccarius has to work away at his tailoring from 5 in the morning until 8 at night and is in a dangerously hectic condition. Engels, when not stuck in the office, is completely taken up with his studies, and probably he too has not yet got over the wrongs he thinks he has suffered at the hands of the American Press. Our party is, alas, very *pauvre*.<sup>b</sup> I shall also approach ex-lieutenant Steffen, ex-witness for the defence at the Cologne trial, presently a schoolmaster in the vicinity of London. He has more spare time than anyone else and is very capable.

Pieper has still not finished the articles you want, which explains why you haven't yet had them.<sup>376</sup>

As for the Hirsch affair,<sup>c</sup> a statement<sup>d</sup> IMMEDIATELY went off to Engels via Engels, which, etc., etc. I've known for 6 months or more that there was something fishy about Bangya. I didn't break with the fellow until, like the jackass he is, he had let me find out all about his connections, handed over all documents that put me

<sup>a</sup> of *Die Reform* - <sup>b</sup> poor - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 301-02. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, '*Hirsch's Confessions*'.

in the right and him in the wrong, and generally placed himself at my mercy. I threw him out months ago at Szemere's.

My suspicions of Willich have only been confirmed by his latest step. *D'abord*,<sup>a</sup> I know that he and Kinkel paid and continue to pay Hirsch out of revolutionary funds! Then, at the Cologne trial, soon after it began, he boasted to Fleury (who in turn passed it on to Imandt) that he had in his possession a letter of mine to Bangya dated Manchester. I challenged Bangya about this at the time. He said he was willing to be confronted with Fleury. On being informed of this by Imandt at my behest, Fleury retracted. Thus at that time Willich was illicitly consorting with Hirsch. He knew that Hirsch was illicitly consorting with Greif and that his *friend* Fleury was a spy. It was through these fellows that he got hold of my letter. The 'gallant worthy'—for whom, *en passant*,<sup>b</sup> free meat and drink is *le dernier but*<sup>c</sup>—wanted to set a trap for me, and to that end became embroiled in intrigues with *mouchards*.<sup>d</sup>

True, he sent Hirsch to Cologne. True, I heard later that Hirsch was in Cologne. But why did he send Hirsch to Cologne, and when did he send him there? *Firstly*, when it was already too late. 2. When the police in Cologne had themselves denounced his friend Fleury. 3. When he himself, having become suspect, wished to rehabilitate himself as a 'magnanimous worthy' by means of this theatrical coup. This was Hirsch's own account of the affair on his return...

Reichenbach and family, 'clever' Lieutenant Schimmelpfennig complete with wife and Brüningk legacy of £1,000, and lastly, the artist Schmolze, set sail today for America. *Bon voyage!* But Reichenbach's flight has deprived poor Lupus of the last of his lessons. It's most unfortunate for him. He's no Kinkel. Nor does he know how to lick the boots of the bourgeois like the future 'President of the German Republic' and his 'consort',<sup>e</sup> both of them consummate sycophants, humbugs and parasites. The amiable Gottfried has so far succeeded in ingratiating himself that he has been accorded the use of one of London University's lecture rooms to repeat before a London audience his old series of lectures on Christian art in the Middle Ages. He is giving them *free* and gratis in the hope that he will be able to worm his way into the post of Professor of Aesthetics at London University. He delivers them in ABOMINABLE English, *reading* from a manuscript. Though welcomed with applause at the beginning of the series, he

<sup>a</sup> In the first place · <sup>b</sup> in passing · <sup>c</sup> the ultimate aim · <sup>d</sup> police spies · <sup>e</sup> Johanna Kinkel



subsequently proved such a complete failure that not even the organised clique of Jewish aesthetics-mongers could save him. Edgar Bauer, who was present—Kinkel gave his first lecture last Tuesday—told me all about it. It seems to have been a truly nauseating and wretched performance.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 April 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The Pieper business is true.<sup>377</sup> Bangya is here again, also Stieber and Goldheim. *Please return enclosed pencilled note immediately.*<sup>a</sup> *Qu'en dis-tu?*<sup>b</sup>

I now have a further £30 to draw on New York. Bamberger refused to budge, but I have something else in prospect. If it materialises, I shall visit you from 1 to 7 May, *supposé* <sup>c</sup> I shan't be in your way.

If you have the time, I should very much like to have an article on *Switzerland*<sup>378</sup> by Friday.<sup>d</sup> You have dealt with the subject any number of times, whereas I am not familiar with the personalities, etc. But it should be an article *without* a sequel. *One* article on Switzerland is enough for a country of that size.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 316. · <sup>b</sup> What do you say to that? · <sup>c</sup> supposing · <sup>d</sup> 29 April

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 April 1853

DEAR Frederic,

I fear that nothing will come of my proposed trip.<sup>a</sup> Bamberger cannot discount the bill for me and Friedländer, who half-promised to do so, has now definitely refused. I have written to Strohn about it,<sup>379</sup> but look on this as a mere formality which I complied with *pour acquit de conscience*<sup>b</sup> and for my wife's sake, without expecting anything to come of it.

A paper of mine for the *Tribune* (which included the first Turkish article)<sup>c</sup> about Mazzini's presence here—again denied by his friends but on his orders, I think—was made the basis for a SHORT LEADER on Mazzini's lucky escape, followed by the comment:

\* 'In this connection we may properly pay a tribute to the remarkable ability of the correspondent by whom this interesting piece of intelligence is furnished. Mr Marx has very decided opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing, but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics.'<sup>d</sup>

As you see, I am firmly in the saddle. I have in addition had a most interesting letter from Cluss with 2 issues containing Hirsch's confessions<sup>e</sup> (not yet concluded). I'm not sending the stuff yet since there's still a chance that something might happen to enable me to come myself and bring the things with me. Anyhow, I won't come without notifying you beforehand. When is your old man arriving? I'd rather not cannon into him.

If only Dana would advise me of a business house here, as I have asked him three times to do, I should at least be over the worst.

*Ad vocem*<sup>f</sup> Hirsch: Originally I was of the same opinion<sup>g</sup> as yourself, but the matter is somewhat different. Stieber and Goldheim are definitely here, their purpose being to 'link'

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 303 and 314. - <sup>b</sup> to salve my conscience - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'British Politics.—Disraeli.—The Refugees.—Mazzini in London.—Turkey'. - <sup>d</sup> *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3736, 7 April 1853. - <sup>e</sup> W. Hirsch, 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie. Rechtfertigungsschrift', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, presumably Nos. 3 and 4, 1 and 8 April 1853. - <sup>f</sup> re - <sup>g</sup> See this volume, pp. 301-02.

Kossuth's gunpowder plot with Berlin.<sup>380</sup> The same fellow who wrote me the anonymous scrawl,<sup>a</sup> wrote on the same day to Schärttner and Göhringer word-for-word as follows:

'London, 21.4.53

Announcement

Recent arrivals: Police Commissioner Stieber and the Jew Goldheim, a police lieutenant, both of Berlin (P.T.O.)

*Description*

<i>Stieber</i>	<i>the Jew Goldheim</i>
Medium height (about 5)	about 6'
Hair: black; short	black, short
Moustache: ditto, ditto	ditto, ditto
Complexion: sallow and muddy	sallow, puffy features
Wears dark, narrow trousers, a blue sack, a collapsible stuff hat, and spectacles.	Wears black trousers, a light yellow sack, black hat.

N.B. Both of them regularly go about together and are accompanied by *Hirsch*, a commercial assistant from Hamburg, and Haering, a postal clerk from Willich's birth-place. Today Stieber and Goldheim had a meeting with Bangya. Stieber and Goldheim visit the Prussian Embassy regularly every day between 11 and 3.'

I believe the author to be Henry de L'Aspée, friend and compatriot of O. Dietz, that same aggrieved policeman who, you will recall, was to have [a meeting] with us after your arrival here for the purpose of making further revelations. You can see what headway 'Hirsch' is making. Nothing could be more inopportune for Willich-Kinkel.

FAREWELL.

Your  
K. M.

As to the pound,<sup>b</sup> I shall give them each 10/-, since so far as I know there's some prospect of Pieper's getting his money without a lawsuit. The poor devil is hellish syphilitic and at the same time in rotten CIRCUMSTANCES and too featherbrained to look after himself.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 314. - <sup>b</sup> Reference to the help given to Dronke and Pieper.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS  
IN WASHINGTON

[London, 26 April 1853]

Dear Cluss,

You must by now have received three letters from me.<sup>381</sup> Enclosed a Jones *Paper*, containing an anti-*Times* article by 'Englishman'.<sup>a</sup>

If the *Cologne Revelations* have not yet been printed as a pamphlet, or 'gratis' as such by the *Neu-England-Zeitung*, do nothing more about it, as it is now too late.

Willich has written to Herzen (the Russian) to say that everything is going 'splendidly', that he has achieved 'great results' and will soon be returning.

Mr *Hentze*, for one, is again implicated in the Berlin business.<sup>b</sup> In any case, as Willich-Kinkel's agent, he would have been possessed of old proclamations and revolutionary recipes. Furthermore, he was destined by these great men to be military commander of Berlin.

The local Rollinists<sup>c</sup> are blushing for shame over Ruge's proclamation of which they were informed by us. In no case had Ledru given Ruge permission to publish this discreditable letter. Ruge extorted the letter from Ledru through the latter's ex-servant, the ex-Palatinate lawyer, and ex-French deputy, *Savoie*—one-time pedlar of German *adjectiva*.<sup>382</sup> At all events, Ledru has sunk lower than ever before.

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> 'The Base and Brutal *Times*', *The People's Paper*, No. 51, 25 April 1853. Englishman—pen-name of Alfred Richards. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 315-16. - <sup>c</sup> followers of Ledru-Rollin

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MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER  
IN NEW YORK

[London,] 26 April 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Weydemeyer,

On 21 April I received the anonymous scrawl set out *below*. An identical anonymous letter was sent to the democratic tavern-keepers, Schärttner and Göringer. *I have ASCERTAINED the facts contained therein.* I think you should publish the thing (you may name Schärttner and Göringer) along with a few introductory remarks dated London. Messrs Stieber and Goldheim have come over here in order to 'link' Kossuth's apocryphal gunpowder plot with the Berlin affair.<sup>a</sup> From the following you will note to what extent the 'contrite' Hirsch continues to be 'A Victim of Moucharderie'.<sup>b</sup> Let us hope the blackguard doesn't succeed in finding fresh victims in Berlin. I think this business will prove his complete undoing in America. Cluss will have received what follows below at the same time as yourself. We were all very taken with your 2 articles in the *Reform*.<sup>c</sup> Only see to it that Kellner doesn't exploit you without a fitting *quid pro quo* in terms of political influence. Well, here is a *word-for-word* copy of the letter received by Schärttner, etc.:

'London, 21.4.53

Announcement

Recent arrivals: Police Commissioner Stieber and the Jew Goldheim, a police lieutenant, both of Berlin.

*Description*

<i>Stieber</i>	<i>the Jew Goldheim</i>
Medium height (about 5')	about 6'
Hair: black, short	black, short
Moustache: ditto, ditto	ditto, ditto
Complexion: sallow and muddy	sallow, puffy features
Wears dark, narrow trousers, a blue sack, a collapsible stuff hat, and spectacles.	Wears black trousers, a light yellow sack, black hat.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 315-16. - <sup>b</sup> An allusion to Hirsch's 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie...' - <sup>c</sup> Weydemeyer, 'Nationalökonomische Skizzen'.

N.B. Both of them regularly go about together and are accompanied by *Hirsch*, a commercial assistant from Hamburg, and *Haering*, a one-time postal clerk from Willich's birth-place. 'Today Stieber and Goldheim had a meeting with Bangya. Stieber or Goldheim visit the Prussian Embassy regularly every day between 11 and 3.'

Today's *Times* reports the presence here of Stieber and Goldheim.<sup>a</sup>

Many regards to you and your wife.

Your  
K. M.

As that fire-eater Heinzen has again had the audacity in his *Volk* to invoke the 'Chartists'—who simply want universal suffrage without having to bother their heads over communists or odious class distinctions, I think it high time you published in the *Reform* the letter written to you by Ernest Jones.<sup>82</sup>

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>383</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 26 April 1853

Dear Marx,

Herewith the article<sup>378</sup> and pound sterling. Even though one of the TWO CLAIMANTS<sup>b</sup> may suffer, fob him off until next week.

The sooner you come yourself, the better. The bedroom in my house is ready.

Trade appears to be falling off already in France. In particular, direct imports of cotton from America have decreased. The

<sup>a</sup> [Report from a Berlin correspondent of 22 April.] *The Times*, No. 21412, 26 April 1853. - <sup>b</sup> Dronke and Pieper, see this volume, p. 321.

figures for American exports are as follows: from 1 September to 6 April of each year.

	1853	1852	1851	1850
To England .....	1,100,000	930,000	757,000	592,000
" France .....	257,000	302,000	246,000	192,000
All other countries .....	204,000	189,000	163,000	105,000

In other words, France is the *only* country which, despite the enormous American crop, has taken *less* than last year and barely more than in 1851, the year of political gloom, *où l'ordre et la société allaient s'engloutir dans le gouffre socialiste.*<sup>a</sup> Imports in 1852 show the momentarily magical effect of the coup d'état, 1853 shows the reverse. Something was still being shipped from Liverpool to Havre, but not as much as formerly. In other respects too, industry in France would not appear to be exactly flourishing. This time the thing seems to be really serious, and connected especially with the ousting of French articles from foreign markets by domestic manufactures. The colossal proscriptions of workers in 1851/52 are beginning to bear fruit; I am convinced that they have contributed quite specifically to the expansion and improvement of the English and American factories producing Paris articles, bronzes, etc. Today it is a thousand times more difficult than before to drive the proletariat across the border with impunity on the pretext of order. Even if there were complete peace, French industry would inevitably go to the dogs owing to this perpetual exploitation of conspiracy as a *moyen de gouvernement,*<sup>b</sup> and the constantly renewed proscription of the proletariat; the English and the Yankees certainly know how to take advantage of the more useful amongst these.

When, then, will you be coming?

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> when order and society were about to be swallowed up in the socialist abyss - <sup>b</sup> means of government

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 April 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have just been with Freiligrath to see Gerstenberg and there is some prospect of having the bill discounted by Friday or at least of obtaining an advance on it. No go with Strohn, OF COURSE. So there is still a possibility of coming to you—which I greatly wish to do.

I should be obliged if you would answer *by return* the following enquiry little Bamberger asked me to pass on to you (the fellow might come in useful now or at any time):

Madapolams for the Italian market	} Good houses to buy from in Manchester	
Printed calicos .....		ditto
Straw manufacturing houses .....		ditto

Received the article<sup>378</sup> and £1 for Pieper and Dronke.

I know now for certain that my information about Mazzini's presence in London<sup>a</sup> was correct.

Hirsch was at the Russian consul's the day before yesterday, and on the same day at Fleury's house with Stieber and Goldheim.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 281.



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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, [27 April 1853]

Dear Marx,

If there is nothing better you can do about the bill, send it to me by return (in time for Friday's American post). I think I can get it cashed for you by a Yankee or at any rate advance you £10 against it pending receipt of the balance—i.e., you can't have the money before 1 May, but on 2 May you will receive the £10 *without fail*. Write and tell me whether in these circumstances you will be able to come here, and do come if at all possible; then you can send the money to your wife yourself.

At any rate, keep me informed, so that I'm NOT OUT OF THE WAY when you arrive.

P. Ermen's old library will again be at our disposal.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 April 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Today Freiligrath and I went to Gerstenberg's again. He gave me a 'sealed' letter of recommendation to Spielmann in Lombard Street. Refusal. As a prominent Kinkelian, Gerstenberg was not, of course, in earnest.

I am now sending you the bill which, with the stuff<sup>a</sup> that goes off tomorrow, amounts to £32.

Bamberger is willing to lend me £2 so that I can leave a few shillings with my wife and use the rest for my journey to you. I shall leave on Saturday morning.<sup>b</sup> Tomorrow is impossible.

Your  
K. Marx

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Friday, 20 May 1853

Dear Marx,

Herewith the latest news from America. I still have several copies of the *Criminal-Zeitung* containing the statements by Weydemeyer and yourself,<sup>c</sup> which I shall send at the beginning of next week so that you and the others can make use of them; I shall keep one copy here for Dronke and the archives.

Freiligrath will, perhaps, be so good as to notify Weydemeyer or Lièvre of the receipt of the £25 enclosed herewith,<sup>d</sup> it being too late for me to write to Weydemeyer today. But how the fellows have managed to convert \$125 into £25 is a mystery to me, for according to the last New York rate of 4 May sterling was standing at 54d. = 109<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> cents, thus, even at 110 cents, \$125 = £25. 11s. 4d., hence there has been a loss of <sup>3</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. for every dollar on the rate of exchange.

My old man has at last written to me. As I expected: for God's

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection', and F. Engels, 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic'. - <sup>b</sup> 30 April. Marx stayed with Engels in Manchester till 19 May. - <sup>c</sup> J. Weydemeyer, 'Der "demokratische" Monarch', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 7, 29 April 1853, and K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'.

sake avoid a row, wait till he comes and then takes me to the Exchange. Business is too good to permit of an almighty rumpus. So far as I'm concerned that's perfectly in order provided my worthy papa has nothing against it; what do *I* care about the wretched affair?

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 May 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Today the bill for £25 goes off to Freiligrath, who will immediately notify Lièvre of its receipt.<sup>a</sup>

Herewith Wolff's<sup>b</sup> address; he is still sulking. By the by, now that so much has been brought out into the open, I have become convinced that Dronke has been purveying the most abject lies, rumours and gossip at my expense. The only activity, indeed, of which this self-important midget and ~~would-be~~ Blanqui was capable. His addiction to tittle-tattle had turned him into such a dyed-in-the-wool liar that he himself no longer knew what he was saying or had said.

Don't for God's sake send me *any more* copies of Weydemeyer's statement or my own.<sup>c</sup> Here alone I have 14 of each which I received the day before yesterday. It would have been more to the point had Weydemeyer sent at least 2 or 3 copies of 'Hirsch's' revelations.<sup>d</sup> E.g., Schabelitz could make use of 1 in Switzerland

<sup>a</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Wolff - <sup>c</sup> J. Weydemeyer, 'Der "demokratische" Mouchard' and K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'. - <sup>d</sup> W. Hirsch, 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie...'

should further proceedings be taken against him. I like the inevitable Weydemeyerian misprint, where Bangya is made to say 'Ähnliches'<sup>a</sup> instead of 'Rühmliches'.<sup>b</sup>

Nothing else of interest here. I have not seen Blind recently. Have you sent him his Herzen?<sup>c</sup>

*The People's Paper* is on the up and up and, for the time being, financially secure. Jones is convening mass meetings for 19 June *et seq.* at Blackstone Edge, Skurcoat Moor, Mount Sorrell and Nottingham Forest.<sup>385</sup>

Apropos. I was only able to give Pieper 10/-, Strohn having shown me the wrong RAILWAY GUIDE which caused me to miss the PARLIAMENTARY TRAIN,<sup>145</sup> so that I had to travel 2nd class.<sup>386</sup>

Write to me soon.

Your  
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>387</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester, before 28 May 1853]

Dear Marx,

So the bomb is at long last about to go off, as you will see from the enclosed scrappy proof<sup>d</sup> and Weydemeyer's letter. Willich's manner of extricating himself is strange, at any rate; you will undoubtedly be much amused by these lame circumlocutions and the awkward and embarrassed style. The fellow's been hard hit. But papa Schramm<sup>e</sup> would seem to have gravely insulted him in

<sup>a</sup> similar - <sup>b</sup> glorious - <sup>c</sup> A. Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*. - <sup>d</sup> Proofs of Willich's statement published in *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 9, 13 May 1853. - <sup>e</sup> Conrad Schramm

Cincinnati; all grist to the mill. One thing we may be sure of is that the only effect of *this* statement will be to compromise the chivalrous one even more.

So just because the *New-Yorker-Criminal Zeitung*!!!! has published attacks upon him, the gallant Willich feels compelled to break his heroic silence.

'Putting the case at its *highest*!' In Willich's case bodies do not fall *downwards* but *upwards*! Good-bye to gravity! The fellow's quite mad. The same old tale of assassination too! We shall now see the aforesaid Schramm leap promptly into the lists, statement in hand.<sup>388</sup>

To put your mind at rest, I can inform you that the *Neu-England-Ztg.* today advised me of the dispatch of 420 copies of *Revelations*<sup>b</sup> to my address, so they may be here tomorrow or, if the parcel didn't go off by the last STEAMER, in a week at the most. The fellows have the effrontery to send me a letter signed semi-anonymously 'Office of the N.-E.-Z.' inviting me to contribute. That's the last straw!

At all events, it's a good thing that we now possess in the *Reform*<sup>389</sup> an organ in which, if the worst comes to the worst, we can still make ourselves heard in the polemic against Willich and Co. As a result of the rumpus, Kellner is becoming more and more embroiled.

Weydemeyer's misprint shouldn't surprise you. After all, you must know that when Weydemeyer does something, it is always 'similar' rather than 'glorious'.<sup>c</sup>

The little fellow<sup>d</sup> is coming here next Sunday. I am curious to see how he is shaping as a clerk in Bradford. At all events the good Backup seems to be working him very hard.

Yesterday I read the book on Arabian inscriptions which I told you about.<sup>390</sup> The thing is not without interest, repulsive though it is to find the parson and biblical apologist forever peeping through. His greatest triumph is to show that *Gibbon* made some mistakes in the field of ancient geography, from which he also concludes that *Gibbon's* theology was deplorable. The thing is called *The Historical Geography of Arabia*, by the Reverend Charles Forster. The best things to emerge from it are:

1. The supposed genealogy of Noah, Abraham, etc., to be found in Genesis is a fairly accurate enumeration of the Beduin

<sup>a</sup> Case in German = *Fall*. The pun cannot be reproduced in English. . <sup>b</sup> R. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 325. . <sup>d</sup> Ernst Dronke

tribes of the time, according to the degree of their dialectal relationships, etc. As we all know, Beduin tribes continue to this day to call themselves Beni Saled, Beni Yusuf, etc., i.e. sons of so and so. This nomenclature, which owes its origins to the early patriarchal mode of existence, ultimately leads up to this type of genealogy. The enumeration in Genesis is *plus ou moins*<sup>a</sup> confirmed by ancient geographers, while more recent travellers have shown that most of the old names still exist, though in dialectally altered form. But from this it emerges that the Jews themselves were no more than a small Beduin tribe like the others, which was brought into conflict with the other Beduins by local conditions, agriculture, etc.

2. As for the great Arab invasion, you will remember our discussion when we concluded that, like the Mongols, the Beduins carried out periodic invasions and that the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires were founded by Beduin tribes on the very same spot as, later, the Caliphate of Baghdad. The founders of the Babylonian Empire, the Chaldeans, still exist under the same name, Beni Chaled, and in the same locality. The rapid construction of large cities, such as Nineveh and Babylon, happened in just the same way as the creation in India only 300 years ago of similar giant cities, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Muttan, by the Afghan and/or Tartar invasions. In this way the Mohammedan invasion loses much of its distinctive character.

3. In the South-West, where the Arabs settled, they appear to have been a civilised people like the Egyptians, Assyrians, etc., as is evident from their buildings. This also explains many things about the Mohammedan invasion. So far as the religious fraud is concerned, the ancient inscriptions in the South, in which the ancient Arab national tradition of monotheism (as with the American Indians) still predominates, a tradition of which the Hebrew is only a *small part*, would seem to indicate that Mohammed's religious revolution, like *every* religious movement, was *formally a reaction*, a would-be return to what was old and simple.

It is now quite clear to me that the Jews' so-called Holy Writ is nothing more than a record of ancient Arab religious and tribal traditions, modified by the Jews' early separation from their tribally related but nomadic neighbours. The circumstance of Palestine's being surrounded on the Arabian side by nothing but desert, i.e. the land of the Beduins, explains its separate

<sup>a</sup> *more or less*

development. But the ancient Arabian inscriptions and traditions and the Koran, as well as the ease with which all genealogies, etc., can now be unravelled, show that the main content was Arab, or rather, generally Semitic, as in our case the *Edda*<sup>391</sup> and the German heroic saga.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 May 1853

Dear Marx,

The bill on Dana has been paid; we shall have the money tomorrow and shall send it you without delay; Charles<sup>a</sup> missed the chap twice today. There will be some loss on the rate of exchange, but less, I think, than if the bill were to be negotiated in London.

The parcel of pamphlets<sup>b</sup> has also arrived and will go off tomorrow. I shall keep 8 or 10 up here. It is fairly heavy and cost £1 16/- which you can add on to the selling price. Duty alone was 18/-, so, all things considered, it was a good thing it was addressed to me.

The little man<sup>c</sup> was here on Saturday and seems to be making out better than was to be expected. Buckup told Strohn that he was quite satisfied with him and that he had quickly familiarised himself with the work. I gave him a little sermon about punctuality; anyhow, conditions at Buckup's office are as favourable as he could wish. He is already doing book-keeping and, if he continues to do well for 3 or 4 months, will have a secure berth.

<sup>a</sup> Roesgen - <sup>b</sup> Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* published in Boston. - <sup>c</sup> Ernst Dronke

Strohn has gone to the Continent again; he left on Saturday. It was a good thing that he was on the spot for the first fortnight. Nothing new from America this week.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 1 June 1853]

Dear Marx,

Herewith half the £20 note,—P/E 90 138. The other half by the 2nd post as I don't know any other address.

The fellow who cashed the bill has gone away for a few days, which means we can't get the money. But so as not to keep you waiting I have got hold of this £20. Settlement of the bill, then, will be effected early next week.

The dirty dog<sup>a</sup> has docked us about £18 for cigars and wine bought from him partly by Charles<sup>b</sup> as a speculation and partly by me for my own consumption, so this has also involved paying debts.

Yesterday I read your article on *The Times* and the refugees (with the quotation from Dante)<sup>c</sup> in an old number of the *Tribune* published at the beginning of April. *Je t'en fais mon compliment.*<sup>d</sup> The English isn't merely good; it's brilliant. Every now and again there's a key word which doesn't fit in quite *coulant*<sup>e</sup> enough, but

<sup>a</sup> Gottfried Ermen - <sup>b</sup> Roesgen - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Mazzini.—Intrigues of the Prussian Government.—Austro-Prussian Commercial Treaty.—*The Times* and the Refugees'. - <sup>d</sup> I congratulate you. - <sup>e</sup> smoothly



that's about the worst that can be said of the article. Pieper is hardly in evidence at all and I can't conceive what you still need him for.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>34</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 June 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

The first half of the £20 note has turned up. I am writing this before going to the Museum,<sup>a</sup> i.e. at a very early hour.

I would have sent you long ago the enclosed great Willich's statement to the *Neu-England-Zeitung*<sup>b</sup> had I not assumed that you'd had the thing from Weydemeyer. In *conception* this second statement is pure, GENUINE Willich. Others write 'essays', he writes 'facts',<sup>392</sup> and only if one has been on a 'personal footing' with him does the calumny lose its sting. It is the manoeuvre of your petty partisan. He does not answer for his own Hirsch. Rather, he explains to the public Marx's 'motives' for *not* refuting his Hirsch. And now he has discovered a terrain where he can operate with a measure of virtuosity. And it is with 'reluctance' that the noble man reveals the facts to the 'public'. Needless to say, he has preferred to whisper them to the philistines in the privacy of the beer-parlour

<sup>a</sup> The library of the British Museum. - <sup>b</sup> A. Willich, 'An die Redaktion der *Neu-England-Zeitung*, Louisville, den 2. Mai 1853', *Neu-England-Zeitung*, No. 62, 13 May 1853. - <sup>c</sup> An allusion to Willich's help in publishing Hirsch's 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie...' (For details see K. Marx, 'The Knight of the Noble Conscience', present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 481 and 498-99).

and, for the past three years, to peddle them 'contraband-wise' throughout two hemispheres, *juvante Kinkelio*.<sup>a</sup> Then his manoeuvring to keep the public on tenterhooks. They forget the facts among which he twists and turns and eagerly await the facts which are to demolish the 'critical authors'. And the noble man is 'distinguished' withal, as befits a 'public figure'. When he does reply, it will not be to Marx's uncouth 'agents' but to the 'ingenious' quill-pushers themselves. Finally, he gives the public to understand that what makes his opponents so cocksure is their belief in his 'decision' to retire and, with a roll of drums, this important personage proceeds to announce that he has 'changed' his mind.

*Tout ça n'est pas trop mal pour un vieux sous-lieutenant*.<sup>b</sup> But as for the style of statement No. 2—bad as it is, it is nevertheless apocryphal. Other hands have been at work on it, probably those of Madame Anneke. At all events, the necessary supplement to Telling's pamphlet will now be published by Mr Willich<sup>c</sup> and, the dirty business having been once placed before the public, *il faut aller jusqu'au bout*.<sup>d</sup> If Weydemeyer, Cluss and Co. operate with skill, they should now be able to put a spoke in Willich's wheel and ruin the impact and novelty of the surprises he is holding in store for the public. *Nous verrons*.<sup>e</sup>

The praise you accord to my 'budding' English,<sup>f</sup> I find most encouraging. What I chiefly lack is first, assurance as to grammar and secondly, skill in using various secondary idioms which allow capable one to write with any pungency. Mr *Tribune* has given special prominence to a note about my 2nd article on Gladstone's Budget,<sup>g</sup> drawing the attention of readers to my 'MASTERLY EXPOSITION' and going on to say that NOWHERE have they seen 'A MORE ABLE CRITICISM' and do 'NOT EXPECT TO SEE ONE'.<sup>h</sup> Well, that is ALL RIGHT. But in the following article it proceeds to make an ass of me by printing under my name a heading of mine<sup>i</sup> which is quite trifling and intentionally so, whereas it appropriates your 'Swiss' thing.<sup>j</sup> I shall write and tell Dana that, 'flattering' though it may be if they occasionally use my things for a LEADER, they would oblige me by

<sup>a</sup> with Kinkel's assistance - <sup>b</sup> Not too bad for an old second lieutenant. -

<sup>c</sup> E. [Müller-]Telling, *Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels*. - <sup>d</sup> it must be taken to its conclusion - <sup>e</sup> We shall see. - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, pp. 329-30. - <sup>g</sup> K. Marx, 'Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget'. - <sup>h</sup> *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3761, 6 May 1853, leader. See also present edition, Vol. 12, Note 57. - <sup>i</sup> Section 'The Rocket Affair' in Marx's and Engels' 'The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection'. - <sup>j</sup> F. Engels, 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic' published over Marx's signature.

not putting my name to trifles.<sup>398</sup> I have now sent the jackasses, amongst other things, 2 articles on 'China' with reference to England.<sup>a</sup> If you have the time and happen to feel like writing about something—Switzerland, the East, France, England or cotton, or *Denmark*, say—you should do so on occasion, for I am now slogging away with an eye to the fellow's money-bags in order to make good the 3 WEEKS I have lost. If you send me something from time to time—*de omnibus rebus*<sup>b</sup>—I shall always be able to place it, for as you know, I am the fellows' 'maid of all work', and it's always easy to relate one thing to another and to every day. Πάντα ἐν πάντα.<sup>c</sup>

As regards the Hebrews and Arabs,<sup>d</sup> I found your letter most interesting. It can, by the by, be shown that 1. in the case of all eastern tribes there has been, since the dawn of history, a *general* relationship between the SETTLEMENT of one section and the continued nomadism of the others. 2. In Mohammed's time the trade route from Europe to Asia underwent considerable modification, and the cities of Arabia, which had had a large share of the trade with India, etc., suffered a commercial decline—a fact which at all events contributed to the process. 3. So far as religion is concerned, the question may be reduced to a general and hence easily answerable one: Why does the history of the East *appear* as a history of religions?

On the subject of the growth of eastern cities one could hardly find anything more brilliant, comprehensive or striking than *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol, etc.* by old François Bernier (for 9 years Aurangzeb's physician). He provides in addition a very nice account of military organisation and the manner in which these large armies fed themselves, etc. Concerning both these he remarks *inter alia*:

"The main body consists of cavalry, the infantry not being so numerous as is commonly supposed si ce n'est qu'avec les véritables gens de guerre, on ne confond tous ces gens de service et de bazars ou marchés qui suivent l'armée; car, en ce cas-là, je croirais bien qu'ils auraient raison de mettre les 2 et 300 000 hommes dans l'armée seule qui est avec le roi, et quelquefois encore davantage, même quand on est assuré qu'il sera longtemps absent de la ville capitale; ce qui ne semblera pas si fort étonnant à qui saura l'étrange embarras de tentes, de cuisines, de hardes, de meubles et de femmes même assez souvent, et par conséquent d'éléphants, de chameaux, de bœufs, de chevaux, de portefaix, de fourrageurs, vivandiers, marchands de toutes sortes et de serviteurs qui traînent après soi ces

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'Revolution in China and in Europe'. The *Tribune* editors may have included both articles in this one publication. - <sup>b</sup> anything under the sun. - <sup>c</sup> All in all. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 326-28.

armées, et à qui saura l'état et gouvernement particulier du pays, à savoir que le roi est le seul et unique propriétaire de toutes les terres du royaume, d'où vient par une certaine suite nécessaire que toute une ville capitale comme Delhi ou Agra ne vit presque que de la milice, et est par conséquent obligée de suivre le roi quand il va en campagne pour quelque temps, ces villes-là n'étant ni ne pouvant être rien moins qu'un Paris, mais n'étant proprement qu'un camp d'armée un peu mieux et plus commodément placé qu'en rase campagne.<sup>a</sup>

In reference to the Grand Mogul's march on Kashmir, with an army 400,000 strong, he writes:

La difficulté est de savoir d'où et comment peut subsister une si grande armée en campagne, une si grande quantité d'hommes et d'animaux. Il ne faut pour cela que supposer, ce qui est très vrai, que les Indiens sont fort sobres et fort simples dans leur manger, et que de tout ce grand nombre de cavaliers il n'y a pas la dixième, ni même la vingtième partie, qui, dans la marche, mange de la viande; pourvu qu'ils aient leur kicheris ou mélange de riz et d'autres légumes, sur lesquels ils versent du beurre roux quand ils sont cuits, ils sont contents. Il faut encore savoir que les chameaux résistent extrêmement au travail, à la faim et à la soif, vivent de peu et mangent de tout, et qu'aussitôt que l'armée est arrivée, les chameliers les mènent brouter à la campagne, où ils mangent tout ce qu'ils attrapent: de plus que les mêmes marchands qui entretiennent les bazars dans Delhi, sont obligés de les entretenir dans les campagnes, ebenso die petits marchands etc. ... enfin à l'égard du fourrage, tous ces pauvres gens s'en vont rôdant de tous les côtés dans les villages pour en acheter et y gagner quelque chose, et que leur grand et ordinaire refuge est de raper, avec une espèce de trielle, les campagnes entières, battre ou laver cette petite herbe qu'ils ont rapée, et l'apporter vendre à l'armée...<sup>b</sup>

Bernier rightly sees all the manifestations of the East—he mentions Turkey, Persia and Hindustan—as having a common

<sup>a</sup> 'unless all those serving-people and bazaar or market folk who follow the army are taken for true warriors: for, if such were the case, there would, I think, be good reason to put at 2 to 300,000 men the strength of that army alone that is with the king, and sometimes even more, as, for example, when it is known that he will be long absent from the capital city; which would not, indeed, seem so very surprising to anyone familiar with all the strange impedimenta of tents, kitchen, clothing, furniture, and even women quite often, and, consequently, elephants, camels, oxen, horses, porters, foragers, sutlers, merchants of all kinds and servants who follow in the wake of these armies, nor to anyone familiar with the conditions and government peculiar to the country, namely that the king is the sole and unique proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom, whence it necessarily follows that every capital city, such as Delhi or Agra, fixes almost wholly on the militia and is therefore obliged to follow the king whenever he goes campaigning for a time, these cities neither being, nor indeed able to be, in any respect a Paris, but being really nothing but an army encampment rather better and more commodiously situated than if it were in the open country.' (Marx's italics.) - <sup>b</sup> 'How and upon what so great an army can subsist in the field, or so large a concourse of men and animals, is difficult to conceive. To that end one can only surmise, and such is indeed the case, that the Indians are very sober and very simple in what they eat and that, of this

basis, namely the *absence of private landed property*. This is the real *clef*,<sup>a</sup> even to the eastern heaven.

It would seem to be no go with Borchardt<sup>394</sup>; nevertheless I think the fellow might be prepared to try and obtain recommendations for Lupus from Steinthal, etc., to London merchants. So much, at least, you could compel him to do, and it would mean a great deal to Lupus.

What do you think about the failure of the hudibrastic Rodolpho<sup>b</sup> Gladstone's 'FINANCIAL SCHEME FOR REDUCING THE NATIONAL DEBT?'<sup>c</sup>

The day before yesterday the *Journal des Débats* revealed the true secret of Russia's impudence. The Continent, it says, must either expose its independence to danger from Russia, or it must expose itself to war, and that is '*la révolution sociale*'. What the wretched *Débats* forgets, however, is that Russia is no less afraid of revolution than Mr Bertin, and that the whole question now is who can most convincingly simulate 'non-fear'. But England and France—the official ones—are so abject that Nicholas, if he sticks to his guns, will be able to do what he likes.

*Vale faveque*.<sup>d</sup>

C. M.

Have written to Lassalle, who will probably be ready to take receipt of a few 100 copies of the pamphlet<sup>e</sup> and distribute them

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great number of horsemen, not one tenth, nay, not even one twentieth, eats meat during the march; provided they have their khichri, or mess of rice and other vegetables, whereon they pour brown butter when cooked, they are content. It should also be known that camels are extremely resistant to work, hunger and thirst, live on very little and eat anything and that, as soon as the army reaches camp, the camel-drivers lead them out to graze in the countryside, where they eat everything that comes their way; further, that the same merchants that keep the bazaars in Delhi are obliged to keep them in the field also, likewise the lesser merchants, etc. ... finally, concerning forage, all these poor people go roving in every direction to the villages to buy the same and to earn something there, and that their chief and habitual recourse is to scratch up whole stretches of country with a kind of trowel, pounding and washing the little herbs thus scratched up, and taking them to the army for sale...'

<sup>a</sup> key - <sup>b</sup> An allusion to Ralpho—a character in Samuel Butler's satirical poem *Hudibras*. - <sup>c</sup> Marx described Gladstone's financial schemes in 'The New Financial Juggle; or Gladstone and the Pennies', 'Achievements of the Ministry', 'Affairs in Holland,—Denmark,—Conversion of the British Debt,—India, Turkey and Russia'. 'The Russian Humbug.—Gladstone's Failure.—Sir Charles Wood's East India Reforms'. - <sup>d</sup> Good-bye and farewell. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (Boston edition).

in Germany. The question now is how are we to get them across? When I was in Manchester<sup>386</sup> Charles<sup>a</sup> suggested it might be done by including them in a consignment of merchandise. You might ask him about this again.

P.S. There's been a delay over the posting of this letter and so I can include an acknowledgment of the parcel of books and the other half of the NOTE.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>338</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 June [1853.] evening

Dear Marx,

I had intended to write to you by the first post today, but was detained at the office until 8 o'clock. You will have received both Weydemeyer's and Cluss' anti-Willich statements in the *Criminal Zeitung*,<sup>b</sup> i.e. direct from America. If not, write to me at once. As usual, papa Weydemeyer is too long-winded, very seldom makes a point, then promptly blunts it with his style, and unfolds his well-known lack of verve with rare composure. Nevertheless, the man has done his best, the story about Hentze, the 'comrade-in-arms', and the influence of others on Hirsch's pen is nicely fashioned; his incredible style and his composure, regarded over there as impassibility, will appeal to the philistines, and his performance can, on the whole, be regarded as satisfactory. Cluss' statement, on the other hand, pleases me enormously. In every line we hear the chuckle of *l'homme supérieur*<sup>c</sup> who, through 'personal contact' with Willich, has, as it were, become physically

<sup>a</sup> Roesgen - <sup>b</sup> J. Weydemeyer, 'Weiters in der Willich-Hirsch'schen Angelegenheit'; A. Cluss, 'An die Redaktion der *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 10, 20 May 1853. - <sup>c</sup> the superior man

conscious of his superiority. For lightness of style, this surpasses everything that Cluss has ever written. Never a clumsy turn of phrase, not a trace of *gêne*<sup>a</sup> or embarrassment. How well it becomes him thus to ape the worthy citizen of benevolent mien who nevertheless betrays the cloven hoof at every turn. How splendid, the sentence about 'revolutionary agencies' being 'a swindle' off which, according to Willich, he lives. The chivalrous one will have been surprised to find among the uncouth 'agents'<sup>395</sup> a fellow who is so dashing, so adroit, so aggressive by nature and yet so unassumingly noble in his bearing, and who returns thrust for thrust *a tempo*<sup>b</sup> so subtly—far more subtly and deftly than himself. If only Willich had the discernment to discover this! But irritation and due reflection will, I trust, give him a little more insight.

It is obvious that we shall have to see this dirty business through to the bitter end. The more resolutely we tackle it the better. You'll find, by the way, that it won't be so bad after all. The chivalrous one has promised vastly more than he can fulfil. We shall hear of assassination attempts, etc., the Schramm affair will be glamorously tricked out,<sup>c</sup> and such chimeras will be evoked as will cause us to stare at one another in amazement, not having the faintest idea what the man is actually talking about; at worst he will tell the story about Marx and Engels arriving drunk one evening at Great Windmill Street<sup>34</sup> (*vide* Kinkel in Cincinnati, *coram* Huzelio<sup>d</sup>). If he goes as far as that, I shall tell the scandal-loving American public what the Besançon Company<sup>396</sup> used to talk about when Willich and the *formosus*<sup>e</sup> pastor Corydon Rau<sup>f</sup> were not present. *Au bout du compte*,<sup>g</sup> what can a brute of this kind find to tax us with? Mark my word, it will be just as *pauvre*<sup>h</sup> as Telling's smear.<sup>i</sup>

I shall be seeing Borchardt within the next few days. If any recommendations are to be had, you can trust me to get them.<sup>j</sup> But I hardly imagine that Steinthal, etc., have connections of the sort in London. It's almost wholly outside their line of business. Besides, if only for fear of making a fool of himself, the fellow will attempt to put off doing anything about it up here. If it were not for Lupus, I'd consign the chap, etc. I can't abide him, with his

<sup>a</sup> constraint - <sup>b</sup> in good time - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 325-26. - <sup>d</sup> in Huzel's presence (*ibid.*, pp. 148-50) - <sup>e</sup> comely - <sup>f</sup> Officer Rau is compared to shepherd Corydon, a character in pastoral poems who suffers from unrequited love. - <sup>g</sup> Come to that - <sup>h</sup> poor - <sup>i</sup> An allusion to [Müller-]Telling's *Vorgeschnack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels*. - <sup>j</sup> See this volume, p. 334.

Handwritten text in German, likely a page from a letter. The text is dense and cursive, covering most of the page. It appears to be a continuation of a letter, discussing various topics, possibly related to political or social movements, given the context of the caption. The handwriting is somewhat difficult to decipher due to its cursive style and the quality of the scan.

Third page of Engels' letter to Marx of 6 June 1853





smooth, self-important, vainglorious, deceitful charlatan's physiognomy.

If Lassalle has given you a good, neutral address in Düsseldorf, you can send me 100 copies.<sup>a</sup> We shall arrange for them to be packed in bales of twist by firms up here; but they should not be addressed to Lassalle himself, since the packages will go to Gladbach, Elberfeld and so on, where they *will have to be stamped* and sent by *post* to Düsseldorf. However, we cannot entrust a package for Lassalle or the Hatzfeldt woman to any local firm, because, 1. they all employ at least *one* Rhinelander who knows all the gossip, or 2. if that goes off all right, the recipients of the bales will get to know about it, or 3. at the very best the postal authorities will take a look at the things before delivering them. We have a good address in Cologne, but are not, alas, very well acquainted with the people who are the principal buyers *here* for the firm in Cologne, and hence cannot expect them to do any smuggling. Indeed, what we shall tell the people here is that the packages contain presents for the fair sex.

From all this you will gather that I am once again on passable terms with Charles.<sup>b</sup> The affair was settled with great dispatch at the first suitable opportunity. Nevertheless you will realise that the fool derives a certain pleasure from having been given preference over myself in one rotten respect at least, because of Mr Gottfried Ermen's envy of my old man. *Habeat sibi.*<sup>c</sup> He at any rate realises that if I so choose, I can become *maître de la situation*<sup>d</sup> within 48 hours, and that's sufficient.

The absence of landed property is indeed the key to the whole of the East.<sup>397</sup> Therein lies its political and religious history. But how to explain the fact that orientals never reached the stage of landed property, not even the feudal kind? This is, I think, largely due to the climate, combined with the nature of the land, more especially the great stretches of desert extending from the Sahara right across Arabia, Persia, India and Tartary<sup>398</sup> to the highest of the Asiatic uplands. Here artificial irrigation is the first prerequisite for agriculture, and this is the responsibility either of the communes, the provinces or the central government. In the East, the government has always consisted of 3 departments only: Finance (pillage at home), War (pillage at home and abroad), and *travaux publics*,<sup>e</sup> provision for reproduction. The British govern-

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see this volume, p. 334). <sup>b</sup> Roesgen. <sup>c</sup> Let him have it. <sup>d</sup> master of the situation. <sup>e</sup> public works

ment in India has put a somewhat narrower interpretation on nos. 1 and 2 while completely neglecting no. 3, so that Indian agriculture is going to wrack and ruin. Free competition is proving an absolute fiasco there. The fact that the land was made fertile by artificial means and immediately ceased to be so when the conduits fell into disrepair, explains the otherwise curious circumstance that vast expanses are now arid wastes which once were magnificently cultivated (Palmyra, Petra, the ruins in the Yemen, any number of localities in Egypt, Persia, Hindustan); it explains the fact that one single war of devastation could depopulate and entirely strip a country of its civilisation for centuries to come. This, I believe, also accounts for the destruction of southern Arabian trade before Mohammed's time, a circumstance very rightly regarded by you as one of the mainsprings of the Mohammedan revolution.<sup>a</sup> I am not sufficiently well acquainted with the history of trade during the first six centuries A.D. to be able to judge to what extent general material conditions in the world made the trade route via Persia to the Black Sea and to Syria and Asia Minor via the Persian Gulf preferable to the Red Sea route. But one significant factor, at any rate, must have been the relative safety of the caravans in the well-ordered Persian Empire under the Sassanids, whereas between 200 and 600 A.D. the Yemen was almost continuously being subjugated, overrun and pillaged by the Abyssinians. By the seventh century the cities of southern Arabia, still flourishing in Roman times, had become a veritable wilderness of ruins; in the course of 500 years what were purely mythical, legendary traditions regarding their origin had been appropriated by the neighbouring Beduins, (cf. the Koran and the Arab historian Noväiri), and the alphabet in which the local inscriptions had been written was almost wholly unknown although *there was no other*, so that *de facto writing* had fallen into oblivion. Things of this kind presuppose, not only a *SUPERSEDING*, probably due to general trading conditions, but outright violent destruction such as could only be explained by the Ethiopian invasion. The expulsion of the Abyssinians did not take place until about 40 years before Mohammed, and was plainly the first act of the Arabs' awakening national consciousness, which was further aroused by Persian invasions from the North penetrating almost as far as Mecca. I shall not be tackling the history of Mohammed himself for a few days yet; so far it seems to me to have the character of a Beduin reaction against the settled, albeit decadent urban fellaheen whose religion by then was

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 332.

also much debased, combining as it did a degenerate form of nature worship with a degenerate form of Judaism and Christianity.

Old Bernier's stuff<sup>a</sup> is really very fine. It's a real pleasure to get back to something written by a sensible, lucid old Frenchman who constantly hits the nail on the head *sans avoir l'air de s'en apercevoir*.<sup>b</sup>

Since I am in any case tied up with the eastern mummery for some weeks, I have made use of the opportunity to learn Persian. I am put off Arabic, partly by my inborn hatred of Semitic languages, partly by the impossibility of getting anywhere, without considerable expenditure of time, in so extensive a language—one which has 4,000 roots and goes back over 2,000-3,000 years. By comparison, Persian is absolute child's play. Were it not for that damned Arabic alphabet in which every half dozen letters looks like every other half dozen and the vowels are not written, I would undertake to learn the entire grammar within 48 hours. This for the better encouragement of Pieper should he feel the urge to imitate me in this poor joke. I have set myself a maximum of three weeks for Persian, so if he stakes two months on it he'll best me anyway. What a pity Weitling can't speak Persian; he would then have his *langue universelle toute trouvée*<sup>c</sup> since it is, to my knowledge, the only language where 'me' and 'to me' are never at odds, the dative and accusative always being the same.<sup>d</sup>

It is, by the way, rather pleasing to read dissolute old Hafiz in the original language, which sounds quite passable and, in his grammar,<sup>e</sup> old Sir William Jones likes to cite as examples dubious Persian jokes, subsequently translated into Greek verse in his *Commentariis poeseos asiaticae*, because even in Latin they seem to him too obscene. These commentaries, Jones' *Works*, Vol. II, *De poesi erotica*, will amuse you. Persian prose, on the other hand, is deadly dull. E.g. the *Rauzât-us-safâ* by the noble Mirkhond, who recounts the Persian epic in very flowery but vacuous language. Of Alexander the Great, he says that the name Iskander, in the Ionian language, is Akshid Rus (like Iskander, a corrupt version of Alexandros); it means much the same as *filusuf*, which derives from *fila*, love, and *sufa*, wisdom, 'Iskander' thus being synonymous with 'friend of wisdom'.

<sup>a</sup> F. Bernier, *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol, de l'Indoustan, du Royaume de Cachemire, etc.* See also this volume, pp. 332-34. <sup>b</sup> without appearing to be aware of it - <sup>c</sup> universal language ready-made - <sup>d</sup> W. Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*.

Of a RETIRED king he says: 'He beat the drum of abdication with the drumsticks of retirement', as will *père* Willich, should he involve himself any more deeply in the literary fray. Willich will also suffer the same fate as King Afrasiab of Turan when deserted by his troops and of whom Mirkhond says: 'He gnawed the nails of horror with the teeth of desperation until the blood of vanquished consciousness welled forth from the finger-tips of shame.'

More tomorrow.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 June 1853

Dear Marx,

So that Pieper may see he hasn't been forgotten, inform him of the following. In yesterday's *Manchester Guardian* there was the offer of a post as CORRESPONDING CLERK AND BOOKKEEPER. He might contrive to get £180 a year; from what I hear, it is with a Jew here, Leo Schuster. Pieper should at once write a letter addressed to:

Box B 47,  
Post Office,  
Manchester

and beginning: Monsieur, etc.

The letter had best be written in French, since French and German are required. He should say he thinks he can fill the post, that he comes from Hanover, is aged such-and-such, and last worked for so-and-so in London, from whom inquiries may be made as to his character and qualifications. He can conduct correspondence in German, French and English and, if needs be, in Italian, is rather less familiar (if indeed this is the case) with

bookkeeping; he must say that he lost his post because the partner's son had joined, etc., then what sort of a business it was, but that he could without doubt quickly familiarise himself with all types of merchandise business in the Manchester TRADE. *Le tout sans phrase, aussi simplement raconté que possible.*

*J'ai l'honneur de me souscrire,*  
or else, *Mr., votre très dévoué,*<sup>a</sup> etc.

Nothing more. If they consider him, he will probably be summoned to Schuster's London house, and then it will be up to him. But he *must write straight away, by the first post tomorrow.*

Herewith £1. 18. 6d., the balance of the £32. The fellow only deducted 18 pence for collecting charges but, on the other hand, all Charles<sup>b</sup> and I owed him.

You will have received the bill from America the day before yesterday.

Whether Pieper can give Rothschild as a reference, you people in London will be best able to judge; if so, it might do no harm, for the fact that Pieper is NO BRED CLERK will emerge at the very first interview when they ask him where he worked before. But he must be sure of what Rothschild is going to say and, perhaps, see him beforehand.

Your  
F. E.

*Copie d'Annonce.<sup>c</sup>*

\* Wanted in a Shipping House a Bookkeeper and Corresponding Clerk. A knowledge of German and French absolutely required. Address Box B 47, P. Off. Manchester.\*

[To refer to me would do *no good whatever*, indeed it might do harm. Pieper, of course, should not let Schuster see that he knows *who* inserted the advertisement to which he should refer as his reason for applying.]

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<sup>a</sup> The whole without frills and told as simply as possible. 'I have the honour to sign myself', or else, 'I am, sir, your most obedient'. . <sup>b</sup> Roesgen. See this volume, p. 344. . <sup>c</sup> The memo is in pencil; the last paragraph is barely legible.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>338</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 June 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Having been prevented by all sorts of business and domestic affairs, I have only today got round to replying to your two letters<sup>a</sup> and acknowledging receipt of the American money (handed over to Freiligrath),<sup>b</sup> likewise the balance of the American *Tribune* money. If that's the sort of business relationship you and Charles<sup>c</sup> had with your 'intermediary', then you've been up to some trick for my sake. For since it was not that fellow, but you, who advanced the money against the bill, you and Charles could just as well have sent the bill to America without the fellow. At least, that's how it seems to me.

I did *not* inform Pieper of your news for the following reasons: Pieper was becoming more and more of a wreck and some 8 or 10 days ago I took him to task about the state of his health. It then transpired that his illness was going *de pis en pis*<sup>d</sup> at the hands of his English quack. I therefore suggested I should take him straight to *Bartholomew's Hospital*—the London hospital at which the foremost and most renowned doctors treat the public for nothing. He came with me. An ancient Hippocrates, after examining the *corpus delicti* and questioning him about his former TREATMENT, told him: 'YOU HAVE BEEN A FOOL', explaining at the same time that he would be 'DOWN' within three months if he did not follow his instructions to the letter. The efficacy of the new treatment was immediately apparent and in 2 weeks the man will be *sain et sauf*.<sup>e</sup> The case was too serious for the treatment to be interrupted, and anyhow Freiligrath has a post in view for Pieper. If nothing comes of it, I shall let you know.

*Rumpf*, our jolly tailor, is now shut up in a *lunatic asylum*. Some 5 months ago, in order to extricate himself from a social quandary, *le malheureux*<sup>f</sup> married an *elderly* woman, became excessively respectable, foreswore all spirits and worked like a

<sup>a</sup> of 6 and 9 June. <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 323. <sup>c</sup> Roesgen. <sup>d</sup> from bad to worse. <sup>e</sup> safe and sound. <sup>f</sup> the wretched man

carthorse. About a week since he took to drinking again, sent for me a couple of days ago, revealed that he had discovered the means of making the whole world happy, that I was to be his minister, etc., etc. He has been in the ASYLUM since yesterday. It's a pity about the fellow.

In *The Leader*—which, by the by, has become a purely bourgeois sheet—Ruge has announced that he will be giving lectures on German philosophy in London.<sup>a</sup> Needless to say he takes this opportunity to give himself a puff. E.g. 'Where style is concerned, there is only one man whom the German people set alongside him—Lessing.' In the same issue of *The Leader*, the Russian Herzen advertises his collected works<sup>b</sup> adding that, together with the Polish Committee, he is to set up a Russo-Polish propaganda press here in London.<sup>400</sup>

One of the enclosed letters from Cluss<sup>401</sup> will reveal to you the nature of the main blow with which Willich is threatening me. He refers to the £20 borrowed by me from the Refugee Committee at a time when I myself was distrained because my Chelsea landlady,<sup>402</sup> although I had paid her, had not paid her LANDLORD,—a debt which I repaid down to the last farthing by the necessary INSTALMENTS.<sup>403</sup> You must now advise me what tactics to adopt. If that's how the good Willich thinks he's going to do me in, he must be a regular 'bonhomme'.<sup>c</sup>

Carey, the American political economist, has brought out a new book, *Slavery at Home and Abroad*. Here 'SLAVERY' covers all forms of servitude, WAGE-SLAVERY, etc. He has sent me his book in which he quotes me repeatedly (from the *Tribune*) now as 'A RECENT ENGLISH WRITER', now as 'CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE'.<sup>404</sup> As I have told you before, this man, in his earlier works, propounds the 'harmony' of the bourgeoisie's economic foundations and attributes all MISCHIEF to unnecessary interference by the State. The State was his *bête noire*. He is now playing a different tune. All ills are blamed on the centralising effect of big industry. But this centralising effect is in turn blamed on England, who has made herself the WORKSHOP of the world and has forced all other countries to revert to brutish agriculture divorced from manufacturing. In its turn, responsibility for England's sins is laid on the theory of Ricardo-Malthus, and specially Ricardo's theory of rent. The necessary consequence both of Ricardo's theory and of industrial

<sup>a</sup> 'Arnold Ruge', *The Leader*, Vol. IV, No. 168, 11 June 1853. · <sup>b</sup> 'A Russian Democratic Printing Office in London', *The Leader*, Vol. IV, No. 168, 11 June 1853. · <sup>c</sup> simpleton



centralisation would be communism. And to obviate all this, to counter centralisation with localisation and the union,—a union scattered throughout the land—of factory and farm, our ULTRA-FREE-TRADER finally recommends—*protective tariffs*. To obviate the effects of bourgeois industry, responsibility for which he lays on England, his recourse, as a genuine Yankee, is to speed up this process in America itself by artificial means. For the rest, his opposition to England drives him into *Sismondian* praise of the petty bourgeoisie in Switzerland, Germany, China, etc. And this is the chap who used to deride France for her resemblance to China. The only thing of definite interest in the book is the comparison between Negro slavery as formerly practised by the English in Jamaica and elsewhere, and Negro slavery in the United States. He demonstrates how the main STOCK of Negroes in Jamaica always consisted of freshly imported BARBARIANS, since their treatment by the English meant not only that the Negro population was not maintained, but also that  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the yearly imports always went to waste, whereas the present generation of Negroes in America is a native product, more or less Yankeeified, English speaking, etc., and hence *capable of being emancipated*.

The *Tribune*, needless to say, is puffing Carey's book for all it's worth.<sup>a</sup> Both, indeed, have this in common, that, in the guise of Sismondian-philanthropic-socialist anti-industrialism, they represent the protectionist, i.e. industrial, bourgeoisie of America. That is also the key to the mystery why the *Tribune*, despite all its 'isms'<sup>b</sup> and socialist flourishes, manages to be the 'LEADING JOURNAL' in the United States.

Your article on Switzerland<sup>c</sup> was, of course, a direct swipe at the *Tribune's* 'LEADERS' (anti-centralisation, etc.) and *their* man Carey. I continued this clandestine campaign in my first article on India,<sup>d</sup> in which England's destruction of native industries is described as *revolutionary*. This they will find very SHOCKING. Incidentally the whole administration of India by the British was detestable and still remains so today.

The stationary nature of this part of Asia, despite all the aimless activity on the political surface, can be completely explained by two mutually supporting circumstances: 1. The PUBLIC WORKS system of the central government and, 2. Alongside this, the entire

<sup>a</sup> See reviews 'Slavery and Emancipation' and 'New Publications', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3771, 18 May 1853. - <sup>b</sup> An allusion to Horace Greeley's article 'Isms' in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3747, 20 April 1853. - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic'. - <sup>d</sup> R. Marx, 'The British Rule in India'.

Empire which, apart from a few large cities, is an agglomeration of *VILLAGES*, each with its own distinct organisation and each forming its own small world. A parliamentary report described these *VILLAGES* as follows\*:

\* 'A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some 100 or 1000 acres of arable and waste lands: politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Every village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic. Officials: 1. the *Potail*, Goud, *Mundil* etc. as he is termed in different languages, is the head inhabitant, who has generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenue within the village... 2. The *Curnum*, *Shanboag*, or *Purwaree*, is the register. 3. The *Taliary* or *Sthulwar* and 4. the *Totie*, are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops. 5. the *Neerguntie* distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields. 6. The *Jushee*, or astrologer, announces the seed-times and harvests, and the lucky or unlucky days or hours for all the operation of farming. 7. The *smith*, and 8. the *carpenter* frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwellings of the farmer. 9. The *potter* fabricates the only utensils of the village. 10. The *waterman* keeps clean the few garments... 11. The *barber*, 12. the *silversmith*, who often combines the function of village *poet* and *schoolmaster*. Then the *Brahmin*, for worship. Under this simple form of municipal government the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and although the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine and disease; the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms, while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves. Its internal economy remains unchanged.\*

The post of *Potail* is mostly hereditary. In some of these COMMUNITIES THE LANDS OF THE VILLAGE CULTIVATED IN COMMON, in most of them EACH OCCUPANT TILLS HIS OWN FIELD. Within the same, slavery and the caste system. WASTE LANDS FOR COMMON PASTURE. Home-weaving and spinning by wives and daughters. These idyllic republics, of which only the *VILLAGE boundaries* are jealously guarded against neighbouring *VILLAGES*, continue to exist in well-nigh PERFECT form in the NORTH-WESTERN PARTS OF INDIA only recently occupied by the English. No more solid basis for Asiatic despotism and stagnation is, I think, conceivable. And however much the English may have Irelandised the country, the breaking up of the archetypal forms was the *conditio sine qua non* for Europeanisation. The TAX-GATHERER alone could not have brought this about. Another essential factor was the destruction of the ancient industries, which robbed these villages of their SELF-SUPPORTING character.

\* Marx quotes presumably from the Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1812.

In Bali, an island off the east coast of Java, this Hindu organisation still intact, alongside Hindu religion, its traces, like those of Hindu influence, discernible all over Java. So far as the *property question* is concerned, this is a great *bone of contention* among English writers on India. In the broken mountainous terrain south of the Kistna, however, there appears to have been property in land. In Java, on the other hand, as noted in the *History of Java* by a former *English* governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, the sovereign [was] absolute LANDLORD throughout the country 'WHERE RENT TO ANY CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT WAS ATTAINABLE'. At all events, the Mohammedans seem to have been the first in the whole of Asia to have established the principle of 'no property in land'.

Regarding the above-mentioned VILLAGES, I should note that they already feature in the *Manu*,<sup>405</sup> according to which the whole organisation rests on them. 10 are administered by a senior COLLECTOR, then 100, then 1,000.

Write soon.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS<sup>406</sup>

IN WASHINGTON

[London, about 14 June 1853]

... On the other hand, a reply must be given,<sup>a</sup> and that can best be done by third parties. In which case you need feel no compunction about entering into personal matters and regaling the brutal democratic 'temperament' with a few pungent 'anecdotes'...<sup>407</sup>

<sup>a</sup> to Willich. See this volume, pp. 330-31.

In dealings with the *Reform* I would recommend, besides shrewdness, *une modération extrême*.<sup>a</sup> This clever-clever philistine<sup>b</sup> who, in Hesse—and Hesse was his world—represented nothing except the demiurge of this, his world: the petty bourgeois, and who now assumes the air of one who, from the very start, has represented the proletariat on a ‘materialist basis’—this smiling nonentity who, with Solomon-like dicta, ‘stresses’ his shrewdness and remarkable composure vis-à-vis rebellious parties—this incarnation of a marginal gloss to ‘Heise’s articles’; this fellow, then, does not, of course, interest me—he repels me. But you people helped to make the paper. It appears in New York.

Half Germany will come to New York for the Exhibition.<sup>128</sup> You have no other paper in New York. Might it not, then, be impolitic to throw over Kellner and the paper? It would in the end be doing the fellows another favour. Pretend to be naive. Go on writing; you couldn’t do him a worse turn. Do not emancipate him from influences which, as everything goes to show, have been damnably irksome to him. Do as the Prussian bourgeois do. The government and its Manteuffel twist and turn in vain to rid themselves of the friendship of those bourgeois. The latter, for their part, pretend to believe in the constitutionality of their government, and *le gouvernement est constitutionnel malgré lui-même*: that’s *worldly wisdom* for you.

The *Neu-England-Zeitung* is equally unreliable and likely to remain so. Mr Schläger, a pedant replete with platitudes, a presumptuous bore who always knows better (à la Kellner, ‘*le mieux est le plus grand ennemi du bien*’<sup>d</sup>), has written to Pieper suggesting I write for the *N.-E.-Z.* about the necessary transition from the bourgeois to the communist mode of production.

Citizen Marx with his ‘schematising and organising’ intellect would, it seems, be well suited to this task set him by Citizen Schläger, but Citizen Marx must ‘forego his abstract language’ and write in the same manner as all, etc. Worthy Citizen Schläger! In the same letter he enjoins Pieper on no account to attack Citizens Ruge and Heinzen (*he regularly deletes such passages*) since the ‘élite of his readers’ (just think what the others must be like!) are Heinzenites, and the *N.-E.-Z.* is destined (literally) to inherit the readers of the *Janus*. Mighty Citizen Schläger! Almighty Pompey! Nevertheless, I have advised Pieper to go on writing for Schläger.

<sup>a</sup> extreme moderation · <sup>b</sup> Gottlieb Kellner · <sup>c</sup> and the government is constitutional despite itself · <sup>d</sup> ‘the better is the greatest enemy of the good’

*Le motif est très simple.*<sup>a</sup> We are not doing our enemies a favour by writing for them. *Tout au contraire.*<sup>b</sup> We could hardly play them a worse trick...

First published in part in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 31, Stuttgart, 1906-07 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 28, Moscow, 1962

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 June 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

My sister<sup>c</sup> and her newly wedded husband<sup>d</sup>, who is sailing from here to the Cape of Good Hope as a GENERAL DEALER, have unexpectedly descended on me. This, combined with the work for the *Tribune* and some unpleasantness to be cleared up in America, has made considerable demands on my time. The couple set out tomorrow, I believe. I hear from Imandt that your mother is expected in London, from which I conclude that you, too, will turn up soon.

Enclosed Lassalle's instructions for the dispatch of the copies<sup>e</sup> to Germany. My wife will undertake their dispatch to Manchester. I hope that you people will then take care of the matter up there. Haven't you seen anything of Jones? He's roaming about in your part of the world and is said to have brought off a MONSTER MEETING in Halifax.<sup>408</sup>

Last Wednesday, much to my astonishment, I received a very peevish letter from Cluss, in which he said someone had written telling him that Pieper had described him to Schläger—him and Arnold—as 'subordinate agents', and himself, on the contrary, as the one who supplied news 'at first-hand', etc., etc. Fortunately

<sup>a</sup> The reason is very simple. - <sup>b</sup> Quite the contrary. - <sup>c</sup> Louise - <sup>d</sup> Jaan Carel Juta - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

there isn't *a word of truth* in the whole thing, which is merely an attempt by Willich, Anneke, Weitling and Co.'s party to sow dissension amongst our own ranks, and, more particularly, to neutralise 'that most unpleasant man, Cluss'. The necessary explanations were, of course, dispatched across the water at once.<sup>409</sup> I am unable to find Cluss' first letter, but enclose the 2nd.

Before leaving for Manchester<sup>410</sup> I borrowed £2 from the little Jew Bamberger. The fellow keeps sending me strongly-worded reminders, if not threats. *Mais nous verrons.*<sup>a</sup> By Friday I shall have £20 to draw on New York. But again the question is how?

Enclosed the *nec plus ultra*<sup>b</sup> of Heizen's now sanguinary cowardice and aversion to 'ordinary methods of warfare'.<sup>c</sup>

I was mistaken about the 'Swiss article',<sup>d</sup> Dana having divided the thing into two parts,<sup>e</sup> but published both under my name.

Until next time, then. My worthy sister and brother-in-law have just come in. My sister is very stout and will sweat damnably while crossing the Equator.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 July 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Dr Jacobi, the bearer of this note, was one of the accused at the 'communist trial in Cologne'.<sup>16</sup>

I'm at a loss to understand whether your continued silence is due to illness, pique, overwork or what.

<sup>a</sup> But we shall see. - <sup>b</sup> uttermost - <sup>c</sup> K. Heizen's pamphlet *Mord und Freiheit*. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 331. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels. 'The Rocket Affair.—The Swiss Insurrection'; F. Engels, 'Political Position of the Swiss Republic'.

Yesterday I drew £24 on Dana at Spielmann's in Lombard Street; Spielmann will pay me in 5 weeks as soon as the bill is returned. In the meantime I shall have another very bad spell to go through, the more so since a number of valuable things now in pawn will have to be repledged or else they will be forfeited, and that is, of course, impossible *dans un moment*<sup>a</sup> when the wherewithal even for *les choses les plus nécessaires*<sup>b</sup> is lacking. However, I'm now well-accustomed to being in the soup and all that that entails.

In any case write and tell me why you're not writing. I hope, AT ALL EVENTS, that you are not ill.

Your  
K. M.

[On the back of the letter]

Friedrich Engels. 48 Great Ducie Street, *Manchester*

First published (except the text on the back of the letter) in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 28, Moscow, 1962

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Saturday, 9 July [1853]

Dear Marx,

At four o'clock this morning my old landlady roused me from my slumbers saying there was a gentleman wanting to speak to me. Dragging myself out of bed, I went to the door where I found a little man with a cab, a colossal trunk and a travelling bag, who told me his name was Jacobi and that you and Pieper had sent him to me. Marx *and* Pieper! I thought. Who the devil can this

<sup>a</sup> at a moment - <sup>b</sup> the most necessary things

Jacobi be? Is he the illegitimate son of one in Königsberg<sup>a</sup> or what? Until finally the little man pulled your letter<sup>b</sup> out of his pocket, somewhat taken aback at not being instantly welcomed with open arms, stranger though he was—whereupon it occurred to me that he was, as your letter confirmed, the communist trial Jacobi to whom I hadn't given a thought, believing him long since well and truly lodged in a Prussian prison cell. *Que faire?*<sup>c</sup> I took him in, together with his belongings and, drunk with sleep, chatted with him for half an hour before offering him my sofa to sleep on, for the house was CRAMMED FULL of people. Luckily my old man is out of town until tomorrow and so, this very morning, I took the good party martyr by the collar, engaged lodgings for him and forbade him to show his face here until my old man's departure raises the interdict.

This warlike<sup>d</sup> Westphalian way of behaving, the doltishness of spending a whole week in London and then choosing a train that arrives in the middle of the night and, on the pretext of not knowing what's what, turning a man's house upside down and imposing himself, all this was no more calculated to predispose me in his favour than was the discreet question put to me at the very outset as to how I stood with my old man. Further exchanges have raised the fellow in my estimation a little, but not very much. He proposes to call on Borchardt with letters from you *and* Kinkel (almost beats Marx *and* Pieper), to burst in on little Heckscher without ceremony and without an introduction in the hope that the latter will immediately provide him with all possible information about his TRADE and, for sheer joy at the prospect of fresh 'scientific' intercourse, make half his practice over to his new competitor—and other such philistine conceits. His foolishness in going to Kinkel will do him more harm than good. Kinkel gives him letters not to Mr but to Mrs Schunck, a piece of effrontery which is also a gross and direct breach of English etiquette, and again, if Mr Kinkel, who was fed and paid cash for his buffooneries on German literature, if Monsieur Gottfried, I say, believes he can send letters of recommendation (other than fund-raising licences) *d'égal à égal*<sup>e</sup> to these merchants, he's damned well mistaken. Apart from that, Monsieur Jacobi, *à ce qu'il me paraît*,<sup>f</sup> is not the man to make his fortune here.

As soon as my old man has left, I'll send you some money. I

<sup>a</sup> Dr Johann Jacoby. - <sup>b</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>c</sup> What's to be done? - <sup>d</sup> Marx uses the word 'kriegisch', which may mean 'warlike' or may be a pun on the name 'Kriege'. - <sup>e</sup> as between equals. - <sup>f</sup> or so it seems to me



can't very well take anything before that, since I run the risk every day that he will check my accounts, which alone would be enough to provoke a lively argument of the kind I prefer to settle in writing.

The idea that I am not writing because of 'pique' made me laugh. *De quoi donc?*<sup>a</sup>

Regards to your wife and children and do your best to stick it out, at least until my hands are free again—within the week, I hope.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 July 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The day before yesterday I got a letter from Lassalle, who is now in a state of suspense, imagining letters have been intercepted, etc. It would have been good had you advised me whether or not the parcel had gone off to him.<sup>b</sup> Lassalle is still the only one who dares correspond with London, and we must therefore be careful not to put him off. So I would ask you to let me know what the position is about the parcel. The time of its dispatch is of importance to me in another way, i.e. because upon it depends the time of the *RETURN*.

The last mail brought my wife a most friendly and obliging letter from A. Dana<sup>411</sup> in which he states that he *cannot possibly* advise us of a business house in London and that AT ALL INSTANCES bills drawn by me will be promptly honoured. He says that my

<sup>a</sup> What about? - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 350.

articles are 'HIGHLY VALUED BY THE PROPRIETORS OF THE *TRIBUNE* AND THE PUBLIC', and sets *no* limit on the quantity we send him.

In the debate on ADVERTISEMENT DUTY<sup>412</sup>—about a fortnight ago, I think—Mr Bright was loud in his praises of the *New-York Tribune* and gave an analysis of one of its numbers<sup>a</sup>—the very one containing my article on the budget.<sup>b</sup> This is what he said about it:

\* 'From Great Britain there is an elaborate disquisition on the Right Honourable Gentleman's<sup>c</sup> budget, doing him justice in some parts, but not in others, and doing certainly, as far as the Manchester School<sup>63</sup> was concerned, no justice whatever.'<sup>d</sup>

As regards Jacobi, you must not allow yourself to be deterred by the gaucherie and inexperience of a 23-year-old stripling from the District of Minden who has spent 2 years in jug. He has a good background. I have read his doctoral dissertation<sup>413</sup> and was 'MUCH PLEASED WITH IT'.

Your  
K. M.

Jones has held some very important meetings which have even attracted the attention of the bourgeois press.<sup>414</sup>

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 August 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

Lupus will *probably* obtain a good post in Liverpool. In which case he will go there via Manchester. The snag is that he won't be paid until the end of the quarter. However, he hopes that you and

<sup>a</sup> *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3761, 6 May 1853. · <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Riot at Constantinople.—German Table Moving.—The Budget'. · <sup>c</sup> Gladstone · <sup>d</sup> J. Bright, Speech in the House of Commons on 1 July 1853, *The Times*, No. 21470, 2 July 1853.

Strohn between you may be able to help him. Has Strohn returned?

Needless to say, that mischief-monger Dronke is writing the most pompous letters to all and sundry, e.g. to Imandt, saying that 'he has made arrangements for Lupus' emigration to America'. *Entre nous*<sup>a</sup> I should say the little shop-assistant, anxious to inflate his own importance at small cost to himself, has given Lupus to understand that it was *he* rather than you who took the matter in hand. At least I thought I could detect a certain chilliness towards Manchester ON THE PART OF Wolff. Dronke is *cancan*<sup>b</sup> incarnate, NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT. *Experto crede*, etc.<sup>c</sup>

You absolutely must at once send Pieper at least sufficient to buy himself a coat and trousers. Shabby as he now is, he cannot possibly take advantage of opportunities that come his way, however favourable. He has become unrepresentable. Moreover, you promised him this when [you] left.<sup>415</sup> He's putting a brave face on his misfortunes. But there's a limit to everything.

[I have] been particularly unlucky over money transactions. I now have current bills on America—two of them—amounting to £42 and yet cannot command above 42 farthings, though having to provide means of subsistence not [only] for myself but also for Pieper. The first bill of £24 I gave to Mr Spielmann; he told me to come back in five weeks' time. That was seven weeks ago. Besides, this wretched traipsing to and from the City invariably takes up my Mondays and Thursdays, the very days when I have to be preparing Tuesday's and Friday's articles. Each time Spielmann turns me away with the remark, uttered in Jewishly nasal tones: 'Nah nahtice yet.' In the case of such 'small' amounts, he says, his correspondents write only at their convenience, and, if I had needed the money straight away, I should have said beforehand that I would pay the *postage* for a special letter, etc., etc. This means daily unpleasantnesses, not only for me but for my wife who, counting on the prompt arrival of the money, had given definite promises to sundry creditors, and now the curs are laying siege to the house. Meanwhile, I am writing away like the devil. It would be fine if you could send me an article or two in between whiles, thus giving me the time to write something better. <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> of my time is taken up chasing after PENNIES.

Heise is here just now; as a person the fellow's not at all bad. Mr Kossuth is presently making a fool of himself as correspondent

<sup>a</sup> Between ourselves - <sup>b</sup> gossip - <sup>c</sup> Experto crede Roberto.—Trust Roberto who has had experience (from a comic poem by Antoine Arena).

of the *Daily New-York Times*. In the *Advertiser* 4 letters by D. Urquhart on the eastern question<sup>a</sup> contained much that was interesting, despite quirks and quiddities. WE HAVE BEEN STRIKING against Jones for the past two weeks.

Your  
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Wednesday, 24 August 1853

Dear Marx,

I'll send some money tomorrow if I *possibly can*. Your letter arrived on Saturday too late for anything to be done, this week there have been all sorts of complications, but tomorrow things will, I think, have improved, and our old bookkeeper has been forewarned.

The little man<sup>b</sup> was here on Saturday. That he had been gossiping was evident to me from the moment he wrote to Borchardt. He had sent him Lupus' most *discreditable* letter in which the latter makes an outright and most earnest appeal to the 'generosity' of the Jews in Bradford. *C'était une lettre à brûler de suite*<sup>c</sup>; Borchardt at once magnanimously sent Lupus alms, to wit the sum of *one pound*,—not that he wasn't very decent about it, WHICH HE COULD WELL AFFORD TO be, seeing that it released him from all his obligations. I must confess that this letter of Lupus' left a *very bad* taste in my mouth, but not so bad as the little man's tactlessness in letting it fall into Borchardt's clutches. Anyway I duly hauled him over the coals for it.

<sup>a</sup> D. Urquhart, 'What Means "Protection" of the Greek Church?', 'Time in Diplomacy.—The "European Recognition"', 'The Relative Power of Russia and Great Britain', 'War between England and France', published as letters to the editor in *The Morning Advertiser* of 11, 12, 15 and 16 August 1853. - <sup>b</sup> Ernst Dronke - <sup>c</sup> It was a letter that ought to have been burnt forthwith.

*Enfin c'est fait.*<sup>a</sup> If Lupus is going to Liverpool, see to it that he comes here first, if possible on a Friday, in which case I shall arrange a rendez-vous with the little man. If, as Dronke proposes, Lupus first goes to Bradford, the *cancan*<sup>b</sup> will only proliferate.

You know that Jacobi intends to go to America. The chap's altogether *trop mou*<sup>c</sup> and even philistines get the impression that he's a helpless sort of creature. I don't believe he'll ever obtain a practice, however much he may pine for one. Besides one can't help laughing when one remembers that the chap's still a virgin.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO JAMES GRANT,  
EDITOR OF *THE MORNING ADVERTISER*<sup>416</sup>  
IN LONDON

London, August 31st, 1853

To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*.

Sir,

You will much oblige me by inserting the following in Your highly esteemed paper.

Your obedient servant

Dr. Karl Marx  
(28 Dean Street, Soho)

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXI,  
Moscow, 1929

Reproduced from a copy in  
Mrs Marx's hand  
Published in English for the first  
time

<sup>a</sup> Well, it's done. - <sup>b</sup> gossip. - <sup>c</sup> too soft

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 September<sup>a</sup> 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I have not written to you for a long time, even to acknowledge receipt of the £5 (of which £2.10 was paid to Pieper and £1.10 to Lupus), the reason being that a lot of indescribable muck has taken up MY TIME AND MY ENERGIES. On 7 July I gave my bill to Spielmann.<sup>b</sup> On 31 August<sup>c</sup> the lad told me—after I had been to see him 7 times—that the bill had got lost, that I must make out another one for him, etc. So I had managed for weeks by pawning everything, down to *the last item*, and had made a further appointment for 31 August<sup>c</sup> with all my creditors whom I had been putting off since July. As I have no resources other than the income from the *Tribune*, you will understand my situation and that I have neither the time nor the inclination for correspondence.

Tell Jacobi, if he's still there, that I have written to Weydemeyer, etc., on his behalf.<sup>d</sup>

My reason for writing to you today is the following:

So far as I know you do not read *The Morning Advertiser*. This paper, which belongs to the 'UNITED VICTUALLERS', carried an apology of Bakunin by a 'FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT' (Mr *Golovin*, I think).<sup>d</sup> In the same *Morning Advertiser* an anonymous *F. M.* expressed suspicion that Bakunin was a Russian spy and doing very nicely, etc., etc.<sup>e</sup> To this *Golovin* and *Herzen* replied, pointing out that this same calumny had already appeared in 1848 in a 'GERMAN PAPER', which PAPER 'HAD EVEN VENTURED TO APPEAL TO THE TESTIMONY OF GEORGE SAND'.<sup>f</sup>

Three days ago 'Dr Arnold Ruge' chipped in, remarking that this German paper was the *New Rhenish Gazette*<sup>g</sup> whose EDITOR, 'Dr

<sup>a</sup> The original has '2 September'. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 352 and 356. - <sup>c</sup> The original has 'September'. - <sup>d</sup> [I. Golovin,] 'Europe.—A Single Man', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19394, 19 August 1853. - <sup>e</sup> F. M. [Francis Marx], 'The Russian Agent, Bakunin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19397, 23 August 1853. - <sup>f</sup> I. Golovin, A. Herzen, S. Worcell, 'The Russian Agent, Bakunin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19398, 24 August 1853. - <sup>g</sup> *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

Marx', had known just as well as any other democrat that these calumnies were false.<sup>a</sup>

In yesterday's *Morning Advertiser* I published a statement<sup>b</sup> to the effect that:

MESSRS Goloviii AND Herzen had CHOSEN TO CONNECT THE *NEW RH. G.* EDITED BY ME IN 1848 AND '49 WITH their polemic with F. M. ABOUT Bakunin, etc. NOW, I CARE NOTHING ABOUT THE INSINUATIONS OF MESSRS Herzen AND Goloviii. BUT etc., etc. 'PERMIT ME TO STATE THE FACTS OF THE CASE'. There follows an enumeration of the facts:

'that on 5 July 1848 we received letters from Paris, one from the Havas Bureau, the other from a POLISH REFUGEE (which is what I call Ewerbeck), both STATING that George Sand possesses letters compromising Bakunin AS BEING LATELY ENTERED INTO RELATIONS WITH THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT';

'that on 6 July we published this letter,<sup>c</sup> not the one from the Havas Bureau, but from our Paris correspondent';

'that Bakunin, replying in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*,<sup>d</sup> prior to our correspondence, states that similar rumours had been circulating in Breslau, that they emanated from the Russian embassies and that he could refute them in no better way than by appealing to George Sand'<sup>e</sup> 418;

'that on 3 August Kościelski brought to the *Rheinische Zeitung* a letter addressed by George Sand to its editor, which was published the same day<sup>f</sup> with the following introductory remarks<sup>g</sup>:' (here follows an extract from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*<sup>h</sup>);

'that at the end of August I passed through Berlin, saw Bakunin and renewed my old friendship with him';

'that on 15 October (or thereabouts) the *Rheinische Zeitung* stood up for Bakunin against the Prussian ministry which had ordered his expulsion'<sup>h</sup>;

'that in February ('49) the *Rheinische Zeitung* published a LEADING ARTICLE ON Bakunin the opening words of which were, "Bakunin is our friend!"' etc.;

<sup>a</sup> A. Ruge, 'Michael Bakunin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19404, 31 August 1853. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Michael Bakunin. To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19406, 2 September 1853. - <sup>c</sup> [H. Ewerbeck,] 'Bakunin', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 36, 6 July 1848. - <sup>d</sup> M. Bakunin, [Open Letter,] *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung*, No. 151, 12 July 1848. This was the title under which the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* appeared in 1846-49. - <sup>e</sup> *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 64, 3 August 1848. - <sup>f</sup> *ibid.* - <sup>g</sup> See present edition, Vol. 12, p. 285. - <sup>h</sup> [Report on Bakunin's Expulsion, 10 October,] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 115, 13 October 1848. - <sup>i</sup> F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 222, 15 February 1849 (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 363).

'that in the *New-York Tribune* I PAID BAKUNIN THE TRIBUTE DUE TO HIM FOR HIS PARTICIPATION IN OUR MOVEMENTS,'<sup>a</sup> etc., etc.

My statement concludes with the words:

\*'As to F. M. proceeding as he does from the fixed idea that continental revolutions are fostering the secret plans of Russia, he must, if he pretends to anything like consistency, condemn not only Bakunin but every continental Revolutionist, as a Russian agent. In his eyes Revolution itself is a Russian agent. Why not Bakunin?'

Well, in *today's* issue the blackguard Golovin does not dare give his name but, under the rubric 'FROM A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT', publishes the following piece in *The Morning Advertiser*:

\* *How to Write History*<sup>b</sup>

(From a Foreign Correspondent)

Bakunin is a Russian agent—Bakunin is not a Russian agent. Bakunin died in the prison of Schlüsselburg, after having endured much ill-treatment—Bakunin is not dead; he still lives. He is made a soldier, and sent to the Caucasus—no, he is not made a soldier; he remains detained in the citadel of St. Peter and St. Paul. Such are the contradictory news which the press has given in turn, concerning Michael Bakunin. In these days of extensive publicity we only arrive at the true by affirming the false; but, has it at least been proved that Bakunin has not been in the military pay of Russia?

There are people who do not know that humanity makes men mutually responsible—that in extricating Germany from the influence which Russia exercises over it, we *re-act* upon the latter country, and plunge it *anew* into its despotism, until it becomes vulnerable to revolution. Such people it would be idle to attempt to persuade that Bakunin is one of the purest and most generous representatives of progressive cosmopolitanism.

'Calumniate, calumniate,' says a *French* proverb, and 'something will always remain.' The calumny against Bakunin, countenanced in 1848 by one of his friends, has been reproduced in 1853 by an unknown person. 'One is never betrayed but by one's own connexion,' says another proverb: 'and it is better to deal with a wise enemy than with a stupid friend.' The conservative journals have not become the organ of the calumny insinuated against Bakunin. A friendly journal undertook that care.

Revolutionary feeling must be but slightly developed when it can be forgotten, as M. Marx has forgotten, that Bakunin is not of the stuff of which police-spies are made. Why, at least, did he not, as is the custom of the English papers, why did he not simply publish the letter of the Polish refugee which denounced Bakunin? He would have retained the regret of seeing his name associated with a false accusation.\*

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, XVIII, *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 3576, 2 October 1852 (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 90). Engels' articles were published over Marx's signature. - <sup>b</sup> Golovin's item in *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19407 of 3 September 1853 is copied in Pieper's hand.



I intend to answer the chap as follows (see below) and would like you to return this to me *promptly* (by Monday if possible), with the style put to rights.<sup>419</sup>

At the same time the point arises whether you and Dronke, as EDITORS of the *New Rhenish Gazette*, might not wish to make a statement. Clique versus clique. On the other side are only Ruge, Herzen and Golovin. Bakunin himself has dubbed the latter 'un *polisson*'.<sup>3</sup> One of Nicholas' most zealous admirers in 1843 and '44, he became a democrat because he *believed* he had become suspect, nor has he dared return to Russia. This last is the sum total of his heroism.

I for my part suggest a statement, the *substance* of which would be as follows:

\* It is better to deal with a wise enemy, than with a stupid friend,' Bakunin would have exclaimed, if he was ever to read the letter of the 'foreign' Sancho Pansa who, in your Saturday's paper,<sup>b</sup> indulges in his proverbial commonplaces.

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who reproaches me with *not* having done by what doing I would according to himself have 'retained' the regret of seeing my name associated with a false accusation?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who is astonished of what every schoolboy knows that truth is established by controversy and that historical facts are to be extricated from contradictory statements?

When the *N. Rh. G.* brought the Paris letter Bakunin was at liberty. If he was right to be satisfied with the public explanations of the *N. Rh. G.* in 1848,<sup>c</sup> is it not a 'stupid friend' who pretends to find fault with them in 1853? If he was wrong in renewing his intimate relations with the Editor of the *N. Rh. G.*, is it not 'stupid' on the part of a pretended friend to reveal his weakness to the public?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who thinks necessary to 'plunge Russia anew in its despotism' as if she had ever emerged from it?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who calls the Latin proverb 'calumniare audacter'<sup>d</sup> a French proverb?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who cannot understand why the 'conservative journals did not like to *publish* the calumnies' which were *secretly* spread against Bakunin throughout Germany while the most revolutionary paper of Germany was obliged to publish them?

<sup>a</sup> a lout - <sup>b</sup> [I. Golovin,] *How to Write History* (From a Foreign Correspondent.) - <sup>c</sup> A reference to George Sand's letter of 20 July 1848 and the editorial introductory remarks published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 64, 3 August 1848. See also this volume, p. 360. - <sup>d</sup> calumniate boldly

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who ignores that 'revolutionary feeling' at its highest pitch made the 'lois des suspects'<sup>420</sup> and beheaded the Dantons and the Desmoulins and the Anacharsis Cloots?<sup>2</sup>

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who dared not accuse *The Morning Advertiser* for having inserted the letter of F. M. while Bakunin is incarcerated at St. Petersburg at the same time accusing the *N. Rh. G.* for having inserted a similar letter in 1848 when Bakunin was free and not yet reduced to the misery of being defended by a 'stupid friend'?

Is he not a 'stupid friend' who makes the name of Bakunin a pretext for calumniating the friends of Bakunin while he is cautiously withholding his own name?\*

A prompt answer, then. The matter is urgent.

Your  
K. M.

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time

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 September 1853  
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Your letter did, indeed, arrive too late.<sup>421</sup> I condensed the stuff<sup>a</sup> by cutting out unnecessary pathos, tidied it up a bit, and sent it to the amiable organ of the united 'LICENSED VICTUALLERS'<sup>b</sup> on Monday. Not inserted. At the same time, however, this highly consistent paper published a short letter 'FROM A NATIVE CORRESPONDENT' (presumably D. Urquhart) in its Monday issue, in which its own 'FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT' was quite plainly unmasked as a 'RUSSIAN AGENT', while

<sup>a</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> *The Morning Advertiser*