

**KARL
MARX
FREDERICK
ENGELS**

**Collected
Works**



Volume 40
Marx and Engels
1856 - 1859

Contents

Preface	XVII
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KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

January 1856-December 1859

1856

1. Marx to Engels. <i>18 January</i>	3
2. Engels to Marx. <i>7 February</i>	5
3. Marx to Engels. <i>12 February</i>	8
4. Marx to Engels. <i>13 February</i>	12
5. Marx to Engels. <i>29 February</i>	15
6. Marx to Engels. <i>5 March</i>	19
7. Engels to Marx. <i>7 March</i>	26
8. Marx to Engels. <i>25 March</i>	28
9. Marx to Engels. <i>10 April</i>	30
10. Engels to Marx. <i>14 April</i>	34
11. Engels to Wilhelm Steffen. <i>15 April</i>	36
12. Marx to Engels. <i>16 April</i>	37
13. Marx to Engels. <i>26 April</i>	42
14. Marx to Engels. <i>7 May</i>	43
15. Marx to Engels. <i>8 May</i>	43
16. Marx to Engels. <i>23 May</i>	45
17. Engels to Marx. <i>23 May</i>	49
18. Engels to Marx. <i>26 May</i>	51

19. Marx to Engels. <i>29 May</i>	52
20. Marx to Engels. <i>5 June</i>	53
21. Marx to Engels. <i>6 June</i>	54
22. Marx to Jenny Marx. <i>21 June</i>	54
23. Marx to Isaac Ironside. <i>21 June</i>	57
24. Marx to William Cycles. <i>22 July</i>	58
25. Marx to Engels. <i>28 July</i>	59
26. Marx to Engels. <i>1 August</i>	61
27. Engels to Marx. <i>4 August</i>	64
28. Marx to Jenny Marx. <i>8 August</i>	66
29. Marx to Collet Dobson Collet. <i>11 August</i>	67
30. Marx to Engels. <i>22 September</i>	67
31. Marx to Engels. <i>26 September</i>	70
32. Engels to Marx. <i>Not before 27 September</i>	72
33. Marx to Engels. <i>16 October</i>	74
34. Marx to Collet Dobson Collet. <i>23 October</i>	76
35. Marx to Engels. <i>30 October</i>	79
36. Marx to Engels. <i>30 October</i>	80
37. Engels to Marx. <i>17 November</i>	82
38. Marx to Engels. <i>2 December</i>	85
39. Marx to Engels. <i>22 December</i>	87

1857

40. Marx to Engels. <i>10 January</i>	89
41. Marx to Engels. <i>14 January</i>	92
42. Marx to Engels. <i>20 January</i>	93
43. Engels to Marx. <i>About 22 January</i>	96
44. Marx to Engels. <i>23 January</i>	97
45. Marx to Engels. <i>6 February</i>	99
46. Marx to Engels. <i>16 February</i>	100
47. Marx to Engels. <i>24 February</i>	102
48. Engels to Ferdinand Freiligrath. <i>Not later than 25 February</i>	103
49. Engels to Marx. <i>11 March</i>	103
50. Marx to Engels. <i>18 March</i>	106
51. Engels to Marx. <i>20 March</i>	109
52. Marx to Engels. <i>24 March</i>	110
53. Marx to Collet Dobson Collet. <i>25 March</i>	112
54. Marx to Engels. <i>31 March</i>	113
55. Engels to Marx. <i>31 March</i>	114

56. Engels to Marx. <i>2 April</i>	117
57. Marx to Engels. <i>9 April</i>	118
58. Engels to Jenny Marx. <i>About 16 April</i>	121
59. Marx to Engels. <i>21 April</i>	122
60. Engels to Marx. <i>22 April</i>	122
61. Marx to Engels. <i>23 April</i>	125
62. Marx to Engels. <i>8 May</i>	128
63. Engels to Marx. <i>11 May</i>	129
64. Engels to Marx. <i>20 May</i>	130
65. Marx to Engels. <i>22 May</i>	132
66. Marx to Engels. <i>23 May</i>	134
67. Engels to Marx. <i>28 May</i>	135
68. Engels to Marx. <i>5 June</i>	137
69. Marx to Collet Dobson Collet. <i>About 10 June</i>	138
70. Marx to Collet Dobson Collet. <i>After 10 June</i>	138
71. Marx to Engels. <i>15 June</i>	139
72. Marx to Engels. <i>29 June</i>	140
73. Marx to Engels. <i>3 July</i>	140
74. Marx to Engels. <i>3 July</i>	141
75. Marx to Engels. <i>6 July</i>	141
76. Marx to Engels. <i>8 July</i>	143
77. Engels to Marx. <i>11 July</i>	143
78. Marx to Engels. <i>11 July</i>	145
79. Marx to Engels. <i>14 July</i>	145
80. Marx to Engels. <i>16 July</i>	147
81. Marx to Engels. <i>24 July</i>	148
82. Engels to Marx. <i>29 July</i>	149
83. Marx to Engels. <i>9 August</i>	150
84. Marx to Engels. <i>15 August</i>	151
85. Engels to Marx. <i>21 August</i>	153
86. Engels to Marx. <i>25 August</i>	156
87. Marx to Engels. <i>26 August</i>	158
88. Engels to Marx. <i>8 September</i>	160
89. Engels to Marx. <i>10 September</i>	162
90. Engels to Marx. <i>11 or 12 September</i>	164
91. Marx to Engels. <i>15 September</i>	168
92. Marx to Engels. <i>17 September</i>	169
93. Engels to Marx. <i>18 September</i>	171
94. Marx to Engels. <i>21 September</i>	173

95. Engels to Marx. <i>21 September</i>	174
96. Engels to Marx. <i>22 September</i>	176
97. Marx to Engels. <i>23 September</i>	181
98. Engels to Marx. <i>24 September</i>	182
99. Marx to Engels. <i>25 September</i>	186
100. Engels to Marx. <i>6 October</i>	187
101. Engels to Marx. <i>19 October</i>	190
102. Marx to Engels. <i>20 October</i>	191
103. Engels to Marx. <i>29 October</i>	195
104. Marx to Engels. <i>31 October</i>	197
105. Marx to Engels. <i>13 November</i>	199
106. Engels to Marx. <i>15 November</i>	200
107. Engels to Marx. <i>16 November</i>	204
108. Engels to Marx. <i>17 November</i>	207
109. Marx to Engels. <i>24 November</i>	208
110. Engels to Marx. <i>7 December</i>	211
111. Marx to Engels. <i>8 December</i>	214
112. Marx to Conrad Schramm. <i>8 December</i>	217
113. Engels to Marx. <i>9 December</i>	218
114. Engels to Marx. <i>11 December</i>	220
115. Engels to Marx. <i>17 December</i>	222
116. Marx to Engels. <i>18 December</i>	224
117. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>21 December</i>	225
118. Marx to Engels. <i>22 December</i>	227
119. Marx to Engels. <i>25 December</i>	228
120. Marx to Engels. <i>30 December</i>	233
121. Engels to Marx. <i>31 December</i>	233

1858

122. Marx to Engels. <i>1 January</i>	237
123. Marx to Engels. <i>5 January</i>	237
124. Engels to Marx. <i>6 January</i>	239
125. Engels to Marx. <i>7 January</i>	241
126. Marx to Engels. <i>7 January</i>	242
127. Marx to Engels. <i>11 January</i>	244
128. Engels to Marx. <i>14 January</i>	247
129. Engels to Marx. <i>15 January</i>	248
130. Marx to Engels. <i>16 January</i>	248
131. Marx to Engels. <i>23 January</i>	251

132. Engels to Marx. <i>25 January</i>	252
133. Engels to Marx. <i>28 January</i>	254
134. Marx to Engels. <i>28 January</i>	254
135. Marx to Engels. <i>29 January</i>	256
136. Engels to Marx. <i>30 January</i>	257
137. Marx to Engels. <i>1 February</i>	258
138. Engels to Marx. <i>8 February</i>	261
139. Marx to Engels. <i>10 February</i>	262
140. Engels to Marx. <i>11 February</i>	263
141. Marx to Engels. <i>14 February</i>	265
142. Engels to Marx. <i>18 February</i>	267
143. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>22 February</i>	268
144. Marx to Engels. <i>22 February</i>	272
145. Engels to Marx. <i>24 February</i>	274
146. Engels to Marx. <i>1 March</i>	276
147. Marx to Engels. <i>2 March</i>	277
148. Engels to Marx. <i>4 March</i>	279
149. Marx to Engels. <i>5 March</i>	282
150. Engels to Marx. <i>11 March</i>	285
151. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>11 March</i>	286
152. Marx to Engels. <i>15 March</i>	288
153. Engels to Marx. <i>16 March</i>	288
154. Engels to Marx. <i>17 March</i>	289
155. Marx to Engels. <i>19 March</i>	294
156. Engels to Marx. <i>26 March</i>	294
157. Marx to Engels. <i>29 March</i>	295
158. Marx to Engels. <i>2 April</i>	296
159. Engels to Marx. <i>9 April</i>	304
160. Engels to Jenny Marx. <i>14 April</i>	307
161. Engels to Marx. <i>22 April</i>	308
162. Marx to Engels. <i>29 April</i>	309
163. Engels to Marx. <i>30 April</i>	311
164. Marx to Engels. <i>1 May</i>	312
165. Engels to Rudolf Schramm. <i>6 May</i>	312
166. Engels to Jenny Marx. <i>11 May</i>	313
167. Engels to Jenny and Laura Marx. <i>11 May</i>	314
168. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>31 May</i>	315
169. Marx to Engels. <i>31 May</i>	317
170. Marx to Engels. <i>7 June</i>	319

171. Engels to Marx. <i>9 June</i>	320
172. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>10 June</i>	321
173. Marx to Engels. <i>2 July</i>	323
174. Engels to Marx. <i>14 July</i>	325
175. Marx to Engels. <i>15 July</i>	328
176. Engels to Marx. <i>16 July</i>	331
177. Marx to Engels. <i>20 July</i>	333
178. Marx to Engels. <i>25 July</i>	334
179. Marx to Engels. <i>8 August</i>	335
180. Engels to Marx. <i>10 August</i>	337
181. Marx to Engels. <i>13 August</i>	338
182. Marx to Engels. <i>18 August</i>	340
183. Marx to Engels. <i>21 September</i>	341
184. Engels to Marx. <i>7 October</i>	343
185. Marx to Engels. <i>8 October</i>	345
186. Engels to Marx. <i>21 October</i>	348
187. Marx to Engels. <i>22 October</i>	350
188. Marx to Engels. <i>2 November</i>	351
189. Marx to Engels. <i>10 November</i>	352
190. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>12 November</i>	353
191. Marx to Engels. <i>24 November</i>	355
192. Marx to Engels. <i>29 November</i>	357
193. Marx to Engels. <i>11 December</i>	359
194. Marx to Engels. <i>16 December</i>	361
195. Marx to Engels. <i>17 December</i>	362
196. Marx to Engels. <i>22 December</i>	364
197. Marx to Engels. <i>28 December</i>	364
198. Marx to Engels. <i>30 December</i>	365

1859

199. Marx to Engels. <i>6 January</i>	366
200. Marx to Engels. <i>8 January</i>	367
201. Marx to Engels. <i>Between 13 and 15 January</i>	367
202. Marx to Engels. <i>21 January</i>	369
203. Engels to Ferdinand Freiligrath. <i>25 January</i>	370
204. Marx to Engels. <i>26 January</i>	371
205. Engels to Marx. <i>27 January</i>	372
206. Marx to Engels. <i>28 January</i>	373
207. Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer. <i>1 February</i>	374

208. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>2 February</i>	378
209. Marx to Engels. <i>2 February</i>	379
210. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>4 February</i>	380
211. Marx to Engels. <i>8 February</i>	383
212. Marx to Engels. <i>9 February</i>	384
213. Engels to Marx. <i>10 February</i>	386
214. Engels to Marx. <i>14 February</i>	386
215. Marx to Engels. <i>15 February</i>	387
216. Marx to Engels. <i>About 22 February</i>	389
217. Marx to Engels. <i>22 February</i>	390
218. Marx to Franz Duncker. <i>23 February</i>	390
219. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>23 February</i>	391
220. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>25 February</i>	391
221. Marx to Engels. <i>25 February</i>	393
222. Marx to Engels. <i>25 February</i>	394
223. Marx to Engels. <i>3 March</i>	398
224. Engels to Marx. <i>4 March</i>	399
225. Marx to Engels. <i>10 March</i>	400
226. Engels to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>14 March</i>	402
227. Marx to Engels. <i>16 March</i>	403
228. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>16 March</i>	404
229. Marx to Franz Duncker. <i>17 March</i>	405
230. Marx to Engels. <i>22 March</i>	406
231. Marx to Engels. <i>25 March</i>	407
232. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>28 March</i>	407
233. Marx to Engels. <i>1 April</i>	410
234. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>4 April</i>	411
235. Marx to Engels. <i>9 April</i>	412
236. Engels to Marx. <i>11 April</i>	414
237. Marx to Engels. <i>12 April</i>	414
238. Marx to Engels. <i>16 April</i>	416
239. Marx to Engels. <i>19 April</i>	417
240. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>19 April</i>	418
241. Engels to Elisabeth Engels. <i>20 April</i>	422
242. Marx to Engels. <i>22 April</i>	425
243. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>5 May</i>	429
244. Marx to Engels. <i>6 May</i>	430
245. Marx to Max Friedländer. <i>16 May</i>	433
246. Marx to Engels. <i>16 May</i>	433

247. Marx to Engels. <i>18 May</i>	434
248. Engels to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>18 May</i>	441
249. Marx to Franz Duncker. <i>21 May</i>	446
250. Engels to Marx. <i>23 May</i>	447
251. Marx to Engels. <i>24 May</i>	448
252. Marx to Engels. <i>25 May</i>	450
253. Marx to Engels. <i>27 May</i>	451
254. Marx to Engels. <i>28 May</i>	453
255. Marx to Franz Duncker. <i>28 May</i>	453
256. Marx to Franz Duncker. <i>30 May</i>	454
257. Marx to Engels. <i>1 June</i>	455
258. Marx to Franz Duncker. <i>2 June</i>	456
259. Marx to Engels. <i>7 June</i>	457
260. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>10 June</i>	459
261. Marx to Engels. <i>10 June</i>	461
262. Marx to Franz Duncker. <i>22 June</i>	462
263. Marx to Engels. <i>14 July</i>	463
264. Engels to Marx. <i>15 July</i>	465
265. Marx to Engels. <i>18 July</i>	466
266. Engels to Marx. <i>18 July</i>	467
267. Marx to Engels. <i>19 July</i>	469
268. Engels to Marx. <i>20 or 21 July</i>	471
269. Marx to Engels. <i>22 July</i>	472
270. Engels to Marx. <i>25 July</i>	474
271. Marx to Engels. <i>1 August</i>	476
272. Engels to Marx. <i>3 August</i>	478
273. Marx to Engels. <i>8 August</i>	479
274. Engels to Marx. <i>10 August</i>	481
275. Marx to Engels. <i>13 August</i>	482
276. Marx to Engels. <i>26 August</i>	484
277. Marx to Engels. <i>5 September</i>	485
278. Engels to Marx. <i>8 September</i>	486
279. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht. <i>17 September</i>	486
280. Marx to Engels. <i>21 September</i>	489
281. Engels to Marx. <i>22 September</i>	490
282. Marx to Engels. <i>23 September</i>	491
283. Engels to Marx. <i>Between 24 and 26 September</i>	492
284. Marx to Bertalan Szemere. <i>26 September</i>	493
285. Marx to Engels. <i>27 September</i>	495

286. Marx to Engels. <i>28 September</i>	496
287. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>Not before 2 October</i>	497
288. Engels to Marx. <i>3 October</i>	499
289. Marx to Engels. <i>5 October</i>	501
290. Marx to Bertalan Szemere. <i>8 October</i>	504
291. Marx to Engels. <i>10 October</i>	506
292. Marx to Engels. <i>26 October</i>	508
293. Engels to Marx. <i>28 October</i>	509
294. Engels to E. J. Faulkner. <i>2 November</i>	510
295. Marx to Engels. <i>3 November</i>	511
296. Engels to Marx. <i>4 November</i>	514
297. Engels to Jenny Marx. <i>5 November</i>	517
298. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>6 November</i>	518
299. Marx to Engels. <i>7 November</i>	523
300. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>14 November</i>	524
301. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>15 November</i>	526
302. Marx to Engels. <i>16 November</i>	527
303. Engels to Emil Engels. <i>16 November</i>	528
304. Marx to Engels. <i>17 November</i>	529
305. Engels to Marx. <i>17 November</i>	530
306. Marx to Engels. <i>19 November</i>	532
307. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>22 November</i>	536
308. Marx to Ferdinand Freiligrath. <i>23 November</i>	539
309. Marx to Engels. <i>26 November</i>	542
310. Engels to Marx. <i>28 November</i>	544
311. Marx to Ferdinand Freiligrath. <i>About 30 November</i>	546
312. Marx to Engels. <i>10 December</i>	547
313. Engels to Marx. <i>11 or 12 December</i>	550
314. Marx to Engels. <i>13 December</i>	551
315. Engels to Marx. <i>19 December</i>	553
316. Marx to Engels. <i>20 December</i>	554
317. Engels to Jenny Marx. <i>22 December</i>	555

APPENDIX

1. Jenny Marx to Engels. <i>28 March 1856</i>	561
2. Jenny Marx to Engels. <i>About 12 April 1857</i>	563
3. Jenny Marx to Engels. <i>31 July 1857</i>	563
4. Jenny Marx to Engels. <i>About 14 August 1857</i>	565
5. Jenny Marx to Conrad Schramm. <i>8 December 1857</i>	566

6. Jenny Marx to Engels. <i>9 April 1858</i>	569
7. Jenny Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle. <i>9 April 1858</i>	570
8. Jenny Marx to Marx. <i>About 9 May 1858</i>	571
9. Jenny Marx to Engels. <i>After 13 August 1859</i>	572
10. Jenny Marx to Engels. <i>4 November 1859</i>	573
11. Jenny Marx to Engels. <i>23 or 24 December 1859</i>	573

NOTES AND INDEXES

<i>Notes</i>	579
<i>Name Index</i>	646
<i>Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature</i>	690
<i>Index of Periodicals</i>	723
<i>Subject Index</i>	731

ILLUSTRATIONS

Frederick Engels. 1856. Manchester.....	6-7
The second and third pages of Marx's letter to Engels of 16 April 1856.....	39
The first page of Engels' letter to Marx of 23 May 1856.....	47
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London, where Marx lived from October 1856 to 1868.....	77
Chart of cotton prices from 1 January 1857 compiled by Engels.....	205
The reading-room of the British Museum, London, where Marx worked.....	245
The second page of Marx's letter to Engels of 2 April 1858.....	299
Jenny Marx, daughter of Karl Marx. Late 1850s-early 1860s.....	316-17
Chetham's Library in Manchester where Marx worked in the 1840s and Engels in the 1840s-60s. General view and part of the reading-room.....	468-69
Wilhelm Liebknecht, Conrad Schramm, Ferdinand Lassalle.....	488-89

Translated by
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Preface

Volume 40 of this edition contains the correspondence of Marx and Engels from 1856 to 1859. The latter half of the 1850s rounded off the period of political reaction that had set in in Europe after the Revolution of 1848-49. The first capitalist world economic crisis (1857-58) heralded a new rise of the democratic and working-class movements.

During these years, Marx and Engels continued to develop their revolutionary teaching. They set out to arm the proletarian party, then in the process of formation, with the theory for the forthcoming battles. 'I hope to win a scientific victory for our party,' Marx wrote to his friend Joseph Weydemeyer on 1 February 1859 concerning the main goal he had set himself in his economic research (this volume, p. 377).

The letters in this volume reflect the further development of Marxist theory, of its three component parts—political economy, philosophy and the theory of the communist transformation of society—and the advance of Marxist thought in various other fields. They give an idea of the progress Marx was making in his economic studies. In 1857, he began to collate and sum up the vast material on political economy he had accumulated over many years. In 1857 and 1858, he wrote a series of economic manuscripts which form the first rough draft of *Capital*. In these manuscripts Marx worked out the theory of money in general terms and outlined his theory of surplus value, which Engels called Marx's second great discovery, the first being the materialist conception of history. These two discoveries turned socialism into a science.

The letters show what titanic labours these manuscripts cost him. The economic crisis, and the certainty that it would be

followed by profound revolutionary upheavals, made him hasten the work in every way. 'I am working like mad all night and every night collating my economic studies so that I at least get the outlines clear before the *déluge*,' he wrote to Engels on 8 December 1857 (p. 217). The correspondence shows that Marx made very great demands on himself as a scholar. Grudging in his judgments of his own achievements, he wrote to Engels with satisfaction on 16 January 1858: 'I had been overdoing very much my nocturnal labours.... I am, by the way, discovering some nice arguments. E.g. I have completely demolished the theory of profit' (p. 249).

The Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58, also known as the *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* (they will be found, together with *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Part One*, 1859, in Vols. 29 and 30), testify that in his economic works too Marx was enriching other areas of social science, especially philosophy, and was also perfecting his method of research into social phenomena. Marx attached great importance to dialectics, reinterpreted in the materialist spirit on the basis of a critical understanding of Hegel's philosophy. Marx even had the intention, which he unfortunately never carried out, of writing a book on this subject. 'If ever the time comes when such work is again possible, I should very much like to write 2 or 3 sheets making accessible to the common reader the *rational* aspect of the method which Hegel not only discovered but also mystified' (p. 249).

As Marx built up his new economic theory, he was also developing the structure of his future economic work. The letters give us an idea of the scope and comprehensive nature of the work he planned, which was to cover the economic foundations and political superstructure of the capitalist system. His letters to Ferdinand Lassalle of 22 February and to Engels of 2 April 1858, and also the letter to Joseph Weydemeyer of 1 February 1859, show that Marx intended to publish the work in six books: 1) On Capital, 2) On Landed Property, 3) On Wage Labour, 4) On the State, 5) International Trade, 6) World Market (p. 270). Even while the first book was being written, some changes had to be made in this plan. Marx was unable to fit in all the material, so he decided to divide it into two parts, the first on the commodity and money, the second specifically on capital (the production of surplus value, etc.).

A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Part One, which came off the press on 11 June 1859, was a major event in the

history of economic thought. Although, because of its limited range, the book could not include Marx's fundamental work on the theory of surplus value, it did contain the scientific prerequisites for it in the shape of a new theory of money and value. As can be seen from the letters, Marx considered it extremely important to popularise this work. The first successful attempt in this direction was undertaken by Engels, whose review is mentioned in the correspondence.

Marx began work on the second part shortly after sending the manuscript of the first to the publishers (Marx to Engels, 21 February 1859). However, he soon realised that he would need to do more research on a number of important aspects of surplus value and its transmuted forms (profit, interest and rent). The work dragged on and grew beyond the limits initially marked out for it. Furthermore, as the letters of 1859 show, Marx repeatedly had to break off in order to attend to urgent practical matters (the publication of the newspaper *Das Volk*, etc.). Subsequent letters give an idea of the further stages in his work.

Marx kept Engels constantly informed of the progress and results of his economic research. Engels readily helped him with advice, gave freely of the knowledge and experience he had acquired in long commercial practice, and supplied Marx with valuable material.

The correspondence published in this volume also gives some idea of Marx's and Engels' work in other fields of knowledge during this period, and of the variety and scope of their interests. They exchanged opinions on world history, the history of diplomacy, the history of various countries and peoples (among them Russia, Prussia and Poland), philology (especially in connection with Engels' study of the Slavonic languages), world literature, the natural sciences, and so on.

Prominent in Engels' work of the 1850s and early 1860s were studies in military history and the theory of warfare, for he was aware of the importance to proletarian revolutionaries of mastering military knowledge for the expected new outburst of revolutionary struggle. On 15 November 1857, Engels wrote to Marx that, should another revolution break out in Europe following the economic crisis, this would at once give 'a more practical slant' to his military studies (pp. 203-04).

Engels continued to publish reviews of current military events in periodicals, and also wrote a series of articles on the art of war and military history for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see present edition, Vol. 18). The letters in this volume show that he did this

in close cooperation with Marx. The two friends helped one another in finding sources and selecting material, and some of the articles for the *Cyclopaedia* were, in effect, written by them jointly. Besides doing all the articles on specifically military problems, Engels constantly helped Marx by handling the military questions in the articles that Marx wrote for the *Cyclopaedia*, especially in the biographical essays on military and political leaders (Barclay de Tolly, Bem, Blücher and others). Marx used some of Engels' letters (pp. 163-64, 166-68, 178-80) as preliminary drafts of articles. For his part, Marx looked up references for Engels in the British Museum Library and copied out extracts from various sources.

Engels' articles for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, especially on general subjects, such as 'Army', 'Artillery', 'Cavalry', 'Fortification' and 'Infantry', were an important contribution to Marxist military science. Marx believed that in them Engels had given further proof of the universal relevance of the materialist conception of history. 'Your "Army" is capital,' he wrote to Engels on 25 September 1857. 'More graphically than anything else the history of the *army* demonstrates the rightness of our views as to the connection between the productive forces and social relations' (p. 186). He also praised Engels' other articles (see, for example, his letters to Engels of 10 June and 10 October 1859).

Marx valued his friend's ability to discuss questions of military history in the context of the political tasks that faced the proletarian revolutionaries, and to substantiate revolutionary tactics militarily. A case in point is Engels' pamphlet *Po and Rhine* (1859), in which military analysis serves to prove the need for a proletarian approach to the problem of Italy's unification, as well as to denounce the policies of the French Bonapartists and the Prussian and Austrian ruling circles. 'Have read it all; exceedingly clever; the political side is also splendidly done and that was damned difficult,' Marx wrote to Engels after he had gone over the pamphlet (p. 400).

Observing the spectacular development of the natural sciences in the mid-19th century, Marx and Engels considered it essential to interpret the latest scientific achievements in the light of their revolutionary world outlook. They regarded progress in these fields as expanding the scientific basis of their theories.

Engels' letter to Marx of 14 July 1858, containing an extensive programme for the study of the latest findings of science, shows that Engels had already conceived the idea of giving a philosophical generalisation, from a dialectical materialist position, of the

development of physics, chemistry, biology and the other sciences, which he eventually realised in his *Dialectics of Nature*.

Engels was one of the first to grasp the enormous significance of Darwin's theory of evolution. He read *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859, when the book was published, and wrote to Marx as follows: 'Darwin ... whom I'm reading just now, is absolutely splendid. There was one aspect of teleology that had yet to be demolished, and that has now been done. Never before has so grandiose an attempt been made to demonstrate historical evolution in Nature, and certainly never to such good effect' (p. 551).

In the years covered by this volume, political journalism remained for Marx and Engels their most important means of disseminating revolutionary ideas, and substantiating proletarian revolutionary tactics on crucial social and political problems. The correspondence reflects their intensive journalistic activities during this period. In many letters they discuss the contents of articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune* and other periodicals. Economic processes in the capitalist world were increasingly attracting their attention. Observing the rapid growth of capitalist production, Marx compared the 1850s with the dawn of the capitalist era, which was marked by abrupt changes in economic and social relations. 'There is no denying that bourgeois society has for the second time experienced its 16th century,' he wrote to Engels on 8 October 1858 (p. 346). Marx and Engels also saw the reverse side of the rise of the capitalist economy: the deepening of its inherent contradictions and the inevitability of periodic economic crises. In many letters they pointed to the world-wide scale of the 1857 crisis and noted the gradual involvement of different countries in it, its spread to various spheres of the economy, and the grave effect it had on the position of the masses. Apart from the series of articles on the crisis published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, Marx intended to write, jointly with Engels, a pamphlet on the subject (Marx to Engels, 18 December 1857). However, the plan did not materialise.

Marx and Engels followed current events very closely, especially the social and political shifts caused by the 1857 crisis. Although it did not lead directly to revolutionary upheavals, its revolutionising effect on society was very considerable. 'Taken all in all, the crisis has been burrowing away like the good old mole it is,' Marx wrote to Engels on 22 February 1858 (p. 274).

Marx and Engels considered it highly important that the 1857 crisis should have hit industry and finance in England, the most economically developed country in the capitalist world of that time. In a letter to Engels dated 8 December 1857 Marx pointed out that despite all the attempts by bourgeois economists and political writers to represent England's economy as stable and invulnerable, catastrophe had descended on this citadel of capitalism (p. 215). The economic upheaval in England was aggravating its internal situation and intensifying the dissatisfaction of the masses with the obsolete oligarchic system. As can be seen from the letters, Marx and Engels did not rule out the possibility that the economic crisis might give rise to violent political conflicts and demonstrations against the ruling class by broad social sections, especially the proletariat. As a result, England might be drawn into revolutionary events should they occur again in Continental Europe. As early as 31 March 1857, when the first symptoms of the economic difficulties appeared, Marx wrote to Engels: 'England is entering upon a *sérieuse* crisis ... and if the move is resumed on the Continent, John Bull will not maintain the stance of supercilious detachment he adopted in 1848' (p. 113).

The economic crisis had an even greater effect on France. The entrepreneurial fever prevalent in the Second Empire, the unbridled Stock Exchange speculation, the corruption at all levels of the state machinery, and the predatory policy of the banks, such as the *Crédit mobilier*, resulted in the economic crisis being particularly destructive. Marx wrote to Engels on 18 December 1857 about 'the general rottenness of the bankrupt State' (p. 225). Marx and Engels held that during the economic crisis Napoleon III's empire had taken yet another step towards its inevitable collapse, as was manifest, particularly, in the growing anti-Bonapartist mood everywhere. In a letter to Marx on 17 March 1858, Engels pointed to the ferment among the Paris workers, who openly displayed their republican convictions and their sympathies for Orsini, the Italian patriot executed for an attempt to assassinate Louis Napoleon. Deportations and arrests, he wrote, had borne as little fruit as the workers' settlements and the national workshops. The government's police measures and attempts to pose as a patron of the working class were unable to arrest the growing movement against the Bonapartist dictatorship (p. 289).

Developments in Germany, which were also considerably influenced by the crisis, seemed to give an indication of the changes that

were in the offing. Marx and Engels were particularly interested in the position of Prussia. In their opinion, the virtual restoration of absolutism there after the Revolution of 1848-49, an absolutism only scantily veiled by pseudo-constitutional institutions, had been a consequence of the German bourgeoisie's cowardly half-measures. In the 1850s, too, the bourgeoisie, with its constitutional-monarchy illusions and its fear of the masses, continued to display a timid circumspection. 'The bourgeois and philistines have, at any rate, got even worse since 1848,' Engels wrote to Marx on 17 March 1858. '...Plainly your good, honest German has not yet emerged from the hibernation that followed the strenuous exertions of 1848' (p. 292). However, the rapid growth of industry and trade, which Marx and Engels noted in their letters more than once, was deepening the conflict between the demands of economic and social development and the semi-feudal political system and making the fragmentation of the country more and more intolerable. In Prussia and the other German states all this was sowing the seeds of further conflict between the forces of progress and reaction.

In their letters of 1858 and subsequent years, Marx and Engels noted that Russia was becoming one of the hotbeds of revolutionary ferment in Europe. The crisis of the feudal serf system, aggravated by defeat in the 1853-56 Crimean War, and growing peasant unrest which drove the ruling circles to look for a solution in peasant reform, were seen by Marx and Engels as evidence that major revolutionary events were imminent in Russia. In a letter to Engels on 29 April 1858, Marx expressed the hope that should such events take place, the Tsarist autocracy's position would be undermined both within the country and internationally. 'The movement for the emancipation of the serfs in Russia strikes me as important in so far as it indicates the beginning of an internal development that might run counter to the country's traditional foreign policy' (p. 310).

The ideologists of the working class were coming round to the idea that a revolutionary Russia was arising in opposition to the Tsarist autocracy—the revolutionary movement's worst enemy—and they welcomed it as a powerful force for social progress and as a major factor in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the whole of Europe.

Events in the colonies were a further important topic of the correspondence. In the 1850s, Marx and Engels repeatedly denounced the capitalist colonial system in the press. Aware of the importance of working out a programme on the national and colonial question, and of the need to define the attitude of the working class to the national liberation movement of the oppressed

peoples, Marx and Engels unmasked the policy of colonial expansion, to which more and more Asian and African countries were falling victim, and the savage rule of the capitalist 'mother countries' in the colonies.

Engels' letter to Marx of 23 May 1856 in which, from personal knowledge, he describes the consequences of the English landlords' and bourgeoisie's domination in Ireland is a powerful expression of his views. He wrote that the country had been utterly ruined by wars of conquest, by punitive police measures and by the ruthless exploitation of the working people. '...Through systematic oppression,' Engels wrote, the Irish 'have come to be a completely wretched nation...' (p. 50). The famine of 1845-47, the mass emigration which completely depopulated the country, and the landowners' transition to large-scale sheep-breeding, accompanied by the expulsion of small tenant farmers (the 'clearances'), were an appalling tragedy for the Irish masses. Ireland had been reduced to an agrarian adjunct of capitalist England. Engels wrote that 'Ireland may be regarded as the earliest English colony and one which, by reason of her proximity, is still governed in exactly the same old way; here one cannot fail to notice that the English citizen's so-called freedom is based on the oppression of the colonies' (p. 49).

Marx and Engels witnessed a series of new colonial wars unleashed by the ruling classes of West European countries: the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57, the Anglo-Franco-Chinese war of 1856-60, the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60. In their letters they characterised these as wars of annexation and plunder. Engels called the British government's colonial actions 'military ventures' (p. 115). Marx gives similar descriptions (see his letters to Engels of 24 March and 22 May 1857).

The correspondence gives an idea of the sympathy with which Marx and Engels followed the development of the mass struggle against foreign oppression in the colonies and dependent countries. They showed particular interest in the great popular uprising of 1857-59 in India, which shook English rule there, and made references to it in many of their letters (Marx to Engels, 6 and 14 July, 23 September, 20 October 1857 and 14 January 1858; Engels to Marx, 24 September and 29 October 1857). In the uprising, started by the sepoys in the Bengal army, Marx and Engels saw indications of a true national liberation struggle, a sign of mounting resistance to the colonialists by the oppressed peoples. Although the insurgents were defeated, Marx and Engels regarded their action as a portent of the future collapse

of colonialism under the blows of the anti-colonial movement.

The Indian uprising convinced Marx of the correctness of his earlier conclusion that the national liberation movement and the proletariat's struggle against the capitalist system were closely interlinked. The blows dealt to capitalism in the colonies were shaking its position at home and making it more difficult for capitalism to use colonial resources for strengthening its domination, and facilitating the triumph of the proletarian revolution. 'In view of the drain of men and bullion which she will cost the English, India is now our best ally,' Marx wrote to Engels on 16 January 1858 (p. 249).

As in the preceding years, Marx and Engels devoted much attention in their letters to a wide range of problems concerning the foreign policies pursued by the ruling classes of the European powers and the history of diplomacy. In assessing the international situation after the Crimean War of 1853-56, Marx and Engels found it fraught with new complications and wars. They saw the Bonapartist Second Empire as the main source of military danger. Its rulers combined adventurism and ambitions for conquest with blatant demagoguery in the national question, their purpose being to exploit the national movements in the interests of Bonapartist France. The proletarian revolutionaries regarded the denunciation of this 'most repulsive combination of Bonapartism and drivel about nationalities' (Marx to Lassalle, 22 November 1859) as one of their main tasks (p. 537).

This became particularly urgent in view of the war of France and Piedmont against Austria, which broke out in April 1859. The interference of Napoleon III in Italian affairs was motivated by the desire to avert a revolutionary explosion on the Apennine Peninsula, to strengthen the Second Empire's hegemony in Europe and, by external successes, to consolidate the shaky Bonapartist regime in France itself. The Piedmontese liberal-monarchist circles were acting in alliance with the Bonapartists, with whose aid they were trying to unify Italy under the House of Savoy, which ruled Piedmont (see Marx's letter to Lassalle of 4 February 1859). At the same time, the war against the Austrian monarchy, Italy's age-old oppressor, was welcomed by patriotic forces as a signal for the liberation struggle. Popular uprisings occurred in a number of Italian states. This drove Napoleon III to conclude a hasty peace with the Austrians, which Marx and Engels described as discreditable (see Engels' letter to Marx of 15 July 1859). As a result, Italy remained fragmented.

As can be seen from their letters, Marx and Engels considered it essential to show that French Bonapartism was as big a barrier to the national liberation and unification of Italy as the Austrian Empire, that the Bonapartist regime was a threat to all progressive forces in Europe, and that it was, in particular, an obstacle to a united Germany.

During the Italian crisis, when even democrats in Europe had fallen for Bonapartist propaganda and 'the confusion presently reigning in men's minds has reached a curious peak' (p. 436), Marx and Engels worked out clear-cut tactics to turn what was on both sides a dynastic war of annexation into a revolutionary war of liberation by the Italian and German peoples. They elaborated their views on the war in a number of writings published at the time (see, for example, Engels' *Po and Rhine* and Marx's 'On Italian Unity' in Vol. 16 of the present edition). The main points were also elucidated in the letters included in this volume.

Marx and Engels held that both Italy and Germany should be united 'from below', by revolutionary action on the part of the masses, and regarded the defeat of Bonapartism—the main opponent of a democratic solution to the Italian and German national problems—as the most urgent task. Hence the states in the German Confederation should not remain neutral; they should come out against Bonapartist France. According to Marx and Engels, this was in no way tantamount to supporting Austria. In their opinion, a war for the German people's national interests was bound to assume a revolutionary character and therefore contribute to the liberation of Italy, and rouse the revolutionary forces in other European countries, including France. Disclosing the essence of this tactic, Marx wrote to Engels on 6 May 1859 that it was absolutely essential that the proletarian revolutionaries 'do not identify' their cause 'with that of the present German governments' (p. 431). They should strive for a development of events that would lead to an all-European revolution, and it was particularly important that things should 'come to a head in Paris' (p. 430). The ideas on the 1859 Italian crisis contained in the letters of Marx and Engels hold an important place in the tactical arsenal of proletarian parties.

This volume also throws light on the efforts of Marx and Engels to create a proletarian party. They were above all concerned with the ideological education of their followers and comrades-in-arms, the proletarian revolutionaries who had been members of the

Communist League and who were to form the nucleus of the future party. Without predetermining its organisational structure, for they believed that this must depend on the actual conditions in which the working-class movement developed, Marx and Engels were working both to rally the proletarian forces internationally and, wherever possible, to unite the working class on a national scale. They thought it vital to strengthen the ties among the working-class leaders of various countries and, as can be seen from their correspondence, did everything to this end.

German workers and intellectuals wrote to Marx, seeking his advice on tactical matters. Thus, in the spring of 1856, he was approached from Germany by Johannes Miquel, a former member of the Communist League (Marx to Engels, 26 April and 7 May 1856). At the end of February that year, Gustav Levy visited Marx with a message from the workers of Düsseldorf, and Marx explained the need for meticulous organisation and propaganda, warning him of the danger of premature local uprisings in the midst of a general lull in the revolutionary movement (Marx to Engels, 5 March 1856).

Information on the state of the working-class movement in the USA was supplied to Marx and Engels by Joseph Weydemeyer. The organisers of the Communist Club in New York also kept in touch with Marx (Marx to Engels, 13 August 1858 and 9 February 1859, and Engels to Marx, 18 July 1859).

Marx and Engels pinned great hopes on the revolutionary wing of the English working-class movement, as represented by the Left Chartists led by Ernest Jones. Their activities opened up prospects for establishing a mass working-class party in England. It was with this in mind that Marx advised Jones to transfer the centre of agitation directly into the midst of the industrial proletariat. Jones 'should begin by *forming* a party, for which purpose he must go to the manufacturing districts,' Marx wrote to Engels on 24 November 1857 (p. 210).

However, these hopes were not justified. By then, the Chartist movement was steadily losing support among the masses. Jones' ideological vacillations, especially his tendency to follow the lead of the radical bourgeoisie, were a disturbing symptom. Marx repeatedly warned the Chartist leader about his mistakes (Marx to Engels, 24 November and 22 December 1857 and 14 January 1858). At one point, Marx and Engels even temporarily broke with Jones.

Jones' political vacillations reflected the rise of a reformist trend within the English working-class movement. Marx and Engels saw

it as the result of a privileged section forming in the English working class. On 7 October 1858, Engels wrote to Marx: '...The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that the ultimate aim of this most bourgeois of all nations would appear to be the possession, *alongside* the bourgeoisie, of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat. In the case of a nation which exploits the entire world this is, of course, justified to some extent' (p. 344). This development of a labour aristocracy, a new phenomenon detected by Engels and, at the time, characteristic only of England, was made possible by England's industrial and colonial monopoly, which enabled the English bourgeoisie to use part of its super-profits to buy off a section of the working class. 'In both respects,' Lenin wrote, referring to England's vast colonies and monopoly profit in the context of this passage in Engels' letter, 'England at that time was an exception among capitalist countries, and Engels and Marx, analysing this exception, quite clearly and definitely indicated its *connection* with the (temporary) victory of opportunism in the English labour movement' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 112).

However, despite the decline of Chartism, Marx and Engels were convinced that the revolutionary trend in the English working-class movement would in some form be reborn and carry on Chartism's finest traditions. They therefore considered it essential to help to awaken the revolutionary energy of the British working class in every possible way.

The new development in the working-class movement in the late 1850s—the spread of strikes, the emergence of new professional and other organisations, and the workers' participation in political campaigns—stimulated Marx and Engels to step up their efforts to strengthen the nucleus of the future proletarian party. The situation demanded vigorous action, the intensified propagation of revolutionary theory and closer contact with the masses. Marx in particular resumed his participation in the London German Workers' Educational Society, in which sectarian and adventurist elements had prevailed for a period. By this time, however, Marx's comrades had regained their influence in the society.

Marx was seeking new ways of popularising the principles of the proletarian party then being formed. He thought it possible also to use Europe's progressive bourgeois press to this end. 'Times have changed,' he wrote to Lassalle on 28 March 1859, 'and I now consider it essential that our party should secure positions wherever possible, even if only for a time, so that others should not gain possession of the terrain' (p. 409). The long negotiations

Marx held with the editors of the Viennese liberal newspaper *Die Presse* on work as a correspondent reflect this attitude, as do the ideas he expressed on the terms under which a journalist committed to the cause of the proletariat could contribute to a bourgeois press organ (Marx to Engels, 16 April and 16 and 18 May 1859; to Lassalle, 22 February 1858, 28 March and 5 May 1859, and to Friedländer, 16 May 1859). Marx's main stipulation was the right to express his own views on political issues, without adapting to editorial policies.

It was at this time that Marx endeavoured to start a proletarian paper. From the letters published in this volume it can be seen how much energy he spent on converting the newspaper *Das Volk*, which had been published by the German Workers' Educational Society and other German workers' organisations in London from May 1859, into a mouthpiece of the proletarian party (see, in particular, his letters to Engels of 18 May and 10 June 1859).

From the beginning of July, Marx was its *de facto* editor, handling all administrative and business matters, whose management until then had left 'a great deal to be desired', as he had earlier written to Engels (p. 457). Under Marx's management, and thanks also to Engels' cooperation, the paper became a real communist propaganda organ, a medium for explaining the principles of the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolutionaries. However, it proved impossible to regularise its finances, and, after the sixteenth issue on 10 August 1859, the paper ceased publication.

The process of forming a working-class party inevitably involved the dissociation of the proletarian revolutionaries from the proponents of sectarian and reformist ideologies alien to them. Marx's and Engels' relationship with Ferdinand Lassalle, the father of a special brand of petty-bourgeois socialism and of an opportunist trend in the German working-class movement, provides a good illustration of this, and their correspondence with him is most revealing in this respect.

Lassalle first met Marx and Engels in Germany during the Revolution of 1848-49 and kept in touch with them in the years that followed. In his letters to Marx he called himself the latter's pupil. For some time, Marx and Engels considered him a man close to their own circle, though they had been hearing about the dissatisfaction of workers in the Rhine Province with Lassalle's arrogance and overweening behaviour (Marx to Engels, 5 March and 10 April 1856). However, they valued his energy and his

talent as a propagandist and orator, and hoped that he would overcome these failings.

Early in 1858, after reading Lassalle's two-volume work, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*, Marx came to the conclusion that Lassalle's views were far removed from the revolutionary materialist world outlook. '*Heraclitus, the Dark Philosopher* by Lassalle the Luminous One is, *au fond*, a very silly concoction,' he wrote to Engels on 1 February, stressing that essentially Lassalle confined himself to restating some of the propositions of Hegel's idealistic philosophy, of which, moreover, he only had a superficial understanding (p. 259). In a letter to Lassalle, on 31 May 1858, Marx tried to explain the need for a critical mastery of Hegel's dialectics, for a review of its idealistic basis, for divesting it of the 'mystical aura' given it by Hegel (p. 316).

It soon turned out that Lassalle also had differences with Marx and Engels on politics and tactics. In March 1859, he sent them his historical drama, *Franz von Sickingen*, which dealt with the uprising of the Swabian and Rhenish knights against their feudal lords in 1522-23, on the eve of the great Peasant War (1525). In analysing the drama Marx and Engels formulated some cardinal propositions of Marxist aesthetics. The letters to Lassalle from Marx on 19 April and from Engels on 18 May 1859 disclosed the essence of realism as the most progressive method of portraying life in art. Discussing the faults and merits of Lassalle's work, Marx and Engels reproached him above all for his departure from realism, for using abstract rhetoric in place of a truthful and visual portrayal of the characters, thus turning them into 'mere mouthpieces for the spirit of the times' (p. 420). The main character, Sickingen, has none of the traits of a rebellious knight. He epitomises the insoluble and therefore tragic contradiction between the leaders and the masses, a contradiction which Lassalle held to be a feature of any revolution. Lassalle's drama, in Engels' words, was 'too abstract, not realistic enough' (p. 444). Marx and Engels also held that Lassalle's inability to give a true picture of the historical situation betrayed itself in the way he virtually ignored the social background of the events he depicted—the peasants and the plebs in the grip of revolutionary ferment.

According to Marx and Engels, the characters in realistic works should be both individual and typical, and should reflect the nature of the class to which they belong. Moreover, realist authors should not express their ideas as reasoned arguments, but through full-blooded characters and lively action. In Marx's and Engels'

view, Lassalle shared, in an exaggerated form, a weakness of the great poet and dramatist Schiller—his inclination to abstract didacticism. A realist writer, however, should, as Engels pointed out, try for ‘the complete fusion of greater intellectual profundity, of a consciously historical content’, typical of Schiller’s dramas, ‘with Shakespearean vivacity and wealth of action’, with Shakespeare’s ability to portray true human passion and suffering, the complexity and contradictory aspects of human nature (p. 442).

In their letters, Marx and Engels touch on the problem of the writer’s political position, and on the connection of literature and art with life. Believing that a definite ideological and political orientation is inherent in any work of art, the founders of Marxism always deplored attempts to separate art and politics—the theory of ‘art for art’s sake’. It was at that time that they condemned the tendency of the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath to oppose literary interests to party obligations (Engels to Marx, 28 November 1859, Marx to Engels, 10 December 1859). In the opinion of Marx and Engels, it was the organic combination of ideology and artistic mastery which made art and literature such a powerful lever of social progress.

Marx and Engels regarded as quite legitimate Lassalle’s endeavour to make his drama topical, to link it with the vital task of uniting Germany, but they held that its political tendency was profoundly wrong. It was obvious to them that Sickingen, the knight, was in effect a reactionary whose movement aimed at a return to the era of feudal injustice and club-law, and that Lassalle was aggrandising the historical predecessor of the German Junkers, representing him as the true champion of national unification. Marx pointed this out to Lassalle: ‘Have not you yourself—like your Franz von Sickingen—succumbed, to some extent, to the diplomatic error of regarding the Lutheran-knightly opposition as superior to the plebeian-Münzerian?’ (p. 420).

The preference for chivalry and the burgher opposition Lassalle showed in his drama reflected his view of the part played by their historical successors—the Junkers and the bourgeoisie—in the cause of German unity. He underestimated the role of the masses in this process and had a nihilistic attitude to the peasants, whom he attributed to the reactionary mass. In contrast, Marx and Engels considered that only vigorous action by the working class and its ally, the peasantry, could give the struggle for national unity a truly democratic revolutionary character, and that the consolidation of this alliance would open up prospects for a transition to the socialist stage of revolution. ‘The whole thing in

Germany will depend on whether it is possible to back the Proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasants' War' (p. 41).

Lassalle's position on the unification of Germany was laid wide open when in May 1859 he published the pamphlet *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens*. By aligning himself with the Prussophile bourgeoisie and the Junkers, Lassalle was virtually urging Prussia to avail itself of Austria's defeat to carry out its plans for unification, plans which envisaged no changes in the political or social system. Meanwhile, Lassalle depicted Napoleon III's Italian policy as objectively progressive.

These views were completely at odds with those of Marx and Engels. Characterising the essence of their political differences, Lenin wrote: 'Lassalle was adapting himself to the victory of Prussia and Bismarck, to the lack of sufficient strength in the democratic national movements of Italy and Germany. Thus Lassalle deviated towards a national-liberal labour policy, whereas Marx encouraged and developed an independent, consistently democratic policy hostile to national-liberal cowardice' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 141).

'Lassalle's pamphlet is an enormous blunder,' Marx wrote to Engels on 18 May 1859 (p. 435). In a letter of 10 June that year, he told Lassalle that the pamphlet 'in no way corresponds with my own view or that of my party friends in England' (p. 460). Marx was particularly angered by Lassalle's posing as the spokesman of the party. He regarded it as a breach of party discipline to make statements in the press on behalf of the party without ascertaining the views of other members (p. 435).

Marx saw that Lassalle's position was very close to that of the liberal bourgeoisie, and also of pro-Bonaparte and Prussophile vulgar democrats such as Karl Vogt. Lassalle 'in point of fact was piping the same tune as Vogt', he wrote to Engels on 26 November 1859 (p. 542). Marx considered that Lassalle attempted to obstruct the public denunciation of Vogt as a Bonapartist agent and a slanderer of the proletarian revolutionaries because Vogt and Lassalle held identical views. In his work *Herr Vogt*, published in 1860 (this edition, Vol. 17), he therefore not only dealt a crushing blow at the political concepts of Vogt but, without mentioning Lassalle by name, attacked his views too.

Lassalle's literary and political activities were making his unreliability as a comrade-in-arms increasingly clear to Marx and Engels. Nevertheless, they had not yet finally lost hope of setting him on the right road, of stimulating him to act at least as a

fellow-traveller of the proletarian revolutionaries. Subsequent events, however, widened the rift and led to a final rupture.

The letters in this volume contain valuable biographical material on the life of Marx and his family and of Engels in these years.

The second half of the 1850s were hard years for Marx. As before, he was in serious financial difficulties and fighting for his very existence. 'I would not wish my worst enemy to have to wade through the quagmire in which I've been trapped for the past two months, fuming the while over the innumerable vexations that are ruining my intellect and destroying my capacity for work,' he wrote to Engels at a moment of extreme distress (p. 331). The moral and political atmosphere that surrounded the revolutionary refugees was also oppressive. After Orsini's assassination attempt, refugees in England were put under political surveillance and their letters were opened (see the letters of Marx to Engels of 2 and 5 March and Engels' letter to Marx of 4 March 1858). They had to face repeated insinuations in the bourgeois press, slanderous allegations by their enemies among the vulgar democrats (Kinkel, Heinzen, Vogt), the cowardly apostasy of their allies (Blind) and the withdrawal from politics of former friends (Dronke, Cluss and Freiligrath).

Marx, however, bore all his trials with courage and remarkable fortitude. The letters in this volume are permeated with optimism and the expectation of new revolutionary events.

The letters show vividly how the unique friendship between Marx and Engels strengthened with the years and how great was their mutual attachment. In Engels this manifested itself in his selfless willingness time and again to come to the aid of Marx and his family, to spend his energies on 'accursed commerce' (Engels to Marx, 17 November 1856) in order to be able to give Marx material support, and to take upon himself a considerable part of Marx's journalistic work so as to free him for economic research; while on Marx's part, it expressed itself in infinite gratitude, respect and trust. Whenever anything went amiss with Engels, Marx would be seriously alarmed. His friend's illness in the summer of 1857 caused him a great deal of worry. 'Nothing could please me more than to hear that your health is progressing,' he wrote to Engels on 21 September that year, having heard that there were signs of an improvement (p. 173).

Marx and Engels treated their comrades-in-arms with touching attention and great sensitivity. They grieved over the losses

unavoidable under the harsh conditions of life in emigration, and especially over the death of the proletarian poet Georg Weerth (see, in particular, the letter from Engels to Marx, written not before 27 September 1856, and the letters from Marx to Lassalle, 21 December 1857 and 22 February 1858). On the death of Conrad Schramm, an eminent member of the working-class movement, Engels wrote in sorrow to Marx on 25 January 1858: 'Our old guard is rapidly dwindling away during this long spell of peace' (p. 253). Marx and Engels showed unfailing concern for their old comrades in the Communist League, and kept up friendly relations with Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus), Friedrich Lessner, Georg Eccarius, Joseph Weydemeyer, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Peter Imandt and others.

The outstanding quality of Marx's relationship with his wife is illustrated by his remarkable love letter to Jenny Marx (21 June 1856) in Trier, where she had gone to visit her dying mother.

* * *

Volume 40 contains 317 letters by Marx and Engels, of which 307 were written in German and 10 in English. The great majority of the letters are being published in English for the first time. Only 73 appeared in English before (53 of these in incomplete form). These publications are indicated in the notes. The 11 letters by Jenny Marx included in the Appendix are given in English translation for the first time. The two letters by Karl Marx to Collet Dobson Collet written in June 1857 and Jenny Marx's letter to Engels of 31 July 1857 have never been published in any language before.

The dating of some of the letters was ascertained in the course of the preparation of this volume. Information on undiscovered letters mentioned in the text will be found in the notes. If a fact or event is referred to in several letters, the same note number is used each time.

Obvious slips in the text are corrected without comment. The authors' contractions of proper and geographical names and individual words are given in full. Defects in the manuscripts, where the text is missing or illegible, are indicated by three dots in square brackets. If the text allows a reconstruction of the missing or illegible passages, this is also given in square brackets. Anything crossed out by the authors is reproduced in the footnotes only where the disparity in meaning is considerable. If a letter is a rough copy, an extract quoted elsewhere, etc., this is marked either in the text itself or in the notes.

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

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the notes written by Stanislav Nikonenko (letters from January 1856 to mid-February 1858), Natalia Martynova (letters from mid-February 1858 to early February 1859) and Tatyana Andrushchenko (letters from early February to December 1859 and the Appendix). Tatyana Andrushchenko also wrote the Preface. The volume was edited by Lev Golman and Tatyana Yeremeyeva (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Yelena Vashchenko, the index of quoted and mentioned literature by Natalia Martynova, and the subject index by Tatyana Andrushchenko (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

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

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Mzia Pitshelauri.

Note: The name of the late Margaret Mynatt was unfortunately omitted from the list of editors who worked on Volume 38, the first of the thirteen volumes devoted to the correspondence of Marx and Engels.

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

January 1856-December 1859

1856

1

MARX TO ENGELS¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 January 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

Today I emptied the 6th and last medicine-BOTTLE. Pretty well again on the whole, save for persistent and highly perfidious piles.

I haven't touched on Cobden's pamphlet² in my ARTICLES, because I have devoted many tedious columns exclusively to the HISTORY of the DANUBIAN PROVINCES and Sweden.³ I should be very glad if you would take on Cobden.

I shall add a short piece to your article^a as soon as I have seen the 2nd edition of *The Times*. Its ANNOUNCEMENT yesterday AS TO THE 'UNCONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE'⁴ was a sheer Stock Exchange swindle which brought it in a great deal of money. As early as 1772, at the Congress of Focşani,⁵ Catherine II had already proposed to the Turks 'THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PRINCIPALITIES UNDER THE COMMON PROTECTION OF THE PRINCIPAL POWERS OF EUROPE'. At the Library^b I discovered a work of Herrmann's which appeared in Germany in 1841.^c He got hold of a manuscript of Field Marshal Münnich's on the Crimean campaign under Anna⁶ in one of the German libraries and published it with a foreword. I shall make excerpts from it for you if you are interested.

You may, perhaps, have seen in the *Augsburger* the high praise Fallmerayer accords to Muralt for his history of Byzantium from the 6th to the 16th century, which won a Petersburg Academy prize.^d

^a F. Engels, 'The European War'. - ^b of the British Museum - ^c E. Herrmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des russischen Reiches*, Leipzig, 1843 (wrong date in the original). - ^d E. de Muralt, *Essai de chronographie Byzantine pour servir à l'examen des annales du Bas-Empire et particulièrement des chronographes slaves de 395 à 1057*. Fallmerayer's review of this book was published in the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 11 and 12 (supplement), 11 and 12 January 1856.

Have seen Bruno^a again on various occasions. Romanticism increasingly turns out to be a 'prerequisite' for the critical criticism. In economics expresses enthusiasm for the Physiocrats, whom he misconstrues, and believes in the specifically beneficial effects of landed property. Moreover he rates very high the economic fantasies of Adam Müller, the German romantic.⁷ In military science his *summus princeps*^b is the 'genius' Bülow. I told him that these latest disclosures of his had fully enlightened me regarding his arduous work of ratiocination. As to RUSSIA he says that the old state of affairs in the West must be swept away and that this could only be done from the East, since the Easterner alone feels real hatred—for the Westerner, that is—and Russia is the only close-knit power in the East, BESIDES being the only country in Europe where there is still 'cohesion'. As to our illusions about internal class struggles, he maintains that 1. the workers feel no 'hatred'; 2. if they did feel hatred, they would never have achieved anything by it; 3. they are a 'rabble' (who have no interest in the Synoptics⁸) and ought to be curbed and directed solely by force and cunning; 4. with them one silver groschen rise in pay is enough to settle 'the whole caboodle'. In any case, no one who was not a 'descendant of the conquerors' could play an historical role, except in the field of theory. And there something had doubtless been done during the past 16 years, though only in Germany and, indeed, by Bruno alone. It was thanks to him that 'scientific' theology had ceased to exist in Germany, the only place where it had existed, and that 'Tholuck was writing no longer'. *Voilà un résultat immense*.^c In other respects, a pleasant old gentleman. Proposes to stay a year in England. I believe he is planning to *introduce into England* the 'scientific theology' which has ceased to exist in Germany. He declares Humboldt to be a complete ass because he has fraudulently arrogated to himself abroad the fame due to Bruno.

You should write to old Harvey about your ears. He is also treating Lina^d from afar and, having heard that she is merely a GOVERNESS *in spe*,^e has not even charged her a centime. Herewith Lina's first report, which you should return.

I am sending you a scrawl of Urquhart's^f which they sent me before the paper came out.⁹ The 'revelations' about the HISTORY OF CHARTISM [are] INDEED highly naive, since Urquhart turns out to be

^a Bruno Bauer - ^b great exemplar - ^c That's tremendous result. - ^d Caroline Schöler - ^e prospective - ^f 'The Chartist Correspondence', *The Free Press*, No. 15, 19 January 1856.

an English police spy while deluding himself that he played Cicero to Catiline. I see in the Berlin *National-Zeitung* that Bucher, Prussian minister *in spe*, has even adopted Urquhart's 'philosophy' which he repeats parrot-fashion. That's *très fort*^a for a GERMAN.
Salut.

Your
 K. M.

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2

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 February 1856

Dear Marx,

You will be most annoyed with me for not having written for so long. But until I've coped with a number of jobs at the office which will keep me busy for the next fortnight or so, I shall hardly be in a position to turn my mind to anything else. On top of that my old man^b keeps pestering me frightfully over purchases of yarn, etc., on his behalf, and I have to send him a confidential report at least twice a week.¹⁰

Enclosed Pan-Slavism No. II, in which want of substance is at least partially offset by verbosity.¹¹ With No. III I shall at last get *in medias res*.^c

You should now read the *Guardian's* Paris correspondent regularly; very odd things are happening there.¹² Over the past few days the correspondent of the *Examiner & Times* has provided even fuller and better particulars. I have just tried to buy the latest issues for you but they had all been sold out. Perhaps I can get them from Belfield.

^a very good - ^b Friedrich Engels Sr., father of Frederick Engels - ^c really into the thing

Bonaparte is VERY FAST ON THE DECLINE. That Drouyn de Lhuys is missing from the official list of senators for this year you will have seen, but not, I imagine, that recently, apropos a sensational act of opposition, he left his card on an Orleanist (Rémusat, if I'm not mistaken) with a bold line drawn through the title: *vice-président du Sénat*. Recently, the infantry were called out against the students escorting Monsieur Nisard home. At the cry: *Vive la ligne!*^a the troops ordered arms and had to be speedily withdrawn lest fraternisation should become a *fait accompli*. The recent conspiracy in the south-west, on account of which 5,000 arrests (according to a *Bonapartist* statement) were made, had wide ramifications in the army; the NCO school at La Flèche was completely disbanded. Almost all the students were implicated and had to be returned to their regiments; IN FACT, it is said to have been very difficult to find *reliable* regiments to which they could be posted. When Bonaparte was at the Odéon recently with his spouse,^b the university students who filled the pit sang the *Sire de Franc Boissy*¹³ throughout the evening, carefully intoning some of the more embarrassing bits. In Paris the workers are singing a little ditty, having the refrain:

Voilà qu'il part, voilà qu'il part,
Le petit marchand de moutarde,
Voilà qu'il part pour son pays
Avec tous ses outils.^c

In order that there should be no doubt about the identity of the *petit marchand de moutarde*, the police have banned the song.^d

All these impudent manifestations of oppositional and positively anti-Bonapartist impulses, and Mr. Bonaparte's corresponding feebleness are proof that a great change is under way. The measures^e adopted during the coup d'état¹⁴ will no longer do, and the courage to apply them is no longer there. You will have seen that even *The Times*, on two successive days, first described Napoleon personally as a mere stopgap so far as France was concerned—BECAUSE NOT ONE SINGLE MAN WAS TO BE FOUND IN WHICH THE NATION COULD PLACE ITS CONFIDENCE AND ESTEEM—and then characterised his entire general staff of ministers, etc., as swindlers and scoundrels.^e In today's *Guardian* there is another nice story about

^a Long live the troops of the line! - ^b Eugénie - ^c He is leaving, he is leaving, / The little mustard-vendor. / He is leaving for his country / With all his belongings.

^d 'From Our Paris Correspondent. Paris, Monday Evening', *Manchester Daily Examiner & Times*, No. 305, 6 February 1856. - ^e A reference to the leading articles in *The Times*, Nos. 22278, 22279 and 22280, 31 January, 1 and 2 February 1856.

that rascal Fiorentino, Bonapartist court feuilletonist and Knight of the Legion of Honour. Mr Espinasse, too, had to decamp from Paris; he has been involved in scandals, concerning which I shall probably hear more in a day or two. Something is also afoot with de Morny; the fellow has more or less fallen out with his worthy brother^a and is once more intriguing on his own account.

This Bonaparte, for whom in the past everything, however stupid, craven and infamous, turned out so well, will now discover that henceforward everything will go badly for him. This he is already discovering in the war and peace question; everyone blamed him for the war, no one thanks him for the peaceful turn of events. Incidentally, the matter of the peace is far from being settled. The preliminaries to the preliminaries contain, *au fond*,^b nothing but the Bessarabian clause, and that is offset by a total disregard for Kars.¹⁵ All the rest consists of nothing but bogus concessions. Moreover Bonaparte no longer cares a rap about the conditions upon which he makes peace. For him it is now his bread and butter that is at stake, as once with old Dolleschall,^c and I'm convinced that the Russians know this better than he does himself. Never before have the French been so wholly indifferent to their *gloire*; since 1848 the fellows have been concerned with other things than the traditional *gloire* and parliamentary swindling.

So it seems as though we have safely weathered the Aliens Bill¹⁶ — *au train que les choses vont en France*,^d there will soon be no further need to worry one's head about the aspirations of Palmerston and Co. The Bonapartist house of cards will most likely collapse this summer just as did Louis Philippe's in the year of scandal 1847, and exactly when the gust of wind comes that completely demolishes the walls is a matter of mere chance. I now lead a very sober life, but on that day I shall get drunk in Manchester, probably for the last time.

Don't be long in telling me something more about old Bruno^e; the fellow's new romantic turn is too amusing. Kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your

F. E.

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^a Napoleon III - ^b at bottom - ^c Laurenz Dolleschall, censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842, claimed that he was forced to do this work because he had to support his family. - ^d the way things are going in France - ^e Bruno Bauer

3

MARX TO ENGELS¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 February 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I am still being *plus ou moins*^a persecuted by State haemorrhoids and consequent DULLNESS of spirits. On top of which Pieper has just been playing me some music of the future.¹⁷ *C'est affreux*^b and makes one afraid of the 'future', including its poetical music.

At the Museum^c I have made a number of historical discoveries about the end of the 17th and the early decades of the 18th centuries concerning the struggle between Peter I and Charles XII and the decisive role played in that drama by *England*. At that time the foreign policy of the Tories and Whigs differed quite simply in that the former sold themselves to France, the latter to Russia. This venality was taken for granted and is discussed and declared 'a matter of course' by contemporary writers. From the start, William III harboured MISGIVINGS about *Sa Majesté Czarienne*,^d as is proved by his offensive and defensive treaty with Charles XII. Under him the ministers acted *contrary* to his inclination. From George I onwards things were easy for the Whigs since the ELECTORS of Hanover were already pursuing a foolish dynastic policy and regarded Verden and Bremen as the focal points of European interest. That mainly England contributed to turning Russia into a BALTIC POWER is, perhaps, less interesting than the fact that, as early as the beginning of the 18th century, this policy was already being denounced, and the future growth of the MUSCOVITE EMPIRE predicted with remarkable accuracy. Despite the unexampled indulgence of the official British and the direct aid they accorded Peter, the latter was at the same time engaging in underhand dealings with the Pretender.^e In this his personal physician (Erskine), a relation of the Comte de Mar, acted as go-between. The main sources for the whole of this mysterious story are:

a) *Truth is Truth, as it is timed, or Our Ministry's present Measures against the Muscovite vindicated by Plain and Obvious reasons, tending*

^a more or less - ^b It's horrible - ^c the British Museum Library - ^d His Imperial Majesty (Peter I) - ^e James Edward Stuart

to prove that it is no less the interest of Our British trade, than that of Our State, that the Czar be not suffered to retain a Fleet, if needs must that he should [have] a Sea Port in the Baltick etc. London 1719.

The author^a was ambassador in Petersburg from 1710-1715 and, as he says, was

'dismissed the service because the Czar desired it; for that he had learnt, that I had given Our Court such Light into his affairs as is contain'd in this Paper', etc.

b) *Mémoire présenté à Sa Maj. Britannique par M. Wesselowsky, Ministre de Sa Maj. Czar.* London 1717.

An apologia by the Russians respecting their underhand dealings with the Pretender, especially remarkable for being altogether in the style (although not yet with quite the polish) of Pozzo di Borgo and Co.,¹⁸ hence evidence that qualitatively Russian diplomacy has made no progress since Pierre I.

c) *The defensive treaty concluded in the year 1700 between His late M. King William of Glorious Memory and His Present Swedish Maj. King Charles XII,* etc., to which some queries are appended (1716).

d) *The Northern Crisis, or Impartial Reflections on the Policies of the Czar.... 'Parvo motu primo mox se attollit in auras.'*^b London 1716.

One of the most extraordinary pamphlets ever written. Might, with minor MODIFICATIONS, have appeared in the year 1853. Contains, as do also a) and c), evidence of English treachery. In a *postscript* the anonymous author^c says:

*'I flatter myself, that this little History is of that curious Nature, and on Matters hitherto so unobserved, that I consider it with Pride, as a valuable New-Year's Gift to the present world; and that posterity will accept it, as the like, for many years after, and read it over on the Anniversary, and call it their *Warning-Piece*. I must have my Exegi Monumentum^d as well as others.'*

e) *An Inquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great Britain with Relation to the Present State of Affairs in Europe.* London 1727.^c

Interesting only because it reveals that Ripperda, the Spanish diplomatic *chevalier d'industrie*, subsequently a minister, 'HAD A VERY PARTICULAR INTIMACY WITH THE RUSSIAN MINISTER', etc. Likewise the other leading double-dealer in the diplomatic world of the time, Baron Görtz.

f) *Tagebuch Peters des Grossen vom Jahre 1698 bis zum Schlusse des Neustädter Friedens, aus dem russischen Original übersetzt, so nach denen im Archive befindlichen und von Seiner Kaiserlichen Majestät eigenhändigen ergänzenden Handschriften gedruckt worden.* With a

^a George Mackenzie - ^b 'Having at first little impulsion, he presently rose into the air' (Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 176). - ^c Carl Gyllenborg - ^d 'I have raised a monument' (Horace, *Odes*, III,XXX, 1). - ^e by B. Hoadley

prefatory note by the Russian editor, Prince Mikhail Shcherbatov (Щербатовъ) (Petersburg, 2 August 1770), in German, Berlin and Leipzig 1773.

Although Catherine II naturally had this diary censored before publication, it nevertheless contains much that confirms the FACTS given in the above-mentioned pamphlets.

g) *Copies and Extracts of several letters written by the King of Sweden and his Ministers relating to the Negotiations of Baron Görtz etc., published at Copenhagen by order of the King of Denmark.* London 1717.

h) *Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, the Baron Görtz, Sparre etc.,* published by authority. London 1717.

g) and h) are, of course, well known to all historians who, however, lack the key to the proper understanding of the same. Both publications turn more especially on Charles XII's plan, conceived as an act of vengeance upon England, to land a Swedish army on the English coast and proclaim the Pretender.

Besides these pamphlets there are a number of other writings which occasionally refer to the Swedish-English-Russian business, or English pamphlets obviously inspired by the Swedish ambassador Gyllenborg, as, for instance, *Remarks on Mr Jackson's Memorial etc.*

You can see what kind of means the Whigs resorted to from their having put it about

*'that the King of Sweden was a Roman Catholic and that the Czar was a good Protestant' *.

No one can fail to notice that, at the very time the English were making such a ridiculous hullabaloo about Austria setting up the Compagnie des Indes at Ostend, they formally placed their fleet at Peter's disposal and helped him found his ports in the Baltic. Yet from the *complaints of the English BALTIC MERCHANTS* of that time it transpires that Monsieur Peter was very far from gentle with them. England was, moreover, the first great European power to recognize his *imperial* title, etc. What the above-mentioned pamphlets prove above all is that she was acting neither under an illusion nor out of ignorance.

The following anecdotes about Peter from the *Memoirs of Frederick the Great's Sister*^a will amuse you. Peter and the Czarina^b were paying them a visit at Potsdam.

^a *Mémoires de Frédérique Sophie Wilhelmine, Margrave de Bareith, soeur de Frédéric le Grand...* Here and below Marx quotes from Volume I of *Mémoires*, pp. 41 and 44. (Later, historians questioned the authenticity of the *Mémoires*.) - ^b Catherine I

'La Czarine débuta par baiser la main à la reine^a qu'il voulut embrasser, mais elle le repoussa. Elle lui présenta ensuite le duc et la duchesse de Mecklenbourg^b qui les avaient accompagnés et 400 soi-disant dames qui étaient à sa suite. C'était pour la plupart, des servantes allemandes, qui faisaient les fonctions de dames, de femmes de chambre, de cuisinières et de blanchisseuses. Presque toutes ces créatures portaient chacune sur les bras un enfant richement vêtu; et lorsqu'on leur demandait, si c'étaient les leurs, elles répondaient en faisant des salamalecs à la Russe: *Le Czar m'a fait l'honneur de me faire cet enfant*. La reine ne voulut pas saluer ces créatures' etc.^c

In one of the rooms at Potsdam there stood a Priapus

'dans une posture très indécente. Le Czar admira cette statue beaucoup et ordonna à la Czarine de la baiser. Elle voulut s'en défendre, il se fâcha et lui dit en allemand corrompu: *Kop ab...* La Czarine eût si peur qu'elle fit tout ce qu'il voulut. Il demanda sans façon cette statue et plusieurs autres au roi^d qui ne put les lui refuser' etc.^e

I should like to put to some use the curious items I have discovered at the Museum. They are too retrospective for a newspaper. So I shall try '*Putnam*'. But first you must let me know when the 'IMPROVEMENTS IN MODERN WARFARE' can be ready, since Putnam will, of course, insist on having the goods he ordered first¹⁹ before he considers any fresh offers.

I was most interested in the French business and would ask you to send me the *Examiner* whenever it contains similar stuff. Here the *Guardian* may be seen at Wylde's. Writing for the papers is at present very onerous, since *nothing* is happening in England and the turn economic affairs are taking is still far from clear. Crucial in this respect just now are the stock market swindles, concerning which the necessary material is wanting.

Have since seen Bruno^f once or twice. The fellow clearly has

^a Sophie Dorothea - ^b Karl Leopold and Catherine - ^c 'The Czarina began by kissing the hand of the Queen, whom he sought to embrace, but was repulsed. Next she presented to her the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg who had accompanied them and 400 self-styled ladies belonging to her suite. These were, for the most part, German servants fulfilling the duties of ladies-in-waiting, chamber-maids, cooks and laundresses. Practically every one of these creatures carried a richly clad child in her arms; and, when asked if it was hers, would reply, making salaams Russian-fashion: "*The Czar did me the honour of presenting me with this child.*" The Queen refused to greet these creatures' etc. - ^d Frederick William I - ^e 'in a most indecent posture. The Czar greatly admired this statue and commanded the Czarina to kiss it. When she demurred, he grew angry and said in bad German: "*Kop ab...*" ["Head off".] The Czarina was so frightened that she did all that he wished. He made no bones about asking for this statue and a number of others which the King was unable to refuse him' etc. - ^f Bruno Bauer

something in mind, having come *sans le sou*^a to his *cher frère*.^b He's a thorough-going old bachelor, anxiously concerned for his own conservation and preservation, and not without secret MISGIVINGS about his attitude to the present. Little by little he is discovering that London is a remarkable place, that in it there are 'contrasts between poor and rich' and other suchlike 'discoveries'. His would-be gentility and repudiation of the world on the one hand, and his childish curiosity and rustic astonishment at EVERYTHING and ANYTHING on the other, provide a far from edifying contrast. At present he is engaged mainly in mugging up English. As soon as I have another encounter with him I shall tell you about it.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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4

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 February 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Fred,

According to a letter I've had from Imandt, Heise is gradually approaching extinction as a result of the undue amount of 'oil' he has been pouring on the lamp of life.^c Imandt himself grumbles a great deal about the Scots, with whom it is impossible to have more than 12 lessons to teach them German, whatever

^a penniless - ^b dear brother (Edgar Bauer) - ^c In his letter to Marx of 6 February 1856 Imandt wrote that Heise, ill with tuberculosis, was drinking too much whisky.

ruses he adopts. The fellows are keen on “grasping” out of avarice.

But the great event, the event which has caused me to send this second epistle following hard on the heels of the first, is the *Seiler event*. You will recall what the auspices for this Sebastian Sheetanchor^a looked like when last you were here. The old GREENGROCER proved RATHER adamant, and Seiler himself, with the happy instinct characteristic of the man, soon discovered that it would be altogether foolish to lay out some £200 on amortising the past rather than greasing the wheels of the future. So he takes the heroic decision to advise his father-in-law not to pay *one single creditor*, but rather look on unconcernedly should he be locked up. His intention, then, was to pass through the COURT OF INSOLVENCY and, thus purged, start a new career with the old man’s help. This seemed very practical to the old man. Seiler for his part was tempted by the prospect—once initiated into the *crapuleuse*^b company of the Queen’s Bench²¹—of keeping open board thanks to generous supplies from wife and mother-in-law and, incidentally, of completing his immortal work on Alexander II—consisting of extracts from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, upon which he has spread an equivocal syrup. The matter was AT ONCE put in hand. There began a golden era of *farniente*^c and ‘business errands’ into town. But what was particularly embarrassing was that, despite the WARRANTS taken out against him and despite the OSTENTATIOUS EXHIBITION of his worthy person in the streets of London, not a single creditor took steps to have Sebastian arrested. The old GREENGROCER, whose faith in the ‘personality’ of his son-in-law was in no way reinforced by the latter’s inviolability, told him the time had come to vacate the house and withdraw with his wife to a distant COTTAGE. During the actual removal some of the effects were confiscated by vigilant creditors, among them 7 pairs of boots belonging to Sebastian. Sebastian himself took care that there should be no secret about the COTTAGE either, since a quiet and secluded existence with his cabbage of a wife had no place whatsoever in his plans. In short, to such good effect did he intrigue with the cabbage, the mother-in-law and the GREENGROCER, that it has been decided to despatch him to the ‘New World’—New York, OF COURSE—whither his spouse is to follow him once he has secured a ‘position’. The matter now turns—he is expected to

^a An ironical allusion to Sebaldus Nothanker (literally: Sheetanchor), the hero of Ch. Fr. Nicolai’s novel *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker*. - ^b lewd - ^c doing nothing

leave this week—on the number of £s he is to take with him for his travelling expenses. He is asking for £60. The GREENGROCER reckons that half as much will suffice. Sebastian plans, once in America, to extract one 5 pound note after the other from his dear spouse, to pamper his belly, to publish his *Kaspar Hauser* and Alexander II, and, as a grass widower, never to forego the sweet melancholy of separation from his cabbage. It would be interesting if a creditor did catch him after all. At all events he has succeeded in leaving England too as a 'financial' fugitive, only in more respectable CIRCUMSTANCES than those attending his departure from Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. His plan was that Pieper should go with him as companion. Pieper had only pretended to fall in with this plan so as to get a share of the 7 pairs of boots, but in the event he was forestalled by the BROKERS.

Pieper was here one evening not long ago giving lessons to the children when the POSTMAN knocked at the door downstairs. A letter for Pieper in a female hand. Invitation to a rendezvous. Since he was unfamiliar with the hand and equally with the signature, he gave himself over to great expectations and passed the letter to my wife to read. From the signature she at once recognised our ex-nurse, the fat old Irish slattern, who cannot write herself and therefore had the letter written by a third hand. You can imagine how we teased Fridolin^a with our laughter. But he kept his rendezvous with the COW. Such, then, are his ADVENTURES. O King Visvamitra, what an ox you are!^b

Don't forget the Pan-Slavism.¹¹

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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Published in English in full for the
first time

^a Marx ironically compares Wilhelm Pieper with Fridolin, a character from Schiller's ballad *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*. - ^b H. Heine, 'Den König Wiswamitra...' (from *Buch der Lieder*, 'Die Heimkehr').

5

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 February 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

For the whole of this week I've had a visitor in the person of G. Levy from Düsseldorf, sent over as their delegate by the workers there. He only left yesterday and took up all my spare time, so that despite the best of intentions I did not succeed in writing to you. Further on I shall give you an account of the news, some of it important, of which he was the CARRIER.^a

Not one of the 3 books you asked for was available at Norgate and Williams. I have *ordered* the *Lay of Igor*²² but wanted to let you know about the other two first.

Dobrowsky's '*Slavin*', Hanka edition, is very far from fulfilling the expectations aroused by its title. The book falls into 2 parts as regards the contents, if not the arrangement, viz.:

1. Short ESSAYS on Slavonic linguistic studies which, in view of more recent studies, could at most be of antiquarian interest (e.g. sample from the Wendish New Testament, Slavonic declension, on the Slavonic translation of the Old Testament, etc.).

2. An attempt, *wholly* devoid of polemic bite, to reconstitute the character of the Slav peoples *in integrum*.^b This is done by taking excerpts from sundry works, mostly *German* writings. Here is a list of these essays, which make up the bulk of the book^c:

'Slawische Völker'. (From Herder's *Ideen*^d etc.)

'Sitten der Croaten'. (From von Engels' *Geschichte* von Dalmatien, Croatien, Slavonien. Halle 1798.)

'Sitten und Gebräuche der Illyrier, der Morlaken etc.' (From *ditto*.)

'Charakter der Illyrier'. (From Taube's *Beschreibung des Königreichs Slavonien*. Leipzig 1777.)

'Die Tracht der Illyrier'. (From Hacquet's *Beobachtungen auf einer Reise nach Semlin*.^e)

^a See this volume, pp. 23-25. - ^b as a whole - ^c Here Marx gives the titles of a number of chapters from Dobrowsky's book and some excerpts from it. -

^d J. G. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, Theil 4. - ^e Serbian name: Zemun.

'Prokops Schilderung der Slawen und Anten'. (From Stritter's 'Geschichte der Slawen nach den Byzantinern' in Schlözer's *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*.)

'Auszüge aus des Herrn Professor B. Hacquet's *Abbildung und Beschreibung der südwest- und östlichen Slawen*'.

'Volkstümliches der Russen'. (From Dupré de St. Maure, *Observations sur les moeurs et les usages russes*. Paris 1829. 3 vols.)

'Charakter und Kultur der Slawen im Allgemeinen'. (From Schaffarik, *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache*, etc. Ofen^a 1826.)

That's about all. Appended is 'Der böhmische Cato' in Czech, 'from an old manuscript described by the late Voigt in *Acta litteraria*'.²³

Dobrowsky writes in a bumbling, good-natured, naive style, with the greatest cordiality towards his German colleagues, whether 'late' or still living. All that seemed of interest to me in the *Slavin* were a few passages in which he directly recognises the Germans as the fathers of Slavonic historical and linguistic studies.

As regards linguistic studies, he cites among others 'Schlözer, *Vorschlag zu einer allgemeinen vergleichenden slawischen Sprachlehre und Wörterbuch*'.²⁴ Further, 'Schlözer, *Vorschlag, das Russische vollkommen richtig und genau mit lateinischer Schrift auszudrücken*'. In general 'Herr Hofrat Schlözer' would appear to be the patriarch of whom the others profess to be the disciples.

'Schlözer's *Nestor*: A work indispensable to anyone wishing to acquaint himself with the critical approach to Slavonic history in general and the Russian annals in particular.'

Of Voigt's *Geschichte Preussens*:

'Was the first to acquaint the *Bohemians* with the monuments of Antiquity.'²⁵

Also cited:

'Johann Leonhard Frischen's *Programmen von der slawischen Literatur*', 1727-1736,

'which has elucidated the history of several Slavonic dialects'.

'*Slawischer Bücherdruck in Württemberg im 16ten Jahrhundert. Ein literarischer Bericht von Chr. Friedr. Schmurrer*, Prof. in Tübingen, 1799'—

'a very valuable book which contains the finest and most important contributions to the history of Wendish and Croat bibliography'.

Others cited are: Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*. Joh. Christoph de Jordan, *De originibus Slavicis opus* etc., Vienna 1745,

^a Hungarian name: Buda.

fol. 2. Father Gelasius Dobner, *ad Hajek, Annales Bohemorum*, Prague 1761 and '63. (Of this Schlözer remarks: *primus delirare desuit*.)^a) Stritter, *Memoriae populorum ad Danubium e Script. Byzantinis*, Petersburg 1774. Gercken, *Versuch in der ältesten Geschichte der Slaven*, Leipzig 1771. Gatterer's *Einleitung in die synchronistische Universalhistorie*, Göttingen 1771, and Gebhardi, *Allgemeine Welt-historie*, 1789.

Of all these works *only* the titles are given, with the exception of the opinions extracted above. *Voilà le 'Slavin'*.^b

As regards the 3rd work, the title is: Dr. M. W. Heffter, *Der Weltkrieg der Deutschen und Slaven seit dem Ende des 5ten Jahrhunderts*, 1847 (costs 7/-). Even in his preface the author admits that he only has a detailed and first-hand knowledge of Slavonic history in so far as it refers to the Prussian 'Fatherland'. More than $\frac{3}{4}$ of his book of 481 pages is devoted to the period between the end of the 5th century and 1147. Only here and there does the remainder go beyond the 13th, or at latest the 14th, century, and then quite cursorily.

Having given you an opinion on these two works, I await your instructions whether or not to order them. Another book by Heffter has been published: *Das Slawentum*, Leipzig 1852 (45 pages or so). Constitutes the 10th booklet in the Brockhaus series *Unterhaltungen, Belehrungen etc.*^c A popular compendium of Slavonic history. It was from this little book I learned that in 1849 Nicholas issued a ukase by which

'all his subjects were strictly forbidden to take part in Pan-Slavism'.

At the Museum I discovered, and made extracts from, 5 *manuscript folio* volumes on Russia (18th century only). They are part of the literary legacy of ARCHDEACON COXE, known for his zeal as a collector.²⁶ They contain many original (hitherto unpublished) letters from English ambassadors in Petersburg to the Cabinet here, some of them VERY COMPROMISING INDEED. Amongst the papers dated 1768 there is a manuscript by one of the Embassy attachés on 'the character of the Russian nation'.^d I shall send you some extracts from it. There is also interesting information on the Russian 'artels' by the Embassy chaplain, a cousin of Pitt's.^e

^a the first to have ceased to rave - ^b There you have the *Slavin*. - ^c *Unterhaltende Belehrungen zur Förderung allgemeiner Bildung*. 1-27 Bändchen, Leipzig 1851-1856. - ^d *Various Papers on the Genius and Character of the Russians*, 1768 (MS). - ^e L. K. Pitt, *Ueber den russischen Handel* (MS).

Although anti-Russian, recent French writings are, with few exceptions, almost all tinged with Pan-Slavism. Thus Desprez,^a but more particularly Cyprien Robert who, in Paris in 1848, published the journal, *La Pologne. Annales contemporaines des peuples de l'Europe orientale*, etc. The same man has published, among other things, *Les Slaves de la Turquie, édition de 1844, précédée d'une introduction*, etc., 8°, Paris 1852. Further, *Le Monde slave, son passé, son état présent et son avenir*, Paris 1852. A Parisian author,^b whose *nom de guerre* is *Edmond*, but who is said to be a Pole, is exceptional in having published an exceedingly venomous attack on Russian pretensions to socialism, and comments on their communes, etc. I haven't yet been able to trace this, but shall have a look at the *Revue des deux Mondes* which apparently contains extracts from it.

I began this letter today with the intention of sending you masses of gossip. But, having strayed off in another direction and time being short, I shall leave that till tomorrow and confine myself for today to telling you that Heise, under the influence of strong liquor (so Imandt writes), is rapidly approaching his end^c; that Oswald—of tobacco and refugee fame—who doesn't speak a word of French, has been appointed Professor of the French Language at UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, London; that Ruge's friends are putting it around that he's suffering from 'dropsy' though it's probably nothing but water on the brain; that a number of German worthies (Faucher, Meyen, Franck, Tausenau, etc.) will be meeting tomorrow *chez* mine host Kerb, in order to achieve an *entente cordiale* as to the Fatherland's requirements, and that 'Meyen' has expressed the 'hope' that he can persuade Bucher to 'take part' in this confabulation; finally, that Proudhon has become a director of the royal imperial French railways.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a H. Desprez, *Les peuples de l'Autriche et de la Turquie*. - ^b Charles Edmond Chojewski - ^c See this volume, p. 12.

6

MARX TO ENGELS¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London] 5 March 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

Next week I shall take a closer look at the Heffter.^a If there's anything to it, I shall order it. Eichhoff's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature des Slaves*, Paris 1839, is very poor indeed. Apart from the grammatical section, which I'm unable to assess (but I notice that the Lithuanians and Letts are said to be Slavs. Isn't that NONSENSE?), the rest is mostly plagiarisms from Schaffarik.^b The fellow also gives samples of the Slavs' vernacular poetry in the original, together with a French translation. Indeed, it was amongst these that I found Igor's expedition.²² In essence, the poem is a call for unity on the part of the Russian princes just before the invasion by the Mongol hordes proper. The poem contains a curious passage, 'Voici les jolies filles des Gothes entonnent leurs chants au bord de la Mer noire'.^c From this it would seem that the Getae or Goths celebrated the victory of the Turkish Polovtsians²⁷ over the Russians. The whole poem is epic-Christian, although heathen elements are still strongly in evidence. The Bohemian epic *Zaboi* (Samo?), in the anthology of Bohemian epic poetry in a German translation published by *Hanka and Swoboda*,²⁸ is, on the other hand, fairly polemical and fanatically anti-German. Appears to be directed against a German *capitano* of Dagobert's who was beaten by the Bohemians. But it is a call for vengeance as much upon Christianity as upon the Germans, who are reproached in the most naively poetical terms with having, amongst other things, sought to compel the worthy Bohemians to be satisfied with only one wife. Other folk poetry I discovered (the Poles have none save for *Adalbert's Prayer* to the Mother of God²⁹) are:

^a M. W. Heffter, *Der Weltkampf der Deutschen und Slaven seit dem Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts....* - ^b P. J. Schaffarik, *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten.* - ^c Here are the pretty daughters of the Goths singing their songs on the shore of the Black Sea.

Götze, *Fürst Vladimir und seine Tafelrunde*,^a 1819. *Stimmen des russischen Volkes*, 1828.

Kapper (Siegfried), *Slavische Melodien*, Leipzig 1844. By the same, *Die Gesänge der Serben*, 1852. (More comprehensive than [those] of Jakob.^b Lastly, by Vuk Stephanovitsch, *Serbische Hochzeitslieder*. German by E. Wesely. Pest 1826.

Works which I have noted and shall be looking through for you next week are, besides the Cyprien and the Desprez^c: *Südslavische Wanderungen im Sommer 1850*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1851.^d (Has also been translated into English.) *Betrachtungen über das Fürstenthum Serbien*, Vienna 1851. *Die serbische Bewegung in Südungarn*, 1851 Berlin. *Slawismus und Pseudomagyarismus. Von aller Menschen Freunde, nur der Pseudomagyarern Feinde*, Leipzig 1842. *Die Beschwerden und Klagen der Slaven in Ungarn*, Leipzig 1843.

I don't remember whether the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* is to be had in Manchester. At present it is very interesting. The Prussian government has now, as once Louis XVIII, got its *chambre introuvable*; and the bureaucratic government is beginning to be afraid of the backwoods squires, who are taking their victory *au sérieux*.³⁰ During debates on rural parish, rural court, and land tenure relations, when, as old Dolleschall said, 'it's his bread and butter that is at stake'^e—the clashes in the Prussian Chamber are becoming serious. You will have seen, among other things, that Count Pfeil claimed for landowners the privilege of flogging their people, and boasted of having himself performed heroic deeds in this line. Now the Left has dug up posters of 1848, signed by this same Pfeil in 1848, and altogether in the style of the 'crazy year'.³¹ There have even been duels between the two sides, and today the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* carries a LEADER^f roundly declaring that there are 'depraved scoundrels' in its party just as there are very 'noble' people in the Liberal Party. It preaches 'moderation', 'conciliation', 'a battle of principles, but no personalities'. The Left is adjured to reflect that 'the Mountain will always swallow the

^a The name of the publisher or translator is not indicated on the title-page of this book. It is probable, however, that it was not P. O. Götze but von Busse who translated it. - ^b A reference to *Volkslieder der Serben* by Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob-Robinson (she wrote under the pen-name of Talvj). - ^c Cyprien Robert, *Les slaves de Turquie*; H. Desprez, *Les peuples de l'Autriche et de la Turquie*. - ^d The author was S. Kapper. In English the book appeared under the title *A Visit to Belgrade*. - ^e Laurenz Dolleschall, censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842, claimed that he was forced to do this work because he had to support his family. - ^f 'Den Streitenden', *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 54, 4 March 1856.

Gironde'³² and to consider that 'peace or no peace, for Prussia there lies ahead a time of very great confusion, at home or abroad' and that at this moment a 'party split' means 'suicide'. Capital, is it not? And withal no one in Prussia cares a rap about the Chamber and its splits. All the more significant, then, this admission of fear. Father Leo delivered a lecture before the King^a on Münzer (part of which was printed in the *Neue Preussische*^b). One might almost think it was a direct riposte to your essay in the *Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*.^c Essential, of course, that the Reformation be absolved of the responsibility of having given birth to the Revolution. Münzer was a 'fanatic' who said: '*intelligo ut credam*'.^d Luther said: '*credo ut intelligam*'.^e The Spenersche's^f reply was that in his later years Luther repented, etc., of the abject role he had played in politics. As you see, the ferment is at work even in official circles.

Apropos the Reformation, it was Austria who, from the start, laid the foundations of the Slav peril at a time when all races save the Russian were inclined to support the Reformation. With the Reformation came the translation of the Bible into all the popular Slav dialects. And thereby of course awakening national consciousness. On the other hand, deep-rooted alliance with the German Protestant North. Had Austria not suppressed this movement, Protestantism would have provided not only the foundations for the dominance of the German spirit, but also and equally, bulwarks against Greek-Orthodox Russia. Not a pitfall but Austria has driven the Germans into it and, in Germany as in the East, she paved the way for the Russians.

Did you read about last Friday's parliamentary sitting,^g at which Evans reproached Palmerston for feigning incredulity when, 3 1/2 months ago, he warned him about Kars¹⁵; at which he said that Panmure in the despatch informing Simpson, 'YOU ARE NOMINATED SUCCESSOR OF RAGLAN', added 'TAKE CARE OF DOWB'. The unfortunate Simpson replied: 'REPEAT YOUR DESPATCH', whereat Panmure ('*Lord Carnot*' as Evans calls him), 'TAKE CARE OF DOWBIGGIN', a cousin of his³³; at which, finally, Lord Hamilton slated *Evans* for having, after the battle of Inkerman,³⁴ advised Raglan to abandon cannon and TRENCHES and to embark the British army. The day before

^a Frederick William IV - ^b 'Leo über Thomas Münzer', *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 51, 29 February 1856. - ^c F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* (published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*). - ^d I understand in order to believe. - ^e I believe in order to understand. - ^f *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 27 February 1856. - ^g A reference to the parliamentary sitting on 29 February 1856, reported on in *The Times*, No. 22304, 1 March 1856.

yesterday, poor Evans made *amende honorable*.^a That there was a betrayal at Kars would seem to be pretty clear from the written account of a certain Swan,^b recently returned from the East—a betrayal which took place not during the last few days but earlier, in order to bring the situation about.

Now for *Seiler*. Threatened with prosecution by the SHERIFF, he set off for America some 3 weeks ago by the Southampton STEAMER, fully intending on arrival in Halifax to telegraph the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* (for which he once wrote) as follows: 'Sebastian Seiler, the famous author of *Kaspar Hauser*, has landed safely on the west coast of the Atlantic Ocean.' The great man left behind his Alexander II, 55 pages, mostly extracts from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, one copy of which was to be sent on immediately in his wake. For it is to appear on both sides of the Atlantic. This gossipy rubbish he surrounded with a great deal of humbug, having parts of it copied out by his wife, sister-in-law, etc., so that one and all they were astounded by POOR Sebastian's untiring industry. Negotiations with the London booksellers over this Alexander II served to give a veneer of erudition to his 'business errands' to town where every day he carefully investigated the quality of the LOBSTER and suchlike, not forgetting the French 'omelette'. Besides this Alexander, he has left other unpleasant surprises behind. You will remember that Liebknecht signed a bill for him, lured on by the foolish hope that Seiler would deduct a few pounds in his favour from the amount discounted. The bill fell due but was not presented. Seiler made out that he had paid it. He had only renewed it. Two days after he left, Liebknecht got a letter from a lawyer in the City requiring him to pay the bill. Pieper, whom Seiler's green-bespectacled sister-in-law loves for the sake of his glassy eyes, was despatched to the GREENGROCER. Consternation in the FAMILY. For Sebastian had already received the money to pay the bill, but had poured it down his gullet. Love, however, overcomes all obstacles, and his wife is convinced that she can lay claim to love *only once*, and then only from Sebastian. Hence she is trying to arrange matters. But the GREENGROCER is grave and glum, becoming daily more enlightened as to the WHEREABOUTS OF HIS DEAR SON-IN-LAW. The thing is still pending. Meanwhile fresh bills, allegedly honoured, keep arriving every day.

Levy. Sent here by the Düsseldorf workers with a *twofold mission*.

^a Marx refers to Evans' speech in the House of Commons on 3 March 1856, published in *The Times*, No. 22306, 4 March 1856. - ^b This refers to *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars...* by H. Sandwith.

1. *Denunciation of Lassalle.* And, having considered the matter *very carefully*, I think *they are right*. Since the countess^a got her 300,000 talers,³⁵ Lassalle has changed completely; deliberately repulsing the workers, a sybarite, coquetting with the Blues.^b He is further accused of having constantly exploited the party for his filthy *personal ends* and wanting to make use of the workers themselves for *personal crimes* in the interests of the law-suit. The law-suit ended as follows: Count Hatzfeldt's head clerk, Stockum who, as you know, was subsequently sentenced at the Assizes to 5 years' penal servitude, had quarrelled with the count. He gave Lassalle to understand that he had in his possession documents which could have the count put in chains for perjury, forgery, etc. Lassalle promises him 10,000 talers. On the other hand, Lassalle persuades Kösteritz, the Chief Public Prosecutor (who has been compelled to resign as a result of this affair), to let Count Hatzfeldt know that there's a bill of indictment hanging over his head. Hatzfeldt is making a bolt for Paris when Lassalle hands him the incriminating documents *in return for his signing the settlement* with the countess, and withdraws the bill of indictment. (Kösteritz, of course, was acting purely as his INSTRUMENT.) Hence it was not his *legal acumen* that brought the law-suit to a sudden close, but a quite vulgar intrigue. Lassalle did not pay Stockum the 10,000 talers, and the workers are right in saying that such a breach of faith would be excusable only if he had handed over the money to the party instead of fraudulently keeping it for the countess. They report a host of personal dirty tricks which I cannot repeat because too many to remember. For instance, Lassalle gambled in foreign government paper with Scheuer of Düsseldorf, who advanced him the money for the purpose. They lost. Meanwhile Scheuer went bankrupt. Lassalle wins the law-suit. Scheuer demands the money he advanced Lassalle. The latter contemptuously draws his attention to §6 of the Code, which forbids gambling on foreign Exchanges. The workers say they turned a blind eye to everything done by Lassalle because of his plea that he was involved in the law-suit for reasons of honour. Now, having won, instead of getting the countess to pay him for his work and achieving independence, he is, they say, living shamefully under her thumb as *homme entretenu*,^c WITHOUT ANY PRETEXT WHATSOEVER. He had always boasted about what he would do as soon as the law-suit had been won and now he was casting them aside, deliberately and defiantly, as redundant instruments of no further use. He had

^a Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^b the aristocracy - ^c kept man

attended one more (private) meeting on New Year's Day because a French colonel was present. To everyone's astonishment, he addressed 60 working-men exclusively on the subject of 'the struggle of civilisation against barbarism', the Western Powers versus Russia. Apparently he had planned to go to Berlin, play the grand gentleman there and open a salon. On his return, he promised the countess in Levy's presence to set up 'a court of literati' for her. Likewise in Levy's presence, he was constantly reiterating his 'dictatorial aspirations', etc., etc. (he seems to see himself quite differently from the way we see him, regarding himself as able to subdue the world because of his ruthlessness in a private intrigue, as though a man of real worth would sacrifice 10 years to such a bagatelle). An instance, by the by, of how dangerous he can be: in order to smuggle a labour party man into the police, ostensibly as a spy, he *gave him one of my letters* with instructions to say he had stolen it from Lassalle to establish his credibility. The workers further say that, being the diplomat he is, he would not have behaved so brusquely towards them had it not been his direct intention to go over to the bourgeois party. At the same time, he believes his influence is such that if he climbed onto a table at a moment of insurrection and harangued the masses, etc., he could talk them round. According to Levy, he is so much hated that, whatever we might decide, the workers would massacre him should he be in Düsseldorf at the moment of action. They are, by the by, convinced that he would lose no time in placing himself at the disposal of the other side should he hear of anything suspicious.

These are nothing but isolated points, deduced from what I heard, and only partially retained. The *whole* thing made a *distinct* impression on myself and Freiligrath, however prejudiced in Lassalle's favour and mistrustful of workers' tittle-tattle I may have been. I told Levy that it was, of course, impossible to reach any conclusion on the strength of a report from one side only; suspicion was in place whatever the circumstances; they should continue to keep an eye on the man but for the time being avoid any public row; we might perhaps find some opportunity of forcing Lassalle to make his position clear, etc., etc.

Qu'en pensez-vous?^a I should like to have Lupus' opinion too.

2. The second purpose of Levy's mission was to give me information on how things stand with the workers in the Rhine Province. The Düsseldorf workers are still in contact with the

^a What do you think of it?

Cologne people, amongst whom there are no longer any 'gentlemen'. But those chiefly concerned with propaganda are now the *factory workers in Solingen, Iserlohn and district, Elberfeld and the ducal-Westphalia area*. In the iron districts the fellows are all for force, and are held back only by the prospect of a French revolution and the fact that 'the Londoners think the time is not yet ripe'.³⁶ If the thing drags on much longer Levy believes that a rising will be difficult to prevent. But whatever the circumstances, an insurrection in Paris would be the signal. These people seem to be firmly convinced that *we and our friends would instantly hasten to join them*. They naturally feel the need for political and military leaders. Not that one can in any way blame the chaps for that. But I fear that, with their exceedingly artless plans, they would be smashed to smithereens before we had so much as a chance of leaving England. At all events, we owe it them to point out exactly what is and what isn't feasible from the military point of view. I have, OF COURSE, declared that, *circumstances permitting*, we would range ourselves with the Rhenish workers; that any uprising, undertaken off their own bat, without prior initiatives in Paris or Vienna or Berlin, would be idiotic; that, should Paris give the signal, it would be advisable, whatever the circumstances, to risk all, since then even the ill-effects of a momentary defeat could themselves be no more than momentary; that I and my friends would seriously consider what direct action might be taken by the working population of the Rhine Province, and that in due course they should again send someone to London, but do *nothing* without prior agreement.

The tanners of Elberfeld (or Barmen?) who were pretty reactionary in 1848 and '49, are now particularly eager for revolution. Levy assures me that the workers in the Wupper valley regard you, personally, as 'their' man. It would seem, by the way, that on the Rhine the belief in a revolution in France is fairly widespread, and even the philistines are saying: 'This time it will be different from 1848. This time there'll be people like Robespierre, etc., instead of the chatter-boxes of 1848.' On the Rhine at least, democracy's reputation has sunk very low.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 March 1856

Dear Marx,

Much obliged to you for your exhaustive letter *ad Slavica*.^a Eichhoff is already known to me as a philological quack who has actually out-quacked Klaproth (who did know something). I shall look into the business of the Goths in *Igor*²² as soon as I have got the book. However, it has been established that a number of Goths remained in the Crimea until the 10th, and possibly the 11th, century; at least they figure as Goths in Byzantine [sources]. Could you let me know the title and price of Hanka and Swoboda's Bohemian anthology?²⁸ It is sure to be highly uncritical, for they are both complete asses.—Polish folk songs were published somewhere or other during the 40s.—I have found quotations from Götze, *Wladimir*,^b etc., in Grimm's translation of Wuk's *Serbische Grammatik* with the comment 'unfortunately without the Russian text'. Kapper is a Prague Jew who published his *Südslavische Wanderungen* in the Bohemian constitutionalist paper^c in 1848/49. He's a writer of *belles lettres*, but whether his translations are any good I couldn't say—*j'en doute cependant*.^d All the Serbian wedding songs have been translated by the Jakob woman.^e The political works you mention on the Hungarian and Turkish Serbs might be worth looking at if they are in the Museum.^f

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* isn't available in Manchester, but I followed the Pfeil business in the *Kölner* and the *Augsburger*^g and derived much joy from it. However the penitent LEADER in the *N. Pr.*^h was, of course, new to me; really too delightful, the sudden discovery that despite all the feudal gewgaws, nobility and bourgeoisie are today *au fond*ⁱ one.

What you say about Austria in regard to the Slavs and Protestantism is perfectly right. Fortunately a very strong form of

^a on things Slavonic - ^b See this volume, p. 20. - ^c probably the *Constitutionelles Blatt aus Böhmen* - ^d I doubt it, however. - ^e Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob-Robinson (pen-name: Talvj), who published the collection *Volklieder der Serben*. - ^f the British Museum Library - ^g The *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* - ^h 'Den Streitenden', *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 54, 4 March 1856. - ⁱ basically

Protestantism has survived in Slovakia, and has greatly contributed to the inaction of the Slovaks against the Hungarians,^a while in Bohemia every serious national movement other than the proletarian will in addition receive a strong admixture of Hussite historical memories which in turn will weaken the specifically national element. Pity about the Slovenian peasants who fought so splendidly in the 15th century.

I shall read about the Kars affair. What is Swan's piece called?^b

The course taken by the Seileriad will assuredly please everyone except Liebknecht and the GREENGROCER. An unpleasant whiff of the cesspit.

Lassalle. It would be a pity about the fellow because of his great ability, but these goings-on are really too bad. He was always a man one had to keep a devilish sharp eye on and as a real Jew from the Slav border was always to exploit anyone for his own private ends on party pretexts. And then his urge to push his way into polite society, *de parvenir*,^c if only for appearance's sake, to disguise the greasy Breslau Jew with all kinds of pomade and paint was always repulsive. However all these were simply things which made it necessary to keep a sharp eye on him. But if he gets up to the kind of tricks that will actually result in his changing parties, I can't blame the Düsseldorf workers for the hatred they have conceived against him. I shall go and see Lupus this evening and put the matter to him. None of us ever trusted Lassalle but we did, of course, protect him against stupidities emanating from H. Bürgers. To my mind, everything should be allowed to proceed in the manner you prescribed for the Düsseldorfers. If he can be induced to commit a direct and OVERT ACT against the party, then we shall have him. But as yet there would seem to be none of that and in any case a row would be quite out of place.

The business of the Hatzfeldt woman and the 300,000 talers³⁵ was quite new to me. I imagined she was simply receiving something monthly or yearly. He can never be forgiven for having saved Hatzfeldt from the black and yellow jacket.^d I shall come back to the other matters.

Your

F. E.

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^a i.e. against the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49 - ^b A reference to *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars...* by H. Sandwith. - ^c come up in the world - ^d See this volume, p. 23.

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Tuesday [25 March 1856]³⁷

Dear Engels,

In one of my next letters I shall reply to your last. Today simply an inquiry, to which I should like, if possible, an answer *by return*. I did *not* send any article to the *Tribune* today because I hadn't finished reading the *BLUE BOOK*³⁸ on Kars^a—I only got hold of it late yesterday evening. I have to send off my article^b on Friday, at the same time as the one I am expecting from you. Well, *ad rem*^c:

A large part of the *BLUE BOOK* is of a purely military nature; you will be able to see later whether anything can be done with it. But there's one point on which I want your critical *OPINION*, since it is also material to the political-diplomatic aspect of the matter and I have got to discuss it in *this* Friday's article. At the end of June the Turks proposed to send reinforcements to Redoute-Kaleh^d in order to operate from there in the direction of Kutais,^e etc. The British government, on the other hand, wanted to send a relief force to Erzerum via Trebizond and, it seems, to abandon Kars as a place of little importance, regarding Erzerum as the centre of resistance. At all events this dispute meant that the moment propitious for action was irretrievably lost. So that you may be *FULLY* informed on the *QUESTION* I append here the crucial *EXTRACTS*.

Stratford de Redcliffe to Clarendon. 28th June, 1855.

The Turkish ministers, who had talked of sending 10,000 men from Batoum^f to Erzeroum, now, in their embarrassment, incline to another plan. They propose to form an entrenched camp at Redoute-Kaleh, and to concentrate there the corps of General Vivian—completed by a draft of 10,000 men from the Bulgarian army—that of General Beatson, and the detachment from Batoum, reduced to 7,000 men. The total of these combined forces would be about 30,000 of all arms. Stationary they might operate as a diversion in favour of the army at Kars or Erzeroum; advancing by Kutais or Georgia they might either attack the Russians in the rear or force them to retreat.

^a *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars* (below Marx quotes in English from this collection). - ^b K. Marx, 'The Fall of Kars'. - ^c to the point - ^d Kulevi - ^e Kutaisi - ^f Batumi

Id to id., 30th June, 1855.

'The meeting which I had previously announced, took place this morning at the Grand Vizier's^a house on the Bosphorus. In addition to his Highness, the Seraskier^b and Fuad Effendi were present. I was accompanied by Brigadier-General Mansfield.... It appears, that the Russians advancing from Gumri^c with an amount of force varying from 20-30,000, had presented themselves before Kars; that a partial engagement of Cavalry had taken place, followed two days later by an attack, which had been repulsed, on the part of the enemy, and that the town was threatened with a siege.... It was clear, to all present, that whether the Russians besieged or turned Kars, the Turkish army required an effort to be made for its relief with all practicable despatch, and that of 3 possible modes of acting for that purpose, the only one likely to prove effective was an expedition by Kutais into Georgia. To send reinforcements by Trebizond would be at best a palliative. To establish an entrenched camp at Redoute-Kaleh, would, at this unhealthy season, be equivalent to consigning the troops to destruction. The real question was, whether a force numerically sufficient, and in all respects effective, could be collected in time at Kutais to make an excursion into Georgia and threaten the communications of the Russian army.... The Turkish ministers proposed that the expeditionary force should be composed of 12,000 men from Batoum and the neighbouring stations; of the troops made over to General Vivian, and estimated at 10,000 of all arms; of General Beatson's Irregular Cavalry, of 10,000 men to be detracted from the army in Bulgaria as the complement of the Turkish contingent; of 5,000 more derived from the same source; of an Egyptian regiment of horse now here, and of another regiment expected from Tunis. To these the Seraskier proposed to add 2,000 Albanians by way of riflemen. These several forces ... would present a total of 44,000 men, not perhaps to be reckoned with prudence at more than 36,000 effectives.'

Id. to id., 1st July, 1855

* '...the proposed diversion at Redoute-Kaleh originated with the Porte.'*

Clarendon to Stratford de Redcliffe. July 13th, 1855.

*'...Her Majesty's^d government are of opinion, that the wiser course would be to send reinforcements *to the rear of the Turkish army*, instead of sending an expedition to the rear of the Russian army. The reinforcements might go to Trebizond, and be directed from thence upon Erzeroum. The distance from Trebizond to Erzeroum is less than that from Redoute-Kaleh to Tiflis,^e and the march is through a friendly instead of through a hostile country; and at Erzeroum the army would meet *supporting friends instead of opposing enemies*, and supplies instead of famine. If the army at Kars cannot maintain that position against the Russians, [...] it will be easier to defeat them by the whole force collected, than by divided portions of that force; and a defeat would be the more decisive, the further it took place within the Turkish frontier. Trebizond is a place where supplies of all kinds might be landed etc.'*

Id. to id., 14th July, 1855 (telegraphic).

* 'The plan for reinforcing the army at Kars contained in your despatch of the 30th June and 1st inst., is disapproved. [...] Trebizond ought to be the base of

^a Ali Mehemet Pasha - ^b Rushdi Pasha, Turkish War Minister - ^c now Leninakan - ^d Victoria - ^e Tbilisi

operations, and if the Turkish army of Kars and Erzeroum cannot hold out at the latter place against the Russians, *it might fall back on Trebizond*, where it would easily be reinforced.*

Id. to id., 16th July, 1855.

If, indeed, Omer Pasha ... should determine to take any part of his own army, with Tunisians and Albanians to Redoute-Kaleh, Her Majesty's government would have nothing to say to that proceeding, but as regards the contingent under General Vivian and General Beatson's Horse, Her Majesty's government abide by their opinion that they should be directed through Trebizond or Erzeroum.

Lord Panmure to General Vivian, 14th July, 1855.

*...I place such full reliance on your professional ability, that I feel no anxiety lest you should undertake any expedition of a nature so wild and ill-digested as that contemplated by the Porte.... *A coup de main* by means of suddenly throwing an army on the coast to threaten, or even to attack an enemy's stronghold, is one thing, but a deliberate expedition to invade an enemy's country, and on his own territory to make war upon him, is quite another.*

I must confess that Clarendon's strategy strikes me as curious in the extreme, as does also the fine distinction drawn by Lord Panmure Carnot favouring the Sevastopol '*coup de main*' against the Turkish plan for a strategic move in Georgia.

If possible, then, an answer to these points *by return*.
Salut.

Your
K. M.

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DEAR Frederic,

It is high time I wrote again. I've been prevented from doing so by all kinds of domesticities.

Enclosed I letter from Levy to me, from Düsseldorf. The Touroute mentioned in the letter is a French ex-colonel. He called

yesterday while I was out and so I shall not be seeing him for several days as he has gone to Liverpool. He had a longish conversation with my wife, the quintessence of which is contained in *enclosure 2*,³⁹ composed by *Madame* herself. The M. mentioned in Levy's letter is Miquel.

In a few days' time you will receive *Igor*,²² which has now arrived; Russian-German; the BLUE BOOK^a; Destrilhes, *Confidences sur la Turquie* and a cutting from *L'Homme*, which I have mislaid and hence cannot send today, viz. a letter from a *déporté* in Cayenne, Tassilier by name, to M. le Ministre de la Marine,^b in which the frightful abominations to which Boustrapa⁴⁰ subjects the deportees are revealed.⁴¹ You would have had the BLUE BOOK long ago but *d'abord*^c the PRESSURE of daily events has several times compelled me to suspend work on my articles^d on this subject and write about other themes, so that I was unable to do without the book. Then the friends whom you know arrived. They wanted to have the NOVELTY just for *one* day, and had not yet returned it a week later.

AS TO THESE KARS PAPERS, *The Times*, in three fulminating LEADERS,^e gave a rehash of the section covering August 1854 to ABOUT February 1855, i.e. *did not so much as touch on* the really interesting and crucial period. The object of this is, of course, to shift all RESPONSIBILITY from the Ministry onto Redcliffe and the Turkish pashas in Asia. The best of it is that the English government, as you will see from Destrilhes, forcibly kept at the helm Redcliffe's rotten Turkish ministry, thus partly condoning and partly bringing about the abominations of which Williams complains. That, however, is only a minor matter. By a procedure similar to the one used in Stieber's case^f—namely, by producing proof of FALSIFIED DATES AND FORGED PASSAGES—I have, in my view, proved irrefutably that the responsibility for planning the fall of Kars and for the systematic execution of that plan, lay with the British GOVERNMENT, which furthermore had the good fortune this time to figure in Bonaparte's eyes as zealous 'in the cause'. I have not, OF COURSE, gone into the military aspect proper, i.e. the DEFENCE OF KARS; I have some MISGIVINGS, however, about the 'stature' of Williams.

^a *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars* - ^b F. A. Hamelin - ^c first of all - ^d A series of articles entitled *The Fall of Kars* which Marx was writing for *The People's Paper*. It was based on his article of the same title written for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. - ^e 'The Capitulation of Kars', *The Times*, Nos. 22320, 22322 and 22323, 20, 22 and 24 March 1856. - ^f Marx refers to his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

Jones, to whom I have shown my manuscript, intends IF POSSIBLE—i.e. if he can get together enough money to take St. Martin's Hall^a—to LECTURE ON THE FALL OF KARS at the said venue before the debate on it in Parliament begins.

*There is now going on a bitter controversy between the Chartists and the Urquhartites at Newcastle upon Tyne, London, Birmingham, and several other places.*⁴² As you will have heard, Jones, with Finlen for shadow, has proclaimed himself dictator of Chartism and set up a new organisation which, INDEED, is in process of growing but has, on the other hand, evoked a great storm of indignation against him.⁴³

The 'speculation upon speculation'—not in ideas but in shares—which has invaded the Rhine Province and Berlin from France would appear to be proliferating as viciously there as on the other side of the Rhine. Jeremiads about this social MISCHIEF, this infatuation, are appearing in the Ministry's *Preussische Correspondenz*, in which the imminence of an 'inevitable' and general financial crisis IS SERIOUSLY AND EMPHATICALLY hinted at.

You will know about Heine's death, but not about Ludwig Simon of Trier pissing—passing water, I mean—on his grave in the New York *Neue Zeit* run by Löwe, quondam lion^b of the Parliament of the 'Cherman' Nation⁴⁴ after its retreat to Stuckert.^c This poet or minnesinger of the female Yid, Madame Hohenscheisse-esche or-linden of Frankfurt am Main, is naturally of the opinion that Heine was no poet; he had 'no sensibility', was full of 'malevolence' and calumniated not only Kobes I,^d but even Berne's^e lady friend, the great Berne's 'mouse', muse or moose—the Strauss woman.^f

Down here there is A SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF SMALL TRADESMEN. This SOCIETY publishes a weekly rag^g for the said protection. In that weekly our friend Seiler 'along with his wife' is pilloried as a 'SWINDLER'.

BUT greater things are afoot. Pieper, thanks to his genius, has again been living a freebooter's existence since January and, despite the not inconsiderable SUBSIDIES provided by me, has been daily on the *qui vive* vis-à-vis his LANDLADY. Now it has suddenly occurred to him that all he requires to become a great man is a

^a a venue of public gatherings in London. The inaugural meeting of the International Working Men's Association was held there in September 1864. - ^b Löwe von Calbe - ^c Stuttgart (Marx deliberately uses this word and a number of others in this paragraph in their South German dialectal form). - ^d Nickname of Jakob Venedey under which he was ridiculed by Heine in his poem 'Kobes I' (*Kobes* means Jakob in the Cologne dialect). - ^e Ludwig Börne - ^f Jeanette Wohl-Straus. Heine described Börne's relations with her in his 'Ludwig Börne'. - ^g *Protection for Trade*

little capital. Seiler's SISTER-IN-LAW, the GREENGROCER'S 2nd daughter, a tallow-candle in green spectacles, has long been mortally in love with the said Pieper. Her entire person green like verdigris rather than veg., and GREENS TO BOOT WITHOUT ANY MEAT OR FLESH WHATSOEVER. While declaring her to be ugly as the day, Pieper has nevertheless discovered that she is not without intelligence, of which she gives incontrovertible proof by regarding our Hanoverian lambkin as a German Byron *manqué*. So, the day before yesterday, therefore, Pieper, to whom this person clings, not simply like a burr but like a CATERPILLAR, resolved to pour out his heart to Seiler's father-in-law. He did not wish to do so in front of his 'beloved' for fear he might have to kiss her, which indeed is HARD WORK for an occidental unaccustomed TO FEED UPON TALLOW. But in true Pieper-fashion, the declaration of love was combined with—a touch for a loan. Pieper could not disburden his heart to the GREENGROCER without inviting the GREENGROCER to disburden his POCKETS, not to say his till. On the grounds, that is, of his needing a little capital, SAY 20-40 POUNDS, TO CREATE HIMSELF A POSITION AS A FASHIONABLE TUTOR. Meanwhile he intends to let his 'beloved' enjoy the pleasures of widowhood while still betrothed, nor will his compassion *ever* permit him to marry her. GREENS OR NO GREENS, the whole business is most unsavoury, but Pieper imagines he will come out of it as a man of honour, i.e. AT A CERTAIN EPOCH LOOMING IN THE FUTURE repay down to the last farthing the advances he 'hopes' to obtain from his would-be father-in-law, generously leaving him his daughter into the bargain. Since that fateful day he has been back to my house only once, for a minute, while I was out. Called himself a 'happy man'. Little Jenny called him 'BENEDICK THE MARRIED MAN',² but little LAURA said: 'BENEDICK WAS A WIT, HE IS BUT "A CLOWN", AND "A CHEAP CLOWN" TOO.' The children are constantly reading Shakespeare.

Liebknecht has at last achieved something, to wit, a little Liebknecht.

By 'His Majesty's supreme and special command' my wife has received a passport from Berlin. In May she will travel to Trier with the whole FAMILY for 3-4 months.

Salut. Regards to Lupus.

K. M.

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² Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act V, Scene 4.

10

ENGELS TO MARX¹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 April 1856

DEAR MARX,

I eagerly look forward to the BLUE BOOK.^a But since I shall not have time for the process of chronological comparison to which you subjected it, you might give me a few hints some time as to the main snags; I shall have to confine myself solely to the MILITARY side, which I shall go through carefully, comparing it with Sandwith's book^b when possible. Up here we've heard absolutely nothing about Jones' coup d'état⁴³ and the consequent pother; I must certainly start getting *The People's Paper* again.

Never before has the speculation shown such sparkling form in Germany. Mevissen is king of the Rhine Province, has bought the *Indépendance* jointly with Morny, and is setting up an international (HURRAH!) bank in Luxembourg (!). I have seen the jeremiad in the *Preussische Correspondenz*. However, steps have been taken to ensure that neither Manteuffel nor von der Heydt suppresses the swindle; Crédits mobiliers⁴⁵ are being set up in Hanover, Leipzig *et al.* and what these fail to accomplish is sure to be made good by unofficial crookery. The final phase of the gamble is now beginning: Russia is importing capital and speculation and, given these distances, these hundreds of miles of railways, the gamble may well develop in such a way as to come to an early and sticky end. Once we hear of THE GRAND IRKUTSK TRUNK LINE WITH BRANCHES TO PEKIN, etc., etc., that will be the moment for us to pack up. This time the CRASH will be quite unprecedented; all the ingredients are there: intensity, universal scope, and the involvement of all propertied and ruling social elements. What I find funniest is your worthy Englishman's unshakable conviction, that, in view of the 'sound' state of TRADE, nothing like that could possibly happen here. It is clear enough that no one is speculating heavily in industrial *production*, it being common knowledge that a modest amount of investment in direct production could bring about saturation in all markets within a year, and this particularly so long as the colossal calls on capital for communications persist. But

^a *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars* - ^b H. Sandwith, *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars...*

as a result of speculation in communications, even industrial production is increasing out of all proportion, though more slowly than e.g. in 1833-36 or 1842-45. This year cotton prices are rising rapidly despite a hitherto unprecedented crop of 3,500,000 bales, which looks no larger this year than e.g. $2\frac{1}{2}$ million bales would have looked in 1850. Moreover, relative to England, the Continent is taking almost 3 times as much as 5 years ago, as is proved by the following table of exports from America between 1 September and 1 April each year (in thousands of bales):

	1856	1855	1854	1853
Export to England over 7 months	1,131	963	840	1,100
to France over 7 months	354	249	229	255
to other European ports over 7 months	346	167	179	204 ^a

So the Continent which, in 1853, took $\frac{45}{110} = \frac{1}{3}$ of the English figure, took $\frac{70}{113} = \frac{5}{8}$ in 1856. And to this must be added what was obtained by the Continent from England. As you can see, the growth of the industry on the Continent is out of all proportion to that in England, and the worthy British, BEING RATHER ON THE DECLINE, have every reason not to OVERTRADE in their cotton industry; 1853 and 1856, however, provide the best comparison, since in both years the crop was a very large one—3,300,000 and 3,500,000 bales. The substantial exports to France are purely fictitious, for a portion goes from Le Havre to Switzerland, Baden, Frankfurt and Antwerp. But it is in this enormous leap forward of industry on the Continent that the most viable embryo of English revolution lies.

While I see the rag *Protection for Trade* from time to time, I didn't, alas, have a chance to admire *amicum*^b Sebastian^c therein.

The Pieperiad is becoming distinctly distasteful. This little tale has some very amusing aspects, but also some nasty twists, and the thread of vanity running through it creates a disagreeable impression. Only let the fellow out of your sight for the space of 2 minutes and he'll go and do something idiotic on the assumption, shared by no one else, that he's a genius. I hope that he'll have to

^a In the manuscript Marx added three noughts to all the figures in this table.

- ^b friend - ^c Seiler

marry his tallow candle and that he *doesn't* get that little sum; it would serve him right.

Should the case arise, we must demonstrate our gratitude for the gallantry shown to your wife by supreme and special command.^a Whatever happens he^b must be given his ALLOWANCE of champagne in his *cachot*.^c

I found the Lassalliads³⁹ most entertaining; the ringleted Jewish noddle must look charming indeed above the red nightshirt and the 'marquisian' drapery, while his every movement betrays the Polish Izzy. All things considered, the fellow must produce a most sordid and repulsive impression.

I am keeping Levy's letter here^d and shall write to you, tomorrow if possible, about sundry matters concerning the workers' business. It would, by the way, be advisable to secure letters containing this sort of stuff with sealing wax. At the same time I shall return you Levy's letter.

I have already told you that I can hear again; three abscesses burst in my ear one after the other, and that did the trick.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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11

ENGELS TO WILHELM STEFFEN

IN BRIGHTON

Manchester, 15 April 1856

Dear Steffen,

Can you recommend a good map of Germany suitable for military studies and not too expensive—scale about 1:100,000 or, better still, 1:80,000, 1:60,000, etc. In addition a map, in rather

^a See this volume, p. 33. - ^b Frederick William IV - ^c cell - ^d See this volume, pp. 30-31.

more detail (1:60,000 to 1:40,000 would, of course, do), of the Rhine Province and Westphalia—a good one, however, and not too dear; the Prussian General Staff maps are, I believe, fearfully expensive and as yet incomplete. Even 1:150-200,000 might do for the map of Germany, that is not so important as that it should be good and really suitable. Provided it enables one to distinguish the *general features* of a battlefield, e.g. at Jena or Austerlitz,⁴⁶ even without an auxiliary plan, I shall be satisfied. The one for the Rhine Province and Westphalia should, of course, show what is shown on the 1 inch to the mile (about 1:60,000) English ORDNANCE MAP.

Little that's new up here. Lupus has a great deal to do at the moment, but for him, too, the lean holiday period is approaching. Is there a chance of your coming up to these parts in the summer?

Your
F. Engels

Add. as before:
Care of Mchr. Ermen & Engels

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12

MARX TO ENGELS¹

IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 April 1856

DEAR Frederic,

A packet went off to you today through the usual PARCELS company. It contains: 1. KARS PAPERS.^a 2. *Igor*.²² 3. Destrilhes, *Confidences sur la Turquie*. 4. 2 issues of *L'Homme*; in one, the letter from Cayenne, in the other, Pyat's litany to Marianne,⁴⁷ which he read aloud on 25 February of this year at a Chartist

^a *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey, and the Defence and Capitulation of Kars*

meeting in honour of the French Revolution. The good fellow was, of course, hoping to see a repetition of the row caused by his 'lettre à la reine'.¹⁶ Was disappointed, however. From this you will also gather how subordinate is the attitude adopted by the French would-be revolutionaries here vis-à-vis 'Marianne'. 5. 2 cuttings from *The People's Paper*, my first 2 articles on the KARS PAPERS.^a Shall also send you third and final instalments. Since the original of Article I had gone astray, and time, not to mention Ernest Jones, was pressing, I had to do a hasty rehash of the *Tribune* article out of my head, so that sundry bits of nonsense have crept in which will certainly not elude your keen nose. BUT NEVER MIND THAT! I mention it simply to let you know why I didn't send you the thing straight away.

The day before yesterday a little banquet took place to celebrate the anniversary of *The People's Paper*. On this occasion, the times seeming to require it, I accepted the invitation, the more so since (AS ANNOUNCED IN THE PAPER) I *alone* of the whole emigration was invited, and the first toast also fell to me, i.e. I was asked to propose one to the *souveraineté du prolétariat dans tous les pays*.^b So I made a short SPEECH in English, which, however, I shall not allow to appear in print.⁴⁸ The end I sought has been achieved. Mr Talandier—who had to pay 2/6d for his TICKET—is now convinced, like the rest of the French and other émigré crews, that we are the Chartists' only 'intimate' allies and that, though we may hold aloof from public demonstrations and leave it to the FRENCHMEN to flirt openly with Chartism, it is always in our power to resume the position already allotted to us by history. This had become all the more necessary because, at the above-mentioned meeting of 25 February presided over by Pyat, the German lout Scherzer (OLD BOY) spoke and, in truly dreadful Straubingerian style,⁴⁹ denounced the German 'scholars', the 'intellectual workers', for having left them (the louts) in the lurch, thus forcing them to make fools of themselves in the eyes of the other nationalities. You will remember Scherzer from Paris days. I have met friend Schapper again several times and have found him very much the repentant sinner. The retirement in which he has been living for the past 2 years would seem RATHER to have sharpened his wits than otherwise. As you will realise, there are all sorts of contingencies in

^a The first two articles from Marx's series *The Fall of Kars* published in *The People's Paper* on 5 and 12 April 1856 and based on Marx's article of the same title for the *New-York Daily Tribune* mentioned further in the text. - ^b the sovereignty of the proletariat in all countries (see K. Marx, 'Speech at the Anniversary of *The People's Paper*. Delivered in London, April 14, 1856').

Handwritten text in German, likely the first page of a letter, discussing political and economic matters.

Handwritten text in German, likely the second and third pages of a letter, continuing the discussion on political and economic matters.

The second and third pages of Marx's letter to Engels of 16 April 1856

which it might be advantageous to have the man to hand AND, STILL MORE, to have him out of the hands of Willich. Schapper is now furiously angry with the Windmill⁵⁰ louts.

I shall forward your letter to Steffen. You ought to have kept Levy's letter^a there. Do so in general with all letters I don't ask you to return. The less they go through the post THE BETTER. I fully agree with you about the Rhine Province. As for us, the worst of it is that, LOOMING IN THE FUTURE, I see something that looks like 'high treason'. Whether we are forced into the same kind of position as the Mainz Clubbists⁵¹ in the old revolution will largely depend on the *tournure*^b things take in Berlin. *Ça sera dur.*^c We, who are so ENLIGHTENED about our good *frères* from across the Rhine! THE WHOLE THING IN GERMANY will depend on whether it is possible TO BACK THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION BY SOME SECOND EDITION OF THE PEASANTS' WAR. In which case the affair should go swimmingly.

I have heard nothing whatever about Stieber II. Write and tell me what you know on this score.

Now for the *chronique scandaleuse*.^d

The Pieper comedy came to an end as abrupt as it was bitter. On the one hand, he got a letter in which the old GREENGROCER turned him down out of hand and forbade him the house. On the other, the green-bespectacled screech-owl—an indescribably hideous piece of baggage—turned up at our house in search of 'her' Pieper. She proposed that they should elope together. With great tact he refused quite unequivocally. So the comedy is over. It is to be hoped that this bitter experience, the result of his irresistibility, will have some salutary effect upon Prince Charming.

Enclosed a letter from Seiler. As soon as this Falstaff arrived in New York he caught Edgar^e just as the latter was about to set out for Texas. Edgar has in the meantime come into some money from the inheritance. The nasty consequences of this meeting with Seiler will be apparent to you from the letter.

A fine pair, Seiler and Conrad Schramm!

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a See this volume, pp. 30-31. - ^b turn - ^c It will be tough. - ^d gossip column - ^e Edgar von Westphalen

13

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 April 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

Enclosed you will find

1. 2 Kars PAPERS, third and final instalments.^a
2. An article on the Duke of York^b which I gave Jones, and in which I imitate OLD Cobbett's manner *tant bien que mal*.^c Sent especially for Lupus' information.
3. The SPEECH made by Frost, the old Chartist, in New York.^d
4. A letter from Miquel. This last *to be returned*. For I have not yet replied, as I should like to have your detailed 'OPINION' before doing so. It's a somewhat ticklish matter. 'Questions, sometimes insidious',^e and when replying it is difficult to know how far one can properly go.⁵²

Que dites-vous du discours de M. de Walewski?^{f 53} Everyone in London is furious with the GOVERNMENT and even the SHOPKEEPERS are mouthing revolutionary slogans.

If you can, send Pieper something. It is now possible that he will get a job as CORRECTOR on *The People's Paper*. All I can do now is keep him in commons. I have taken him seriously to task for his silly antics, which have landed him on the streets again. I could tell you a thing or two about politics down here, but to do so by post might be risky.

The news from Paris in today's *Advertiser* contains a brief but interesting report on an action brought against some members of Marianne⁴⁷; they're conducting themselves splendidly.

In the *Presse* (Paris) some edifying aspersions on Bonaparte's

^a K. Marx, *The Fall of Kars*, Articles III and IV - ^b K. Marx, 'The House of Lords and the Duke of York's Monument'. - ^c after a fashion - ^d *The People's Paper*, No. 208, 26 April 1856 - ^e H. Heine, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, Chapter 20. - ^f What do you say to M. de Walewski's speech? (The speech was reported in *The Times*, No. 22352, 26 April 1856.)

législateur poète—Belmontet—by Pelletan, in which the latter has so insulted the ‘empereur’^a that he will probably be expelled.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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14

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 May 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I have another letter from Germany to send on to you. But since you haven't yet acknowledged *receipt* either of the PARCEL or of the *letter* enclosing Miquel's,^b I don't know whether these things have reached you. Let me know by return. In the case of compromising letters, it's essential to be sure they are delivered.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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15

MARX TO ENGELS⁵⁴

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 May^c 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

DEAR Frederic,

Received your letter.⁵⁵ My PRESSURE upon you in YESTERDAY'S LETTER explicable *d'abord*^d by the fact that an earlier parcel of my wife's

^a Napoleon III - ^b See previous letter. - ^c April in the original - ^d first of all

did *not* arrive in Manchester, although sent by post. Secondly, however, you know how a man feels when he's kept on the hop by piles. *And such a man am I.*

I am glad to hear that you and Lupus are entirely of my opinion with regard to Miquel's letter⁵²—the attempt to digest this 'wisdom' fairly 'turned my stomach'.

Unless something goes wrong with the pecuniary arrangements I have made, my family will be leaving in 10 to 14 days at the latest.^a A pity you are so overworked, otherwise we might have done *un petit tour*^b to Scotland.

I shall carry out your commissions at the Museum^c as soon as I go there again.

Enclosed:

2 letters, 1. from Imandt; 2. from Cologne.⁵⁶ Would it not be best if I replied to the Cologne people through my wife? THERE EXISTS SOME JEALOUSY BETWEEN COLOGNE AND DÜSSELDORF AS TO THE LEADING OF THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT. BESIDES, I don't know whether the Cologne people are aware that the Düsseldorfers have completely broken with Lassalle who has fallen into general disrepute among them.

Yesterday the following comical missive arrived from Sheffield:

* Council Hall, Sheffield,
May 6th, '56.

Doctor,
The Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee⁵⁷ instructs me to convey to you an expression of their warm thanks for the great public service you have rendered by your admirable *exposé* of the Kars Papers published in *The People's Paper*.^d I have the Honour etc.

Cyyles, Secretary.*

That is magnanimous, there being war to the death between *The People's Paper* and *The Free Press*, as between Chartism and Urquhartism generally.⁴² The great Ironside went one step further and decreed THAT THE 'THANKS OF THE COUNTRY' WERE DUE TO DR. M.^e ETC. It would have been much better had the chaps sent me the money they made out by reprinting the Palmerston articles under the title *Story of the Life etc.* (in pamphlet form).⁵⁸

From New York Seiler has sent me—came today—'Das Recht deutscher vereinigter Staatenbürger in Europa' in the *Democrat*.^f Will never be read, not in this world at any rate.

Since handing over your £2 to Pieper I haven't set eyes on him. Moreover, Jones has sent word that, up till *yesterday evening*, he had not delivered the work he had accepted for *The People's Paper*.

^a See this volume, p. 33. - ^b short trip. - ^c the British Museum Library - ^d K. Marx, *The Fall of Kars*. - ^e Marx - ^f *New-Yorker Demokrat*

Nous verrons.^a If he wilfully throws away this opportunity as well, let him go to the devil. Now's his chance, the silly ass.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Apropos! Have seen Heine's will⁵⁹! A return to the 'living God', and a 'Recantation before God and man' if ever he wrote anything 'immoral'!

Didn't see Colonel Touroute again before he left for Germany. Enclosed letters *not* to be returned. Regards to Lupus.

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16

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 May 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

The family went off yesterday.^b I have been incapable of work this week, partly because of the TROUBLE in the house, partly because of a rheumatically back such as I have never experienced before.

Herewith Bazancourt—the 'Napoleonic' account of the Crimean business.^c Might not something be made of it for *Putnam's*?⁶⁰ It's urgent that I obtain the services of this firm since the money and gear needed for the journey have compelled me to accept through Zitschke a sole bill for £30 on myself, payable in 3 months' time. A man from *Putnam's* has been to see Freiligrath, and they are willing to take articles.

I have only read the excerpts from Bazancourt that were published in the French papers. To judge by them, it would appear to provide much amusing matter. The thing cannot, I

^a We shall see. - ^b See this volume, p. 33. - ^c Bazancourt, *L'expédition de Crimée jusqu'à la prise de Sébastopol*.

think, be treated other than flippantly. If done, it should not be made too short, but solely with the idea of filling up space.

Trübner, who looked like accepting my Swedish stuff two months ago but then gave no further sign of life, wrote yesterday and arranged an *entrevue*^a on Tuesday to discuss the matter. That would provide 20 sheets of work.⁶¹

I am in a SERIOUS DILEMMA as to whether or not I should now go on a TRIP. On the one hand I've got to slog away at making money. On the other the doctor^b has told me—and I believe he's right—that I should travel a bit and have a change of air, as my liver is again functioning irregularly. I AM NOT YET DECIDED what I should do. It's not as though staying here were especially economical, since I also have Pieper round my neck. But the main thing is my work.

As to Bazancourt, let me know whether you need the first part as well. If nothing can be made of the thing it would be better not to buy it.

I am incapable of writing today, but must nevertheless ask you to clear up a philological doubt. In *Henry IV*, Shakespeare used the word 'hiren' for 'siren' and, according to a note made by that pedant, Johnson,^c the form 'hiren' also occurs in other early English writers.^d The substitution of h for s is QUITE in order, but might there not be some connection between 'hiren' and 'Hure',^e and hence also 'siren'? Or with 'hoeren', *auris*,^f etc.? You can see TO WHICH LOW STATE OF SPIRIT I AM DEPRESSED today from the great interest I show in this matter.

I have received some very curious information about Ruge's tragedy, the *Neue Welt*, in which 'the tragedy of love turns into a farce'. Shall tell you about it in my next.

Herzen is going to Switzerland. I await YOUR COMMUNICATIONS ON Ireland.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a interview - ^b Freund - ^c Marx means Johnson's notes in *Plays of W. Shakespeare. With Notes of Samuel Johnson. King Henry IV* is in Vol. 4 of this edition. - ^d Notably in George Peele's play *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin in the Fair Greek* [Trans.]. - ^e whore - ^f to hear, hearing

17

ENGELS TO MARX⁶²

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May 1856

Dear Marx,

During our trip to Ireland⁶³ we travelled from Dublin to Galway on the West Coast, then 20 miles north and inland, on to Limerick, down the Shannon to Tarbert, Tralee and Killarney, and back to Dublin. In all approx. 450-500 English miles within the country itself, so we have seen approx. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the entire country. With the exception of Dublin, which is to London what Düsseldorf is to Berlin, bears altogether the stamp of having been a small royal seat and is, moreover, built entirely in the English style, the whole country and particularly the towns give one the impression of being in France or Northern Italy. Gendarmes, priests, lawyers, bureaucrats, lords of the manor in cheerful profusion and a total absence of any and every industry, so that one could barely conceive what all these parasitic plants live on, were there no counterpart in the wretchedness of the peasants. The 'iron hand' is visible in every nook and cranny; the government meddles in everything, not a trace of so-called SELF-GOVERNMENT. Ireland may be regarded as the earliest English colony and one which, by reason of her proximity, is still governed in exactly the same old way; here one cannot fail to notice that the English citizen's so-called freedom is based on the oppression of the colonies. In no other country have I seen so many gendarmes, and it is in the CONSTABULARY, which is armed with carbine, bayonet and handcuffs, that the bibulous expression of your Prussian gendarme reaches its ultimate state of perfection.

Peculiar to the country are its ruins, the oldest 5th and 6th century, the most recent 19th, and every stage in between. The earliest, all churches; from 1100, churches and castles; from 1800, farmhouses. Throughout the west, but particularly the Galway region, the countryside is strewn with these derelict farmhouses, most of which have only been abandoned since 1846. I had never imagined that famine could be so tangibly real.⁶⁴ Whole villages are deserted; in between the splendid parks of the smaller LANDLORDS, virtually the only people still living there, lawyers mostly.

Famine, emigration and CLEARANCES⁶⁵ between them have brought this about. The fields are empty even of cattle; the countryside is a complete wilderness unwanted by anybody. In County Clare, south of Galway, things improve a bit, for there's some cattle at least and, towards Limerick, the hills are excellently cultivated, mostly by Scottish FARMERS, the ruins have been cleared away, and the country has a domesticated air. In the south-west, numerous mountains and bogs but also marvellously luxuriant woodland; further on, fine pastures again, especially in Tipperary and, approaching Dublin, increasing signs that the land is occupied by big farmers.

The English wars of conquest from 1100^a to 1850 (*au fond*^b they lasted as long as this, as did also martial law) utterly ruined the country. With regard to most of the ruins, it has been established that the destruction took place during these wars. Thus the very people have acquired their unusual character and, for all their fanatical Irish nationalism, the fellows no longer feel at home in their own country. IRELAND FOR THE SAXON! That is now becoming a reality. The Irishman knows that he cannot compete with the Englishman, who comes armed with resources in every respect superior to his own; emigration will continue until the predominantly, indeed almost exclusively, Celtic nature of the population has gone to pot. How often have the Irish set out to achieve something and each time been crushed, politically and industrially! In this artificial manner, through systematic oppression, they have come to be a completely wretched nation and now, as everyone knows, they have the job of providing England, America, Australia, etc., with whores, day labourers, *maquereaux*,^c pickpockets, swindlers, beggars and other wretches. Even the aristocracy are infected by this wretchedness. The landowners, wholly bourgeoisified everywhere else, are here completely down-at-heel. Their country seats are surrounded by huge and lovely parks but all around there is desolation and where the money is supposed to come from heaven only knows. These fellows are too funny for words: of mixed blood, for the most part tall, strong, handsome types, all with enormous moustaches under a vast Roman nose, they give themselves the bogus martial airs of a *colonel en retraite*,^d travel the country in search of every imaginable diversion and, on inquiry, prove to be as poor as church mice, up to their eyes

^a More precisely, from 1169, when the English feudal lords first invaded Ireland. - ^b in the main - ^c pimps - ^d retired colonel

in debt, and living in constant fear of the ENCUMBERED ESTATES COURT.⁶⁶

About England's method of governing this country—repression and corruption (long before Bonaparte tried them)—more very shortly if you don't come up soon. What are the prospects?

Your
F. E.

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18

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 May 1856

Dear Marx,

Herewith the article,¹¹ but you should read it over first. Today the office again prevented me from doing so myself.

Bazancourt^a will be of some use—Bonaparte's *Batrachomyomachia*.⁶⁷ But Vol. I absolutely essential. I shall send you 6/- worth of stamps for it tomorrow, or rather, they are enclosed herewith.

I would advise you to pack your bags at once, taking such papers as are absolutely necessary. Then you can work here as well as in Scotland, at least on certain subjects. We could do Bazancourt \pm ^b together.⁶⁰ Admittedly, you would have to do most of the work for, with business expanding rapidly, commerce is making such demands on me that there can be no thought of regular and sustained work. If you finished this thing here (1 article would of course suffice), you could always either do parliamentary articles here, or else take a trip to Scotland and get down to some hard work here on your return. Until the Pan-Slavism is finished I should be reluctant to saddle myself with

^a Bazancourt, *L'expédition de Crimée jusqu'à la prise de Sébastopol*. - ^b more or less

any other promises which I might eventually be unable to fulfil; but after all, your health is also a consideration and, as to that, I think I have something good for you—viz. light Bavarian beer and another dozen or so bottles of Bordeaux. Better, at all events—with a change of air—than HALF AND HALF, etc.

I may drop you another line tomorrow. Let me know what you decide to do.

Your
F. E.

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19

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 May 1856^a
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I shall hardly be able to leave here before the end of *next* week, since the business with Trübner^b will not have been decided before then and I must, besides, have a word with Zitschke, who is unlikely to be back in London until then. At all events I shall let you know beforehand when I shall be leaving.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a Year added by Engels. - ^b See this volume, p. 46.

20

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 June 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

I leave for Scotland at the end of this week, and shall come on to you from there after an interval of 6 days, but will of course give you prior notice. Should you write to me during this week, address the letters 'C. Marx, CARE OF P. Imandt, 29 Cowgate, Dundee'. There was a twofold reason for my decision to come to you *via* Scotland:

1. *Medical*, because I know that the sea-voyage will put me to rights and it was only the day before yesterday that I got rid of my rheumatism. Moreover, there have been other unpleasantnesses, including excessive bleeding at stool. I have, of course, also consulted my SURGEON.

2. *Pieper*. He will accompany me to Scotland and then return to London. Had I not agreed to this arrangement, the lad—he obtained the money for the trip from his former pupil, A. Rothschild—was fully determined to make his way to Paris on a false passport, allegedly with the intention of proceeding from there to Geneva on foot. You will realise what a strange and compromising end SUCH AN EXPEDITION LIKELY WAS TO ARRIVÉ AT.

*Salut.*Your
K. M.

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21

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 June 1856

Dear Engels,

PLAN AGAIN CHANGED. Why, when we meet. Pieper will accompany me to Hull, then return to London. I shall come on to you from Hull.⁶⁸

Your
K. M.

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22

MARX TO JENNY MARX²⁰IN TRIER⁶⁹

Manchester, 21 June 1856
34 Butler Street, Greenheys

My darling Sweetheart,

I am writing to you again because I am alone and because it is irksome to converse with you all the time in my head without you knowing or hearing or being able to answer me. Bad as your portrait is, it serves its end well enough, and I now understand how it is that even the least flattering portraits of the mother of God, the 'Black Madonnas',⁷⁰ could have their inveterate admirers—more admirers, indeed, than the good portraits. At any rate, none of these 'Black Madonna' portraits has ever been so much kissed and ogled and adored as your photograph which, while admittedly not black, has a crabbed expression and in no way reflects your dear, lovely, kissable, *dolce*^a countenance. But I put

^a sweet

right what the sun's rays have wrongly depicted, discovering that my eyes, spoiled though they are by lamplight and tobacco smoke, can nevertheless paint not only in the dreaming but also in the waking state. There you are before me, large as life, and I lift you up in my arms and I kiss you all over from top to toe, and I fall on my knees before you and cry: 'Madame, I love you.'^a And love you I do, with a love greater than was ever felt by the Moor of Venice.^b Falsely and foully doth the false and foul world all characters construe. Who of my many calumniators and venomous-tongued enemies has ever reproached me with being called upon to play the romantic lead in a second-rate theatre? And yet it is true. Had the scoundrels possessed the wit, they would have depicted 'the productive and social relations' on one side and, on the other, myself at your feet. Beneath it they would have written: LOOK TO THIS PICTURE AND TO THAT.^c But stupid the scoundrels are and stupid they will remain, *in seculum seculorum*.^d

Temporary absence is good, for in a person's presence things look too much alike for them to be distinguished. At close quarters even towers appear dwarfed, whereas what is petty and commonplace, seen close at hand, assumes undue proportions. So, too, with the passions. Little habits which, by their very proximity, obtrude upon one, and thus assume the form of passions, vanish as soon as their immediate object is out of sight. Great passions which, by the proximity of their object, take on the form of little habits, wax large and resume their natural proportions under the magical effect of distance. So it is with my love. Mere spatial separation from you suffices to make me instantly aware that time has done for my love just what the sun and the rain do for plants—made it grow. My love for you, as soon as you are away from me, appears for what it is, a giant, and into it all the vigour of my mind and all the ardour of my heart are compressed. I feel myself once more a man because I feel intense passion, and the multifariousness in which we are involved by study and modern education, no less than the scepticism which inevitably leads us to cavil at every subjective and objective impression, is calculated to render each one of us petty and weak and fretful and vacillating. But love, not for Feuerbachian Man, not for Moleschottian metabolism, not for the proletariat, but love for a sweetheart and notably for yourself, turns a man back into a man again.

^a H. Heine, 'Die Jahre kommen und gehen...' (*Buch der Lieder. Die Heimkehr*). -

^b Shakespeare, *Othello*. - ^c Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 4. - ^d for ever and ever

You will smile, my dear heart, and wonder 'why this rhetoric all of a sudden?' But if I could press your sweet white bosom to mine, I would be silent and say not a word. Since I cannot kiss with my lips I must kiss with my tongue and frame words. I could, indeed, even frame verse, German *Books of Sorrow* after the manner of Ovid's *Libri Tristium*. He, however, had merely been banished by the Emperor Augustus; I have been banished from you,^a and that is something Ovid could not understand.

There are, indeed, many women in the world, and a few of them are beautiful. But where else shall I find a face of which every lineament, every line even, reawakens the greatest and sweetest memories of my life? In your sweet countenance I can read even my infinite sorrows, my irreplaceable losses,^b and when I kiss your sweet face I kiss away my sorrow. 'Buried in her arms, revived by her kisses'—in your arms, that is, and by your kisses—and let the Brahmins and Pythagoras keep their doctrine of re-birth, and Christianity its doctrine of resurrection.

To conclude with SOME FACTS. I have today sent Isaac Ironside the FIRST PAPER OF THE SERIES⁶¹ and have, in addition, made notes (i.e. on the text of the despatches) in my own hand and in my own English.^c I must say I felt a bit anxious when Frederic,^d with that little quizzical look he has, calmly read through the stuff^e before it was sent off. *Mais pour la première fois*^f *he was quite astonished and exclaimed that this important work ought to be published in another form and, above all things, to be published in German.* I shall send the first issue to you and to old Schlosser, the historian, in Germany.

Apropos. I see from the *Augsburger*,^g which refers directly to our circular letters^h discussed at the communist trial in Cologne,⁷¹ that another circular letter, 'reputedly' from the same source, has been sent out from London. It is a forgery, a miserable gallimaufry of our things, put together by Mr Stieber who, not having been accorded due honour in Prussia of late, now seeks to set himself up as a great man in Hanover. Engels and I intend to publish a counter-statement in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁷²

^a There is a pun here in German, the word *von* meaning either *by* or *from*. - ^b the death of his children Guido, Franziska and Edgar - ^c See this volume, pp. 57-58. - ^d Frederick Engels - ^e K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. - ^f But for the first time - ^g *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Marx refers to a report from Hanover published in issue No. 169, 16 June 1856. - ^h K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League', March 1850, and 'Address of the Central Authority to the League', June 1850.

Farewell my dear heart. A thousand kisses to you, and the children too, from

Your
Karl

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23

MARX TO ISAAC IRONSIDE⁷³

IN SHEFFIELD

[Draft]

Manchester, [21 June 1856]
34 Butler St., Greenheys

Dear Sir,

I received your letter d.d. June 14 this morning only, as it had to be sent to me here to Manchester where I shall stay for some weeks.

I have duly considered your proposal, and, on the whole, accede to it.⁷⁴ In a matter like this, it is impossible to mention expressly every small particular, to agree upon the size of type pp., neither can I anticipate that any difficulties may arise therefrom, nor from the reservations to make as to 'copy used'.

I shall therefore provide you in time for next Saturday's but one's publication with fully 2 columns of matter and keep you amply supplied every week to that extent.

It would be most convenient to me (if your arrangements admit of it) to receive a remittance say after every fresh weekly publication.

As to your reprinting the papers in your serials, I have no objection, reserving to myself, of course, the right of using the materials, later on, in any way I may see it fit to use them.

As I am sure that you will not suppress historical truth out of prejudice or party-consideration [...] ^a

As to the latter point you will think it only just, that should any points be suppressed, which in my conviction are of decisive

^a The sentence is unfinished in the original.

historical importance, I shall consider myself obliged to stop the publication.

In thanking you for the serials you were so kind to send me, I cannot but regret that you did not think fit to communicate to me the proof-sheets of the 'Story of the life of Lord Palmerston'.⁵⁸ Sentences, historical data, quotations from Palmerston's speeches—everything is so disfigured by *errata* that, in my opinion, the pamphlet, in its present form, is not only useless but positively mischievous.

A few words on the plan of the whole publication^a will suffice. I do not adopt the usual manner of opening the whole theme by general considerations, but on the contrary commence with facts.^b

In contradistinction to the usual manner of historical writers, I shall not commence this publication with general considerations, but with facts. The first chapter will be composed of despatches belonging to different epochs of that century, in order to show up the Russian spirit of English diplomacy during the 18th.^c

I hope I need not tell you that I am no 'commercial' writer and that no [...] ^d

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24

MARX TO WILLIAM CYPLES⁷⁵

IN SHEFFIELD

[Draft]

[London,] 22 July 1856

Dear Sir,

I write again myself to show that I bear not the least ill will against you for which, indeed, there would be no cause. In your

^a K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. - ^b This paragraph is crossed out in the original. - ^c Here the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: 'There are to follow some English pamphlets belonging to the epoch of Peter I; having thus made the reader familiar 1) [with] the infamies of English diplomacy, 2) with the protest [...]. From one of these despatches you will see how England conspired with Russia to crush [...]. These despatches will form a more eloquent introduction to [...].' - ^d The manuscript breaks off here.

letter d.d. July 19,^a you say: 'It could not be satisfactory etc.' Now as to my own satisfaction please to leave it altogether out of the question. As to Mr Ironside's 'satisfaction' I'll quote you the exact words of his 'note'.^b Having told you, that already the first article had '*overdosed*' him, he continues as follows:

'They' (Dr Marx's articles) 'are entombing the paper. This must not be. *They must be brought to a close forthwith.* You must not have more than two more doses—this week and the next. You had better write him at once *to that effect.*'

I *positively* decline making myself guilty of manslaughter by administering another 'dose' to Mr Isaac Ironside and 'entombing' him in the sheets of his own paper.

Yours etc.

Dr K. M.

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25

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 28 July 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederic,

A letter from my wife received today via Manchester brings news of her mother's^c death on July 23. This will hasten her return to London.

At the same time a letter from Miquel, who is thinking of coming over here in a week or 10 days' time. Highly inconvenient just now.

Pieper lost his job a fortnight ago. Not his fault this time. He kept the thing secret so long as Lupus was here. The compositors conspired together to bring in a chap who belongs to their FRIENDLY SOCIETY.⁷⁶

^a See this volume, p. 60. - ^b Below Marx quotes from a non-extant letter by Ironside to Cyples. - ^c Caroline von Westphalen

As regards Sheffield, the matter stands as follows:

In the last issue the fellows made some disgraceful cuts, whereupon Pieper wrote to Cycles: *'I am directed by Dr Marx to inform you that he cannot congratulate you upon the emendations, etc.'*⁷⁷

Then the following letter arrived from Ironside^a:

*Free Press Office, Sheffield,
July 19, 1856

Dear Doctor,

It could not be satisfactory either to us or to yourself to close your article in the abrupt way which you on the instant proposed. I am sorry that I was so unsuccessful in cutting down last week's contributions, and should have hesitated in doing so had it not unfortunately happened that there was really no other alternative. As to Mr Ironside's note, permit me to say that in another letter since received from him, he expresses regret that you should have construed his scrap as he did not intend it, and intimates a doubt that *I* have in some way offended you? I see no reason why our professional intercourse may not continue and be pleasant; and I venture to hope to receive the usual packet of copy for next week's issue. You will be so good as to excuse my tardiness in writing. I have been so busy. Your etc. *Cycles*.*

Reply

*July 22, 1856

'Dear Sir, I write again myself to show that I bear not the least ill will against you for which, indeed, there would be no cause. In your letter d.d. July 19, you say: "It could not be satisfactory etc." Now as to my own satisfaction please to leave it altogether out of the question. As to Mr Ironside's "satisfaction" I'll quote you the exact words of his "note". Having told you, that already the first article had "*overdosed*" him, he continues as follows:

"They" (Dr Marx's articles) "are entombing the paper. This must not be. *They must be brought to a close forthwith.* You must not have more than two more doses—this week and the next. You had better write him at once *to that effect.*"

'I *positively* decline making myself guilty of manslaughter by administering another "dose" to Mr Isaac Ironside and "entombing" him in the sheets of his own paper. Yours etc:

Dr K. M.*

Since then the correspondence has lapsed. But still no sign of any *money*. Jones tells me I could have taken the fellows to court over the whole affair AT THE OUTSET.

^a Marx means Cycles.

As you can imagine, I am like a cat on hot bricks. I shall have to do something about lodgings when the FAMILY arrives, but have no idea how to get out of the old ones or move into new, having neither the MEANS nor any immediate prospects. My electric brush strives vainly to make my hair darker, for *atra cura*^a is making it whiter than ever. Zitschke has decamped, so at least I am excused *sine die* from paying him.

Espartero and Pucheta in the Spanish farce—never before has history so nicely confronted the hero of the liberal bourgeoisie with the hero of the 'mob'.⁷⁸

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Freiligrath has no one above him now apart from the BOARD OF DIRECTORS, which meets every Saturday.

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26

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 August 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear E.,

The £5 note most gratefully received but not as yet the letter you promised me. Herewith a letter from the crazy Mirbach, which I have received—via Berlin!

No money from Sheffield yet. Today I got Pieper to send a dunning letter. Meanwhile there has been the following incident: Yesterday *Urquhart's* bulldog—THE CELEBRATED Collet—appeared at my house. He had come, he said, at the behest of the Grand Coph-ta⁷⁹ himself. Urquhart was *very sorry, regretted, indeed, very

^a black care

much that Mr Ironside had interfered at all with my articles etc., which he thought of extraordinary value etc.* Then he asked me to tell him how the matter had come about. * Mr Urquhart imagined that the principal cause of the quarrel was the suppression of some parts of the copy etc.* I then told him what had happened⁷⁵ and showed him the written *corpora delicti*.^a Next, he asked me *whether I was willing to enter upon any compromise, which question I flatly denied, telling him that I was no penny-a-liner and not to be treated like the London literary vagabonds.* It seemed he was only awaiting this statement in order to tell me with EXTRAORDINARY SOLEMNITY that Urquhart thought *The Free Press* 'inadequate'. * Mr Ironside was placed on the horns of a dilemma because *The Free Press* was, indeed, but an extract from the *Sheffield Free Press*—a paper, by the bye, twice the dimensions of the *F. P.*—and what was suited to the wants of the readers of the *Sh. F. P.* was not all palatable to the readers of the *F. P.* and vice versa. Mr Urquhart had, therefore, resolved upon starting in about a month a diplomatic journal at London.* He hoped that I would let him have the whole of the *Revelations*⁸⁰ and not bear him a GRUDGE. I returned a vague answer capable of being construed in the affirmative but leaving me free—if the conditions should prove too poor or the paper too crazy—to refuse. It will all depend on the nature of the paper. In London things are rather different from Sheffield, and, should Urquhart come out with his counter-revolutionary nonsense in such a way that collaboration with him would discredit me in the eyes of the revolutionaries here, I would be obliged, *of course, hard as it would be under the present miserable circumstances,* to decide against it. However, *nous verrons*.^b At all events I have now received adequate satisfaction as regards my LITERARY POINT OF HONOUR, in as much as the chief has all but disowned his LIEUTENANT. This is a satisfactory dénouement, if only on account of Bucher and the democratic riff-raff.

There will now be much wrangling within the Urquhartite camp itself. It seemed to me that they evinced a bad TENDENCY to make a SCAPEGOAT of poor Cycles. E.g., Collet said he wasn't sure whether it was with Ironside's knowledge that Cycles had sent me the former's letter. To this I replied that Cycles seemed to be an honest fellow who had heard 'SECRET DIPLOMACY' so greatly decried that he naturally assumed 'PUBLIC DIPLOMACY' to be the rule at the *F. P.* OFFICE.

^a pieces of evidence - ^b we shall see

Received a letter today from my wife. She seems greatly affected by the old lady's^a death. She will have to spend a week or 10 days in Trier in order to put up for auction what little in the way of effects her mother has left and to share the PROCEEDS with Edgar.^b She has proposed the following scheme: After spending a few days more in the vicinity of Trier with a woman friend of hers, she will travel to Paris and thence direct to Jersey, having decided that we ought to spend September and October there. First, so that she herself can recuperate; secondly, because it's cheaper and pleasanter than London and, finally, so that the children should learn French, etc. She doesn't, of course, know anything about what has been taking place here. For the present I have written to say that it's a splendid scheme, although I cannot in fact see how it can be put into effect. Yesterday I again saw the *New-York Tribune* (WEEKLY). The whole paper is filled with nothing but the ELECTORAL DODGE and so it will be for months to come. We cannot hope seriously to tackle the N.-Y. T. until the presidential business is over.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

P.S. At Blind's, saw 2 volumes of Simon of Trier's émigré jeremiad.^c Watered-down twaddle, every other word a solecism, callow botchery, weak-kneed affectation, foppish naive pretension, a mess of Grünian Jew's ears in beggar's broth, one long platitude—nothing of the kind has ever before appeared in print. All that was needed to give the 'German Parliament'⁴⁴ the final kick in the arse was this self-exposure on the part of one of its heroes. Needless to say, I did no more than leaf through it. I'd sooner swill soap-suds or hobnob with Zoroaster over mulled cow's piss than read through all that stuff. He and Co. are perpetually haunted by our ghost. L. Blanc, Blanqui, Marx and Engels are his Unholy Quadrinity which he never forgets. We two—the propounders of 'equal economic rights'—are said *inter alia* to have advocated 'Armed (!) appropriation of capital'. Even the jokes we cracked about Switzerland in the *Revue* 'fill him with indignation'. 'No Civil List, no standing army, no millionaires, no beggars'^d—

^a Caroline von Westphalen - ^b Edgar von Westphalen, Jenny Marx's brother - ^c L. Simon, *Aus dem Exil*, Bd. 1-2. - ^d Paraphrased quotation from Engels' 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution' published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see present edition, Vol. 10, p. 177).

'Marx and Engels hope that Germany will never sink to such depths of degradation'. It's exceedingly odd, the way he speaks of us in the *singular*—'Marx and Engels *says*', etc.

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27

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 August 1856

Dear Marx,

The letter that didn't arrive must have melted in the heat. I don't know whether you down there too have suddenly been assailed by this tropical heat which has brought everything to a standstill, apart from the continuous sluicing and bathing of the outer man with water and the inner man with a variety of other fluids. Yesterday I was totally incapable of anything and barely in a condition to go out. I haven't stopped sweating since Thursday, even in my bath; and the sordid work at the office is so exhausting that afterwards one feels utterly down. Moreover the nights are equally stifling.

It's most satisfactory that the Urquhart business should have turned out as it did.^a There's no doubt that what most impresses the rabble is our resolute manner. I hope it will be possible for the pieces^b to appear in Urquhart's thing, *nous verrons*.^c

I'm daily awaiting a letter from my mater summoning me to London. I am arranging matters in such a way as to be able to leave on Saturday, should the summons come. I shall be moving out of here on Saturday though I haven't yet taken new lodgings,

^a See previous letter. - ^b K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. - ^c we shall see

and still don't know whether I shall do so or spend a week knocking about, since I intend on my return to engage in all kinds of mad escapades.

My brother-in-law^a has been here—a good chap, communist out of principle, bourgeois out of interest, as he himself most naively puts it, but he always uses 'we' when referring to communist matters; tried to talk me into making tentative approaches to the Prussians about an amnesty, whereupon I, of course, gave a very determined answer and finally he, too, saw that 1. I couldn't do so, and 2. that the Prussians would tell me to shove it, etc.—The man seemed to have few illusions about my frame of mind and certainly had even fewer when he left. However, he was very surprised to find me so cheerful.

I shall write to Mirbach as soon as it gets a little cooler; it's too much to expect just now. 24 degrees Réaumur is no joke when one has to traipse round in clothes proper to the Exchange.

If the Jersey scheme can be carried out—it certainly has its good points and is not entirely impossible—make sure that while in Paris, your wife finds out exactly how things stand regarding route and communications, for otherwise she might get into serious difficulties. I believe that Saint-Malo is the only place in France to which steamers go from Jersey. Get one or two of the *crapauds*⁸¹ to tell you what the position is. After all, you know several who have been there.

You can give the great Pieper my assurance that I read his great 'filtered' article on Spain in *The People's Paper*^b before the original appeared in the *Tribune*,^c 'HANG IT! C'est beau.'^d By the way, the *P. P.* deserves to be relegated to the w.c. Just consider this stinker: WE REGRET TO LEARN THAT LORD SO AND SO HAS CUT HIS FINGER, etc. You really must get Jones to give his SUB-EDITOR a damned good dressing-down for permitting such drivel.

On no account let the rabble in Sheffield sit on the money—they'll have to shell out in any case.

Your

F. E.

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^a Karl Emil Blank - ^b W. Pieper, 'The Coup d'État in Spain', *The People's Paper*, No. 221, 26 July 1856. - ^c K. Marx, 'The Spanish Coup d'État', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4775, 8 August 1856 (an allusion to the fact that Marx helped Pieper in writing his article for *The People's Paper*). - ^d It's fine.

28

MARX TO JENNY MARX⁸²

IN TRIER

[London,] 8 August 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

My one and only Sweetheart,

This morning, at the same time as your letter, I received a note from Frederic^a containing 15 talers for Lenchen.^b *Acknowledge it*, as he is *most meticulous* in such matters. More tomorrow; today I have the 'IMMORTAL COLLET' here in the room with me and am keeping him in check by saying *'I am obliged to write some lines to Mrs Marx'*.

LILY-WHITE SANDY is settled *IN REALITY*, not *IN FANCY*.

Much though I hanker after you and the children—and this *QUITE indescribably*—I should like you to stay on *in Trier for another week*. It would do you and the children no end of good. More tomorrow.

Your
K. M.

P.S. The Urquhartites are being damned importunate.^c A good thing financially. But I don't know whether, *POLITICALLY*, I ought to get too involved with the fellows. A thousand kisses, my beloved sweetheart.

P.S.II. Lina^d has got the famous post. Won't be taking it up *for weeks* yet.

It's ghastly for me, having to play the man of fashion *chez Liebkecht* now. HANG IT! On top of that, I have Pieper sleeping with me in your stead. HORRIBLE. In the same room, at any rate. *Engels is coming next week*.⁸³ That's a relief. For 3 weeks I've been as hypochondriacal as the devil.

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^a Frederick Engels - ^b Helene Demuth - ^c See this volume, pp. 61-62. - ^d Caroline Schöler

29

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET
IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 11 August 1856
28 Dean St., Soho

Dear Sir,

I approve, of course, of the suggestions of your letter of the 8th inst. regarding the headings per 'chapters' and the cyphering of the notes at the bottom of the text.^a As to the cutting of chapters into parts, you must of course use your discretion as called for by the exigences of space etc. The alterations considered necessary in Chapter II will be forwarded in the course of the week.

Y. f.

K. M.

C. D. Collet, Esq.

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30

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 September 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Engels,

I would have ACKNOWLEDGED your last letter before this, but for ABOUT a fortnight past the whole day from morn till night has been spent in search of lodgings. In no circumstances could we remain

^a K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*.

in the old hole. At last we found a place—a whole house which we have to FURNISH ourselves. It is 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, Hampstead Road. Rent £36. We are to move in on 29 September; this week we have to furnish it. We are in something of a quandary, as we have ABOUT £26 to pay out in town, and a great deal more for the new set-up. I.e. we are short of £10-£15—if only for the time being, since there is still a sizeable sum due to my wife from her brother^a in Berlin as a result of the Trier legacy.⁸⁴ Yesterday he wrote to say that he couldn't send the money because the Lower Silesian Railway Bonds in which the capital due to my wife is invested could be sold *dans ce moment*^b only at a considerable loss. As *M. le Ministre* sadly remarks:

'It is, to be sure, an unfavourable moment just now, since all genuine securities such as these have fallen sharply as a result of frenzied speculation in *Crédit mobilier*⁴⁵ and limited liability companies.'

If you can supply part of what is wanted, I think I can manage the remainder with the help of the pawnshop until the money arrives from Berlin. The worst of it is that there's no time to be lost.

I was terribly affected by the news of Weerth's death,⁸⁵ which I found hard to believe. Freiligrath, too, has already written to me about an obituary. But I must confess that I can't think of a likely paper in Germany. The only possibility might be an obituary in the *Tribune* until the times permit us to do something bigger and better. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION?

Today I have been invited to dine with the *Putnam's* chap^c who is over here again. I don't know whether I shall go. My poor spoken English might put me to shame.

The *Tribune* has returned me the *unpublished* articles. These are, ALL IN ALL, Pan-Slavism¹¹ and my articles on the DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.³ Mr Dana says in his letter that, if I cannot place the things elsewhere, they will be legally responsible for any LOSS incurred, since they failed to register their objections soon enough. In the opposite case, they expect to get PART of their EXPENSES back. *Nous verrons*.^d

Bruno Bauer is bringing out 2 volumes of England.⁸⁶ No doubt he will write at length about his *cher frère's*^e PIGSTY. I don't know what else he has seen in England.

^a Ferdinand von Westphalen - ^b at present - ^c Frederick Olmsted of *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* - ^d We shall see. - ^e dear brother (Edgar Bauer)

Pieper, whom I threw out on my wife's return, found his way back and settled in again 2 days later which, just now, is far from pleasant. When I move into our new home, I shall leave him behind, safely installed on my surety in the little hole you know in Dean Street.

A Prussian amnesty is expected on 15 October. Otto's mother died leaving 2,000 talers; these were confiscated by the Prussian government to pay the 'costs of the Cologne trial'.⁷¹

Strohn was here last Friday. The fellow has put on an enormous amount of weight, in consequence of which his spirits seem to have improved *SOMEWHAT* at the expense of his wits. Nor is his expression now so wry—benevolent, *RATHER*.

I have heard all sorts of details concerning Heine, recounted to my wife in Paris by Reinhardt. Shall write about these at length some other time. For the present only that

'Eight had barely struck, yet she
Was quaffing wine with laughter free'^a

came true *LITERALLY* in his case. While his corpse was still in the mortuary—on the day of the funeral—the *maquereau*^b of Mathilde the mild, angelic child, did in fact appear on the doorstep and fetch her away. The worthy 'Meissner', who doled out such sloppy rubbish about Heine to the German public,^c was paid in cash by 'Mathilde' to sing the praises of this trollop who had tormented *POOR* Heine to death.

But now for another story about Moses Hess. That lad's fame WAS DUE TO A GREAT PART—TO Sazonov. When Hess and the Moses woman^d arrived in Paris, this Russian was in very sore straits, very down at heel, without money or credit and consequently very plebeian and revolutionary and receptive to ideas of world subversion. Sazonov heard that Moses was not without 'ducats'. He therefore took his stand behind Moses and in front of the Moses woman. The latter he bedded, the former he extolled *AS A GREAT LITERARY LUMEN*, putting him in touch with the editorial boards of reviews and newspapers. Vladimir,^e *OF COURSE*, had a finger in every pie and a foot in every door. Thus he extracted enough ducats from the tight-fisted Moses to enable him to 'shine' again and to put out decoys for further credit. And with these Sazonov enticed a rich old Jewess with whom he entered into kosher *WEDLOCK*. From then on, however, he became a man of fashion again and turned

^a H. Heine, 'Ein Weib' (from *Romanzen*). - ^b pimp - ^c A. Meissner, *Heinrich Heine. Erinnerungen*. - ^d Sibylle Hess - ^e Nikolai Sazonov

his back on Moses, declaring him to be A VERY COMMON AND SUBORDINATE FELLOW. The Moses woman, however, was heartlessly abandoned and she is now running round Paris, scolding and cursing and telling anyone who will listen about the perfidious Muscovite's betrayal. Such, in a manner of speaking, is the story of the *Grandeur et Décadence de la Maison Moses*.^a

Have you seen Golovin's paper, *Russia* etc., now appearing in London?

Faute de moyens,^b *L'Homme* has temporarily ceased publication. *La Nation* has ceased to exist. The only thing still in the same LINE, though much poorer, is *Le National*.

Kindest regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

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31

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 September 1856
28 Dean Street, Soho

Dear Frederick,

FIRST, I must ACKNOWLEDGE with THANKS RECEIPT of the money. I would have done so yesterday had we not been in a veritable HURLY-BURLY with our removal. It remains doubtful, moreover, whether we shall be out of here before Monday since, even with your money and what the pawnshop has yielded, we still haven't QUITE got the requisite amount. The present crisis on the European stock exchanges has come at an awkward time for us personally.

No news apart from what you may already know, namely that *Stirner* has died. A letter has also reached London, or so

^a The *Grandeur and Decline of the House of Moses* (an ironical allusion to Balzac's *L'Histoire de la grandeur et de la décadence de César Birotteau*). - ^b For want of means

Freiligrath tells me, from his 'ex-sweetheart'^a in Australia, in which she says that she has married again but has at the same time turned religious and, by harping on the 'better life to come', has contrived to drive her *novum hominem*^b into the 'madhouse'. This last is meant *verbatim*.

Well, I went to *souper* with the *Putnam's* man.^c Besides myself, the only people present were Freiligrath and an old Yankee. The *Putnam's* man was a quiet, genial soul, the other Yankee a jaunty, witty chap. Putnam wants us if possible, after the Bazancourt,⁶⁰ to revert to the 'SHIPS AGAINST WALLS' question, as being of special interest to Americans in connection with the recent war.^d Then again, something on floating batteries and gunboats; light or heavy guns, etc. All this seems to be with an eye to an American war, at a closer or more distant time, against England. Besides these *militaribus* I am then to write on Heine. In short, we can now engage in REGULAR INTERCOURSE with this very 'good' house.

Considering the rent, the house I have taken is very nice and could hardly have been let so cheaply were not the immediate neighbourhood, roads, etc., SOMEWHAT UNFINISHED. When you come up to London you'll find a complete HOME.

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE ASPECT OF THE MONEY MARKET? There is no doubt that the increases in the discount rate on the Continent are partly associated with the appreciation of silver against gold due to the Californian and Australian gold (the Belgian Bank is now giving only 19 frs. 40 c.—silver—for one *napoléon d'or*^e) and hence bullion dealers everywhere where gold and silver are the legal STANDARD are withdrawing the latter from the banks. But whatever the reason for the increases in the discount rate, these are at least precipitating the DOWNFALL of the vast speculative transactions and, more specifically, of the GRAND PAWNINGSHOP AT PARIS.^f I don't believe that the great monetary crisis will outlast the winter of 1857. Those stupid asses, the BRITISHERS, imagine that this time all is SOUND over here, as opposed to the Continent. Apart from the intimate connection between the OLD LADY OF THREADNEEDLE STREET and the Paris concern,⁸⁷ the asses overlook the fact that a large part of English capital is tied up in continental credits and that their 'SOUND' OVERTRADING (exports this year are expected to reach £110 million) is based on the Continent's 'UNSOUND' SPECULATION, just as their civilisational propaganda of 1854-56 was on the coup d'état of

^a Marie Wilhelmine Dähnhardt - ^b new man - ^c Frederick Olmsted - ^d the Crimean war, 1853-56 - ^e *napoléon d'or*—a twenty-franc gold coin issued by Napoleon I - ^f probably the Bank of France

1851. This time, however, as opposed to earlier crises, France has discovered the form in which speculation could be and has been propagated throughout the whole of Europe. In contrast to the Gallic *raffinement* of St. Simonism,⁸⁸ STOCKJOBBERY and imperialism, your English speculator at home appears to have reverted to the primitive form of simple and UNMITIGATED FRAUD. Witness Strahan, Paul and Bates, the TIPPERARY BANK OF SADLEIR MEMORY, the GREAT CITY FRAUDS OF Davidson, Cole and Co., now the ROYAL BRITISH BANK and, finally, the Crystal Palace affair⁸⁹ (4,000 bogus shares put into circulation). The BRITISHERS abroad speculate under continental COLOURS, those at home revert to *fraude simple*, and that's what the chaps call a 'SOUND STATE OF COMMERCE'.⁹⁰

This time, by the by, the thing has assumed European dimensions such as have never been seen before, and I don't suppose we'll be able to spend much longer here merely as spectators. The very fact that I've at last got round to setting up house again and sending for my books⁹¹ seems to me to prove that the 'mobilisation' of our persons is AT HAND.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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32

ENGELS TO MARX⁹²

IN LONDON

[Manchester, not before 27 September 1856]

[....] As regards Weerth⁸⁵ I shall write to [...] in Berlin, who might perhaps get something into a paper, *n'importe*^a which, so long as it appears. For 10 days and more after my return from London⁸³ Lupus did not breathe a word of the news and not until quite late, just before 11 o'clock on the eve of my old man's

^a no matter

arrival, did he come out with it. You can imagine how staggered and annoyed I was at this idiotic conduct. For the next 8-14 days I hardly had a moment to myself and couldn't even go and see Steinthal to find out more, let alone turn my thoughts to an obituary or the like. He has probably left some written work and I shall make sure I get a sight of it.

You might send me the Pan-Slavism¹¹ when you have an opportunity. As soon as I have the time I shall revise the thing and knock it into reasonable shape—for *Putnam's* (?) or anything else that might turn up in the meantime. *Now*, while the mischief is still in progress, I would offer the 'PRINCIPALITIES'³ to an English paper or MONTHLY. How are things going on with Urquhart [...] ⁶¹ very doubtful about it [...] I can see no possibility so far. In any case, we shall not be affected by the amnesty.

The stories about Moses^a and the Moses woman^b made us laugh a great deal.^c So, just like Ewerbeck, *il s'est acheté une place au Père-Lachaise de la littérature française.*^{d93}

Have not seen Golovin's *Russia*. You might send one or 2 issues so that I can see what it's like; it's quite unknown up here.

Bazancourt still on the stocks.⁶⁰ I think I shall finish it in about 10 days or a fortnight. It's not going so quickly after all, you see, I had no time to do any preparatory work. If only I had my *Tribune* articles on the war⁹⁴! Now all the material has to be got together again. After this, we can offer them SHIPS AGAINST WALLS and then we should manage to keep the ball rolling all right.

That gold has depreciated against silver is no longer in any doubt. However it is also a fact that silver has *vanished*, but where to, I cannot quite make out. Such is the state of confusion that a great deal must have been buried or tucked away in China. Again, the BALANCE OF TRADE has recently been extremely favourable to India and China *vis-à-vis* England, the Continent and America taken together. At all events it must be highly gratifying for John Bull to find that he is already worth 6d IN THE POUND less.

The clouds gathering over the money market are sombre indeed, and the *Constitutionnel's* old 'HORIZON POLITIQUE' may well come into its own again.⁹⁵ Last Tuesday's affair at the Bank, when 1 million in gold was withdrawn, is significant. It almost looks as though the storm is about to break, but this might, of course, be no more than a prelude. In theory, the crash cannot come until Russia is right up to the neck in speculation, but this is hardly to

^a Moses Hess - ^b Sibylle Hess - ^c See this volume, pp. 69-70. - ^d He has bought himself a place in the Père-Lachaise of French literature.

be expected and perhaps it is better so. Another thing which considerably restrains speculators over here is the high price of all raw materials, particularly silk, cotton and wool, where it is far from SAFE to do anything at all. When the CRASH comes, however, there'll be a rude awakening for the English. I should like to know how many of the Continent's speculative shares have found their way to England—vast numbers, I imagine. This time there'll be a *dies irae*^a such as has never been seen before; the whole of Europe's industry in ruins, all markets over-stocked (already nothing more is being shipped to India), all the propertied classes in the soup, complete bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie, war and profligacy to the nth degree. I, too, believe that it will all come to pass in 1857, and when I heard that you were again buying furniture, I promptly declared the thing to be a dead certainty and offered to take bets on it.

Adieu for today; cordial regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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33

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 October 1856
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

After receipt of the POST OFFICE order we moved out⁹⁶ and, for the first 2 weeks, had to do a frightful lot of running to and fro between here and town in order to put things more or less straight in the house. Hence my silence.

^a day of wrath

Herewith an excerpt from a book by Mieroslawski.^a As you know he's not without *esprit*.^b But there's also much *esprit de mauvais aloi*^c in his writing, in particular a great deal of the *style amphigourique*^d which the French have been at such tremendous pains to acquire since they became 'profound' and ceased being superficial Voltairians. Also much of that enthusiastic unguent used by 'unappreciated' nationalities to glorify their *passé*.^e Hatred of Russia and even more of Germany; anti-Pan-Slavism but, on the other hand, free CONFEDERATION of Slav *nations* with the Poles as the *peuple Archimède*.⁹⁷ Distinct emphasis on social revolution in Poland as the basic condition of the political one; but seeks to show by means of historical deduction, which proves exactly the *reverse*, that orthodoxy lies in restoring the old agrarian communes (*gmina*=the Russian commune *latinised*).

In the past few weeks I have been studying the question of silver in greater detail and shall in due course give you an account thereof.

In my view Bonaparte will hardly be able to avoid the SUSPENSION OF CASH PAYMENTS and then, *va la Galère!*^f

Guardian received. More very soon. Otto has been pardoned.

Your

K. M.

As regards the Urquhartites (who, until the week before last, with intervals, were reprinting my old stuff revised by me⁹⁸) have made no progress at all as yet. However the matter must be decided before the week is out. Urquhart has been playing the oracle in *The Morning Herald* by disgorging these things, which are wholly new to him, as though they were long-cherished secrets of his. In the *National-Zeitung* the great Bucher—appropriating my very words—spoke of 'interesting revelations', but suppresses my name, giving the impression that they came from the *English* side. You can see how envious and irritating these scoundrels are.

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^a L. Mieroslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*. - ^b wit - ^c wit of base quality - ^d tortuous style - ^e past - ^f (Here)—come what may!

34

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET^a

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 23 October 1856

Dear Sir,

Having been absent from London during the last month, and seeing that your paper professed to be wanting space, I have deferred the continuation of my articles until to day. In transmitting the inclosed new manuscript it occurs to me that, from the difference in size between the old and new *Free Press*,⁹⁹ it would be desirable to come to a new understanding as to the terms on which my contributions to your paper are to take place.

In answer to your last letter I have to state that it is indifferent to me whether you reprint the old *pamphlets* in large or small type, but as to documents never before published I consider it would be spoiling the case to put them in small type. Concerning the alleged desirability of my own comments not taking the form of notes, you will see that this is being done only where really expedient, and that under the form of introductions to the different chapters they occupy already the space of the text. Lastly as to the suggestion of drawing parallelisms between the epoch I treat upon and the present time, it has been anticipated to a certain extent in the chapters you published. To trace systematically these parallelisms more would be altering my plan, which is rather to give new materials for a new history, than new reflections on well-known materials. To satisfy the wants of his readers in that respect I hold to be rather the duty of the editor.

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^a This draft is written in Wilhelm Pieper's hand, the date in Marx's.



9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London, where Marx lived from October 1856 to 1868

35

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 October 1856
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

DEAR Frederic,

I am at this moment dictating an article on Persia.^a Hence no more than a line or two. Your £5 received. Could you possibly send me *some military stuff on Switzerland* before the week is out, for that is what's holding me up and preventing me from getting on with my articles. Will write at greater length very shortly.

Your
 K. M.

Ruge is publishing:

1. *Stories of the Chase for Children*.^b
2. Philosophical considerations on the religion of Ancient Egypt. He told this to Blind, who on the same occasion discovered that Papa Ruge hadn't so much as heard of Röth's book.^c

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^a K. Marx, 'The Anglo-Persian War'. - ^b A. Ruge, *Jagden und Tiergeschichte für Kinder*. - ^c E. Röth, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*. Bd. 1: *Die ägyptische und zoroastrische Glaubenslehre als die ältesten Quellen unserer speculativen Ideen*.

36

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰⁰

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 October 1856
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

The article on Bazancourt⁶⁰ is splendid. Enclosed the last bit of the Mieroslawski.^a If I have seemed lazy about writing it is largely because my wife has been ill these past few months.

As you will yourself observe in the Mieroslawski, 1. the very man who holds *un royaume diplomatique*^b in Poland to be impossible, wanted to bring about *une révolution diplomatique* there, i.e. under the AUSPICES OF Louis Bonaparte and Palmerston; 2. the fate of the 'democratic' *gmina* of the Lechites^c in Poland is an inevitable one; the actual *dominium*^d is usurped by the Crown, aristocracy, etc.; the patriarchal relations between *dominium* and peasant communities lead to serfdom; optional land-division creates a kind of *peasant middle estate*, the *ordre équestre*,¹⁰¹ to which the peasant can rise only so long as wars of conquest and colonisation are still in progress, though both these necessarily tend to accelerate his DOWNFALL. As soon as the borderline is reached, this *ordre équestre*, incapable of sustaining the role of a true middle estate, turns into the lumpenproletariat of the aristocracy. A similar fate overtakes *dominium* and peasant among the Romanic population of Moldavia, Wallachia, etc. This type of development is interesting in that it shows how serfdom comes into being as a result of purely economic factors, without the intermediate link of conquest or racial dualism.

Your *Manchester Guardian* has the singular distinction of being regarded as the immediate cause of Bonaparte's statement against the English press. Please send me X^e from time to time. Having discovered that Bonaparte's 1847 is approaching, Palmerston is

^a Excerpts from L. Mieroslawski's book *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*. - ^b diplomatic kingdom - ^c See this volume, p. 75. - ^d landed property - ^e Presumably the sign of the correspondent who wrote the anti-Bonapartist articles in *The Manchester Guardian*.

bending every effort to jockey him into precisely the same position as he jockeyed Louis Philippe during the Sonderbund War¹⁰² — into an alliance with Russia against England. Whereas on the one hand he takes him in tow against Austria in the filthy Neapolitan affair, in Turkey he sides against him with Austria.¹⁰³ Once again the French newspapers are full of MISGIVINGS about the machinations of perfidious Albion. The commercial crisis would certainly seem to have reached its consummation in the Russian railways. The bankruptcy of the CONTRACTORS to the 'palace of international industry'¹⁰⁴ affords a GLIMPSE into the participation of English capitalists in continental enterprises. In Germany the setting-up of industrial and banking undertakings goes on briskly. The Berlin *National-Zeitung* contains whole columns devoted solely to enumerating the names of these CONCERNS.

I learnt from Putnam's man, Olmsted, and an American travelling companion who was with him that Gurowski (the Pole) had acquired much influence with Dana. At the same time these gentlemen told me that the said worthy fellow received regular cash grants direct from the Russian *ambassade*^a in Washington. This Gurowski advocated Pan-Slavism in opposition to ourselves, which was the only reason why your article¹¹ was rejected. When returning my manuscript on the Danubian Principalities,³ Mr Dana forgot TO BLOT OUT a comment written in French by this self-same Gurowski, who remarks on my statistical data relating to the Romanian population:

'Tous ces chiffres sont exagérés pour faire mousser l'idée de nationalité Roumaine. Ils sont démentis par les faits, l'histoire et la logique.'^b

So we can boast of having, or rather of having *had*, our articles inspected and censored directly by the Russian embassy. In the end Dana appears also to have seen through Gurowski.

Today a letter from Collet to whom I had sent some new stuff.⁶¹ The fellow agrees to everything, except that he doesn't say anything about MONETARY TERMS although I expressly asked him about this point in my last letter. So I shall have TO PUT ON THE SCREW all over again, since this is the only point of interest to me in my INTERCOURSE WITH THOSE CALIBANS.^c

^a embassy - ^b 'All these figures are exaggerated for the purpose of inflating the idea of Romanian nationality. They are contradicted by the facts, by history and by logic.' - ^c Caliban is a character in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

Write to me soon concerning yourself and those about you.
With kindest regards from my wife and children.
Children very well.

Your
K. M.

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37

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 November 1856

Dear Marx,

Day after day this accursed COMMERCE has prevented me from writing. I now have three lads to keep in control and am forever checking, correcting, telling off and giving orders. Add to this the running battle with manufacturers over bad yarn or late delivery, and my own work. I wish it might occur to Mr Bonaparte to rid France of his own person and me of all this turmoil.

Come to that, the said Bonaparte is in damned hot water. The spate of stories about placards and the unrest among the workers sent in by the *Times* correspondent, after the *Moniteur* article^a had led to his being ordered *de parler plus haut*,^b have made an enormous impression on the English philistines here.¹⁰⁵ Everyone believes in his SPEEDY DOWNFALL. The explanation for the sudden discovery that, *au fond*,^c the fellow is after all an ass and indeed of a very ordinary kind, is as follows: he used to be a genius but has now so ruined himself by his profligate way of life that it has affected his brain. While there may, of course, be something in this, the fellow's behaviour has on the whole been quite

^a 'Paris, le 23 octobre', *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 298, 24 October 1856. - ^b to talk louder - ^c at bottom

consistent, and only the English philistines can see any qualitative difference between the man he used to be and the man he is now.

Today's *Guardian* contains some interesting statistics about bankruptcies in France; I am sending it to you.

It looks as though the financial crisis will linger on through the winter, becoming gradually more acute though with occasional ups and downs. This means that in the spring it will be considerably worse than if it had broken out in acute form now. The greater the capital paid in to companies hitherto existing largely on paper and the greater the extent to which floating capital becomes fixed, the better. So long as the discount rate doesn't fall below 7 per cent—and the recent rise shows that it will have to be raised yet further—there is no prospect that even half the speculative companies will be able to obtain payment for their third or fourth calls. The Austrian *Crédit mobilier*¹⁰⁶ can't even collect the money for its second call, and yet the government enters into agreements in Austria, by which the Bank is compelled to resume CASH PAYMENTS!—I'd like to have the money Bonaparte has probably spent over the past 6 weeks to keep government stocks above 66 per cent; precisely because of the great efforts made towards that end, I shall account the day a turning-point when government stocks first drop *below* 66.¹⁰⁷

The longer this chronic PRESSURE goes on, the more numerous will be the revelations concerning the dirty work of the Bonapartist clique and the greater the rage of the working-men who could not previously have been aware of the details. This chap Morny is really a prime example of a *suitier*,^a nor would he seem to have any wish to return to Paris; *for him*, certainly, there could be no more appropriate way to invest his money than in Russian railways and government paper.

Never again, perhaps, will the revolution find such a fine *tabula rasa* as now. All socialist DODGES exhausted, the compulsory employment of labour anticipated and EXPLODED 6 years since, no opportunity for new experiments or slogans. On the other hand, however, the difficulties will be starkly in evidence; the bull will have to be taken literally by the horns, and I'd dearly like to see how the next French provisional government will set about cutting its teeth. Nothing, luckily, can be done this time except by dint of the most reckless courage, for we no longer have any reason to fear as swift an ebb as in 1848.

^a wastrel

Strohn has been here recently; had heard sundry things about the little man^a; *entre nous*, the fellow is thinking seriously about setting up in business on his own! He imagines his patter will serve to entice customers away from his present principal.

I have in front of me at this moment James' *Naval History of England*, 1792-1820, mainly for the sake of SHIPS AGAINST WALLS.^b It shows that the English had to fight very hard to gain NAVAL SUPERIORITY OVER the French and, more especially, the Spanish. Given parity of strength, the French and Spanish, during the early years of the war, were a match for the English on almost every occasion, and a mass of vessels was captured from the latter.¹⁰⁸ Though I haven't yet got beyond 1796, I can already see that under Napoleon the French fleet reached an absolute *nadir*, for which he was probably partly to blame.—The superiority of the English at sea lies chiefly in their better *gunnery*; the French always fired too high, though the Spanish were much better. The story about the *Vengeur*, said to have gone down on 1 June 1794 *au cri de vive la république*^c is, by the way, a myth. The *Vengeur* surrendered to the English but, before she was actually seized, several French vessels again began to close; she rehoisted the French flag, the rescuers were beaten off and the English approached, but the ship went down, most of her crew being saved. She sank 4-6 hours after the end of the battle.

Kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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^a Ernst Dronke - ^b See this volume, p. 71. - ^c to cries of 'Long live the Republic!'

38

MARX TO ENGELS¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 December 1856
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Frederic,

My wife is still dosing herself continually and hence the house is always in such a disarray that it is difficult for me to settle down and write.

As regards the Mieroslawski,^a a providential 'apportionment' would appear to have taken place, most of the excerpts intended for you (there were ABOUT two sheets) having been torn out of the middle of the manuscript, probably for spills. However, you haven't lost much. I afterwards read Lelewel's *Considérations*—not to be confused with his popular history.^b He, together with Maciejowski (?) (I cite the name from memory), provides most of the material upon which Mieroslawski exercises his mind. By the by, in my recent studies of Polish history, what led me *décidément* to plump for Poland was the historical fact that the intensity and the viability of all revolutions since 1789 may be gauged with fair accuracy by their attitude towards Poland. Poland is their 'external' thermometer. This is demonstrable *en détail* from French history. It is conspicuous in our brief German revolutionary period, likewise in the Hungarian. Of all the revolutionary governments, including that of Napoleon I, the Comité du salut public¹⁰⁹ is an exception only in as much as it refused to intervene, not out of weakness, but out of 'mistrust'. In 1794 it sent for the *employé*^c of the Polish insurgents^d and asked this *citoyen*^e the following questions:

'How is it that your Kosciusko, a popular dictator, tolerates the existence alongside himself of a king^f of whom, moreover, he cannot but know that he was put on the throne by Russia? How is it that your dictator does not dare effect the

^a L. Mieroslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*. - ^b A reference to *Considérations sur l'état politique de l'ancienne Pologne et sur l'histoire de son peuple* (further in the text Marx quotes a passage from it in free translation), which constitutes Part 2 of Volume 2 of Joachim Lelewel's *Histoire de Pologne*. Part 1 of Volume 1 is entitled *L'Histoire de la Pologne racontée par un oncle à ses neveux*. - ^c representative - ^d Franciszek Barss - ^e citizen - ^f Stanislaus II Augustus

levée en masse of the peasants for fear of the aristocrats, who do not wish to be deprived of any of their "hands"? How is it that the revolutionary complexion of his proclamations pales in proportion to the distance his march removes him from Cracow? How is it that he *immediately* punished with the gallows the popular insurgents in Warsaw, whereas the aristocratic "*traîtres de la patrie*"^a are allowed to remain at large, or are given refuge in the lengthy formalities of a trial? Answer!

Whereat the Polish '*citoyen*' could only remain silent.

Que dites-vous de Neuchâtel et Valangin?^{b 110} This case has led me to try and remedy my highly inadequate knowledge of Prussian history. INDEED AND INDEED, NEVER has the history of the world produced anything so sordid. How the nominal kings of France came to be real kings is also one long recital of petty struggle, betrayal and intrigue, but it is the history of the birth of a nation. Austrian history—the founding of a dynasty by a vassal of the German Empire—acquires interest from the circumstance that the vassal defrauds himself in his capacity as Emperor, from involvement in the East, Bohemia, Italy, Hungary, etc., and finally, too, from the circumstance that dynasty assumes such dimensions as to arouse fears in Europe of its becoming a universal monarchy. Nothing of all this in Prussia. She failed to subdue so much as one powerful Slav nation, and took 500 years to acquire Pomerania, and then only by 'barter'.¹¹¹ Come to that, the Margraviate of Brandenburg—as it was when taken over by the Hohenzollerns—hasn't been able to boast a single *conquest*, with the exception of *Silesia*. Perhaps it is because this was her *one and only* conquest that Frederick II's sobriquet is 'the One and Only'.¹¹² Petty theft, BRIBERY, outright purchase, succession intrigue, and such like shabby dealings is all that Prussian history really boils down to. What is interesting in feudal history elsewhere—the struggle of the monarch against his vassals, double-dealing with the towns, etc.—is all of it here dwarfed to a caricature because the towns are boringly small-minded, the feudal lords boorishly insignificant and the monarch himself a nonentity. During the Reformation, as during the French Revolution, she oscillated between perfidy, neutrality, separate peace treaties and snatching at scraps tossed to her by Russia in the course of partitions organised by the latter—*vide* Sweden, Poland, Saxony. Withal, a *dramatis personae* of rulers with only 3 masks—the Pietist,¹¹³ the non-commissioned officer, the clown—succeeding one another as surely as night follows day, the only irregularity consisting not in the introduction of fresh characters but in the varying order of their appearance.

^a traitors to the country - ^b What do you make of Neuchâtel and Valangin?

What has kept the State on its legs nonetheless is *mediocrity*—*aurea mediocritas*^a—meticulous book-keeping, an avoidance of extremes, the preciseness of the drill book, a kind of homespun vulgarity and ‘ecclesial institutionalism’.¹¹⁴ *C’est dégoûtant!*^b

How is trade in Manchester just now? Can you let me have some particulars about the state of BUSINESS in the MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS?

I haven’t yet informed you that papa Heise passed through on his way from Utrecht. Has now rejoined Imandt. He has filled out and looks better than ever.

Götz, too, suddenly turned up here again. Disappeared with equal suddenness. Freiligrath very satisfied with his business and with himself. Valdenaire—the ‘agreer’¹¹⁵ *manqué*—is over here on a visit from Trier. For what purpose, more in my next.

Finally, I have a ticklish matter to put to you. At the *end of December* I have some fairly substantial sums to pay out. Could you possibly let me have something before then? My wife’s money has largely gone on setting up house and making up for very substantial losses in income.

When are you coming down here? What is Lupus doing?

Your
K. M.

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39

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 December 1856

Dear Engels,

You would oblige me greatly if you could send me the money before the week is out. I have just been to see Freiligrath and asked him whether he could advance me anything against my bill

^a golden mean - ^b It’s disgusting!

on America, which is drawable only in 2 or 3 weeks' time, *mais impossible!* I was expecting the money from *Putnam's* today; hasn't arrived. The TRANSACTIONS with Urquhart's wretched rabble—on whom I have claims—are still in suspense.^a If I'm late with the first payment to my LANDLORD, I shall be *entièrement discrédité*.

In great haste.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

P.S. Can you send me any *bon mots* on the military aspects of the Prussia-Neuchâtel conflict?¹¹⁰ They would be very timely. I have dealt with the diplomatic part myself.^b

Red Wolff^c is in Blackburn, Lancashire,^d with his family. Schoolmaster at a salary of £60.

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^a See this volume, p. 76. - ^b A reference to Marx's article 'The Right Divine of the Hohenzollerns'. - ^c Ferdinand Wolff - ^d Yorkshire in the original.

1857

40

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 January 1857
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

DEAR Frederic,

D'abord^a my best wishes for the New Year, albeit retrospective. As a result of watery ink and several nights' writing, one of my eyes is so inflamed that writing is irksome to me.

Both the £5 (the second) and the MOUNTAIN WARFARE^b received. For both of them MY BEST THANKS.

Is it true that Lupus has again been attacked and robbed by Manchester highwaymen? Or is the rumour circulating here simply an indiscriminate rehash of the old story?

The best thing old Hill can do is retire, either to paradise or to some idyllic Swiss HILL, so that he has to be replaced once and for all in your office and can no longer saddle you with double the work under the FALSE PRETENCE of his 'temporary' illnesses.

The Neuchâtel question¹¹⁰ isn't quite so close to settlement as some papers make out. Both sides may already have gone too far with their braggadocio. Both have already brought discredit upon themselves: our Hohenzollern^c with his *déférence* for Bonaparte, the Swiss with their 'dignified' attitude. Thus the rascals have deported several hundred factory workers to Piedmont because of their propagandist demonstrations. In this way the 'lenders'^d hope to secure the esteem of Bonaparte and of Austria, TOO. What do you make of Lamoricière and Bedeau offering their *épées*^e to the Swiss burghers? Obviously just an anti-Bonaparte gesture, since the

^a First - ^b F. Engels, 'Mountain Warfare in the Past and Present'. - ^c Frederick William IV - ^d Here and further in the text Marx puns on the words *Borger* (lenders) and *Bürger* (citizens, also burghers). The allusion is to the Swiss bankers who extended loans to French manufacturers. - ^e swords

fellows could be sure the lenders of Switzerland would not take them at their word.

There is great excitement in the *petite démocratie*. Just the kind of clash they want. On top of that, of course, your South German patriot regards the Swiss as kinsmen and in fact sees in the present clash nothing but a sequel to the 1849 campaign for the Constitution.¹¹⁶ In addition, risings are expected in the Black Forest, etc. The Prussian, for his part, is certainly doing everything in his power to prevent a 'BREACH OF THE PEACE'. That is why Fatty^a wrote to his brother-in-law^b in Petersburg in terms reminiscent of the man who bade his wife stay him lest he jump out of the window. 'Stay me!' is a call our hereditary monarch has addressed to each of the great powers in turn. The question is whether they want to 'hold him back' and whether East and West, delighting equally in his discomfiture, will not add fuel to the flames. Whichever way the thing turns out, there will be no lack of red faces.

Proudhon is in process of bringing out an 'economic bible'^c in Paris. *Destruam et aedificabo*.^d The first part, or so he says, was set forth in the *Philosophie de la misère*.^e The second he is about to 'reveal'. The scribble is appearing in German, translated by Ludwig Simon now duly installed as clerk with Königswärter (or some such name, the well-known banker to the *National*) in Paris. I have here a recent piece by one of Proudhon's disciples: *De la Réforme des Banques* par Alfred Darimon, 1856. Same old tale. The *démonétisation de l'or et de l'argent*, or rather *que toutes les marchandises* should be transformed into *instruments d'échange au même titre que l'or et l'argent*.^f The piece has an introduction by Emil Girardin and betrays evident admiration for Isaac Péreire. Hence it enables one to get some idea of the kind of socialist coups d'état Bonaparte thinks himself capable of resorting to, even at the eleventh hour.

I have a whole LOT [OF] PAMPHLETS written by Bruno Bauer during the Russian war.¹¹⁷ Feeble and pretentious. In company with his brother Egbert the worthy fellow has now rented from the Berlin municipality 50 acres of land outside Berlin. The intention is that the London Edgar's^g mother-in-law—an old washerwoman or

^a Frederick William IV - ^b Alexander II - ^c This presumably refers to P. J. Proudhon's *Manuel du spéculateur à la bourse*. - ^d I shall destroy and I shall build. - ^e P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*, Tomes I-II. - ^f The demonetisation of gold and silver, or rather that all merchandise should be transformed into instruments of exchange in the same way as gold and silver. - ^g Edgar Bauer

SOMETHING OF THE SORT—should look after the ‘market side’. Bruno has written to Edgar telling him that this is the way to ‘independence’. He is paying a rent of 5 reichstalers PER ACRE, i.e. 250 reichstalers a year. It’s old fallow land. Bruno hopes that the profit and the produce from this land will enable him to write at leisure his *Geschichte des Urchristentums*,¹¹⁸ intended as an ‘historical’ test-piece for his critique of the Gospels.^a Nice critical fantasies these, and to some extent Bruno may have been influenced by the recollection that in Part 2 Faust becomes a land-owner.^b Only he forgets that Faust obtained the money for that transformation from the Devil.

Lallerstedt, *La Scandinavie, ses craintes et ses espérances*, Swedish pendant to Mieroslowski’s book.^c Contains one or two FACTS of interest. In particular Lallerstedt recognises that, during the last century, England was constantly playing Russian tricks on Sweden. Recounts how Admiral Norris, sent by England on an ostensibly *anti*-Russian mission after the death of Charles XII, was bribed by Peter I with a precious stone of great value. Also has new material that throws light on the behaviour of Bernadotte.

Nothing new here. I go out little and hear little.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Mr Faucher from Berlin is one of the PRINCIPAL SUB-EDITORS of *The Morning Star*. In a diatribe against Lupus in the *London Illustrated News*, Horace Mayhew writes inter alia:

* ‘Symptoms of being a confirmed old Bachelor: When a man cannot go anywhere without his umbrella, that’s a symptom. When a man thinks every one is cheating him, that’s a symptom. When a man does all the shopping himself etc.’*^d

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^a A reference to B. Bauer’s *Kritik der Evangelien und Geschichte ihres Ursprungs*, Bd. I-IV. - ^b J. W. von Goethe, *Faust. Der Tragödie zweiter Teil*, Act V. - ^c L. Mieroslowski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l’équilibre européen*. - ^d *The Illustrated London News*, No. 836 (supplement), 20 December 1856.

41

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 January 1857
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Edgar von Westphalen has sent over a man—address enclosed—with two letters, one for me, and one for you. This man Erich wishes to establish connections with London business men and then return to New York. He has recommendations from New York, but none from England. With regard to Edgar's letter, he has given you and myself as references, you as an English merchant, me as correspondent of the *New-York Tribune*. I told him that we couldn't possibly provide information about his financial circumstances, since we knew nothing of them. REPLY: neither were we required to do so, but only to confirm, if asked, that he was 'Erich' of New York and had been 'recommended' to us from that quarter. IT IS ALTOGETHER A SILLY BUSINESS of the kind often initiated by Edgar. The fellow seems to be a decent sort of chap and I couldn't, of course, tell him that a recommendation from my brother-in-law was likely to be more of a hindrance than a help, even in our case. As regards yourself, I naturally made no promises but merely undertook to send you Edgar's letter, at the same time informing you that the 'recommendation', if requested, should *au fond*^a be restricted to confirming the man's identity.

Cornelius will shortly be leaving London. Is to be manager of a joint stock mining company in Nassau. He has offered Roesgen's cousin what is said to be a good position (in an emigration agency) in Le Havre. *Guardians* received. The FACT concerning the floods is INTERESTING.¹¹⁹

Salut.

Your
 K. M.

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^a by and large

42

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 January 1857
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill.

Dear Engels,

I really have monumentally bad luck! For the past 3 weeks or so Mr Dana has been sending me the daily *Tribune*—obviously with the sole intention of showing me that they aren't publishing *any more* of my stuff. Except for some 40 lines on the *MOVES* of the Banque de France,^a not a single line of mine has been included. Week after week I have put off drawing anything on the *Tribune* in the belief that the articles would sooner or later appear. BUT NOTHING OF THE SORT. My articles on Prussia, Persia, Austria all regularly REJECTED.^b Having for some 4 years printed all my things (and yours TOO) under their own name, the curs have succeeded in eclipsing the name I was making for myself among the Yankees and which would have enabled me to find another paper, or to hold over their heads the threat of transferring to one. *Que faire?*^c Good advice is valuable IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. AS SOON AS I draw something they will make it a pretext to get rid of me once and for all; and writing two articles a week in the hope of having *perhaps* one in ten published and paid for is a procedure too ruinous to carry on. And how can I draw anything unless something is published?

And then another piece of bad luck. I've had a look at the November, December and January numbers of *Putnam's*. No sign of the article on^d Bazancourt.⁶⁰ Either it has got lost (although I took it to the main POST OFFICE myself) or it will not be coming out until later. I can't believe that the fellows had got the thing, don't want to publish it and fail to notify me out of sheer bad manners!

I have not yet succeeded in arranging any definite terms with

^a 'The Crisis in Europe' - ^b A reference to Marx's articles 'The Right Divine of the Hohenzollerns', 'The Anglo-Persian War' and 'The Maritime Commerce of Austria' (two articles) all of which were published in the *Tribune* later. - ^c What is to be done? - ^d In the original *von* (by)

the Urquhartites,^a and besides, theirs is a tiny little sheet which may bring out short fragments of an article over a month and often not finish it off for 5 to 6 weeks.⁶¹ At best they can serve only as a small, secondary source of income. The *Tribune*, in exceedingly poor and insipid LEADERS, is moreover adopting a view almost diametrically opposed to all that I write. RUSSIAN INFLUENCE is unmistakable.^b

So here I am, without any prospects and with growing domestic liabilities, completely stranded in a house into which I have put what little cash I possessed and where it is impossible to scrape along from day to day as we did in DEAN STREET.¹²⁰ I am utterly at a loss what to do, being, indeed, in a more desperate situation than 5 years ago. I thought I had tasted the bitterest dregs of life. *Mais non!* And the worst of it is that this is no mere passing crisis. I cannot see how I am to extricate myself.

The miserable collapse of Switzerland's braggadocio¹²¹ was only to be anticipated. In no way were the fellows driven TO EAT DIRT by *force supérieure*. For, as Cornelius saw with his own eyes in Paris, the discontent, not only among Parisians, but in the army as well, was so great that in no circumstances could Bonaparte have permitted the Prussians to carry out serious military operations—on the French frontier least of all. Hence his EFFORTS to settle the affair. The discredit of the Swiss is only matched by that of Bonaparte, who first offered to stand surety for Switzerland vis-à-vis the Prussians and vented his spleen in the *Moniteur* when Switzerland repudiated his authority; then offered to stand surety for Prussia vis-à-vis Switzerland, and now finds himself compelled to admit, in little semi-official articles, that Prussia refuses to enter into any obligation towards himself. He has virtually endorsed the démenti he received from the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.¹²² So low has the fellow sunk. In the meantime his half-brother, Morny, has had the foresight to secure for himself a post in the Russian service.

I don't know whether you've seen that Mr Ledru-Rollin has publicly invited the French 'Republicans' to take part in the elections of Boustrapa's⁴⁰ Corps législatif¹²³? So he has descended to the naïveté of legal opposition. While this shows on the one hand that he has relinquished the grandiloquent title of pretender, it shows beyond a doubt on the other that opposition is again

^a See this volume, p. 76. - ^b An allusion to A. Gurowski's influence (see this volume, p. 81).

considered feasible actually inside France, and that the bourgeois Republicans are hastening to resume, along with the Orleanists,¹²⁴ a position in parliament that will enable them to shuffle the next revolution under the carpet.

I think I have already told you that the Brussels *Nation* has gone under, being now replaced by its rival the *National*, an inane, uninteresting Belgian gossip sheet. The noble *L'Homme*, too, has breathed its last. In its stead there appeared a *Journal des Proscrits* which proved incapable of surviving for more than a fortnight. In addition, diminutive pamphlets after the manner of Pyat's *Ave Maria* are published from time to time by the French *réfugiés*—inflated, hollow verbiage—printed crinoline save that they cost less to produce and are harder to sell.

The *Tribune* has discovered that, during the past 30 years (up till 1851), France has enriched herself far more than England and thus is *now* also her superior politically.^a *The proof*: In France, the value (i.e. *nominal*) of landed property has increased twofold, in England not so much. True, the French estimate included houses while the English one did not; but since the English population increased by only 33 per cent in the area concerned, the same could be assumed of the *number* of houses (which the *Tribune* appears to equate with their value).

Erich has achieved his purpose here without any need for further references.

Your
K. M.

Your military exposé¹²⁵ WAS BEAUTIFUL. The *Augsburger* contained an article in which the passage at Constance is described as very difficult.^b I have only skimmed over it.

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^a 'That France is rapidly taking the leadership...', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 4903, 6 January 1857. - ^b 'Die örtliche Vertheidigung des Bodensees', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 13, 13 January 1857.

43

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 22 January 1857]¹²⁶

Dear Marx,

Your letter arrived like a bolt from the blue. I had believed that everything was going splendidly at last—you in a decent house and the whole BUSINESS settled; and now it turns out that everything's in doubt. What damned stingy fellows these Yankees are; the people on the *Tribune* seem to imagine that, having squeezed you like a lemon, they must now proceed to squeeze another one. But the manner in which they are trying to break things off is particularly mean and cowardly. They want to force you to take the initiative. Furthermore, ever since Cluss fell so strangely silent, we've not had one reliable man in the whole of America.

Que faire cependant?^a Since the *Tribune* is definitely intent on breaking with you this time, I think the best thing would be to establish connections with another New York paper. Might not something be arranged with the *Herald* or the *Times*?^b In your place I would at once make a move and keep the chaps on the *Tribune* dangling until everything is arranged. In view of the fellows' shabby behaviour you need only consult your own interests and show no consideration for them. If you think that an *indirect* move would be better, let me know. I will gladly carry out the negotiations in *my* name, so that you shan't be compromised; I could write saying I have reason to believe that you don't get on as well as you used to with the *Tribune* people and that some arrangement might perhaps be made, etc., etc. *Enfin*,^c anything you want, *pourvu que quelque chose soit faite*.^d

I wouldn't put it beyond the *Tribune* fellows to have stirred up trouble with Putnam too. I should write at once to Putnam to clear the matter up. One doesn't even know whether to write the article on coastal fortifications or not.^e At all events it would be advisable to keep this source of income open as well.

I shall send you £5 early in February and for the time being you can count on getting this every month. Even if it means my

^a But what's to be done? - ^b *The New-York Herald* and *The New-York Times* - ^c In short - ^d provided that something is done - ^e See this volume, p. 81.

facing the new financial year with a load of debts, *c'est égal*.^a I only wish you had told me about the business a fortnight earlier. For my Christmas present my old man gave me the money to buy a horse and, as there was a good one going, I bought it last week. If I'd known about this business of yours I would have waited a month or two and saved the cost of its keep. But NEVER MIND, that doesn't have to be paid for straight away. But I'm exceedingly vexed that I should be keeping a horse here while you and your family are down on your luck in London. It goes without saying, by the way, that you shouldn't let the promise of £5 a month deter you from approaching me again in case of hardships, for if anything can be done I shall do it. Anyhow, I've got to turn over a new leaf; I've been leading far too frivolous an existence of late.

Warm regards to your wife and children and let me know soon what you propose to do and how things stand.

Your
F. E.

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44

MARX TO ENGELS⁸²

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 January 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

D'abord,^b very many thanks for your kind letter.

I wrote to Olmsted about 10 days ago; am therefore awaiting his reply. It strikes me that Dana's annoyance over Freiligrath's blabbing his secret has something to do with the *Tribune's*

^a no matter - ^b First

behaviour, or rather with the fact that Dana has not brought his influence to bear.¹²⁷

To work for *The New-York Herald* is out of the question; *The New-York Times* is the one to go for. I am thinking of approaching them unobtrusively through Dr Abraham Jacobi, who is at least discreet and whose quiet manner seems to impress the Yankees GENERALLY. I intend to write to him next Tuesday, and at the same time to Dana in such a manner as will at any rate involve him in a contretemps more disagreeable than he had bargained for. I should be grateful if you could let me have by Tuesday—after Tuesday I shall probably discontinue the articles for the *Tribune* pending further news from New York—a military article on *Persia*.^a No need for much detail this time. Just a few general strategic VIEWS. The *Tribune* probably imagines that, now they have turned me out, I shall resign myself to abandoning the American camp altogether. The prospect of their 'military' and 'financial' monopoly going over to another paper is hardly likely to please them. Accordingly, I have *today* sent them a 'financial' piece.¹²⁸ An introduction to the *Persian war*,¹²⁹ however cursory, would be important because it would give them to understand that we still have a 'WAR' up our sleeves with which other papers could be helped to make a splash. The (military) prospects of the Russians and English need only be hinted at, of course.

So I shall postpone any outright rupture until I find out whether I can fix anything up elsewhere in New York. If I cannot and the *Tribune*, for its part, does not change its attitude, then the break will have to be made, of course. But in a sordid contest like this I believe it important to gain time. It seems to me the *Tribune* has come to believe that, since the 'great turn' taken by events in America,¹³⁰ it can dispense with all special editions (European ones, at least). It's truly nauseating that one should be condemned to count it a blessing when taken aboard by a blotting-paper vendor such as this. To crush up bones, grind them and make them into soup like PAUPERS in the WORKHOUSE—that's what the political work to which one is condemned in such large measure in a CONCERN like this boils down to. I am aware I have been an ass in giving these laddies more than their money's worth—not just recently but for years past.

Pieper is taking a schoolmaster's post SOMEWHERE between Portsmouth and Brighton; has been chasing after something of the kind for months.

^a F. Engels, 'Prospects of the Anglo-Persian War'.

What about that ADVENTURE of Lupus'? You forgot to say anything about it.

Your
K. M.

P.S. I envy fellows who can turn somersaults. It must be a splendid way of ridding the mind of vexation and bourgeois ordure.

I saw in *The Morning Advertiser* an excerpt, strategic in content, from the *Grenzboten* concerning the Persian business.

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45

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 February 1857

Dear Engels,

An ACKNOWLEDGMENT, in great haste, of the pounds that arrived today.

Enclosed a letter from Miquel. I wrote to him at once. The situation as regards the *Tribune* is as I foresaw. Once again not a word. So today I wrote the fellows a forthright letter as I had originally intended but did *not* tell them that meanwhile—until their answer arrives—I shall discontinue my articles entirely.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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46

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 February 1857
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Engels,

Enclosed a letter from Olmsted in reply to my inquiry. So this particular ARTICLE wasn't accepted.¹³¹ However, even after this letter I believe that they will be glad to publish 'SHIPS AGAINST WALLS'.² The question is, have you got the time to write it? No doubt we ought to try Putnam again before giving up altogether. At any rate it was exceedingly impertinent of that gentleman not to let me know what the position was until after 4 months. Since I shall in any case have to write to Olmsted, see if you can make out his *Christian name* from this letter.

You will probably have had Miquel's letter. Freiligrath tells me that, besides Ruge and Hess, Oppenheim and other disreputable good-for-nothings write for the *Jahrhundert*.

Freiligrath requests you not to let the matter of Weerth remain dormant. Assuming that that Jew Steinthal has got his hands on Weerth's diaries (about which the noble Campe has already written to Weerth's brother^b), there is the additional danger that, should Weerth's relations get hold of them, they might *in usum delphini*^c publish them amended and censored. It is to be hoped that Weerth's brother will approach you direct. If the diaries eventually turn up, this would also mean that you could appeal to the philistines' consciences. Incidentally, it is exceedingly mean of Steinthal to have no more than bluntly notified the old woman^d of Weerth's death, without any details and without either preamble or postscript. That haggler with his saccharine smirk!

I have been rereading (but haven't quite finished) your essays on Pan-Slavism,¹¹ partly for my own edification, partly in order to note the passages which, in the event of a German version, would necessitate your referring to sources not readily available in

^a See this volume, p. 96. - ^b Karl Weerth - ^c Literally: for the use of the dauphin (the phrase was used in the second half of the 17th century to mark 'expurgated' editions of Latin authors intended for the French crown prince). - ^d Wilhelmine Weerth

England save at the British Museum. While thus engaged I discovered that the same unknown hand (provisionally I make so bold as to ascribe it to the Polish renegade Gurowski) which wrote above my rejected DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES articles,^a 'Tout ces chiffrés sont exagérés',^b etc., etc. (nice French), has also adorned the Pan-Slavism articles with marginal glosses, viz.:

ad^c article I. At the end: Σ . *C'est ni bon.*^d (What the Σ is supposed to be (German C?) is beyond me.) (Nice French sentence! *C'est ni bon.* Period.)

ad article IX. Written at the top: *Changez l'introduction*^e and, as heading: 'Southern Slavi'.

Again, re the sentence, 'BY THIS LOGIC ETC. IT WOULD FOLLOW THAT THE HINDOOS ARE THE MOST YOUTHFUL PEOPLE ETC.' he comments, 'THIS DEDUCTION IS ILLOGICAL'.

On the statistical survey of the Serbian race: 'GERMAN (instead of GERMAN) INFLUENCES DESTROYED THEM IN OTHER BRANCHES UNDER AUSTRIAN DOMINION.' (Nice English!) Again, on your censure of Montenegrin BRIGANDAGE, 'THIS (instead of 'TIS) NOT TRUE'.

Again, on 'CROATIA ETC. HAVE FOR CENTURIES PAST BEEN ANNEXED TO HUNGARY', he comments, 'BUT HUNGARY IS A COMPOUND OF THOSE VARIOUS LANDS'.

The passage about the Mohammedan Bosnians, 'THEY WILL HAVE TO BE EXTERMINATED, NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT' is distorted in true Russian fashion by striking out the next passage: 'THESE ARE, HOWEVER, BUT THE INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES OPPOSING THE ERECTION OF A SOUTH SLAVONIC EMPIRE ETC.'

That these notes are all of Russian inspiration is obvious. Likewise, that no Frenchman could have written French with this kind of ACCENTUATION and such mistakes; likewise and no less, that a Yankee would never talk about 'Southern Slavi' and would express himself altogether differently. Hence I should say that the provenance of these notes is beyond doubt. And if, as Olmsted's (Yankee) travelling companion maintained in front of myself, Freiligrath and Olmsted, Gurowski is in the direct pay of the Russian Embassy in Washington, the whole crisis with the *Tribune* becomes perfectly explicable. By the by, from the notes and deletions it transpires that originally it was still intended to publish a modified version of the articles on Pan-Slavism (up to and perhaps including No. 9), and that the idea was not completely abandoned until the fellow realised what we were driving at. Hence, too, Dana's belated decision.

^a See this volume, pp. 68, 81. - ^b All these figures are exaggerated. - ^c re - ^d It's neither good. - ^e Change the introduction

Since, in the midst of my own crisis, it is very edifying for me to hear about crises, drop me a few lines telling me how things are in the industrial districts. Not at all well, according to the reports in the London papers.

The two final volumes of Tooke's *History of Prices*—from 1849 onwards—have come out. It is, of course, a pity that in his unrelenting battle with the CURRENCY chaps and Peel's Acts,¹³² the old gentleman is too exclusively concerned with the question of circulation. Still, it's interesting at this particular juncture.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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47

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 February [1857]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Are you laughing, are you weeping, are you waking, are you sleeping?^a Have had no reply to the various letters I have sent to Manchester over the past 3 weeks. However, I assume they have arrived. Send me back what I enclosed in my last—Olmsted's letter—since I *must* answer it ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a G. A. Bürger, 'Lenore'.

48

ENGELS TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH¹³³

IN LONDON

[Manchester, not later than 25 February 1857]

...The only literary piece of Weerth's that has arrived here so far is a humoristic history of trade (a fragment from the Brussels-Bradford period, 1845-47),^a but Steinthal is expecting a further packing case of papers. I shall most willingly do all I can to get the things, but it is important that Weerth's brother^b should write a letter for me, so that I shall have some kind of authorisation. There should hardly be much difficulty; Steinthal is perfectly willing to help. But as regards details probably more than one point of disagreement will crop up.

The diaries, as far as my knowledge of them from Weerth's last stay here goes, contain only matter-of-fact notes.

Meanwhile, as I have already said, as soon as I am authorised to collect the things, I shall certainly make sure that I get everything....

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49

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 March 1857

Dear Marx,

It's rather as though God and the universe had conspired to stop me writing to you. Whenever I think I have caught up to

^a G. Weerth, 'Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben', *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 318, 14 November 1847; No. 337, 3 December 1847; No. 348, 14 December 1847; No. 33, 2 February 1848 (the middle part is extant in manuscript, the ending was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 1-4, 1-4 June 1848; No. 16, 16 June 1848; No. 18, 18 June 1848; No. 28, 28 June 1848; No. 36, 6 July 1848). - ^b Karl Weerth

some extent with my commercial rubbish, I discover a whole pile of unsuspected arrears, am overrun by chaps, have to reply to hundreds of business queries on behalf of my old man and pander to fresh whims of Mr Gottfr.'s.^a Just to make sure that I am sitting really fast, Freiligrath saddles me with Prussian ex-lieutenants, dabblers in bonds, who spend the entire day trying to borrow money (something he, Freiligrath, himself thought fit to warn me against) and who, after their departure, send me pawn tickets so that I can redeem their watches at my own expense. I am not in the least obliged to Freiligrath for landing me with the importunate fellow.^b What is more I wrote to him today about my adventure with the brute. Let him clear the business up himself.

Last Friday^c Mr Ernst Dronke turned up at the office all of a sudden from Glasgow. He was here for only an hour or two on business. I saw him almost exclusively in the presence of Charles,^d when it wouldn't have done to argue with him or treat him roughly. On top of that his arrival was so sudden that I was unable to recall all of his intrigues. I treated him with reserve, just as I would treat an ordinary commercial traveller with whom I was only superficially acquainted and confined my remarks to trifling matters, and he was extremely careful to avoid any subject relating to the party. He shoved off during the afternoon and intends to come back in May, at which time I shall probably be in London. I hope he will remain a *commerçant* all his days; he certainly looks the part and the carefree existence seems greatly to his liking.

I presume you got the £5 note I sent you last Friday (or was it Thursday?).

The TORIES, FREETRADERS and Peelites could have done Pam no greater favour than put him in a minority over *this* question.¹³⁴ What luck the fellow has and how stupid are his opponents! There is a great deal of agitation up here just now, but since 4,000 new VOTERS are on the register, all small SHOPKEEPERS and CLERKS and OVERLOOKERS, and therefore predominantly pro-Bright, it is unlikely that there will be any change. Bob Lowe and Sir J. Potter (A BORN ALDERMAN¹³⁵ and once a mighty wencher) are to be nominated here. WILL NOT DO. You could probably let me have some details about Bob Lowe's early exploits in Australia and elsewhere. These would be very useful just now.¹³⁶

^a Gottfried Ermen - ^b Hugo von Selmnitz - ^c 6 March - ^d Charles Roegen

What is the price of Microslawski's thick book on Poland?^a It's really essential to have a compendium of this kind—and what is the price of Lelewel's work on which it is based,^b if you can find this out?

I shall, by the way, send you a few more *Guardians*; they contain some really capital witticisms. I suppose you got the six copies I sent you recently (IN 2 LOTS)? Morny has already smelt a rat good and proper; these purchases the fellow is making in Russia must worry Bonaparte to death. That was also a fine to-do over the Docks Napoléon, Berryer *jeune*^c and Fox, Henderson & Co.¹³⁷—you must have read about it in *The Times*.^d

I'm most anxious to hear how the *Tribune* affair is progressing and likewise what you wrote to Olmsted. I think that I shall shortly be able to start work again and will see whether anything can be made out of China. The affair is bound to yield some interesting military aspect.^e But no hope of that so long as I have to slave away in the office until 8 o'clock each evening and can't start work till 10 o'clock, after SUPPER, etc., etc., is over. At present I have to be at the office by 10 o'clock in the morning at the very latest and ACCORDINGLY go to bed at about one. *C'est embêtant!*^f Just when one has really got into one's stride, one has to go to bed; *cela ne va pas. Enfin, nous verrons.*^g This summer things have got to be reorganised, otherwise there'll be a rumpus at the office. I intend to organise myself in such a way that I work from 10 to 5 or 6 and then leave and be damned to the business.

Warm regards to your wife and children. You are all well, I hope?

Tout à toi.^h

F. E.

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^a L. Microslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*. - ^b J. Lelewel, *Histoire de Pologne*, Tomes I-II. - ^c junior - ^d This probably refers to a report from Paris in *The Times*, No. 22624. 10 March 1857. - ^e F. Engels, 'The New English Expedition in China'. - ^f It's a nuisance! - ^g that won't do. Well, we shall see. - ^h All yours.

50

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 18 March [1857]
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

You must excuse me for not having acknowledged receipt of the £5 or of your letter before now. My wife is very unwell and our domestic arrangements generally are in such a state of crisis that I am quite bemused and cannot write.

Guardians received today. No answer yet from the *New-York Tribune*. The only thing I could say to Olmsted, of course, was that if he had failed to place the article⁶⁰ with Harper, he should send it back.

Proudhon's new book on economics, not yet to hand, has already run into 7 editions.^a

How Miquel could believe I could write for the *Jahrhundert* is beyond my comprehension—a weekly rag whose contributors are Ruge, L. Simon, Meyen, B. Oppenheim, M. Hess, etc. I haven't read any of it but have seen the cover of No. 1, Vol. 2, on which is printed the following *list of contents*: 'Nach dem Kriege, vor der Entscheidung. IV. Von Arnold Ruge'. 'Briefe aus Paris, der Schweiz und London' (i.e., L. Simon, Kolatschek, Meyen). 'Der Geist unserer Zeit; zum Neujahrgruss. Von Arnold Ruge'. 'Naturwissenschaft und Gesellschaftslehre. V. Von M. Hess'. 'Erziehung zum Glauben und Erziehung zur Humanität'. 'Notiz'.

Edgar Bauer is putting out a book, *Englische Eindrücke*.^b Should be splendid.

I shall find out the price of Mieroslawski's and Lelewel's books (the latter's first volume nothing but a children's history).^c

Concerning the blackguard—Bob Lowe—I have no information at present, but might find out something this week. He's the kind

^a P. J. Proudhon, *Manuel du spéculateur à la bourse*. - ^b E. Bauer, *Englische Freiheit*. - ^c L. Mieroslawski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen*; J. Lelevel, *Histoire de Pologne*. Tome I: 1. *L'Histoire de la Pologne racontée par un oncle à ses neveux*.

of fellow who would have been at home in the Société du dix Décembre.¹³⁸

Every day brings fresh revelations about Pam's 'liberal' foreign policy. First, the 'SECRET TREATY' with Austria.¹³⁹ Now, the fact that he has given Bonaparte his word to suppress any kind of revolution in Naples. The latter, however, wanted this done only in so far as a 'Murat' restoration¹⁴⁰ was not subsumed under the heading 'revolution'. It was this 'MISUNDERSTANDING' which scuppered the Naples expedition.¹⁰³ In the COMMONS yesterday Pam denied the charge in a very 'AMBIGUOUS MANNER'.^a But this week is likely to see the appearance of further documents which will give him the lie.

The Russians haven't acted with quite their usual circumspection this time. The first Continental paper since the crisis in Parliament¹³⁴ to defend Pam as a 'TRULY BRITISH MINISTER'¹⁴¹ is the *Nord*, which usually affects a fanatical hatred of Pam. Even the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* speaks of 'UNPRINCIPLED COALITION'.

The *Persian* affair has fizzled out as I supposed: England has gained *nothing*, apart from a few nominal concessions; rather she has given way to the Persian court on the main issue.¹²⁹ Russia, on the other hand, has obtained a small piece of territory, as Layard yesterday confided to the gaping COCKNEYS. Needless to say, he did not have the courage to place these two FACTS in their correct causal nexus. He also repeated the assertion (already made by Disraeli in the Lower House without eliciting a word from Pam in reply) that, during the war with Russia, Pam *forbade* the Persians to take an offensive stand against the Russians as had been their intention. For at the time the fellows had hopes of recapturing the provinces that had been wrested from them. He had had the same admonition conveyed to them at the time of the Polish revolution (1830).

In order to assess correctly the Persian, as also the Chinese fracas, both should be compared with Pam's earlier doings in these REGIONS, since both are merely repetitions.¹⁴² So long as he was at the helm, the first Chinese war was conducted in such a way that it could have gone on for 100 years without any result save an increase in the RUSSIAN OVERLAND TEA-TRADE and a growth of Russian influence in Peking. It was only under Sir Robert Peel that this war was given an 'English' twist by Ellenborough.

^a An account of Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons was published in *The Times*, No. 22631, 18 March 1857.

It is to be hoped—and is indeed probable—that this time a parliament will be returned which will pledge itself to nothing save passive obedience to Pam. The dissolution of the former parties expressed as a *coalition ministry*, like that of Aberdeen,¹⁴³ seemed rather to make the MIDDLE CLASS feel able to rest on its laurels than to alarm it. This same dissolution expressed as *Pam's dictatorship* is bound to lead, not only to the most gratifying fiascos and complications abroad, but also to the most violent agitation if not to revolution at home. The old boy, who was partly responsible for the Manchester '*massacre en miniature*' and helped to draw up the 6 'GAGGING ACTS',¹⁴⁴ won't so much as turn a hair. *Mutatis mutandis*, Pam's DICTATORSHIP will be to the coalition ministry what the rule of the Royalists, who coalesced in the last French *Assemblée*, was to the rule of Bonaparte.¹⁴⁵ In England, things will at last be brought to a head.

Apropos *Bangya*. Since 1855 this same *Bangya* has been Sefer Pasha's *adlatus*.^a He has married the daughter of a Circassian chief (which must be equally gratifying to his lawful wife in Pest and his unlawful one in Paris), and is now himself a Circassian chief. Through his connections in London he has recruited 300 Poles and shipped them to the BLACK SEA together with supplies of ammunition, etc. According to the news in the papers, they have run the gauntlet of the Russian CRUISERS and safely reached Sefer Pasha. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THAT? The fellow, realising that his role was played out in the West, has embarked on a new one in the Orient. Whether again as a democratic *mouchard*^b or in good faith is another question.

Write soon, as your letters are now essential to [help me] PLUCK UP. The SITUATION is horrible.

Salut (to Lupus as well).

Your
K. M.

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^a aide - ^b informer

51

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 March 1857

Dear Marx,

It had already occurred to me that you might once again be in something of a hole. Whatever can be done by me, will be done. If at all possible I'll send you another five-pound note next week or, if I can't get hold of one, a POST OFFICE ORDER. In the latter case, be sure to let me know at what POST OFFICE I should make it payable. I've had very heavy debts to pay this month, with people tracking me down to the office, so that there was no option but to stump up. Otherwise you'd have had the five pounds straight away. It's lucky, by the way, that this parliament business has begun, with China thrown in for good measure¹³⁴; at this juncture the *Tribune* will need help again and will be forced to come to TERMS.

I've been sounding the *Guardian* chap about the possibility of making contact with REVIEWS and MAGAZINES up here. But this chap, too, seems to be hunting round in the hope of fixing up something for himself and there's not much to be got out of him. However, I shall see. Since he knows my opinion of Palmerston and declares it to be PREPOSTEROUS he is all the less likely to give us a recommendation *in politicis*.^a All the same, I have a certain HOLD ON THE FELLOW but as yet haven't devised any way of exploiting it.

I share your view of Palmerston's intentions and prospects in the new parliament. Bonapartist despotism wielded by Pam together with a Corps législatif.¹²³ We shall see what that leads to.

According to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,^b the Circassians (which, not specified) have actually appointed Bangya 'head of the house'; he was selected for this snug berth precisely because he is a foreigner, so that none of the native chiefs could complain of having been slighted. What has become of Sefer Pasha (a man of quite a different stamp to Kościelski) is far from clear. I regard the whole thing as a stroke of genius on the part of the Russians, and we shall probably hear no more of the 300 Polish Spartans.¹⁴⁶

The *Nord* must have changed its mind again. The *Guardian's* Brussels correspondent quotes passages that are violently anti-

^a as far as politics are concerned - ^b 'Pera. 20 Febr.', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 63, 4 March 1857.

Palmerston. Can you let me have the most relevant bit? That sort of thing never comes my way here and in any controversy I must always have CHAPTER AND VERSE immediately to hand.

While putting my old newspapers in order recently, I discovered the loss of one of the main bundles of *English* papers and cuttings from the *Guardian*, *Free Press*, etc., etc. Nothing, luckily, connected with our party archives—they are safely stored away. But *everything*, with a few exceptions, *relating to Palmerston*—Tucker's pamphlets,¹⁴⁷ the cuttings containing your articles you had sent me (many of these are also being sat on by Lupus, etc.). I needed and was looking for them precisely in order to refresh my memory as to detail. Have you got any duplicates you could send me, likewise the full text of your articles which appeared in Urquhart's *London* paper⁶¹? These should be fairly easy to get hold of. I would find the things particularly handy just now.

Bob Lowe's prospects up here are poor. Some of the philistines have come out against Bright; however I believe he will scrape through this time. Lowe will make an ass of himself as soon as he arrives here. But it would be splendid were he to get in.¹³⁶

Warm regards to your wife and children. Write again soon and tell me how your wife is.

Your
F. E.

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52

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 March 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Herewith some anti-Palmerstoniana, viz.: 1. *Betrayal of England*,
2 COPIES. (NB. The self-same Coningham who here reproduces

excerpts from Anstey's speech^a is now an ultra-PALMERSTONIAN candidate in Brighton.) 2. *TUCKER-PAMPHLETS*,¹⁴⁷ 8 COPIES. 3. *Anstey's speech*.^b 4. *Palmerston for Premier*. 5. *Palmerston in Three Epochs*.^c (With the exception of the *Hungarian* affair, cribbed from Urquhart, the remainder has been lifted by Mr Wilks—just like him, of course—from my articles in the *Tribune*.¹⁴⁸) No need for you to preserve numbers 1 and 2; but possibly numbers 3, 4 and 5. Tomorrow, if I can find them, I shall send a few other pamphlets. AS TO THE *Nord*, note that the *Post* itself (in one of the numbers appearing between 4 and 9 March) carried the article I have mentioned.^d Later, however, it changed its tune.

NOW FOR PRIVATE AFFAIRS. *D'abord*^e a letter has arrived from the *Tribune*, which I shall send you as soon as I have answered it. My threat to write to another paper has worked after all, at least up to a point. Despite its *very friendly* tone, the letter shows that I was not mistaken about these gentlemen. For what they propose is to pay for *one article* a week, whether or not they print it; the *second* I send at my own risk, and draw on it *if* printed. Thus they are *au fait*^f cutting me down by one half. However I shall *agree* to it and *must agree to it*. Also, if things in England take the course I think they will, it won't be long before my income reaches its former level again.

I'm very sorry that, in the meantime, I must continue to depend on you, having so greatly fallen into arrears that everything that could be pawned has been pawned and the drop in income cannot be made up until I have found some new resource. On top of that, and since I cannot after all withhold the FACT from you, my wife is IN HIGHLY INTERESTING CIRCUMSTANCES. However, all I intended in my last was to explain why I hadn't answered for so long—*certainly not ANYTHING ELSE*. You will understand that even the most equitable of men—and in a mess such as this I do INDEED possess a great deal of equanimity—will sometimes lose patience and let himself go, especially vis à vis his friends.

I should be most grateful if you could let me have a few '*humorous*' LINES, SAY 50 OR 100 ONES, on the Orlandian bravery^g evinced by the English in Persia and before Canton.¹³⁴ The Bushire expedition,¹⁴⁹ as you will have seen, pivoted mainly on the

^a Coningham made use of Th. Anstey's speeches delivered during the debates in the House of Commons from 8 February to 1 March 1848. - ^b in the House of Commons on 23 February 1848 - ^c by W. Wilks - ^d 'From Our Own Correspondent. Brussels, March 6', *The Morning Post*, No. 25955, 9 March 1857 (see also this volume, p. 107). - ^e First - ^f in effect - ^g L. Ariosto, *L'Orlando furioso*.

espionage of one Captain Jones, who was sent to Bushire under FALSE PRETENCES AS POLITICAL AGENT. Probably more tomorrow, as I want to send you the pamphlets today.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

NB. It does after all make a difference whether one stages a coup d'état first and elections afterwards, or elections first with a subsequent coup d'état in view. Without doubt Palmerston, or at least his PAPERS, have OVERDONE THEIR PART. Take the *Advertiser*, for instance, wallowing in filth up to its eyebrows. This has, OF COURSE, evoked a measure of reaction.

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53

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET
IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 25 March 1857

Dear Sir,

Enclosed Chapter V of the diplomatic relations.⁶¹ The forwarding of the gratification due for the printed contributions would oblige me. Should your time permit, you would oblige me by calling at my house any day except Friday. I have to communicate you some highly important information.^a

The illness of Mrs Marx does not allow me seeing you at Ampton-place.

Yours truly
etc.

Mr D. Collet

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^a Here Marx crossed out the words 'respecting Circassia' (a reference to the revealing material on J. Bangya which Marx included in his article 'A Traitor in Circassia').

54

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 31 March 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Received the £5.

I should like you to send me some *Manchester Examiners* if convenient. The BRIGHT PARTY'S EXPLANATIONS are of interest to me just now. It is only through their defeat that the election has acquired any historical POINT.¹³⁴ Palmerston's position will become dangerous only now, when he has a commanding majority inside Parliament, whereas outside Parliament there is a recrudescence—for the first time since the Anti-Corn Law League¹⁵⁰—of SERIOUS ANTI-MINISTERIAL AGITATION. England is entering upon a *sérieuse* crisis—as *The Times* already intimates, with its reference to the CLOUD WHICH IT SEES GATHERING^a—and if the MOVE is resumed on the Continent, John Bull will not maintain the stance of supercilious detachment he adopted in 1848. Pam's victory marks the culmination of events which began in June 1848.¹⁵¹ Amongst the more intelligent members of the London PUBLIC the news from Manchester, accompanied as it was by a commentary in the shape of Pam's brazen address and speech,^b was greeted with a kind of stupefaction. Seen from here—and all are unanimous on this point—Manchester has brought disgrace, serious disgrace, upon itself. Had *Punch* not been bought by Pam—*Taylor*, a chief editor thereof, has been given a post at the General Board of Health at a salary of £1,000—Potter, Turner, and Garnett, at any rate, would have figured in it next Wednesday. Send me some particulars about these laddies and their WHEREABOUTS.

Mr Dronke has written to Freiligrath telling him that he 'will break with his Jew and set up as an independent agent'.

I have provided Urquhart with some notes on Bangya^c—in view of the latter's connections with Constantinople and Circassia.

^a 'Sir De Lacy Evans is the first-born...', *The Times*, No. 22641, 30 March 1857 (leader). - ^b Palmerston's speech before the electors of Tiverton published in *The Times*, No. 22641, 30 March 1857. - ^c K. Marx, 'A Traitor in Circassia'.

Enclosed a cutting from *Reynolds* about the editor of *The Morning Advertiser*—Mr Grant. Every word of it true.

Also Dana's letter. Let me have it back. In his enumeration of the articles published he mentions only the last ones,^a and even some of these he didn't publish until 5 or 6 weeks after their arrival in New York when he saw that things were taking a new turn.¹⁵² His proposal *re* money is the best possible indication that I was not mistaken about the gentleman's intentions. His remark about the length of the articles suits me well. I shall have all the less to send. What strikes me, though, is that for months past he has been able to find 2 or 3 columns for the most insipid London GOSSIP.

In Prussia too there is a minor parliamentary crisis. Once AGAIN the dictum 'Geniality leaves off where money matters begin'¹⁵³ would seem to be proving true there.

It seems highly probable that the Swiss will agree to expel all the refugees.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Did you take note of the bubbles that burst last week—the Australian Agricultural Company, the London and Eastern Bank, and the North of Europe Steam Company, one of the directors being Mr Peto?

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55

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 March 1857

Dear Marx,

You will have received the £5 note, K/S 84562, this morning. As regards 'depending on' me, don't give it another thought. I should

^a K. Marx, 'The Anglo-Persian War', 'The Maritime Commerce of Austria'.

take umbrage if you were *not* to inform me when the SOVEREIGNS' armed intervention is required. I shall see how my finances go in April; I think I shall be able to manage a bit more during the second half, at any rate.

The *Tribune's* proposal is most cunning and, since the chaps are practically *certain* to print only one article a week, I shouldn't send two save on special occasions such as the present elections, etc., etc. However, circumstances will come to your aid, and in all probability the good Yankees will have no reason to complain about the DULLNESS OF EUROPEAN POLITICS this summer and autumn, while their own merry-go-round will gradually come to a halt.

I have hardly followed the Persian and Chinese military ventures^a at all, indeed there has been a great dearth of detail. About Captain Jones I know nothing. It would now be utterly impossible to get together the necessary material, but when we get fuller news about the last big cavalry attack in Persia I shall see what can be done.

The pamphlets have arrived.^b If only I could get hold of your old *Tribune* articles!¹⁴⁸ Most of the stuff is in them. Washington Wilks^c and Palmerston for Premier contain only generalities, and Chisholm Anstey's speech^d is fearfully *décousu*^e though very important, more especially by reason of the personal matters relating to the *Portfolio*¹⁵⁴ but also, here and there, by reason of its contents. The only really cogent pamphlets are your two Tucker pamphlets, especially *Unkiar Skelessi*.¹⁴⁷ If you can supply me with any more material, *tant mieux*.^f I have taken steps to improve the storage arrangements.

The eight thousand philistines who voted for the fattest man in Manchester (Potter) because he makes up for his lack of brains by the size of his bottom, are already ashamed of their victory. All the same, the elections have made an enormous impression here, and the 'Manchester' Party¹³⁴ is beginning to take stock of its performance over the past 6 years and to discover in what it has failed. I don't think we shall hear very much more of PEACE-PARTY TALK¹⁵⁵ for the time being, while on the other hand Bright (*if* he rallies) will, with one or two others, undoubtedly advocate a more far-reaching electoral reform and, before long, Jones may well receive some propositions from these bourgeois. For Pam the most gratifying thing must be his triumph over Bright, Gibson, Cobden,

^a A reference to the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57 and the second Opium War, 1856-60. - ^b See this volume, pp. 110-11. - ^c W. Wilks, *Palmerston in Three Epochs*. - ^d in the House of Commons on 23 February 1848 - ^e disjointed - ^f so much the better

Miall and Fox (Oldham); I am inclined to believe that the fellow will get a WORKING MAJORITY of 60-100. But be that as it may, *nous aurons du Palmerston tout pur*,^a and WITH A VENGEANCE

I've found one of the passages from the *Nord* in *The Morning Post*, but only eulogising his abilities.^b The one in which he appears as a 'TRULY BRITISH MINISTER'¹⁴¹ is not to be found.

Our local Palmerstonians and bourgeois offered Bob Lowe, should he be defeated here, the sum of £2,000 to cover his election expenses in some other wretched hole. The ass refused, preferring the safety of Kidderminster, only to be trounced there. But never again will he be able to come to Manchester; he has behaved like a real blackguard—first he allows the philistines to compromise themselves on his behalf, then cries off and, *at the same time*, writes an article for *The Times* in which he says it would be scandalous if Manchester were *not* to return Bright.^c

This time Philistia was tremendously divided. The vast majority of the bourgeoisie, a small majority of the lower-middle class, against Bright and Gibson. Quakers¹⁵⁶ and Catholics for Bright to a man; the Greeks likewise; the *established* Germans against him. A drunken anti-Bright man shouted: 'WE WON'T HAVE HOME POLICY, WE WANT FOREIGN POLICY.' What the rationale of the local elections more or less amounts to is: To hell with all questions of reform and class matters. After all, we philistines form the majority of voters, *cela suffit*.^d The clamour against the aristocracy, etc., is tedious and produces no tangible result. WE DEARLY LOVE A LORD FOR ALL THAT. We've got FREE TRADE and as much *bourgeois* social reform as we require. We're flourishing like mad, especially since Pam reduced war INCOME TAX. So let's all foregather on territory where we are all equal, and let's be ENGLISHMEN, John Bulls, under the leadership of that TRULY BRITISH MINISTER Pam. Such is the present mood of the majority of philistines.

What is piquant about the business up here is the burial of the Anti-Corn Law League¹⁵⁰; Smith P. Robinson (HON. SEC.) and George Wilson, 'THAT RESPECTABLE FIXTURE' are being thrown out of Newalls Buildings¹⁵⁷ and the GREAT LIBERAL PARTY is casting about for a new organisation. G. Wilson loses his snug berth and his status on the strength of which he rose to be CHAIRMAN of the Lancashire and Yorkshire railways at a salary of £1,000 per annum—another snug berth that will soon go west, permitting

^a we shall have unadulterated Palmerston - ^b From Our Own Correspondent. Brussels, March 6', *The Morning Post*, No. 25955, 9 March 1857. - ^c 'One of the greatest advantages...', *The Times*, No. 22634, 21 March 1857. - ^d that suffices

Wilson to go back to starch manufacturing as in the days of PROTECTION. But your Manchester philistine—even if a partisan of Bright—heaves a sigh of relief at the long-awaited demise of that old incubus, THE LEAGUE¹³⁶!

Apropos, I believe that the Ch. Anstey pamphlet contains only a small part of Pam's reply^a—the debate lasted 4 days. Couldn't you get hold of the rest? And could you send me a copy of Urquhart's new rag, *The Free Press*⁹⁹ or whatever it's called? What is there in it by you?

NB. You might also, *s'il y a lieu*,^b send me the titles of anything else of any use concerning the Pam affair; I could then get them myself up here.

Hearty congratulations on your family prospects. What are the girls doing? They must be quite big by now. I look forward very much to seeing them at Whitsun. Warm regards to them and your wife.

Your

F. E.

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56

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 April 1857

D. M.,

Potter is a great big, enormously fat fellow, aged about 46 years, red haired and red faced, has been mayor of Manchester 3 times, VERY JOLLY, HAS NO BRAINS, but plenty of belly and bottom, introduced robes into the corporation here on the occasion OF THE QUEEN'S VISIT, for which he was dubbed a knight, is a lifelong whoremonger (a

^a Engels presumably refers to the pamphlet *The Betrayal of England*, compiled of Anstey's speeches in the House of Commons debate lasting from 8 February to 1 March 1848. - ^b if called for

BACHELOR still), on particularly intimate terms with the celebrated Miss Chester (*alias* Polly Evans) whose brothel he has twice fitted out and towards whose LAW EXPENSES he allegedly contributed £50 when she appeared before the Liverpool Assizes on a charge of abortion and was acquitted. A man who will greatly please the COUNTRY SQUIRES and whose reputation rests solely on the fact that his father, Sir Thomas Potter, KNIGHT, was once leader of the local liberal movement and introduced Milner Gibson here. He himself is popular with whores, CAB-DRIVERS, PUBLICANS, street urchins and the less respectable variety of philistine GENERALLY. While he was MAYOR the police left the whores in peace. VIEWS—moderate liberal.

J. A. Turner is a respectable philistine who has never forgotten that he once went bankrupt and who, within his restricted circle, makes himself *plus ou moins*^a useful as chairman of the COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATION (the rival of the more liberal CHAMBER OF COMMERCE). Might also gain some influence in the House of Commons by his detailed knowledge of commercial questions. Is a Tory (moderate) and very rich. His elder son, Jack Turner, COMMONLY CALLED THE FAT BOY, is a great toper and a good billiards player. His second, an impudent lad, is a FOXHUNTER with considerable pretensions to good horsemanship, an ugly mug and red moustache. To the horror of his family, he married the ballet dancer Annie Payne.¹⁵⁸

Your
F. E.

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57

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 9 April 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

You must excuse me for being so late in answering. For a fortnight my wife has been in worse health than for many months

^a more or less

past, and there has been great TROUBLE in the house. Be so good as to let me have Dana's letter back.

I am sending you through the parcels company a small bottle of eye lotion. Cornelius brought me a bottle of it from Paris, where he had had trouble with his eyes. For several weeks I had myself been suffering from inflammation of the eyes due to intensive work at night. The lotion put me right within a few days and will do you a similar service. All you have to do is put a few drops into the bad eye on getting up and on going to bed.

Conrad Schramm has died in Philadelphia of a chest complaint. I hear that in New York the *Neue Zeit* announcing his death has published an obituary of sorts. I haven't yet seen it.¹⁵⁹

The apparent improvement on the Stock Exchanges is again petering out. Bank rate is rising again. *Crédit mobilier*⁴⁵ and French *rentes* are again going DOWN, while revelations of commercial sharp practice by joint stock companies in London and Paris are becoming increasingly frequent. In the latter place, I'm glad to say, the government is directly involved. You have, I suppose, read about the row between Péreire and Féline? I'd have copied it out for you had I not assumed that *The Manchester Guardian's* [woman] correspondent CHRONICLES everything of that nature. I now see the Paris *Figaro* from time to time, the only *real* journal of the Empire; it has cast off all semblance of respectability.

I don't know whether I have already drawn your attention to the two new pieces of evidence against Pam. First, Herbert told his CONSTITUENTS in *South Wilts*^a that he had given orders for the bombardment of Odessa¹⁶⁰; upon his resigning, Pam sent an order written with his own hand to SPARE it. Secondly, Russell told the City electorate^b that Palmerston had given him written instructions on how to conduct himself at the Congress of Vienna,¹⁶¹ instructions which Clarendon forbade him to make public and in the execution of which LITTLE JOHN so splendidly BROKE DOWN. It's typical of old Pam to keep harping in *his* newspapers on Herbert's Odessa TREASON (it was Pam's popular rag, the *Advertiser*, that first drew attention to Herbert's family ties with Vorontsov^c) and on Russell's Vienna TREASON.¹⁶²

^a An account of S. Herbert's speech, delivered on 19 March, was published in *The Times*, No. 22633, 20 March 1857. - ^b An account of Russell's speech, delivered on 27 March, was published in *The Times*, No. 22640, 28 March 1857. - ^c 'The Sham Blockade of Russia', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 19832, 12 January 1855.

I shall search out more anti-Palmerstoniana for you. Pam's speech against Anstey (a fat pamphlet) ought to be in my possession if Pieper hasn't pinched it from me. Lengthier works are Parish, *Diplomatic History of Greece* and Urquhart, *Central Asia*.^a On the first topic you might also read the EXPOSITIONS by Thiersch^b and Maurenbrecher^c which came out in 1836 (?). (It's a long time since I set eyes on them.) Of all the *Blue Books*,³⁸ the one that has impressed me most strongly is that on the second Syro-Turkish War.^d

I've only had 5 articles in *The Free Press*.⁶¹ Liebknecht, etc., have filched them from me. However I'll get them together for you. In the last one I used the text of one of your articles, in which you speak of Peter I.¹⁶³ I've only just completed the introduction. But at first the chaps dragged their feet for months. Later, they brought it out rather more quickly. But now, when the first payment is due, I dun them in vain. If they don't do better on this POINT than hitherto, I shall have to sever the CONNECTION ALTOGETHER. They have given me a new contract, but what good is a contract to me if they don't abide by it *in puncto puncti*?^e

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Regards to Lupus. Tell him that in Grimm^f I have found the scientific derivation of Farina, the Eau de Cologne manufacturer, viz. Sanscrit: *vâri*^g—Gen. *vârinās*.

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^a *Diplomatic Transactions in Central Asia*... - ^b Fr. Thiersch, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce*... - ^c It has not been established which work by Maurenbrecher Marx had in mind. - ^d *Correspondence 1839-1841, Relative to the Affairs of the East, and the Conflict Between Egypt and Turkey* - ^e to the letter - ^f J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. - ^g water

58

ENGELS TO JENNY MARX¹⁶⁴

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 16 April 1857]

Dear Mrs Marx,

Herewith the article,^a and at the same time 4 *Guardians*. A new map of London has now at last enabled me to locate your Grafton Terrace. You really are right out in the country, at the foot of Hampstead Hills and, if the hachures on the map are correct, in a highly romantic district. But if the result is nothing but ill-health, toothaches, swellings of the head and digestive upsets, it doesn't say much for country air and romanticism. At all events, I hope that both you and the Moor are by now feeling very much better.

Lupus suggests that the Moor's etymology of Farina is quite wrong and that the Sanscrit *vârinās* is, rather, the root of Varina shag.^b This answer will certainly come as no surprise to the Moor and should therefore not be withheld from him. A new chapter is about to open in old Lupus' life. Don't be alarmed—it isn't marriage. On the contrary, it's divorce, for he's leaving the LANDLADY he's been with for 3 years, and moving closer to where I live. The old gent is now very popular with a group of German clerks who come to the Chatsworth from time to time, and over whom he presides with great dignity every Sunday night. They simply couldn't live without Lupus, any more than the English philistines who patronise the pub.

All eyes up here are fixed on fat Potter in anticipation of the day when he seconds the address in Parliament; a fine spectacle that will be!

Again, best wishes for your recovery. Warm regards to the girls—the air out there will undoubtedly suit them better. How they must have grown!

With warm regards,

Your
F. Engels

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^a F. Engels, 'Changes in the Russian Army'. - ^b See previous letter.

59

MARX TO ENGELS⁸²

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 April 1857

Dear Engels,

Be so kind as to write *by return*, telling me how to reply to the enclosed letter from Dana.¹⁶⁵ I must send off an answer by Friday's post.

By following Christ's precept 'if thy tooth offend thee, pluck it out',^a I have at last found relief, at the same time discovering that this wretched tooth was the source of all the other ailments that have been plaguing me for months. You have located our house correctly. The title of Mr Edgar's^b book is not *Englische Eindrücke* but *Englische Freiheit*.^c 1/4 of it is said to be about Mormonism. The whole claims to provide the physiognomy OR, IF YOU LIKE, physiology of the national character. I haven't read any of it. Will write to you IN SOME DAYS.

*Salut.*Your
K. M.

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60

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 22 April 1857]¹⁶⁶

Dear Moor,

This business of the Cyclopaedia¹⁶⁵ has come as a real boon to me, and to you too, no doubt. *Voilà enfin*^d a prospect of making good your loss of earnings and, for me, a prospect of a regular

^a Cf. Matthew 5:29, 30 - ^b Edgar Bauer's - ^c See this volume, p. 106. - ^d At last there's

occupation in the evenings. *La paix allait me démoraliser*^a; ever since there have been no more articles to write for the *Tribune* I have been doing far too much loafing, for which there is every inducement up here. As to the *militaria*, Dana must provide an immediate answer to the following questions:

1. How many volumes, roughly, will the whole amount to and how far does he propose to get in Vol. 1 or Vols. 1 and 2?

2. Are the military articles to be confined primarily to defining technical terms, e.g. ARTILLERY, CASTRAMETATION, COLUMN, with historical notes and a brief synopsis of the individual branches of military science—thus e.g. artillery: 1. Definition. 2. History and present state. 3. Résumé of the branches of the modern science of artillery (gunnery, personnel, transport, use in the field and before fortresses, etc., etc.)?

3. Or is the intention to have additional articles on military history, e.g. under the HEAD Austerlitz, Arbela, etc., etc., brief *comptes rendus*^b of the actual battles, and under Alexander, Caesar, Carnot, etc., etc., military biographies together with particulars in each case of any epoch-making progress?

Next, you must write to Steffen *at once* and ask him for the title or author of an encyclopaedia of military science, as short and complete as possible; one that has the most but also the shortest articles would be best, since all I want is to know at once what articles to do and to have the alphabetical material as complete and *HANDY* as possible. As soon as I have this I can start work on Letters A and B—perhaps even sooner, since I can do a lot of articles from *Brockhaus*^c alone and a few more without it.

The *PAY* is quite profitable, even at \$2 per large page; a lot of the stuff will only have to be copied or translated and the longer articles won't involve a great deal of work. I shall take a look at one or two English encyclopaedias straight away to see *what* military articles they contain, but then concentrate on *Brockhaus* which, after all, not only provides a better basis but is also more complete and is evidently looked upon by Dana as a model.

Should there be any philological sections for the taking, e.g. the Germanic languages, Middle High German, Old High German, etc., etc., literature (likewise in the Romance languages, especially Provençal), no harm would be done. Either the Jakob woman or Mr Gurowski will have taken on the Slav things; the former knows more about those languages than I do.

^a I was becoming demoralised by inactivity. - ^b accounts - ^c *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon*

Which articles shall you be taking on? German philosophy, at any rate—biographies of modern English and French statesmen? Some financial pieces? Chartism? Communism? Socialism? Aristotle—Epicurus—Code Napoléon—and the like. Themes certainly harder to handle without any PARTY TENDENCY WHATEVER than the good old military stuff, where needless to say one always sides with the victor.

Take as many articles as you can and set up an office by degrees. Mr Pieper can toil away, too; he will do well enough for biographical pieces and will, at the same time, get some plain wholesome information into his genius' noddle. Lupus might also be prepared to do something in the early classical field; *je verrai!*^a

Even though the work won't be very interesting (most of it, at any rate), I'm immensely tickled by the whole thing since it will mean an enormous LIFT for you. I was really hellish anxious this time about how the *Tribune* business would turn out, particularly when Dana tried to put you on half-pay. But now everything is going to be all right again and even though there's no immediate prospect of payment, it's still a very secure berth and one need have no qualms about doing one or two letters of the alphabet in advance; the money will arrive in its own good time.

Haven't you heard anything from Olmsted about *Putnam's*? I should very much like to have the article on Bazancourt⁶⁰; maybe I can do something with it here through Acton. Apart from that there may be a possibility of doing something further with *Putnam's*—PROGRESS IN THE ART OF WAR, IMPROVEMENTS IN ARTILLERY, SMALL ARMS, ETC., ETC., SHIPS AGAINST STONE WALLS; I'm willing to do anything so long as the fellows undertake to *publish it*. Dana would certainly arrange it to make you less dependent on the *Tribune*. By the way, get the EDITOR of *Putnam's* to *write in person, cela vaut mieux*.^b

You must also find out from Dana whether the articles should in general take up more or less space than e.g. in *Brockhaus*, and whether the whole is intended to be bigger or smaller than *Brockhaus*. Then we shall know what we are about. Also *when* they will pay—and by when the job must be completed. It's as well to know all this.

In your place I should offer to do the whole encyclopaedia alone; we could manage it all right. At all events, take whatever you can get. If we have 100 to 200 pages in each volume it won't be too much. We can easily supply that amount of 'unalloyed'

^a I shall see! - ^b that would be better

erudition so long as unalloyed Californian gold is substituted for it.

But now, warm regards to your wife and children; let me hear from you again soon.

Your
F. Engels

Most obliged for the eye lotion. I'm still having some trouble but think it's because I've recently been drinking more port than usual—DROP THAT!

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61

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 April 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Fred,

I shall write to Dana not later than tomorrow. For me, the thing has come as a godsend, as you can imagine. It has also reassured my wife, which is important in her present SITUATION. I shall write to Steffen straight away (the fellow has changed his lodgings without notifying me, but is still in Brighton). Pieper, as you will remember from one of my previous letters,^a has been a schoolmaster in Bognor since Christmas, AND I SHALL CERTAINLY LEAVE HIM THERE. He was becoming daily more vacuous, idle, useless and expensive. Under the iron rod of the parson in whose service he now is, he will again come to his senses. Moreover, the laddie left me just at a time when, because of my wife's condition, he thought himself indispensable and did not seem averse to the idea of my

^a See this volume, p. 98.

pressing him to remain on more favourable terms. I DID NOTHING OF THE SORT but merely expressed my satisfaction at his having at long last found a post. In the event, it transpired that his 'indispensability' was merely a figment of his own imagination. My wife fulfils the function of secretary without all the BOTHER created by the noble youth. As tutor to the girls he was quite unsuitable. So both parties have benefited from the change and, if the fellow again becomes serviceable, as I am convinced he will, he'll be much fortified by the realisation that I do *not need* him in any way.

Hence there can be no question of setting up an office in London. There is no one here who is any good. It's possible—and this I shall know within a day or two—that Dana has approached Freiligrath direct. Our Freiligrath is again MALCONTENT with his post though it enables him to earn £300 very comfortably with little or nothing to do. What he finds tedious is, for one thing, the moaning and groaning of the shareholders, who vent their displeasure on him, and, for another, his admittedly ambiguous position, which places a great deal of responsibility on him while allowing him barely a semblance of autonomy. That, AT LEAST, is the interpretation he himself puts on his FEELINGS. What in fact LURKS beneath all this is, or so it seems to me, a general distaste for RESPONSIBILITY. A clerical post which would relieve him of it, as at Hood's, is and always will be his dream. Then, too, he is tormented by the conflict between his renown as a poet and the rate of exchange. So far as I can gather from his occasional CONFESSIONS, all these *Crédits mobiliers*⁴⁵ are privily assailed by considerable MISGIVINGS. He was assured by an old hand on the Stock Exchange that never, in a practice of 40 YEARS' STANDING, had he experienced a chronic state of crisis such as now prevails. I haven't yet got round to it, but some time I must really investigate the relationship between the rate of exchange and BULLION. The role played by money as such in determining the bank rate and the MONEY MARKET IS SOMETHING STRIKING AND QUITE ANTAGONISTIC TO ALL LAWS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Worthy of note are the 2 newly published volumes of Tooke's *History of Prices*. A pity the old man's head-on collision with the CURRENCY PRINCIPLE chaps¹³² should lead him to give such a one-sided TURN to all his disquisitions.

I wrote to Dana as much as a fortnight ago asking for the return of your Bazancourt.⁶⁰

The Urquhartites—who have asked me to send them a detailed BILL.—have paid me £10 on account^a; this was most welcome, since

^a See this volume, p. 120.

I owed that much to baker and butcher alone. The girls are growing up very quickly and their education, too, is becoming expensive. At the LADIES SEMINARY they frequent, they are having PRIVATE LESSONS with an Italian, a Frenchman and a DRAWING MASTER. Now I have also got to find a chap for music. They learn extraordinarily fast. The youngest one—the BABY^a—is an astonishingly witty little thing and claims that SHE HAS GOT TWO BRAINS.

For my own part I would much prefer to supply Dana with articles on, say, Ricardo, Sismondi, etc. That sort of thing does at least admit of objective treatment from the Yankee point of view. German philosophy is difficult to write about in English. However, I shall suggest various things to Dana and leave the choice to him.

For the past six months I've been constantly having to call in the doctor for my wife. She is, indeed, very much run down.

Apropos. *Dr Freund has passed through the court of bankruptcy—assets £200, debts £3,000.*

The Bright and Cobden party cannot help but thrive now that Faucher is the foreign editor of their London paper, *The Morning Star*. I'm now on speaking terms with the chap since I can't help encountering him sometimes at Edgar Bauer's. The man considers himself the finest fellow in the world. 'Bruno Bauer has lost his self-confidence. He feels that it is I, not he, who will conquer Prussia.' He is A CURIOUS FREETRADEE TOO, who doesn't even know what the MIDDLE CLASSES are. Prussia is, and ought to be, ruled by 'the officer and the student', 'I bowl over any English meeting at which I speak', 'I have made history. It was I who drew up Cobden's Canton MOTION',¹⁶⁷ to cite only a few of his tropes. The chap's a veritable Munchausen of mendacity, a veritable Ancient Pistol^b of braggadocio, and once in 6 months it's amusing to listen to his boasting.

Have you—or Lupus—heard anything about a *Römische Geschichte* published somewhere near Heidelberg, which is said to contain much that is new^c?

How goes it with the landlord of the Golden LION?

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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^a Eleanor Marx - ^b See W. Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, *King Henry V* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. - ^c Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. 1-3.

62

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 May 1857

DEAR Frederick,

The £5 received.

Herewith a letter from Lassalle^a which, when Lupus has seen it, you should return to me at the beginning of next week. What should I do about fellow? Reply or not reply? You'll be amused by the comical vanity of the laddie, who will do anything to become famous and, entirely without provocation, writes 75 sheets on Greek philosophy.^b

I have written to Dana in exactly the terms you suggested. As regards your Bazancourt,⁶⁰ I had already urged him to return it. Steffen doesn't know of any book such as you require; he himself appears to be engaged on an English translation of Rüstow's *Cäsars Heerwesen*.

Pieper is on the point of falling back into his former foolishness. Has written me a 'genius's' letter. The enthusiasm—not the enthusiasm inspired in him by his new post, but that which he inspired in his new post *cum* attendant principal—appears AS USUALLY to have waned. He wishes to go to Switzerland as a 'courier', or else sever connections with his principal at mid-summer and once again cut a dash in London with £20 in his pocket. When I next write I shall pour cold water on the genius. If he is ever to become 'serviceable' again this young man must endure the parson's lash for some while yet.

Have you read the *Crédit mobilier's*⁴⁵ last report? It was in *The Times*.^c Indicates a DECLINE.

Pam AS REFORMER! He'll reform those boys WITH A VENGEANCE.

If you possibly can, write a military piece on Persia or China next week. My wife is drawing ever closer to the catastrophe and is finding her secretarial duties increasingly onerous.

As regards your toothache, I would advise you to have recourse to the same means as I did after eighteen months' hesitation. Pull

^a Lassalle's letter to Marx of 26 April 1857 - ^b Lassalle's *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*, published later. - ^c 'The *Crédit Mobilier* of France', *The Times*, No. 22670, 2 May 1857.

the bugger out! I, too, always supposed my toothache to be rheumatic. Yet in the end a *corpus delicti* was discovered after all. When are you coming down here?

Salut.

Your
K. M.

With the coming of spring the children always go down with various ailments. So it has been again, first the youngest^a and Laura and now it's little Jenny's turn.

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63

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] Monday, 11 May 1857

My dear Moor,

I return Lassalle's letter herewith. Effery eench the puerile Jew. What a pretty compilation it must be, likewise the thing that is going to 'set things alight' and about which he is so mysterious.¹⁶⁸

We know, of course, that there is nothing to the fellow but it is difficult to find any positive reason for breaking with him, particularly as we have heard nothing further from the Düsseldorf workers.^b From this letter he would appear to have ceased all intercourse with them, or rather they with him, since he finds nothing positive to say about how things are going with the workers in Germany. But whether he wouldn't again make use of a letter from you to regain some kudos in their eyes is another matter. In your place I should write to him—you can't very well do otherwise—but ask him outright how things stand with the workers' movement on the Rhine and especially in Düsseldorf, so

^a Eleanor Marx - ^b See this volume, pp. 24-25.

working your letter that he will keep his mouth shut about it and must either *plus ou moins*^a declare himself or be deterred from corresponding with you. Lupus was much amused by the letter but our discussion on the subject was interrupted. I should, by the way, also make a point of asking him how he comes to slip your letters into the hands of the police.

There is absolutely nothing to say about Persia; the campaign itself was rotten and the accounts are even more so. There was, of course, something to be said about China on the arrival of the last MAIL as there still is, but *now*, ten days after the last MAIL, it's too late to do anything. So I shall wait until the next MAIL arrives, when I shall at once set to work so that the article^b will reach you in time for Friday or the following Tuesday. As far as possible, then, make your arrangements accordingly. I think the MAIL arrives at the end of this week.

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE CHILDREN? I trust little Jenny is ALL RIGHT again. Warm regards to them all and also to your wife.

Your
F. E.

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64

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 May 1857

Dear Marx,

As you will no doubt see from the enclosed article,^b it was written UNDER DIFFICULTIES. Each time I propose to do a *Tribune* article, it seems to bring out all the evil humours latent in my frame. On this occasion I'm sitting at home with linseed poultices on the left-hand side of my face in the hope of getting the better

^a more or less - ^b F. Engels, 'Persia—China'.

of a nasty abscess; I've been put on a frugal diet and forbidden beer, but by good fortune ordered to take a glass of wine. It's alleged that I've been eating too much roast beef; at all events I have had continual trouble with my face for the past month—first toothache, then a swollen cheek, then more toothache and now the whole thing has blossomed out into a furuncle, as little Heckscher calls it. In addition, I have to drink mineral water and—great fun, this—go out at 7 o'clock each morning.

Everyone up here is an art lover just now and the talk is all of the pictures at the exhibition. The thing is proving *plus ou moins*^a a FAILURE, financially, at any rate. Admittedly there are some very fine pictures, though most of those by the better or very best artists are no more than SECOND-RATE. Among the finest is a magnificent portrait of Ariosto by Titian. The later German and French schools very poor, hardly represented at all. Three-quarters consists of English trash. Best represented are the Spanish and Flemish and, after them, the Italians. *S'il y a moyen*,^b you and your wife ought to come up this summer and see the thing. It wouldn't do to write about it for the *Tribune*; and I wouldn't know where to begin—the *Tribune* can find the usual chit-chat in any paper.

Lupus, as I believe I told you, has moved out and is again fighting the good fight with his LANDLADY. To make matters worse, his new LANDLADY was brought to bed a week after he moved in. Next door there's a chap who not only has a fiddle which he plays badly but also a French horn which he plays completely out of tune. Hence the study of the pedagogic sciences is attended by enormous difficulties, so that the old chap is spending more time than usual at the Chatsworth.

I shall be in London in a fortnight or 3 weeks' time, either during Whitsuntide or the week after.¹⁶⁹

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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^a more or less - ^b If possible

65

MARX TO ENGELS²⁰

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 May 1857
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

It may be some consolation to you to learn that for the past 3 weeks right up to this very day, I have been submerged in pills and potions as a result of my old and, as I believe, hereditary LIVER COMPLAINTS. Only by dint of the utmost exertions have I been able to supply the 'goods'—for the *Tribune* I mean—being otherwise QUITE DISABLED. In order that my time should not be entirely wasted I have, *faute de mieux*,^a been mastering the *dansk sprog*^b and am presently applying myself to *Af mit Livs og min Tids Historie*, a colossal state haemorrhoid, *af*^c (ex-minister) Ørsted. Opening oysters would be an altogether more amusing proposition. However, if the doctor's promises are anything to go by, I have prospects of becoming a human being again next week. Meanwhile I'm still as yellow as a quince, and vastly more crabbed.

As regards your own tribulations, I am firmly convinced that they all stem from a hollow tooth which ought to come out and which, by a series of concatenations, underlies all the other unpleasant symptoms. Heckscher will deny this, OF COURSE. However, when you come down here—which I greatly look forward to—it can do you no harm at least to accompany me to a really first-rate dentist and get him to examine your teeth. My view is based on the fact that two years ago, when I was suffering from very much the same trouble, Dr Freund also declared I had been eating too much meat, yet a few months ago a courageous visit to the dentist at last uncovered the source of the trouble. Your intermittent toothache is, of course, the main factor in my argument.

My wife expects to be confined at the end of the month, this time in not altogether agreeable CIRCUMSTANCES. It will be a long time now—another 3 weeks at very best—before I have accumulated enough to be able to draw on the *Tribune*. I tried to draw a bill on myself to cover the interim period, but failed with éclat. The

^a for want of anything better - ^b Danish language - ^c by

actual HOUSEHOLD debts I can put off paying, but in the case of the rates this is possible only up to a certain point, and besides, the afore-mentioned circumstances call for certain preparations which have to be paid for on the nail.

As you will have seen in the papers, a second director of the *Crédit mobilier*⁴⁵—the first was Place—viz. the BANKER Thurneysen, has decamped leaving massive debts of ABOUT 30-40 million frs. This splendid institution's latest report¹⁷⁰—that of 28 April ultimo^a—reveals that, although the NET PROFIT still amounts to 23%, it has nevertheless fallen by about a half compared with 1855. According to Mr Péreire, the fall is due 1. to the *ordre* in the *Moniteur* of March 1856 by which Bonaparte forbade the *Crédit* to skim the cream off the excessive speculation then going on in France; 2. to the fact that, by an oversight, this '*ordre de la sagesse suprême*'^b extended only to *sociétés anonymes*,^c thus laying the *Crédit* open to highly improper competition in the shape of *sociétés de commandite*^d; 3. to the crisis during the last 3 months of 1856. True, the *Crédit* sought to exploit that crisis to bring off a few financial *coups de main*, but was obstructed in this 'patriotic' work by the NARROW SELFISHNESS of the Banque de France and the syndicate of Paris BANKERS headed by Rothschild; 4. Bonaparte has still not permitted them to make the statutory ISSUE of 600 millions in paper money of their own devising. *That issue is still looming in the future.* Péreire seems to be exerting severe pressure on Bonaparte. Should the latter shrink from giving his authorisation, a MIDDLE COURSE would seem to be envisaged, namely to turn the Banque de France into the instrument of the *Crédit* by loftier means, i. e. new draft legislation. From this report it further transpires that the *Crédit's* business is still vastly disproportionate to its capital and that it has used the capital loaned by the public exclusively to further its gambles on the Bourse. As a quasi-state institution of Bonaparte's on the one hand, the *Crédit mobilier* declares that it is called upon to maintain the prices of FUNDS, SHARES, BONDS, in short, of all securities on the national Bourse, by advancing the money borrowed from the public to COMPANIES OR INDIVIDUAL STOCK-JOBBERS for their operations on the Bourse. As a 'private institution', on the other hand, its main business consists in speculating on the rises and falls in the stock-market. Péreire reconciles this contradiction by something Moses Hess might well call 'social philosophy'.¹⁷¹

^a Published in *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 120, 30 April 1857 and *The Times*, No. 22670, 2 May 1857 (see this volume, p. 128). - ^b order of the supreme wisdom - ^c joint-stock companies - ^d joint-stock companies with limited liability

I have omitted only one or two small items from your China-Persia article,^a and altered an expression here and there. I agree with the whole thing, only I don't think that the troops stationed in Persia will be sent to China so soon. The treaty expressly stipulates that they will not leave Persia until the Persians evacuate Herat.¹²⁹ Pam won't spare them the hot season. That his instructions in this respect were again highly 'incomprehensible' would seem to follow from the fact that the Governor-General of India—Canning—tendered his resignation at the same time as the British general and the British admiral^b committed suicide. Meanwhile, as announced in the *Vienna* newspapers, the main object has been attained. Persia has ceded TWO STRIPS OF LAND TO Russia.

I have heard from Mickel^c and shall send you his letter one of these days. Trusting I shall soon hear that you are fit and well again.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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66

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 May 1857

Dear Engels,

The enclosed arrived from Dana this morning. It puzzles me how the Yankee can expect the stuff for Vol. I¹⁶⁵ to be in New York by the beginning of July if he doesn't let us know what he wants until the end of May.

^a F. Engels, 'Persia—China'. - ^b Stalker and Etheridge - ^c Johannes Miquel

You might reconsider which articles one should offer to do, apart from the military. Philosophical stuff is, in fact, too badly paid and also difficult when it has TO BE DONE IN ENGLISH. Do you know if there happens to be any German or French book on the biographies of big industrialists?

I'm equally puzzled as to how aesthetics is to be dealt with in 1 PAGE, FUNDAMENTALLY, and on a Hegelian basis.

Does Lupus feel inclined to take something on?

Enclosed also a letter from Miquel. I do not, in fact, understand his theory of 'non-overproduction' and yet of 'lack of the wherewith to pay for production', unless it be that the utterly superficial blather of the utterly wretched CURRENCY chaps¹³² has taken root in Germany.

Salut

Your
K. M.

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67

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 May 1857

Dear Marx,

Dana must be out of his mind to stipulate 1 page for aesthetics. Nor has the chap any inkling of military matters. See list of articles overleaf, occurring to me exclusively from *Brockhaus* and from memory. But since I must first check it against an *English* military encyclopaedia it can't be final; how could anyone remember all the technical expressions which in English begin with A? Apropos, there is an encyclopaedia of this kind by a hack of the most wretched variety, one J. H. Stocqueler.^a Could you make inquiries about price, scope, etc., etc.?

^a J. H. Stocqueler, *The Military Encyclopaedia*.

And then, if you please, he wants to have the articles—of the desired thoroughness and brevity—over there by 1 July. Once again, typical Yankee. Anyway, it proves that they are counting more on SHOW than on real substance, as is already evident from the \$2 per page.

Send Dana the list—as a *provisional one*—and point out that since it's impossible to work ON SPECULATION at this PAY, he must say what he wants. (It's precisely these patched together articles, being the easiest, that make the PAY acceptable.) A 2nd list of *technical* expressions for A will follow very shortly. Once this is SETTLED he might just as well let us have the list up to D, E or G so that we can get on with it.

I know nothing about Airey's (General) former career. You might look it up in an ARMY LIST, which will at least provide the bare bones.

I know nothing about the *Spanish Armada* either, but this could be found—likewise *Ayacucha*.

I'm not yet in sufficiently good shape to be able to come up tomorrow, and propose to leave on Saturday.¹⁶⁹ Can one take a CAB from Camden STATION (to which one books the TICKETS) to your place? And how far is it?

I shall bring Miquel's letter with me; because of my illness I haven't seen Lupus for a whole week.

More when we meet. As you can imagine, I have my hands really full, what with arrears, etc., etc.

Your
F. E.

* Abensberg (battle of 1809)	1/4 p.
Abukir ditto	1/4 p.
Axle (artillery)	1/8 ditto
Acre (St. Jean-d'-Sièges of)	1/4 ditto à 1/2
Actium (battle of)	1/8-1/4
Adjutant	1/4-1/2
Afghanistan (invasion by English)	2
Åland Isles see Bomarsund	
Albuera (battle)	1/4
Aldenhoven ditto 1797	1/4
Alessandria (fortress and sieges)	1/4
Algeria (French conquest of and English bombardment of)	2-3
Almeida (siege of in Peninsular War)	1/4
Amusette (artillery)	1/10

Anglesey (Marquis of)	1/2
Attack (in battle and siege)	1/2
Antwerp (fortress & sieges)	1
Approaches	1/2 fully
Arbela (battle of)	1/4
Arquebusier	1/8
Aspern and Essling (battle 1809)	3/4
Augereau (Marshal)	1/2
Advanced guard	1/2 * 172

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68

ENGELS TO MARX¹⁷³

IN LONDON

[London,] Friday morning
[5 June 1857]

Dear Moor,

Instead of coming to see you I am once more condemned to no less than four days of hot poultices. My face is again very bad and the whole business has begun all over again. But this time I intend to get rid of it for good. This will, of course, postpone my departure for Manchester *ad infinitum*. If the thing clears up quickly I might be able to go out for a bit on Monday.

In case you have any news for me in the meantime, drop me a line. The address you know: 7 Grove Hill, Camberwell.

I am RATHER annoyed by this business, as you can imagine, but *que faire* *?

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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* what can be done?

69

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, about 10 June 1857]¹⁷⁴

Dear Sir,

According to your wish I send you the account for my contributions to *The Free Press*.^a They fill somewhat more than 27 columns. You will excuse me for having interrupted. Since I had the pleasure to see you last, I was constantly labouring under serious liver complaints, and thus forced to interrupt my contributions to *The Free Press* which, however, I hope to be able to resume next week.

Yours truly
D. K. M.

Contributed to the London *Free Press* 26 columns; the column at $\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea; makes 13 Guineas. Received on them 10£. St.; remains due to me 3£. St. 13sh.

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70

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET¹⁷⁵

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, after 10 June 1857]

Dear Sir,

Having myself not made up, but only copied the account forwarded to you, I felt, on receiving your note, very anxious, indeed, lest my claims should have been overstated. Consequently,

^a K. Marx, *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*.

I reexamined the reckonings. The case is simply this, that you make $22\frac{1}{3}$ columns, that you have omitted No. 34,^a and that the only mistake on my part consists in having put down 4 columns for No. 34, which really amounts to $5\frac{1}{2}$ columns.

Yours truly
K. Marx

D. Collet, Esq.

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71

MARX TO ENGELS

[IN LONDON]

[London,] 15 June 1857

Dear Engels,

Are you laughing or are you weeping,

Are you waking or are you sleeping?^b We here are seriously concerned about you. So write and tell us how you are. I hope you aren't being given any more hot poultices which, as a method of treatment, is *quite out-of-date* and has now more or less fallen into *disrepute*. But assuming you are using internal remedies only—as is rational and up-to-date—I fail to see why you have to keep yourself so anxiously secluded.

My wife very unwell. But she sounded the bugle too soon and as yet nothing has happened.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a Issue No. 34 of *The Free Press*, 1 April 1857, containing a section of Marx's *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century*. - ^b G. A. Bürger, 'Lenore'.

72

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁷⁶

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 June 1857

Dear Engels,

From the enclosed letter you will see that Dana is expecting the manuscript soon.^a What am I to tell him? I can't plead sickness, since I am continuing to send ARTICLES to the *Tribune*. It's a very awkward CASE.

My wife is still in the *status quo*. On top of that, a nasty cough and domestic worries, serious ones. I hope you are recovering. Steffen was here yesterday.

Your
K. M.

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73

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] Friday, 3 July [1857]
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Shall be writing tomorrow. This is just to inform you that the second half of the note had still not arrived by this evening. Considering the bad luck which has been dogging me of late, it

^a The reference is presumably to the article 'Army' requested by Dana for *The New American Cyclopaedia*.

may well have got lost. I couldn't go to Williams' since my wife's condition has meant—pretty well ever since you left¹⁶⁹—that I can't leave her on her own.

Your
K. M.

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74

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 July [1857]

DEAR Frederic,

I am writing again TO GAINSAY my earlier note. No. II arrived on the stroke of 6. No letter has ever arrived so late before, and hence I wrote in order to avert possible MISCHIEF.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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75

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 July 1857
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

Rüstow^a is not to be had at Williams'. And I wouldn't care to write to Steffen on this score for, being himself engaged on an

^a W. Rüstow, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung C. Julius Cäsars*.

English rendering of the book, he tends to be mistrustful. So far as the ancient world is concerned, I believe you could restrict yourself to a few generalities and simply say—in the article itself^a—that these themes are to be discussed under the headings ‘Greek Army’ and ‘Roman Army’. This will save time, during which it will be possible not only to procure Rüstow but also to send you a mass of other data, for I have now discovered at the Museum,^b after prolonged searching, a complete list of sources on the military history of Antiquity. But at the moment speed is the main consideration. As you know, I took your advice and sent Dana a second list.¹⁷⁷ So what excuse can I offer the man? I cannot plead illness, for if I do I shall have to interrupt my writing for the *Tribune* altogether and so reduce to nothing my already exiguous income. At a pinch Dana could have recourse to the man who already provides him with some of the military articles. In which case I would be elbowed out. To obviate this I shall have to write on Friday. But the difficulty is, what?

As you will understand, nothing could be more distasteful to me than TO PRESS UPON YOU while you are ill; nor, indeed, when you left here did I have any inkling that, in the state you are in, you would at once resume—and so SERIOUSLY at that—your work in the office.

My own situation is such that everything depends on whether I can persuade little Bamberger to discount a bill on myself this week. The end of the quarter has come, and all hell will now be let loose.

Freiligrath has written me a note from which I can see the *Crédit mobilier’s* scare.⁴⁵ The constant fall in securities on the Paris Bourse, despite the prospect of a good harvest, has given rise to a veritable PANIC amongst the financiers.

The Indian affair is delicious.¹⁷⁸ Mazzini’s putsch quite in the old official style.¹⁷⁹ The ass might at least have avoided dragging in Genoa!

Salut.

Your

K. M.

There is a cheap *Dictionary of Military Science* by Campbell.

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^a A reference to the article ‘Army’ for *The New American Cyclopaedia*. - ^b the British Museum Library

76

MARX TO ENGELS⁸²

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 July 1857

Dear Frederic,

My wife has at last been brought to bed. The CHILD, however, not being viable, died immediately. In itself, this was no disaster. Yet partly because of the circumstances immediately attendant on it, which have branded themselves on my mind, and partly because of the circumstances responsible for this result, it is agonizing to look back upon. Nor is it possible to go into such matters in a letter.

Salut. Give my regards to Lupus and pass on the news to him.

Your
K. M.

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77

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, Saturday, [11] July 1857^a

Dear Marx,

It was only this morning that your short note was brought to me from the office. The WAREHOUSEMAN who generally brings me my mail thought it more convenient to run his errand the next morning instead of the previous night. I was deeply affected by the contents of your letter, cryptic though it was, knowing how

^a Engels dated the letter 10 July, which is a mistake, for 10 July 1857 was a Friday, not a Saturday.

painful it must be for you to write like that. You yourself may be taking the child's death stoically, but hardly your wife. How *she* is, you don't say, and hence I assume that all is well, but let me know *for certain* or I shan't have a moment's peace of mind. In this respect, your mysterious insinuations leave too much room for conjecture. Providing she herself is well it is perhaps better that it should now all be over.

Today I can *definitely* promise you the manuscripts for Dana for Friday, i.e. the articles 'Alma', 'Abensberg', 'Adjutant', 'Ammunition' and more such small stuff, thus pretty well finishing off the whole of A (except 'Algeria' and 'Afghanistan') up to Ap and Aq.^a I have got together the material for all this and should be able to work without interruption since, as a result of my breathing fresh air again, my illness has suddenly taken a turn for the better, which in all likelihood will finally put paid to the thing. This turn took place *last night* and, since I've been ordered to take exercise in the open air outside the town, I shall not be going to the office until Thursday. As soon as I've finished these first articles, I'll tackle 'Army' (modern times, 1300 to 1850) and 'Artillery'; the first part of 'Army' I shall do last and, at the same time, let you have the list of B's. 'Artillery' will be ready to go off on Friday week, 'Army' as well perhaps. I may send you some of the shorter things tomorrow for Tuesday's post.

A couple of days ago Lupus left for France and Switzerland. The French vice-consul here, a businessman, gave him a passport without further ado. On his return he will probably pay you a visit (in approx. 3 weeks).

I dare not show my face at the office, but as soon as I can put in an appearance there I shall send you some more money.

Give my warm regards to your wife and assure her of my sincerest sympathy. Love to the girls, and see that they keep in good health.

Your old friend,
F. E.

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^a This refers to the following items by Engels for *The New American Cyclopaedia*: 'Abensberg', 'Acre', 'Actium', 'Åland Islands', 'Albuera', 'Aldenhoven', 'Alessandria', 'Amusette' and 'Antwerp' (see this volume, pp. 136-37).

78

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 July 1857

DEAR Frederic,

The chief thing for you at present is naturally to recover your health. I shall have to see how I can put Dana off again. Don't worry your head about it. Next week I'll send you something on the military systems of Antiquity.

Hastings, or so I hear, is the *only* resort in England that is of real benefit to complaints like yours. So *that's* where you must go, the time having come to tackle your illness seriously.—The *use of iron* to inhibit further development of the malady is at any rate rational, WHATEVER MR HECKSCHER MAY THINK OF IT. You ought to consult yet a third doctor about this too. Assuming that none of the chaps knows more than half of his job, it's advisable to check one against the other.

My wife is getting better. However, her condition still makes it difficult for me to leave the house.

The revolution marches on apace AS SHOWN BY THE MARCH OF THE Cr dit mobilier⁴⁵ and Bonaparte's FINANCES IN GENERAL.

With best wishes for your recovery,

Your
K. M.

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79

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 July 1857

Dear Engels,

You may be certain that despite all mishaps I and my wife (who, by the by, is well on the way to recovery) found our own AFFAIRS

less disquieting than your latest report on the state of your health. While delighted beyond measure that you should be improving, I am thoroughly alarmed to learn that you intend to return to the office—and to do so this very week. If nothing else, the whole course of your illness should have shown you that what you needed physically was to rest, recuperate and temporarily shake off the dust of the office. You must go to the seaside AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. If, at this crucial moment, you should be so childish (pardon the expression) as to shut yourself up in the office again, you will suffer further relapses, and your resistance to the disease will at the same time be progressively impaired. Such relapses might ultimately lead to an infection of the lungs, in which case all attempts at a cure would be fruitless. Surely it is not your ambition to go down to posterity as one who sacrificed himself on the altar of Ermen & Engels' office? One would feel sorry for a person with your complaint if he were compelled by circumstances to chain himself anew to his business rather than restore his health. In your case, however, all that is needed is a vigorous decision to do what is medically necessary. Only consider how long the trouble has been dragging on already, and how many relapses you've had, and you will see how necessary it is FOR SOME TIME TO LET MR ERMEN SHIFT FOR HIMSELF and to restore your health by breathing the sea air and enjoying relative leisure. I hope you will take the thing seriously and abandon your former mistaken system of alternating between medicine bottle and office. It would be unpardonable for you to persist in it.

I can only relate verbally the circumstances that attended my wife's confinement and UNNERVED ME FOR SOME DAYS. I cannot write about such things.

I have received your articles.^a MY BEST THANKS FOR THEM.

The Indian revolt¹⁷⁸ has placed me in something of a quandary. As far as the *Tribune* is concerned, I am EXPECTED TO HAVE SOME SUPERIOR VIEW OF MILITARY AFFAIRS. If you can supply me with a few general axioms, I can easily combine them with the stuff I've already got together to make a readable article.^b The situation of the insurgents in Delhi and the MOVES of the British army are the only points on which a few military generalities are needed. All the rest is MATTER OF FACT.

Mr Bamberger has kept me dangling for the past fortnight by

^a for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (see this volume, p. 144). - ^b Marx's article 'The Revolt in India' appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5082, on 4 August 1857.

making bogus rendezvous at which he never appears. I shall now give the laddie up, of course.

Jones' wife died last April; he seems to be keeping relatively well.

A letter received from Imandt today. He has the EXPECTATION of a post which he puts at £300 a year. Regarding Dronke he tells me that he is said to be living *en famille* with a woman who is pregnant by him. It isn't Miss Smith, however.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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80

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 July 1857

Dear Frederic,

I have today sent you the Rüstow,^a which you should return as soon as possible, since Steffen is working on it just now. I told him I wanted it *for myself*.

The enclosed notes are of little value, EXCEPT PERHAPS FOR a quotation or two.¹⁸⁰ I did, in fact, take a look at the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* but there was no time to read it properly. I fear that the notes will contain little that is new to you. Were taken from: Ersch and Gruber: *Encyclopédie universelle*^b; Pauly: *Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* (1844-52). Impossible for me to read the works themselves just now. Pity I didn't apply myself to them sooner. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* seems to have been

^a W. Rüstow, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung C. Julius Cäsars*. - ^b This probably refers to the French translation of *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste...* herausgegeben von J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber.

copied pretty well word for word from the German and French works and hence is difficult to get away from unless one reads the specialised writings.

My wife better physically; however still in bed; also extraordinarily out of temper for which, *au fond de coeur*^a and UNDER PRESENT AUSPICES, I don't blame her though I find it wearisome.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

I trust your health keeps improving.

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81

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 July 1857

Dear Engels,

Received the *Cyclopaedia* stuff TO-DAY.^{b 181}

If at all possible will you send me some money? On Monday I'm threatened with the BROKER on account of rates and LANDLORD. Besides this the total WANT OF CASH during the past fortnight has made it impossible to obtain the small COMFORTS the doctor has prescribed for my wife, whose RECOVERY is very slow—indeed, she would seem to be getting weaker every day.

During this time I have been trying with conspicuous lack of success either to discount a bill or, as is quite customary in London, to raise a LOAN from a LOAN SOCIETY.¹⁸² The latter operation calls for two respectable guarantors and my attempts to find them have been a total failure.

The money outstanding to me from the *Tribune* is so insignificant that I cannot think of drawing a bill on them for

^a at the bottom of my heart - ^b Engels' articles 'Arbela', 'Arquebuse', 'Aspern', 'Airey' and 'Attack'.

another 2 weeks. It would have been more if, on the one hand, I hadn't been previously compelled to overdraw and, on the other, the troubles at home had not caused some loss of earnings.

Nothing could be more distasteful to me than to burden you with my woes during your illness, but I'm so completely isolated that there is nothing else I can do.

I trust that, at the seaside, you will soon recuperate. Don't forget to let me have your address straight away.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Have attended to the enclosed letter for Imandt.

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82

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Waterloo near Liverpool,
29 July^a (Wednesday) 1857

Dear Marx,

Here I am at last at the seaside, where I have been since the evening of the day before yesterday.¹⁸³ It's 3 miles beyond New Brighton, but to the north of the Mersey. Unfortunately I arrived with a raging cold which has temporarily aggravated the glandular trouble, caused me a great deal of pain and spoilt my sleep. The worst of it is that for a day or two I shall be pretty well incapable of work, my daily report for Heckscher and other such unavoidable notes being as much as I can manage. In the evening I'm in such intense pain and so enervated that up till now I haven't even been able to read. That this damned thing should have had to happen now! Thus, since Friday evening or Saturday morning all my time has been wasted first by interruptions, then

^a wrong date in the original: 30 July

by my illness. I'm one of your really miserable figures, stooped, lame and weak and—e.g. as at present—beside myself with pain.

I had a hamper of wine sent to you from Manchester which will do your wife good: 6 bottles of Bordeaux, 3 of port, 3 of sherry. It should be there by now if the thing was properly attended to. Let me know the colour of the seals on the port and sherry so that I can keep a check on my wine merchant. Sherry ought to be *yellow*, port, I think, green. The Bordeaux bears the label Co. Destournel; I have just imported it.

You will have the *militaria*^a as soon as at all possible. Unfortunately I don't know whether the post reaches London in 1 day; I shall only discover that from experience within the next few days.

I hope that the sea air will soon make me fit again for the usual drudgery. As things are now, I'm bored to death.

Warmest regards to your wife and daughters.

Your
F. E.

You'll have received the £5 note.

Address: F. E., care of Mr Swingwood,
Bath St., Waterloo near Liverpool

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83

MARX TO ENGELS

IN WATERLOO NEAR LIVERPOOL

[London,] 9 August 1857

Dear Engels,

Today I am prevented from writing more than a few lines—just my best wishes for your recovery. My ANXIETY for your

^a Articles on military matters for *The American Cyclopaedia*

BODILY welfare is as great as if I myself were ill—greater, perhaps.

How are things in regard to ‘coughing’? So far as I can judge from your letters, at least you’re not much troubled with it.

My doctor, who has treated a great many CASES such as yours, says that if a patient’s condition does not permit of his bathing in the sea, he has successfully prescribed washing all over in heated (TEPID) sea water, the temperature being gradually reduced.

Let me know whether you are taking iron. In cases such as yours, as in many others, iron has proved stronger than the affliction.^a

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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84

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁸⁴

IN WATERLOO NEAR LIVERPOOL

[London,] 15 August 1857

Dear Frederick,

I am delighted to hear that the sea is doing you good, as was to be expected. As soon as you are fit enough to bathe, it will take effect even more quickly.

The sea itself is, of course, the principal remedy. However, some medicaments ought to be taken internally, partly preventive, partly curative, so as to introduce into the blood those substances it lacks. As opposed to your assumptions in your letter to my wife¹⁸⁵ and basing myself on the most recent French, English and German literature, which I have been reading on the subject of your illness, I put forward the following, which you may submit to the scrutiny of any college of physicians or pharmacists:

^a Marx uses an inversion of the German saying ‘Not bricht Eisen’, literally ‘Necessity breaks iron’, making a pun on the word ‘Not’, which also means ‘affliction’.

1. Whereas cod-liver oil requires 3 months to take effect, iron does so in 3 weeks.

2. Cod-liver oil and iron are not mutually exclusive but complement each other during treatment.

3. A temporary *iron shortage in the blood* is the primary characteristic of your disease. Besides bathing in the sea, you must take iron, even should there no longer be any outward sign of the disease.

4. In your case the therapeutic element in cod-liver oil is iodine, since the oil's fattening properties are of no moment to you. Hence *IODIDE OF IRON* combines both the elements you need, one of which you would obtain from cod-liver oil. At the same time, it would spare your stomach the extra ballast inevitable in the case of cod-liver oil.

Voilà mes thèses,^a and I hope you will give them your serious consideration so that, once cured, you do not suffer subsequent relapses which are said to be *EXCEEDINGLY* disagreeable.

As to the Delhi affair, it seems to me that the English ought to begin their retreat as soon as the *RAINY SEASON HAS SET IN* in real earnest. Being obliged for the present to hold the fort for you as the *Tribune's* military correspondent,^b I have taken it upon myself to put this forward.¹⁸⁶ NB, ON THE SUPPOSITION that the *REPORTS* to date have been true. It's possible that I shall make an ass of myself. But in that case one can always get out of it with a little dialectic. I have, of course, so worded my proposition as to be right either way. The persistent rumours about the fall of Delhi are being circulated throughout India by the government in Calcutta, no less, and are intended, as I see from the Indian papers, as the chief means of preventing unrest in the Madras and Bombay *PRESIDENCIES*. FOR your diversion I enclose herewith a plan of Delhi *which, however, you must let me have back.*

From most of the reports of the Banque de France^c it is already apparent that, in place of d'Argout, there is a Bonapartist^d at the helm who makes little difficulty about discounting operations and note issues. The financial *débâcle* in France must inevitably assume vast proportions, since a frenzied activity is contributing to it on every hand.

Imandt's presence has seriously disrupted my work. The *POT* is

^a Such are my theses - ^b See Marx's articles 'State of the Indian Insurrection' and 'The Indian Insurrection'. - ^c 'Situation de la banque de France et de ses succursales', *Le Moniteur universel*, Nos. 163 and 191, 12 June and 10 July 1857. - ^d Charles Gabriel Germiny

in effect the only medium through which one can establish any rapport with these SPIRIT-RAPPERS.

With best wishes for your health from myself and wife.

Your
K. M.

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85

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Waterloo, 21 August 1857

Dear Moor,

You will have received the articles this morning.¹⁸⁷

I do, indeed, regard your theses as OPEN TO SOME OBSERVATIONS. That iron takes effect in 3 weeks as compared with 3 months for cod-liver oil is surely not to be taken literally. There could be absolutely no question of a disease of this kind being cured in 3 weeks; on the contrary, I should say that, iron or no iron, cases have more often been known to take 3 years rather than 3 weeks to cure.

That lack of iron in the blood is a *primary characteristic* of scrofula is certainly news to me. But whatever the literature on the subject, there is no doubt that, for some time past, it has become increasingly the fashion to reduce all diseases to lack of iron in the blood, a fashion which is already beginning to evoke a reaction; as to the disease of which, *more than any other*, this is known to be the primary characteristic—anaemia—some Frenchmen have latterly declared that iron has nothing at all to do with it. Exactly what the *primary characteristic* of scrofula is would seem to be still far from clear.

That iodine is one *amongst others* of the principal elements responsible for the effect of cod-liver oil is not in doubt. But it is

by no means the only one. If one takes iodine in other forms one doesn't make such good progress. Besides, cod-liver oil contains chlorine and bromine, both of which have a direct or indirect effect on the disorder, and to what extent that effect is helped by the gall constituents and volatile fatty acids has not yet been established. All I know is that Norwegian cod-liver oil, which has the bitter taste of gall, has done me more good than the Newfoundland or English product, which does not taste of it.

I took *iron iodide* all the time I was in Manchester (in between London¹⁶⁹ and Waterloo¹⁸³) along with cod-liver oil, and the inflammation grew steadily worse until finally it became chronic. Since I have been here I haven't taken *any more* iron iodide and Heckscher and I agreed long ago that either iron iodide or Quévenne's iron should be used in *after-treatment*.

The fat in cod-liver oil is, *pour le moment*,^a by no means useless ballast so far as I am concerned. Since regaining my strength, I am again accumulating fat. Needless to say, my diet may contain only a small proportion of ready-formed animal fats. Consequently I have to eat more starch flour and, in fact, I sometimes feel a positive craving for bread; I am eating twice as much meat, but four times as much bread as I usually do. The fat in cod-liver oil is an invaluable aid to this battenning process, being taken in an exceedingly innocuous form and less of an irritant than animal fat or things cooked in fat.

So you see, iron has never been completely out of our view and, even after I had been taking it for more than 3 weeks without any result (and it may, indeed, in the then circumstances, have made matters worse), we have nevertheless already reserved it for my after-treatment. Heckscher, to whom I spoke about iron last Sunday, was definitely against my taking it again at this juncture, in view of previous experience, and I must agree with him. Later, of course. I repeat that, despite the unanimity of the literature on the subject, I shall continue to entertain grave doubts about the reduction of all diseases to iron shortage until we know more than we now do about the condition and the normal level of iron in the blood. At all events, I had sufficient iron in my blood at the start of this business, as any of the doctors who saw me at the time can testify. I am perfectly willing to believe that people of definitely scrofular habit—pallor, transparent skin, etc.—may be suffering from a shortage of iron.

^a at the moment

But *admis*^a that this is the basic character, the INDISCRIMINATE and immediate use of iron is by no means indicated. It is extremely difficult to introduce iron into the blood otherwise than in the small amounts contained in ordinary food. Assuming, then, that the nature of my disease was the inability of the blood to assimilate the iron in food, how much less would it assimilate the iron in medicine? Sea air and sea bathing so invigorate the system as to restore the blood's ability in this respect. Thus it again assimilates the iron in meat and bread and, since I am eating more than formerly, concomitantly more iron. It is now, when this ability has been restored, that iron taken medicinally can help, although I believe that $\frac{9}{10}$ of it passes through the body unused and, even if one accepts the iron theory, the use of iron during *every* phase of the disease has been shown to be incorrect. On top of which one has to consider the wide variety of individual cases and constitutions. I myself, for instance, appear to be particularly sensitive to all metals; even the external application of quicksilver to prevent the local spread of the inflammation took effect very rapidly, in my case, and it is quite possible that iron iodide, taken at a time when my blood was too disorganised to assimilate it, helped aggravate the inflammation.

At all events, and even admitting the iron theory, I don't see how your theses materially confute the assumptions in my previous letter,^b in which I was, by the way, considering only the immediate use of iron, not in any specific form, and ruling out cod-liver oil.

Today I bathed in the sea for the first time. It did me no end of good and made me ravenously hungry. For the time being I am to bathe only every other day.

But now it's time for the post. Am working on 'Army'.

Many regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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^a even granted - ^b See this volume, pp. 151-53.

86

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Waterloo, 25 August 1857

Dear Marx,

My last letter was abruptly broken off because the post was leaving. I had meant to tell you about Lupus' adventures in France. He had neither time nor money enough to stop in London and therefore travelled straight through to Manchester, arriving with 2/- in his pocket. At Lille he was spotted by the French police and from then on they harried him. With his usual luck he arrived slap in the middle of the elections and a nice little assassination plot. He went to a small hotel near the Louvre, intending to visit Versailles. On this trip 2 *mouchards*^a took possession of him, pushed their way into his carriage both on the way there and on the way back, and never let him out of their sight. Back at the hotel two *mouchards*, one an Alsatian Jew, sat at his table while he ate supper, and passed remarks about him in German, French and broken English. *'That chap eats with much appetite and his head is not worth a farthing. The telegraphic despatch has just arrived',*^b etc. Lupus kept mum—compelled, of course, by his bad political conscience, else he'd have been dragged off to clink and made to establish in the Préfecture what kind of a wolf he was—and drowned his anger in drink, after which he went up to his room and stationed himself by the window—*au premier*.^c From there he caught sight of his Versailles friends in the gateway. The gang, growing ever larger, shouted loud remarks to him while their chief parleyed with the landlady. Subsequently the fellows took over the whole house and roistered and caroused half the night through. They occupied the rooms above and to the left and right of Lupus who, as you can imagine, was in a fine STEW—on top of which it was stiflingly hot. The fellows woke him early in the morning, banging on the walls on either side and dragging tables, beds, etc., etc., across the floor

^a police spies - ^b In the original this sentence occurs twice: in English, as given here, and, prior to this, in the Alsatian dialect: 'Un was der Kerl noch mit einem Appetit fresse kann, un sei Kopp is doch nit e Pfennig wert.' - ^c on the first floor

above so that he almost took leave of his senses. Presently Lupus plucked up sufficient courage to visit the w.c. The Jew and his mate were sitting on the stairs and in a loud voice the Jew said 'The fellow's going for a shit now'. He ordered breakfast in his room and inquired when the train left for Strasbourg. One by one the fellows disappeared, for it was the day of the by-elections and they had achieved their aim of hounding Lupus out of Paris. Once again his Versailles friend was on the train and accompanied him in the same carriage as far as the fourth or fifth station, where another man took over. So conspicuously did the fellows push their way into the packed carriage that a French philistine jocularly remarked: '*Il y a donc un criminel parmi nous?*'^a In this way he was escorted to Lyons, the Versailles chap having reappeared on the steamer from Châlons on the Saône. At Lyons Lupus went to the first hotel but discovered that waiters and all were on the pay-roll, pointed him out and notified the chaps by telegraph when he was arriving. Whenever he left the room the waiter gave a whistle while the man in the office shouted out: '*Le voilà!*'^b, whereupon he was compelled to pass in review before the *mouchard* élite. They continued to harry him on the train to Seyssel as far as the point at which a line branches off in the direction of Plombières, where Mr Bonaparte happened to be. From then on, as soon as they saw that he was not going to Plombières, Lupus was free. On the return journey he wasn't harried at all.

One can see what Mr Bonaparte has set in train with the Société du dix Décembre.¹³⁸ There is no mistaking the types, particularly as regards their roistering and the playful manner in which they make life a misery for suspects visiting Paris. Had Lupus not left, one of them would probably have started a brawl so as to have a pretext for taking him to the Préfecture. Just imagine how many chaps must be on the pay-roll if an entire cohort can be set on to Lupus, who is COMPARATIVELY UNKNOWN to them. And then the roping in of landlords, waiters, BOOTS, etc., etc., as collaborators.

I have just been bathing again which, while generally most invigorating and refreshing, seems at first rather to aggravate the inflammation. But that was only to be expected. On the whole I feel very well and the sores don't trouble me much. My old man is probably in Manchester by now; I shall know definitely tomorrow,

^a Is there a criminal among us then? - ^b There he is!

in which case I shall at once go to Manchester and then, within a few days, to a more bracing seaside resort, possibly the Isle of Man. So write to Manchester in the meantime. As soon as I'm completely recovered and no longer require such regular sea-bathing I intend to take a sea trip, probably by STEAMER via Dublin to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, where we could hold a council of war together. But that will depend on circumstances.

'Army' is making progress; Antiquity is done, Middle Ages will be short and then modern times. However, Antiquity alone will run to 6 or 7 pages; I shall have to see what further deletions can be made. But we can't be bound too strictly by Mr Dana's conditions. It won't be possible to let you have the thing by Friday because of the disruption caused by my old man—but by Tuesday, I hope. Apropos, hasn't Dana said anything at all about the manuscripts or the list for B? Why, I wonder? It would certainly be curious if one were not to hear anything at all from him. Kindest regards.

Your
F. E.

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87

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 August 1857

Dear Engels,

Herewith a note for you from Schramm. Drop him a line or two. I don't suppose there's much hope for him now.¹⁸⁸

Lupus' adventure most amusing.

Why not go to Hastings, which is famed for its efficacy in cases like yours. It's the only specific watering-place of the kind in England. The Isle of Man, in so far as I had the pleasure of

seeing it in your company—not much of it, to be sure—is remarkable chiefly for its stench.

The situation in regard to Dana is a little awkward. During the acute phase of your illness I thought it inopportune to keep you informed of the details of the affair. It was quite some time ago that Dana sent me the enclosed B list (in which there are only two non-military articles, 'Blum' and 'Bourrienne'). On the same occasion he said that the sooner they got the contributions to the ensuing volumes, the better they would be pleased, while I, for my part, could always receive my fee immediately after sending in the articles. But what was I to do, at a time when the contributions to A could not be sent off, and any failure to respond to so urgent a request—on terms so favourable to myself—would inevitably have aroused suspicion? My only recourse was to refrain for a time from writing to New York, and then do so only at longish intervals—*SAY, EVERY FORTNIGHT*—so that later on it would still be open to me to tell them with some plausibility that domestic TROUBLES and my own indisposition had made any sort of writing very difficult for me, as the paucity of my contributions to the paper^a also went to show. To send your B list to Dana in such circumstances would have been *QUITE* inexpedient and would have placed me in an even more invidious position. In the meantime I had also learned that Major Ripley^b had become co-editor of the *Tribune*, so that in case of need Dana had a *pis aller*^c for the *Cyclopaedia*.

WELL, on 24 July I despatched your first pieces.¹⁸¹ August was nearly upon us and your condition seemed to have deteriorated again. On 11 August another package arrived from you.^d Instinct warned me that a letter from New York was now imminent and would place me in something of a quandary since your illness meant that it was *OUT OF [THE] QUESTION* to speed up the work. So in order to leave a loophole for myself, I sent the package off to Dana together with a letter¹⁸⁹ in which I 1. informed him that the *BULK* of the contributions had gone off on 7 August (to make him think the manuscript had gone astray), at the same time telling him that the tardiness and delay were due to an indisposition which had not yet quite *SUBSIDED*. I took this step because it covered any eventuality. Thus, when Dana protests (probably at the beginning of September) the manuscript for A either will or will not be ready. In the first case, he either will or will not still be

^a *New-York Daily Tribune* - ^b Marx seems mistakenly to identify George Ripley, editor of *The New American Cyclopaedia*, with the military writer Roswell Sabine Ripley. - ^c stop-gap - ^d the articles 'Abatis' and 'Afghanistan'

able to use it. If the former, nothing will have been lost. If the latter, the blame will be seen to attach to the post office. If NOT READY at all, then all the more need for him to be hoodwinked.

On 17 August^a I received the enclosed letter from Dana.

As regards B, there can now be no question of adding to the list; rather, it must be polished off as quickly as possible. Otherwise we'll have to abandon the whole thing.

As a result my economic position has become completely untenable and even my position on the *Tribune* has grown precarious.

Be so good as to return the plan of Delhi and write and let me know what you think of the INDIAN AFFAIR.^b

Your
K. M.

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88

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ryde, Isle of Wight, 8 September 1857
Kelston Cottage, Trinity St.

Dear Marx,

I finally arrived today at my new lodgings¹⁸³ in the middle of a frightful downpour and tomorrow shall at once get down to the army again. Yesterday in Portsmouth I noted what was worth seeing on the military side, so all that now remains is the navy, which at this moment looks distinctly sparse. My health continues good and if the weather improves I hope I shall soon be completely cured. It takes half an hour to get here from Portsmouth and it's a

^a April in the original - ^b See this volume, p. 152.

very aristocratic little spot, though lodgings are not as dear as in Waterloo. At the end of the week I shall doubtless know what the situation is as regards food. However the hotels, etc., etc., are scandalously expensive.

In Portsmouth one might almost be at home in Germany. One is barely aware of the NAVY in the town, which, by contrast, is lorded over by the subaltern—the false dignity, the affectation of reserve and the strangulated English that go to make up your OFFICER AND GENTLEMAN. Moreover, almost everyone goes around in uniform. I watched the 47th Regiment drilling, all of them bemedalled veterans of the Crimea,^a newly arrived from the Mediterranean. The more simple evolutions were passable but the intricate ‘model’ manoeuvres, of which there are so many in the English manual, were carried out very shakily. Square formation from marching in open order, each file proceeding diagonally, thus /////, was botched completely and the most hellish confusion arose. By contrast the march past in line, with the entire battalion deployed, was very well done. The commanding officer was very calm but as with us there was cursing and swearing within the companies. All movements were executed at the same gait as ours, somewhat longer paces perhaps, but performed rapidly though with great nonchalance on the part of individual men. A Prussian lieutenant’s comment would be: The chaps lack drill. Still very poor at the double. Shoot as though half-asleep. Conclusion: Manual rotten, men better than manual. So far little learnt from the French in the Crimea. The modern stuff either not introduced at all or else rottenly done.

I shall send you ‘Army’ as soon as it is finished. Warmest regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

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^a i.e. of the Crimean war of 1853-56 waged by Britain, France, Sardinia and Turkey against Russia

89

ENGELS TO MARX¹⁹⁰

IN LONDON

[Ryde,] 10 September [1857,] Thursday

Dear Marx,

Herewith 'Bennigsen' and 'Barclay'.^a I am taking a closer look at the Napoleonic generals, who will follow tomorrow or the day after. 'Army' ready shortly.

Your
F. E.

All that I know about Bennigsen is that in 1807, at the beginning of the campaign under Kamenski, he commanded the First Army (there were 2 of them, the 2nd under Buxhövdén); on 26 December 1806, he was attacked by Lannes near Pultusk and, having the superiority in numbers, he held out (because Napoleon attacked the other army with the main force) and then, assuming himself to be the victor, wanted to attack in strength. He was soon given the supreme command and attacked Napoleon's winter quarters at the end of January 1807; was soon pressed hard and by mere chance evaded the trap which Napoleon had set for him; he fought at Eylau on 7 and 8 February.¹⁹¹ On the 7th Napoleon captured Eylau (*Barclay de Tolly*, who directed the defence, *distinguishing himself*), and on the 8th the main engagement took place, Bennigsen being obliged to give battle in order to evade hot pursuit by Napoleon, and being saved from total defeat only by the toughness of his troops, the arrival of the Prussians under Lestock and the slowness with which Napoleon's individual corps appeared on the battlefield. In the spring Bennigsen entrenched himself at Heilsberg, because he was the weaker; he did not attack Napoleon while part of the French army was absent, engaged in the siege of Danzig¹⁹²; but when Danzig had fallen and the French army was united, he attacked (!), let himself be held up by Napoleon's vanguard, which had only $\frac{1}{3}$ the strength he had, and then be manoeuvred back into his entrenched camp by Napoleon. This Napoleon attacked without success on 10 [June]

^a The material that follows was used by Marx and Engels in their articles 'Bennigsen' and 'Barclay de Tolly'.

with only 2 corps and several battalions of the Guard, but on the very next day he forced Bennigsen out of his camp and caused him to beat a hasty retreat; however, Bennigsen suddenly went over to the offensive *without* waiting for a corps of 28,000 men, which was already in Tilsit, occupied Friedland and established himself there, with his *back to the river* and therefore with only *one* line of retreat, the Friedland bridge (always wrong to give battle *before* a defile). Instead of advancing rapidly before Napoleon could concentrate his corps, he let himself be held up for 5-6 hours by Lannes and Mortier ('coupe-gorge dans lequel Bennigsen s'était engagé',^a says Jomini of this position) until at about 5 o'clock^b Napoleon was ready and gave the order for the attack. The Russians were thrown back to the river, Friedland was captured, the bridge having been destroyed by the Russians themselves while their whole right wing was still on the other side and escaped only over fords and with the loss of its artillery. 20,000 men lost. Bennigsen

'avait fait fautes sur fautes dans cette journée ... il y eut dans sa conduite un mélange d'imprudence téméraire et d'irrésolution'.^c

In 1812 he followed Russian headquarters around inveighing against Barclay in order to get his place, intriguing against him until Alexander relieved Bennigsen of his post. In 1813 he was ordered to lead the reserve army out of Russia into Bohemia, and when it arrived it was disbanded and Bennigsen disappeared.

Barclay de Tolly commanded a brigade at Eylau, etc. (see above); in 1812 commanded the First West Army and was War Minister; after Alexander's departure until Kutuzov's arrival was General-in-Chief, directed the retreat of the Russian army skilfully and had the great merit of resisting the clamorous demands of the Russians and of the whole headquarters to give battle. When he *had to* fight, as at Smolensk, he took up such a position that he could not be involved in a decisive battle,¹⁹³ and when this could no longer be avoided—shortly before Moscow—he selected a position by Gzhatsk which was almost impregnable from the front and could be bypassed only by a very big detour. The army had already occupied this position when Kutuzov arrived, and naturally he would not agree to it because it was not *he* who had chosen it, and so the Russians had to fight in the unfavourable position at

^a 'A robbers' den into which Bennigsen has ventured' (A. H. Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon*, t. 2, p. 414). - ^b 14 June 1807 - ^c 'committed mistake after mistake on that day ... his conduct was a mixture of rash imprudence and irresolution' (A. H. Jomini, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 421).

Borodino.¹⁹⁴ In 1813 and 1814 Barclay commanded not an independent corps, but all the Russians in the Allied Army under Schwarzenberg, and as these were in separate corps and often split up, it was an administrative and diplomatic rather than a combatant position,¹⁹⁵ and he proved himself, as earlier, to be one of the better of the average generals—having *bon sens*^a and staying power—and at any rate the best of the older generals that the Russians had.

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90

ENGELS TO MARX¹⁹⁶

IN LONDON

[Ryde, 11 or 12 September 1857]

[...] Berthier was a mere CLERK without an idea in his head, but frightfully zealous in the service and punctilious; when Napoleon sent him to Bavaria in 1809 to organise the troops before his own arrival, his *ordres et contreordres*^b split the army into three. Half of it was with Davout at Regensburg, the remainder with Masséna at Augsburg, and the Bavarians in between at Abensberg, so that a rapid advance by Archduke Charles would have enabled him to defeat the various corps one by one. It was only Napoleon's arrival and the slowness of the Austrians that saved the French.

In 1813 Bernadotte was not a general at all but a diplomat. He prevented the generals under him from attacking and when, in contravention of this order, Bülow won his two victories at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz,¹⁹⁷ Bernadotte stopped the pursuit. He was in constant touch with the French. When Blücher marched to the Elbe to join up with him and to force him at last to act, he continued to prevaricate until Sir Ch. Stewart (the English commissary in his camp) told him that if he didn't march immediately, he wouldn't pay out another penny. This helped—

^a common sense - ^b An allusion to Napoleon's words 'ordre, contreordre, désordre'.

nevertheless it was purely *honoris causa* that the Swedes appeared in the firing-line at Leipzig,¹⁹⁸ and during the whole campaign they lost less than 200 men in battle.—In 1798 Bernadotte was French ambassador in Vienna; to celebrate the anniversary of a victory over the Austrians he hoisted the tricolor, whereupon the populace stormed his residence and burned the flag. He left, but Napoleon decided against him and persuaded the Directory¹⁹⁹ TO LET THE MATTER DROP.^a [...]

[...] Jomini, *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon*, t. II, p. 60 qq. (Napoleon says)^b

'Bernadotte ... un homme fin, d'un extérieur brillant; les plans d'opération qu'il avait faits comme ministre de la guerre, prouvaient qu'il était meilleur lieutenant, que général en chef'^c [p. 60].

'Marmont, jadis mon aide de camp et officier d'artillerie' [pp. 60-61].

'Davout, qui avait reçu une bonne éducation, avait la tête fortement organisée et des idées de guerre très justes. Ses manières rudes et un caractère à la fois soupçonneux et dur lui ont fait beaucoup d'ennemis, et dans les graves circonstances où il s'est trouvé, l'esprit de parti s'est déchaîné contre lui avec une grande injustice. Sévère, mais juste envers ses subordonnés, mieux qu'aucun autre il sut maintenir la discipline parmi ses soldats; aucun de mes maréchaux n'exigeait plus de ses subordonnés, et aucun ne les fit servir avec tant d'exactitude' [p. 61].

'Soul, d'un physique mâle, d'un esprit étendu, laborieux, actif, infatigable, avait fait preuve de talents supérieurs' [p. 61].

'Lannes; couvert de gloire et de blessures, ce brave manquait de principes faits sur la guerre; mais il y suppléait par un jugement admirable et sur le champ de bataille il ne le cédait à aucun de ses collègues' [p. 61].

'Ney. Lannes fut peut être aussi brillant que lui dans maintes attaques; mais la force d'âme que Ney déploya dans le grand désastre de 1812 où il commanda successivement tous les corps de l'armée, lui assigne le premier rang parmi les braves de tous les jours. De même que plusieurs de ses collègues il n'entendait point la guerre en grand sur la carte^d; mais sur le terrain, rien n'égalait son assurance, son coup d'oeil et son aplomb' [p. 62].

'Mural, qui avait dû à sa bonne mine, à son courage et à son activité l'honneur d'être mon aide de camp et mon beau-frère, n'a jamais été à la hauteur de la réputation colossale que je lui avais faite. Du reste, il avait de l'esprit naturel, un courage brillant et une grande activité' [p. 63].

'Masséna reçut de la nature tout ce qui fait un excellent homme de guerre, doué d'un grand caractère, d'un courage éprouvé et d'un coup d'oeil qui inspirait les résolutions les plus promptes et les plus heureuses, on ne peut lui refuser une place distinguée parmi les capitaines modernes. Cependant il faut avouer qu'il brillait plus dans les combats que dans le conseil' [p. 63].

'Brune ne manquait pas de certain mérite, c'était pourtant pour tout prendre un général de tribune bien plus qu'un militaire redoutable'^e [p. 64].

^a The relevant passages were used by Marx in his articles 'Berthier' and 'Bernadotte'. The facts connected with Bernadotte's diplomatic mission in Vienna are here distorted (see also this volume, pp. 169-70). - ^b Engels condenses some of the quotations from Jomini's book. - ^c Used by Marx in his article 'Bernadotte'. - ^d Here and below Engels' italics. - ^e Used by Marx in his article 'Brune'.

'Mortier, moins brillant, était pourtant plus solide, son calme et son sang-froid, passés en proverbe parmi les soldats, lui avaient valu plus d'un succès et il était du nombre de ceux qui pouvaient conduire un corps sous ma direction' [p. 64].

'Bessières avait fait ses preuves près de moi à l'armée d'Italie où il commandait mes guides à cheval. Il n'avait pour lui qu'un grand esprit d'ordre et une valeur reconnue. Il était méthodique et d'une timidité excessive dans le conseil' [p. 64].

'Lefebvre, duc de Dantzic, était un vrai grenadier. Enfant de la nature, il ne devait rien qu'à son esprit naturel, à une grande bravoure, et à un caractère simple et naïf. Il savait se faire aimer du soldat et le mener droit à une position; c'était tout son mérite' [p. 64].

'Jourdan avait dû à la fortune une grande partie de sa réputation. Bon administrateur, laborieux, homme d'ordre et intègre. Et ayant de l'instruction, il eût été fort bon chef d'état major d'une grande armée sous un chef qui l'eût bien dirigé' [p. 64].

'Macdonald ... avait fort mal manœuvré à la Trebbia' [...] ^a [p. 65].

Berthier is not mentioned in this collection.

Apropos: what about your material on Bem? Of him it must be said that he excelled in command of smaller corps of 5-10,000 men and could inspire younger troops with self-assurance by good

^a 'Bernadotte ... a man of refinement, of brilliant appearance; the plans of operations which he drew up in his capacity as War Minister proved him to be better as a subaltern than as a general-in-chief' (p. 60).

'Marmont, formerly my ADC and artillery officer' (pp. 60-61).

'Davout, who had a good education, possessed a well-organised brain and very correct ideas about war. His rough ways and a disposition at once suspicious and harsh earned him many enemies, and in the grave circumstances in which he found himself the spirit of prejudice broke loose against him with great injustice. Severe but fair towards his subordinates, he knew better than anyone else how to maintain discipline among his men; not one of my marshals demanded so much of his subordinates, and not one of them induced them to serve with such punctiliousness' (p. 61).

'Soult, with his manly build, his broad, hard-working, active and untiring mind, had demonstrated superior talents' (p. 61).

'Lannes; covered with glory and with wounds, this brave man lacked set principles concerning war; but he made up for this with his admirable judgment, and on the battlefield he was second to none of his colleagues' (p. 61).

'Ney. Lannes was perhaps as brilliant as he in many an attack; but the fortitude which Ney displayed in the great disaster of 1812, when he commanded all the corps of the army in succession, ranks him first among the brave men of all times. Like many of his colleagues, he understood nothing about war on a large scale on the map; but on the ground his assurance, his sharp-sightedness and his poise were unequalled' (p. 62).

'Murat, who was indebted to his good looks, his courage and his activity for the honour of being my ADC and my brother-in-law, never lived up to the colossal reputation which I had made for him. For the rest, he had a natural wit, brilliant courage and great energy' (p. 63).

'Masséna received from nature all that goes to make an excellent soldier, endowed with a splendid character, a courage which stood the test and a sharp-sightedness which inspired the most prompt and most felicitous decisions; he cannot be denied a distinguished place among the captains of our time. But it must be admitted that he shone more in battle than at the council table' (p. 63).

use of natural cover and [artillery] support; that he particularly distinguished himself in the small [mountain] warfare into which the whole of the first Transylvanian campaign²⁰⁰ developed, but that he had A CONSIDERABLE DASH OF THE PARTISAN, which made him incapable of commanding bigger armies. In the second Transylvanian campaign, when masses of Russians invaded, he operated again with rash raids after the manner of partisans without any consideration for the relative strength of the opposing forces and thus lost not only Transylvania but the whole of his army too. His march into the Banat (before the second Transylvanian campaign) achieved nothing²⁰¹; he seems to have been unable to cope with the greater masses he was in command of. Praise is due to his great fortitude and his art of arousing the men's confidence in his otherwise unmartial-looking person. He could quickly achieve superficial organisation and discipline, but was satisfied at that. He neglected to build up a body of picked troops, for which the first Transylvanian campaign provided time enough and which was the *greatest necessity*, and hence all the outward organisation—and relative discipline—disappeared at the first setback. His bigger campaign plans all bear a heavy *empreinte*^a of partisan warfare; the basic features are mostly correct but presuppose far different means from those available, and even supposing that they were available they could be put to better use. E.g. his plan to abandon Hungary and break through to Italy via Trieste. Had the means for this been at his disposal and capable of being concentrated, the forces would thus have been provided with which to defeat Haynau,

'Brune was not without a certain merit, but all considered, he was a tribune general rather than a formidable soldier' (p. 64).

'Mortier, less brilliant, was however more reliable; his calm and sangfroid, which became proverbial among his soldiers, won him success more than once, and he was one of those who could lead a corps under my direction' (p. 64).

'Bessières had proved his worth with me in the army of Italy, in which he commanded my mounted guides. All he had to distinguish him was a great spirit of order and a recognised valour. He was methodical and excessively timid at the council table' (p. 64).

'Lefebvre, Duke of Danzig, was a true grenadier. A child of nature, he owed everything to his natural wit, to his great bravery and his straightforward, naive character. He knew how to win the soldiers' love and lead them straight into action; that was where his merit lay' (p. 64).

'Jourdan owed much of his reputation to fortune. A good administrator, hard-working, a man of order and integrity. And had he had training, he would have made a very good chief of staff of a great army under a commander who directed him well' (p. 64).

'Macdonald ... manoeuvred very badly at La Trebbia' (p. 65).

^a stamp

whereupon the Russians, instead of concentrating, would *have been obliged* to split up in order to hold what they had captured, and hence could have been defeated piecemeal. It must not be forgotten, however, that in an insurrectionary war these partisan methods are partially justified precisely because of the uncertainty concerning the means really available; the bigger the scale of the war, however, the less appropriate they become.^a

[...] Can you find out what *Bockbrücken* (*ponts à chevaux*^b) are in English? I should also like to have a description of the Austrian Birago pontoons and a brief excerpt—merely an outline—on the design of pontoons in the various armies (SEE Sir Howard Douglas, *Military Bridges*), also whether the Russians and Prussians still have canvas pontoons. I have no material here, and such as I have in Manchester is very old. I have something on English pontoons [...].

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91

MARX TO ENGELS

IN RYDE

[London,] 15 September [1857]

Dear Engels,

You must excuse my silence and NON-ACKNOWLEDGMENT of your various packages, due firstly to a great deal of work and secondly to numerous time-consuming errands in which 'inner compulsion' played no part whatever. I trust *your health continues to improve* despite the bad weather, and have still not abandoned the NOTION that you will be taking iron in the end. Only I'm afraid all this writing may be harmful to you.

I expect a letter from Dana on Friday. Today I sent him 'Barclay', 'Berthier', 'Blum', 'Bourrienne'²⁰² and your contributions.^c It is important that I should send off the 2nd lot of B's next week. I have certain queries to put to you in my next about the

^a Engels' description of Bem was partly reproduced in the article 'Bem' by Marx and Engels. - ^b trestle-bridges - ^c 'Barbette', 'Bastion' and 'Bayonet'

French generals who are next on my list. As to Bem's Polish DEEDS have found the following^a:

'Distinguished himself at the battle of Iganin, when he engaged 40 Russian heavy calibre cannon with 12 light and 4 heavy guns, and subsequently at the battle of Ostrolenka.²⁰³ Here he galloped his battery up to the line of Russian skirmishers, subjected the detachments which had crossed the Narev to devastating fire, withstood a hail of shot from 80 guns, and forced the enemy to withdraw. After this engagement promoted to colonel, shortly afterwards to command of the entire artillery and, when the Polish forces were concentrating at Warsaw, to general. During 5 and 6 September Bem committed all his guns to battle, siting his field pieces between the separate defensive works of the outer line. On the 6th, he advanced with 40 guns until he was just below Wola, already in Russian hands, but, having neither infantry nor cavalry in support, was compelled to retire. When the Polish army fell back on Praga during the night of the 7th, he occupied the bridge with 40 guns. On the morning of the 8th, however, he was informed of the agreement made with the Russians and of Malachowski's order to proceed with the artillery to Modlin. Cf. his memoir, *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung*, 1831, in which he discusses recent developments and attacks Krukowiecki.'^b

I don't trust the above authority an inch and would therefore ask you to investigate and to do me a short, amended version of the passage concerned, if possible putting it straight into English.

I shall look up the information you ask for at the Museum tomorrow.^c

Your

K. M.

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92

MARX TO ENGELS

IN RYDE

[London,] 17 September^d [1857]

Dear Engels,

'*Bernadotte*' is a difficult subject. The French generals who wrote under Louis Philippe are mostly his unqualified PARTISANS, just as

^a The source quoted below has not been found. - ^b See J. Bem, 'Ueber die Vertheidigung Warschau's am 6 und 7 Sept. 1831', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 470-75, 3-6 December 1831. - ^c A reference to the material for Engels' article 'Bridge, Military' which Marx promised to look up for him in the British Museum Library. - ^d April in the original

the present writers under Boustrapa⁴⁰ are his unqualified opponents. The main points at issue upon which I should appreciate information from you are:

1. His part in the battle of Austerlitz²⁰⁴ as a consequence of the manoeuvres he executed before the same.

2. His conduct at the battle of Jena⁴⁶; and *before* the battle of Eylau.¹⁹¹

3. His conduct at the battle of Wagram.²⁰⁶

As regards his embassy in Vienna, things were not quite as you present them.^a It has been *shown* (by *inter alia* Schlosser, *Zur Beurtheilung Napoleons*) that the Bonapartist journals in Paris denounced Bernadotte as a royalist because he did *not* hang out the French flag. They drove him into taking the step which Bonaparte subsequently disavowed.

All in all, Bonaparte sensed that Bernadotte was the 'statesman' amongst his generals and one intent on pursuing his 'own plans'. He, and more notably his brothers, by their base and petty intrigues against Bernadotte, gave him greater prominence than he could otherwise have laid claim to.

Napoleon was, in general, beastly to anyone he suspected of 'self-seeking'.

Your
K. M.

Blücher. I'd like you to write something about his principal battles, his military qualities generally and, finally, the tactical merits upon which Griesheim lays so much stress.^b

Bessières, Brune, Brown, Bugeaud, ditto.

Bosquet in the Crimean campaign.

Let me have Dana's list of B's as I have lost my copy.

Your
K. M.

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^a See this volume, p. 165. - ^b G. von Griesheim, *Vorlesungen über die Taktik*.