

**KARL
MARX
FREDERICK
ENGELS**

**Collected
Works**



Volume 41
Marx and Engels
1860 - 1864

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Translated by
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Preface

Volume 41 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels contains their letters to each other and to third persons from January 1860 to September 1864. This material provides an irreplaceable insight into their life and work, enabling us to follow the composition of their writings, and to build up a picture of their practical revolutionary activities.

This period saw the continuous rise of the bourgeois democratic and national liberation movements which had been growing in Europe and America ever since the world economic crisis of 1857. The rapid development of capitalism in Britain, France, Germany and some other European countries accelerated the liquidation of the political and social survivals of feudalism. In Germany and Italy, where the bourgeois revolution had not yet been completed, the movement for national unification once more got into its stride. In Russia, even after the abolition of serfdom in February 1861, peasant disturbances continued, and revolutionary tendencies were growing among the progressive intelligentsia. In 1863, a national liberation uprising began in Poland. In the USA, the Civil War was being fought between the capitalist North and the slave-owning South. There was growing opposition in France to the Bonaparte regime. The struggle of the oppressed peoples under the Austrian monarchy was gathering momentum. In Mexico, the bourgeois revolution triumphed.

As a result of the industrial revolution, serious changes were taking place in the proletariat's numerical strength, composition and class consciousness. In 1859-60 the London building workers' strike, which had repercussions far beyond Britain, vividly demonstrated the irreconcilability of proletarian and bourgeois class interests. The working-class movement had set out on a course of independent struggle, which testified to its gradual emancipation from the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie. In the first half of the 1860s, these processes became manifest, in England, with the further growth of trade-unionism and the workers' awakening to political activity; in France, with the growing class awareness of the proletariat; in Germany, with the

establishment of the General Association of German Workers (1863). In addition, there was the active participation by workers of various nationalities in the revolutionary struggle for freedom and democracy in the American Civil War and in Garibaldi's detachments in Italy. The realisation by progressive workers that their interests ran counter to those of the ruling classes, the increased feeling of class solidarity and the strengthening of international contacts led to the foundation, on 28 September 1864, of the International Working Men's Association (the First International).

In 1860-64, Marx and Engels regarded as the main task the further elaboration of economic theory, which was of crucial importance for the development of the working-class revolutionary movement. They were also close followers of current events, which they analysed in their articles for progressive bourgeois newspapers. The rise of the working-class and democratic movement highlighted the need for establishing a proletarian party and promoting international contacts between proletarian revolutionaries.

Marx considered it his principal duty to write an economic work which would arm the proletariat with a knowledge of the laws of capitalist society's development and would provide economic proof of the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution. On 15 September 1860, he wrote to Lassalle that his work had an 'expressly revolutionary function' (p. 193). In June 1859, the first instalment of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* was published (see present edition, Vol. 29). Early in 1860, Marx began preparing the second instalment which, in his own words, was to contain the 'quintessence' of his economic theory (p. 12).

Marx wanted to finish this work as soon as possible. Engels, too, considered the early appearance of Marx's work 'of paramount importance' (p. 14). However, Marx interrupted his work in order to publish a repudiation of the libellous attacks on him made by Karl Vogt. Not until a year and a half later, at the beginning of June 1861, was he able to resume his economic studies (p. 292). True, they were often interrupted subsequently because of recurring material difficulties and ill health (see, e.g., pp. 353 and 435). Moreover, Marx was constantly widening the scope of his study, perfecting its structure and developing its propositions. Although Marx worked hard and with the utmost dedication, the project, which was to be his masterpiece, *Capital*, stretched out over many years.

Marx's and Engels' letters make it possible to follow the different stages in the writing of *Capital* and to see how, in the process of preparing the second instalment of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx exceeded the original planned limits of the manuscript so that by the summer of 1863 he had written a far bigger second rough draft of the future work (the first version of *Capital* was the manuscript of 1857-58; see present edition, Vols. 28 and 29). The manuscript of 1861-63, which Marx called *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, consists of 23 notebooks (present edition, Vols. 30-34). The problems of the future Volume I of *Capital* are here worked out in detail, and some important propositions in Volumes II and III are expounded. The greater part of the manuscript is taken up by a historical-critical section (*Theories of Surplus Value*).

In a letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of 28 December 1862, Marx mentions for the first time his intention of calling his work *Capital* and of using the original title, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, solely as a subtitle. He decided to use the manuscript of 1861-63 for a book which was to deal with 'capital in general' (p. 435). Its new structure had, in the main, taken shape by January 1863. In a letter to Engels of 29 May 1863, he wrote that he intended to 'make a *fair copy* of the political economy for the printers (and give it a final polish)' (p. 474). Evaluating his own work, Marx noted in a letter to Engels dated 15 August 1863 that he had 'had to demolish everything and even build up the *historical* section out of what was in part quite unknown material' (p. 488).

Late in July or in August 1863, the work on *Capital* entered a new stage. Marx revised the manuscript of 1861-63, the result of which was the third rough draft of the theoretical part of *Capital*, consisting of three books (the manuscripts of 1863-65). He worked on the first book (the future Volume I of *Capital*) until the summer of 1864.

The letters reflect the titanic work done by Marx in those years: the study and analysis of a mass of factual material (official reports, press publications), and the critical interpretation of works by the classic bourgeois political economists and by representatives of vulgar political economy. In his letter to Lassalle of 16 June 1862, Marx attacks the eclecticism of the German vulgar economist Roscher, who 'merely goes snuffling round amidst the wealth of set answers ... always with an eye to the prejudices and the interests of his paymasters' (p. 379).

Not only do the letters illustrate the various stages of Marx's

work on *Capital*; they also contain some of the conclusions at which he was arriving in the course of his research. Thus, in his letters to Engels of 2 and 9 August 1862, he outlines 'a lengthy and complex affair' (p. 394)—the formation, as 'the result of competition and the flow of capital from one branch to another, of the average rate of profit, and the proof of the possibility of absolute ground rent 'without infringing the law of value' (p. 403). He also indicates the practical revolutionary significance of this problem for substantiating the need to abolish private landed property from the viewpoint of the proletariat's interests (p. 398). Lenin commented that these letters give 'a remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of the theory of the average rate of profit on capital and of absolute ground rent' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 68).

In a letter to Engels of 28 January 1863, Marx mentions the 'considerable controversy' about the way in which the machine differs from the tool (p. 449), gives a brief historical outline of the growth of machine production and, finally, formulates the concept of the industrial revolution: 'The *industrial revolution*,' he writes, 'began as soon as mechanical means were employed in fields where, from time immemorial, the final result had called for human labour..., where, by the nature of things and from the outset, man has not functioned purely as *power*' (p. 451).

Worthy of special attention is the letter from Marx to Engels of 6 July 1863. In it, Marx formulates the basic theses of his theory of social reproduction, which he also presents in the form of an economic table (pp. 490-91). This analysis of the reproduction and circulation of the aggregate social capital was to be expounded later in detail and at a higher theoretical level in Section III of the second volume of *Capital*.

Marx carried on his economic studies in close and fruitful contact with his friend Engels. He not only obtained from him data on the organisation of production, but also kept him advised of the progress he was making in his research and consulted him on many important matters. 'Can't you come down for a few days?' he wrote to Engels on 20 August 1862. 'In my critique I have demolished so much of the old stuff that there are a number of points I should like to consult you about before I proceed' (p. 411).

The letters in the present volume bear evidence to the encyclopaedic knowledge of Marx and Engels and the vast scope and diversity of their scientific interests. They enthusiastically welcomed Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, published in

1859. Both Marx and Engels valued it highly as a work that affirmed the idea of development in nature, refuted the idealistic interpretation of its laws, and bore out materialist dialectics. In 1863-64, Marx and Engels read and exchanged views on books by Sir Charles Lyell, Thomas Henry Huxley, Perceval Barton Lord, Theodor Schwann, Mathias Jakob Schleiden and others. Marx was also studying mathematics with a view to substantiating differential and integral calculus in terms of dialectics.

A number of letters testify to the interest taken by Marx and Engels in ancient history, the history of religion, and law. Marx read in the original Greek, 'for recreation', Appian on the civil wars in Rome. Appian attracted him because 'he probes the material basis' of those wars (p. 265). Marx liked the way Appian described his favourite hero, Spartacus, as a 'great general... of noble character'. Marx's letters to Lassalle of 11 June and 22 July 1861, and Engels' letter to Marx of 2 December 1861 contain a critique of Lassalle's work, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. In this connection Marx and Engels discussed Roman law, particularly its application in West European countries, and raised the general philosophical problem of the relationship between form and content (p. 318). Criticising Lassalle's idealistic approach to the legal categories, his faith 'in the "idea of law", absolute law' (p. 330), they demonstrated that the law is conditioned by the production and property relations (pp. 294, 317-18).

As before, Engels pursued his special interest in languages (he had resumed his studies of Russian and Serbian), and in the theory and history of the art of war. The letters reflect the wide range of military problems with which he concerned himself at the time. Engels analysed, from the standpoint of historical materialism, the military aspects of current international affairs (with special reference to the US Civil War), and also wrote about his articles for newspapers and *The New American Cyclopaedia*.

The letters of Marx and Engels from 1860 to 1864 give a detailed picture of their work as journalists. They continued contributing, until March 1862, to the progressive American newspaper, the *New-York Daily Tribune*, of which Marx was an official correspondent for eleven years. At the beginning of the 1860s, it spoke for the Republican party and actively opposed slavery in America. Although nominally only Marx was correspondent for the *Tribune*, he continued writing for it in collaboration with Engels. Engels also contributed to *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire* and to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* in Darmstadt.

In May 1861, Marx was invited to write for the liberal Viennese newspaper *Die Presse*, which was popular not only in Austria, but also in Germany. Marx set great store by the opportunity to publish articles in the European periodical press. He accepted the offer of *Die Presse* and began, in October 1861, sending articles to Vienna; however, for political reasons the editors did not always publish them. 'The rotten *Presse* is printing barely half my articles,' he wrote to Engels on 27 December 1861. In December 1862, Marx had to give up contributing to this newspaper altogether.

The letters of Marx and Engels are an important supplement to their journalism, making it possible to reconstruct how the articles were written and how, by exchanging opinions, they arrived at a common view on various matters. The letters often contain more abrasive, emotional judgments on various personalities than the articles. They reflected the spontaneous reaction of Marx or Engels to this or that instance of personal behaviour and were not intended for publication.

Marx and Engels gave much attention at the time to the national liberation movement in Italy. They followed in detail the heroic campaign of Garibaldi's 'Thousand' in Sicily and in South Italy in 1860 and had a high opinion of his revolutionary tactics (p. 205). They identified themselves with the Italian people's revolutionary war, which was making possible the unification of the country by revolutionary means, and attributed an all-European significance to the Italian problem, as relevant to unmasking the true aims of Napoleon III's European policy—the exploitation of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in his own selfish interests. 'Garibaldi is a veritable godsend. Otherwise, Bonaparte would have been restored to popularity and sustained by the Russo-Prussian-Austrian Holy Alliance,' Marx wrote to Engels on 15 September 1860. The leaders of the working class exposed the policy of the Piedmontese government of Cavour, who was trying to unite Italy under the aegis of the Savoy dynasty. This was objectively leading to the subordination of Italy to Bonapartist France. 'Cavour is actually Bonaparte's tool,' Marx wrote to Lassalle on 2 October 1860. Marx also noted the dangerous flagging of the revolutionary spirit in Garibaldi's army (pp. 203-04), the causes of which he disclosed more fully in his articles on Italy (see present edition, Vol. 19).

Marx and Engels also regarded the problem of Germany's unification as closely connected with the revolutionary struggle of the Italian people. This struggle, in their opinion, was reducing

the threat to Germany from Bonapartist France (p. 132). Two factors, they believed, could create conditions for the unification of Germany by revolutionary-democratic means in the first half of the 1860s: first, the constitutional conflict that had developed in 1860 between the Prussian government and the bourgeois liberal majority of the Diet (Landtag) over the problem of reorganising the Prussian army; second, the national liberation struggle of Schleswig and Holstein against Danish domination in 1863-64. His visit to Germany in 1861 convinced Marx of the growing mood of opposition, the revolutionary ferment and the disillusion of the German people with the 'new era' proclaimed by 'handsome William' (p. 312).

Right up to the outbreak of the Austro-Prussian war in 1866, Marx and Engels retained their hopes of the country's unification by revolutionary-democratic means. They severely criticised the indecision and cowardice of the German liberal bourgeoisie and the reactionary policy of Bismarck, who was using the Danish War of 1864 as a first step on the road to the unification of Germany 'from above' by 'iron and blood'.

With unflinching attention, Marx and Engels followed the maturing crisis in the social and political system of the Second Empire in France. They stressed in their letters that Napoleon III was seeking a way out of it in foreign policy adventures and trying to use in his own interests the aspirations of the Italian and German peoples for unification. They denounced the demagogic subterfuges to which he was resorting in order to camouflage his predatory policy. Bonaparte, wrote Marx on 29 March 1864 to Lion Philips, 'set his *troupiers* up in business as "freedom" exporters' (p. 513). In 1861, Britain, France and Spain launched their armed intervention in Mexico, where the bourgeois revolution had triumphed. On the part of Napoleon III, the Mexican expedition, openly colonial in character (pp. 349-50), was an attempt to strengthen his position by victories overseas (p. 453). Marx foresaw the inevitable failure of the expedition and the fall of Napoleon's empire. 'I myself am in no doubt,' he wrote to Engels on 15 August 1863, 'that Mexico will be the hurdle at which he'll break his neck' (p. 489). Marx derided the Bonapartist methods of political demagoguery, which, under conditions of colonial war, had assumed particularly grotesque forms. He also pointed out another danger of the British-French-Spanish intervention. Napoleon III and Palmerston wanted to use Mexico as a base for intervention in the US Civil War on behalf of the slave-owning Confederacy (see, e.g., p. 489).

One of the key issues in the correspondence between Marx and Engels during this period was the US Civil War. In their letters, as in their articles, they analysed its causes, disclosed its true nature and motive forces and pointed out its significance not only for the United States but for Europe. Marx and Engels were only able to throw light in the press on the early stage of the war, as their contributions to the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *Die Presse* ended in 1862. The letters are particularly valuable, since they interpreted the course of the Civil War from beginning to end. They furnish a methodological basis for studying the history of that war and many problems of the United States's subsequent development.

The letters show that, even before the outbreak of the Civil War, Marx and Engels were following the growing antagonism between North and South closely, and were aware that a clash was unavoidable. They regarded it as a result of the irreconcilable struggle between two social systems, capitalist production developing in the North and the plantation system in the South, based on slave labour. The preservation of slavery was incompatible with the capitalist development of the country as a whole. The problem of whether the American farmers would be given access to land in the West, or if slavery would spread all over the States, was at the root of the Civil War. Realising that hostilities were already imminent, Engels wrote to Marx on 7 January 1861: 'The least irruption of irregulars from the North might result in a general conflagration. At all events, one way or another, slavery would appear to be rapidly nearing its end' (p. 242).

Marx and Engels regarded the Civil War in the USA as a specific form of bourgeois-democratic revolution whose victory would open the way to the rapid development of capitalism in North America. They therefore vigorously supported the North, objectively the vehicle of social progress. They assessed the significance of the Civil War in the context of the overall outlook for the revolutionary movement in Europe and America, considering that it could give a powerful stimulus to social struggle and the development of the working-class movement. 'The slavery crisis in the United States,' Marx wrote to Lassalle on 16 January 1861, even before the beginning of the war, 'will bring about a terrible crisis in England...; the Manchester cotton lords are already beginning to tremble' (p. 246). Later, in a letter to Engels of 29 October 1862, Marx pointed out that events in America 'are such as to transform the world' (p. 421).

As the letters show, Marx studied the history of the secession of the Southern states very carefully and revealed its true nature and

aims. Drawing on American sources, he refuted the claims of the British bourgeois press about its 'peaceful nature'. He demonstrated that secession was not an act of self-defence, but a predatory war for the expansion of slavery. For fifty years, the slave-owners had been waging a steady offensive struggle against the North. After the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860, they went over to open military operations and on 12 April 1861 unleashed a war against the Union. Marx described secession as 'usurpatious without exception' by a handful of slave-owners, a policy that was at odds with the interests of the vast majority of the population even in the southern states and met the 'strongest opposition' there (pp. 301, 305-09).

Marx, and especially Engels, followed the course of military operations in the USA. Engels summed up the major battles and analysed the strategy and tactics of the two sides (see Engels' letters to Marx of 12 June and 3 July 1861, 5 and 23 May and 30 July 1862, 11 June 1863, 9 June and 4 September 1864 and many others). While noting the progressive nature of the war on the part of the Northerners, Marx and Engels severely criticised the methods of the Federal government, which was afraid to give the war a nationwide revolutionary character and proclaim the abolition of slavery. They also deplored the professional incompetence, indecision, cowardice and instances of outright treachery on the part of the Federal government ministers and generals in the army of the North who were associated, through material interests, with the slaveowners of the South (pp. 307, 386-87, 414 and others). Marx stressed in 1862 that 'the way in which the North is waging the war is none other than might be expected of a *bourgeois* republic, where humbug has reigned supreme for so long' (p. 416).

The military failures of the North sometimes made Engels doubt the possibility of its winning, and he confided this to Marx (pp. 386-88, 414-15 and others). Marx pointed out in his replies that, in assessing the prospects of the war, consideration must be taken not only of the strength of the armies on both sides, but of the totality of economic, socio-political and military factors (pp. 400, 420-21). He wrote to Engels on 10 September 1862: 'It strikes me that you allow yourself to be influenced by the military aspect of things a little too much' (p. 416).

In the letters of this period, the fundamental proposition of Marxist military science is developed: that the character of a war and the methods of its conduct are mutually determined. '...Unless the North instantly adopts a revolutionary stance, it will get the

terrible thrashing it deserves,' Engels wrote to Marx on 30 July 1862. Marx also emphasised that 'wars of this kind ought to be conducted along revolutionary lines, and the Yankees have so far been trying to conduct it along constitutional ones' (p. 400). He was certain that sooner or later the people would compel the government to change its mode of waging the war.

Subsequent events confirmed Marx's predictions. In the middle of 1862, having realised the need for decisive action, Lincoln put through a series of revolutionary-democratic measures, the main ones being the emancipation of the slaves, and the Homestead Act, which gave great numbers of American farmers access to the land. These measures, described by Marx as of 'historical import' (p. 421), became a turning-point in the history of the Civil War and ensured the ultimate victory of the North. 'The fury with which the Southerners are greeting Lincoln's acts is proof of the importance of these measures,' Marx wrote to Engels on 29 October 1862.

As early as during the Civil War, Marx and Engels noted the socio-economic factors that favoured the preservation of racial discrimination and of national and social oppression in the USA after the Republicans' victory and the abolition of slavery. As fighters for the proletarian revolution, they denounced American bourgeois democracy, describing the USA as the 'archetype of democratic humbug' (p. 562). 'The *people* have been cheated,' wrote Engels, and the bourgeoisie is always ready to compromise with the slave-owners for the sake of 'the almighty dollar' (p. 457). The record of the Civil War bore out Marx's and Engels' conclusion that the bourgeois-democratic republic was only a stage on the road to proletarian revolution. As Engels wrote to Marx on 15 November 1862, '...the bourgeois republic should be utterly discredited..., so that ... it may never again be preached on its own merits, but only as a means towards, and a form of transition to social revolution' (p. 428).

During the period in question, Marx and Engels were keeping a close watch on the revolutionary events in Russia and Poland. As can be seen from their letters, it was at this time that they began to regard a peasant revolution in Russia as a potential stimulus to proletarian revolution in Europe. They envisaged support for the general European revolutionary movement in the campaign for the abolition of serfdom in Russia which, in the late 1850s and early 1860s, had produced a revolutionary situation there. 'In my view,' Marx wrote to Engels on 11 January 1860, 'the most momentous thing happening in the world today is the slave

movement—on the one hand, in America, ... and in Russia, on the other... Thus, a "social" movement has been started both in the West and in the East. Together with the impending downbreak in Central Europe, this promises great things' (p. 4; see also p. 7). Even after the abolition of serfdom, Marx and Engels continued studying the unceasing actions of the peasants, robbed by the 1861 reform.

Marx and Engels also discussed the implications of the peasant movement in Russia for the national liberation struggle in Poland, which they regarded as being of general European significance and which, given the favourable development of events, could become the starting-point of a revolution in Europe. They considered that an uprising in Poland could call forth mass peasant actions in Russia which, in their turn, would benefit the movement in Poland. An alliance of the Russian and Polish revolutionary movements could ensure the success of an uprising in Poland. On learning of the Polish insurrection, which began in January 1863, Marx wrote to Engels: 'What do you think of the Polish business? This much is certain, the era of revolution has now fairly opened in Europe once more... This time, let us hope, the lava will flow from East to West and not in the opposite direction...' (p. 453).

Marx and Engels also hoped that the Polish insurrection and the peasant revolution in Russia would lead to a revolutionary upsurge in Germany, and above all in Prussia, which was undergoing an acute political crisis. Deprived of support from Russian tsarism, the Prussian monarchy would lose its hegemony in Germany. Engels wrote to Marx on 17 February 1863: 'Monsieur Bismarck knows that it will be a matter of life and death for him if there's revolution in Poland and Russia' (p. 456).

In view of the vast importance of this question for Germany's future, Marx and Engels felt something had to be done to stimulate democratic circles in Germany to take resolute action in defence of the insurgent Poles and oppose the internal reaction. With this aim in view, they decided, as early as in February 1863, to write a pamphlet, *Germany and Poland* (pp. 455, 457-59), in which they would trace, on the strength of concrete historical material, Prussia's predatory policy towards Poland and the rise of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The idea was to demonstrate the absolute incompatibility of Germany's interests with those of 'the Hohenzollerns' own state' (p. 462), i.e. of reactionary Prussia, which was the main obstacle to the unification of Germany by democratic means. Just as scathingly they denounced (also on the historical plane) the

hypocritical policy of the British and French governments which, while posing as Poland's protectors, were pursuing their own selfish ends (see, for example, pp. 462-63). Marx and Engels also disclosed the treacherous role of the Polish nobility where their own people's interests were concerned (pp. 470-71).

In analysing the motive forces of the insurrection and its prospects, Marx and Engels agreed that it could only succeed given the broad participation of the peasant masses (p. 483). They therefore attached special importance to the movement in Lithuania, where an active part was being played by the peasants—a movement which extended beyond the bounds of the Kingdom of Poland, to other provinces of the Russian empire (p. 464). However, as early as in the summer of 1863 it was clear that the chances of success were slight. The movement in Poland did not develop into an agrarian revolution, and the struggle of the peasants in Russia was by this time on the wane. The tsarist government not only quelled the Polish insurrection but used it as a pretext for suppressing the revolutionary movement at home, thereby slowing down its further development.

The main cause of the insurrection's failure, Marx and Engels held, was that the leadership had been taken over by the bourgeois-landowner party of 'whites'. These were afraid to rely on the popular masses and placed all their hopes on support from the government of Napoleon III and Palmerston. Marx and Engels noted with alarm the growth of Bonapartist illusions among the Polish democrats. On 15 August 1863 Marx wrote to Engels: 'The Polish affair has gone completely off the rails because of ... Boustrapa [Napoleon III.—*Ed.*], and the influence his intrigues have given the Czartoryski party' (p. 489). The same social and political factors, in Engels' opinion, were behind the military failures of the insurgents. He also pointed out the weak sides of their military organisation—the lack of experienced commanders, the shortage of arms, and the low standard of leadership, which led to considerable losses at the very beginning of the uprising (pp. 461, 464, 466, 476, 483, 492).

Marx and Engels endeavoured to give practical support to the Polish revolutionaries. They considered that sympathy for the Polish liberation movement among the workers and democratic circles in the West European countries should be used to organise aid to the insurgents, and to strengthen the internationalism of the workers of different countries. In their letters, Marx and Engels wrote with outrage of the 'foul conduct' of the Prussian government, which gave every possible assistance to Russian

tsarism in crushing the insurrection. They also denounced the treacherous behaviour of the German liberal bourgeoisie, which had become an accomplice of reaction. Marx wrote to Engels on 7 June 1864 that the 'Prussian liberal press is too cowardly even so much as to remark on the continued surrender of Polish refugees by the Prussians' (p. 538).

The late 1850s and early 1860s marked a new stage in the practical revolutionary activities of Marx and Engels, aimed at setting up a revolutionary proletarian party. They had no plan specifying the organisational forms of such a party as yet; the structure of the Communist League was ill-suited for the needs of a mass workers' movement. During this period, Marx and Engels were endeavouring to rally round them and educate the most advanced representatives of the proletariat, and to protect them from libel and harassment by class enemies.

The letters show how determinedly Marx and Engels sought ways and means of influencing the working-class movement (pp. 9, 13-14, 261, 455 and others). They widened their personal ties with members of the working-class and democratic movements, resuming old contacts and getting to know representatives of the new generation of workers in Britain, Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium and the USA. Their closest associates were their old comrades-in-arms, Johann Georg Eccarius, Wilhelm Wolff, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Victor Schily, Wilhelm Eichhoff, Carl Pfänder and others, many of whom had been members of the Communist League. In 1859, Marx rejoined the German Workers' Educational Society in London (p. 11); his lectures helped to imbue its members with a spirit of proletarian solidarity and taught them the rudiments of a revolutionary scientific world outlook.

With great attention and hope, Marx and Engels followed the renewed political activity of the British proletariat. As a result of the blockade by the Northerners' navy of the Southern ports in the USA, there was a 'cotton famine' in Europe, especially in Britain. Closely connected with this was a crisis in the British cotton industry, involving a sharp fall in production and a deterioration in the workers' condition. British government circles, which were planning armed intervention in the USA on the side of the rebels, tried to win the support of the masses by trading on the plight of the workers. The British proletariat, however, came out resolutely against the bourgeoisie's interventionist plans. Marx and Engels approved of the mass meetings held by workers in London, Manchester and other cities in 1862-63 to express their

solidarity with the opponents of slavery in the USA (pp. 440, 468). On 26 March 1863, Marx attended one such meeting in St. James' Hall, and in his letter of 9 April 1863 to Engels he commented with satisfaction: 'The working men themselves spoke *very well indeed*, without a trace of bourgeois rhetoric or the faintest attempt to conceal their opposition to the capitalists' (p. 468). These meetings did much towards educating English workers in the spirit of internationalism. At the same time, Marx and Engels noted the 'sheeplike attitude' and 'servile Christian nature' of the majority of the workers in England. They considered freeing these workers from the influence of bourgeois ideology a primary task. Through the German Workers' Educational Society in London Marx established contacts with the English trades-union leaders who, in acknowledgment of his services to the working class, invited him as guest of honour to the inaugural meeting of the First International on 28 September 1864.

Marx corresponded actively with his old colleague Joseph Weydemeyer, whom he called 'one of our *best people*' (p. 117). He helped Weydemeyer to organise *Stimme des Volkes*, the newspaper of the Chicago Workers' Society (pp. 115-19). Taking part in the campaign for the defence of Auguste Blanqui, who was in prison, Marx established 'direct links with the decidedly revolutionary party in France' (p. 298). Marx and Engels saw that in France, as in Britain, there was a noticeable growth of political activity by the working class, although its forces were still very weak (p. 477).

Marx and Engels were also keeping a finger on the pulse of the working-class movement in Germany, drawing a great deal of information, in particular, from the letters of Wilhelm Liebknecht, who returned to his homeland in 1862. '...His continued sojourn in Berlin is most important to us,' Marx wrote to Engels on 7 June 1864 (p. 537). Liebknecht's activities in the General Association of German Workers, guided by the advice and directions of Marx and Engels (pp. 537, 539), helped to disseminate the ideas of scientific communism among the German workers. The establishment of direct contacts with them was of great importance. In June 1864, a number of their representatives came from Solingen to visit Marx in London. '...Now as ever,' he informed Engels after a talk with them, 'all were our resolute supporters' (p. 533). At the end of 1862, Marx began corresponding with Ludwig Kugelmann, a participant in the revolution of 1848-49, and with Johann Philipp Becker, an eminent leader of the democratic and working-class movement, whom he considered 'one of the noblest German revolutionaries' (p. 356).

A vital task in the efforts to form a proletarian party was the defence of the proletarian fighters, of the party 'in the broad historical sense' (p. 87) from calumny and attacks by the ideologists and agents of the bourgeoisie. In the late 1850s, the petty-bourgeois democrat Karl Vogt launched a smear campaign against Marx and his associates. In December 1859, he brought out a pamphlet, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, a piece 'full of the most outrageous calumnies' (p. 23). He resorted to falsification of the facts and to barefaced lies to libel the Communist League, portraying its members as conspirators in secret contact with the police and accusing Marx of personal motives. The libel was taken up by the European bourgeois press and also by a number of German papers published in the USA.

Marx's and Engels' letters in 1860 testify to their correct assessment of the 'Vogt's libellous work' (p. 56) as an attempt to discredit the nature and objectives of the battle being fought by the proletarian revolutionaries. Marx's steps against Vogt had 'nothing to do with private interests', he wrote to Ferdinand Freiligrath on 23 February 1860. Vogt, he emphasised, was indiscriminately slinging mud at the party (pp. 56, 57). Under these conditions Marx and Engels considered a fitting rebuff to Vogt to be 'crucial to the *historical vindication* of the party and its subsequent position in Germany' (p. 54). The answer to his pamphlet was Marx's devastating exposé *Herr Vogt* (see present edition, Vol. 17).

The correspondence enables us to trace step by step the different stages in the writing of this book. Marx spent nearly a year on *Herr Vogt*, interrupting his economic research and the work on *Capital*. To obtain the necessary information, he sent out a great many letters to friends, acquaintances and others who could help in unmasking Vogt. He also consulted his personal archives and studied a vast quantity of other material. *Herr Vogt* was written in close collaboration with Engels, who helped Marx at every stage of the work. The preparations for the writing and the book itself played an important part in rallying the proletarian revolutionaries, especially the German ones (in Germany and Switzerland) and in consolidating their prestige with the masses.

When he began work on the pamphlet, Marx brought a lawsuit against the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, a bourgeois daily which in January 1860 had reproduced Vogt's vilest insinuations in two leading articles. Marx's aim in instituting the proceedings was the public unmasking of the libeller (pp. 21-22). However, as is clear from Marx's correspondence with Weber (his lawyer in Berlin)

and others, the suit was dismissed. Marx's complaint was successively rejected at four judicial levels on the pretext that 'no discernible public interest was involved'. In his letters, Marx revealed the class nature of the Prussian legal system and the true reasons why the Berlin courts had rejected his case. 'It is, of course, "an issue of *public importance*" to the Prussian government that we should be traduced to the utmost,' he wrote sarcastically to Engels on 24 April 1860 (p. 129).

Marx's *Herr Vogt*, which came out on 1 December 1860, denounced Vogt as a paid Bonapartist agent (p. 132) and gave a true picture of the views and activities of the proletarian revolutionaries. Engels greeted its appearance enthusiastically. 'The thing's splendid,' he wrote to Marx on 3 December 1860 (p. 222), and in his letter of 19 December, he described it as Marx's 'best polemical work' (p. 231).

The revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels affirmed its influence within the working-class movement in struggle against bourgeois ideology, reformism, opportunism and petty-bourgeois socialism. During the period covered by this volume, Marx and Engels considered that their main objective in this field was criticism of the reformist theory and opportunist tactics of Ferdinand Lassalle, who claimed the role of organiser and theoretician of the working-class movement in Germany. Meanwhile, working out a truly scientific programme and tactics had become a matter of cardinal importance to the German working-class movement in the early 1860s as it had grown numerically and adopted a course of independent political struggle, and needed, in particular, to define its position on the most urgent problem facing the country, that of unification.

Marx and Engels took a positive view of Lassalle's efforts to free the German proletariat from the influence of the bourgeois Party of Progress and the cooperativistic ideas of Schulze-Delitzsch. It was his practical activity that they approved of. '...It's quite a good thing that an audience for anti-bourgeois stuff should be recaptured in this way,' Engels wrote to Marx on 20 May 1863 (p. 473). The foundation in May 1863, with Lassalle's direct participation, of the General Association of German Workers initiated the recovery of the independent working-class movement in Germany. Marx and Engels saw this as a service by Lassalle.

However, Lassalle's programme for the working-class movement encountered harsh criticism from Marx and Engels. In the summer of 1862, as a result of discussions with Lassalle in London, Marx became convinced that 'all we had in common

politically were a few remote objectives' (p. 400). He severely criticised 'An Open Reply to the Central Committee on the Convocation of the General German Workers' Congress in Leipzig', drawn up by Lassalle as a platform for the Association. Lassalle's programme created the illusion that it was possible to achieve socialism without a consistent revolutionary class struggle, by agitation for universal suffrage and by setting up production associations with state assistance. 'He solves the wages v. capital problem "with delightful ease",' wrote Marx ironically (p. 467).

Marx and Engels stressed that Lassalle did not understand the true conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat as set forth and substantiated in their writings. On the subject of Lassalle's 'Workers' Programme', Marx wrote to Engels on 28 January 1863: '...the thing's no more nor less than a badly done vulgarisation of the *Manifesto* and of other things we have advocated so often that they have already become to a certain extent commonplace' (p. 452). In their letters, Marx and Engels repeatedly criticised Lassalle for his distortion of the ideas he had borrowed from them, his 'historical and theoretical blunders' (p. 479), his boastfulness and petty conceit (see pp. 389, 390, 440-41, 488-89, 534).

Marx and Engels were particularly worried by Lassalle's tactics. With the constitutional conflict deteriorating, Lassalle's attacks exclusively on the bourgeois-liberal Party of Progress were playing into the hands of reaction. Condemning this flirting with the government (Marx and Engels did not yet know of Lassalle's direct negotiations with Bismarck), Engels wrote to Marx on 11 June 1863: 'The chap's now operating purely in the service of Bismarck' (p. 478). As early as in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), Marx and Engels wrote that in fighting feudal reaction the German workers should seek an alliance with the bourgeoisie, 'whenever it acts in a revolutionary way'. They considered it necessary, however, to encourage among the workers 'the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat' (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 519). Lassalle 'could have found out perfectly well from the *Manifesto* what attitude one ought to adopt towards the bourgeoisie at times such as these', wrote Engels (p. 494).

The differences with Lassalle were over matters of principle, which is why Marx and Engels avoided joint political actions with him lest he compromise them (pp. 261, 399-400, 469-70). At the same time, they considered that any public criticism of Lassalle would be injudicious, since his agitation was contributing to the political unification of the German working class. They foresaw,

however, that an open attack on his reformist and sectarian views was unavoidable. This is shown by a letter from Marx to Engels of 12 June 1863, in which he wrote that he was only waiting for an opportune moment to reply publicly to Lassalle in order '1) to show the public how and where he had cribbed from us; 2) how and where we differ from his stuff' (p. 480). Meanwhile, however, having realised the futility of trying to influence him, they virtually broke with Lassalle in 1863-64 by gradually ceasing to correspond with him. At this time, Marx and Engels considered that their task was the theoretical elaboration and dissemination of a scientifically based strategy and tactics for the German working-class movement. They maintained a regular correspondence with their supporters in Germany, who were carrying on active revolutionary propaganda among the workers.

The letters that Marx and Engels wrote in September 1864 after receiving the news of Lassalle's death give an objective assessment of his activity and his role in the German working-class movement. Marx stressed that Lassalle 'was one of the *vieille souche* [old stock] and the foe of our foes' (p. 560). In a letter to Marx of 4 September Engels noted that as a political leader, Lassalle was undoubtedly 'one of the most significant men in Germany', and by way of a summing-up he continued: 'For us he was a very uncertain friend now and would, in future, most certainly have been our enemy' (p. 558).

The letters in this volume show how, thanks to his theoretical and journalistic activities and expanding contacts with the working-class movement, Marx's name had become known to a new generation by the time of the establishment of the International Working Men's Association. The services he had rendered predetermined his role as leader of the First International, and its development on a Marxist ideological platform.

The correspondence during the period covered by the present volume is an important source of biographical information about Marx and Engels. It reveals their nobility of character and gives an insight into their domestic life and into their circle of friends. Marx's letters testify to his abiding love and respect for his wife. Arriving in Trier in December 1863, he writes to her, remembering events of thirty years ago: 'I have made a daily pilgrimage to the old Westphalen home (in the Neustrasse), which interested me more than any Roman antiquities because it reminded me of the happiest days of my youth and had harboured my greatest treasure' (p. 499).

The years 1860-64 were a difficult period for both men. Late in

1860 Jenny Marx fell seriously ill, and illness struck Marx himself down early in January 1861. These troubles were followed by serious financial difficulties. Having ceased to contribute to the *New-York Tribune* and *Die Presse*, he had lost a small but steady source of income. To prevent himself and his family from 'actually being relegated to the streets', as Marx wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann on 28 December 1862 (pp. 435-36), he decided to work in a railway office, but was rejected because of his bad handwriting. He was rescued by Engels' consideration, unselfishness, and constant readiness to help a friend in need. 'I can't tell you how grateful I am,' Marx wrote to Engels on 28 January 1863, 'although *I myself ...* did not require any *fresh* proof of your friendship to convince me of its self-sacrificing nature' (p. 448).

Meanwhile, Engels continued working in the offices of the Ermen & Engels firm 'as clerk with a percentage of the profits, in return for a guarantee that I shall become a partner in a few years' time' (p. 134). He regularly sent Marx part of his income, also giving material aid to other comrades. In March 1860, Engels received the news of his father's death. A little while later, his mother, whom he loved very much, fell dangerously ill. 'I might acquire a hundred other businesses, but never a second mother,' he wrote to her on 27 February 1861. A heavy loss to Engels was the sudden death in January 1863 of Mary Burns, his faithful companion in life. 'I simply can't convey what I feel,' he wrote to Marx on 7 January 1863 (p. 441). 'I felt as though with her I was burying the last vestige of my youth' (pp. 446-47).

Marx and Engels were always ready to come to the assistance of friends and fellow fighters who were having a hard time in emigration. In the summer of 1860, Marx, in spite of his own personal circumstances, rented a room for Eccarius, who was seriously ill, in an attempt to provide the conditions for his early recovery. Subsequently, both Marx and Engels stepped in to help their comrade and his family.

In May 1864, death claimed an old friend and close associate of Marx and Engels—Wilhelm Wolff, who had been living in Manchester since 1853. After Wolff's death, Marx wrote to his wife: 'In him we have lost one of our few friends and fellow fighters. He was a man in the best sense of the word' (p. 523).

Marx and Engels bore their trials and tribulations with courage and fortitude. They were helped in this by their great friendship and their implicit faith in the historical justice of the cause of the working class. It was from this that they drew the strength to continue the struggle.

* * *

Volume 41 contains 340 letters written by Marx and Engels. Most of them were written in German, 17 were in English, 2 in French, and a number were written in two languages (9 in German and English, and one in German and Danish). The majority of these letters are being published in English for the first time. Only 114 have already appeared in English, of which 87 were abridged. All these publications are mentioned in the notes. The letters of Jenny and Laura Marx in the Appendices are being published in English for the first time.

Obvious slips of the pen have been corrected without comment. Proper names, geographical names and words abbreviated by the authors have been expanded, also without comment. Passages struck out by the authors are reproduced in footnotes only when they contain an important idea or shade of meaning.

Defects in the manuscript are explained in the footnotes, and passages in which the text has been lost or is indecipherable are indicated by three dots in square brackets. Wherever a presumable reconstruction has been possible, the restored passages have been enclosed in square brackets.

Foreign words and expressions have been retained in the language of the original, the translation being given in footnotes where necessary. Small caps have been used to indicate English words and expressions occurring in German-language letters. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the notes written by Galina Kostryukova (letters from January 1860 to mid-June 1861) and Galina Voitenkova (letters from mid-June 1861 to mid-September 1864). They also jointly wrote the Preface. Valentina Smirnova was the editor. Yelena Makarova in conjunction with Andrei Pozdnyakov prepared the indexes of names, quoted and mentioned literature, and periodicals (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by Peter and Betty Ross and edited by E. J. Hobsbawm and Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Glenys Ann Kozlov, Yelena Kalinina, Margarita Lopukhina, Mzia Pitkhelauri, Victor Schnittke and Andrei Skvarsky (Progress Publishers) and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Nadezhda Rudenko and Anna Vladimirova.

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

January 1860-September 1864

1860

1

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER¹

[London, after 11 January, 1860]

11 January 1860

Dear Marx,

Today I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of the supplement to No. 349 of last year's *Kölnische Zeitung*.

The Wilhelm Joseph Reiff mentioned therein as having a warrant out against him for "immoral conduct" is, so I am told, none other than the Reiff who appeared at the trial of the Communists in Cologne and who is presently over here and living off the party.

Now I have written to Reiff today (care of Liebknecht, not knowing how else to get in touch with him), informing him that I can no longer take any interest in him—that I forbid him to continue to use me as a reference—and that I will not tolerate his visits!

Thus, for my part, I have acted as I thought fit. What attitude the party will wish to adopt towards this dirty business is its own affair. You are now in possession of the facts!

Your

F. Freiligrath

I had never received the said 'Reiff' at my house because the fellow was suspect, and more than suspect, on account of his conduct at the communist trial,² whereas the 'fat rhymester'^a had taken him under *his* protection and saddled Liebknecht with him. Since then, the fellow has been living off Liebknecht, the Laplander,^b Lessner, Schröder, etc., and other poor devils, besides having the hat passed round at the Workers' Society,³ etc.

The above letter from Freiligrath is all the news of the Teuton that I have had since the great retreat.⁴ And what an absurd letter it is. How grotesque the grandeur behind which there lurks the

^a Freiligrath - ^b Anders

mentality of a cringing cur. F. seems to think that prose can be put to rights with the help of exclamation marks. 'The party' is to 'adopt an attitude'. Towards what? Towards Wilhelm Joseph Reiff's 'immoral conduct'—or 'this dirty business', as Beta's friend describes it. What an imposition. By the way, I might mention *en passant* that the 'Association of German Men',⁵ founded by an equivocal composer called Zinn, has nominated Prince Albert, Gottfried Kinkel, K. Blind and F. Freiligrath as its 'honorary freemen'. The Cheruscan⁶ has, of course, accepted the charter.

Next Monday I have to pay a £1 instalment at the Marylebone COUNTY-COURT.⁷ At the same time, I have received from the Westminster COUNTY-COURT (ON BEHALF OF A BAKER) the enclosed scrap of paper, which you must return to me. What I foresaw is coming to pass. No sooner has one philistine found his way to the COUNTY-COURT than he is followed by another. If things go on like this, I really don't know how I can keep my head above water. What is so disastrous about these constant interruptions is that I simply cannot get on with my work.⁸

The review in the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung* is most WELCOME.⁹ Your recent pamphlet² has assured you a position as a military critic in Germany. As soon as you get the opportunity, you must publish something under your own name, adding beneath it 'Author of *Po and Rhine*'. Our rascally enemies shall see BY AND BY that we're able simply to impress the public without first seeking permission from it or its Betas.

In my view, the most momentous thing happening in the world today is the slave movement—on the one hand, in America, started by the death of Brown,¹⁰ and in Russia, on the other. You will have read that the aristocracy in Russia literally threw themselves into constitutional agitation and that two or three members of leading families have already found their way to Siberia.¹¹ At the same time, Alexander has displeased the peasants, for the recent manifesto declares outright that, with emancipation, 'THE COMMUNISTIC PRINCIPLE' must be abandoned.^b Thus, a 'social' movement has been started both in the West and in the East. Together with the impending DOWNBREAK in Central Europe, this promises great things.

I have just seen in the *Tribune* that there's been another slave revolt in Missouri, which was put down, needless to say.¹² But the

^a *Po and Rhine* - ^b This refers to the item 'Progress and Final Issue of the Peasantry Question. A Memorial submitted to the consideration of the Chief Peasantry Question Committee by the President, Adjutant-General Rostoffzeff' in *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1417, 11 January 1860.

signal has now been given. Should the affair grow serious BY and BY, what will become of Manchester?

Leonard Horner has resigned his post. His last brief report is replete with bitter irony.^a Could you possibly find out whether the Manchester MILL-OWNERS had a hand in his resignation?

It appears from the 'FACTORY INSPECTORS' REPORTS' (of '1855'-'1859 first six months') that, since 1850, industry in England has made miraculous progress. The state of health of the workers (ADULTS) has improved since your *Condition of the Working-Class* (which I have reread at the Museum^b), whereas that of the children (mortality) has deteriorated.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

2

MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN PARIS

London, 12 January 1860

My dear Sir,

Thanks for the point you have in my affair.¹³ This letter has been delayed, because I had entered into negotiations, on behalf of your publication, with a publisher who, having put me off from day to day, withdrew at last.¹⁴

Bentley is not your man. Try once with John Murray. In writing to those fellows, never forget to sign as ancient Minister. This is something with those flunkeys.

Yours truly
A. W.^c

^a Report of Leonard Horner, Esq., Inspector of Factories, for the Half Year ended the 31st October 1859, dated 14 November 1859, in *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year Ending 31st October 1859*, London, 1860. ^b the British Museum Library. ^c A. Williams, an alias used by Marx in some of his letters.

Would you be so kind to inform me, in your next letter, of the real state of things in Hungary?

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

Reproduced from the original

3

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 January 1860

Dear Engels,

Have you already heard about Vogt's pamphlet,^a in which there are the most horrible scurrilities concerning me? And, what is more, the thing is being jubilantly acclaimed by the Teutonic^b bourgeoisie. The first edition has already been sold out. Yesterday, a LEADER in the *National-Zeitung* contained a long defamatory passage from it.^c (Any chance of your laying hands on this particular number of the *Nat.-Zeit.*? I haven't been able to get hold of it here.) Now, what ought I to do? Mr Lassalle would seem to have taken such umbrage at my last letter that there hasn't been a word from him since.^d

I should be grateful if you could have an article READY for Friday or Saturday^d (there is a ship sailing via Cork).

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^b Marx uses the archaic form 'teutschen' instead of the standard 'deutschen' (German, Germanic). - ^c 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung', *National-Zeitung*, No. 37, 22 January 1860. - ^d 27 and 28 January

4

ENGELS TO MARX¹⁶

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 January 1860

Dear Moor,

Tomorrow being *Tribune* day,¹⁷ I'm sorry that there should again be no material to hand; the few notes on Morocco in *The Times*^a don't even run to the engagement at Cabo-Negro,¹⁸ nor has anything else happened. However, you'll have enough material with the parliamentary stuff.^b I am still waiting to hear about the reform of the Prussian army as well.¹⁹

Your opinion of the importance of the slave movement in America and Russia^c is already being confirmed. The Harpers-Ferry affair,¹⁰ with its sequel in Missouri,¹² is bearing fruit. Everywhere the free NIGGERS^d in the South are being hounded out of the states, and I have just seen from the first New York cotton report (W. P. Wright & Co of 10 January 1860)^e that the planters HURRIED their COTTON ON TO THE PORTS IN ORDER TO GUARD AGAINST ANY PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES ARISING OUT OF THE HARPERS-FERRY AFFAIR. In Russia, too, the confusion is growing admirably; the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung's* St. Petersburg correspondent is very good on this subject, though he pays more attention to the constitutional movement among the aristocracy,^f which, however, also provides a certain impetus for the peasants, of course.

In India we have the makings of a tremendous crisis. As far as the views of the local philistines on the subject are concerned, CONFER the enclosed MARKET REPORTS. Now yarn prices are mostly so high, almost higher than the peak in 1857, and yet cotton is 2³/₄ to 2¹/₂d *cheaper*. Twenty-six new mills are under construction in Buruley alone, and a proportionate number in other places.

^a 'Spain and Morocco', *The Times*, Nos. 23523, 23524 and 23526, 23, 24 and 26 January 1860. - ^b See Marx's article 'English Politics' in Vol. 17 of the present edition. - ^c See this volume, p. 4. - ^d Engels, who uses the English word, may have been unaware of its racist connotations. - ^e 'Commercial Matters', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5839, 11 January 1860. - ^f 'Zur russischen Leibeigenschaftsfrage und die Finanz-Verhältnisse des Staats', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 3 and 5 (supplement), 3 and 5 January 1860; 'Die Baiern-Emancipation in Russland', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 16 (supplement), 16 January 1860; 'Die russische Leibeigenschaft und der Adel', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 18 (supplement), 18 January 1860.

Everywhere, by degrees, the workers are getting a 10% rise in wages and will shortly receive even more. In my view, the practice of operating on fictitious capital is again just as RIFE in Indian business as it was in 1846/47, and most people are buying only because they *have* to, and cannot stop. But, even if that were not so, the increase in production alone will bring about a colossal COLLAPSE this autumn or in the spring of 1861 at the latest.

Already these idiotic English believe that they will shortly inundate France.²⁰ A jackass of a calico printer—ONE OF THE SHARPEST—says that, with a 30% protective tariff in France, the business he could do there would be 15% more profitable than on any other market. The fool imagines that monopoly prices will continue to obtain in France, even if the monopoly is abolished. It has occurred to no one that the whole thing is a piece of sharp practice, the aim being to get at John Bull where he is notoriously vulnerable, and ultimately to fleece him good and proper.

Who, actually, is the Mr Fischel who wrote the Duke of Coburg's^a pamphlet for him²¹ and now writes for *The Free Press*? Even from the excerpts from his pamphlet I could see that the Coburg chap has Urquhartite LEANINGS.

Dronke is now in Liverpool and holds a very good agency for a Franco-Spanish copper mining company—£500 guaranteed and the possibility of earning up to £1,000, or so I'm told. Garnier-Pagès got it for him. He comes here quite often, but always steers clear of me, sending me his regards *post festum*.

Lupus has had a bad bout of bronchitis but is better now though still very anxious about himself and not yet fully recovered. Once again he has so arranged matters as to be in a chronic state of strife with his LANGLADY.

I have a great deal to do at the office just now, hence the irregularity of my correspondence. Nor, for the time being, do I see that anything can be done about this excessive drudgery unless, as I hope, there is a crisis.

Many regards to your wife and the YOUNG LADIES.^b

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
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^a Ernst H. - ^b Marx's daughters—Jenny, Laura and Eleanor

5

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 January [1860]

Dear Engels,

I have ordered Vogt's pamphlet^a and shall also have one sent to you. It is the record (or first complete version) of his ineffectual lawsuit in Augsburg, together with an introduction. The latter is directed especially against myself and would seem to be a second and amended edition of Müller-Telling.²² As soon as the stuff arrives, we must see what we can do. Faucher told me WITH AN INTENSE PLEASURE that Vogt treats me pretty well *en canaille*^b and with EXQUISITE contempt. The scoundrel tries to make the German philistine believe I am living here like a Dr Kuhlmann at the workers' expense, etc. (Needless to say, I have kept the whole squalid business from my wife.)

A new military weekly has come out in Berlin.^c It seems to me that, *on pretext* of asking him about this paper's WHEREABOUTS, you should IMMEDIATELY write to Lassalle. It is essential for us to have some sort of connection in Berlin just now. L.'s reply to you will show whether we can carry on with him or not. In the latter case—which, all things considered, would not be pleasant—I should have to have recourse to Dr Fischel (Prussian assessor), about whom more anon. There is no reason why, in your letter to L., you should not let fall the remark that I consider the obstacles (or at least his warnings IN THAT REGARD) he placed in the way of my publishing a statement on Vogt in the *Volks-Zeitung* (the same, that is, as appeared in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*^d), to be a kind of CONSPIRACY with Vogt on his and Duncker's part. Then, of course, you might drop a word or two to the effect that, in view of the ambiguous attitude of sundry old party friends (a few incidental HITS UPON Freiligrath^e), the difficulty of my position and the infamies I have to contend with, my TEMPER is, at times, a trifle frayed; further, that I have mentioned to you a letter I wrote to L. which the latter has apparently taken amiss.^f You, for your part, will naturally suggest that L. knows me too well not to overlook an

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^b as less than nothing - ^c *Militärische Blätter* - ^d K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - ^e Marx to Lassalle, 22 November 1859 (see present edition, Vol. 40).

occasional brusque remark, etc. Then he will at least cease to beat about the bush. I am altogether of the opinion that a certain amount of diplomacy is now called for—if only to find out just where we stand. After all, compared with the others, L. is still a HORSE-POWER.

The fact is the various gangs—first the imperial rascals,²³ secondly the German National Association²⁴ and, lastly, the liberals, are presently doing everything in their power to destroy us morally in the eyes of the German philistines. There can hardly be any doubt that, despite all the clamour for peace, THERE WILL BE A NEW WAR, probably within the year, very probably before the advent of summer. In any case, the international situation is so complex that it is of the utmost importance to vulgar democracy and liberalism to stop us obtaining a hearing from, or access to, German philistia (i.e. the public). There comes a point when one can no longer turn a blind eye—i.e. show indifference—in personal and party matters. Vogt's CASE does not lend itself to exactly the same treatment as that of a Tellering, a Heinzen or *tutti quanti*.^a In Germany this same ventriloquist is looked on as a scientific celebrity; he *was* imperial regent and *is* financed by Bonaparte. You might also—just, as it were, *en passant*—ask the noble Lassalle what action *he* thinks appropriate in the matter of V. In his letters to me, L. has *committed* himself too deeply to perform a complete volte face. At all events, an attempt must be made to force the fellow to adopt a definite position—*aut, aut*.^{b 25}

Fischel is a Prussian Urquhartite. In the Berlin *Portfolio*, of which he is the publisher, he has alluded to my anti-Pam^c pamphlets and printed some extracts from them.²⁶ (On Urquhart's express instructions.) He had been invited by the Urquhartites to come to England where he was paraded before the FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES²⁷ as evidence of the triumphant 'belief' (in Urquhart) on the Continent. I met him while he was over here. He offered me his good services, should I require them in the North German press.

Hip-hip-hurray and away to Italy^d (by that louse Bamberger in Paris) is said to contain attacks on your articles in the *Volk*.²⁸

*What did Mr Orges say in his statement?*²⁹ I missed it.

If possible, write something for Tuesday^e (it doesn't have to be long) on the military importance of Savoy (and Nice) to France.^f Cf. *Times* OF TODAY, Normanby in the HOUSE OF LORDS.

^a all the rest - ^b either or - ^c anti-Palmerston - ^d [L. Bamberger,] *Fuchhe nach Italien*, Bern and Geneva, 1859. - ^e 31 January - ^f Engels wrote the article 'Savoy and Nice'.

Apropos! 'In recognition of my services to the development of communistic principles', I have received an invitation to the anniversary celebrations on 6 February of the 'Workers' Educational Society' down here. (For these chaps still regard themselves as heirs to the old Windmill Association.)³⁰ Similar invitations, if for different reasons, have gone out to Schapper, Pfänder and Eccarius. *Circumstances being what they are*, I have, of course, accepted the invitation, thus wiping out all traces of the old quarrel with the working men's bunch. Mr *F. Freiligrath* has not been invited. Indeed, I must now take care not to run into Potbelly. For in my present state of fury over the filthy Vogt affair—and *F. F.'s magna pars*^a therein⁴—fearful eruptions might well ensue. Regards to Lupus.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

6

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

London, 30 January 1860

Dear Lassalle,

I was very glad to get your letter. For I had believed—and had written to tell Engels so^b—that your reason for not writing was pique at my last letter.^{1b}

I can only spare a minute or two since I have a leader to write today for the *New-York Tribune*. Quite briefly then:

I. I shall send you the pamphlet on the '*Communist Trial*' straight away. So far as I am aware, you have already had one from me.

^a large part · ^b See this volume, p. 6. · ^c K. Marx. *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*

2. Vogt has been careful not to let his *Tellerian* concoction—i.e. the first version³¹—reach us here. Neither Freiligrath (whom I have just seen) nor Kinkel, nor the *Hermann*, nor any of the booksellers over here have had it. The imperial rascal²³ wishes, OF COURSE, to steal a march on me.

What I know, I have learned from the *National-Zeitung*.^a A pack of *Stieberian* lies. I have written and told my lawyer in Berlin^b to sue the *N.-Z.* for *libel*. What do you think of this? Let me know by return.

From your letter I see that Vogt himself admits having been bought indirectly by Bonaparte,³² for I know about the manoeuvres of your revolutionary Hungarians. I denounced them in London in an *English* paper^c and had five copies sent to Mr Kossuth. He kept his trap shut. In New York, and elsewhere, *Hungarian refugees* have adopted resolutions *censuring* him.

Your reasoning *ad vocem* Vogt eludes me. I shall write a pamphlet as soon as I get hold of his rubbish. But I shall begin by saying in the foreword that I *don't give a damn* about the opinion of your German public.

Liebnecht is an upright man. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* is—to my mind—just as good as the *N.-Z.* and the *Volks-Zeitung*.³³

To judge by the excerpts I have seen in the *N.-Zeitung*, Vogt is some kind of Chenu or de la Hodde.³⁴

3. About my work on political economy—the second instalment, when it appears, will contain only the conclusion of section I, Book I, and there are six books.³⁵ Hence you cannot wait until it is finished.³⁶ However, you would, in your own interests, be well-advised to await the next instalment which contains the *quintessence*. Appalling circumstances are to blame for the fact that it isn't yet in Berlin.

Salut.

K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung', *National-Zeitung*, No. 37, 22 January 1860. . ^b Eduard Fischel - ^c K. Marx, 'Particulars of Kossuth's transaction with Louis Napoleon', *The Free Press*, No. 10, 28 September 1859. It was an abridged version of Marx's article 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon', published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 5748, 24 September 1859.

7

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 January 1860

Dear Moor,

I intend to write to Ephraim Artlil^a tomorrow; a diplomatic missive such as this ought not to be sent off without due reflection. For a day or two now, I have been mulling over *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*, a kind of sequel to *Po and Rhine*. I have made up my mind to offer the thing to Duncker; it won't be more than 2 sheets long and might provide a good pretext for getting in touch with Ephraim. At all events, I shall write the thing in the course of next week, after which I shall immediately send the manuscript to Berlin. Apart from one or two matters concerning the French revolutionary campaigns in Nice and Savoy, no preparatory work is called for, so it will be soon done.

Obviously Mr Vogt must be given a thorough lambasting; but it's difficult to say anything until we know what the fellow has actually published.^b At all events, you might just as well use Fischel as anyone else, provided he really does have connections.^c Moreover, little Jew Bram^d will now see that the significance of your statement^e and of the whole set-to between Vogt and the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*³⁷ is of quite a different order to what the Berlin philistine at first imagined. As things stand, we must maintain all these connections, while the *conspiration du silence* and other intrigues, to which we must meanwhile turn a blind eye, will subsequently release us from all obligations as soon as some crisis necessitates a breach on genuinely political grounds.

As to the chances of a fresh set-to, I am entirely of your opinion.^f But I believe that if, despite Vogt and Co., we are to keep our end up so far as the public is concerned, we shall have to do it through our scientific work. We haven't the money to organise the émigré press and several times we have seen that an émigré paper or German pamphlets printed in London never

^a Ferdinand Lassalle. - ^b This refers to Carl Vogt's pamphlet, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^c See this volume, p. 10. - ^d Lassalle. - ^e K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - ^f See this volume, p. 9.

command a public (in Germany) unless the thing can be kept going for a year at least. In Germany itself direct political and polemical action, as our party understands it, is a sheer impossibility. So, what remains? Either we hold our tongues or we make EFFORTS that are known only to the emigration and the American Germans but not to anyone in Germany, or else we go on as we have begun, you in your first instalment^a and I in *Po and Rhine*. That, I think, is the main thing just now and, if we act accordingly, no matter how much Vogt may howl, we shall soon be back on a FOOTING such as will enable us (WHENEVER REQUIRED) to publish the necessary personal statements in one German paper or another. The early appearance of your 2nd instalment^b is obviously of paramount importance in this connection and I hope that you won't let the Vogt affair stop you from getting on with it. Do try for once to be a little less conscientious with regard to your own stuff; it is, in any case, far too good for the wretched public. The *main* thing is that it should be written and published; the shortcomings that catch your eye certainly won't be apparent to the jackasses; and, when times become turbulent, what will it avail you to have broken off the whole thing before you have even finished the section on capital in general?^c I am very well aware of all the other interruptions that crop up, but I also know that the delay is due mainly to your own scruples. Come to that, it's surely better that the thing should appear, rather than that doubts like these should prevent its appearing at all.

Mr Orges has issued a *pur* personal statement^b which reveals who this queer fish is. Originally a Prussian lieutenant of artillery at the military college in Berlin (1845-48), at the same time, he pursued his studies and obtained his doctorate; he left the service in March 1848 (his application to resign is dated 19 March '48) and went to Schleswig-Holstein where he joined the artillery; in 1850, he joined the crew of a merchant vessel, in which he 'served' and sailed round the world; in 1851, he attended the Exhibition in London,³⁹ which he reported for the A. A. Z.; he was then consorting with Schimmelpfennig, Willich, Techow, etc., and, subsequently, became the A. A. Z.'s military editor. At all events, there's more to the man than anyone else on the paper, which he has set on its feet again. The leaders I attributed to Heilbronner are all by him. Nevertheless, I'll still be able to deal with him good and proper.

^a K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. · ^b See this volume, p. 10.

The invitation from the louts^a has come at a fairly opportune moment. But I trust that you won't, of course, allow yourself to be drawn into anything else, for this is ground we know only too well; fortunately you live some distance away.

Many regards,

Your
F. E.

The Prussians have approached my old man^b with the intention of confiscating my assets to the tune of 1,005 talers, 20 [silver groschen] 6 pfennigs⁴⁰ because of my alleged desertion from the Landwehr.⁴¹ My old man told them that he had no access to my assets, whereupon they calmed down. I am to be sentenced on 18 February.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original.

Published in English for the first time

8

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 January 1860

Dear Engels,

Your article^c received. Very good.

Herewith a letter from Lassalle which arrived yesterday and to which I replied immediately, if briefly.^d Only a pamphlet written by us *jointly* will get us out of this business. I have also written secretly to Fischel in Berlin, asking whether it is feasible to bring a libel suit against the *National-Zeitung*.⁴² Vogt's piece^e (*not* to be had at any booksellers in London; he has sent it neither to Freiligrath nor to Kinkel, nor to any of his other acquaintances over here. Obviously he wished to steal a march on us. I have thus had to order it) is, so far as we are concerned, clearly a de la Hodde-Chenusian concoction.³⁴ I have read the *second* article in

^a See this volume, p. 9. - ^b Friedrich Engels, Sr., Frederick Engels' father - ^c 'Savoy and Nice' - ^d See this volume, pp. 11-12. - ^e *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

the *Nat.-Z.*^a from which I see *inter alia* that Lupus (described as Casemate Wolff, Parliamentary Wolff) is alleged to have sent a circular to a reactionary Hanoverian paper in 1850.⁴³ It gives a réchauffé of all the foul refugee gossip of 1850-52. The jubilation of the bourgeois press is, of course, unbounded, and the tone of Lassalle's letter—kindly show it to Lupus and then *file* it—clearly betrays the impression it has made on the public.

Yesterday I saw Freiligrath for a moment. I approached him very ceremoniously (if he has the slightest sense of honour he must make an anti-Vogt statement), and all our entreview^b amounted to was the following: 'I: I've come to ask you to lend me the pamphlet on the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* lawsuit which I've been seeking in vain at all the booksellers and must certainly have been sent you by your friend Vogt. F. (very melodramatically): Vogt is not my friend. I: Lassalle has written to me that I must reply at once. You haven't got the pamphlet, then? F. No. I: Good evening.' (He held out his honest right hand and shook mine Westphalian-fashion.) *Voilà tout.*^c

I was assured by Juch (owner and present editor of the *Hermann*, whose acquaintance I made in connection with the Stieber affair and Eichhoff's trial⁴⁴ in Berlin), that Kinkel hadn't yet had a copy from Vogt either. This same Juch had, however, been sent numerous Vogtian tirades against us which he did not print. This chap—who is, incidentally, quite honest in his own way—has got to be kept mellow for the time being. Since only the *Hermann* is now appearing in London, it would have been dreadful to have to confront Vogt's gang unarmed, here on our own ground.

Apropos! As a result of my first meeting with Juch,^d on my advice, Eichhoff cited friend *Hirsch*, who is doing time in Hamburg for forgery, as a witness for the defence. Consequently, the trial, due to begin on 26 January (I read about this in the *Publicist*), was again adjourned after a heated argument. Stieber has now done with Hirsch.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Imandt has just told me that Heise is dead.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, No. 41, 25 January 1860. - ^b Thus in the original. - ^c That's all. - ^d in December 1859, after the 13th

9

MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN PARIS

London, 31 January 1860
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

My dear Sir,

I conclude from your silence, that you have taken offence at my last letter,⁴² but I dare say, without any sufficient reason. You will not deny that by your own letter, the last but one, *you* did release me from the promise I had made to you.⁴³ On the other hand, you may any day write to Berlin, and ascertain from Mr Duncker, the publisher, that he has called upon me not any longer to delay the sending of the manuscript due to him.⁴⁴ Lastly, my proposal of Mr Kavannagh was, of course, meant to serve *you*, not *me*, and I proposed it only as a *pis-aller*.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, I took care to have a notice of your pamphlet (or rather of its impending appearance) inserted in the *Weser-Zeitung*, by a friend of mine. So soon as your pamphlet has come to my hands, I shall feel happy to give a large article on the same in the *New-York Tribune*. Kossuth has tried, by another letter to McAdam, at Glasgow, to attract public attention in England. This time his effort has proved a complete failure.

There is one affair, in which I require information on your part, and think myself justified to ask it from you.

Prof. Vogt (the tool of James Fazy at Genf,^b who is intimately connected, as Vogt is, with Klapka and Kossuth) has published a pamphlet on his lawsuit with the *A. A. Zeitung*^c. This pamphlet contains the most absurd calumnies against myself, so that I cannot but *reply* to the scandalous libel, though I regret the time to be applied to so mean a subject. Well. He now contends that he received the money for his propaganda from revolutionary Hungarians, and, half and half, insinuates, that the money came *directly* from Hungary. How incredible, since Kossuth himself could get none from that source. Can you inform me somewhat exactly about Klapka's circumstances at the time before the

^a last resort - ^b Geneva - ^c C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

outbreak of the Italian war?⁴⁶ Since I shall be forced, in the pamphlet I intend writing,^a to speak of Kossuth et Co., somewhat largely, you will oblige me by adding what new points you have found out regarding his recent transactions. Has he, out of the 3 millions, spent any part for paying or for arming a Hungarian corps? (I mean apart from the money given to military and civil dignitaries.^b)

The time becomes very critical, and, I hope, no misunderstanding shall prevent our common action.

Yours truly
A. W.^c

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

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10

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 1 February 1860

Dear Moor,

This time, then, the business is growing more serious every day. Mr Altenhöfer and the devious Häfner in Paris have each published personal, if somewhat vague, statements in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁴⁷ Now we get Lassalle's sagacious letter.⁴⁸ The chap is himself already almost a Bonapartist, at a time when coquetting with Bonapartism seems to be the order of the day in Berlin, so Mr Vogt will undoubtedly find the ground favourable *there*. A fine notion of Lassalle's, that one shouldn't use one's connection with the Augsburg A. Z. against Vogt and Bonaparte, yet Vogt can use Bonapartist money for Bonapartist ends and keep his hands perfectly clean! In the eyes of these folk, it is actually meritorious of Bonap. to have beaten the Austrians; the specific Prussian spirit and Berlin punditry are again in the

^a *Herr Vogt* - ^b See K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon', present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 502-03. - ^c A. Williams, an alias used by Marx in some of his letters.

ascendant and things in that city must look almost as they did after the peace of Basle.⁴⁹ There's no reasoning with such people. Lassalle seems to excrete this paltry, niggling pap as naturally as his turds, and maybe a good deal more easily—what answer can one give to such inanities and facile wisdom! Extraordinary advice, the chap doles out!

Let's wait until we've got the pamphlet,^a and in the meantime cast round for somewhere to print and someone to publish our riposte. If possible, Germany and the opposing party's headquarters, Berlin. The business of the 3,000 copies is plainly a lie of Vogt's.⁵⁰ However, there's scandal enough and to spare. I shall go and see Lupus today and tell him to rack his brains for all the material he can lay hands on concerning Vogt. In the meantime, I shall sort through the papers dealing with 1850/52 and you must look out our old manuscript about the émigrés.^b So far, I have no idea of what the fellow actually says.

Regards to the FAMILY.

Yours
F. E.

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

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

11

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 February 1860

Dear Moor,

Conferred with Lupus last night. It was only while reading Lassalle's letter^c out to him that I became fully aware not only of the chap's philistinism and arrogance, but also of his 'method'. Even in the paltriest of trifles, the fellow is Absolute Spirit Old Hegelian style and, just as he proposes in economics to assume the

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile*. - ^c See this volume, pp. 16 and 19.

role of a higher unity between you and the economists, the finite contradiction,⁵¹ so too he is already assuming the role of a higher unity between you and Vogt. Yours, the 'principle', Vogt's the 'Italian policy'⁵²—and very nice too! What egregious schoolmaster presumption to start off by telling us we should declare Vogt hadn't been bribed, and then to proceed to take seriously, and thus reduce to absurdity, the one good joke in Fröbel's statement!⁵³

Lupus wonders whether, under Prussian law, the *National-Zeitung* mightn't be compelled to accept a statement from you. I, too, believe the Press Law contains some such article. If so, we should invoke it immediately on receipt of the pamphlet^a; for, as Lassalle rightly remarks, *habent sua fata libelli*^b; what that will be in the pamphlet's case one cannot tell, and the quicker the rejoinder, the surer will be its effect.

Quoad^c our pamphlet, we are at a disadvantage in being personally on the defensive and unable to return lies for lies. Then there's another disadvantage—namely, that the public=Philistia already detests us in advance, for while we do not actually stand convicted of *odium generis humani*,^d we are guilty of *odium generis bourgeois*,^e and that amounts to exactly the same thing.

On the other hand, we are at an advantage in being able to provide an exposé of our Italian policy which puts the matter on a totally different plane, leaves aside the personal aspect and places us in a favourable position, not perhaps in the eyes of the Berlin liberals, but in those of the greater part of Germany, in that we stand for the popular, national side. The Savoy affair in particular is something of a godsend to us.⁵⁴

Now it seems to me that, as soon as the pamphlet arrives (couldn't Lass. send it by post?), you should pack your bags and come up here, when we can decide once and for all what to do and how and where. I should gladly seize on the opportunity to come to London, but, as your wife is to be kept in the dark, it would be better if you were to come up here, the more so since, if any work is to be done, I couldn't stay so long in London. Another thing to be decided is whether I should appear on the title page; there's only one reason I can see against it, which, however, seems to me *quite conclusive*; but we'll discuss that when we meet.

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. · ^b Books have their fate (Terentianus Maurus, *De litteris, syllabis et metris*, 'Carmen heroicum', 258). · ^c As regards · ^d hatred of the human race · ^e hatred of the bourgeois

The Savoy piece shall be done^a and Lassalle and Duncker written to tomorrow. The epistle destined for L.^b had, of course, not yet been sent.

It is extraordinary that I should have first learned of Heise's death via Dundee^c and London. After all, the little chap^d was here last Thursday or Friday and came to see me. I was out, however, and he also missed me at the club that evening. But, if he'd known about it, he'd surely have got someone else to tell me, as he usually does. He saw Charles,^e too.

Salut.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

12

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 February 1860

Dear Engels,

After one minor alteration, or rather the deletion of *one* sentence, C. D. Collet yesterday declared himself willing, but, at the same time, said that, as Urquhart was the actual editor, he must first submit the thing to him, which means a delay of 24 hours.⁵⁵ Collet admitted that I could, of course, publish the statement *malgré eux*,^f but, if it was done the way he suggested, I could subsequently, TO A CERTAIN DEGREE, fall back on him and Urq. Well. I conceded this and intend to see what Father U. has to say. (For the sequel see immediately below.)

Incidentally, it's no go either with a pamphlet or a statement in the newspapers—*just now*. The pamphlet would BE KILLED by the self-same press WHICH NOW TRUMPETS THE GRANDEUR OF VOCT. The latter's

^a F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - ^b See this volume, p. 13. - ^c A reference to Peter Imandt, who lived in Dundee, Scotland. See this volume, p. 16. - ^d Ernst Dronke. - ^e Charles Roesgen. - ^f despite them

attack on me—he is obviously seeking to represent me as an insignificant and rascally bourgeois blackguard—(this emerges from everything I've learnt from hearsay up till now) is intended to be the *grand coup* of bourgeois vulgar democracy—and likewise of the Russo-Bonapartist riff-raff—against the party as a whole. Hence it must likewise be countered with a *grand coup*. Furthermore, *the defensive* does not suit our purpose. *I shall sue the National-Zeitung*. I've now *made up my mind* to do so. Not a great deal of money will be required for the time being—I am referring to the preliminary deposition in court. But lawyers will be exceptionally keen to make themselves available for, whatever happens, the lawsuit will make a great noise throughout the length and breadth of Germany. As soon as I have Fischel's letter^a (it will arrive, I think, tomorrow) I shall issue a brief statement to the various German newspapers announcing that I am instituting an action for libel against the *N.-Z.* in Berlin. In its second article,^b which I have got, I have already discovered items so actionable as to bring about its immediate undoing in a legal sense.^c This lawsuit will be the peg on which we can hang the whole of our riposte to *the public at large* in court. Later on, we can turn our attention to that bastard Vogt.

When you consider that in a week or two, in connection with Stieber, the Cologne communist trial² will be *re-enacted* all over again,⁴⁴ this vile attack could, if skilfully exploited, help rather than hinder us, for this will AT ONCE enable us to state our case forcefully to the mass of the workers.

On the other hand, what *evidence* can Vogt or the *National-Zeitung* produce against us? At the most, there is Techow's gossip³⁶ and, perhaps (in THE WORST CASE), some not altogether pleasant reviews by Lünig⁵⁷ but, these apart, the fact that Vogt knows nothing of conditions here and makes the most absurd mistakes is apparent if only from his article in the *Biel Handels-Courier*.^d

So my plan is this: *Next week*, as soon as Vogt's rubbish^e arrives, I shall come and visit you for a few days in order to talk the whole thing over.⁵⁸ As to the costs of the action, Dronke (who, by the by, owes me money) must also bear his share. (Whatever happens you must come here a few days at Easter.)

^a See this volume, p. 15. - ^b 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, No. 41, 25 January 1860. - ^c See this volume, pp. 40-45. - ^d [K. Vogt,] 'Zur Warnung', *Schweizer Handels-Courier*, No. 150 (extraordinary supplement), 2 June 1859. - ^e C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

For the rest (I have already written to everyone imaginable), in addition to procuring the necessary material for the action, I'm working on my *Capital*.⁸ If I set about it with determination, it will be finished in 6 weeks and, *after* the lawsuit, it will be a *success*.

A fine thing it would be—with a crisis in the offing, with the KING OF PRUSSIA⁹ at death's door, etc.—if we were to allow ourselves to be finished off in this way by Imperial Vogt²³ *et cie.*, or even—*autore Lassallo*⁷—to cut our own throats.

The enclosed piece of paper will tell you WHAT MR VOGT IS NOW ABOUT and how, in your pamphlet, you can deal him a contemptuous kick, if only by way of a marginal note.⁵⁹

Your
K. M.

As you will see from the contents of my letter, the anti-Blind operation⁶⁰ is proceeding independently of the German operation, but will be used to further the latter.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

13

MARX TO JOACHIM LELEWEL

IN BRUSSELS

[Draft]

London, 3 February 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Lelewel,

I have not had the pleasure of corresponding with you since 1848 when a letter of recommendation from you was brought to me in Cologne by a Pole.^c I am writing to you today on a personal matter.

One Vogt, a professor at Geneva, has published a pamphlet^d full of the most outrageous calumnies against my person and my

^a Frederick-William IV - ^b on Lassalle's advice - ^c Presumably Władysław Kościel-ski - ^d C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

political life. On the one hand, he represents me as a man of no account and on the other imputes to me the most infamous motives. He falsifies my entire past. Having had the privilege of enjoying a close relationship with you during my stay in Brussels—I shall never forget the embrace with which you honoured me on the occasion of the anniversary of the Polish Revolution on 22 February 1848⁶¹—I would request you to address me a private letter in which you assure me of your friendship and testify to the nature of the honourable relations I maintained in Brussels with the Polish emigration.⁶²

Fraternal greetings,

Yours

Charles Marx

Mrs Marx, who asks to be remembered to you, has made a copy of this letter for your benefit, my handwriting being illegible.

Written in French

Printed according to the original

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

Published in English for the first
time

14

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 February 1860

D. M.,

One keeps changing one's mind every night as is inevitable, since we've not yet set eyes on the stuff.^a

The Hirsch affair is truly splendid.^b

The lawsuit in Berlin also strikes me as a very good idea, always assuming they allow it, though I don't see how they can deny you justice.^c

Re Lupus^d and the affair in general, I waded through the

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. - ^b See this volume, p. 16. - ^c This refers to the lawsuit Marx intended to bring against the *National-Zeitung* (see this volume, p. 22). - ^d See this volume, pp. 15-16.

better part of the records for 1850/52 yesterday evening. Lupus cannot recollect anything at all and I have to keep jogging his memory. Not that I'm much better; since those days so much BITTER BEER has flowed down my gullet that many things are difficult to ascertain. As regards Lupus the following emerges:

1. In 1851, *not 1850*, when the document appeared in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* (our plan of campaign against the democrats^a), Lupus was still in Zurich^b and was attacked by the fellows as one who happened to be in their midst and was a member of *our League*.⁶³

2. Another document, however, had appeared previously in, if I'm not mistaken, the *Hannoversche Zeitung*, namely a circular from the Cologne Central Authority composed by Bürgers.⁶⁴ But I can't ascertain exactly whether it happened in the *Hann. Ztg.* You must go into this.

3. Vogt has jumbled all of this up and has Lupus writing a document in *London* in 1850 which was produced in *Cologne* at a time when Lupus was still in Zurich. (L. came to London after 5 May and before 21 July 1851.) All that remains to be ascertained is whether Bürgers' document really did appear in the *Hann. Zeitung*, and how it fell into the hands of the Hanover police. The letters I wrote you between February and April 1851 are bound to contain some mention of it.^c Let me have particulars about this; without them I hardly imagine that Lupus' statement^d will suffice.

The item in *The Times* (original source Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*) had already been noted.⁶⁵

I am starting on my thing^e today. Up till now, the Vogt rumpus has prevented me from doing so. This time I shall again describe myself as the 'author of *Po and Rhine*' so as to get that personage all the more firmly established in the field of military literature— if I put my own name to it *the immediate result would be a conspiracy du silence*. At the same time, however, i.e. about a fortnight after it comes out, I shall get Siebel to arrange for an appropriate review to appear in the papers. In general, this fellow

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Address of the Central Authority to the League, June 1850'. - ^b Wolff lived in exile in Zurich from August 1849 to May 1851. - ^c See Engels' letter to Marx of 27 June 1851 (present edition, Vol. 38). - ^d W. Wolff, 'Erklärung'. *Die Reform*, No. 18, 11 February 1860; *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860, and *Volks-Zeitung*, No. 47, 24 February 1860. -

^e F. Engels, *Sauoy, Nice and the Rhine*.

could be very useful to us in the Vogt rumpus; he has masses of connections.

Many regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

15

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 February 1860

Dear Engels,

Nothing from Berlin yet.^a If Izzy weren't a knave, incidentally, he would have sent me the *National-Zeitung* of his own accord, if nothing else, as soon as it came out.

Now, as regards the extract from the *N.-Z.* for Lupus,^b what I wrote, on the first occasion, was from memory and was not intended as a basis for a *public* statement. On the second occasion, I was copying, and to avoid misunderstanding, am doing so again. I can't send the original as I haven't a second one to spare.

Extract from No. 41 of the N.-Z., dated 25 January. (It is the concluding passage in the LEADER):

'Only one further thing is worthy of note: The open letter to the National Association immediately fell into the hands of the Hanoverian reactionary party and was made known by this last; in 1850 another "circular" (as Vogt recollects, written by Parliamentary Wolff *alias* Casemate Wolff) was sent from London to the "proletarians" in Germany, and simultaneously allowed to fall into the hands of the Hanoverian police.'

No answer as yet from that bloody Urquhart.^c

I have carefully gone through all the old letters and newspapers and put on one side what we may need 'in due course'. You must

^a See this volume, pp. 12 and 22. - ^b This refers to the item 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, No. 41, 25 January 1860. - ^c See this volume, p. 21.

see to it that I find 'the whole lot' (letters, newspapers, etc.) at your place in Manchester, so that I can get together what is relevant. We really mustn't allow those blackguardly democrats—now, of course, gloating over our discomfiture—to make us accountable for their revolutionary travel plans, revolutionary paper money, revolutionary gossip, etc. And, starting with Gottfried Kinkel, Vogt's secret correspondent over here, they have got to be shown up in the eyes of Germany.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

16

MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

IN BERLIN

London, 6 February 1860

Dear Sir,

Would you very kindly arrange to print the enclosed *written statement*,^a which I am sending *simultaneously* to the *National-Zeitung* and the *Publicist* (what its politics are I do not know, but it would appear to be widely read over here) in Berlin; likewise, to the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Frankfurter Journal*, the *Hamburg 'Reform'* and the *Augsburg 'Allgemeine Zeitung'*.

I should be much obliged if you would pass the following on to Lassalle:

Time does not permit my replying to him today.

The article on Kossuth,^b which I sent Szemere in Paris *ON THE EXPRESS CONDITION* that it be returned immediately, has been in his hands for months now. I shall now hold a pistol to his head—allegorically speaking, *OF COURSE*.

I should be most grateful if Lassalle would send Vogt's book^c *by post* direct to Engels at his private address, 6 Thorncliffe Grove,

^a K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'. - ^b K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'. - ^c C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. Geneva, 1859.

Oxford Road, Manchester, where I am going to stay.⁵⁸ Finally, I should be glad if he would send to the same address copies of such Berlin papers as accept the statement.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

K. Marx

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

17

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 February 1860

Dear Moor,

Received the circular addressed to Collet.^a Comes altogether à propos, yesterday's *Daily Telegraph* having carried two columns about Vogt's shit^b and the Brimstone Gang.⁶⁵ If it amounts to no more than what's in the *Telegr.*, then Izzy has been frightened by a fart. To 'parry the thrust', all one has to do is hold one's nose.

Mr Ronge is up here. He hurried along to Siebel, saying he wished to be introduced to me!! Furthermore, he asked whether I also belonged to the Brimstone Gang—IN FACT, if it weren't for him, S., and if it weren't for S., I myself, wouldn't have heard about the nonsense in the *Telegr.*

S., who's an out-and-out charlatan and knows it, is dead keen to be of service to us in this business. He's got masses of connections and, best of all, is quite above suspicion. The fellow knows that the whole robber band, Kinkel and Co., are just as much humbugs as he is, and in us he has at last found people who are totally impervious to his humbug, *inde^c* an unbounded admiration.

^a K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette.' - ^b [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. See also this volume, pp. 74-76. - ^c hence

Oughtn't we to scan the daily press for the circular tomorrow?'
Vale.

Your
F. E.

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

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

18

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 February 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, etc.

Dear Engels,

Of the COPIES despatched to you,^a send 1 to Dronke, 1 to Dr Bronner in Bradford. I have sent one to Borchardt myself.

The *D. T.* (*Daily Telegraph*), Monday's issue, p. 5, contained a filthy article (IN FACT, from Berlin, but dated Frankfurt a. M.)^b based on the two in the *National-Zeitung*. I instantly threatened the dogs with a LIBEL action,^c and they will open their traps and apologise.

Letters from Fischel (there's another way of bringing a lawsuit, which actually involves no money), Lassalle (absurd in the extreme), Schily (interesting), etc. More details tomorrow.

I now have to pay the printing costs (will be ABOUT £1), £1 to be paid next Monday at the COUNTY-COURT, and shall need something, partly to get to Manchester with and partly so as to leave a modicum here. At the same time, before departing hence, I shall have to make, and get others to make, all manner of AFFIDAVITS.

^a K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - ^b [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. See also this volume, pp. 74-76. - ^c K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*'.

Apropos. *Wiehe* is now going to state before the magistrate that he signed a *false DECLARATION* at the insistent request of **Blind** and Hollinger.⁶⁶

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Statements^a sent off yesterday to *Nat.-Zeit.*, *Kölnische Zeitung*, *Volks-Zeitung*, *Publicist* (Berlin), *Reform*, Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Journal*. The statement was a brief one. Firstly, that I shall take legal proceedings against the *N.-Z.*; secondly, a reference to the English anti-Blind 'LIBEL.'^b enclosed with the statement.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

19

MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN LONDON

London, 8 February 1860

9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Freiligrath,

As an old party friend and an old personal friend, I consider it my duty to keep you informed of the steps I have taken in the furtherance of the Berlin lawsuit, by reason of which they must soon, though not immediately, become known to the public.

You will recall or have seen from the printed English circular^b sent you that, besides Hollinger's written statement, *Blind* cited that of certain compositor, *Wiehe*, in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*^c (etc.) as evidence that I had been guilty of 'a plain

^a K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'. - ^b K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - ^c K. Blind's statement in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 313, 9 November 1859. See this volume, pp. 60-62.

falsehood' and that 'the imputation' that he, Blind, was the author of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*, and that the latter had been printed for him by Hollinger or, indeed, had come off Hollinger's printing-press 'was a lie'. I am now sending you an *exact copy* of the sworn statement made by this man **Wiehe** before the magistrate in Bow Street. Of that statement I received an *officially* attested duplicate. One copy of the same is already on its way to Berlin for the Public Prosecutor's dossier.

It would, I think, be superfluous were I at this point to add a *single word of comment* to the document.

Your
K. M.

'One of the first days of November last—I do not recollect the exact date—in the evening between 9 and 10 o'clock I was taken out of bed by Mr F. Hollinger, in whose house (3, Litchfield Street, Soho) I was then living, and by whom I was employed as compositor. He presented to me a paper to the effect that I had been continuously employed by him during the preceding 11 months, and that during *all* that time a certain German flysheet "Zur Warnung" (A Warning) had *not* been composed and printed in Mr Hollinger's Office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. In my perplexed state,—and not aware of the importance of the transaction I complied with his wish, and copied and signed the document. He promised me money, but I never received anything. During this transaction Mr Charles Blind, as my wife told me at the time, was waiting in Mr Hollinger's room. A few days later Mrs Hollinger (Mr F. Hollinger's wife) called me down from dinner and led me into her husband's room, where I found Mr Charles Blind alone. He presented me the same paper which Mr Hollinger had presented me before, and entreated me to write and sign a second copy, as he wanted two, the one for himself, the other for publication in the Press. He added that he would show himself grateful to me. I copied and signed again the paper.

I herewith declare the truth of the above statements and that:

1. During the eleven months, mentioned in the document, I was for six weeks *not* employed by Mr Hollinger, but by a Mr Ermani.

2. I did *not* work in Mr Hollinger's Office just at the time, when the flysheet "Zur Warnung" (A Warning) was published.

3. I heard at the time from Mr Voegelé, who then worked for Mr Hollinger, that he, Voegelé, had together with Mr Hollinger himself composed the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript was in Mr Blind's handwriting.

4. The types of the pamphlet were still standing, when I returned into Mr Hollinger's service. I myself broke them into columns for the reprint of the flysheet (or pamphlet) "Zur Warnung" (A Warning) in the German paper "Das Volk", published at London by Mr Fidelio Hollinger, 3 Litchfield Street, Soho. The flysheet appeared in No. 7, d. d. 18 June 1859 of "Das Volk".

5. I saw Mr Hollinger give to Mr William Liebknecht, of 14, Church Street, Soho, London, the proofsheets of the pamphlet "Zur Warnung", on which proofsheets Mr Charles Blind *with his own hand* had corrected 4 or 5 mistakes. Mr Hollinger hesitated at first giving the proofsheets to Mr Liebknecht, and when

Mr Liebknecht had withdrawn, he, F. Hollinger, expressed to me and my fellow workman Voegele his regret for having given the proofsheets out of his hands.

Johann Friedrich Wiehe.

Declared and signed by the said Johann Friedrich Wiehe at the Police Court Bow Street, London, this 8th day of February, 1860, before me Th.^s Henry Magistrate of the said Court.^a
 Police Court
 Royal Coat of Arms
 Bow Street^c

I would beg you, for the time being, not to show this copy of the affidavit to *anyone*. What the consequences would be under English *criminal law* will not escape you.

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

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

20

MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 February 1860

Dear Engels,

To have offered your pamphlet^d at two louis d'or per sheet is SHAMEFUL. Pamphlets of this kind ought to be sold, not by the sheet, but as a whole. Even 40 talers per sheet would be too little. Incidentally, Campe is better than Duncker. The publisher^e who brings out the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung*^f would gladly take the pamphlet, too. Actually, the main thing is that it should come out quickly and, if I were you, I would settle this matter, at least, by telegraph with that louse, Duncker.⁶⁸

I have been IN A SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE with 'The Daily Telegraph' since the day the shit^g appeared. For before making *amende honorable*, the fellow^h—I was as rude as hell to him

^a 'J' in the manuscript. 'Th' is correct. ^b Marx gives the document in English. ^c Marx drew a circle round the words representing the stamp. ^d F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. ^e Ednard Zernin. ^f *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* - 8 [K. Abel.] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. See this volume, pp. 74-76. ^h the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*

in my letter⁴²—wants to await his correspondent's reply, whereas I demanded the *immediate* insertion of at least a brief note. Whatever he does or does not insert, I shall now bring down a LIBEL ACTION on his head. The circumstances of the case being what they are, any lawyer would happily undertake the thing on spec., as did, for instance, Edwin James, who VOLUNTEERED IN ERNEST JONES'S LIBEL ACTION against Reynolds.⁶⁹ I wrote to Ernest Jones about this yesterday.⁴² On the same Tuesday as the thing appeared,⁹ by the by, I wrote to the EDITOR of Palmerston's MOB-PAPER^b saying, *inter alia*: 'THAT LETTER PURPORTING TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN FROM FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN, BUT WHICH WAS IN FACT INDITED AT BERLIN, IS NOTHING BUT A CLUMSY AMPLIFICATION OF TWO LEADERS ETC. ETC.' in the Berlin *National-Zeitung*.^c The writer, i.e. *The Daily Telegraph's* swine of a Berlin correspondent, is a Jew by the name of Meier,⁷⁰ a relative of the CITY-PROPRIETOR's who is an English Jew by the name of Levy. Hence, both these fellows rightly accuse Heine—*juvante*^d Vogt—of being a baptised Jew. Herewith Izzy's last letter, which you should retain as a *curiosity*. Calls himself objective, does he? Inimitable, the plasticity of this most unhellenic of all Wasser-polack⁷¹ Jews! My only reply to the fellow was an *immediate* announcement in the papers—including the *Volks-Zeitung*—to the effect that I was bringing a libel action against the *N.-Z.*^e (In each case I enclosed the circular about Blind,^f although, according to the great Izzy, I ought 'not to delude myself as to the force of that argument'.)

All this week, by the by, I've been prevented from writing anything for the *Tribune*. I have had to send out fifty letters at least,⁷² running round to see Collet and God knows who else not CONSIDERED. And on top of that there was the correspondence with the beastly *Telegraph* and the correspondence with the *Star*,^g to which I sent the whole of my correspondence with the *Telegraph*. The enclosed letter from the *Star* is to be put on your files. I have also written to Reynolds.⁴² Shall see what he does. Then there was the running in connection with Wiehe and going to the police. The result you will find below. Two replies so far to my letters to the Continent—in so far as they weren't just to newspapers. One from Schily. Priceless. Contains the whole Brimstone Gang⁶⁵ and

^a In fact it appeared on Monday, 6 February 1860. - ^b K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*'. - ^c 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, Nos. 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860 respectively. - ^d with the help of - ^e K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'. - ^f K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - ^g *The Morning Star*

Bristlers' story. Another letter from Szemere. Most valuable on account of disclosures about, the revolutionary Hungarians' 'own' (excluding Bonapartist) funds out of which, so Vogt maintains, his money was received. A letter from Imandt, not so bad.^b One or two points, at any rate. I am still awaiting an answer, notably from Mr Reinach in Neuchâtel, who is said to be a walking *chronique scandaleuse* on the subject of the imperial bailiff.²³ (Apropos. *What address did the spy Häfner give in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung?*²⁷ There's a POINT I want to verify with him.) Have also written to Borkheim⁴² (whom I have never met personally). Was CHIEF of the Brimstone Gang in Geneva who hung out at the Café de la Couronne and with whom on your occasional excursions you sometimes used to get tipsy, or so Schily tells me in his letter.

I have drawn up the indictment against the *Nat.-Zeit.* for the public prosecutor's office at the Berlin municipal court. It will go off before I come up to you. But I must wait until I have Fischel's answer with regard to the commencement and conclusion, the prescribed form of address, etc. Should I send the package (since it has to include all manner of manuscripts, documents) to Berlin by post or by PARCEL COMPANY? It should at all events be REGISTERED.

I have rummaged through everything I have here in London in the way of letters and newspapers for the period 1848-59, and sorted out and put in order what we need. Now you must get things ready so that I find everything that's available in one 'great pile' when I get to Manchester.

Well, on Monday there was the working-men's banquet,^d attended by eighty people. An indignant anti-Vogt resolution was unanimously adopted by 'the proletarians'. The beastly Hermann asked me to report on it. This I refused to do, but told them to obtain a brief account from Papa Liebknecht.

Apropos, TO RETURN *à nos moutons*,^e i.e. Lassalle. Not knowing, when I got his first letter, whether you had written to him as we had originally agreed (when CIRCUMSTANCES were otherwise), I told him in a couple of lines that I had thought the only explanation for his many-month-long silence must be annoyance at my last, somewhat rude (in fact excessively rude), letter. I said that I was glad this was not the case, and also that I had informed you of my

^a See this volume, pp. 70-71 and Marx's *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 38-47). - ^b See *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 41. - ^c gossip column -

^d See this volume, p. 11. - ^e The phrase 'revenons à nos moutons' (literally, 'to return to our sheep') occurs in a mediaeval French farce about the lawyer Patelin. In a figurative sense it means 'to return to the matter in question'.

misgivings.^a Well! What a fuss the brute goes and makes about it! How presumptuous the moral attitude adopted by the chap towards Liebknecht!⁷³ And this is the fellow who resorted to the most impudent means and consorted with the most impudent individuals *au service de la comtesse de Hatzfeldt!* Has the brute forgotten that, though I wanted to have him admitted to the League, he was rejected on account of his ill-repute by the unanimous decision of the Central Authority in Cologne? IN FACT, I believe, delicacy impelled me to keep the fellow in the dark about all this, as also about the working men's deputation sent over to see me a few years ago from Düsseldorf, which adduced the most scandalous and in part irrefutable allegations against him!⁷⁴ And now just look at the pretentious ape! No sooner—looking through his Bonapartist-tinted spectacles—does he think to descry some weak point in us, than he puffs himself up, pontificates, and strikes an—absurd, need one say?—attitude! And contrariwise, how completely do his legal instincts desert him for fear that I should *NOT, TO THE BENEFIT OF MY TENDER FRIEND* Lassalle, allow myself without more ado to be pushed into the background by Vogt. How he contradicts himself! How mean he becomes! One shouldn't 'stir things up even more'. 'They' wouldn't 'take it kindly'. Not take it kindly! They! For the sake of his pale-ale Berlin philistines, I am to let myself be browbeaten by schoolmaster Squeers, alias Zabel! Now I know just what to think of Mr Lassalle.

I *immediately* wrote to Blind—or perhaps, I should say, put into an envelope the circular, which affects him so very closely.^b He has kept his trap shut, of course. Instead, the brute goes running around town in the hope that things can be sorted out by tittle-tattle (*vide* below how much good that will do him). For the past few weeks the man's been indulging in *feverish* activity, publishing pamphlet after pamphlet, blowing his own trumpet in the *Hermann* for all he's worth, sucking up, fore and aft, to the few bourgeois whose acquaintance he made on the Schiller committee,⁷⁵ pressing his own candidature as secretary of the recently conceived Schiller Association,⁷⁶ now denying his 'Patriots',⁷⁷ now making himself important in their eyes by means of semicovert, statesmanlike allusions, etc. Well, all this amounts to, as you will instantly realise, is a drowning man clutching at a straw.

No one has behaved so abjectly as that potbellied philistine Freiligrath. I sent him the circular.^b He didn't so much as

^a See this volume, p. 11. ^b K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'.

acknowledge its receipt. Does the brute believe that I couldn't, if so minded, immerse him up to the eyebrows in the lake of brimstone^a? Has he forgotten that I possess a hundred or more of his letters? Does he imagine that I don't see him because he shows me his backside? Yesterday, I also sent the philistine the ensuing palliative, ON THE EXPRESS CONDITION that he should not say a word about it to *anyone*, including his friend the crypto-democrat Karl Blind. That will tickle him, and ere long he'll begin to feel uneasy at the undue proximity of the *felonious* friend in whose *company* he appeared before the public (as I reminded him QUITE *en passant* in my last letter^b) in the pages of the A. A. Z.^c Almost everyone, except for Freiligrath, even distant acquaintances, are behaving decently to me at this time of crisis.

But to come to essentials. Firstly, I discovered through Juch that Wiehe once committed a theft in Bremen, which was why he had to come to London. Secondly, I learnt through Schapper that Wiehe introduced himself to him as a compositor on the *Volk*, and it was he who had obtained the fellow's present job for him. I briefed Schapper, who quietly intimated to Wiehe that he knew about the Bremen affair, but then proceeded to read my circular aloud in the presence of his EMPLOYER and to CROSS EXAMINE him. The fellow admitted everything. What the outcome was, you will see from the following document of which I possess an officially authenticated duplicate. One is going to Berlin. The other I shall keep here and employ in no uncertain manner against the nay-sayer.^d One further point. This will show you the *kind* of people these 'honest fellows' consort with. I had, of course, let Wiehe know that I would compensate him for the loss of half a working day, the time he would have to spend with me at the police court. When all had been done, I gave him 2/6d. He remonstrated. Well, how much a day do you earn? I asked. ABOUT 3/-, said he, but I want five from you. After all, I ought to get something for telling the truth.

But the best is yet to come. *I*: * You have declined the money offer made by Blind and Hollinger in order to bribe you? *He*: Why decline! The rogues promised, but never gave me anything.* That's compositor Wiehe for you. But Hollinger is a villain of far deeper dye. Vögele, whom I had arranged to see yesterday, did *not* turn up. Doubtless Blind-Hollinger made it worth his while to keep away. But

^a The word used is 'Schwefelpfuhl', perhaps by analogy with 'Schwefelbande'—Brimstone Gang. Cf. *Revelation*, 20:10. - ^b See this volume, pp. 30-32. - ^c K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - ^d Karl Blind

they'll have thrown their money down the drain. For I know that *this* chap has still got a conscience, and so I shall work on him.⁷⁸ My circular misled them into approaching the wrong man. They believed it meant that I wouldn't be able to get at Wiehe himself. Well, now *ad rem*^a:

'One of the first days of November last—I do not recollect the exact date—in the evening between 9 and 10 o'clock I was taken out of bed by Mr F. Hollinger, in whose house I then lived, and by whom I was employed as compositor. He presented to me a paper to the effect that during the preceding 11 months I had been continuously employed by him, and that during *all* that time a certain German flysheet "Zur Warnung" (A Warning) had not been composed and primed in Mr Hollinger's Office, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. In my perplexed state, and not aware of the importance of the transaction, I complied with his wish, and copied, and signed the document. Mr Hollinger promised me money, but I never received anything. During that transaction Mr. Charles Blind, as my wife informed me at the time, was waiting in Mr Hollinger's room. A few days later, Mrs Hollinger called me down from dinner and led me into her husband's room, where I found Mr Charles Blind alone. He presented me the same paper which Mr Hollinger had presented me before, and entreated me to write, and sign a second copy, as he wanted two, the one for himself, and the other for publication in the Press. He added that he would show himself grateful to me. I copied and signed again the paper.

I herewith declare—upon my oath—the truth of the above statements and that:

1. During the 11 months mentioned in the document I was for *six months*^b *not* employed by Mr Hollinger, but by a Mr Ermani.

2. I did *not* work in Mr Hollinger's Office just at that time when the flysheet "Zur Warnung" was published.

3. I heard at the time from Mr Voegele, who then worked for Mr Hollinger, that he, Voegele, had, together with Mr Hollinger himself, composed the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript was in Mr Blind's handwriting.

4. The types of the pamphlet were still standing when I returned to Mr Hollinger's service. I myself broke them into columns for the reprint of the flysheet "Zur Warnung" in the German paper "Das Volk" published at London, by Mr Fidelia Hollinger, 3, Litchfield Street, Soho. The flysheet appeared in No. 7, d. d. 18th June, 1859, of "Das Volk".

5. I saw Mr Hollinger give to Mr William Liebknecht, of 14, Church Street, Soho, London, the proofsheet of the pamphlet "Zur Warnung", on which proofsheets Mr Charles Blind with his own hand had corrected 4 or 5 mistakes. Mr Hollinger hesitated at first giving the proofsheets to Mr Liebknecht, and when Mr Liebknecht had withdrawn, he, F. Hollinger, expressed to me and my fellow workman Voegele his regret for having given the proofsheets out of his hands.

Johann Friedrich Wiehe
Police Court, Bow Street^c

^a to the matter in hand - ^b The original of the letter says 'six weeks'. See this volume, p. 31, and also p. 129 in Vol. 17 of the present edition. - ^c Marx drew a circle round the words representing the stamp.

'Declared and signed by the said Johann Friedrich Wiehe at the Police Court, Bow Street, this 8th day of February, 1860, before me Th.^a Henry, Magistrate of the said court.'^b

I deliberately brought the matter before Henry, he being the GOVERNMENT'S MAGISTRATE who attends to all the political cases. The brand of English found in the above is not my responsibility, unlike the precise enumeration of the FACTS. WHAT DO YOU SAY NOW, SIR! 'The argument lacks force', says Izzy. *Vive*^c Izzy! For CONSPIRACY against myself, combined with ATTEMPT AT BRIBERY OF WITNESSES, SO the MAGISTRATE says, I could **now** get Mr Blind run out of town. So much for petty bourgeois artfulness!

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original
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21

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 9 February 1860

Dear Moor,

As soon as I have Dronke's address, he shall receive a copy. Meanwhile, one will go off today to Dr Bronner.^d

So the *Telegraph* is going to apologise?^e Most gratifying; up till today nothing has appeared.

I am very much looking forward to hearing further details.

Make sure that Wiehe and Vögele *don't slip out of your hands*. *Cela se pourrait*^f; when a few pounds are being offered, there is always the fear that something of the kind may happen.

Enclosed fiver D/M 34115, Manchester, 4 January 1859; if it's not enough, let me know and I'll send you another £ or two.

^a 'J' in the manuscript. 'Th' is correct. ^b Marx quotes the document in English. - ^c Long live - ^d Engels means Marx's statement 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. See this volume, p. 29. - ^e See this volume, pp. 32-33. - ^f It would be quite possible

Because of the office boys I don't care to send out to the P_[OSTAL] O_[RDER] OFFICE unnecessarily and hence would rather put it off until I'm able to lay hands on another fiver. However, you can send your wife the money from here,⁷⁹ or else have it beforehand, *comme il te plaira*.^a

Still no sign either of the *National-Zeitung*^b or of Vogt^c?

I'm leaving now and intend to finish at least the rough draft of the manuscript^d today and tomorrow.

Vale.

Your

F. E.

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

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

22

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 12 February 1860

Dear Moor,

You will have had the £5, or at least I hope so.

The Wiehe document,^e is most welcome. *Après ça*^f our shinisher^g Blind will doubtless tuck his tail between his legs. In the meantime, you have, I trust, obtained one from Vögele.⁷⁸ The more evidence the better.

So, the *Kölnische Zeitung* has, after all, published your declaration^h and, at the same time, taken another swipe at Blind? So much the better.

^a as you wish. - ^b This refers to the issues containing the items 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', Nos 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860. - ^c C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^d F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - ^e See this volume, p. 37. - ^f After that. - ^g Engels writes 'finschtre' (instead of 'finstre'), presumably mimicking Blind's articulation. - ^h K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'.

Strohn is in Hamburg and behaving very well over this particular affair, or so I hear. I shall write to him. He too can prove useful.

Saluti.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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23

MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 13 February 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

Last week I wrote to a friend^a in Berlin requesting him to recommend a lawyer for a *libel action*, which I am compelled to bring against the Berlin *National-Zeitung*.¹² Today I have received a reply in which my friend names you, Sir, as the most eminent lawyer in Berlin.

I am therefore taking the liberty of asking whether you will agree to act as my lawyer in the *libel action*, further information concerning which is given below.

Should the provisional *retaining fee* of 15 talers herewith enclosed not suffice, kindly *telegraph* me. I shall then immediately despatch whatever additional sum may be required.

I enclose herewith the power of attorney and trust that this instrument will suffice. I would earnestly beg you to institute the action *forthwith*, lest it become *statute-barred*, and should be much obliged if you would inform me by *telegraphic despatch* that you are taking the necessary steps.

^a Eduard Fischel

I have simultaneously begun an ACTION FOR LIBEL against *The Daily Telegraph* here in London, which paper printed an English version^a of the *National-Zeitung's* calumnious articles.^b

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Dr Karl Marx
(*verte*)^c

The articles in the *National-Zeitung* alluded to in the preceding letter are to be found in No. 37 (dated Sunday, 22 January 1860) and No. 41 (dated Wednesday, 25 January 1860), both of them leaders. In subsequent letters I shall take occasion to characterise the *animus* by which these articles were inspired. But the *specific points* on which I wish to bring an action for libel, and which seem to me the most cogent from the legal point of view, are the following:

I. In No. 41 (article is headed 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht'), column 3 (towards the bottom) reads:

'In the *Allgemeine Zeitung* Blind has twice declared^d outright that he is not the author' (i.e. of the fliersheet *Zur Warnung*); 'nor does he say this to exculpate Vogt, with whom he does not agree, but simply for the benefit of the Marx-Liebknecht-Biscamp camp ... he' (Blind) 'is obviously not a member of the Marx party in the narrower sense. It appears to us that the latter did not find it too difficult to turn him into a scapegoat, and if the charges levelled at Vogt were to carry any weight, they had to be attributed to a definite person who would have to be responsible for them. The Marx party could very easily saddle Blind with the authorship of the pamphlet because and after he had expressed similar views to those contained in it in conversation with Marx and in an article in *The Free Press*.^e By making use of Blind's assertions and turns of phrase the pamphlet could be fabricated and made to look as if he' (i.e. Blind) 'had concocted it'

Here, then, I am actually accused of having '**fabricated**' a pamphlet in another man's name. Furthermore, in the same article (same column, further up), the *National-Zeitung* itself informs its readers that I had sent the A. A. Z. a 'deposition by the compositor Vögele';⁸⁰ in which the latter said that 'he knew Blind's handwriting from previous manuscripts; he himself had set the first part of the pamphlet on Hollinger's press, and Hollinger himself had set the rest'; thus, in the passage quoted above, the *National-Zeitung*

^a [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. - ^b 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, Nos. 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860. - ^c PTO - ^d Blind's statements in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 313 and 345, 9 November and 11 December 1859. - ^e [K. Blind,] 'The Grand Duke Constantine to Be King of Hungary', *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859.

insinuates not only that *I fabricated* a pamphlet and fraudulently made it appear to be a 'concoction' of Blind's. It insinuates outright that I had *wittingly* sent the Augsb. *Allg. Zeitung* a **spurious** document. And, to crown its *animus calumniandi*,^a it goes on:

Thereupon, on 2 November, Hollinger declared that it was a malicious invention to say that the pamphlet had been printed in his workshop or that Blind was its author, adding that his compositor, Wiehe, who had worked for him for 11 months, concurred with this statement. Marx, always ready with an answer, replied in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on November 15^b:

"Hollinger's declaration is simply ridiculous. Hollinger is aware that he has formally infringed English law by publishing the pamphlet without declaring the place of publication." *In addition*, Marx several times insists that, before the pamphlet came out, Blind had communicated its contents to him verbally and had put down in writing exactly what later appeared in the pamphlet; hence, because of the similarity in content and form, Blind had, *de prime abord*,^c been regarded as the author.

Here, *in order to introduce* the passage cited above, which is defamatory to myself, the *National-Zeitung* omits *deliberately* that part of my statement in the supplement to the Augsburg A. Z. of 21 November 1859 which is of most significance to lawyers, and to English lawyers in particular. I enclose the cutting from the Augsburg A. Z., in which I have underlined for your benefit what was *deliberately* omitted from my statement by the *National-Zeitung*.^d

In accordance with universal legal usage, it should now be incumbent on the *Nat.-Zeit.* to prove that its defamatory charge against me is *true*. But I shall let you have *legal* evidence to the effect that it is *false*. You will even see that under English law I am now in a position, should I so *wish*, to have Mr Blind consigned to the galleys for *CONSPIRACY* against me.

2. No. 37 of the *Nat.-Zeit.*, the leading article entitled *Karl Vogt und die 'Allgemeine Zeitung'*, column 2, reads (I quote):

'Vogt reports on p. 136 et. seq.: Among the refugees of 1849 the term *Brimstone Gang*^e; or the name of the *Bristlers*,^f referred to a number of people who, originally scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England, gradually congregated in London, where they revered Herr Marx as their visible leader.'

^a deliberate libel - ^b This refers to Marx's 'Declaration' of 15 November, published in the supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 325, 21 November 1859. - ^c from the very start - ^d Marx presumably refers to point 2 of his 'Declaration'. - ^e See this volume, p. 70, and Marx's *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 38-47).

I shall let you have evidence to the effect that in this passage two quite distinct *Genevan* societies have been lumped together, neither of which **ever** had, or sought to make, any connection with me. But this I consider to be of no more than secondary importance. The *actual* passage upon which I wish the *second* point in the libel action to be based is one that occurs subsequently and which I shall now quote:

One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang' (ostensibly under my command, was to *compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money so that the gang should preserve their secret without compromising them. Not just one, but hundreds of letters were written to people in Germany threatening to denounce them for complicity in this or that act of revolution unless a certain sum of money had been received at a specified address by a certain date.*'

It will now be incumbent on the *National-Zeitung* to substantiate the charge of boundless depravity it brings against me by producing in court, not *hundreds of letters*, not *one* letter, but *one single line* containing infamous blackmail of this nature, and of which it can be proved that it emanated, I won't say *from myself*, but from *any person* with whom I have ever had anything to do. The passage cited above continues as follows:

Following the principle that "whoever is not unconditionally for us, is against us", the reputation of anyone who opposed *these intrigues*' (i.e. the blackmailing letters previously described) 'was ruined, not just among the refugees, but also by means of the press. The "proletarians"' (as whose chief I am portrayed) 'filled the *columns of the reactionary press* in Germany with their *denunciations* of those democrats who did not subscribe to their views; *they became the confederates of the secret police in France and Germany.*'

It will, of course, be easy for the *Nat.-Zeit.* to find in the '*columns of the reactionary press*' *thus filled*, **one single line** emanating from myself or friends of mine which contains '*denunciations*' against any 'democrat' whomsoever.

It is absolutely correct—and this is the *only* FACT—that Ferdinand Freiligrath wrote a satirical poem^a about Mr Kinkel's *revolutionary loan* and his *revolutionary tour* of the *United States*,^b a poem which was first published by my friend Weydemeyer in a journal appearing in New York,^b and subsequently printed in the

^a F. Freiligrath, 'An Josef Weydemeyer. Zwei poetische Episteln', Epistel I.- ^b *Die Revolution*

Morgenblatt.^a But that could certainly not be described as a 'denunciation'. In actual fact, the so-called democratic emigration (German) filled the German press with the most inane tittle-tattle about myself. There was only *one* instance which I felt merited the trouble of a reply, but the paper to which I sent the rectifying statement did *not* print it.^b

The only German paper for which I have written since going into exile has been the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*. I was its correspondent from about the beginning of January until July 1855. Not once did I devote *a single line* to the émigrés.

As regards Liebknecht's articles for the *Augsb. Allg. Zeitung* which likewise *never* contained a line about émigrés—and which, by the by, reflect great credit to him (their content, I mean)—these have nothing whatever to do with me. I shall be writing to you about this at greater length.^c

Needless to say, my *alliance with the secret police in Germany and France* has for me the spice of novelty.

3. In the above cited No. 41, 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', the *National-Zeitung* identifies the 'party of the proletariat', as whose chief it describes me, and hence *myself*, with 'a conspiracy of the most infamous sort, with the manufacturing of counterfeit paper-money on a massive scale, etc.' which purportedly took place in Switzerland in 1852, and likewise with similar 'machinations' in 1859 which purportedly caused the German states, 'after the Peace of Villafranca', to raise the matter with the Swiss 'Federal Council'.

Later, I shall show in greater detail that I had nothing whatever to do with these matters having, indeed, abandoned all agitation since *September 1850*, and that, while the Cologne communist trial was pending (1851-52),² I *disbanded* the communist society to which I belonged,⁶³ nor have I *since that time* belonged either to a *secret* or to a *public* society. That the *Nat.-Zeit.* was *deliberately* libellous on this point, too, may be deduced from the fact that it **must have known** from the *communist trial in Cologne* that *I myself*, through counsel there, denounced as a *police agent* the fellow said to have been active in Switzerland in 1852, and that Stieber himself was forced to admit that this fellow had been my enemy since 1850. If necessary, I can provide you with evidence to the

^a *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*. - ^b This presumably refers to the 'Statement' by Marx and Engels which was to be published in the *Weser-Zeitung* and the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* in early 1851 (present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 535-36). - ^c See this volume, pp. 66-67.

effect that this fellow (*Cherval*, real name Crämer) *never* had any connection with me, even *before 1850*.

4. The final point in the libel action should be based on the following passage in No. 41, 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', column 2, which runs:

'Where the money for this generously distributed paper' (i.e. the *Volk*, published in London) 'came from, is known to the gods; men, however, are well aware that Marx and Biscamp have no money to spare.'

Taken in conjunction with the animus of the two leading articles, with the way I am lumped together with secret police, reactionaries and a *Brimstone Gang* extorting money through chantage and revolutionary threats, this sentence can only imply that I obtained money for the *Volk* in a dishonest fashion or by underhand means. It is now up to the *National-Zeitung* to substantiate this libel. I, for my part, shall provide you with information, not only about the financial contributions obtained by me for the *Volk*, but also, in so far as this is necessary, about my own—in Mr Zabel's eyes,^a dubious—financial circumstances; and that information will be such as will enable you to prove the very *opposite* of the defamatory insinuation put forward by the *Nat.-Zeit*.

I would beg you, when you reply to this letter, to let me know upon which points you require further elucidation.^a

P. S. Since it would otherwise be too late to post this letter, I shall send on the *power of attorney* tomorrow. If at all possible, this evening under separate cover.

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

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

^a There follow, in Jenny Marx's handwriting, the date and address, reproduced in this edition at the beginning of the letter.

24

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1860

DEAR FREDERICK,

The book^a arrived today. Nothing but shit. Sheer tripe. Luckily, the worthy *National-Zeitung* has reprinted in its two leaders (No. 37 and No. 41) *all* the passages which are **actionable** and in which all the scurrilities are concentrated.

Today (on receiving a second letter from Fischel), I at once sent Legal Counsellor *Weber* (the leading lawyer in Berlin) an indictment together with a retaining fee of 15 talers (£2 10sh).^b The case would have cost me *nothing* if, instead of instituting a private action for libel, I had had recourse to the Royal Prussian Public Prosecutor, but as I wrote and told Fischel,^c I could not expect the Royal Prussian Public Prosecutor to 'display especial zeal in upholding the honour of my name'. Moreover, the whole procedure costs very little.

Of the £5 you sent me, £2 10 has therefore gone to *Weber*, £1 today to the COUNTY COURT, 5/- to *Vögele* and 2/- on the two AFFIDAVITS he made^d; also a LOT on stamps for letters. Before going to the CITY today I had to borrow a further £1 from a baker, repayable on Wednesday.

Luckily, *Urquhart* has written *Collet* a rude letter in which he lashes out at him for sending me the PRINTER'S BILL.^e This (i.e. my publication) was, he said, an expense chargeable to his agitational activities. So I don't have to pay *him*.

Tomorrow I shall be faced with yet another *expense* and I don't know how I'm going to meet it. For I have got to call on that bastard *Zimmermann* (from *Spandau*, a *Vogtian* and, at the same time, an *advocate to the Austrian Embassy*) so that he can supply me with the wording for the power of attorney which must go off to *Weber* *without delay*. There's no time to be lost, you see, because actions of this kind become 'statute-barred' remarkably quickly in Prussia.

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^b See this volume, pp. 40-45. - ^c *ibid.*, p. 40. - ^d *ibid.*, p. 37.

In addition to the *Volks-Zeitung*, the Berlin *Publicist* has published my statement,^a the latter having placed it alongside an extract from the English anti-Blind circular.^b This last I have today sent to Louis Blanc and Félix Pyat, together with the AFFIDAVITS of Wiehe^c and Vögele.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *N.-Z.* did not publish my statement.⁸³

Mr F. Freiligrath—whom (with seeming benevolence) I shall compromise in no mean fashion—did not even acknowledge receipt of the things I sent him.

You must surely have got my last important communication?^d

After I've settled the matter of the power of attorney tomorrow, I shall leave on Wednesday^e (having notified you beforehand) for Manchester where, in addition to our indispensable meeting, I have business connected with Roberts.

You will have gathered from the foregoing that I'm now stone-broke.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

25

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 February 1860

Dear FREDERICK,

Enclosed copy of Vögele's affidavit⁷⁸ which I thought I had sent you on Saturday.^f

^a 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'. - ^b K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - ^c See this volume, pp. 31-32 and 37. - ^d *ibid.*, pp. 32-38. - ^e 15 February - ^f 11 February. Marx probably sent the affidavit without a covering letter, or the letter is no longer extant.

Borkheim has handed me the manuscript of his narrative 'THE RISE, PROGRESS AND DECLINE' of the *Brimstone Gang*.^a He is, as I've already told you, FIRST clerk of a firm in Mark Lane; earns between £600 and £700 a year.

My correspondence with Schily is still going on, of course, since I have to CROSS-EXAMINE him on specific POINTS.

Did Lassalle post you Vogt's book?^{a?} In reply to his letter, I told the fool to address the thing to you.^b

I expect to have an answer by telegraphic despatch tomorrow from Legal Counsellor Weber.^c

There are a number of matters still to be settled tomorrow.

If MEANS ARE available, I may possibly depart some time tomorrow. I can't say for certain, as unforeseen events may detain me a day longer. At any rate, make sure that I find *all the letters and PAPERS* thrown together in 'one great pile'.

The pitiable *Hermann* (apparently at the instigation of Kinkel, WHO IS ABOUT MARRYING AN ENGLISHWOMAN WITH £2-3000 A YEAR) did not publish the resolution adopted by the Workers' Society.^d *Mais ces messieurs y penseront.*^e

The beastly *Telegraph*^f wrote to me again today and referred me to yesterday's piece by their beastly correspondent.^g I'll play the scoundrel a merry tune.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Have not yet heard anything from Papa Blind.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^b See this volume, p. 27 (Marx's letter to Franz Duncker of 6 February 1860). - ^c *ibid.*, p. 40. - ^d *ibid.*, p. 34. - ^e But these gentlemen will have cause to think it over. - ^f *The Daily Telegraph*. - ^g This refers to K. Abel, author of the note published in *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860. See this volume, pp. 74-76.

26

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1860

Dear Engels,

£5 received.

I shall be leaving tomorrow at ABOUT 7.30 a.m. (Euston Street⁸⁵).

From *Schaible's* statement^a enclosed herewith (this cutting is from *The Daily Telegraph*) you will see that the powder I administered has proved effective. *FACTS* prejudicial to the Genevan *advocatus imperii*^b will now emerge.

I at once wrote a brief note to Schaible, the contents of which were as follows:

His statement was important in being anti-Vogt and hence pro-main issue. It did nothing to alter Blind's 'WILFULLY FALSE' and in no way 'ERRONEOUS' STATEMENT in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.^c Still less his CONSPIRACY, of which he could, I said, convince himself by reference to the COPY I enclosed of Wiehe's AFFIDAVIT,^d which has yet to play its *public* role. You will observe that, IN ORDER TO SAVE BLIND FROM THE WORST, the fellows will come out with genuine *FACTS* against Vogt and actually grovel in the dust at our feet.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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^a Ch. Schaible, 'The Vogt Pamphlet. To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*'. In this statement, published in *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1447, 15 February 1860, Schaible claimed to be the author of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 130-31). - ^b imperial advocate (a reference to Vogt) - ^c No. 313, 9 November 1859 - ^d See this volume, p. 37.

27

ENGELS TO FRANZ DUNCKER

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 20 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your note of the 13th and regret that I am only now able to send the manuscript enclosed herewith.^a I hardly imagine that it will run to more than 3 printed sheets.

I don't quite understand the provisos you make concerning considerations of principle, unless you wished to make a general proviso to the effect that you must see the manuscript beforehand.^b I cannot believe that you wish to assume moral, logical and aesthetic responsibility for everything you publish, from Marx to Jacobus Venedey and from Lassalle to Palleske, or to associate your publishing house with the line of the *Volks-Zeitung*, on which I cannot comment since it is not to be had in Manchester. If, however, the considerations of principle are connected with Lassalle's pamphlet on Italy,^b which admittedly does not tally with my views on the subject, I do, of course, respect such reservations on your part, but I also know that Lassalle is certainly the last person who would wish this to be taken into account. I am therefore writing to Lassalle^c in the firm conviction that he would consider it an insult, were he thought capable of doing the slightest thing to obstruct the publication of a piece that differed from his own views on the subject.

[Should]^d you feel, however, that the pamphlet is unacceptable to your publishing house by reason of its length or its principles, I would request you to deliver it *within twenty-four hours of receipt* to Mr B. Afinger (Sculptor),
Linienstrasse 173, Berlin.

I have sent the letter to Borkheim.

I remain,

Yours truly,
Friedrich Engels

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

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

^a F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - ^b [F. Lassalle,] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie*, Berlin, 1859. - ^c See this volume, pp. 51-52. - ^d Illegible.

28

ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 20 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Lassalle,

Many thanks for sending me Vogt's concoction.^a More about this below.

As Duncker has doubtless told you, I have offered him a sort of sequel to *Po and Rhine*^b which he accepts subject to the proviso 'considerations of principle'.^c Even though I find it somewhat surprising that the publisher and not the author should be responsible for the principles advanced in a work, I have, nevertheless, tried in vain to discover what can be meant by this. Surely D. isn't claiming that his publishing house is simply an extension of the *Volks-Zeitung*, which, by the way, I never see up here. Finally, it occurred to me that D. may have got wind of the fact that my views on the Italian question are different from yours and made this proviso out of excessive concern for your pamphlet.^d I'm convinced that, should this be the case, I would only have to draw your attention to it, for you to reassure D. *on this score*. In view of your objectivity, you would, I know, consider it an insult, were anyone to suppose you capable of even remotely desiring the suppression of a work because it was opposed to your own views on a question of this kind. In fact, I had to spend a long time thinking things over before I could make up my mind to raise this point with you, being afraid you might be offended with me for assuming such imputations to be possible, even at third hand. But since there seems no other explanation for D.'s 'considerations', I have no choice.

Settling Vogt's hash will be mere child's play. We dealt with this ancient, warmed-up drivel as much as eight years ago⁸⁷ (though the little Genevan philistine in his secluded corner doesn't know it) and we'll jolly well demolish it so that nothing's left but the stench,

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^b F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - ^c See this volume, p. 50. - ^d [F. Lassalle,] *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens. Eine Stimme aus der Demokratie*, Berlin, 1859.

peculiar to Vogt, which he has injected into it. Incidentally, the statements of Blind,^a Biscamp^b and, in particular, Lupus^c have compromised the fellow to such an extent that, if things go on like this, there'll be literally nothing left to do. And now we have Schaible's statement about the provenance of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*,^d which completely nullifies the legal proceedings in Augsburg⁸⁸ and will ultimately compel Vogt, should he wish to demonstrate the contrary, to do so in London. All this has, of course, meant our rummaging through the whole of our archives, in which we have the life histories of the entire democratic gang; we can do for every one of them. This ignoramus Vogt, with his letter from Techow⁵⁶ (which Vogt stole, to boot) and his paltry, parochial Genevan gossip, imagines that we others are just as ignorant, just as low and just as cowardly as he. He is in for a surprise.

Most cordially,

Yours,
Engels

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

29

MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 21 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Sir,

The power of attorney was not sent off to you immediately after my first letter^e because, further on in that same letter, I had requested you to telegraph me. Having waited a few days, it

^a K. Blind, 'Gegen Karl Vogt', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860. - ^b [E. Biscamp,] 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 46 (supplement), 15 February 1860. - ^c W. Wolff, 'Erklärung', *Die Reform*, No. 18, 11 February 1860, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860, and *Volks-Zeitung*, No. 47, 24 February 1860. - ^d See this volume, p. 49. - ^e *ibid.*, pp. 40-45.

seemed to me best to wait until the latest date (namely yesterday, 20 February) by which your written reply might be expected to reach London from Berlin.

Since this did not arrive and since, on the other hand, you did not reject by telegraph my request that you should act as my lawyer, I assume that you have accepted my brief. To avoid further loss of time, I am therefore sending you the following in this registered letter:

1. The power of attorney;
2. 7 enclosures, *together with translations* where the original is in English.

These enclosures comprise:

1. A. Vögele's affidavit⁷⁸;
2. J. F. Wiehe's affidavit⁷⁹;
3. My English anti-Blind circular.^b
4. and 5. Two letters concerning this matter from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* to me.⁸⁰
6. Dr Schaible's statement in the *London 'Daily Telegraph'* of 15th February 1860, page 5, column 5, paragraph headed 'The Vogt Pamphlet'.
7. A letter from K. Blind to Liebknecht dated 8 September 1859.⁸⁰

Tomorrow, by which time I shall, perhaps, have received a letter from you, I shall take the liberty of sending you some comments on these documents. However, you will see at first glance that the infamous conduct attributed to me in No. 41 of the *National-Zeitung*, where I am portrayed as the anonymous fabricator of papers allegedly circulating in other people's names, is irrefutably *shown* in law to be an infamous libel.

As regards the *affidavits* (statements made in court in lieu of an oath), all I would say is this:

You will note that in affidavit *enclosure II*, the words 'UPON OATH' have been deleted by the magistrate. For he explained to us that a statement made before him was the equivalent of a sworn statement, *that a false statement was a felony and hence punishable with TRANSPORTATION* BUT that, under English law, an oath could properly be administered only in the presence of the defendant.

The rest I shall leave for tomorrow, pending which I remain,
Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

Dr. K. Marx

^a See this volume, pp. 31-32 and 37. - ^b K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'.

I am not *certain* how long I shall be staying up here and hence would request that all letters be sent to my home address,

9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London.

On *the power of attorney* I have left a space for the names of the *National-Zeitung's* editors.

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

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

30

MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH⁹¹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 February 1860^a
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Freiligrath,

I am writing to you again and, indeed, for the last time, about the Vogt affair. You have not so much as ACKNOWLEDGED receipt of my first two communications,^b a courtesy you would have extended to any philistine. I cannot possibly surmise that you imagine I am trying to extort a letter from you for any public purpose. As you are aware, I possess at least 200 letters of yours, in which there is more than enough material to establish your relations with me and with the party, should it prove necessary.

I am writing to you because, as a poet and a man up to his eyes in business, you would seem to misconceive the significance of the lawsuits I am conducting in Berlin and London.⁹² They are crucial to the *historical vindication* of the party and its subsequent position in Germany; this applies all the more to the lawsuit in Berlin in that it is taking place at the same time as the Eichhoff-Stieber case,⁴⁴ which turns mainly on the Cologne communist trial.²

The GRIEVANCES you may perhaps be nourishing against me are the following:

1. That I abused your name (or so you told Faucher).
2. The kind of 'scene' I made you in your OFFICE.

^a 1850 in the original. - ^b See this volume, pp. 30-32.

Re 1. I personally have *never* mentioned your name, except for saying in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* that Blind had told you much the same as he told me.^a *This is a FACT.* From the first I realised how important it was to call attention to the *real origins* of the pamphlet,^b and I had the *right* to cite a witness in connection with what Blind had said.

As for *Liebknrecht's* letter to the editor of the *A. A. Z.*, in which he mentions your name and mine (with reference to Blind⁹³), he will, if necessary, confirm *on oath* that this was done *without my knowledge*, just as he sent the Augsburg. *Allg. Zeit.* the pamphlet '*Zur Warnung*' *without my knowledge* and *during my absence in Manchester*. When Vogt sued the *A. A. Z.* and the latter turned to him [Liebknecht], he was still in doubt as to whether or not I should disavow him, as I could have done, and was in fact surprised when I immediately said I would do all I could to help him.

If—in the letter I wrote you—I took his side in the matter of your letter to him, this was simply because it seemed ungenerous, in a man of your repute and social standing, to write so harshly to an obscure party member living in a garret and one with whom you had hitherto been on friendly terms.

As regards the irritable tone of my own letter, there were various reasons for that.

Firstly, I was deeply wounded by the fact that you seemed more inclined to believe Blind than myself.

Secondly, from a letter you wrote me in a very irritable vein regarding *The Morning Advertiser* (Schiller Festival article^d) you would seem to consider me capable of the enormity, not only of surreptitiously introducing into Blind's article something injurious to yourself, but of actually denouncing this to you as Blind's handiwork.⁹⁴ I was at a complete loss to imagine what I could have done to deserve such injurious suspicions.

Thirdly, you showed Blind a private letter I had written you.

Finally, I had the right to expect—and all the more so after the '*Gartenlaube*' article,⁹⁵ that you should include in your statement in the *A. A. Z.*^e some allusion, however faint, that would obviate any appearance of its being a personal breach with myself and a public

^a K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - ^b *Zur Warnung*. - ^c on 23 November 1859 (present edition, Vol. 40) - ^d [K. Blind,] 'Crystal Palace.—The Schiller Commemoration', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 21344, 11 November 1859. - ^e F. Freiligrath, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 319 (supplement), 15 November 1859.

repudiation of the party. The fact that your second statement^a actually appeared alongside Blind's^b and your name served as a screen for his lying and fraudulence could hardly be expected to delight me. Incidentally, I give you *my word of honour* that, *prior* to their publication, I had *no knowledge whatsoever* of *any* of the statements made by Liebknecht in the A. A. Z.⁹⁶

Re 2. The day I came to your office, the two issues of the *National-Zeitung*^c (the *first* contained the libellous excerpts and comments later reprinted in the *Telegraph*^d) had just reached me from Berlin. There was utter commotion at home, and my poor wife was in a truly pitiful state. At the same time, I received a letter from Germany informing me that, besides your statements published in the A. A. Z., Vogt's libellous work included a letter of yours, from which your close relationship with Vogt was all too apparent,⁹⁷ and that, in particular, your name was the only one of any note out of which Vogt made political capital and which lent plausibility to his infamies in the eyes of the public. Imagine yourself in similar circumstances and then ask yourself whether, in your own case, spleen might not momentarily have prevailed over reason.

Let me repeat once again that this letter has nothing to do with *private interests*. In the London lawsuit I could have you SUBPOENAED as a witness without your prior permission. As regards the Berlin lawsuit, I am in possession of letters from you which, if required, I could place on the record. Nor do I stand alone in this matter. From every side—Belgium, Switzerland, France and England—Vogt's libellous attack has brought me unexpected allies, even from among people who belong to quite a different school of thought.

But in the first place it would anyhow be better for both parties, as for the cause, to act *en entente*.

In the second, I must tell you frankly that I cannot resign myself to losing, as a result of irrelevant misunderstandings, one of the few men whom I have loved as *friends*, in the eminent sense of the word.

^a F. Freiligrath, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 345 (supplement), 11 December 1859. - ^b K. Blind, 'Erklärung', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 345 (supplement), 11 December 1859. - ^c containing the items 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung', *N.-Z.*, No. 37, 22 January, and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *N.-Z.*, No. 41, 25 January 1860. - ^d [K. Abel.] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860.

If I have failed you in any way, I am at all times ready to admit to my error. *Nihil humani a me alienum puto.*^a

Finally, I understand very well that, in your present position, any affair such as the one under consideration could only be obnoxious to you.

You, for your part, will realise that it is *impossible* to count you out altogether.

Firstly, because Vogt is making political capital out of your name and pretending to have your approval in his indiscriminate mudslinging at a party which prides itself on counting you as one of its number.

Moreover, you happen to be the *only member* of the former Cologne Central Authority^b who, between the end of 1849 and the spring of 1851, lived in Cologne and has since that time lived in London.

Inasmuch as we have both consciously, each in his own way, out of the purest of motives and with an utter disregard for private interests, been flourishing the banner for '*la classe la plus laborieuse et la plus misérable*'⁹⁸ high above the heads of the philistines for years now, I should regard it as a contemptible offence against history, were we to fall out over trifles, all of them attributable to misunderstandings.

In sincere friendship

Your
Karl Marx

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Ergänzungshefte, No. 12, Stuttgart, 1911-1912

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

^a Nothing human is alien to me—an allusion to Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*, 1, 1, 25. ^b of the Communist League

31

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 23 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Lassalle,

I am at present having to conduct two lawsuits, one in Berlin and another in London,⁹² while, at the same time, simply working for a living, and am unable to write you more than a few lines.

I must say that, having seen the book, I'm astonished at the 'great deal of truth' you discovered in Vogt's romance,^a no less than at the pusillanimous advice you gave me.

As for the only part that *wasn't pure invention*—Tschow's letter,⁹⁶ or rather the substance thereof—I refuted this 7 years ago in a pamphlet which appeared in New York under the title *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, and to such good effect that all the yapping curs, who then still all belonged to the same pack, held their tongues and *dared not utter a single word in reply*.

What I should like you to do and what would be of incalculable use to me, would be to find out *who* is the *Daily Telegraph's correspondent in Berlin* and where the brute lives, the number of the house and the name of the street. I believe he's a Jew called Meier.⁷⁰ It shouldn't be at all difficult for you, in view of the position you occupy in Berlin, to find this out. Please advise me of it forthwith.

I enclose the pamphlet on the communist trial.^b

Your
K. M.

P. S. As for my *mistrust* (you compel me to talk like statesman Blind, *vide* the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*⁹⁹), that's something at least you can't complain of. Take, for instance, the enclosed note from Baltimore (United States). That note was sent to me in confidence.¹⁰⁰ The official allegations against you (among them the assertions of a workers' deputation from Düsseldorf^c) are in the

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. · ^b K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. · ^c See this volume, p. 35.

League's^a files, which are neither in my possession nor am I authorised to use them.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

32

MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 24 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Sir,

I find it surprising that as late as yesterday I should still have been without an acknowledgment from Berlin of the registered letter despatched to you on 13 February.^b

Yesterday I mailed you from here—Manchester—in a second registered letter, the power of attorney together with seven other enclosures^c and, with reference to the said (numbered) enclosures, am today taking the liberty of sending a few additional notes on the chief points which I consider it necessary to stress in the action for libel against the Berlin *National-Zeitung*. At the same time, I enclose a letter of 19 November 1852,¹⁰¹ and a copy of the *Revelations* published by me in 1853.^d

I. a) *The anonymous pamphlet 'Zur Warnung'*.

In No. 41 of the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, leading article, 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', -page 1, column 3, there is a passage which runs as follows:

'The Marx party could very easily saddle Blind with the authorship of the pamphlet because and after he had expressed similar views to those contained in it in conversation with Marx and in an article in *The Free Press*.' By making use of Blind's assertions and turns of phrase the pamphlet could be *fabricated* and made to look as if *he*' (i.e. Blind) 'had concocted it.'

^a the Communist League's - ^b See this volume, pp. 40-45. - ^c *ibid.*, p. 53. - ^d *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^e [K. Blind,] 'The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary', *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859.

Altogether the whole intent of this column is to depict me as the fabricator of the said flysheet and, at the same time, to charge me with the infamy of having made it look as though it had been concocted by Blind.

Before dealing with the evidence provided in the enclosures I sent you yesterday, it would, I think, be pertinent to give you a concise history of this controversy.

In the course of its lawsuit with Vogt, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* printed amongst other documents the following letter from me^a:

‘October 19, 1859
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, London

‘Sir,

‘As long as I had a hand in the German Press I attacked the *Allgem. Zeitung* and the *Allgem. Zeitung* attacked me. However, this does not of course prevent me from assisting the *Allgem. Zeitung*, as far as it lies in my power, in a case in which it has in my view fulfilled the primary duty of the press: that of the denunciation of humbugs. The enclosed document would be a legal document here in London. I do not know whether it is the same in Augsburg. I have procured the said document because Blind refused to stand by statements which he had made to me and others, which I passed on to Liebknecht, and which allowed the latter no doubts about the denunciation contained in the anonymous pamphlet.

‘Yours very sincerely, Dr K. Marx.’

The document enclosed in the letter to the *Allg. Zeit.* and also printed by the latter, runs:

‘I hereby declare in the presence of Dr Karl Marx and Wilhelm Liebknecht that the flysheet published anonymously and without indication of the place of printing under the title *Zur Warnung*, which was reproduced in No. 7 of the *Volk*, had been

‘1. composed and printed in the printshop of Fidelio Hollinger, 3 Litchfield Street, Soho, I myself composing part of the manuscript and F. Hollinger the other part; 2. that it was written in Karl Blind’s hand, which was known to me from Karl Blind’s manuscripts for the *Hermann*, and from anonymous flysheets written by Karl Blind, ostensibly printed at “Frankfurt am Main”, but in fact composed and printed at F. Hollinger’s, 3 Litchfield Street, Soho; 3. that Fidelio Hollinger in person told me Karl Blind was the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* directed against Prof. Vogt, August Vögele, compositor. The authenticity of the above signature is attested by W. Liebknecht, Dr. K. Marx, London, 17 September 1859.’^b

^a K. Marx, [Letter to the Editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*]. - ^b See also Marx’s *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 124-25.

(See Vogt's piece, 'Mein Prozess gegen die "Allg. Zeitung"; Documents, pp. 30, 31.)

In reply, the following letter from Karl Blind, together with the depositions of Hollinger and Wiehe, appeared in No. 313 of the *Allgem. Zeitung* and in the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

'London, 23 Townshend Road, St John's Wood, 3 November 1859. In order to refute the allegation that I am the author of the fliersheet *Zur Warnung*, I need do no more than make public the following document. This only in self-defence—not as a vindication of Karl Vogt, whose mode of action I and my friends of the republican party must unconditionally condemn in view of all that we have learned over the past six months. I can testify to the accuracy of the information provided by Mr Julius Fröbel to the effect that offers of money emanating from Vogt did, beyond doubt, arrive here, for the purpose of persuading Germans over here to influence the Press at home in the sense already mooted. *Karl Blind*.'

a) 'I hereby declare that the assertion of the compositor Vögele printed in the *Allg. Z.*, No. 300, to the effect that the pamphlet *Zur Warnung* mentioned there was printed in my printshop or that Herr Karl Blind was its author, is a malicious fabrication. *Fidelio Hollinger*, 3 Litchfield Street, Soho, London, November 2, 1859.'

b) 'The undersigned, who has lived and worked in No. 3 Litchfield Street for the past 11 months, for his part testifies to the correctness of Herr Hollinger's statement. London, November 2, 1859. *J. F. Wiehe*, Compositor.'

(Cf. Vogt's book, Documents, pp. 37 and 38.)^a

To this I replied in No. 325 of the *Allg. Zeit.*,^b the relevant cutting from the *A. A. Z.* having been sent you in my first letter from London.^c

Karl Blind, for his part, published a further rejoinder in the supplement to the *Allg. Zeit.* of 11 December, in which the editors declare:

'The following is the substance of Mr Karl Blind's statement: Having repeatedly based my testimony on the documents signed by Herr Hollinger, the printer, and Herr Wiehe, compositor, I declare here for the last time that the allegation (which is latterly put forward merely as an insinuation) that I am the author of the pamphlet frequently referred to is a downright mirage. The more recent statements about me contain distortions of the crudest sort. Let me repeat: I say this merely in self-defence against the Marx-Biscamp-Liebknicht camp, and not as a vindication of Vogt, my opposition to whom I have already voiced.'

The editors of the *Allgem. Zeit.* commented on this statement as follows:

'Since the further elucidation in these pages of the above circumstances, or the controversy over them, has long ceased to be of any interest to the public at large, we would request the gentlemen concerned to desist from any further exchanges.'^d

^a Marx also quotes these documents in *Herr Vogt*, p. 126. - ^b K. Marx, 'Declaration', 15 November 1859. - ^c See this volume, p. 42. - ^d See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, pp. 126-27.

(Cf. Vogt's book, Documents, pp. 41, 42.)

Thus, the files were closed for the time being. No sooner had I got hold of the articles in the *National-Zeitung* containing the excerpt from Vogt's pamphlet and the commentary thereon, than I brought out the English circular (*enclosure III*), addressed to the Editor of the London *Free Press*.² The aim was to impel K. Blind to bring an action for *injuria* against me, thus affording me the opportunity, first of providing legal proof in London as to the printing and provenance of the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*, and secondly of compelling its real author to produce incriminating evidence against Vogt in an English court of law.

The immediate consequence of this circular (*enclosure III*), which I sent to Karl Blind as soon as it came off the press, was K. Blind's *statement*, which appeared in the *Allgem. Zeitung* of 13 February, in the supplement to No. 44. In this statement, entitled *Against Karl Vogt*, while reiterating that he was not the 'author' of the anti-Vogt flysheet *Zur Warnung*, Blind was, nevertheless, forced by my circular to come out with sundry arguments to the effect that Vogt was an agent for Bonapartist propaganda in London. This was the *immediate* consequence of my first move, namely the publication of the circular (*enclosure III*).

In the meantime, I had procured the two affidavits of the composers Vögele and Wiehe (*enclosures I and II*). These affidavits proved, *firstly* that my claim that the flysheet *Zur Warnung* had been printed in Hollinger's printshop and written in Blind's hand, was *true*. *Secondly*, that Hollinger's and Wiehe's depositions, published by Blind both in No. 313 of the *Allg. Zeit.* and in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and again cited by him in the *Allg. Zeit.*'s supplement of 11 December, were *false*. *Thirdly*, that Blind and Hollinger (see *enclosure II*, the compositor Wiehe's affidavit) entered into a CONSPIRACY in order to obtain false evidence against me and disparage me as a liar and slanderer in the eyes of the public. A CONSPIRACY of this nature is a *criminal offence* under English law. Only one circumstance has restrained me from prosecuting Hollinger and Blind, and that is consideration for Blind's family.

I sent copies of the affidavits of the two composers Vögele and Wiehe (*enclosures I and II*) to several refugees who consort with Blind, to whom they showed them. The *immediate consequence* was *Dr Schaible's statement* in *The Daily Telegraph* of 15 February 1860,

² R. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'.

in which Schaible declares himself to be the *author* of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*, and accepts responsibility for the imputations against Vogt contained therein. (See enclosure VI.) Hence, if Vogt wishes to prove his innocence, he will have to begin his lawsuit all over again—in London. Schaible's statement to the effect that he is the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* in no way alters the fact that the flysheet was printed in Hollinger's printshop, that Blind caused it to be printed, that it was written in Blind's hand, that the depositions of Hollinger and Wiehe cited by him were false and, finally, that Hollinger and Blind were trying to extricate themselves from the snare and compromise me by giving false evidence.

I need hardly point out that the two affidavits of Vögele and Wiehe (enclosures I and II) and Dr Schaible's statement in *The Daily Telegraph* of 15 February (enclosure VI) put you in possession of positive evidence as to the *falsity* of the *National-Zeitung's* libel¹ adduced by me under Ia) of this letter.

b) *My relations with the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'.*

The two letters from the Editor of the *Allgem. Zeitung* to me dated 16 October 1859 (enclosures IV and V),¹⁰⁹ and my reply to the same, dated 19 October 1859, quoted above under Ia), represent my *entire* correspondence with the *All. Zeitung*. Hence, all this amounted to was my placing at the disposal of the *Allgem. Zeit.* a written document which could not fail to throw light on the *provenance* of the flysheet, the publication of which had led to Vogt's prosecution of the *Allgem. Zeit.*

On 9 May 1859, on the occasion of a public meeting held by David Urquhart, K. Blind informed me of all those allegations against Vogt which were later repeated in *Zur Warnung*, although that pamphlet *did not appear until the following June*. He assured me that he was in possession of the evidence. I did not attach much importance to this information, as I had already been convinced by Vogt's pamphlet entitled *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, as well as by his association with Fazy, the 'tyrant of Geneva', and Fazy's association with L[ouis] Bonaparte, that Vogt was a Bonapartist agent. It was all the same to me, whether it was with good or evil intent, whether paid or unpaid. Two or three days after Blind had told me this, Mr Biscamp, with whom I had never been connected in any way, either personally or politically, was brought to my house by Liebknecht. Biscamp suggested that my

¹ 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*. No. 41, 25 January 1860.

friends and I might care to support *Das Volk*, the paper he had founded, by making financial and literary contributions to it. Initially, I rejected his proposition, firstly because my time was in fact very much taken up, and secondly because I needed to learn more about *Das Volk*, of which there had so far been only one issue, before I could invite my friends to contribute to it. In this connection, I stressed that I had so far eschewed on principle *any* kind of participation in German newspapers published in London. During this talk I repeated to Liebknecht, in the presence of Biscamp, what Blind had told me at Urquhart's meeting. At the same time, I also mentioned the tendency of South Germans to exaggerate out of an inflated sense of their own importance. Subsequently, in No. 2 of the *Volk* of 14 May, under the heading 'Der Reichsregent als Reichsverräter', Mr Biscamp published, on his own responsibility and with his own interpolations, an article that is quoted in Vogt's piece, *Mein Prozess*, etc., Documents, pp. 17, 18, 19.¹⁰²

Later, about the *middle of June*, at a time when I was away from London and staying in Manchester,¹⁰³ Liebknecht received from Hollinger, in the latter's printshop, the proofsheets of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*, which he instantly [recognised] as being a reproduction of the information transmitted to me verbally by Blind, and the manuscript of which, as he learnt from the compositor Vögele, Blind had entrusted to Hollinger for printing. Liebknecht sent this proofsheets to the *All. Zeit.*, which published it, thus laying itself open to Vogt's libel action. Liebknecht was all the more justified in taking this step (about which I knew nothing, since I was not then in London) because he knew that Blind, Vogt's accuser, had been personally invited by Vogt to collaborate in the proposed work of propaganda. Vis-à-vis someone who took it upon himself to pay a *premium* for all articles in the German press favourable to Bonaparte's plans (see Vogt's admission to that effect in his book,⁹ letter to Dr Loening, Documents, p. 36), duty demanded that such widely read newspapers as the *Allgem. Zeit.* be utilised as 'a warning'.

As soon as Vogt brought his libel action against the A. A. Z. for reproducing the flysheet *Zur Warnung*, the Editor of the *Allg. Zeit.* wrote to Liebknecht urgently requesting that he produce proof. Liebknecht appealed to me. I referred him to Blind and, on his request, went with him to see the latter, as you will perceive from

⁹ C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

Blind's letter (enclosure VII). We failed to find Blind, who was at the seaside resort of St. Leonards. Liebknecht wrote to him twice. His letters remained unanswered for weeks until, perhaps, Blind thought that the Augsburg lawsuit was nearing its end. (His calculations were thrown out by the fact that the *Allg. Zeit.* had meanwhile succeeded in getting the case adjourned.) Eventually, Blind replied to Liebknecht in a letter dated 8 September (enclosure VII), in which he says with the most barefaced effrontery that, 'as already remarked', he had had 'no share whatever in the said affair', and that he might, 'on some future occasion, be willing to discuss verbally ... the observations made in the course of private conversation'. Liebknecht brought this letter to me.

I now perceived that, if Blind's tongue was to be loosened, forceful measures were needed. I recalled having read in the London *Free Press* of 27 May an anonymous article ('The Grand Duke Constantine to be King of Hungary')¹ which contained the substance of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* and of Blind's verbal communications to me. The style and content of the article never for a moment left me in doubt that Blind was the author of it. To make quite sure, I went with Liebknecht to see Mr Collet, the responsible editor of *The Free Press*. After some prevarication, he declared Blind to be the author of the article in question. Shortly afterwards, I obtained the written statement of the compositor Vögele to the effect that the flysheet had been composed in Hollinger's printshop and that the manuscript was written in Blind's hand.

Liebknecht now wrote another, even longer letter to Blind, in which he notified him that we now had proof of his connection with the flysheet *Zur Warnung*, drew his attention, in particular, to the article in *The Free Press*, and once more requested him to provide such information as might be available to him. K. Blind did not answer, nor indeed did he once break his silence either *before* or during the legal proceedings in Augsburg. There could thus no longer be any doubt that K. Blind was firmly determined to adhere to a policy of denial and diplomatic impassivity. *In these circumstances*, I told Liebknecht that I was prepared, should the *Allg. Zeit.* ask me to do so *in writing*, to send it Vögele's statement which I had in my possession. And this is in fact what I did, after

¹ *The Free Press*, No. 5, 27 May 1859. Marx gives the text of the article in *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 123 and 317.

receipt of the *Allg. Zeit.*'s two letters of 16 October, in my reply of 19 October.

The reasons which impelled me to take this step were as follows:

Firstly: I owed it to Liebknecht, who had first heard from myself about Blind's remarks concerning Vogt, to provide proof that he was not merely repeating random allegations against third parties.

Secondly: The *Allg. Zeitung* was, in my view, wholly justified in reprinting the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*, knowing as it did that its source was one whom Mr Vogt had personally invited to collaborate in his work of propaganda. The circumstance that the *Allg. Zeit.* belongs to a party hostile to myself and has always treated me personally in a hostile manner, even to the extent of repeatedly publishing the most fatuous gossip about me, in no way alters that view, no more than does the circumstance that, since I, accidentally, *do not come within the jurisdiction* of the Augsburg Court of Justice, I cannot be *subpoenaed* as a witness by the *Allgem. Zeit.*

Thirdly: In the *Biel 'Handels-Courier'*, No. 150 of 2 June, supplement (cf. p. 31 of the Documents in Vogt's book), Vogt had published a lampoon against me,^a obviously on the assumption that I was the author of the anti-Vogt article which Biscamp had published in the *Volk* on 14 May.^b Similarly, when he took action against the *Allg. Zeit.*, it was on the assumption that I was the author of the flysheet *Zur Warnung*. Blind was evidently determined to perpetuate this *quiproquo*,^c which suited Vogt so well.

Fourthly: and, *so far as I was concerned*, this was the *chief factor*. I wished to bring about a direct encounter between Vogt and his accusers, and on ground, moreover, such as would ensure a conclusive issue to the affair and leave no loopholes for either party. To achieve this, it was essential that I force both the real author and the publisher of the flysheet *Zur Warnung* to come out of their hiding places. That I had reckoned correctly is shown by Dr Schaible's statement^d (enclosure VI) and Blind's letter to the *Allg. Zeit.* of 13 February, Supplement to No. 44, already cited.

My correspondence with the *Allg. Zeit.* is confined to the two letters (enclosures IV and V) from Dr Orges,⁸⁹ and my reply of 19 October, cited above (under Ia). This sufficed for Mr Vogt (and the *National-Zeitung*) to dub me a contributor to the *Allg. Zeit.* and to present himself to the German public as the

^a See this volume, p. 22. - ^b [E. Biscamp,] 'Der Reichsregent', *Das Volk*, No. 2, 14 May 1859. - ^c confusion. - ^d Ch. Schaible, 'The Vogt Pamphlet. To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*', *D. T.*, No. 1447, 15 February 1860.

innocent victim of a conspiracy between the reactionaries and the extreme Left.

Liebknecht has been a correspondent of the *Allg. Zeit.* since 1855, just as Mr Vogt himself was once its correspondent. Liebknecht will, if necessary, testify **on oath** to the truth, namely that I *never* made use of him to smuggle so much as a single line into the *Allg. Zeit.* His connection with the *Allg. Zeit.* neither has nor has had anything whatever to do with me. Besides, his articles are confined *exclusively* to English politics, and the views he upholds in the *Allg. Zeit.* are the same as those he has upheld and upholds in radical German-American papers. There is not a line in any of his articles which does not contain *his* views and which he could not, therefore, uphold anywhere. As regards England's *foreign* policy, Liebknecht subscribes to much the same anti-Palmerston views as Bucher in the *Berlin National-Zeitung*. As regards England's *internal* policy, he has always supported the most progressive English party. He has *never* written a line in the *Allg. Zeit.* about the tittle-tattle of the London refugees.

So much for my alleged relations with the *Allgem. Zeitung*.

II. In No. 41 of the *National-Zeitung*, the leader, 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', p. 1, column 2, line 45 from the top *et seq.* runs:

'In May last year, a newspaper, *Das Volk*, was founded in London by the same Biscamp mentioned a short while since... Where the money for this generously distributed paper came from, is known to the gods; men, however, are well aware that Marx and Biscamp have no money to spare.'

Taken in conjunction with the whole of the article in No. 31, and likewise the leader in No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung*, where I am depicted as the 'confederate of the secret police in France and Germany', and especially with reference to the passage I shall presently cite under III, the lines I have just quoted imply that the money for *Das Volk* was procured by me *dishonestly*.

As to this, I would merely observe that

Vogt himself, in his pamphlet discussed by the *National-Zeitung*, quotes, on [p.] 41 of the 'Documents', which comprise the beginning of his book, the following editorial note in No. 6 of the *Volk*, dated 11 June:

'We are pleased to inform our readers that K. Marx, Fr. Engels, Ferd. Freiligrath, W. Wolff, H. Heise, etc. ... are *determined* to grant their support to *Das Volk*.'²

² See 'Statement by the Editorial Board of the Newspaper *Das Volk*', present edition. Vol. 16, p. 624.

Thus, up till the middle of June, I had not as yet given any support to the *Volk*, nor up to that point had I had anything to do with its financial affairs. However, I might perhaps mention in passing that at the time Biscamp earned his living in London as a tutor and, throughout, edited the '*Volk*' gratis. Similarly all the contributors, from the time the paper first came out until its collapse, wrote for it gratis. Hence the only production costs that had to be met were those of printing and distribution. These, however, always markedly exceeded the paper's returns. Before I collaborated on the paper, losses were met by public collections among Germans in London. Later, I procured between £20-25 (133 to 166 talers) which were contributed exclusively by Dr Borchardt, general practitioner, Dr Gumpert, ditto, Dr Heckscher, ditto, Wilhelm Wolff, teacher, Friedrich Engels, a businessman (all resident in Manchester), and myself. Although some of these gentlemen were not at all in sympathy with the political opinions held by myself, Engels and W[ilhelm] Wolff, they all thought it high time to come out against Bonapartist machinations amongst the émigrés (and this was the *Volk's* principal aim).

Lastly, the *Volk* left debts amounting, I think, to £8 (53 talers), for which Biscamp is liable, and in respect of which Hollinger possesses a promissory note of his.

That is the whole of the *Volk's* financial history.

As far as Mr Biscamp is concerned, he has himself declared in the supplement to No. 46 of the '*Allg. Zeit.*' of 15 February 1860:

'My entire political association with Mr Marx is confined to the few journalistic contributions he made to the weekly paper I founded, ... the *Volk*.'

As regards my own sources of income, all I need say here is that, since 1851, I have been a regular contributor to the *New-York Tribune*, the foremost English American paper, for which I have written not just articles, but leaders, too. The paper has some 200,000 subscribers and pays accordingly. In addition, I have for several years contributed to the *Cyclopaedia Americana* published by Mr Dana, one of the editors of the *New-York Tribune*. I hope to obtain from Mr Dana in New York a letter relating to these circumstances in time for the court proceedings.⁴ However, should this letter fail to arrive soon enough, I need only refer you to Mr Ferdinand Freiligrath, MANAGER of the General Bank of Switzerland, 2 Royal Exchange Buildings, London, who has for many years been good enough to cash my bills on America.

⁴ Marx cites Dana's letter in *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 323-24.

The effrontery of Vogt and his ally the *National-Zeitung* in casting aspersions on me because of my participation in a newspaper which *did not pay a penny*, is all the greater for the fact that, on p. 226 of his book discussed in the *National-Zeitung*, this same Vogt openly admits that 'furthermore', too, 'he would *obtain the money*' required for his purposes 'wherever he could lay hands on it'.

III. In No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung*, leader entitled 'Karl Vogt und die "Allgemeine Zeitung"', page 1, column 2, line 22 from top, *et seq.*, the *National-Zeitung* says—and this passage, which I now quote, I consider to be the *most incriminating* of all from the point of view of the libel action:

'Vogt reports on p. 136 *et seq.*: Among the refugees of 1849 the term *Brimstone Gang*, or the name of the *Bristlers*, referred to a number of people who, originally scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England, gradually congregated in London, where they revered *Herr Marx* as their visible leader.... *One of the chief occupations of the Brimstone Gang was to compromise people at home in Germany in such a way that they were forced to pay money so that the gang should keep secret the fact of their being compromised. Not just one, but hundreds of letters were written to people in Germany, threatening to denounce them for complicity in this or that act of revolution unless a certain sum of money had been received at a specified address by a given date....* The "proletarians" (as whose chief I am portrayed) 'filled the columns of the reactionary press in Germany with their denunciations of those democrats who did not subscribe to their views. *They became the confederates of the secret police in Germany and France.*'

As regards this infamous passage, which the *National-Zeitung* takes over lock, stock and barrel from Mr Vogt, thus ensuring its circulation among its 9,000 subscribers, I would remark:

Firstly: As I have already mentioned in my first letter to you,^a it will now be incumbent upon the *National-Zeitung* to produce from amongst these '**hundreds**' of threatening letters, *one solitary letter* or *one solitary line* of which I or any person known to be connected with me was the author.

Secondly: I repeat what I have already said in my first letter,^b namely that, since July 1849, I have *never* written for any German paper except the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* of Breslau^c (1855), at a time when it was under the editorship of Dr Elsner and Dr Stein. As the issues of the paper will themselves reveal, and as Messers Elsner and Stein will assuredly be willing to testify, I never thought it worth my while to devote so much as a single word to the emigration.

^a See this volume, p. 42. . ^b *ibid.*, p. 44. . ^c Wrocław

As for the *columns* in the 'reactionary press' which I and my friends filled with 'denunciations', it will be incumbent on the *National-Zeitung* to produce just *one such column*. On the other hand, it is both *true* and demonstrable that a large proportion of the German émigrés in London systematically filled German newspapers of all complexions with their hostile gossip about me for years on end. I have *never* made use of my connections, either with the *New-York Tribune*, or with the Chartist papers, or with *The Free Press*, for the purpose of retaliation.

As for my 'alliance with the secret police in France and Germany', Hörfel, a notorious French police spy, was the chief agent in Paris for Kinkel's émigré association. He in turn was connected with Beckmann, who was both a Prussian police spy and a correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Again, one Engländer, likewise a notorious French police spy, was for a considerable time the Paris correspondent of Ruge's clique. This was how 'the democratic émigrés in London' succeeded in setting up, all unwittingly, of course, an 'alliance with the secret police in France and Germany'.

Finally Vogt, and with him the *National-Zeitung*, mentions

'a number of people who, among the refugees of 1849, went by the name of the *Brimstone Gang* or *Bristlers* and who, originally scattered throughout Switzerland, France and England, gradually congregated in London, where they revered *Her Marx* as their visible leader'.

This passage I regard as of secondary importance. Nevertheless, with a view to elucidating and unmasking the libellous intentions of Vogt and the *National-Zeitung*, I would make the following observations:

The *Brimstone Gang* was the name given to a society of young German refugees who lived in Geneva in 1849/50 and set up their headquarters in the Café de l'Europe in that city. This was neither a political nor a socialist society but, in the true sense of the term, a '*society of young blades*' who were seeking to overcome the first pangs of exile by indulging in mad escapades. It consisted of *Eduard Rosenblum*, medical student; *Max Cohnheim*, shop assistant; *Korn*, chemist and pharmacist; *Becker*,¹⁰⁴ engineer, and *L. S. Borkheim*, student and artilleryman. I had never seen any of these gentlemen save Mr Becker, and him only once, at the Democratic Congress in Cologne in 1848.¹⁰⁴ In mid-1850 all the members of

¹⁰⁴ Max Joseph Becker

the society except for Korn were expelled from Geneva. The group scattered to the four winds.

I am obliged to Mr Borkheim, now manager of a big commercial enterprise in the City (44 Mark Lane), for the above notes concerning a *society of which I had been hitherto entirely ignorant*.⁸⁴ I first made Mr Borkheim's acquaintance only *about a fortnight since*, after I had written to him asking for information.⁸²

So much for the Brimstone Gang.

Now, as regards the *Bristlers*, this was a term of abuse which one *Abt*, at present secretary to the Bishop of Freiburg,⁸⁵ applied to the *Workers' Educational Association in Geneva*. For *Abt* had been declared *dishonourable* by a general refugee society which comprised members (refugees) of the Workers' Educational Association as well as former members of the Frankfurt Parliament. To avenge himself, he wrote a pamphlet, in which he christened the Workers' Educational Association '*Bürstenheimers*' [roughly: 'Bristlers'] because the Association's President at the time was a *brush maker* [*Bürstenmacher*] by the name of *Sauernheimer*.⁸⁶ *There was never any kind of connection* between this Workers' Educational Association in Geneva and myself or the communist society in London to which I belonged.⁸⁶ In the summer of 1851, two of its members, Schily, a lawyer now in Paris, and P. Imandt, now professor at the training college in Dundee, were expelled by the Swiss authorities and made their way to London where they joined the Workers' Society then headed by Willich and Schapper⁸⁷; this, however, they left a few months later. Their relationship to me was that of compatriots and old personal friends. The only person in Geneva with whom I ever had anything to do since my expulsion from Prussia (1849) was Dronke, now a businessman in Liverpool.

Thus, the names *Brimstone Gang* and *Bristlers*, like the two quite distinct societies they denoted, were *exclusive* to Geneva. There was *never any connection* between the two societies and myself. They first became known in *London* through the leaders in the *National-Zeitung*,⁸⁸ excerpts from which were reprinted by a London paper, *The Daily Telegraph*.⁸⁹

Thus, my connection with the '*Brimstone Gang*' and the '*Bristlers*' is a deliberate fabrication on the part of Vogt, the *National-Zeitung* having made itself his mouthpiece.

⁸⁴ Étienne Marilley - ⁸⁵ 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, No. 37, 22 January 1860, and No. 41, 25 January 1860. - ⁸⁶ [K. Abel,] 'The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1439, 6 February 1860.

IV. 'The *National-Zeitung*, No. 41, leader 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', page 1, column 1, line 49 from the top, says:

To begin with, Vogt simply alludes to the '*party of the proletarians*' '*under Marx*'.

In this way I am identified with the '*party of the proletarians*' and hence *everything* the paper says about that party also applies to *myself personally*.

Now, further on in the same article, column 2, line 19 from the top et seq., we read:

'In this way a conspiracy of the most infamous sort was devised in 1852, which aimed at damaging the Swiss workers' associations by *manufacturing counterfeit paper money* on a massive scale. (See Vogt for further details.) This conspiracy would have caused the greatest difficulties for the Swiss authorities if it had not been uncovered in time.'

And, further on in the same column, line 33 from top:

'The party of the "proletarians" nourishes a particular hatred for Switzerland', etc.

The *National-Zeitung* must have known from the Cologne communist trial of October 1852² (just as Vogt knew from my *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial*) that I never had anything to do with Cherval, who is said to have been responsible for the machinations in Switzerland in 1852 (Mr Schapper of 5 Percy Street, Bedford Square, London, with whom Cherval had connections *before* the Cologne trial, is prepared to provide all the necessary information on the subject); that *during* the communist trial in Cologne I denounced Cherval, through the medium of counsel, as an ally of Stieber's; that, according to the depositions *wrested* from Stieber, when Cherval was in Paris in 1851, hatching the *complot franco-allemand* under Stieber's direction,¹⁰⁸ he [Cherval] belonged to a society *hostile to myself*. The *National-Zeitung* knew from Vogt's book, which it made the subject of two leading articles, that, *after* the Cologne trial was over, I had also denounced Cherval as a *mouchard*¹⁰⁹ in the work, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, which I sent to Switzerland for printing. During the Cologne trial, when Cherval arrived in London, ostensibly after escaping from prison in Paris, but in fact as a *mouchard*, [he] was welcomed with open arms by the Workers' Society, then run by Willich and Schapper, only to be expelled in consequence of the cross-examination to which, at my

¹⁰⁸ police spy

instigation, counsel (notably Schneider II) subjected Stieber *re* Cherval during the proceedings in Cologne.

Hence it was the *most barefaced* and *deliberate libel* on the part of Vogt and his associate, the *National-Zeitung*, to make me responsible for the alleged activities in Switzerland of an individual notoriously my enemy, whom I had exposed and persecuted. Vogt speaks of *Marx's associates* in Geneva with whom Cherval consorted. At the present time, as in 1852, I have *no* connections with *anyone whomsoever in Switzerland*.

Let me repeat what I told you in an earlier letter^a: On 15 September 1850 my friends and I disassociated ourselves from one section of the London Central Authority of the then extant German communist society (called 'Communist League'),⁶³ namely from that section which, under Willich's leadership, took part in the (come to that, highly innocuous and puerile) revolution-and-conspiracy-mongering of the 'Democratic Emigration'. We removed the Central Authority to Cologne and entirely suspended *all* correspondence with any part of the Continent except for Cologne. As the Cologne trial was to show, that correspondence contained nothing of a criminal nature. From the spring of 1851 onwards, immediately after the arrest of individual members of the society in Cologne, we (the *London* section of the society) *broke off every single connection with the Continent*. The only man—not personally known to me, by the by—with whom I continued to correspond *about ways and means of defending the arrested men*, was a friend of theirs, Mr *Bernbach*, former deputy of the Frankfurt National Assembly. My friends in London met once a week for the purpose of frustrating the police machinations unblushingly resorted to and daily renewed by Stieber. In mid-November (1852), *after* the conclusion of the Cologne trial, I, with the consensus of my friends, declared the 'Communist League' *disbanded*, nor, since that time, have I belonged either to a *secret* or to a *public* society. Ferdinand Freiligrath, who belonged to the communist society, was in Cologne from the autumn of 1848 until the spring of 1851, and has lived in London from the spring of 1851 until the present, can testify to the absolute truth of the foregoing account. For that matter, sufficient proof is provided by the enclosed letter of 19 November 1852, postmarked London and Manchester, which my friend F. Engels has discovered amongst his old papers.^b

^a See this volume, p. 45. - ^b *ibid.*, p. 83.

I arranged for the enclosed pamphlet,^a quoted by Vogt and the *National-Zeitung*, to be printed in Boston (in America) after the original edition of 2,000 copies published by Schabelitz in Basle had been confiscated on the Baden border. From this, no less than from the Stieber-Eichhoff case,⁴⁴ when it eventually comes up in Berlin, you will see that the communist society, to which I belonged until mid-November 1852, committed *no offence whatsoever* on which to base an indictment; also that, on the other hand, in spite of the very restricted means at our disposal, my London friends and I so effectively demolished the web of intrigue spun by the police that in the end they actually proposed to secure the prisoners' conviction—as Hirsch, once Stieber's agent and now in gaol in Hamburg, relates in his confessions in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung* of 22 April 1853^b—by getting Hirsch to travel to Cologne under the name of Haupt, and perjure himself in the name of the Haupt he was impersonating. This coup was on the point of being perpetrated when, Hirsch says, Mr von Hinckeldey wrote saying that,

'The State Prosecutor hopes that thanks to the happy constitution of the jury it will be possible to get a verdict of guilty even *without extraordinary measures*, and he' (Hinckeldey) 'therefore asks you not to trouble yourselves further.'

It goes without saying that the only value the enclosed pamphlet would have in a court of law would lie in the light it throws on my struggle with Stieber, Hinckeldey and the then Prussian police system. The societies therein alluded to have belonged to the realm of history for years now.

V. Finally, in order to leave you in no doubt as to the significance to me of the libel suit against the *National-Zeitung*, I will allude very briefly to the *repercussions here in London* of the leaders in the *National-Zeitung*.

The Daily Telegraph (a newspaper appearing in London) of 6 February 1860 published an article of two and a half columns under the heading *The Journalistic Auxiliaries of Austria*.

This article, dated *Frankfurt am Main*, but in fact written in *Berlin*, is, as the most fleeting comparison will reveal, a mere paraphrase if not, in part, a word for word translation of the two leaders in Nos. 37 and 41 of the *Nat. Zeit.* on account of which I am suing it. I shall be sending you the said issue of the *Daily*

^a K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. — ^b W. Hirsch, 'Die Opfer der Moucharderie', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6; 1, 8, 15 and 22 April 1853.

Telegraph within the next few days. In this *Telegraph* article, as in the *National-Zeitung*, firstly, my friends and I are portrayed as 'confederates of the secret police'; and, secondly, there is a word for word translation of the whole of the passage from the *National-Zeitung*, to which I refer under IV, concerning the Brimstone Gang, the blackmailing letters, my complicity in Cherval's money forgery in Switzerland, etc.

No sooner had this article appeared than I at once wrote to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, demanding an *amende honorable*, in default of which I would bring an *ACTION FOR LIBEL* against him.³ He replied, saying that he had sent my letter to his correspondent in Germany and would await the latter's reply. That reply was published in the *Daily Telegraph* of 13 February 1860. The following is a literal translation (I shall let you have the original in a few days' time):

'Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Feb. 8. I shall not be long in disposing of the remarks addressed to you by Dr Marx in reply to a communication of mine. The letter addressed to you by him has been simply misdirected. If the learned gentleman had offered his observations to Dr Vogt himself, or to one of the *hundred German editors* who quoted the hook of Dr Vogt, his behaviour would only have been what the case seems to demand. As it is, however, Dr Marx, leaving unrefuted the numerous accusations raised against him in his own country, prefers cooling his anger by attacking the only English paper that has received into its columns a statement printed and reprinted before *in almost every German city of any magnitude*. The learned gentleman seems to be utterly oblivious of the fact that he has not the slightest right to complain of the publication of a certain piece of unpleasant intelligence by an *English paper*, so long as he does not deem it convenient to call to account the originators and propagators of the mischief in his fatherland. I conclude these lines by declaring my readiness to acknowledge the untruthfulness of the statements put forth in the communication alluded to the moment Dr Marx will have satisfied the world of their falsity. If he is in possession of the evidence required for such a purpose, *nothing would be easier for him than to accomplish so desirable an object. There are at least fifty German cities* at his disposal where he will have to institute lawsuits, and bring the editors to condign punishment. *Unless he chooses to pursue this course*, it is not the duty of the correspondent of an English paper to retract what he did not assert, but merely repeated on the *uncontradicted authority of the most respectable sources*.'

Merely *en passant* I would draw attention to the exaggerations with which the *Daily Telegraph's* Berlin correspondent (a Jew by the name of Meier,⁷⁰ I believe) endeavours to cloak his plagiarisms from the *National-Zeitung*. First there are a hundred German editors, then many thousands (in other words, as many editors as there are towns of any importance in Germany) and, finally, at

³ K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*'.

least fifty editors whom I would have to sue. Incidentally, by the most respectable sources, he means his only source, the Berlin *National-Zeitung*.

Again merely in passing, I should mention that in my letter of 6 February to the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, a letter which, as he wrote and told me himself, he forwarded to his German correspondent, I had disclosed to the Editor of the *Telegraph*, and hence also to his correspondent, that I intended to bring a *libel action against the Berlin 'National-Zeitung'*.

What seems to me the one point of crucial importance here is that the *Daily Telegraph*, skulking behind its correspondent, is refusing me any kind of satisfaction until I have taken action against a German paper. It invokes the 'respectable' authority of the *National-Zeitung*, which was alone in printing, in this context, the very assertions made by it.

You can imagine what a scandal the *Telegraph* article created in London. For that scandal I have the *National-Zeitung* to thank. If only for my family's sake, I shall have to bring an ACTION FOR LIBEL against the *Telegraph*, for which the necessary retaining fees will amount in this country to at least £200—before the case has been decided. The depths of depravity to which Vogt is capable of descending will have been apparent to you from the dastardly insinuation that I owed my alleged connections with the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* to the fact of my wife's being the sister of the former Prussian minister, von Westphalen.

I now await *by return of post* (unless a letter has been despatched to me previously) notification that you have received the following letters:

1. Letter from London of 13 February, together with a retaining fee of 15 talers.
2. Letter from Manchester of 21 February, together with power of attorney and seven enclosures.
3. This letter from Manchester of 24 February, enclosing the pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* and a letter which I wrote Engels on 19 November 1852, postmarked in London and Manchester.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Dr Karl Marx

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LONDON

[Draft]

Manchester, 27 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Liebknecht,

You should let Schapper have a look at Vogt's book.^a Go and see him. He will tell you what I've written to him.⁴²

According to the letter from my lawyer in Berlin,^b which arrived yesterday, things are going well. The information I sent him included what was required in respect of yourself. Deal thoroughly with all that part of Vogt's book relating to you, so that I can have it at any time. But stick absolutely *rigidly* to the *FACTS*.

Next, it is essential that the resolution backing me and censuring Vogt, adopted by the Workers' Educational Society on 6 February 1860^c and signed by the Society's chairman,^d should be authenticated *immédiatement* (i.e. the signature) before the magistrate. So, have a word with Weber^e if necessary.

Kindest regards to your wife and yourself.

Your
K. M.

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

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

^a *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* - ^b J. M. Weber - ^c See this volume, p. 34. - ^d Georg Müller - ^e Josef Valentin Weber

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MARX TO KARL SCHAPPER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

Manchester, 27 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Schapper,

I have written to Liebknecht asking him to let you have a look at Vogt's book,^a so that you can see for yourself how important the Berlin lawsuit against the *National-Zeitung* (the one against the *Telegraph*^b is secondary) is to the historical vindication of our party and its subsequent position in Germany. Yesterday I had a letter from my lawyer in Berlin^c from which I gather that Mr Zabel of the *National-Zeitung* will probably atone for his pro-Vogtian zeal by becoming intimately acquainted with the interior of a penal establishment. My lawyer thinks it important that you should make the following affidavit,¹⁰⁹ as soon as possible, or one along similar lines, before a London magistrate (the one in Bow Street is our man; he already knows Liebknecht, who could go with you):

*I declare herewith, that, in the year, etc., Cherval (alias Crämer, etc.) was introduced by myself into the London Branch of the German friendly society called "Der Bund" (the Union)⁶³ (a society, by the by, which has ceased to exist long time since); that in etc. 1848 the said passed through Cologne where he had a short interview with me, which I did not even mention to Dr Karl Marx. Cherval being an individual utterly unknown to Dr K. M.; that in 1851/52 during his stay at Paris, Cherval belonged to, and corresponded with that branch of the German friendly society called "Der Bund" which at the time was directed by myself and Mr Willich, now living at Cincinnati, U. St.; that, during the autumn of 1852, after his return from Paris to London, Cherval entered the public German Working-men's Society, called "Der Arbeiterbildungsverein", of which he had formerly been a member and which, at the time, was directed by myself and the above said Mr Willich; that consequent upon the revelations publicly made at Cologne against Cherval during the trial of

^a See this volume, p. 77. ^b *The Daily Telegraph*. ^c J. M. Weber

Dr Becker^a and others, and upon other information derived from other sources, the said Cherval was publicly expelled from the German Workmen Club above named, and, soon after, disappeared from London.^b*

Engels sends you his kindest regards; he will, by the by, be coming down to London himself sometime in the spring. I beg you to lose no time.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

In the affidavit mention is made of a 'FRIENDLY SOCIETY', this being the sort of thing that doesn't sound at all suspect to an English magistrate; besides, you can interpret FRIENDLY SOCIETY in any way you wish.

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

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

35

MARX TO MUZEMBINI

IN LONDON

[Draft]

Manchester, 27 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road^b

My dear Muzembini,

Mr Fancher, I suppose, will have told you that I am just now busied with two actions for libel, the one being carried on at Berlin against the *National-Zeitung*, the other at London against the *Daily Telegraph*, both relating to Vogt, the Bonapartist agent's pamphlet against myself.^c

In regard to the latter it is of the highest importance for me to be exactly informed of the relations of General Klapka with the

^a Hermann Becker - ^b Marx wrote under the date: 'Enclosed in the letter to my wife, To Muzembini, under the above date, as follows:'. - ^c C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*.

General Bank of Switzerland and the Ottoman bank, of the mutual relations of these two banks, of the relations of the Ottoman bank with Musurus, and of the latter's relations with Russia. You will highly oblige me by giving me the information wanted, and by directing it to my present address.

With my best compliments to Mrs Muzembini

Yours truly,
K. Marx

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

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36

MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 February 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Freiligrath,

Your letter really warmed my heart, for there are very few people with whom I strike up a friendship, but when I do I adhere to it. My friends of 1844 continue to be my friends today. As to the strictly official part of your letter, however, this is based on some grave misapprehensions, hence the following by way of clarification:

I. *The Eichhoff-Stieber case*¹⁴

The 'material' which I passed on to Juch (on which occasion I also pointed out to him that there were two reasons why he and Eichhoff did not deserve my support: *firstly*, the way in which they had referred to the Cologne trial² in the *Hermann*³; *secondly*, my conviction that Eichhoff is simply a tool of the ex-police official Duncker, who is seeking to avenge himself on Stieber as Vidocq once did on Gisquet in Paris; nevertheless, I would, I said, do all in my power to help overthrow Stieber and bring him to book, if only to avenge the death of my friend, Dr Daniels), this 'material', I say, amounts to the following:

¹⁴ [K. Eichhoff,] 'Stieber', *Hermann*, Nos. 36-38, 40, 42, 43; 10, 17, 24 September, 8, 22, 29 October 1859.

I gave Juch a copy of the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*; N. B. this publication of mine, which was printed first in Switzerland and later in Boston, was cited by Vogt as a well-known book, and was in no sense 'something secret'.

I told Juch that it contained all I knew.

Finally, I pointed out to him that Lewald (Eichhoff's defence counsel) must examine Hirsch, who was in jail in Hamburg, as a witness. This was done. Hirsch has now admitted on oath that the 'minute-book' was a *Prussian fabrication* and an *indictable offence* in every other respect.

Hence the 'revelations' produced by the trial, thanks to my 'material', *exonerate* the former members of the League⁶⁹ from any semblance of legal *culpa*⁷⁰ and 'expose' the *Prussian police system*, which, once installed as a result of the 'Cologne trial' and the infamous pusillanimity of the Cologne jury, grew to be such a power in Prussia that it has finally become intolerable to the bourgeois themselves and even to Auerswald's ministry. *Voilà tout!*⁷¹

Besides, I'm *astonished* that you could even imagine that I might hand the police anything on a platter. I would remind you of letters sent from Cologne (1849-50),¹¹⁰ which you knew about and in which I was reproached *in so many words* with having dragged my feet too much (at the time, I did so for very good reasons, certainly not out of concern for myself) in regard to agitation by the League.

2. *My lawsuit against the 'National-Zeitung'*

I would point out *d'abord* that, after the 'League' had been disbanded at *my behest* in November 1852, I *never* belonged to any society again, whether *secret* or *public*; that the *party*, therefore, in this wholly ephemeral sense, ceased to exist for me 8 years ago. The lectures on political economy I gave, after the appearance of my book⁴ (in the autumn of 1859), to a few picked working men, amongst whom were also *former* members of the League, had nothing in common with an exclusive society—less even than, say, Mr Gerstenberg's lectures to the Schiller Committee.⁷⁵

You will recall that the leaders of the fairly ramified Communist Club in New York¹¹¹ (among them Albrecht Komp, MANAGER of the General Bank, 44 Exchange Place, New York) sent me a letter, which passed through your hands, and in which it was tentatively suggested that I should reorganise the old League. A whole year passed before I replied,¹¹² and then it was to the effect that since

⁴ guilt · ⁵ That is all · ⁶ first · ⁷ A *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

1852 I had not been associated with any association and was firmly convinced that my theoretical studies were of greater use to the working class than my meddling with associations which had now had their day on the Continent. Because of this 'inactivity' I was thereupon repeatedly and bitterly attacked, if not by name at least by inference, in Mr Scherzer's London *Neue Zeit*.

When Mr Levy came over from Düsseldorf (for the first time), on which occasion he frequently called on you, too, he actually proffered me a factory operatives' insurrection, no less, in Iserlohn, Solingen, etc. I told him bluntly that I was against such futile and dangerous *folly*. I further informed him that I no longer belonged to any 'league'; nor, in view of the danger presented to the people in Germany [by] such a connection, could I have *anything* to do with it, no matter what the circumstances. Levy returned to Düsseldorf, and as I was shortly afterwards informed by letter, spoke very highly of you while denouncing my 'doctrinaire' indifference.¹¹³

Since 1852, then, I have known *nothing* of 'party' in the sense implied in your letter. Whereas you are a *poet*, I am a *critic* and for me the experiences of 1849-52 were quite enough. The 'League', like the *société des saisons* in Paris¹¹⁴ and a hundred other societies, was simply an episode in the history of a party that is everywhere springing up naturally out of the soil of modern society.

There are two things I have to prove in Berlin (I mean with regard to this hoary and outdated business of the League):

First, that since 1852 no such society has existed of which I have been a member,

next, that in as much as he slings Tellerian mud, and worse, at the communist society that existed up till November 1852, Mr Vogt is a *scoundrelly and infamous slanderer*.

As to the latter point, you, of course, are a witness and *your letter to Ruge* (summer of 1851) proves that, during the period *with which we are solely concerned here*, you regarded attacks of this kind as being directed against yourself, too.

You were a co-signatory to the statements in the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Spectator*, the *Examiner*, the *Leader*, and the *People's Paper*.^a One copy of these is on the court files in Cologne.

Nor did you raise the least objection when I reverted to this matter in my *Revelations* (p. 47) (*Boston* edition).^b

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, [Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press]. ^b See present edition, Vol. II, p. 433.

Again, your name appears—as treasurer—in the appeal we published requesting contributions for the convicted men.¹¹⁵

But there's hardly any need to go into all this again.

What is **imperative**, however, is that my lawyer in Berlin^a should be sent the following letter *from me to Engels*, this being a *legal* document by virtue of the fact that it was sent without an *envelope* and bears *both* London and Manchester *postmarks*.

'London, 19 November 1852
28 Dean Street, Soho

'Dear Engels,

'Last Wednesday,^b at my suggestion, the League *disbanded*; similarly the continued existence of the League on the Continent was *declared* to be *no longer expedient*. In any case, since the arrest of Bürgers-Röser, it had to all intents and purposes already ceased to exist there. Enclosed a *statement* for the English papers,^c etc. In addition I am writing, for the *Lithographierte Korrespondenz*, an article' (instead, I wrote the pamphlet published by Schabelitz^d) '*on the dirty tricks played by the police, etc.*, and also an appeal to America for money for the prisoners and their families. Treasurer Freiligrath. Signed by all our people.' (The few remaining lines are irrelevant.)

'Your K. M.'^e

In the case of such a document I cannot, of course, delete *any names*. This is the only document in which, with a view to *substantiating a fact*, namely the *disbandment of the League*, I make use of your name, in as much as it happens to occur in a letter written by *me* in 1852. I cannot see how that would compromise you.

I should like to use *one* letter of yours, written in 1851, for the pamphlet which is to appear *after* the hearing.^f **Nothing** in the least compromising about it, legally speaking. But since this will take many weeks, I shall arrange matters with you by word of mouth.

^a J. M. Weber - ^b 17 November 1852 - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, [Public Statement to the Editors of the English Press]. - ^d Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - ^e See present edition, Vol. 39. - ^f K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

From the above it follows that:

The 'meetings, resolutions and transactions of the party' since 1852 belong to the *realm of fantasy*, as you might have known in any case without my telling you and, judging by a great many of your letters to me, evidently did know.

The *only* activity in which I persisted after 1852, far as long as it continued necessary—i.e. until the end of 1853—in company with a few *kindred spirits* on the other side of the Atlantic, was of the kind described by Mr Ludwig Simon in 1851 in the *Tribune* as a SYSTEM OF MUCKERY AND CONTEMPT,^{11b} and was directed against the *emigration's democratic humbug and revolution-mongering*. Your anti-Kinkel pactm,^a no less than your correspondence with me during that time, prove that you and I were entirely *d'accord*.

However, this has nothing to do with the lawsuits.

Telling, **Bangya**, Fleury, etc., *never* belonged to the 'League'. That dirt is thrown up by storms, that no revolutionary period smells of attar of roses, that even, at times, one becomes a target for all manner of garbage, goes without saying. *Auf, auf!*^b However, when one considers the tremendous efforts made to combat us by the whole of the official world, who did not so much skim as wade through the depths of the *Code pénal* in order to ruin us; when one considers the slanderous attacks of the 'democracy of folly' which could never forgive our party for having more brains and character than itself; when one knows the *parallel* history of all the other parties; when one finally asks oneself what can *actually* be held (other than, say, *the infamies refutable in court*, of a Vogt or a Telling) against the party as a whole, one can only conclude that what distinguishes it in this, the nineteenth century, is its *purity*.

Can one escape the filth in bourgeois intercourse or TRADE? But in the latter, the filth has its natural habitat. Example: Sir R. Carden, *vide* the Parliamentary Blue Book on corrupt election practices.^c Example: Mr **Klapka**, concerning whose personal details I am now very well informed. Kl. is not one whit better, and possibly worse, than **Bangya** whom, by the by, he and Kassuth have been sheltering *to this day* in Constantinople, despite his heroic deeds in Circassia and despite *my* public denunciation,^d

^a F. Freiligrath, 'An Josef Weydemeyer', *Zwei poetische Episteln*. Epistel 1. -

^b Eüther, Dr. - ^c *Report of Committee on the Operation and Effects of the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act 1854. Evidence. Appendix and Index*, London, 1860. - ^d K. Marx, 'A Traitor in Circassia', 'A Curious Piece of History' and 'Another Strange Chapter of Modern History'.

simply because he knew *too much* about them. As a person Bangya was more decorous than Kl. He kept a mistress; **for years** Klapka allowed a mistress to keep *him*, etc. The filth of a Tellingar may well be counterbalanced by the purity of a Beta, and even the dissoluteness of a Reiff finds its equivalent in the chastity of a Paula^a who, at any rate, was not a member of the party, nor made any pretence so to be.

The honourable meanness or mean honourableness of solvert (and this subject only to highly ambiguous provisos, as every trade crisis goes to show) morality is to my mind not one whit superior to disrespectable meanness, from the taint of which neither the first Christian communities, nor the Jacobin Club, nor our erstwhile 'League' could remain entirely free. But bourgeois intercourse accustoms one to the loss of one's sense of respectable meanness or mean respectability.

3. *The special matter of Vogt and Blind.*

Following the affidavits made by Vögele⁷⁸ and Wiehe^b (as everyone knows, a false affidavit entails transportation) and following the statements extracted in consequence thereof—from Blind in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*^c and from Dr Schaible (*Daily Telegraph* of 15 February)^d—the affair has **resolved itself** to the extent that your testimony relating to this point has *now* been rendered quite superfluous. As regards the Blind case, my only problem is an *embarras de richesses*.

In this matter I approached Ernest Jones, with whom I had not consorted for two years on account of his foolish, but now *publicly* disavowed, attitude to Bright, Gilpin, etc.¹¹⁷ I approached *him* firstly because he, like many others, some of them quite unknown to me, let me know spontaneously, immediately *after* the *Telegraph* of 6 February had appeared, how profoundly indignant he was at the infamous conduct of Vogt, who had had the effrontery to assert that the Communist League had been founded and, from 1849 to 1852, had operated, with one end in view, namely *to extort money from compromised people in Germany by threatening to denounce them*; who traced back my 'connection' with the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* to my 'relationship by marriage' to von Westphalen, etc. (For my wife's sake I was glad of this demonstration, since one can

^a Paula-Kröcher. ^b See this volume, pp. 31-32 and 37. - ^c K. Blind, 'Gegen Karl Vogt', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 13 February 1860. - ^d Ch. Schaible, 'The Vogt Pamphlet. To the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*', *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 1447, 15 February 1860.

hardly expect ladies to grow a political thick skin; moreover, it is precisely by catastrophes that they are accustomed to gauge whether a friendship is in earnest or in jest); *secondly*, because I was deterred by consideration, not for Blind, but for his wife and children, from discussing his *case, most invidious from a legal point of view, with a true-blue English lawyer*. It was this same consideration that deterred me from sending the *English circular*^a to the *Morning Advertiser* or to any *English daily* other than the *Telegraph*.

What Jones told me was this:

'You can go—and I myself will go with you—to the magistrate and at once take out a WARRANT for Blind's arrest for CONSPIRACY on the strength of Wiehe's affidavit. But bear in mind that this is a **criminal** ACTION and that, once it has been reported, you will have no power to withdraw it.'

I then asked Jones (who can tell you this all over again; he lives at 5 Cambridge Place, Kensington, W.) whether it wasn't possible for him to warn Blind and thus induce him to make a statement that would include, not only everything he knew about Vogt, but also an admission of the falsity of the *depositions* adduced by him in the A. A. Z.^b

Jones replied:

'In CONSPIRACY, and hence criminal, CASES, any *attempt by the advocate* TO COMPOUND OR BRING ABOUT A COMPROMISE would itself be punishable under criminal law.'

Jones will act as my COUNCIL in the *Telegraph* affair.

After Jones's pronouncements, I found myself in a most awkward and embarrassing situation, for, on the one hand, I owed it to my *family* to compel the *Telegraph* to recant; on the other, I did not wish to take any steps that might be *legally* injurious to Blind's *family*. As an expedient I sent to Blind's friend Louis Blanc a copy of both affidavits and a letter, part of which reads (I quote):

'NOT FOR MR BLIND WHO HAS RICHLY DESERVED IT, BUT FOR HIS FAMILY, I SHOULD REGRET BEING FORCED TO LODGE A CRIMINAL ACTION AGAINST HIM.'

This last move evoked Schaible's statement (POOR DEAR), just as the printed circular,^a which I had sent to Blind immediately after it came out, had evoked his anti-Vogt statement *the self-same day* in

^a K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette'. - ^b K. Blind's statements in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Nos. 313 and 345, 9 November and 11 December 1859.

the A. A. Z.^a Blind may have the hole-and-corner cunning of a man from Baden, but he had forgotten that he was confronting someone who would be *ruthless* the moment his own honour, or that of his party, was at stake.

This is how matters stand: The action against *The Daily Telegraph* has been instituted but my SOLICITOR will delay matters *until after* the case against the *National-Zeitung* has been decided. Had Schaible told me frankly what he knew against Vogt (Schaible is Blind's 'TAME ELEPHANT', of course), it would have been wholly unnecessary for me, after his statement had appeared in the *Telegraph* of 15 February, to lodge the affidavits in London. In Berlin, where it will have *no legal* repercussions on Blind, this will, of course, be unavoidable. Whether Schaible was the real (literary) author of the 'flysheet'^b or not does nothing to alter the facts established in the affidavits, namely that the depositions adduced by Blind in the A. A. Z.^c were false, that they were obtained by means of a CONSPIRACY, that the flysheet had been printed in Hollinger's printshop, written in Blind's hand and handed over by him to Hollinger to be printed.

Distasteful though these matters certainly are, they are not more distasteful than European history as a whole since 1851, with all its achievements in the diplomatic, military and literary fields.

'For all that and all that',^d the *philistine upon me* will always be a better device for us than *I beneath the philistine*.^e

I have frankly stated my views, with which I trust you are largely in agreement. Moreover, I have tried to dispel the misunderstanding arising out of the impression that by 'party' I meant a 'League' that expired eight years ago, or an editorial board that was disbanded twelve years ago.^f By party, I meant the party in the broad historical sense.

With sincere assurances of my friendship,

Your
K. Marx

P. S. I have just had a letter from my wife, and should accordingly be much obliged if you would draw £16 on the

^a K. Blind, 'Gegen Karl Vogt', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 44 (supplement), 18 February 1860. - ^b *Zur Warnung* - ^c See this volume, pp. 60-61. - ^d An allusion to Freiligrath's poem 'Trotz alledem!' - ^e Cf. *Judges*, 16:9. - ^f This refers to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Tribune on Saturday (*the day after tomorrow*) (not on Friday as I am also including the Tuesday article). As usual, the plenipotentiary-general^a will pay you a call.

First published considerably abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Ergänzungshefte, No. 12, Stuttgart, 1911-1912, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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

37

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 3 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Dear Lassalle,

I am replying by return, albeit briefly (though, I hope, intelligibly), for I am up to my eyes in work connected with the two lawsuits.

1. *Ad vocem*^b: My action against the 'National-Zeitung'.

You cannot give an opinion on the possible outcome of this action since you don't know, on the one hand, what papers I have in my possession, or, on the other, how *totally* unfounded Vogt's lies are. But you ought to have favoured the *attack* from the very outset. The second action is against the *Daily Telegraph* in London, for having enlarged on and reproduced the articles in the *N.-Z.*^c The *Telegraph* is the *vilest* daily paper in London, which is saying a great deal, but it is assuredly not *small*. It has the **largest** circulation of *all* the London daily papers. Is specially subsidised by *Palmerston*. This is the reason why it devotes so much space to the mud slung at *me*.

I am enclosing my *Knight of the Noble Consciousness* herewith.

2. The '*superbe gestus*'^d exists only in your imagination.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, Engels, Wolff and my wife, to whom I showed *both*

^a Presumably Helene Demuth. - ^b Re. - ^c 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, Nos. 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860. - ^d 'haughty gesture'

your letters, are *unanimously* agreed that they betray what looks uncommonly like *disconcertedness* at Vogt's libellous piece^a—always assuming that *tres faciunt collegium*.^b

I sent you the note,^c etc., in order to demonstrate to you *ad oculos*^d how you would flare up when confronted with a piece of infernal rubbish which has neither *appeared in print* nor approaches the level of Vogt's infamies.

Vogt has charged me with *punishable facts*. In your letters I could find no trace of indignation at this worthy citizen to whom, for good measure, I am expected to make a public *amende honorable*. Had Vogt known of your relations with me and been in possession of Wiss's note, he would have published it as an authentic document relating to the history of the 'Brimstone Gang'.^e To suggest that (other than in a letter to you^c) I had alluded anywhere—and in public—to Blind's anti-Vogt stuff, is a flippant allegation on your part. That V. is a *Bonapartist agent* has become perfectly clear to me from his book.^f When Willich (Techow merely wrote^g what Willich had prompted him to in 1850) slung mud of a similar kind at me in the *United States* in 1853,^h Weydemeyer, Dr Jacobi and Cluss came out spontaneously, even before I myself could have been notified of it, with a public statement to the effect that the whole thing was an infamous piece of slander.^h None of my friends in Germany had uttered a word of protest against this extravagant attack; instead they wrote admonishing me in patriarchal tones.

Hence it was wholly pertinent to use the note, etc., for the purpose of putting you in *my* position, or rather of instilling in you a correct, if somewhat less dispassionate and doctrinaire, view of the same.

What I sent you was *not a copy* of Dr Wiss's letter but the original (i.e. the copy sent me from America). Dronke knows nothing about the note.

There's no question of a *dossier*.ⁱ In a private letter to the

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^b three constitute a panel - ^c See this volume, p. 58. - ^d right before your very eyes - ^e See Marx's letters to Lassalle, one written not before 2 October and the other on 6 November 1859, present edition, Vol. 40, pp. 497-98, 518-22. - ^f C. Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, Geneva and Berne, 1859. - ^g A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"', in: *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 33 and 34, 28 October and 4 November 1853. - ^h J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacoby, 'An die Redaction der New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung', in: *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 37, 25 November 1853.

recipient of Wiss's letter,^a I referred to you as one of the most competent people in our party and an intimate friend of myself and Engels.¹²⁰ Evidently the recipient, whom I may not name *without asking him first*, showed Wiss the letter, or at any rate told him what was in it. *Hinc* Wiss's *lacrimae*.^b I have no connection with Wiss and *never* have had. Earlier on, he had offered his services to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and submitted an article which I threw into the waste paper basket unacknowledged. He has published half a dozen idiotic articles *against me*^c in *New York* (in Weitling's *Republik der Arbeiter*).

I used the word 'official' allegations^d simply by way of contrast to Wiss's 'confidential' letter. I can see now—I was writing in haste—how very comical it was.

Who the Düsseldorf people^e were I cannot say without committing a breach of confidence. Suffice it to observe, however, that I did *not* get in contact with them. As for the *ingratitude* of the workers towards you, that's a mere bagatelle compared with what I have had to put up with. However it isn't *Levy*, either as a person or collectively. *Becker*,^f *Bernbach*, *Erhard*, *Uhlendorff* (the last name *unknown* to me) have *never* written me a single line either *against* you or *about* you.¹²¹

I did *not* 'ally myself' with Becker. The League's Central Authority had been transferred to Cologne.¹²² It was there that the final decisions had to be taken. (This 'League', like everything connected with it, has *long* been a thing of the *past*. With two or three exceptions, its documents are in America.) Becker was enrolled there. Thus, *he* established liaison with me.

If you will now compare the aforementioned *FACTS* with *your* interpretation of the same, your particular aptitude for 'mistrust' will become plain to you.

As to my mistrust, I know (and you would *oblige* me by quoting *other* instances) that, during my eighteen years of public activities, there have been only *two* instances when this mental disorder might, with some *plausibility*, have been imputed to me.

a. In the *N. Rh. Zeit.* I accepted a denunciation of Bakunin^g which had originated in Paris from two wholly unrelated sources.

^a Adolf Cluss - ^b Hence Wiss's tears (an allusion to a phrase in Terence's *Andria*, I, 1, 99). - ^c G. Wiss, *Die elementaren Richtungen der Zeit*. In: *Republik der Arbeiter*, Nos. 12-22 and 24, 18 and 25 March; I, 8, 15, 22 and 29 April; 6, 13, 20 and 27 May; 10 June 1854. - ^d See this volume, p. 58. - ^e *ibid.* - ^f Hermann Becker - ^g [A. H. Ewerbeck.] 'Bakunin'. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 36, 6 July 1848.

One of these sources was a Polish acquaintance of mine. The other was the *Paris Lithographierte Korrespondenz*, which meant that, even were I not to print the denunciation, every newspaper editor would have had it. A public accusation was in the interests of the cause and in the interests of Bakunin. I had Bakunin's counter-statement in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* reprinted *without delay*.^a Kościelski, whom he had sent to Cologne as his second to call me out, examined the *letters from Paris*, whereupon he was so convinced that it had been my duty as an editor to publish the denunciation (I printed it without comment, as though it were an article) that he wrote *by return of post* and told Bakunin he could no longer act as his second. K. came to be one of the *N. Rh. Z.*'s best and most useful friends. I printed a public apology to Bakunin in the *N. Rh. Z.*,^b made it up with him personally in Berlin (August 1848) and, later, broke a lance for him in the *Tribune* (1851).^c

b. In the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial* several people, particularly Schapper, O. Dietz and, to a lesser extent, Willich, are treated unjustly; however,

Schapper himself (and Dietz in a letter to Schapper) has admitted that in principle I was in the right so far as they were concerned;

that they got mixed up in acts of such folly that only by a miracle could they have expected to elude suspicion;

that Willich was *out of his mind* at the time and capable of any move *against me*, indeed was guilty of *infamous* moves against me and my friends.

Finally:

The remark: 'As to my *mistrust*, at least you can't complain about that'

was a **legitimate** reply to your remark: (I quote from memory) 'As regards those who know you, no harm will be done to you by Vogt's pamphlet, etc.' It was to this anodyne assurance I was retorting.

As to the 'great deal of truth',^d I must take another look at your letter in London.

I trust that all points have now been settled.

Your
K. M.

^a M. Bakunin, 'Erklärung', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 47 (supplement), 16 July 1848. · ^b Editorial statement in the column 'Französische Republik', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 64, 3 August 1848. · ^c See this volume, p. 58. · ^d *ibid.*

Just one thing more. You advised me to postpone the 'action' until I had actually read Vogt's book.^a Were the excerpts in the *N.-Z.* not enough? Could anyone who was *'integer vitae scelerisque purus'*^b wait any longer?

Adolf Stahr—mightn't *he* know the *Telegraph's*^c correspondent? At all events, the latter came out with some stuff after Mrs Kinkel's death that smacked of Fanny Lewald.^d

First published in: *F. Lassalle, Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

38

MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 3 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

Sir,

I have received your letter of 22 February and would first tender you my best thanks for your acceptance of my brief.

I fully endorse the manner in which you propose to handle the case. Should the count I mention be dismissed on formal grounds, its ventilation is, nevertheless, of the utmost importance, at any rate so far as the public is concerned.

By way of a commentary on the enclosures sent herewith^d and as a final exposé of the facts at my disposal, I am taking the liberty of making a few additional observations, but should, perhaps, first point out that, since I have not got a copy of my letter to you of 13 February,^e the numbering corresponds to that of the counts set out in my last letter of 24 February.^f

ad IV. ad vocem^g *Cherval*.

You will have seen from your copy of the *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* that Mr *Karl Schapper* was one of the two leaders of the section of the 'Communist League'^h

^a C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^b 'blameless in life and clear of offence' (Horace, *Odes*, I, xxii, 1) - ^c *The Daily Telegraph* - ^d See this volume, p. 95. - ^e *ibid.*, pp. 40-45. - ^f *ibid.*, pp. 59-75. - ^g *Re IV, Concerning*

inimical to me in 1850 whom I accused of wrongly construing the purpose of the then still extant secret society which ought, I felt sure, to disseminate opinions but steer clear of any kind of conspiratorial activity, and that I therefore publicly accused Messrs Schapper and Co., not only through the medium of counsel at the Cologne court,^a but also in the above-named pamphlet, afterwards published in Switzerland and America, of having provided Stieber and his agents with *pretexts* for their police machinations, thereby bringing about the prosecution of my friends in Cologne.

While the admission of his errors before a magistrate could not but be a blow to Mr Schapper's self-esteem, I knew him to be a man of honour (he was proof-reader to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848/49), and I therefore wrote to him from here, asking him to swear an affidavit to this effect before a London magistrate.^b He at once proved equal to my expectations. (See *Enclosure a) Translation: Enclosure f. 1.*)

Like myself, Mr Schapper has for many years eschewed *all* political agitation.

Schapper's affidavit also clears up the obscurities that may have remained in respect of my relations with the wretched Cherval, regarding which, by the by, the *National-Zeitung* could not have been in doubt had they *done no more than skim through* the reports, published in all the leading Prussian papers, of the public proceedings at the communist trial in Cologne (October and November 1852). It was their bounden duty to do so before making such calumnious allegations against me. It was all the more their bounden duty in as much as *they themselves* repeatedly referred to the said trial in their leading articles. Schapper's affidavit *proves* that Cherval was *never* connected with me, but only with my then opponents. As regards Cherval, I have this to add:

From an old letter, which I wrote to Friedrich Engels in Manchester (28 October 1852) and which he has kept, I would cite the following passage:

'That Cherval was a police spy is borne out by the following:

'*Firstly*, his miraculous escape from prison in Paris immediately after sentence;

'*Secondly*, his unmolested stay in London, although a common criminal;

'*Thirdly*, Mr de Rémusat (I have authorised Schneider II to name him if necessary) tells me that Cherval offered him his services as agent to the Princes of Orleans. Thereupon, he wrote

^a Karl Schneider II - ^b See this volume, p. 78.

to Paris and was sent the following documents (of which a copy was shown me) from which it emerges that Cherval was first a Prussian police spy and is now a Bonapartist one.²⁴

The contents of the passage cited above will be *corroborated* by the *lawyer, Mr Schneider II* from Cologne, should you consider it necessary to summon him to Berlin as a witness. The Monsieur de Rémusat mentioned in the excerpt from the letter to Engels was, if I am not mistaken, a minister under Louis Philippe, or at any rate one of the most outstanding deputies of Louis Philippe's day, and one of the most eminent writers of the so-called doctrinaire party of that time.

ad II (ad vocem funds for the journal Volk)

I am sending you, *Enclosure b (translation Enclosure f, 2)*, my own affidavit concerning the *source* of the money placed at the *Volk's* disposal by me.¹²⁵

Since I have to stay in *Manchester* for some time, as my legal adviser in the libel action against the London *Daily Telegraph* lives up here, I had to swear the affidavit before a Manchester *JUSTICE OF THE PEACE*. In accordance with *English* law, therefore, it bears no stamp.

ad I, I have nothing further to add.

ad III, I would remark:

As regards my 'connection' with the 'secret police', I could have my brother-in-law, the erstwhile Prussian Minister, von Westphalen, called as a *witness*. However, my wife, his sister, wishes to avoid this *family scandal if it is at all possible to do so*. That is something I must leave **entirely** to your discretion.

Enclosure b (translation: Enclosure f, 3) contains an affidavit by G. Müller, chairman of the public German 'Workers' Educational Society' in London.³ It is the *only* working men's association (save for the *secret* society, the 'Communist League' already mentioned, which was disbanded at my behest in November 1852) to which I belonged in London since my arrival there (September or August 1849) until my resignation from the same (mid-September 1850) which was *publicly* announced in various German papers^b (including the then still extant *Londoner Deutsche Zeitung*^c). It is, in fact, the *only* German *working men's association* with which I have had anything whatever to do during my time of *residence in London*. Now, at its anniversary banquet (6 February 1860, the *very* day the *National-Zeitung's* articles were reproduced in the London newspaper, the

^a See present edition, Vol. 39, p. 222. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, [Statement on Resignation from the German Workers' Educational Society in London], - ^c *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung*

Daily Telegraph) that same association voted a unanimous resolution backing me and censuring Vogt, although I had kept aloof from it for *ten years*.

Its president had this resolution drawn up in *legal* form in London, as you will see from the enclosure.

ad V. I enclose herewith (*under Enclosure d*) the article the *Daily Telegraph* paraphrased from the *National-Zeitung*; likewise the reply from the *Daily Telegraph's* (Berlin) correspondent in response to my complaint (*under Enclosure e*), of which I provided a translation in my letter of 24 February.^a

I now consider it to be *quite unnecessary* for the name of my friend *Ferdinand Freiligrath* to be mentioned at all during the course of the lawsuit, with the **sole exception** of the letter to F. Engels dated 19 November 1852, enclosed in my letter to you of 24 February.^b I consider that letter *essential* if the facts are to be established in court.

In addition to the supplementary information which you will find below, this letter contains the following enclosures:

Enclosure a) Schapper's affidavit; b) my own affidavit; c) G. Müller's affidavit; d) *Daily Telegraph* of 6 February, p. 5, column 1, article headed 'THE JOURNALISTIC AUXILIARIES OF AUSTRIA'; e) *Daily Telegraph* of 13 February, p. 2, column 6, headed GERMANY. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT), FRANKFORT ON THE MAINE, FEBR. 8; f) translation of the three affidavits; g) *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, published in New York, December 1853. h) *Letter from Flocon*, member of the Provisional Government, Paris, 1 March 1848^c; i) *letter from Lelewel*, Brussels, 10 February 1860^d; k) 1. letter from L. Jottrand, Brussels, 19 May 1849^e and 2. letter from the same, Brussels, 25 February 1848; l) 1 copy of *Zwei politische Prozesse. Verhandelt vor den Februar-Assisen in Köln*, Cologne 1849^f; m) letter from Ernest Jones, London, 11 February 1860^g; n) letter from the *Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee*,²⁷ 6 May 1860, Sheffield^h; o) letters from David Urquhart, Glasgow, December 9, 1854; p) translations of enclosures m), n), and o).

The only document that I still have to send you is a letter from the editor of the *New-York Tribune*^h—which I expect to receive any day now—concerning my relations, from mid-1851 until the present, with this, the leading *American English* newspaper.ⁱ

I remain, Sir, your very obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

^a See this volume, p. 75. - ^b *ibid.*, pp. 59, 73 and 83. - ^c See *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 320. - ^d *ibid.*, p. 322. - ^e *ibid.*, pp. 320-21. - ^f *ibid.*, p. 323. - ^g *ibid.*, p. 315. - ^h Charles Dana. - ⁱ See Vol. 17, pp. 323-24.

Supplementary Information

Needless to say, the only points in Vogt's lampoon which I shall touch on in the action against the *National-Zeitung* are those actually incorporated by that newspaper in its leader, whether simply as they stood, or in the shape of comments; also, in regard to the *National-Zeitung*, only such points as are *punishable by law*. All else must be kept in reserve against such time as, the proceedings being *concluded*, I can reply to Vogt in writing.^a

Hence the only purpose of this supplementary information is the following:

1. To provide some additional observations on those passages in the *National-Zeitung* which, though *quite irrelevant* to the actual case for the prosecution, might possibly be of use in *replying to defence counsel*.

2. Being myself the son of a lawyer (the late Justizrat Heinrich Marx of Trier, for many years *bâtonnier* of the *barreau*^b there, noted for his integrity of character no less than for legal ability), I know how important it is for a conscientious lawyer to be quite clear about his client's character. In addition, you will perceive that *certain* points given in *ad 2* might be used to advantage during the proceedings.

ad 1) The passage from the *National-Zeitung*, quoted under III in my letter of 24 February^c (No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung*, column 2, line 65 from the top *et seq.*), goes on:

'To fill in the picture Vogt publishes among other documents a long letter by Techow, a former lieutenant, dated August 26, 1850,^d in which', etc.

Now for a start there is nothing, not a single line, in that letter—though anyone who had read *only* the *Nat.-Zeit.* and not Vogt's lampoon^e might easily be tempted to think there was—about what the *Nat.-Zeit.*, aping Vogt and in concert with him, had *just before* maintained, i.e. 'the compromising of people at home in Germany in order to extort money from them by threats of denunciation', or 'connections with the secret police in France and Germany', and so forth.

What Techow really says, amounts to no more than this: that he went drinking with myself, Engels and Schramm (now dead, then—1850—manager of the *Revue*^f brought out by Engels and

^a Marx means his *Herr Vogt*. - ^b President of the Bar - ^c See this volume, p. 69. - ^d See also Marx's *Herr Vogt* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 75-99. - ^e *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^f *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

me in Hamburg), and took in deadly *earnest* the *pranks* we played upon him while *he* sought to impress us as an exceedingly serious and self-important *emissary* from a secret society in Switzerland.¹²⁷ This applies to the *theoretical* part of his letter, notably the account of his conversation with us (it never took place in *that* form) which evinces the strangest misapprehensions and the most comical misrepresentations. No one, I assume, would expect me, a man who, for over fifteen years, has been publishing his views in German, French and English, to concern myself seriously with an account of my theory written by an ex-lieutenant who has spent no more than a few hours of his whole life in my company and at a wine tavern at that. Mr Techow's *deviousness* and *mauvaise foi*^a are clearly discernible from the fact that he had earlier written to me and Engels from Switzerland, attacking Willich (see *Enclosure g: The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, pp. 3-4^b), while later, in his letter, which was never published, he did not hesitate to disseminate Willich's delusions (at that time Willich was actuated by the most absurd delusions about the importance of his own person and the snares laid for him by imaginary rivals) and his slanderous allegations against myself, although the tiniest glimmer of common sense would have told him that a few days spent in London consorting exclusively with those who were *then* our enemies did not entitle him to pronounce a verdict one way or the other.

So far, I have discussed only what one might describe as the theoretical part of Techow's letter (reproduced in Vogt^c—whether tampered with or not I can't, of course, say—on pp. 142 *et seq.*).

I now come to the most *incriminating* part of the letter, in which he speaks of the duel between my friend Conrad Schramm, now dead, and Willich. Had the *National-Zeitung* reprinted the letter, I would have enclosed one from Schramm, written long *after* the duel, in which he reproached me with letting myself be influenced by Willich *because* I had advised him [Schramm], albeit vainly, *not to fight*.

Here I need do no more than refer you to *Enclosure g*, pp. 5-9.^d (When this appeared in New York in December 1853 they, Willich and C. Schramm, were both in America.)

As regards the pamphlet (*Enclosure g*), I consider it necessary to tell you something about how it came into being.

^a bad faith · ^b See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 485-87. · ^c *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung* · ^d K. Marx, *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 489-96.

In December 1852, just a few weeks after the end of the communist trial in Cologne, I sent the ms. of my *Revelations* concerning that trial to Basle—to Schabelitz, the publisher. Having delayed publication for months, S. made such blunders over dispatching it that the entire consignment destined for Germany was confiscated at the Baden border. In the event, I sent the ms. to the *United States* of North America where it appeared in Boston in March 1853, first in serial form in the *New-England-Zeitung*, and then as a pamphlet in its own right.

The appearance of the *Revelations* in America coincided with that of Mr Willich himself who, together with Kinkel, had gone there to drum up a *revolutionary loan*^a since, according to the view published by Kinkel in the German American papers at the time, 'revolutions are as easily made as railroads', always provided 'the necessary cash' is in hand.^c It was this kind of balderdash against which I took a decided stand. After the appearance of the *Revelations* in America, Willich allowed at least four months to elapse before publishing a rejoinder in the New York *Criminal-Zeitung*.^b

It contained the self-same calumnies and balderdash as Techow's letter (indeed, in his letter sent to Switzerland in 1850, Techow was merely repeating what Willich had whispered in his ear when he was in London, and what Willich was to publish in New York in 1853). It was all the more essential that I should answer, in that my articles in the *New-York Tribune* had earned me a publicly recognised position in the English-American Press. Meanwhile, I had decided that I should deal with the matter pertinently if in a jocular vein, as indeed I did in *The Knight of the Noble Consciousness*. Needless to say, Techow could have replied, as could Willich. However, they deemed it wiser to remain silent and not to break that silence in the seven years since that time.

What insidious inanity, therefore, on the part of the *National-Zeitung* (intent only on avenging itself for the criticism I bestowed on it in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848/49^c), to foist on the public as *authentic truth* title-tattle that had long since been publicly refuted.

^a G. Kinkel, 'Denkschrift über das deutsche Nationalanlehn zur Förderung der Revolution', *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, 2 March 1852. - ^b A. Willich, 'Doctor Karl Marx und seine "Enthüllungen"', *Bellettistisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 33 and 34, 28 October and 4 November 1853. - ^c This presumably refers to the following articles: K. Marx, 'The Berlin *National-Zeitung* to the Primary Electors', K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Speech from the Throne', and F. Engels, 'The Debate on the Law on Posters'.

When Vogt's book arrived in London, by the by, I *sent it* with an accompanying letter to Mr Techow in Australia and shall no doubt be able to place his reply before the public in four months' time.

Incidentally, the following account of how the letter came to be published is *typical* of Vogt.

For in a letter from Paris dated 6 February 1860 Schily, a lawyer, writes:

'This letter' (i. e. Techow's) 'passed through different hands before reaching mine, where it remained until, following my expulsion from Switzerland (summer of 1851), it came into the possession of Vogt via Ranickel (a working man who had connections with Willich). For I had been unable to put my papers in order, having been picked up quite unexpectedly, without prior notification or an expulsion order, in the streets of Geneva, where I had been sent into forced residence, and forcibly conveyed via sundry lock-ups to Basle, whence I was sent on my way. My papers were put in order for me by friends and in this Ranickel had a hand, which is how he came into possession of that document. I later wrote to Ranickel from London, asking for the document, but did not get it. As a man specially trusted by Willich (he once shared his lodgings at Besançon), he may well have had other intentions or instructions.... Ranickel is now said to have a *highly successful établissement* as a book-binder, and to number among his clientèle the *gouvernement of Geneva* (the head of which is Fazy, Vogt's patron). Not content with idolising Willich, Ranickel acted as Vogt's *informeur*.'

Such is the *honest* manner in which Mr Vogt acquired Techow's letter.

I would ask you not to mention *Schily's name*, should this point be raised, since Vogt, *qua* Bonapartist agent, is powerful enough to have Schily banished from France.

I need say nothing further on this score save that, no sooner had Willich published (in 1853)^a the balderdash now reproduced in Techow's letter, than there instantly—before, indeed, I could possibly have been notified in England—appeared in the self-same *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, a devastating riposte^b written by Joseph Weydemeyer (former Prussian Lieutenant of artillery, subsequently co-editor of the Frankfurt *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, presently DEPUTY-SURVEYOR in the State of Iowa^c) who was in Frankfurt am Main and a member of the 'Communist League' throughout the time of the rift in London and the Communist trial in Cologne. The said statement was also signed by

^a in his article 'Doctor Karl Marx and seine "Enthüllungen"' . ^b J. Weydemeyer, A. Cluss, A. Jacolby, 'An die Redaction der New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung, 7. November 1853', *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, No. 37, 25 November 1853. - ^c See this volume, pp. 115-16.

Dr A. Jacobi, now a general practitioner in New York, who was himself among the accused at Cologne, but was acquitted.

As regards the following passage, No. 37 of the *National-Zeitung*, column II, line 31 from top *et seq.*:

'They' (i.e. myself and co.) 'continued the work of the *Rheinische Zeitung* among the refugees. In 1849 this paper had counselled against any participation in the movement and had also constantly attacked all the members of Parliament, etc.'

allow me to make the following observations:

It is perfectly correct that, unlike the *National-Zeitung*, the *Neue Rh. Zeit.* never sought to make a milch cow of the revolution; rather that paper was kept on its feet only at considerable financial sacrifice and at great personal risk to myself, until such time as suppressed by the Prussian government. The absurd allegation, particularly so when coming from the *National-Zeitung*, that 'in 1849 the *Neue Rh. Zeit.* had counselled against any participation in the movement', is best refuted in the columns of the paper itself. As to the *manner* in which I conducted myself during the revolution, I would refer you to Enclosure I) (*Zwei politische Prozesse* etc.).

Similarly, it is true that the *Neue Rhein. Zeit.* always dealt with Mr Vogt and the other windbags of the Frankfurt *National Assembly* ironically and in accordance with their deserts. Come to that, as he himself admits in his pamphlet, by 1846 Vogt was already a *naturalised Swiss citizen*, i.e. a national of a *foreign state*, and hence should have had absolutely no say in Germany. That the *Neue Rhein. Zeit.* 'attacked all' the members of Parliament is *incorrect*. It was on the most amicable terms with many members on the extreme Left. The extent to which even Vogt and Co. sought to curry favour with the newspaper almost up to the time of its demise is plainly evident if only from the fact that, when they founded the *March Association*,^{12a} they sent out a *circular* throughout the length and breadth of Germany in which the public was strongly recommended to subscribe to 'good' and 'the best' newspapers, the 'good' being accorded one asterisk and 'the best' two. The *Neue Rhein. Zeit.* was honoured with 'two asterisks'.^a No sooner had this scrap of paper come into my hands than I wrote a short leader in the *Neue Rhein. Zeit.* (I believe it was an issue in March 1849) protesting against this unsolicited patronage on the part of people whom I esteemed neither for their personal character nor for their political intelligence.^b

^a See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 104. - ^b R. Marx, 'The March Association'.

ad 2) In 1842 (at the age of twenty-four) I was editor-in-chief of the old *Rheinische Zeitung* which, subject first to single, and then to double censorship, ended up by being *compulsorily* closed down by the Prussian government (spring, 1843). One of the men with whom I was working at the time was Mr *Camphausen*, Prime Minister of Prussia after the March revolution. The old *Rhein. Zeit.* can be said beyond all doubt to have disrupted the power of the censorship in Prussia. (I would observe *in confidence*—not, of course, for public consumption—that *after the 'Rhein. Zeit.'* had been closed down, overtures were made to me by the Prussian government through the medium of Geheimer Revisionsrat [Privy Auditor Councillor] Esser, a friend of my father's. Esser, I should explain, was taking the waters with me at Kreuznach, where I married my present wife. *After this communication*, I left Prussia for Paris.)

In Paris I published the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in company with Friedrich Engels, Georg Herwegh, Heinrich Heine, and Arnold Ruge. (I later broke with Herwegh and Ruge.) At the end of 1844 I was expelled from Paris (by Guizot) at the instigation of the Prussian Embassy there and left for Belgium.¹²⁹ The standing I enjoyed *amongst French radicals* during my stay in Paris can best be gauged from *Enclosure h*, a letter from Flocon of 1 March 1848, recalling me to France in the name of the Provisional Government, and annulling Guizot's expulsion order. (*In confidence*: While in Paris in the summer of 1844, after the bankruptcy of the publisher (Julius Fröbel) of the *Deutsch-Französ. Jahrbücher*, I received from Dr Claessen, on behalf of Camphausen and other *Rhein. Zeit.* shareholders, a letter—enclosing 1,000 talers—describing my services in such glowing colours that, for this very reason, I shall *not* enclose it.)

I lived in Brussels from the beginning of 1845 to the beginning of March 1848, when I was again expelled and returned to France on the strength of Flocon's letter. In Brussels, besides unpaid contributions to sundry radical newspapers in Paris and Brussels, I wrote the *Critique of Critical Criticism* in collaboration with Fr. Engels (a book about philosophy, published by Rütten, Frankfurt am Main, 1845),^a *Misère de la Philosophie* (book on economics, published by Vogler in Brussels and by Frank in Paris in 1847),^b *Discours sur le libre échange* (Brussels 1848),^c a work in two volumes on latter-day German philosophy and socialism^d (not published;

^a *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism* - ^b *The Poverty of Philosophy* -

^c 'Speech on the Question of Free Trade' - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*.

see my preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, F. Duncker, Berlin 1859), and numerous pamphlets.¹³⁰ During the whole of my stay in Brussels I gave unpaid lectures on 'political economy' at the *Brussels German Workers' Educational Society*.¹³¹ These were about to appear in book form when publication was interrupted by the February Revolution.¹³² Typical of my standing among the radicals (of very varying complexions) in Brussels is the fact that, in the public *société internationale*,⁶¹ I was committee member for the Germans, *Lelewel* (an old man of eighty, veteran of the Polish Revolution of 1830/31 and learned historian) for the Poles, *Imbert* (later *gouverneur* of the Tuileries in Paris) for the French, and *Jottrand*, a Brussels lawyer, former member of the *Constituent Assembly*¹³³ and leader of the Belgian radicals, for the Belgians, who was also chairman. From the two letters written to me by Jottrand, now an old man (*Enclosures k, 1, and k, 2*), as also from Lelewel's letter (*Enclosure i*), you will see what my relationship with these gentlemen was during my stay in Brussels. Jottrand's letter (*Enclosure k, 2*) was written after a dispute I had had with him at a public meeting on 22 February 1848, following which I had notified him of my resignation from the *société internationale*.¹³⁴ He wrote me the second letter, when I founded the *Neue Rhein. Zeitung* in Cologne.

My second period of residence in Paris lasted from March until the end of May 1848.¹³⁵ (*In confidence*: Flocon offered to help myself and Engels finance the founding of the *N. Rh. Z.* We refused because, as *Germans*, we did not wish to take subsidies from a *French government*, even if *friendly*.)

From May 1848 until the end of May 1849 I was editor of the *Neue Rh. Zeit.* in Cologne. From *Enclosure l*) you will see that I was elected one of the three chairmen of the Rhenish-Westphalian democrats.¹³⁶ (*In confidence*: When I arrived in Cologne, I was invited by a friend of Camphausen's to go to him in Berlin. I disregarded the insinuation.)

In Paris from June 1849 till August 1849. Expelled under Bonaparte's presidency.

From the end of 1849¹³⁷ until now, 1860, in London. Publications: *Revue der Neuen Rh. Zeitung*^a in Hamburg, 1850, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (in New York, 1852), *Diplomatic Revelations of the 18th Century* (London, 1856), *Critique of Political Economy*, 1st instalment, Duncker, Berlin, 1859, etc. Contributor to the *New-York Tribune* from 1851 up till the present. For as long as I

^a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

remained a member of the *German Workers' Society*³ (end of 1849 to September 1850) I gave unpaid lectures.

From *Enclosure o* (it is *confidential*) you will see how I came to make David Urquhart's acquaintance. From that time onwards I have contributed to his *Free Press*. I agree with him in matters of *foreign policy* (*opposition to Russia and Bonapartism*), but not of *internal policy*, in which I support the *Chartist Party* (which opposes him). For 6 years now I have contributed *gratis* to the latter's publications (in particular the *People's Paper*). (See *Enclosure m*.)

My anti-Palmerston articles^a written for the *New-York Tribune* in 1853, have been repeatedly reprinted in pamphlet form in England and Scotland, to the tune of 15-20,000 copies.

You will see from *Enclosure n*, which was sent me in 1856 at the behest of the Sheffield club by the secretary of one of the Urquhartite clubs, which are concerned solely with diplomacy, how I stand with the Urquhartites, despite our differences over *internal policy*.

The *letter in Enclosure n* stems from Ernest Jones, BARRISTER-AT-LAW in London, acknowledged leader of the Chartist Party, also recognised poet.

Translations of *Enclosures o, n, and m* will be found in *Enclosure p*.

A typical example of the kind of tittle-tattle about me disseminated by certain German quarters in London will be found in the letter from my friend Steffen^b (formerly Prussian lieutenant and teacher at the Divisional School, at present in Boston) quoted on p. 14 of *Enclosure g*, 'The Knight of the Noble Consciousness'.

Despite ten years of unremitting attacks on myself, I have *never* burdened the German public with a *single* word of my life story. Vis-à-vis my lawyer, in a case such as the present one, I considered it indispensable.

As regards the *Italian war*,⁴⁶ I should add that *my* views on the subject are absolutely in accord with those expressed by my friend Fr. Engels in the well known pamphlet *Po and Rhine*, published by Fr. Duncker in Berlin in 1859. The manuscript of the said work was sent to me by Engels *before* it was dispatched to Berlin.

We are in favour of a free and independent Italy and in 1848 said as much in the *Neue Rh. Zeit.*, in terms more forthright than any other German paper, and the same goes for Hungary and Poland. But we do not wish Bonaparte (in collusion with Russia) to make

^a Lord Palmerston - ^b See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 504-05.

Italian freedom or the question of any other nationality a *pretext* for ruining *Germany*.

First published abridged in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Zehnter Jahrgang, Leipzig, 1922, and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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

39

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET¹³⁸

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

My dear Sir,

Having been absent from here for a few days, I was prevented answering your letter immediately.

As to the Printers' Bill,¹³⁹ which I had taken the liberty to ask you for in a letter addressed to you on the 6th of February⁴² (if I am not mistaken), you have forgotten transmitting it to me. Pray, send it to Mrs Marx.

As to Schaible's declaration (*extorted* by my proceedings against Blind^c), it will be sufficient to remark:

1-st) Whether Blind be the '*literary*' author of the fly-sheet, is a question I have not to deal with. He is the author in the *legal* sense of the word.

Schaible's declaration (which 'circumstances', he says in the *Telegraph*,^b prevented him for three months from making, but which I extorted *in no time* by sending to *Louis Blanc* a copy of the two *Affidavits*^c at the Bowstreet Police-Court) proves much *against* Vogt. It proves nothing *for* Blind. It does not exculpate him in any respect. He has *written* (if not *drawn up*) the manuscript; he has *printed* it in Hollinger's office; he *paid* Hollinger's Printer's Bill; he made *two false* declarations in the Augsburg Gazette^d; he and Hollinger entered into *conspiracy* against me in order to induce (and with what success you know)

^a See this volume, p. 49. ^b *The Daily Telegraph*. ^c See this volume, pp. 31-32 and 37. ^d Blind's statements in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 313, 9 November 1859 and No. 345 (supplement), 11 December 1859.

the compositor Wiehe to give them *false* evidence. This is not all. Blind, as you know from the letter he addressed in September to Liebknecht, had the cool impudence of stating that he had *nothing at all* to do with the whole affair. Lastly, all the successive steps now taken by him and Schaible were *forced* upon him by the menace suspended over his head for a criminal action for 'conspiracy'.

2) Dr Schaible may, for aught I know, have allowed himself to be made Blind's scape-goat. He, as I know, belongs so to say to the household furniture of Blind's.

3) The principal political end I aimed at, has been obtained by Schaible's declaration. It makes void and annuls the proceedings at Augsburg,¹⁴⁰—mere mock proceedings; there being present no witnesses, no accuser, no (real) accused, and, in point of fact, *no tribunal*, since Vogt, in his wisdom, had appealed *not to that* description of Bavarian tribunal which, according to the Bavarian law, *had* to decide on the case. In respect to this same Vogt, it will suffice to say that at *Geneva*, his own place of residence, a Swiss paper (*Die Neue Schweizer Zeitung*, *The New Swiss Gazette*, in its number of *November 12, 1859*) has declared to have indignantly repulsed Vogt's attempt at bribing it with *French* money.^a That same paper, in a leading article, called upon Vogt to take judicial proceedings against itself, same way as I, in a declaration signed with my name, and published in the *Augsburg Gazette* and the *Hamburg 'Reform'*, had called upon him to sue the *Volk* at London.¹⁴¹ Vogt, although a Genevese *Ständerath*,^b and, therefore, a public servant, rested mute to these appeals, while enlisting the favour of the stupid German Liberals by the Augsburg comedy, or rather *farce*.

You will be so kind to *consider this letter as confidential*, since the lawyers who carry on my actions for libel at Berlin and London, think it fit that, except on the most urgent emergency, I should not break my silence until *after* the judicial proceedings have been closed.

Yours faithfully

K. Marx

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

Reproduced from the copy in
Marx's notebook

Published in English for the first
time

^a See also Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 187. - ^b member of the Council of Cantons (the Second Chamber of the Swiss Parliament)

40

MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE¹⁴²

IN PARIS

Manchester, 13 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

My dear Sir,

I have not yet received your *book*^a. Otherwise I should have given a *compte rendu*^b of it in the *New-York Tribune*.

I sent you the article against Kossuth^c on the *express condition* of its being returned to me. I attach *not the least* importance to that article, but I want it for specific purpose.

I have instituted two actions for libel at Berlin and London against newspapers^d which had the impudence of reprinting extracts from Vogt's libel.^e I observed, for 10 years, a strict silence in the face of the most reckless calumnies, but I know that *now* the moment *has* arrived of publicly exposing them.

My friend from whose house I am addressing these lines to you may perhaps (he is a merchant) become useful to you. Send him a *catalogue* (Mr Frederick Engels, care of Messrs Ermen and Engels, Manchester) of your wines. But do not use such fellows as Stoffregen for your agents.

Yours truly
Williams^f

In a few days I shall return to London.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934. First published in the language of the original (English) in *Századok*, Nos. 4-6, Budapest, 1959

^a B. Szemere, *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860. See also this volume, p. 6. - ^b review - ^c K. Marx, 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon'. See also this volume, p. 12. - ^d *National-Zeitung* and *The Daily Telegraph*. - ^e C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^f A. Williams, an alias used by Marx in some of his letters.

41

MARX TO LUCIEN JOTTRAND

IN BRUSSELS

Manchester, 13 March 1860
6 Thorncliffe Grove, Oxford Road

My dear Sir,

You will excuse me for having not before acknowledged the receipt of the letter you had the kindness to address me from Bruxelles. I thank you for that letter, although I shall abstain from using it in *any* way. Should I think it opportune laying before the public any official documents, relating to my past life, *the Bruxelles episode*—as far as it refers to my relations with the Belgian radicals—would be best characterised by two letters of yours (d.d. 25 févr. 1848^a and 19 mai 1848^b) which I have now found among my papers.

Since you belong to the American school of Republicans (whose opinions I do only accept in regard to some *political* questions), it may interest you to know that, for about 3 years, I am one of the principal writers in the *New-York Tribune*, the first Anglo-American paper. I have improved this connexion for giving M. Spilthoorn, on his passage through London, letters of recommendation for the *U. St.* Should you, on any occasion, want to publish anything—relating to the affairs of your country—in the *Tribune*, you may rely on my willingness of obliging you.

The shameless attacks (on behalf of which I have instituted *two actions for libel*, one at Berlin, one at London) recently made against me, proceed all from the Bonapartist camp. Monsieur Louis Bonaparte, through the instrumentality of M. Mocquard, his secrétaire intime, has publicly thanked the *New-York Times* for having done its best (and this its 'best' was of a very shabby description) to counteract my *New-York Tribune* strictures (since 1852) of the Lesser Empire.¹⁴³

I have the honour

To be your humble servant

K. Marx

I am here at Manchester for a few days only. My address is: 9, Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London.

^a See this volume, p. 102. · ^b Marx quotes the letter in *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 320-21.

If you read German books, I shall give me the pleasure of sending you a copy of the first part of my "Kritik der Politischen Oeconomie" being now in progress of publication at Berlin.

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in Russian, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, No. 4, Moscow, 1958

Reproduced from the original

42

ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

Manchester, 15 March^a 1860

Dear Lassalle,

Very many thanks for the trouble you have been to with Duncker in connection with my pamphlet.^b I would have agreed to the arrangement of my being named had not another publisher^c accepted it in the meantime (when this reaches you, the thing will probably be out) and were I not determined that the 'author of *Po and Rhine*' should first carve out a place for himself in military literature before making his official entry (i.e. on the title page) as a civilian before the lieutenants. When you say that you would be sure to convince us and hence believe it would be in our own interests not to commit ourselves *by name* to the views we have held so far in regard to the Italian business, your argument is, no doubt, of crucial value *subjectively* speaking; similarly we can assure you that we are just as sure of our ability to convince you, the more so since our views are based on a careful study of diplomatic material which, at least on certain points, is available in pretty complete form to the public in London, as it surely is *not* to the public in Berlin (where, indeed, it does not for the most part exist at all).

Marx got your letter the day before yesterday and will be answering it.^d In the meantime I enclose the *Knight of the Noble Consciousness*,^e previously forgotten.^f

^a A slip of the pen in the original: February. - ^b F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - ^c G. Behrend - ^d See this volume, pp. 116-17. - ^e by Marx - ^f See this volume, p. 88.

Apropos. A few days ago we got a letter from Nothjung. After his release, the poor devil was declared to have forfeited his right of domicile in Mülheim 'by reason of his many-year-long absence' (!!!),¹⁴⁴ and has been forbidden to show his face within five miles of Cologne. He has become a photographer in Breslau^a where, after a great deal of trouble, he has obtained a resident's permit. Now he has got to pay an entry fee, a household fee, and umpteen others such as are only to be found in a Prussian dictionary. This, as you can imagine, the poor chap is in no position to do after his long spell in prison which, to make matters worse, has rendered him homeless (in what sort of country can such things happen!) and so odious are the laws still obtaining there that he cannot exist unless he gets all this business settled. Mightn't it be possible to do something for him over there? Such a thing would have been unheard of in the Rhine Province before 1848, and even the bourgeois who helped to impose such shocking laws on us ought to help poor devils of this kind. Homeless because of a many-year-long absence in a Prussian fortress—just try telling that to an Englishman! His address is P. Nothjung, Photographer, Zwingerasse No. 7, in the Baths. With the connections you have in Breslau, it should be easy for you to do something for him. Our ex-tailor, by the way, seems to have acquired quite a tidy education at his fortress-university, and writes quite civilised letters.

Just now I'm writing trivia about the reorganisation of the army in Prussia and have offered these to Duncker.

Tout à vous^b

F. Engels

Before I forget. Marx has written to red Wolff,¹⁴⁵ of whom, however, we haven't heard for years. In the meantime Vogt, accompanied by the *homme entretenu*^c and SWINDLER Klapka, has been to dine with Plon-Plon yet again.

I have re-opened this letter, having closed it without putting in the *Knight*, in order to tell you that we are unable to find the only copy of the thing that's still up here in Manchester. Someone must have pinched it. Marx has still got some in London and is writing to ask that some of them be sent up here forthwith, whereupon we shall immediately send you one.

You would greatly oblige me if you could send me, by return of mail and unstamped, a few numbers of the *Volks-Zeitung* and the

^a Polish name: Wrocław. - ^b Ever yours - ^c kept man

National-Zeitung in which the army's constitution is discussed, and also one or two little pamphlets that have appeared over there on the subject—all of them together in *one* wrapper. Otherwise, it takes ages for me to get the things over here, and I shouldn't see the newspapers at all.

First published in: *F. Lassalle, Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

43

MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 27 March 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

I am enclosing herewith the *last* two documents needed to complete what has already been sent. The *first* is a letter from the editor-in-chief of the *New-York Tribune* to me.^a I have included a German translation.

The *second* document is highly important in that it proves that the wretched Cherval, *alias* Nugent, *alias* Crämer, far from being in touch with me when he was in *Geneva*, was hounded out of that city as a result of my book about the Communist trial in Cologne.^b The letter is from Johann Philipp Becker in Paris (Becker fled after the affair of 1830/31, in 1848/49 he first commanded the volunteers in Baden, then he was colonel of the revolutionary army in Baden and the Palatinate; he is now a business man in Paris and, so to speak, the doyen of the German émigrés) and is directed to Rheinländer, a merchant in London, with whom he has business connections. Mr Rheinländer, who is an acquaintance of mine, was good enough to let me have the letter.^c

Apart from this letter, I have also sent you:

1. Dated 21 Feb. Power of attorney, together with enclosures.

^a A letter from Charles Dana. See this volume, p. 68. - ^b K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^c Marx quotes it in *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 60-63.

2. Dated 24 Feb. A letter, together with enclosures.

3. Dated 3 March. Two packages with enclosures.^a

I now look forward to receiving by return of post, firstly, a confirmation that these various letters, etc., have arrived, secondly, some news about the progress of the libel suit.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

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

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

44

MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN PARIS

London, 4 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Sir,

I have *not yet* received your pamphlet.^b

Mr Engels is my *best* friend and, consequently, will do everything to prove useful to you.

[As to]^c Stoffregen, I do *not* know him, but was [told in] Manchester by different merchants tha[t he is] a person lacking *tact*, intrusive etc. Still[] in some lower layers of the Lancashire society, he may, possibly, sell your wines as well as anybody else.

You will oblige me by sending me *by next post* the address of General Perczel. I want an explication on his part.^d Which are your relations with P.?

Les choses marchent.^e

Yours truly

A. Williams

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

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^a See this volume, pp. 53, 59-76, 92-104. - ^b B. Szemere, *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860. - ^c Manuscript damaged. - ^d See this volume, pp. 125-26. -

^e Things are going well.

45

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 April 1860

Dear Moor,

During the last few days of my stay in Barmen¹⁴⁶ the contract relating to the Manchester business has been subjected to thorough legal scrutiny. This convinced me that everything over here was hanging in the balance and that I must get back without a moment's delay. I left on Friday morning at 6 o'clock and was back here by 12 noon yesterday, i.e. in 30 hours. *The thing was, we wanted to secure Charley.*^a This was accomplished yesterday evening, in so far as it was necessary, and now I shall have to wait and see what Gottfried^b does. However, my base of operations is now secure.

Under the circumstances, I shan't be able to come to London until everything here has been settled. Until then I shall be up to my eyes in business matters and legal quibbles, and there's nothing I can do about it. In the meantime I have learned from Gumpert and Siebel what they know. I've neither seen nor heard anything of my pamphlet.^c You might return me the copy you have, also the letter (presumably from Fischel?) G. sent you,^d so that I know what is going on. Open the letter if you haven't already done so; this will save writing to and fro.

G. told me that there had been some further unpleasantness at my lodgings; I'm moving out straight away.

I neither saw nor heard anything of the Prussian police. No one demanded my passport or anything of that kind. The few policemen I ran into in Barmen gave me a MILITARY SALETTE, that was all.

Industry on the Rhine has developed enormously and the constitutional system has bitten deep into the citizenry. Things have changed vastly since 1848, though sufficient of the old leaven still remains.

Still no reply from Weber^e? If it doesn't arrive soon, there'll be nothing else for it but to get Ephraim Artful^f to take him to task.

^a Roessen - ^b Ermen - ^c F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - ^d See this volume, pp. 113-14, 133. - ^e *ibid.*, p. 92. - ^f Lassalle

Kindest regards to your wife and the YOUNG LADIES. Immediately I've sorted things out up here I shall come and see you.

Your

F. E.

Will you also send the key to the lower bookcase. What is all this about the parcel of letters that was supposedly left in the bedroom, or so Gumpert maintains?

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

46

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 April 1860

Dear Engels,

Great disappointment today when, instead of yourself, your letter arrived. However, we saw that it only made 'good sense'.

Siebel has carried out his mission well and with great discretion.¹⁴⁷

I still haven't been able to find the key.^a However, the 'upper' key also fits the lower key-hole. It locks both compartments.

I shall send you Weydemeyer's letter shortly.

Before leaving Manchester I confided to Gumpert, etc., such fables as I thought necessary to justify my *non-trip* to Holland.

Freiligrath has written me a friendly letter. Up till now I have neither answered him, nor seen him.

The only letter I have had from Gumpert that was addressed to you was intended for me—from Liebknecht, who informs me that the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* has given him notice.¹⁴⁸

No news from Fischel.

Nor yet from Weber.

I shall post you your pamphlet^b from here on Thursday.^c Borkheim has advertised it in the *Hermann* (latest issue)^d and I in

^a See previous letter. - ^b F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - ^c 11 April.

^d *Hermann*, 7 April 1860.

the *Tribune*; Liebknecht will now (Wednesday) advertise it in the *New Orleans Paper*.^a

Salut.

Your
K. M.

The American papers (*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, etc.) are full of Vogt's drivel. The fellows over there got the book^b sooner than we did in London.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

47

MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN PARIS

London N.W., 9 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear friend Becker,

First, my most sincere thanks for your letter, for the verbal information you gave to Siebel and for *sending the correspondence*. Apart from anything else, I ought to account *Sieur*^c Vogt's attack a blessing, if only because it has brought me into closer contact with the doyen of our revolution and our emigration. I do not, by the by, share the Philistines' astonishment at the consistency of your behaviour. Hitherto I have always found that, once they set out on a revolutionary course, all men of really reliable character—I would mention only old Levasseur, Cobbet, Robert Owen, Lelewel and General Mellinet—constantly draw fresh strength from their

^a Presumably the *Deutsche Zeitung*. - ^b C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. - ^c Mr

setbacks and become ever more resolute, the longer they swim in the stream of history.

The next reason for my writing—other than the desire to convey my thanks to you personally—is that I have been commissioned by my old friend J. Weydemeyer to enlist correspondents in Europe for the *Stimme des Volks*. This paper, I should say, has been founded in Chicago by the *American Workers' League*,¹⁴⁹ whose headquarters have moved from New York to Chicago. It is a daily paper and may acquire even greater importance since Chicago is increasingly becoming the metropolis of the North-West. I enclose the heading of the prospectus.

Terms are as follows: You would have to contribute *once* a week. Fee 2 dollars per article. This would come to ABOUT £5 or 125 fr. a quarter. The fee is a small one, nor could it be otherwise in the case of a workers' paper. On the other hand, my friend Weydemeyer's character is a guarantee of prompt payment, which cannot exactly be said of German-American papers elsewhere. If you agree to this request, you could start *next* week, but notify me beforehand.

The parcel containing the invaluable correspondence came by post, the day before S. arrived in London. I shall get them bound and always keep them at your disposal. Among them is a document of a column mutinying against Willich,^a which is highly characteristic of this Don Quixote.

I should be very glad—and it would be of great importance to my pamphlet^b—if you, with your intimate knowledge of Fazy, could send me a *thumb-nail sketch* of his goings-on *since the coup d'état*, also a vignette of the man's character. I regard Vogt simply as the servant of Fazy, whom I once saw in Paris (1843) and whom I at once sized up correctly by his being a former contributor to the *National* (on which the best of them were *bad*).

Lommel's little work^c is entertaining and has some useful revelations about 1847/48. But I can't agree with his extremely parochial ideas about the origins of the year of revolution. However it is, perhaps, the very narrowness of his outlook that enables him to portray vividly and with true insight the ground with which he is personally familiar.

Your two little poems about Leibniz and 'What of it?' pleased me enormously and it would be a good idea if you were to enclose

^a See Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 82-83. - ^b *Herr Vogt*
^c [G. Lommel,] *Hinter den Coulissen*, Geneva and New York, 1859.

them (assuming you agree to my proposal) with your first article for Weydemeyer. W.'s address is:

J. Weydemeyer, CARE OF Chicago Arbeiterverein, BOX 1345, Chicago, Ill. United States. (Ill. stands for Illinois.)

With fraternal greetings,

Yours truly,

K. Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 6, Stuttgart, 1888 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

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

48

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE ¹⁵⁰

IN BERLIN

London, 9 April 1860
(The old address)

Dear Lassalle,

Since your last letter, all manner of things have happened. Engels' father has died and Engels has spent a fortnight in Prussia by permission of the Prussian Government. I myself, however, have been overwhelmed with business, and even now can only write quite briefly.

1. My lawyer ^a in Berlin has asked me to undertake *not to mention his name*. If, however, despite the mass of material I have sent him and despite various reminders, these six weeks of silence are prolonged, you will have to prod him, for the case becomes statute-barred on 22 April.

2. Vogt visited Plon-Plon in Paris. He was seen by acquaintances of mine, who spoke to him. Nevertheless, he had the effrontery to state, or cause it to be stated, in the German papers that *he had not been to Paris*.

3. Have *not* received the Humboldt. ¹⁵¹

4. I shall send you the *Knight of the Noble* [*Consciousness*] today. ^b

^a J. M. Weber . ^b See this volume, pp. 108-09.

5. My old friend *J. Weydemeyer* has given up his post as DEPUTY-SURVEYOR in the state of Wisconsin at the request of the American 'Workers' League' (a public society with branches throughout the United States)¹⁴⁹ which has moved its headquarters from New York to Chicago (Illinois). W. will assume the editorship there of a daily paper founded with the help of workers' shares.^a Chicago is increasingly becoming the centre in the American North-West where German influence predominates. W. has asked me to enlist correspondents for the paper and this I have done over here, in Paris and in Switzerland.^b I invite you to undertake the German articles (if possible at least two a week). There is no question of payment. But as party work it is very important. W. is one of our best people. If, as I hope, you agree to this, you should start directly and send your articles to:

J. Weydemeyer, CARE OF Chicago Arbeiterverein, BOX 1345, Chicago (Illinois), United States.^c

6. While leafing through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (necessary on Vogt's account) I was glad to discover a short leader in which we broke a lance with the *Vossische*^e for Miss Ludmilla Assing.

7. Would it be possible for you to send me a brief sketch of what the worthy Zabel of the *National-Zeitung* has been up to, since reaction set in? The sketch could appear in my pamphlet^d as a letter signed by you. You would, moreover, find yourself in the company of highly honourable refugees who are writing about other people for this work. Some anonymously, others under their own names. Several do not belong to our faction of the party.

Your

K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a *Stimme des Volkes* - ^b See this volume, pp. 115-16, 118-19. - ^c *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* - ^d *Herr Vogt*

49

MARX TO GEORG LOMMEL

IN GENEVA

[Draft]

[London,] 9 April 1860

To G. Lommel. (Geneva)

Citizen,

I have been told by Siebel, whom I saw a day or two since at Freiligrath's while on his way back from Switzerland, that a letter sent by me from Manchester on 26 February to the editors of the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung*,⁴² and intended for you, has fallen into Brass's hands. For I had been informed that you were the editor of the *Neue Schweizer Zeitung*, a paper I have never seen. It was in this belief that I wrote to you, since your name was known to me through its having featured with such great credit in the annals of the revolution. I would not have written to Mr Brass.

What I wanted of you was to learn something about Vogt's activities. Material concerning the activities of V. and other Bonapartist agents has been pouring in from people belonging to the emigrations of various countries and to the various schools of thought within the revolutionary party. But I wish to set to work with discrimination and a strict regard for the truth. A contribution from you, with your intimate knowledge of how things stand in Switzerland, would therefore be of the utmost value to me.

With regard to your book *Hinter den Coulissen*, a copy of which was given me by Siebel, I found this of great interest and believe it is important that the second part should appear. In the case of *the latter*, I might be able to get hold of a financially reliable bookseller for you *over here*. With regard to part I, I think I could dispose of 300 copies at 1 franc apiece, partly by direct sales at the various societies in London, partly through booksellers. But *first* the copies would have *to be here*. If this appeals to you, send the copies to the booksellers 'Petsch, etc., London'.

Finally, I have one more proposal to make you. My friend J. Weydemeyer (previously co-editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* in Frankfurt) has given up his post as DEPUTY-SURVEYOR in the state of Wisconsin at the request of the Workers' League in the *United States* (which has moved its headquarters from New York to Chicago),¹⁴⁹ in order to take over the editorship in Chicago of *Die Stimme des Volks*, a daily paper founded by the Working Men's and

Gymnastic Club.¹⁵² I have been asked by him to enlist correspondents in Europe, and this I have done over here, in Paris and in Berlin. I am taking the liberty of inviting you to act as correspondent for *Switzerland*, initially on the basis of *one* contribution per week. Fee 2 dollars (10 frs.) per article—payments, as might be expected from a paper of this kind and particularly at the outset, will be modest for the time being, but will improve as the paper grows. Hitherto there has been only *one* daily in the state of Illinois, the *Staatszeitung*.^a Day by day, however, Chicago is increasingly becoming the centre of the entire North-West of America, where there is a very large German population. I can guarantee *prompt* payment. If you agree to this proposal, will you start straight away *this week* and be good enough to advise me. The address is:

J. Weydemeyer, CARE OF Chicago Arbeiterverein, BOX 1345, Chicago (Illinois), United States.

To come back to Vogt, you will have seen a statement of mine (beginning of February)^b in various German newspapers to the effect that I shall reply to his lampoon^c after settlement of the libel action I have brought against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* for printing excerpts from Vogt's concoction.^d

On pp. 180-181 (cf. the passage) Vogt speaks of a 'conspiracy' he foiled at the Lausanne working men's festival. Can you give me any information about this piece of boasting? The passage runs as follows:¹⁵³ What is the truth of the matter?

Finally, I would take the liberty of pointing out that your account of Vogt's activities, which you could send me in the form of a letter, thereby finding yourself in the highly honourable company of other refugees (though it cannot appear until later by reason of the lawsuit in Berlin^e), would figure in my pamphlet^f as a section in its own right, contributed by you, and I would, of course, pass on to you the fee per sheet paid me by the publisher in respect of the section you had contributed. I say this because I know full well what it is to be a refugee, having myself lived under those conditions almost uninterruptedly for seventeen years, and it would be most unjust if one of us were to accept payment from a publisher at the expense of another. Owing to the lawsuit in

^a *Die Tägliche Illinois Staats-Zeitung* - ^b K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*, Declaration', 6 February 1860. - ^c C. Vogt, *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^d 'Karl Vogt und die Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Wie man radikale Flugblätter macht', *National-Zeitung*, Nos. 37 and 41, 22 and 25 January 1860. - ^e See this volume, pp. 40-45 and 59-76. - ^f *Herr Vogt*

Berlin and also because Vogt's main attack, etc., is directed against me, my pamphlet will be in great demand and will find a good publisher in Germany. One is inclined to ask whether a concentration of attacking forces would not be desirable in the interests of the cause. On that point you will, of course, be entirely your own judge and under no circumstances should you misconstrue my plain speaking.

With fraternal greetings,

Yours truly,
K. M.

When writing to me, address your letters: A. Williams,³ Esq.,
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London.

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

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

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ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 11 April 1860

Dear Emil,

What do you think G. Ermen's *latest* proposals are?

1. He wants to buy mother out by instalments and assume sole control of the business.

2. Under the terms envisaged in the contract I am to stay on with him as clerk for another four years!

At so cheap a price does the fellow think to buy us out of our inheritance in the firm of Ermen & Engels and obtain my grateful assent to my own degradation vis-à-vis himself.

The negotiations were quite amicable. The proposals affecting myself I turned down flat, whereupon he held out the prospect that I *might* become a partner in four years, whereupon I demanded guarantees before I could consider the matter and told him that we were all of the opinion that, if there was to be a

³ An alias used by Marx in some of his letters.

parting of the ways, it would mean division in kind and competition. This surprised him greatly, and the matter progressed no further. He had imagined that we in Barmen were urgently in need of money (as to which I enlightened him) and wanted to exploit the opportunity. In short, he was very disappointed by the conversation and will doubtless make some other approach. More when I see you.

After this affair, we can be more certain of Charles^a than ever; he actually believes that we two will be able to make Gottfried^b do anything, perhaps even retire into private life.

Your
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 30,
Moscow, 1963

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

51

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 April 1860

Dear Engels,

BEST THANKS for the hundred pound note. It came as a glorious surprise THIS MORNING. The whole family was filled with glee.

You may or may not have seen that the *Kölnische Zeitung* (*Schlesinger*, London) has had the impudence to talk about the Brimstone Gang⁶⁵ and its Russian redolence. WELL! Through the good offices of my bankrupt friend Speck I am now hot on the trail of the whole Brimstone Gang here in London.

D'abord,^c you'll have seen in the papers that Palmerston has amused himself by presenting Mr *Reuter* (the Jew from Trieste of telegraph fame)^d to the Queen.^e And who do you think is factotum to this grammatically illiterate Jew Reuter?—*Siegmund Engländer*, who was expelled from Paris because, although a spy in

^a Roesgen - ^b Ermen - ^c First - ^d Julius Reuter. A list of persons presented to Queen Victoria on 28 March 1860, was published in *The Times*, No. 23580, 29 March 1860. - ^e Victoria

the pay of France (600 frs. per month), he was discovered to be a 'secret' **Russian** spy. This same Reuter, together with Engländer, Hörfel and **Schlesinger**, was a partner in a Bonapartist lithographic news agency in Paris (an *honorary member* being one Esterhazy, a MAN ABOUT TOWN and the cousin of Esterh., the Austrian ambassador); they fell out, etc. Mr *Bernhard Wolff*, *chief proprietor of the Berlin 'National-Zeitung'* and owner of the Berlin telegraphic bureau, is hand-in-purse (partners) with *S. Engländer*, who is at present editing European world history in Reuter's name. N. B. Russia has now joined the 'Austro-German Telegraphic Union' and, '*pour encourager les autres*,'^a has got Pam to present her Reuter to the QUEEN. I am to get a detailed account of Schlesinger's entire *curriculum vitae*, as well as that of Reuter's.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

My thanks to Siebel for the notes, which arrived today. Also for his *Religion und Liebe*.^b My wife thinks highly of the latter.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

52

MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 13 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

A fortnight ago yesterday I sent you the final documents, at the same time requesting you to acknowledge receipt of the letters and enclosures previously despatched, and also to let me know briefly how the case is progressing.^c I am exceedingly worried by the

^a 'to encourage the others' - ^b [C. Siebel,] *Religion und Liebe. Roman aus dem Tagebuche eines Anonymen*, Hamburg, 1860. - ^c See this volume, pp. 110-11.

complete absence of news, the more so since, in your letter of 22 February, you say the action will become statute-barred on 22 April and, after receiving the said letter, I had expected an early communication from you.

I remain, Sir, Your most Obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

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

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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53

MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 April 1860

Dear Engels,

Have had some most valuable material from Lommel today.^a However, he volunteered to submit to a further CROSS-EXAMINATION, and one such has already gone off to him today.⁴² It was also much needed. Moreover, in the letter in which I buttered him up, I suggested he should send 300 copies of his *Hinter den Coulissen* to Petsch (the booksellers) here. I would promote the sales (in working men's clubs, etc.). Now he wants an advance of 150 francs. I think that you in Manchester should CLUB together *forthwith* and raise a few pounds, while I would find the rest down here. The man is *invaluable* to us. He has also written about this to Siebel. Hence I shall also drop the latter a couple of lines today. Siebel should do nothing without first consulting me.

I enclose Weydemeyer's letter.

Not a word yet from that confounded lawyer,^b to whom I sent a reminder last Friday.^c However, he's got the retaining fee, and I his acceptance of the brief. So, I cannot imagine that he will lay himself open to a lawsuit against himself.

A lot more sanctimonious preaching from Lassalle, together

^a See this volume, pp. 118-19. - ^b J. M. Weber - ^c See previous letter.

with a printed essay (on *Fichte's political legacy*^a) for Walesrode's political pocket edition, not yet out.^b It appears from L.'s letter that he has read your pamphlet,^c which means it *has come out in Berlin*. Presumably the publisher will only start advertising it now, along with the Easter eggs. L.'s letter is altogether fatuous. He's been ill again. He is again writing a 'major work'.^d Aside from this major work, he has in his mind a clear outline of three other major works, including the 'political economy', and is, in addition, studying 6-7 unnamed sciences 'with productive intent'. The Countess,^e he writes, has lost a great deal of money, for which reason he must go to Cologne. Probably misguided speculation in railways, etc.

Mont Sion does in fact exist, or so I see from the map included in the BLUE BOOK ON SAVOY^f (in the Genevois, EX-NEUTRAL).

Apropos.

Questions for Lupus:

1. In one of his letters from Zurich I find that he was acquainted with Brass. Could he supply any information about him?

2. Did the rump parliament in Stuttgart¹⁵⁴ pass a resolution whereby the former imperial regents have the right to recall the German parliament on any particular occasion?

Do you or Lupus know anything about a request for annexation sent in 1849 by the then provisional government of the Palatinate to the French National Assembly?

When are you coming down here?

Your

Moor

Haven't seen Freiligrath yet. The idea of meeting the chap is 'awful',^g and yet I've got to swallow the bitter pill. If only for diplomatic reasons, after our mutual assurances of friendship.

And then, he has written to me in an AMIABLE MANNER.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a Lassalle, *Fichte's politisches Vermächtniss und die neueste Gegenwart*. - ^b *Demokratische Studien* - ^c *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - ^d *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* - ^e Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^f *Papers relating to proposed Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France and memorial on the relations between Switzerland and Savoy as a Neutral*, London, 1860. - ^g Marx uses the dialectal form 'öklig' for 'eklig'.

54

MARX TO MÓR PERCZEL

IN ST HÉLIÉR

London, 16 April 1860
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear General,

In furtherance of a work I intend to publish on Bonapartist machinations,^a I am taking the liberty of addressing myself to you as one of the most vigorous champions of European liberty. During the recent war in Italy⁴⁶ you issued a statement in which you showed that you had seen through the humbug and had therefore made a timely exit from the stage—proof, if proof were needed, of your superiority to that clown, Kossuth, and his sycophants. Having unfortunately lost that statement, I had recourse to Szemere in Paris.^b He referred me to you. Hence, if you would be so kind as to let me have a copy of the said statement, together with your comments on the deception practised on the Hungarians in Italy, you would be doing a service to the good cause.

As early as last summer (1859), in articles of mine which appeared in the *New-York Tribune*^c and the *London Free Press*,^d I mentioned your name as that of the only military representative of the Hungarian emigration not to have succumbed to the bribes and wiles of the diplomats of France and Russia, or allowed himself to be impressed by Kossuth's phantasmagoria, and, in the new book I propose to write, I should be glad to allot you the place of honour that befits you.

I am taking the liberty of reminding you that, as early as 1848-49, when Editor-in-Chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, I was the most determined advocate of revolutionary Hungary in Germany. Now, as then, I consider *Hungary's independence and sovereignty to be the conditio sine qua of Germany's release from slavery*. But with no less determination do I reject the endeavour to

^a *Herr Vogt* - ^b See this volume, p. 111. - ^c 'Kossuth and Louis Napoleon' -

^d 'Particulars of Kossuth's Transaction with Louis Napoleon'

debase the *nationalities* by using them as a cloak for Muscovite-Decembrist¹⁵⁵ intrigue.

I am, Sir, etc.

Yours,

Dr Karl Marx

First published in Hungarian in *Pártör-
ténelti Közlemények*, No. 4, Budapest, 1966
and in the language of the original
(German) in: Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39,
Berlin, 1973

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

55

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 April 1860

Dear Engels,

I trust that your indisposition isn't serious. Also that you are taking care of yourself and not over-working.

I have sent Lommel *the 150 francs* today.^a (What you don't manage to scrape together in Manchester will be collected here.) For the following reasons:

1. If he is to retrieve the books^b from the bookbinders', he has got to pay 50 frs. That leaves him 100 frs. To haggle over that would be *exceedingly impolitic* and would not command any respect for our party.

2. The main thing is that the so-called advance be sent to the chap quickly and *unconditionally*. In that way, he'll be beholden to us. The other half he shall have BY AND BY and thus will remain *ENGAGED TO US*.

3. As soon as he has the money, he will leave for Savoy whence he will send back reports.

4. From Petsch's note enclosed herewith (I gave him the copy Siehel brought back with him) you will see that he believes that he can make a profit on what is, in fact, an interesting pamphlet.

5. L. is a decent chap. Otherwise he'd sell himself. From the papers Becker has sent me, I see that Lommel was a leading light

^a See this volume, p. 123. - ^b [G. Lommel,] *Hinter den Coulissen*.

in the old Republican Party. Also a friend of Heinzen's. What a clamour there'll be from the latter over this defection!

I am in two minds about Siebel's work for the *Strassburger Zeitung*.^a

Yours
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

56

ENGELS TO GOTTFRIED ERMEN

IN MANCHESTER

Copy

Manchester, 19 April 1860

Sir,

I have no hesitation in expressing my regret that you should have taken offence at my taking home the book of calculations during dinner-time. As books have been taken home, before, by others connected with the office, I did not expect it would have caused you any annoyance. As to any intentions on my part of taking any undue advantage, you are aware that the whole of the calculations contained in the said book are so much out of date that not one of the elements given therein agrees with the present real cost. I could not, therefore, have any such intention, and [I] hope the feeling now expressed by you is not in any way influenced by the prospect of the arrangements for winding up, or otherwise settling, the affairs of the firm, it being the interest of all parties that such matters should be conducted in a friendly and accommodating spirit.

I am, Sir,

your obedient servant,

Fred. Engels

Written in English. First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 30, Moscow, 1963

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^a Presumably the *Strassburger Korrespondent für West- und Mitteleuropa*.

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MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 21 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

Eleven days ago I sent you a letter,^a in which I notified you that I had still not received either an acknowledgment of, or a reply to, the numerous letters (enclosing documents, power of attorney, etc.) despatched from here and Manchester over the past two months, although your letter of 22 February had led me to expect an early communication and, according to that same letter, the action will become statute-barred on 22 April (i.e. tomorrow). I therefore requested an explanation.

Having received no reply to that letter either, I am forced to conclude

Either that my letters failed to arrive, although every one, save the last, was registered;

Or that at least one of your letters has been intercepted.

Therefore, should this letter suffer the same fate as its predecessors, I shall lodge a complaint both with the General Post Office over here and with the Prussian Embassy; I shall also, if need be, make a public protest in the columns of the *London Times*.

I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Servant,

Dr K. Marx

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

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

^a Obviously the letter of 13 April 1860. see this volume, pp. 122-23.

58

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 April 1860

DEAR Frederick,

Herewith a letter from Weber. From that letter I learn for the first time (what the jackass might have been kind enough to tell me earlier on) that he did not *originally* file a civil but a *criminal* action for *injuria* against Zabel, which means that, under Prussian law, the application has to be countersigned by the Royal Procurator's Office. Since this has been refused, he has appealed. It is, of course, 'an issue of *public* importance'¹⁵⁶ to the Prussian government that we should be traduced to the utmost.

From his letter you will see that he also instituted the civil action on the 18th.

Will you let Dr Heckscher know about this business and give him some notes (a few lines) on the subject for the Hamburg *Reform*?^a He has himself repeatedly offered to do me a service of this kind, and the matter has got to be brought out into the open (if only to instil a little caution into the Prussian government). I am also writing to Siebel to this effect. Indeed, the public must not be allowed to suppose that the matter has lapsed.

The stuff from Lommel (I have got six or seven more documents from him)^b contains ample CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE of Vogt's bribery. Vogt no longer feels *safe* in Geneva and has therefore applied for Schwyz citizenship. I hope, by the by, that one of these days you will write me a proper letter telling me just how *your* affairs are going. It's not very friendly of you to treat me with the reserve that might be appropriate in the case of others.

How goes it with your health? I've been most anxious about it.

Your

K. M.

The Perrier business had been prearranged with Bonaparte, but never attained the dimensions originally envisaged.¹⁵⁷ J. Perrier was in Paris *with* Fazy, and was seen there by Becker's son.^c

^a See this volume, p. 134. - ^b *ibid.*, p. 123. - ^c Gottfried Becker

No answer as yet from Fischel, to whom I wrote^a on the subject of your pamphlet^b (Schily has also badgered him about it).

While, in the West German *Strassburger Zeitung*,^b the literary Zouaves keep up the skirmish, so too do the literary Cossacks in the German *Baltische Monatsschrift* (Riga); we 'Teutons' are thus under attack on both flanks.^c

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

59

MARX TO GEORG RHEINLÄNDER

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 April 1860

Dear Rheinländer,

I should be much obliged to you if you would request Mr Stecher to tell you exactly (as exactly as possible) *when* Cherval first came to Geneva, *how long* he stayed there, and *when* he performed his vanishing act.

It would be nice to see you again some time. I have all sorts of things to tell you.

Yours,

K. Marx ¹⁵⁶

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

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

^a *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. ^b *Strassburger Korrespondent für West- und Mitteleuropa*.
^c See also Marx's article 'Garibaldi in Sicily.—Affairs in Prussia', present edition, Vol. 17, p. 385.

60

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

London, 24 April 1860
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

Many thanks for Humboldt^a and Fichte.¹³⁹ I hadn't yet read the latter, and it was *CLEVER* of you to throw it into the fray. When your letter arrived, I got Engels to send me both your letter and the one from Counsellor Weber in Berlin. From this last I see that the matter of not mentioning his name applied *solely* to my public announcements in the newspapers^b; hence I was, in this instance, labouring under a misapprehension.

Today I have heard from Weber. From his letter it would appear that he *began* by filing a criminal action. He then received the following communication dated 18th inst.

'The original documents are returned to Dr Carl Marx, c/o Counsellor Weber, together with the notification that *no issue of public importance* is raised by this matter which could make it desirable for me to take any action (Art. XVI of the Prolegomena to the Penal Code of April 14, 1851). Berlin, April 18, etc. Lippe.'

Weber has appealed to the Chief Public Prosecutor^c against this ruling. At the same time, in order to prevent its becoming statute-barred and to keep open another course of action, he has filed the action for *injuria* with the civil judge.

With my pamphlet^d in view, I am, of course, having investigations made in Paris and Switzerland, and have even sent an emissary^e to Geneva. I now have *proof* that Vogt is a French agent. At the moment, he no longer feels safe in Geneva and is therefore sounding out the possibility of becoming a citizen of another canton.

Apròpos. An acquaintance of mine^f—a Berliner—staunchly maintains that a certain Mayer or Meier,⁷⁰ of the firm Abraham M. and Co. (or Sons), who lives in Viktoriastrasse, Berlin, is the

^a *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858*, Leipzig, 1860. - ^b See this volume, p. 116. - ^c Schwarck - ^d *Herr Vogt* - ^e Carl Siebel - ^f Julius Faucher

correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. Could you not get your lady friends to investigate?

Shall reply to your letter anon.

No doubt you'll have left Berlin by the time this note reaches you.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

61

MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 24 April 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a retaining fee of 15 talers, at the same time advising you that I fully agree to all the measures adopted by you.

I remain, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

Dr Karl Marx

P. S. As a result of investigations that I have started in Paris and Switzerland, notably in Geneva,¹⁶⁰ I now have *proof* (after the proceedings I intend to publish it in pamphlet form) that Professor Karl Vogt is no more than a common French agent. I believe, by the by, that the annexation of Nice and Savoy will have opened the eyes of even the blindest of men to the 'Italian work of liberation',¹⁶¹ the danger that is threatening Germany and the rightness of those who *uttered timely warnings*.

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

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

62

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 May 1860

Dear Frederick,

Herewith:

1. *Letter from Fischel*.¹⁶² Gumpert's belief that he sent me a letter written to you from Berlin is a DELUSION. The letter to you which he sent contained Liebknecht's letter to me.^a

2. *Letter from Szemere*. I haven't written to him for a long time because I disliked intensely the way he flattered Badinguet¹⁶³ and Pam in his pamphlet.^b However, I shall now give him a piece of my mind.

3. *Letter from Emmermann and Beust to Schily*.¹⁶⁴ What do you think of these worthies? Beust, buckling on his sword and accusing me of prevarication just because he got scared and decamped from Cologne! You needn't return the letters to me, but had better file them.

As regards Fischel's suggestion, I must first know more about the kind of newspaper he envisages, the line it will take, etc.

I'm very glad that it was Schimmelpfennig who was Techow's addressee⁵⁶ for that will enable me to present the one in terms of the other. It's also a good thing that Willich prevented a reply to Schapper. I shall treat him with mild irony.

Have met Freiligrath. The philistine clearly wishes to remain on good terms with us. Beyond this, doesn't want to be drawn into the 'scandal'. His views have become mediocre in the extreme.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Your

K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a See this volume, p. 113. - ^b B. Szemere, *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860.

63

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 7 May 1860]

Dear Moor,

Heckscher sent the story to the *Reform*^a straight away, but with what success I don't yet know; as usual, having made a great song and dance about his influence, he now says he can't promise it will appear, etc.

Meanwhile Siebel has got it into the *Mittelrheinische Zeitung*.

Any news from Berlin?

Mr Szemere has put me to great expense over the Tokay. The wine's so sweet that no one can drink it, so I've sent back the whole lot, apart from a bottle or two, and shall, of course, have to bear all the expenses, customs duty, etc., etc. He writes most civilly, offering me other wines, but charges three times as much as Charles's^b wine merchant in Pest. The fellow is trying to make huge profits out of his '*entreprise toute patriotique*'. *Nous verrons*.^c

Siebel is ill with some 'genius's ailment' on which, as usual, he prides himself. I shall go and see him this evening.

I haven't heard a word about my pamphlet^d or seen anything in the papers. It's the *conspiration du silence* all over again.

Apropos. Reiff has come up here, or so he says, on the advice of Liebknecht, Lochner, etc.! He wants me to help him with money; is a street musician. I've told him that in the circumstances I would first have to write to you, which didn't seem to please him.—Said you were angry, etc., etc. *Que faire?*^e What do you think of the chap? In any case, I can't do much for him.

My brother Emil is here and is negotiating with Ermen. I shall probably be remaining with Gottfried^f as clerk with a percentage of the profits, in return for a guarantee that I shall become a partner in a few years' time. I'm trying to make the contract as onerous as possible for G. so that, when the time comes, he'll be only too glad to let me go. By the end of this week, or at any rate in the course of the next, everything will probably have been fixed

^a See this volume, p. 129. - ^b Charles Roesgen - ^c 'wholly patriotic enterprise'. We shall see. - ^d *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - ^e What should we do? - ^f Gottfried Ermen

up. For the next few weeks, by the way, I shall probably have to drudge fittingly, for Monsieur Gottfried intends to make great changes and do a lot of reorganising the moment he's in sole charge of the CONCERN.

Many regards to your wife and the young ladies.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

64

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 May 1860

Dear Frederick,

Reiff is a scoundrel. No one sent him up to Manchester. He disappeared from here after he had been exposed. He was thrown out of the League⁶³ back in 1850. During the preliminary investigation at the Cologne trial² he actually turned traitor. I've just found a letter of Bernbach's which refers to this.³ So, have nothing to do with him.

As to your pamphlet,^b you'll have found something in Fischel's letter. By the by, in your place I shouldn't hesitate to exploit friend Siebel's minor literary connections (as soon as he's up and about again, that is) for the purpose of combating the *conspiration du silence*. Had you actually put your name to the pamphlet, the public would have seized upon it, if only out of curiosity. Behrend, by the by, seems to be even worse than Duncker.

Szemere is a man who likes to ask others to do him a service, but who keeps his own pocket-flaps buttoned. You have now done enough for him and, if I were you, I would leave his wine to its *mission toute patriotique*.^c

² Marx quoted Bernbach's letter in his letter to Engels of 20 July 1852. See present edition, Vol. 39, pp. 134-35. ^b *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - ^c wholly patriotic mission

I don't much care for the SETTLEMENT with G. Ermen. The question is, whether your family is or is not leaving any capital in the business. If the former, it might provide a vantage point from which to negotiate.

From your letter it would appear that you are once again going to cancel or postpone your trip down here. Considering how rapid communications are, you ought really to be able to spare a couple of days.

What do you think of the Sicilian business?¹⁶⁵

Things in Vienna are said to be very revolutionary.

The English are, of course, now plaguing us with talk about Bruck. The day before yesterday a chap was again badgering me about it. He asked: 'NOW, WHAT DO YOU SAY OF BRUCK'S SUICIDE?' 'I'LL TELL YOU, SIR. IN AUSTRIA THE ROGUES CUT THEIR OWN THROATS, WHILE IN ENGLAND THEY CUT THEIR PEOPLE'S PURSES.'

Borkheim has just written to me from Dublin. He will be arriving in Manchester on Saturday^a evening and will come and see you on Sunday.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO EDUARD FISCHEL¹⁴²

IN BERLIN

[London,] 8 May 1860

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter and for your trouble. I shall shortly be sending you a letter from little Faucher on the subject of Mayer.^b

^a 11 May - ^b See this volume, pp. 131-32.

As for the proposed newspaper, I would not be averse to becoming involved in it.¹⁶² Only I would first have to know something more about its establishment, political outlook, etc. As regards foreign policy (and this, as from England, would no doubt be the main thing), I believe that we are in substantial agreement. On the other hand, there might well be considerable differences of opinion in regard to internal policy. The main thing, of course, is to know what attitude the newspaper intends to adopt in Prussia. If it eschews an emphatically one-sided party viewpoint, I should say that, at the present time, when Germany is in danger, people of varying political views could work *together* against foreign foes, without making any mutual concessions.

Yours very truly,
K. Marx

Also written (8 May) to Engels, Borkheim, Eccarius, Petsch, and Weydemeyer.^a

First published in the language of the original (German) and in Russian in the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, No. 3, Moscow, 1959

Published in English for the first time

66

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 May 1860

Dear Moor,

My brother^b left this evening because my mother is seriously ill and sent for him by telegram.

Matters have been pretty well settled with Ermen. My family is leaving capital amounting to £10,000 in the business, which it will have to make over to me when I become a partner. My material position will improve straight away, or at least the percentage of my share. I shall tell you all about this when I come down at Whitsun. Providing, that is, that everything's settled by then, and

^a Marx's note to the copy of the letter in his notebook. - ^b Emil Engels

nothing has happened to my mother, so that I am, in fact, able to come. But I'm rather afraid she may have caught the infection from my father. I feel as though typhoid fever has now got a grip on our family.

About the other points, tomorrow.

Siebel wants to know whether, amongst the papers he brought back, you have found the pamphlet, *Die Sphinx auf dem französischen Kaiserthron*²; Schily has noticed that it's missing and is afraid he may have lost it.

Saw Lupus yesterday. The bone's still troubling him, and rheumatism into the bargain. It almost looks as though Gumpert's intervention is bringing the matter to a head, which is just as well, since it will be over all the sooner, and then L. will be back on his pins again.

Regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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67

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 May 1860

Dear Moor,

My mother in grave danger. Two telegrams from Barmen. No one's allowed to see her. I'm to go over there again, the necessary steps are being taken. How it will turn out I cannot say. This business has put my mind into a turmoil; apparently it really is typhoid.

I can't write to you about anything else today, my mind being altogether too full, and besides it's too late. For seven weeks now

² [K. Grün,] *Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, die Sphinx auf dem französischen Kaiserthron*, Hamburg, 1860.

I've been living in a state of continual tension and excitation which has now reached a climax—never has it been so bad. Fortunately, I am ALL RIGHT again physically. If I have to go to Barmen, I can probably so arrange things as to spend another day in London *en route*, in which case I shall see you.¹⁶⁶

Many regards.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 May [1860]

Dear Siebel,

Herewith the answer from Berlin from which it appears that the criminal action has been dismissed. The civil action will never make any headway.^a Kindly send the *Mittelrheinische Zeitung* a few lines setting forth the facts of the case. Let me have the letter back as soon as you've shown it to Gumpert and Lupus.

I have not yet approached a publisher about the pamphlet^b and am wondering whether to try Leipzig or Hamburg.

Engels left here yesterday evening,¹⁶⁶ *sain et sauf*.^c

I have not received the *Sphinx*^d from you but it doesn't matter. I do not regard Boustrapa¹⁶⁷ as a sphinx, still less Mr Karl Grün as an Oedipus.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

^a See this volume, p. 129. - ^b K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - ^c safe and sound - ^d [K. Grün,] *Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, die Sphinx auf dem französischen Kaiserthron*, Hamburg, 1860.

Apropos.

If you were to send the *Mittelrheinische Zeitung* a note about the progress of my case, dated 'Berlin', you might take the opportunity of slipping in a word or two about the Eichhoff-Stieber case,⁴⁴ which was decided on 10 May in the Court of the First Instance in Berlin. For Eichhoff has been given an eighteen-month sentence for 'libelling' Stieber. The libel suit rested mainly on the denunciation of Stieber (in the London *Hermann*) for perjury, theft, etc., perpetrated by him in the course of the Communist trial in Cologne (1852).² Below I cite various instances that are characteristic of the proceedings in the Prussian law court.

1. Eichhoff's denunciation rested (except for my pamphlet,^a which he could not, of course, mention) on the reports printed by the '*Kölnische Zeitung*' during the proceedings in Cologne,^b the authenticity of which has *never* been challenged either by Stieber or by anyone else. The court declared these reports to be *inadmissible* evidence. Whenever it was in the interests of Stieber, the court allowed as *authentic* the reports in the *Vossische Zeitung*^c (probably deriving from Stieber himself), **because** they had been declared 'authentic' by Signor Stieber. Whenever it went *against* the interests of Stieber's denunciator, the selfsame court declared the meagre record kept by the clerk of the court to be the only *authentic* source.

2. Goldheim, a police official, and Greif, a police lieutenant, Stieber's chief fellow-culprits and his subordinate tools in the Communist trial of 1852, were wholly exempted from CROSS-EXAMINATION because the court did not wish to expose these gentlemen to the alternative (as the presiding judge^d frankly stated) 'of either committing perjury or testifying against themselves'. On the other hand, their statements were allowed as evidence for Stieber's **defence**.

3. In 1851, Stieber and Greif had got the Prussian police spy Reuter to break into Oswald Dietz's house and steal papers, which (although they were in fact quite irrelevant to the charge¹⁶⁰) were produced in evidence by Stieber during the Cologne trial. This

^a *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^b Reports on the Communist trial in Cologne were published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* from 5 October to 13 November 1852, under the title 'Assisen-Procédur gegen D. Herrn. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes'. -

^c Reports on the Cologne Communist trial were published in the *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen (Vossische Zeitung)* from 6 October to 16 November 1852, under the title 'Die Verhandlungen des grossen Kommunistenprozess vor dem Assisenhofe zu Köln'. - ^d Göbel

theft was one of the counts upon which Eichhoff's denunciation of Stieber rested. And now just listen to this! Drenkmann, the Royal Procurator, enunciated the following brand-new theory of theft:

'The question as to whether or not the papers were acquired by theft may,' he said, 'be left in abeyance; in forming an opinion of *the accused*, it is of no account. Had they in fact been acquired by theft, the police official who had thus obtained them could not be accused of theft in the legal sense, but *at most* of immoral conduct. A theft in the legal sense demands a *dolus malus*.^a This, however, *cannot* be assumed of police officials who might have instigated such a theft, since they would have been acting, not for their private advantage, but in the *interests* of the State.'

Thus, if a Prussian police official breaks into a house in London and 'steals' from it, he is 'at most' committing an immoral action, but not a crime in law. This is a suspension of COMMON LAW imposed upon the English by the Prussian State.

4. Hirsch, in prison in Hamburg, had testified on oath that the minute-book¹⁶⁹ had been fabricated by himself and Fleury under Greif's supervision. Why wasn't Hirsch taken to Berlin to be cross-examined as a witness there during the trial?

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1966

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

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MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 May 1860

Dear Engels,

The enclosed is from Lassalle.^b Let me know *by return* what you think I should write and tell him *re* Fischel.

I do not fall in with his suggestion about Berlin.

Nothing yet from Lommel.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a evil intent. ^b Lassalle's letter to Marx of 24 May 1860 suggesting that Marx should testify at Eichhoff's trial in Berlin. For Marx's reply see this volume, pp. 145-55.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 May 1860

Dear Moor,

I return Ephraim Artful^a herewith. His proposal *re* yourself is truly crazy.^b After all, there's nothing you could say, either, about what happened in Cologne. However, Ephraim might be of some use in the matter. At least he has more PLUCK than the old women actually involved at Cologne, who always prefer to endure everything patiently. But it might also be worthwhile trying to see if there's anything to be done from Cologne.

Ad vocem^c Fischel, perhaps we'd better tell the fool the more or less unvarnished truth and give him a bit of a lesson about the extent to which the word 'reactionary' has come to be [just] an empty phrase in his mouth. You might also take the opportunity of getting him to explain just why He, Ephraim the Profound, agrees in effect with our own and Fischel's 'anti-Palmerstonianism'. An enigma—at least so far. A private set-to between L. and F. in Berlin can't possibly concern us, and F. has behaved too well for us to drop him on some pretext or other just to please L. The only thing to do, presumably, is to give the Dark Heraclitus^d a mysterious intimation or two to the effect that 'reactionary' cuts no ice in foreign policy, in which field much greater 'jackasses' than Fischel are of service, provided they know all the ropes. How horrorstruck our far-sighted revolutionary thinker and pragmatic Royal Prussian court democrat would be, if he heard that Urquhart proposes to extend the power of the Crown. So nice a speculative distinction may be drawn, by the way, between this separate field of FOREIGN POLICY, on the one hand, and internal policy, on the other, that you'll certainly enjoy pointing out to him how, in foreign policy, the subjectively reactionary is, for the nonce, objectively revolutionary, thereby putting the man's mind at rest. Just help the man make the transition and he'll be satisfied theoretically, however much our connection with Fischel may rile

^a Ferdinand Lassalle's letter - ^b See this volume, p. 141. - ^c As regards - ^d i.e. Lassalle. An allusion to his book *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*.

him in practice, and rile him the more for the knowledge that it was Fischel who saw to my pamphlet.^a

You might also observe for his benefit how revolutionary a mode of action it is, first to deprive the Germans, or get others to deprive them, of their best territory and the very basis of their national existence on the pretext that the present rulers of that territory are reactionaries, and then to expect revolution. And it mightn't be a bad idea to say something about superstitious belief in the revolutionary initiative of the *crapauds*.^b The whole to be presented in the usual allusive manner so that he'll have to chew it over for the space of four weeks and then wipe the slate clean by writing you a four-page letter to which you won't reply.

My coming up here on Saturday^c was most useful. By Sunday I had already found out a great deal that is important to negotiations, and now have the draft contract to study.

Best regards to your wife and children.

Siebel wants to leave.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO EDUARD FISCHEL¹⁴²

IN BERLIN

[London,] 1 June 1860

Sir,

For the past three weeks I have been suffering from a liver complaint, which has made it quite impossible for me to write or work and from which I have not yet wholly recovered. As a result, I have got into such arrears with my work that the next few weeks are spoken for, and hence I shall *under no circumstances* be able to

^a *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* - ^b toads. Engels means the French philistines. - ^c 26 May

start contributing immediately to the new newspaper.^a Could you send me one or two numbers of the same for my perusal? And likewise give me some advice about the PRINCIPAL MANAGERS of the new undertaking? Black, red and gold is a *couleur* which can now be used to some effect vis-à-vis other countries.¹⁷⁰

I recommend to you Mr Georg Lommel, 85 rue du Nord, Café Court, Genève, for the post of Geneva correspondent of the paper.

Geneva is now a major seat of Bonapartist intrigue, and Lommel is well informed. I am convinced that he would agree to act as your correspondent on very reasonable terms.

Ad vocem^b Abel: Many thanks for this discovery.¹⁷¹ Who is Abel? You would greatly oblige me by sending a few more details; indeed I should like to have this information as soon as possible.

I have doubtless already told you that the Chief Public Prosecutor^c has upheld the Public Prosecutor's^d dismissal of my libel action on the grounds that no 'public interest' would be served thereby.^e So the civil action will now be going ahead.

You will have seen in the papers that Reuter, the Jewish confidence trickster who owns the London telegraphic bureau, was presented to the Queen.^f Quite simply the facts are as follows: Reuter's factotum—he himself being barely able to write grammatically—is the Viennese refugee *Sigmund Engländer*. This Engländer was previously in Paris, where he contributed to a lithographic news bulletin run under the auspices of the then minister of police^g; at the same time, he was a French *mouchard*.^h When the Oriental warⁱ broke out, he was expelled from Paris because it had been discovered that he was a Russian spy. He then came to London where he eventually entered the service of Reuter, with whom he had already had connections earlier on. Now, since the entire European press is controlled by Reuter *via* his telegraphic bureau, and the telegraphic bureau by the Russian embassy *via* Engländer, you will understand why Pam presented Reuter to the Queen. So far as I know, the presentation had something to do with Russia's entry into the Austro-Prussian Telegraphic Union. I have informed Collet of the FACTS. Perhaps you for your own part may be able to make use of them.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

K. Marx

^a See this volume, p. 137 - ^b Re - ^c Schwarck - ^d Lippe - ^e See this volume, pp. 129, 131. - ^f Victoria. See this volume, p. 121. - ^g Maupas - ^h police spy - ⁱ the Crimean war (1853-56)

None of Engels' pamphlets,^a except for *one* copy, has yet reached either Engels or myself. It would also seem that the publisher^b has not even inserted the usual publisher's advertisement in the newspapers.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 30,
Moscow, 1963

Published in English for the first
time

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

[London, about 2 June 1860]^c

Dear Lassalle,

For some three weeks past I've been suffering from a liver complaint, which has prevented me from doing any [kind]^e of work, and which I haven't completely shaken off yet. This state of affairs makes me a very poor letter-writer.

Well, before I reply to your letter, just one or two preliminaries. The *Daily Telegraph's* Berlin correspondent is called Abel. Can you provide me with any particulars about this individual?

Schwarck, the Chief Public Prosecutor, has in turn dismissed the criminal action against the *National-Zeitung* on Appeal on the grounds that no 'public interest' would be served thereby. It won't be long now before the civil action is preferred.

Now for your letter.

I shall not come to Berlin.¹⁷² I did not go to Cologne and all I knew of the sworn evidence given there by Stieber was derived from the reports in the *Kölnische Zeitung*.^d It is upon those reports that my critique in the *Revelations*^e is based. Hence I could be of no use as a witness in this case. If they want to have me testify about one point or another, I am prepared to make a deposition

^a *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. ^b G. Behrend. ^c Manuscript damaged. ^d Reports on the Cologne Communist trial were published by the *Kölnische Zeitung* in October and November 1852 under the heading 'Assisen-Procédur gegen D. Herm. Becker und Genossen. Anklage wegen hochverrätherischen Complottes'. ^e *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*

(as apparently has often been done by other refugees) at the Prussian Embassy in London.

During the early stages of the Eichhoff case Juch, the editor of the *Hermann*, appealed to me for help in this respect.¹⁷³ I gave him the *Revelations*, recommended that Schneider II be summoned as witness from Cologne, and pointed out the necessity of questioning Hirsch, who was in gaol in Hamburg. The latter interrogation would seem to have been conducted most ineptly. Indeed, it would be absolutely essential to convey Hirsch *bodily* to Berlin to act as a witness. Only in this event could there be a proper CROSS-EXAMINATION that would publicly lay bare the whole disgraceful operation, since Hirsch was fully initiated into these mysteries of Stieber-Goldheim-Greif-Fleury.

Another essential witness would be Cherval (Joseph Crämer), at present in Paris. As he did a bolt from Aachen after forging some bills, Prussia could undoubtedly demand his extradition. But the government will take good care not to do so. Apart from that, he's a French *mouchard*^a and therefore under Bonaparte's protection.

Most of the other people whom it might be important to examine are in America. Only one is still over here, a certain de L'Aspée from Wiesbaden, who is employed as an INTERPRETER by the English police. I have taken the necessary steps [to ar]range a meeting [with him] and shall see whether he is *willing* either to [travel] to Berlin [or] to submit to questioning at the Prussian Embassy. In 1853, [he] sent *The Times* an article denouncing [St]ieber. The article was suppressed owing to Bunsen's intervention and did not [appear].

I shall [now] adduce a few points, which you may, perhaps, be able to put to use. I wrote the *Revelations* immediately after the Cologne trial was over. However, I subsequently made further investigations into this *casus*, which is of special interest to me. But first let me say what a capital idea it was of Eichhoff's to cite the chief fellow culprits, Goldheim and Greif, as witnesses for the defence. As things stand, the only way to get at Stieber *et cie.* would be for the government to institute an inquiry into the Cologne trial. But it'll take good care not to.

Stieber (see page 10 of my *Revelations*)^b is said to have testified *on oath* in Cologne that 'his attention had been drawn' to 'the conspiracy's archives' in the keeping of Oswald Dietz in London by the copy of 'the papers found on Nothjung' which were sent to

^a police spy - ^b See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 405.

him in London from police headquarters in Berlin. A mere examination of the Cologne records, which must necessarily contain the papers found on Nothjung, should be enough to refute this perjured evidence.

The actual state of affairs was as follows: Cherval (Joseph Crämer) was the Paris correspondent of the Willich-Schapper League¹⁷⁴ and, as such, corresponded with Oswald Dietz. At the same time, Cherval was an agent of the Prussian ambassador in Paris, Prince Hatzfeldt. Not only did he denounce Dietz, as secretary of his London committee, to Hatzfeldt, he also wrote Dietz *letters* that were intended for use as evidence later on. Stieber and Greif (as *Greif himself* told Hirsch in Fleury's presence) acted on Hatzfeldt's information. What they found out through Reuter was where Dietz lived, after which Fleury, on Stieber's orders, burgled Dietz's lodgings accompanied by Reuter. This, too, is known to Hirsch.

En passant, the following circumstance may be relevant, with which Mr Hirsch is familiar. Fleury had made exact copies of the letters stolen at Reuter's and given them to Hirsch to read. Among those letters was one from Hanover written by Stechan in which he mentioned a remittance of 30 talers for the refugees. Stieber (together with his friend Wermuth in Hanover) altered this to 530 talers for the leaders. Stechan, who, so far as I know, is now in Edinburgh, could perhaps swear an affidavit to this effect. Stieber (according to the *Köln. Zeit.*, see p. 11 of the *Revelations*¹⁷⁵) further stated on oath that the Dietz archives had arrived in Berlin on 5 August 1851, having been sent to him from London. The FACT is that Stieber took those 'archives' with him from London to Paris on 20 July 1851. This is a point which the above-mentioned L'Aspée could, if he so wished, corroborate on oath.

Mr Greif testified on oath in Berlin that he did not know Hirsch, or knew him only very slightly. The FACT is that Hirsch was introduced to Fleury by Greif at 39 Brewer Street, Golden Square, the private residence of Alberts (then, as now, *secretary to the Prussian Embassy* in London) at that time, after Greif had first got Hirsch to give him a report on the activities of the revolutionary emigration. From that time on, Greif, Fleury, and Hirsch worked together (under the direction of Greif), and were, in particular, jointly responsible for composing the forged minute-book.

The month of April 1853 found Goldheim and Stieber back in London where they were intent on engineering a link between

¹⁷⁴ See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 406.

Kossuth's mysterious gunpowder plot and the Berlin conspiracy (Ladendorf's).¹⁷⁵ At that time (i.e. many months after the Cologne trial), Hirsch constantly accompanied them in London and worked together with them.

Considering that the police have acknowledged their Fleury in court, let me provide a character sketch of these Prussian agents in London: The said Fleury is called Krause, and is the son of Krause the cobbler, who was executed in Dresden some 22 to 25 years ago for the murder of Countess Schönberg and her maid. Some time after the Cologne trial, this same Fleury-Krause was convicted of forgery in London and sentenced to two or three years in the HULKS. Having now served his sentence, he is once again up to his old activities.

The French plot (*complot allemand-français*)¹⁰⁸ was engineered under Stieber's direction by Cherval in company with Greif, Fleury, Beckmann, Sommer and the French spy, Lucien de la Hodde (under the name of Duprez). At Cherval's instigation, Greif (who, like Stieber, swears he does not know the Franco-Prussian spies Cherval and Gipperich) went to North Germany where he was to find out the abode of a certain tailor named Tietz and obtain possession of the letters Cherval had written him on police instructions. He went to the home of Tietz's betrothed in Hamburg, saying he had come 'as a friend' of Tietz's and would take into safe keeping any potentially dangerous correspondence. However, the coup misfired.

Greif also corresponded with Maupas, through de la Hodde-Duprez, about the release of Cherval and Gipperich. No sooner had Cherval arrived in London than he was taken on by Greif at a regular salary of £1 10s a week. In particular, Greif sent him to Jersey to prepare a major political conspiracy there. Subsequently, the association between Greif and Cherval came to an end. If Mr Hirsch so wishes, he can affirm all these matters on oath. They are important, not only because Greif has again perjured himself, but also because they concern the relationship between Cherval and Stieber and the 'veracity' of the statements made at Cologne by Stieber in respect of Cherval. At the very time when Stieber *swore* in Cologne that he knew nothing of the whereabouts, etc, of Cherval (see p. 27 of the *Revelations*¹⁰⁹), Cherval was cooperating with Greif, who himself was acting on Stieber's orders. But the case could be *legally* proven only, of course, by obtaining depositions from Hirsch (who might perhaps talk in open court)

¹⁰⁸ See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 418.

and from Cherval (who cannot be got hold of). Needless to say, Alberts, secretary to the Embassy, won't speak; nor will de la Hodde, Beckmann, Maupas, etc.

Hirsch and Fleury (the latter had rented a lithographic press at Stanbury's Printing Works, Fether [Fetter] Lane, Fleet Street, London, to that end) had been instructed by Greif to produce leaflets, such as 'To the Rural Proletariat', 'To the Children of the People', etc., which Greif sent to the Prussian government as emanating from the Marx party.

After the sudden 'disappearance' of the witness Haupt of Hamburg in the course of the communist trial at Cologne, Hinckeldey sent a courier to the Prussian Embassy in London with the request that someone be found to take over Haupt's role, and to 'swear' Haupt's denunciations before the Assizes. The Police Presidium, he said, would give a reward of a thousand talers. In his letter, Hinckeldey wrote that the very existence of the political police depended upon the outcome of this trial. Hirsch, having first consulted Fleury (out of the 'noblest' motives, as he himself subsequently said), declared himself willing. Everything was well in train when Fleury returned with tidings of the Prussian Embassy's refusal. A further communication from Hinckeldey read:

'The State Prosecutor hopes that thanks to the happy constitution of the jury it will be possible to get a verdict of guilty even *without extraordinary measures*, and he' (Hinck.) 'therefore asks you not to trouble yourselves further.'

For the same reason, the order previously sent to Beckmann, the Prussian spy in Paris, bidding him come to Cologne and corroborate Stieber's statements regarding the *complot allemand-français* was countermanded.

But now we come to the most curious part of the story, which is also perfectly known to Mr Hirsch and is typical of Stieber no less than of Goldheim.

Fleury had learned that I intended to have the actual handwriting of the alleged signatories of the minutes (W. Liebknecht, Rings, and Ulmer) officially authenticated in London. He knew that a refugee called Becker lived in the same house as Willich. He therefore wrote the following letter in Becker's name:

To the Royal Presidium in Berlin;

dated from London

'It is the intention of Marx and his friends here to discredit the signatures on the League Minutes by having handwriting specimens legally authenticated. These

specimens are to be produced in the Court of Assizes as the really authentic ones.

'Everyone familiar with English laws knows that on this point they can be manipulated and that a person who vouches for the authenticity of a thing does not actually give any true guarantee.

'The person who gives you this information does not recoil from giving you his name in a matter like this where the truth is at stake. Becker, 4 Litchfield Street.'

Stieber had declared before the Assizes at Cologne that he had had the minute-book for a fortnight (before producing it in court), and had duly deliberated before putting it to use; he further declared that it had reached him through a courier, Greif. Mr Goldheim, on the other hand, in a letter to the Prussian Embassy in London, said:

'The minute-book was produced so late only in order to avoid scrutiny as to its authenticity.

The letter signed 'Becker' was addressed to the Police Presidium in Berlin. Had it really emanated from Becker, therefore, it must have gone to Berlin. Instead, the letter went to Goldheim, the police official, at the Frankfurter Hof in Cologne, and a *cover* to that letter to the Police Presidium in Berlin containing a note: 'Herr Stieber in Cologne will give a *complete explanation* as to its use.' Thus, Stieber knew to what end the letter had been forged. Moreover, Fleury had written expressly to Goldheim on the subject.

Thus, between Fleury, Goldheim, Stieber and Prussian Police Presidium there was tacit collusion over the forgery.

(Stieber did not make use of the letter, having already been compelled to drop the minute-book since, independently of the authentications provided by me, Schneider II had not only discovered other signatures of Liebknecht's and Rings' in Cologne, but had also concluded from a much earlier letter of mine that the forger was Hirsch. Stieber got wind of the fact that Schneider had compared Liebknecht's, etc., signatures at the Record Office, and that other counsel had done the same. It was then that, at the following session, he came out with the imaginary *H. Liebknecht* (see pp. 38-40 of *Revelations*^a.)

Stieber knew the minute-book to be a fake. Why otherwise should he fear authentication of the genuine signatures?

On 29 October, Goldheim arrived in London. Stieber had sent him there to confer on the spot with Fleury and Greif and devise

^a See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 427-29.

some coup that might save the minute-book. He had to return empty-handed, having told Fleury that, rather than compromise the chiefs of police, Stieber was resolved, if needs be, to expose him, Fleury.

As a last recourse, Fleury now brought Hirsch a specimen of handwriting for him to use to copy out a statement, sign the latter with Liebknecht's name, and then attest it before the LORD MAYOR while falsely declaring himself (Hirsch) to be Liebknecht. On handing Hirsch the said specimen to be copied, Fleury told him that the handwriting was that of the person who had written the minute-book, and that Goldheim had brought it (the specimen) back from Cologne with him.

(Hence it follows that the minute-book produced in Cologne was not the same as had been *written* by Hirsch and Fleury. Stieber himself had had it copied. The chief difference between it and the one fabricated by Fleury and Hirsch—a few insignificant alterations apart—lay in the fact that, whereas the minutes provided by Fleury had been unsigned, *signatures had been appended* to those submitted by Stieber.)

Hirsch copied out the statement in handwriting as similar as possible to that of the specimen. (This *last* was still in his possession when he left London.) The statement was to the effect that the undersigned, i.e. Liebknecht, declared the authentication of his signature obtained by Marx and Co. to be false, and this, his signature, to be the only genuine one. While *en route* to the LORD MAYOR, Hirsch declared that he would not take an oath before him, whereupon Fleury said he would do so himself. First he called in at the *Prussian consulate* (where, of course, he was well known) and got the Prussian consul to endorse his handwriting (as that of Liebknecht). Then, together with Hirsch, he betook himself to the LORD MAYOR for the purpose of attestation. The LORD MAYOR, however, asked for guarantees, which Fleury was unable to provide, and thus no oath was taken. (One day later—but *trop tard*^a—Fleury obtained credentials from a lawyer.)

All this dirty business came to light in an affidavit Hirsch swore before Jardine, the Bow Street magistrate. The affidavit was sent to Göbel, the president of the Appellate Court, and two copies went off simultaneously to Schneider II and the lawyer Esser.

Whether Hirsch can be conveyed bodily from Hamburg to Berlin to testify in open session and confront Stieber-Goldheim-Greif, I cannot say. The present régime being what it is, there can

^a too late

be no question of getting hold of Cherval—now, what is more, an avowed 'civiliser' and 'LIBERATOR'.

In the case of my own testimony, I could not, of course, without being guilty of all manner of indiscretions, in any way show how one fact or another had come to my knowledge. Moreover, such evidence would not constitute proof.

The trial would be altogether straightforward were the government *de bonne foi*.^a As things are, it is most difficult to conduct.

Now I come to Fischel.^b

My relations with David Urquhart and his followers (I won't say party because, apart from the sect which holds him to be a prophet in all disciplines, Urquhart can, in his own *proper* domain of FOREIGN POLICY, boast supporters among *all* English parties, from the Tories to the Chartists) have been amicable since the appearance, in 1853, of my first anti-Palmerston pamphlet.^c Ever since, there has been a constant interchange, they providing me with information, I making unpaid contributions to their *Free Press* (e.g. my *Revelations of the diplomatic history of the 18th century*, or again, the *Progress of Russia in Central Asia*,¹⁷⁶ etc.), and placing at their disposal my personal knowledge of Russian agents such as Bangya, etc. Now, Fischel is the Urquhartites' recognised and, as it were, *official agent* in Berlin and my knowledge of his activities there is confined to what I have heard about the *Portfolio*.²⁶ This was how I came into contact with Fischel (it was only by chance that I ran into him at a London newspaper office,^d on which occasion I asked him to convey my regards to you). He has carried out various commissions for myself and Engels in Berlin. We have never exchanged so much as a word, either verbally or in writing, on the subject of internal policy, nor for that matter have I done so with Urquhart since the time when I told him once and for all that I was a revolutionist, and he retorted no less frankly that all revolutionists were agents or DUPES of the Petersburg cabinet.

In the letters we have exchanged with Fischel he has always observed the utmost discretion and confined himself solely to the *one* field of foreign policy in which we are in accord with the Urquhartites.

You will have read Urquhart's writings, and hence it would be otiose for me (aside from the strain already involved in writing so long a letter in my present state of health) to embark on an analysis of this highly complex figure here. He is, I grant you,

^a in good faith. ^b See this volume, pp. 136-37, 141-45. ^c *Lord Palmerston*.

^d Presumably that of *The Free Press*.

subjectively reactionary (romantic) (though not, indeed, in the sense of any *real* reactionary party but, as it were, metaphysically so); this in no way precludes the movement in foreign policy, of which he is the head, from being *objectively revolutionary*.

The fact that some of his German followers such as Bucher, Fischel, etc. (I don't know the latter's *Moskowitertum*, but I know what's in it without reading it), have chosen to adopt some of his 'Anglo-Saxon' fads—which, by the by, are not without a kind of perverse critical sense—, is to me a matter of complete indifference, just as in a war against Russia, say, it would be a matter of indifference to you whether, in firing on the Russians, the motives of your neighbour on the firing-line were black, red and gold or revolutionary. Urquhart is a *power*, of which Russia is afraid. He is the only *official* personage in England who has the courage and honesty to affront PUBLIC OPINION. He's the only one of them who is incorruptible (whether by money or ambition). Finally, and strange to say, I have so far encountered *none but honest men* among his followers, and hence feel bound to regard Fischel as such until I have *proof* of the contrary.

As for F.'s relations with the Duke of Gotha,^a I have very good reason to believe that they are not *venal*. Seeing that this Gotha chap belongs to the English dynasty, which Urquhart is using against Palmerston and ministerial usurpation generally ('Why doesn't anyone ever shoot at cabinet ministers?' Humboldt asks, presaging such usurpation), what could suit him better than to promote anti-Russian and anti-Palmerston sentiment in Germany in his (Gotha's) name? This is why Fischel's pamphlet, *Despoten und Revolutionäre*, was translated into English as *The Duke of Coburg's Pamphlet*, and was thought important enough by Palmerston to warrant a personal reply in the form of a pamphlet (anonymous), which has greatly compromised him.¹⁷⁷ For Palmerston had hitherto made the unfortunate House of Coburg the scapegoat for his Russophilia, and the pamphlet compelled him to abandon this FALSE

PRETEXT.

It is very possible, indeed probable, that Fischel's anti-Palmerstonianism is of little significance in Berlin. On the other hand, so far as England (and thus *par ricochet*^b Germany) is concerned, it is important in that this controversy is being skilfully exploited by the Urquhartites and magnified into the *German* view of Palmerston, for the furtherance of the English controversy.

^a Ernst II. ^b indirectly

Hence, in the war that we, together with the Urquhartites, are conducting against Russia, Palmerston and Bonaparte, and in which people of *all parties and classes* in every capital of Europe as far as Constantinople are playing their part, Fischel, too, is a component. On the other hand, I have never exchanged so much as a syllable with Bucher, because to do so would have been *pointless*. Were he living in Berlin instead of London, it would be quite a different matter.

Should we enter into a *revolutionary* phase in Germany, this will, of course, put an end to *diplomacy*—of a kind, by the by, that entails not the least concession on either side nor even a shadow of pretence. And even then this English connection will be useful to us.

Come to that, it goes without saying that, in foreign policy, there's little to be gained by using such catchwords as 'reactionary' and 'revolutionary'. In Germany now there is no such thing as a *revolutionary* party, and to me the most loathsome form of reaction is Royal Prussian court democracy as practised, say, by the *National-Zeitung* and also, to some extent (their acclaim of that scoundrel Vincke, the Regent,^a etc.) by the *Volks-Zeitung*.

At all events, the Urquhartites have the advantage of being 'educated' in foreign policy, so that the ignorant members obtain their inspiration from the educated ones; the advantage, too, of pursuing a definite goal, the fight against Russia, and being engaged in a life and death struggle with that mainstay of Russian diplomacy, DOWNING STREET AT LONDON.¹⁷⁸ Let them imagine, if they wish, that this struggle will result in the establishment of 'Anglo-Saxon' conditions. It is up to us revolutionaries to go on using them so long as we have need of them. This does not prevent us from actually knocking them on the head wherever they threaten to frustrate our internal policy. The Urquhartites have never reproached me for also writing under my own name in the Chartist newspaper that was their bugbear until its demise—Ernest Jones's *People's Paper*. E. Jones laughed at Urquhart's oddities, ridiculed them in his paper and yet, in that same paper, acknowledged his outstanding worth in the matter of FOREIGN POLICY.

Finally, despite his fanatical hatred of the French Revolution and everything 'universal', Urquhart's romanticism is exceedingly liberal. The freedom of the individual, if in a very topsy-turvy

^a William, Prince of Prussia

way, is to him the be-all and end-all. It is true that, in order to achieve it, he dresses up the 'individual' in all manner of ancient garb.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. 111. Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

73

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 June 1860

Dear Engels,

I have written Izzy ABOUT ten pages, eight of them on the Cologne trial and two on Fischel.^a It was difficult enough for me, because I'm still not fit and am dosing myself constantly.

It's really sickening. Lommel advised me of the despatch of the parcel by rail [a few]^b days ago.¹⁷⁹ It ought to have been here long since.

Fischel has written to tell me that the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent in Berlin is a certain Abel.

Have had a letter from Schily. From it I see that Siebel has notified him of the arrival of your pamphlets^c in Manchester. I shall have to send off Schily's copy *via* Rheinländer. I must also have one copy to use for my own pamphlet.^d

Could you let me have something short on the Garibaldi affair for the *Tribune* by *Wednesday*^e? If that's not possible, by *Friday*.^f

Salut.

Your

K. M.

^a See previous letter. - ^b manuscript damaged - ^c *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. - ^d *Herr Vogt*. - ^e 6 June. - ^f On about 7 June, Engels wrote the article 'Garibaldi in Sicily'.

Apropos. It transpires from Schily's letter that Moses^a is also correspondent of the *Espérance* (and so Bonapartist that *one Frenchman* actually broke off his friendship with him) and of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

74

MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN PARIS

[London,] 2 June 1860

My dear Sir,

My protracted silence was owed to two circumstances. On my return from Manchester I was overwhelmed with business. Afterward, I fell sick. I am still under medical treatment and little apt for writing.

As to your affair with Mr Engels, the delay was caused by a second sudden departure for Germany having become necessary on his part.¹⁸⁰ On his return for Manchester he passed through London and told me that he would immediately settle the little bill. He regretted not having been able to prove more useful to you, but had not thought of charging you with the expenses incurred by the sending back of the wines.^b

I have read your book^c with much pleasure and profit. I concur in the main views you take of the conditions necessary for the restoration of Hungary, but I dissent from the apology passed on Bonaparte and Palmerston. The latter has, in 1848-9, betrayed Hungary, as well as Italy. He had before acted in the same way in regard to Poland; he, afterwards, treated in the same way Circassia. He is still what he was since 1829—a *Russian* agent, bound to the Petersburg cabinet by ties it is not in his power to cut through. Russia, of course, wants the destruction of the Austrian

^a Moses Hess - ^b See this volume, p. 134. - ^c *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860.

Empire, but what she not wants is the formation of the constituent elements of that empire into independent and self-sustaining states. A true reconstitution of Hungary would even more stand in the way of Russian Eastern diplomacy than tottering, vacillating and frightened Austria. I should have wished, in your own interest, and that of your country, that you had not reprinted the memorial to Palmerston,¹⁸¹ not spoken of the true interest of Russia, and avoided even alluding to the dismemberment of Turkey. As it is, you have estranged exactly that portion of English politicians which was most willing to do you justice, and was least influenced by Kossuth's sycophants. (Kossuth has in these latter times given out—through his agents—and even succeeded in forcing the opinion into some weekly papers, that you were intriguing against him, because he was a Republican, in principle at least, while you belonged to the 'Constitutional and Aristocratic party'.)

You excuse the liberty I have taken in frankly stating the points on which I cannot but dissent from you. The interest I take in your writings and your doings will, I hope, serve as a sufficient excuse. When will you come again over to London?

Yours truly

A. Williams^a

À propos. Perczel answered me in a letter in which he *acknowledges the truth* of the somewhat eccentric compliments I showered upon him, but at the same time very politely declines giving the explanations asked for.^b His letter seems written in a rather melancholic, melodramatic, and depressed mood of mind.

As a curiosity I may still tell you that a Professor at the University of Moscow has held, during the past winter, a lecture on the first part of the 'criticism of political economy' published by myself.¹⁸²

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

Reproduced from the original

^a An alias used by Marx in some of his letters. ^b See this volume, p. 111.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 June 1860

Dear Engels,

Can you let me have some money by Monday^a? Altogether I have laid out ABOUT £13 on the lawsuit and the Vogt affair up till now, and my being unwell has prevented me from doing any articles for the past three weeks.

Siebel left yesterday.

Very many thanks for your portrait.

I have something *most important* politically to tell you (tomorrow). I cannot write any more today as a visitor is waiting for me downstairs.

Your
K. M.

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

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 June 1860

Dear Frederick,

The £10 safely received. BEST THANKS.

Your portrait is splendid. You shall have a similar one of me.

The stuff from Lommel hasn't arrived yet.^b When he complained, he was told that a parcel of this kind (for economy reasons he had sent it *par petite vitesse*^c) always takes several weeks.

The following is an extract from Lommel's last letter:

^a 18 June - ^b See this volume, p. 155. - ^c by goods

'You will have seen the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 8 June. Reading between the lines, one perceives in its Berne report, presumably written by Tschärner, co-editor of the *Bund*, a denunciation by the Vogtians to their lord and master in Paris and thence, indirectly, to the Federal authorities in Berne, likewise to Germany's princely courts. It's the same old tale of conspiracy—German demagogues trying to stir up trouble between France and Germany in order to make possible a central republic. Vogtian intrigue no longer cuts any ice at all, either in Federal circles or in Geneva; nevertheless, it still appears to have some effect on the limited intelligence of the German princes. This conspiratorial bogey held up to them by Badlinguei¹⁶³ is actually said to have induced the timid fellows to grant him the audience in Baden-Baden he so ardently desired.¹⁶³ For the past fortnight the *Allgemeine* has been quietly discarding the choicest of the notes I sent it from Savoy and Turin, and Vogt, who returned here ten days ago, has told a worker that a stop will soon be put to the activities of the fellows responsible for the scrawls in the German papers and that people will be in for more surprises before long.'

A pamphlet by About has now come out in Paris: *Napoléon III et la Prusse*.^a In the first place SOFT SAWDIE for Germany. Her great men, he says, are all of them HOUSEHOLD WORDS in France, e.g. 'Goethe, Schiller, Humboldt, Vogt, Beethoven, Heine, Liebig, etc.' France is completely disinterested, although constantly provoked. Then came some rubbish about German unity being brought about with the help of France. Then a highly superficial review of conditions obtaining in Prussia at present. (Even the Niegolewski affair is discussed at length!¹⁶⁴) The only way she can save herself is to side with France's 'democratic principle' against Austria's feudalism. In other words, this democratic principle consists in basing princely dictatorship on 'suffrage universel'. *Satis superque!*^b

However, it's capital that Royal Prussian court democracy should now be getting into a nasty fix; let's hope that the Prince Regent,^c too, will soon have compromised himself sufficiently.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Marx means Ed. About's pamphlet *La Prusse en 1860*, Paris, 1860.

^b More than enough! ^c William, Prince of Prussia

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ENGELS TO MARX ¹⁸⁵

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 20 June 1860

Dear Moor,

Amicus^a Lommel would certainly appear TO DRAW RATHER LARGELY ON HIS IMAGINATION in ascribing the chief part in the Baden-Baden business to the Bonapartist denunciations.^b But it's undoubtedly quite correct that there's something behind the business and that Vogt, Bonaparte and Co. are also resorting to this stratagem.

How nice it is that the Little Germans' National Association-mongering²⁴ should now be opportunely depicted in About's pamphlet^c as virtually promoting Bonapartist interests. Presumably our friend Izzy will soon be making a change of front now; as a result of this pamphlet, the gentlemen will either reveal themselves as Bonapartists or else find themselves in a considerable dilemma with that Prussian Germany of theirs.

I happened to come by the old Danish *Kjæmpe-Viser*^d; very nice stuff in places along with a great deal of rubbish. Here is one that Uhland has translated¹⁸⁶:

Herr Oluf han rider saa vide
 Alt for hans bröllup at byde,
 Men dandsen den gaaer saa let gjennem.

Der dandse fire, der dandse fem,
 Ellerkongens datter rekker Haanden fröm.
 Velkommen, Herr Oluf, lad blive din fig
 Bi lidet, og träd her i dandsen med mig.

Jeg ikke tör, jeg ikke maa,
 Imorgen skal mit bröllup staa.
 Hor du, Herr Oluf, träd dandsen med mig,
 To bukkeskinds stövle de giver jeg dig.

^a Friend. - ^b See this volume, p. 159. - ^c *La Prusse en 1860*, Paris, 1860. - ^d Epic songs. Engels presumably refers to [Syv, P.,] *Et Hundrede udvalde Danske Viser, om allehaande mærkelige Krigs-Bedrivd og anden sølsom Eventyr, som sig her udi Riget ved gamle Kæmper, navnkundige Konger, og ellers fornemme Personer begivet haver, af Arilds Tid til denne nærværende Dag...* Kiøbenhavn, 1787.

To bukkeskinds stövle, sider vel om been,
 Forgyldene spore derom spend.

Jeg ikke tør, jeg ikke maa, imorgen etc.

Hor du, Herr Oluf, träd dandsen med mig,
 En silke skjorte giver jeg dig.

En silke skjorte hviid og fiin
 Den blegte min moder veg maaneskin.

Jeg ikke tør, jeg ikke maa etc.

Hor du, Herr Oluf, träd dandsen med mig,
 Et hoved af guld det giver jeg dig.

Et hoved af guld maa jeg vel faa,
 Men dandsen med dig tør jeg saa.

Og vil du ikke dandsen med mig,
 Sot og sygdon folje dig.

Hun slog honom melleu sine Härde,
 Aldrig var han slagen rärre.

Hun löfte honom paa sin genger röd,
 Og riid nu hjem til din fästemö.

Der han kom til borgeleed,
 Hans moder staar og hviler ved.

Hor du, Herr Oluf, kjær sönnen min
 Hvor bär du nu saa bleg en kind?

Jeg maa vel bäre kinden bleg,
 Jeg saa väret i Elle kouens leg.

Hor du, Herr Oluf, min sön saa grud,
 Hvad skal jeg svare din unge brud?

I skal sige, jeg er udi lunden,
 Aat prøve min Hest og saa mine Hunde.

Aarle om morgen, dag det var,
 Der kom den brud med brudeskar.

De skjänkte mjöd, de skjänkte viin;
 Hvor er, Herr Oluf, brudgom min?

Han er gangen udi lunden
 At prøve sin Hest og saa sine Hunde.

Hun tog det skarlagens ród,
Der laae Herr Oluf og var dód.²¹

²¹ Herr Oluf fares both far and sink,
To fetch the wedding-guests he duth rith,
Maidens dance on the green lawn.

Four and five, a blithe band,
The Elf King's daughter gives him her hand.
Welcome, Herr Oluf, why maists thou flee?
Step into the ring and dance with me.

But dance I neither will nor may,
Tomorrow dawns my wedding day.
Oh list, Herr Oluf, some dance with me,
Two hunkskin boots I'll give to thee.

Two hunkskin boots to fit you well,
Two gibbet spurs for a magic spell.

But dance I neither will nor may, etc.

Oh list, Herr Oluf, some dance with me,
A silken shirt I'll give to thee.

A shirt all shining white so fine,
My mother brought it with pale moonshine.

But dance I neither will nor may, etc.

Oh list, Herr Oluf, some dance with me,
A pile of gold I'll give to thee.

Glady I'll take your gold away,
But dance I neither dare nor may.

At that, Herr Oluf, dance me with me,
Sickness and plague shall follow thee.

And then she touched him on the chest,
Never such pain had troubled his breast.

She held him, half-swooning, his mouth to bestir;
Now get thee hence to thy fair bride.

As to his own chest he drew near,
His mother was trembling there with fear.

Tell me quickly, oh quickly, my son,
Why are thy looks so pale and wan?

How should they not be pale and wan?
²² 'Tis from the Elf King's maid I came.

Oh list, dear son I love so well,
What to your bride am I to tell?

Say to the furst I am bound,
To exercise my house and hound.

Next morn'ing, when it was starry day,
There came the bride with her company.

They poured the mead, they poned the wine,
Where is Herr Oluf, bachel' son mine?

I like this much better than Uhland's overpolished translation. But another one about 'Sir Jon'^a is even nicer.

Your
F. E.

First published, with the verses omitted, in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN PARIS

[London,] 23 June^b 1860

Dear Becker,

Would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed letter to *Lommel*?^c I am sending it through you because I only have an address for Lommel in Geneva which no longer appears to be certain. At any rate, in his last few letters L. has neither mentioned the letters I sent him, nor answered my inquiry regarding the failure to arrive (should have come weeks ago) of a parcel he had advised me of.

Give Schily my kindest regards. I would ask you to arrange the letter Ranickel wrote him to be sent me as soon as possible.^e

It was not until a day or two ago that I became capable of work again and I am still to a certain extent convalescent.

The publishers of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, which is to come out in Berlin at the beginning of July, have approached me through a third person^d about contributions. I have not yet given them a

He's ridden hence, for the forest bound,
To exercise his horse and hound.

The bride uplifted the scarlet red,
There lay Herr Oluf, and he was dead.

(Translated by Alex Miller)

^a See this volume, p. 375. - ^b In the manuscript, mistakenly: January. - ^c Marx quotes an extract from Ranickel's letter to Schily in *Herr Vagt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 75. - ^d Eduard Fischel

definite answer. I am first asking for further particulars concerning the new organ's staff and politics. However, from the advertisements that have so far appeared in the papers it seems to me to be 'pro-National Association'¹²⁴ and, or so a friend in Berlin^a writes, it might be feasible to exert a strong external influence on its stand. Write and let me know if you and Schily would act as joint correspondents for the paper, which evidently has *fonds*, should you get an invitation to this effect either direct from Berlin or via London! I should like to have an answer about the matter *by return*, because I would not, of course, drop any hints to this effect in Berlin unless I was certain of your accepting in Paris.

One merit of About's pamphlet^b is that the current Gotha catch-phrases¹⁸⁷ are here officially adopted for Bonapartist use.

I haven't seen Sasonow over here.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

I would ask you to send on the letter to Lommel as soon as possible.

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

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 25 June 1860]

Dear Moor,

Did you see in the *Kölnische Zeitung's* 'Miscellaneous News' of Thursday or Friday^c that Izzy has once again contrived to be thrown out of the Viktoria Theatre?

To get himself talked about, I can see the chap keeping someone to give him an annual box on the ears, come the time

^a Probably Fischel. - ^b Ed. About, *La Prusse en 1860*. - ^c 21 and 22 June

when his own Jewish effrontery no longer does the trick. Meanwhile, his brilliant talent for being belaboured and chucked out remains unimpaired.

Many regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

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

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 June^a 1860

DEAR Frederick,

I am still 'very poorly', as red Wolff^b used to say, though for the past week or so I've no longer been dosing myself. However, I am making 'forced marches' every day on Allen's orders and shall doubtless be fit again before the week is out.

Lina^c is with us on 'holiday'. Will be here for ABOUT a month. Still no news from Siebel.

I would be grateful if, by Friday or Saturday,^d you could [write] an article for the *Tribune* either on the DEFENCES OF ENGLAND, or ON Garibaldi or ON INDIAN TRADE.^e Since Wilson became the INDIAN CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, the wretched *Economist* has said virtually nothing about India. NOR should you forget (although it won't yet be necessary *this week*) to let me have ABOUT a quarto page or so on the military *significance of Bohemia* to Germany or rather Russia, to whom Vogt proposes to cede her.^f

Apropos:

Have just received *Pro domo und Pro patria gegen Karl Vogt* by Jakob Venedey, Hanover 1860 (40 pages). Considering this

^a In the manuscript, mistakenly: July. - ^b Ferdinand Wolff - ^c Lina Schöler - ^d 29 or 30 June - ^e See this volume, p. 168. - ^f in his *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*, Geneva and Berne, 1859

fellow's point of view it is not altogether bad. Has some FACTS about Vogt's cowardice.

Jakob's passages relating to ourselves are as follows.

A friend writes obligingly:

'It is disgraceful that in his triumph over the *Augsburg Zeitung*^a and the "Brimstone Gang",^b this man Vogt should also drag Venedey in his wake' (p. 4).

No more than a word or two *pro domo*.^b Could Karl Vogt have forgotten that all the stale, insipid morsels he dished up to his readers in his *Erklärung*^c against me—"noble Jakob", "blond soul", "imperial teardrop" and sundry other epithets—had been dished up ten years ago fresh, fragrant and seasoned with the spice of wit by Marx, Engels and company in the Rhenish newspaper.^d Da I have to remind him that in the self-same article, 'Der Reichsregent',^e which the *Augsburger [Allgemeine Zeitung]* used as the point of departure for its accusations against Vogt, this "dirty gang, a handful of malicious vagabonds in London", as Vogt describes it, gave battle along lines identical to those adopted by Vogt in his *Erklärung* against myself. Nevertheless, Karl Vogt did not feel that this prevented him from accusing me of having borrowed from Messrs Marx, Engels and company the "defamatory statements" I made about him. Vogt is well aware that, in jibing at me, he is simply repeating their words' (p. 7).

This pamphlet of Vogt's^f about his lawsuit has all the air of a triumphal march and, indeed, Karl Vogt—not that he himself appears the more justified in consequence—has consigned to London in complete disarray the A. A. and likewise the "London Brimstone Gang" (p. 6).

Voilà tout.^g

Salut.

Your

K. M.

[On the back of the letter:]

Fred. Engels, 7 Southgate, St. Mary's, Manchester.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a The *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*. - ^b *Pro domo* (or *de domo sua*)—on behalf of myself, concerning my own affairs. The phrase derives from a speech by Cicero, 'De domo sua ad pontifices'. - ^c in the *Schweizer Handels-Courier*, No. 162 (extraordinary supplement), 16 June 1859. - ^d Presumably the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. - ^e [E. Biscamp,] 'Der Reichsregent', *Das Volk*, No. 2, 14 May 1859. - ^f *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859. - ^g That's all.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 June 1860

Dear Frederick,

I didn't read about Izzy's adventure.^a

You will see from the enclosed letter from Weber how rottenly the Prussian scoundrels are behaving.¹⁸⁸ It now seems that there is nothing to be expected from the High Court, either.

What splendid jurisprudence! First, I'm forbidden my 'libel action' because it is not in the interests of the Prussian government. And then the 'action for *injuria*' is not allowed to proceed in public because there is no 'indictable offence' to hand. This is tantamount to 'pleading' on behalf of the *National-Zeitung*.

How liberal, by contrast, Bavaria turned out to be with regard to Vogt.¹⁸⁹ That's 'Prussian progress' for you.

Get Heckscher to publish another short notice in the *Reform*. The way the Prussians handled the case must at least be brought to the attention of the public.

From the evidence I sent Weber and which Weber included in his indictment it was apparent to the scoundrelly gang that the *National-Zeitung* would inevitably have been convicted had the case been allowed to 'come up'. Hence all this dirty chicanery.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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^a See this volume, p. 164.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 June 1860
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

It's highly problematical whether I shall be able to do the article^a; my brother-in-law,^b who is in London at this moment, has declared himself for tomorrow or the day after.

So, don't count on it too much. I could at most speculate about Garibaldi's chances on the mainland; my knowledge of Indian trade wouldn't run to an article.

Your
F. E.

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

Printed according to the original
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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 27 June 1860]

Dear Moor,

Let me have the enclosed back; I shall immediately write a few lines for Siebel about the Berlin affair and send them to him with my reply to be passed on. The same applies to Heckscher.^c

I shall see if I can still do Bohemia today.^d It is close on 8 o'clock and I'm still at the office. Whether I shall be able to do anything on Garibaldi tomorrow, I don't know yet; I. no material, 2. my brother-in-law.^b *Enfin*,^e I shall do my best.

^a See this volume, p. 165. . ^b Karl Emil Blank . ^c See this volume, p. 167. . ^d *ibid.*, p. 165. . ^e In short

So Izzy appears in public with Vogt and is secretly *our ally*.¹⁹⁰
Cela n'est pas mal.^a Write to Meissner at once.¹⁹¹

Your
 F. E.

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84

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 June [1860]

Dear Frederick,

Your enclosure returned herewith. I shall write to Meissner.¹⁹¹

I already knew about the comical affair of Lassalle yesterday, for the *National-Zeitung* carried a highly eulogistic LEADER about the admirable *Studien*.^b

What do you make of the infamous conduct of the Prussian government?¹⁸⁸

Salut.

Your
 K. M.

By the by, you should now put your name on everything. It was a disadvantage from the very start that the thing^c should have appeared anonymously.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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^a Not bad, that. - ^b See previous letter. - ^c Engels' *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, after 28 June 1860]

Dear Moor,

Encl. an article on the RIFLE parade^a; the subject occurred to me just when I was about to despair. Go over it thoroughly; I haven't the time to do so myself.

Those Prussians really do have a 'nice style' just now. Since the action against the *National-Zeitung* could only serve to introduce a strident note of discord into the general constitutional harmony, the case must be stopped at all costs. The judges, 'and there still are such in Berlin',^b are being got at and I'm quite positive that Mr Weber has been got at, too. It's quite plain to me from the whole tone of his letters. All the more need, then, to press on with the pamphlet^b so that the noble Prussians can be shown that they are not, after all, able to suppress such things. Those swine. Might it be, perhaps, that they quietly affected such a liberal attitude towards me,^c in order to behave all the more abominably to yourself?

If possible, I shall do Bohemia this evening.^d Incidentally, you should devise the pamphlet—difficult though this may be—in such a way as to make it absolutely impossible for the Prussians to ban it. And above all be quick, for it is probable that between now and 1861 the daydream of peace will gain ascendancy and hence interest in high treason wane. Do try and be a bit superficial for once, so that you get it done in time.

Your
F. E.

Lommel's parcel there yet?^e 179

Lupus leaves next week for a month's holiday in Ireland, etc., etc.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works* First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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^a F. Engels, 'The British Volunteer Force'. - ^b K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - ^c See this volume, p. 112. - ^d *ibid.*, p. 165.

86

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 July [1860]

Dear Frederick,

As regards Meissner, the thing strikes me as somewhat dubious, since he is pretty well hand in glove with Vogt and Co. At any rate, I shan't send him a manuscript^a unless he concludes a contract beforehand.

What about Bohemia? I must have it now, otherwise I shall be held up. Anyway, it need only be brief, you know.^b

I should also like you to devote a few sentences to a discussion of the military inanities contained in the following utterances of Falstaff Vogt's.^c

1. This man, who has made such a detailed study of the relationship between 'Energy and Matter',¹⁹³ maintains that, within their *present* boundaries, the United Danubian Principalities are capable—*qua independent* kingdom—of forming a 'bulwark' against Russia and, indeed, of withstanding the Russians, Austrians and Turks.

2. As the main proof of Badinguet's¹⁶³ altruism and policy of non-conquest he puts forward the argument that, after the 'glorious' Crimean campaign,^d he did not annex either 'Russian' or 'Turkish' territory.

I am still not yet quite fit. One day, I feel a bit better, the next day a bit worse.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Apropos. I have seen (thanks to a young ENGLISHMAN by the name of Green) a letter from Garibaldi in which he heartily reviles Bonaparte and hopes eventually to draw his sword against him.¹⁹⁴

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*. Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Marx means his *Herr Vogt*. - ^b See this volume, pp. 165, 168, 170. - ^c in Vogt's *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*. - ^d the Crimean war (1853-56)

87

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 July [1860]

Dear Engels,

After sundry adventures, which I shall relate some other time, the parcel from Lommel^a will certainly arrive today or tomorrow, via Cologne. I already have the consignment note (railway) from Geneva.

A couple of days ago I had a letter from Eccarius in which he told me that his tailoring had come to an end, i.e. the state of his health did not permit him to carry on with it. The doctor had said that he couldn't help him. What he needed was a change of air, etc. Accordingly, I have rented a lodging for him in this neighbourhood at my own expense (away from his FAMILY, OF COURSE, who are staying at their old place); he takes his meals with us ditto and has nothing to do save potter about the Heath^b and send one article a week to Weydemeyer, who pays him 3 dollars per article. I hope he will pull through. I have likewise bought him some port. But I can't carry on like this, since at the present moment, when our cash box is at a low ebb, the other additional expenses he involves us in are already a burden.

Couldn't you do something quickly on Garibaldi, or on the Prussian government, which has pushed through its army reform behind the backs of the Chambers,¹⁹⁵ or something else of the kind?

It's nice that Garibaldi has had Farina hounded out.¹⁹⁶

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2. Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a See this volume, pp. 155, 158. . ^b Hampstead Heath

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 July 1860

Dear Engels,

On Monday evening Palmerston is to put forward his proposals on England's FORTIFICATIONS^a—a big DODGE, this. It would be a good idea if you could let me have a short article on the subject for the *Tribune* by Wednesday^b (for it's not till Wednesday that I have to send the thing off *from here*).^c

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 23 July 1860]

Dear Moor,

You shall have the article on FORTIFICATION^d if I can possibly manage it, but under no circumstances will you be able to get it by the first post.

What do you make of Kinglake's REVELATIONS?^e It wouldn't be a bad thing at all if the magnificent magnanimity of the Prince Regent^f in Baden-Baden¹⁸⁶⁷ turned out to be nothing more than a *pauvre*^g stereotype of the Villafranca affair and Francis Joseph to

^a Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on 23 July 1860 (*The Times*, No. 23680, 24 July 1860). - ^b 25 July. - ^c About 24 July, Engels wrote the article 'British Defences'. - ^d F. Engels, 'British Defences'. - ^e Engels means Kinglake's speech in the House of Commons on 12 July 1860 on Napoleon III's policy vis-à-vis Italy (*The Times*, No. 23671, 13 July 1860). - ^f William, Prince of Prussia. - ^g poor

be the genuinely 'magnanimous man'. Your princes, by the way, would seem after all to have realised that this time their heads are at stake; not that that is going to save them.

Just now I am reading Ulloa's *Guerre d'indépendance de l'Italie 1848/49*. Of all the military scribblings that have come my way (by PROFESSIONAL WRITERS) this is the most idiotic and slovenly. His criticism is so much hot air, the facts are distorted or not properly known and invariably flung together in a jumble. This Ulloa, who was a captain in the Neapolitan artillery in 1848, has called himself 'general' ever since Plon-Plon took him under his wing. This gang pullulates with mysterious generals. Moreover, if this SPECIMEN is anything to go by, the Neapolitan officers must really be a rotten lot.

If Garibaldi doesn't make a move soon,¹⁹⁸ things may turn out badly for him, unless the business in Naples goes well, which doesn't seem likely by the look of it. No doubt there'll be a few more defections before Milazzo and Messina, but the prospects for an expedition to the Continent may deteriorate. The navy won't place any obstacles in his way for, after all, they have no wish to fight Italians, but there certainly seems to be a rabid gang within the Neapolitan army who might resist along with the foreigners, nor can G. afford a defeat. If he had 10,000 reliable men he could, of course, finish the whole thing off in three days. He must now have between 5,000 and 6,000 men, not counting the Sicilians, of course.

Enclosed five pounds; it may enable you to give poor Eccarius a bit of extra help.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original
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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 July [1860]

Dear Engels,

The £5 arrived. Ditto the article.^a

I shall send you the *Report* on FORTIFICATIONS.^b Did you see Urquhart's lamentations on the subject in the latest *Free Press* of 4 JULY? If you would care to write about it in English, and this would seem to be most apposite, you should send the thing here when it is finished. I would then see what could be done with publishers, or at worst get it into a revue or a weekly.¹⁹⁹

What Kinglake said^d was correct, as is borne out by the absurd manner in which the *Moniteur* reported his speech.^e

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 July [1860]

Dear Engels,

Enclosed herewith the final nonsuit from the High Court.²⁰⁰ It would be useless to go on to the Supreme Tribunal. It would

^a F. Engels, 'British Defences'. - ^b *Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the Defences of the United Kingdom; together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix; also Correspondence relative to a Site for an Internal Arsenal*, London, 1860. - ^c 'Mr. Urquhart on the Invasion of England', *The Free Press*, Vol. VIII, No. 7, 4 July 1860. - ^d See this volume, p. 173. - ^e *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 197, 15 July 1860.

simply add to the costs. It's imperative that I now send Weber his 32 talers 3 silver groschen and 6 pfennigs so that the chap can let me have the documents (including *his indictment*) by return. I need them for the pamphlet,^a which will be ready for my wife to copy (and she'll do it quickly) within the next 8-10 days.

What is to be done next (I mean in the newspapers)?

A lawsuit like this (note, e.g., the deplorable tone, reminiscent of newspaper polemics, of the High Court's findings) is something I have not come across before. These Prussian curs need a thorough hiding. It's a good thing, by the by, that they've supplied me with 'material'.

Nevertheless, the craven rabble in the High Court did see fit to disallow Mr Vogt's insinuations about 'extortion', etc.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Eccarius has been lodging a few doors away from us for nearly three weeks now and is feeling better.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 August [1860]
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Encl. £5, F/L 12596 for the expenses. Lupus absolutely insisted on standing £4 of it. So, here we have the celebrated High Court of the Miller of Sanssouci.¹⁹² I should like to know what its decisions and reasoning would have been, had a Prussian official been treated in this way instead of you.

It would be quite useless to set the Supreme Tribunal in motion; but might you not seek an opinion from a FIRST RATE PRUSSIAN LAWYER?

^a K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

Their muddled argument shows quite plainly that the rascals have been manipulated by the Ministry itself. They've no wish for a lawsuit that would create a scandal and might upset the drowsy harmony of universal 'ministerialism'. Moreover, Schleinitz himself would be convicted in the person of the *National-Zeitung*.

Your enclosure returned herewith. But now press on *à tout prix*^a with the pamphlet^b and publishing arrangements! If possible, I shall do something further for you on Caribaldi^c next week.

You might inquire from the *Tribune* whether they would like to have a series of 4 or 5 articles on RIFLED FIRE ARMS, INCLUDING ALL THE LATEST IMPROVEMENTS—I won't do the thing on spec.²⁰¹

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO J. M. WEBER

IN BERLIN

London, 2 August 1860
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Sir,

I regret that, having been out of town for a few days, I did not receive your letter until today.²⁰² I enclose the sum of 32 Reichstalers, and, while tendering my best thanks for your careful attention to my affairs to date, would request you *to go ahead with the appeal in the Supreme Tribunal*. Though I do not expect to be successful, no stone should be left unturned in the endeavour to obtain *justice*. Legally the argument put forward by the High Court appears to me to be quite untenable.

^a at all costs - ^b K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - ^c Engels wrote the article 'Caribaldi's Movements'.

I should be exceedingly grateful if you would send me *by return* your petition of 21.6.60 or, should the latter have to remain on the files for the time being, ask your secretary to make a summary of the charges contained therein (along with a list of the documents supporting the individual charges) and remit me the same.

I have, Sir, the honour to be

Your obedient Servant

Dr Karl Marx

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

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

94

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 August [1860]

Dear Frederick,

Have sent the £5 to Weber.

I am getting on with the pamphlet^a *as fast as I can*. What hinders me somewhat is the inability to write on certain days when my state of health is particularly "orrible".^b

I've decided, by the by, to go on to the Supreme Tribunal officials. They are now on vacation. Before they sit again, my pamphlet will have appeared (and with it my critique of the Prussian proceedings to date). We won't let the chaps off without a tremendous scandal.

Write something about Garibaldi for me by Wednesday.^c

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
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^a K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - ^b In the original: 'öklich' instead of 'ekelig'. - ^c 8 August. Engels wrote the article 'Garibaldi's Movements'.

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ENGELS TO JENNY MARX²⁰³

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 August 1860

Dear Mrs Marx,

I shall do the article,^a *tant bien que mal*,^b if I possibly can. Today Siebel has landed me with a young fellow from Barmen, which means I can't do anything; however, I shall probably get down to it tomorrow. By the way, it's irresponsible on Moor's part not even to answer my questions concerning Siebel.²⁰⁴ For ten days now I've been putting off writing to S., and he might at least let me know what I am to tell the fellow. It's absurd, too, that nothing has yet been done about publishers; heaven knows how long negotiations will eventually take. Then, what with the notoriously dilatory methods of German printers, we'll find that we've arrived, *piano ma sano*,^c in the year 1861 and there'll be no one to blame but Mr Moor himself, with his thoroughness and his failure either to do anything about publishers himself, or to put Siebel in a position to do something. Meanwhile, things will be in full swing everywhere in Europe, and the public will have lost all interest in who exactly belonged to the original Brimstone Gang,⁶⁵ how the pamphlet *Zur Warnung*⁶⁰ came into being, or what is and is not true in Techow's letter.⁵⁶ We're forever producing truly splendid things, but take care to see that they never appear on time, and so they are all flops.

An immediate riposte to Vogt three sheets long would, AFTER ALL, have been of far greater value than anything that has since been done. Insist for all you're worth on something being done—and *done immediately*—about a publisher, and on the pamphlet^d being finished at long last. Otherwise, we shall wreck all our chances and ultimately find ourselves without any publisher *at all*.

But now for something comical—a great secret, however, that mustn't go beyond the four walls of No. 9 Grafton Terrace. Just imagine! That ridiculous Siebel, arriving in Barmen, goes and falls head over heels in love with a philistine girl,^e becomes engaged and intends to marry very shortly and settle down to a life of

^a 'The Sick Man of Austria' - ^b for better or worse - ^c slowly but surely - ^d *Herr Vogt* - ^e Reinhilde von Hurter

domesticity in B. What a GREENHORN! He's ashamed to tell me and doesn't know that I know about it; but he's written and told someone else here under the seal of etc., etc. It's going to be a jolly nice marriage indeed if the affair isn't broken off again.

Please give Moor and the YOUNG LADIES my warm regards,

Yours

F. Engels

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

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

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MARX TO J. M. WEBER²⁰⁵

IN BERLIN

London, 20 August 1860

Sir,

About a fortnight ago I requested you to let me have a copy of the *charges* preferred by you to which the High Court ruling was an answer.^a I must now repeat that request since, without such a copy, I am unable to comprehend certain points in the High Court document.

I have, Sir, the honour to be

Your most obedient Servant,

Dr K. Marx

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

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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^a See this volume, p. 178.

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MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN PARIS

London, 21 August 1860

My dear Sir,

I was most agreeably surprised on receiving the few lines you were so friendly to address to me.

My own silence is easily accounted for. For a long time after the arrival of your last letter, I was labouring under the most heavy and distressing liver-complaint, a complaint which almost disables you from writing. Later on, I was told by some acquaintance of mine, that you sojourned at London, so that I was not sure whether any letter addressed to Paris was likely to find you.

Great events, as you justly remark, have come to pass, but of all things the most dangerous that, in my opinion, could happen to Europe, would be a war between the *legitimate counterrevolution*, seated at Warsaw, and the *illegitimate counterrevolution* seated at the Tuileries. Still, we must take the situation as it is, and make the best of it. If Garibaldi, whose real intentions I have ascertained from private letters communicated to me, has momentarily been forced to strike his own flag, I hope that in the coming spring the occasion will offer of separating once for all the cause of nationalities from the cause of French counterrevolution.

I have one thing to ask of you. Kossuth has in the latter times worked hard to reconquer his lost influence in the United States. I intend baffling his manoeuvres, and would therefore feel much obliged, if you would communicate to me, *so soon as possible*, and *as circumstantially as possible*, the late adventures of that mock-hero. He has been (or is) at Paris; what was he doing there? He has been at Turin; what was he about? Perhaps, you could also add some curiously grotesque details of his first appearance in Italy, during the war of 1859.⁴⁶

With the events before us, it is of the highest importance, that on the one hand the good understanding between the German party of liberty and the Hungarians should be raised above every doubt—and I shall soon have the occasion of speaking (not by word of mouth, but by print^a) to Germany on this point; that on

^a Marx means his book, *Herr Vogt*.

the other hand Kossuth, the would-be representative of the Hungarian Nation, should be disavowed on both sides.

Here at London I still live, and shall continue to live, in my old house, 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill. If you visit again London, I hope you will not again forget my address. Mrs Marx, moreover, was very disappointed in missing the occasion of making the personal acquaintance of a man whose great intellectual powers she has already become familiarised with by his writings.

Yours truly

A. Williams

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 August 1860

Dear Engels,

You can attribute my long silence to the persistently frightful state of my liver, as a result of which I have to devote every spare moment to work.

I wrote to Siebel *re* publishers about ten days ago⁴² and await his reply. The long delay is due partly to my relative inability to work and partly to the fact that it was not till recently that I had all the available material. By the by, I believe that, with the exception of the Italian affair²⁰⁶ (Austria's craving for intervention was a Bonapartist figment), nothing more is going to happen this year (write something about Garibaldi. What do you think of Bangya's friend Türr?²⁰⁷), so there'll be an interim period during which pamphlets of this kind will still be readable.

The enclosed letter from Schily will tickle you very much. *Let me have it back.* Today I sent Schily your *Nice, Savoy, etc.*

About a fortnight ago I sent Dr Zimmermann (formerly chairman of a Prussian Municipal Court) a letter, in which I put to him questions relating to my case (questions of form).⁴² However,

he deemed it necessary to confer with other brethren of the same craft in Berlin. No doubt I shall get his written opinion in the course of this week. I shan't allow the Prussians to get off so lightly.

I'm in a great fix over money.

Mr Weydemeyer's journal^a is already at an end; i.e. he has resigned from the editorial board and intends to go to New York as a SURVEYOR. However, his colleague^b is going to make the paper pay by *selling* it to a political party. Weydemeyer has at last come to realise that he's too honest for American journalism.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

How's business in Manchester? India? HOME MARKET?

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

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 August 1860

Dear Engels,

Is there still an opening for Eccarius with the tailor in Manchester? If so, he must leave here as he's fit for work again (he's still living out here), business in London is bad and he would, besides, have to go back to the sweatshop.^c

The wherewithal to send him up there with his FAMILY is being procured down here.

For your information, I should tell you that I believe he is suffering from a disease of the spinal cord. His wife is a revolting creature, a curious amalgam of aspirations after respectability (CHURCHWARDEN'S DAUGHTER) and Irishness. Her housekeeping is sloven-

^a *Stimme des Volkes* - ^b Julius Standau - ^c See this volume, p. 172.

ly. As for him, his energy is of the passive kind—not at all active, particularly since the disease has grown worse. From the outset, therefore, he ought not to be cosseted in Manchester, should he come up there. For the thumbscrew will have to be applied to him, otherwise she will get ideas into her head.

I must have something about Garibaldi soon. That's the only thing that interests the Yankees.²⁰⁷

Today a letter arrived from my Berlin lawyer^a containing his petition to the Supreme Tribunal. You shall have it later. He himself hasn't properly grasped the point about the flysheet and Blind^b; however, he's taken in the rest pretty well.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 September 1860

Dear Engels,

Herewith a letter from Weydemeyer.

Secondly, a letter from my lawyer.^c You should send me back the latter. Clearly the chap hasn't grasped the point about the flysheet and I'd let him have further information on the subject in the unlikely event of the Supreme Tribunal's referring the case back to the Municipal Court for an actual hearing. Here we have one of the beauties of Prussian jurisprudence. I have now been through five provisional courts to obtain 'bureaucratic permission' actually to conduct the lawsuit. Such things could only happen in the 'enlightened State' of Prussia.

^a J. M. Weber. ^b See this volume, pp. 23, 42, 59-63. ^c See previous letter.

It is now three o'clock, so I don't suppose your Garibaldi article^a will arrive today. I wouldn't BOTHER you so much about the affair if it wasn't for the fact that, during the elections, the Yankees are reading nothing about foreign affairs SAVE for the melodramatic events in Italy.²⁰⁸ Aside from that, articles on the HARVEST and TRADE at most, on which subjects one cannot, of course, decently write more than once a week.²⁰⁸

Your
K. M.

La Moïse's^b general is 'Sauernheimer', appointed General of the 'Bristlers'^c by Abt. *Package received* (Thursday).²⁰⁹

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

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, after 2 September, 1860]

Dear Frederick,

I should be very glad if you could send me the *Guardians*.

I thought I had acknowledged receipt of the £5 in my last letter.^d Have received a letter from Gumpert, dated Scotland. More anon.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Have not heard anything from Siebel yet.

The next turn of events will, I think, be Piedmont *contra* Mazzini.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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^a 'Garibaldi's Progress'. ^b Sibylle Hess - ^c See this volume, p. 71. ^d See previous letter.

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN AACHEN

London, 7 September 1860
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

I was delighted to hear from you again at last, although sorry that you should have no better news for me as regards your health. I myself am still suffering from my liver complaint; not as painful as gout (nor as distinguished, at least in English eyes), but perhaps even more disruptive when it comes to brain-work.

There are two main reasons for postponing the publication of my anti-Vogt piece,^a aside from my being necessarily engaged on more urgent work. These are:

1. I wanted to wait until the end of the lawsuit against the *National-Zeitung*, but have now decided not to.

The lawsuit has passed through the following stages: First the Public Prosecutor^b and then the Chief Public Prosecutor^c dismissed the action, because 'no public interest' would be served by *ex officio* intervention. Next came the civil action. The *Municipal Court* issued a 'ruling' to the effect that the action be dismissed, because the defamatory passages were merely (which, N.B., is incorrect) 'quoted'. The *High Court* declared the *Municipal Court's* argument to be *mistaken*, but arrived at the same conclusion, because the libellous passages neither did nor could refer to me (this the court proves by dint of 'misquoting'), the *National-Z.* had no intention to insult, etc. The very style of the 'ruling' is enough to betray the fellows' embarrassment. Now we have reached the *Supreme Tribunal*. Thus, I have now so far improved my knowledge of Prussian justice as to know that it is up to the officers of the judiciary whether a private individual gets a *public hearing* at all. For all these rulings are mere 'preliminaries' aimed at precluding any sort of encounter between myself and the *Nat.-Z.* in open court. In his letters Legal Counsellor Weber, who appears to know nothing about my friendly relations with the

^a *Herr Vogt* · ^b Lippe · ^c Schwarck

Prussian government, throws up his hands in dismay at these 'inexplicable' rulings.

As you know, I instituted the lawsuit against the *Nat.-Z.* before I was in possession of Vogt's book.^a However, I was on the right track, for the *Nat.-Z.*, with commendable tact, had picked out *all*—but really *all*—the actionable *libels* (I am speaking here of calumnies within the meaning of the Code, not mere abuse by the fellows, which I did not wish to attack in court) from Vogt's concoction and had even, in some cases, added to their sting. But on every single count I found myself in the position, not of demanding that my opponent provide *proof that it was true*, but of myself being able to provide *proof that it was false*. The only exception was the matter of hundreds of threatening letters sent to Germany for the purpose of extorting money. In this instance, of course, it was the *N.-Z.*'s business to get friend Vogt to send them one of those threatening letters.

Hence the courts realised that, as soon as the case came up in open court, the verdict must go against the *N.-Z.*, and this, not to mention a legal victory for me, would indeed be 'contrary to the public interest'. The 'Supreme Tribunal' will find some other subterfuge. But in this way the Prussians are at any rate supplying me with material whose pleasing repercussions in the London press will soon be brought home to them.

2. The real snag just now is the question of a *publisher*.

The thing can't very well appear in Prussia since various passages relating to Stieber, etc., would lay the publisher open to prosecution. My negotiations in Hamburg, etc., have so far been of no avail. Either the chaps want to have nothing to do with it, or else they take the liberty of laying down conditions as to the tone and contents of the piece, to which I cannot, of course, agree. O. Meissner would have taken the thing, had he not previously published *Demokratische Studien*, to which, besides yourself and Grün, Vogt, along with his whole clan, Bamberger, Simon, etc., contributed.

The best thing would be to get the thing printed over here and distributed on the Continent by some German bookseller here (as Vogt did from Geneva). But, unlike Vogt, I have no Bonapartist subsidies, with which to get the pamphlet of some 12 to 15 sheets printed in this country.

So that's how matters stand. As you will have gathered, my attitude towards Vogt is not as mild as German publishers would

^a *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*, Geneva, 1859.

wish it to be vis-à-vis the Herr Professor. I treat him *en canaille*^a and as a figure of fun, i.e. in accordance with his deserts.

Masses of inquiries have reached me from Switzerland and America about the publication of the scrawl.

My wife sends her kind regards. For months I have avoided Freiligrath, not wanting to have a disagreeable encounter with him; nor, at a crucial moment, could I relish the cowardly hedging (on account of his business connection with James Fazy, who is his principal). {But what I thought particularly unseemly was the way he continued to consort with Blind on an intimate footing, after I had shown him *legal* documents *proving* that Blind had, under incriminating circumstances, extracted from Wiehe, the compositor, a *false* deposition for publication in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* relative to the flysheet *Zur Warnung*.²¹⁰} Nevertheless, in the eyes of the world *we* are 'friends' just as we have always been. But intercourse between our families has been completely broken off. As you know, my wife is of a determined disposition.

I hope you will soon send better news of yourself.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 September 1860

Dear Engels,

I hope to get an article from you for Saturday.^b If at all possible.

Herewith Zimmermann's legal opinion on the questions I put to him.^c (*To be returned* to me next week.)

^a like dirt - ^b 15 September - ^c See this volume, pp. 182-83.

Also, for your amusement, a copy of a letter given to me by Eccarins.

Your
K. M.

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

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 September 1860

Dear Engels,

THANKS FOR THE ARTICLE.

I enclose herewith Eichhoff's piece^a which, however, you must return to me intact within 2 or 3 days at the outside. *It doesn't belong to me.* The scrawl had no sooner come out than it was confiscated in Berlin. This copy is the only one to be had in London. Part II, about Patzke, etc., so badly written, is excruciatingly funny. Moreover, it shows you what those stinking courts of justice in Berlin are like. And the infamous press there, venting all of its liberal leonine courage on Bombalino and reserving none for its Patzke, its tribunals and its utterly contemptible Prince Regent.^b

Garibaldi is a veritable godsend. OTHERWISE, Bonaparte would have been restored to popularity and sustained by the Russo-Prussian-Austrian Holy Alliance.^{c1)}

Our gentle Heinrich Bürgers—but you'll see this for yourself from the enclosed epistle from Lassalle (also to be returned)—has gone over to the Prince Regent. Lassalle wrote to me first, from Aachen, where he is taking the waters for *gout*. Amongst other things, he says that in Cologne and Düsseldorf, where the Workers' Associations have been reorganised under the leadership of two young barristers unknown to us,^d my anti-Vogt piece^d is eagerly awaited. Borkheim brought back the same news from

^a K. W. Eichhoff, *Berliner Polizei-Silhouetten*, Berlin, 1860. ^b William, Prince of Prussia. ^c Bessel and Knorsch. ^d Herr Vogt

Switzerland. In reply to Lassalle's pressure, I told him^a that all we can hope for (and such, judging by Siebel's letters, is the case) is to get the printing done in London, whence Petsch would transact business in Germany through the usual channels (Leipzig), and in other countries direct. To this end, I wrote, *money* is needed. Next I get the fellow's letter. But he won't get off so easily. I'm writing to him again today.^b He'll have to disgorge at least £30 by way of *conscience-money*. Borkheim is contributing £12. Thus, the major part of the expenses would already be met. Herewith a specimen proof from Hirschfeld. It would amount to £4 10/- a sheet. But there'd be as much on it as on two ordinary sheets. Take a look at the final pages of the conclusion to L.'s endless letter, where he lavishes much praise on my political economy.^c He would seem *not* to have understood much of its economics—as is plainly evident from the way he expresses himself.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Apropos.

The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* says the *Demokratische Studien* (Walesrode, Bamberger, Lassalle, Vogt, Grün, Oppenheim, etc.) were written by 8 genuine and 2 'artificial' Jews.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 September 1860

Dear Moor,

I return herewith the legal stuff.^d The letter from Jacob Weasel^e will follow tomorrow, as will the Eichhoff,^f which Gumpert is still reading. I found the letter from our Weasel most cheering, or, rather, it brought a smile to my lips; it's a splendid tonic for your

^a See this volume, p. 187. - ^b *ibid.*, pp. 192-94. - ^c K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - ^d See this volume, p. 184. - ^e Ferdinand Lassalle - ^f K. W. Eichhoff, *Berliner Polizei-Silhouetten*, Berlin, 1860.

liver, if nothing else. The things about the Prussian government are quite interesting, but the best of it is that the chap imagines we should *now* concede that he is right over the Italian question!!! *Now*, when, in Italy itself, Cavour is actually being attacked and threatened by the revolutionary party! What naïveté. Now, with Garibaldi on the point of attacking Bonaparte in Rome,^a we are to admit that, in the spring of this year, we should have joined forces with Cavour and Bonap. and—*qui sait?*^b—might yet join forces with them! True, Mr Weasel is very reticent about the present.

You must at all costs avoid having your pamphlet^c printed in London. I immediately wrote to Siebel once again. Firstly, the thing would be confiscated at once, perhaps actually on the frontier or at Leipzig, and secondly, even if this didn't happen, distribution would again be so appallingly bad that no one would ever set eyes on the thing. The experience is one we have been through hundreds of times with émigré literature. Always the same ineffectuality, always money and labour gone down the drain—not to mention the irritation. And then, where's the money to come from? According to your letter, it will call for £50 to £60 or more, and Lassalle certainly *won't* get us £30. Come to that, the thing ought to be worded in such a way that it could be printed and distributed in Germany; of what use to us is a riposte to Vogt which no one ever sets eyes on? And I simply don't see why we need any confiscable content here. Even with the press regulations as they now are, you can still say enough to drive the Prussians mad, and that, after all, is preferable to satisfaction *in partibus*^d of which the public remains unaware and which, as it were, you give yourself merely in private.

Some three weeks ago I sent an article on the RIFLE MOVEMENT^e to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* in Darmstadt and, because in my dealings with those professional soldiers I couldn't risk sailing UNDER FALSE COLOURS. I told the fellows in an accompanying letter^f that I had fought in the campaign in Baden on the side of the insurgents.^g They did print the article all the same and it has now appeared in English over here as well.^h If possible, I shall

^a See this volume, p. 171. - ^b who knows? - ^c *Herr Vogt* - ^d *In partibus (infidelium)* means, literally, in parts inhabited by unbelievers. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. Here they mean 'outside the sphere of reality'. - ^e F. Engels, 'Eine Musterung englischer freiwilliger Jäger'. - ^f F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*'. - ^g The translation was made by Engels himself, with minor alterations. It appeared under the title 'A German Account of the Newton Review' in *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire*, No. 2, 14 September 1860.

send it to you this evening; there is no need to return it to me, as I shall be getting a copy of my own in a week's time. This is a connection of great value to me as regards military affairs.²¹³

The business of the Holy Alliance^a is pretty disastrous and in France will be of enormous help to Bonap. Garibaldi, that's the only redeeming feature. Meanwhile, I'm anxious to know how the liberal philistines in Prussia will feel about her coming under Russia's aegis again. Nowhere else in the world, by the way, does the gutter-press equal that of Berlin; this time it even seems to have gone too far for the Weasel. I'll tell you this—it's impossible so much as to pick up the *National-* or the *Volks-Zeitung*; the stench of their boring balderdash and know-all *fadaise*^b carries half a mile or more.

At the National Association,²⁴ too, Mr Miquel held forth with genuine National Association sagacity. As for Heinrich,^c he has at long last discovered his standpoint.

Regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN AACHEN

[London,] 15 September 1860

Dear Lassalle,

I am writing very briefly to make sure this note still finds you.

1. I wrote to Freiligrath (day before yesterday)⁴² about an answer to your question.²¹⁴ None arrived.^d Answering such questions *conflicts*, of course, *with his duty to his office*.

2. As regards the book on Vogt^e: After trying this, that and the other, I have come to the conclusion that *printing in London* is the

^a See this volume, p. 189. - ^b inanity. - ^c Bürgers (see this volume, p. 189). - ^d See this volume, p. 195. - ^e K. Marx. *Herr Vogt*.

only possibility. By the by, deliberately written so as not to be *confiscable*. Although not printable in Berlin, it would, like any other book, be distributed in Germany from Leipzig; in Switzerland, Belgium, America direct from here. Engels is paying for one share, I for another. But the thing's expensive since a sheet costs 4½ pounds sterling over here. You must contribute a share if you can. I have optimistically arranged for printing to begin not later than next week. If the money has not been collected, nothing will be lost, save the sum to be paid for what has already been printed.

3. Garibaldi shared my opinion of *Bonaparte's mission*,^a just as Mazzini did. I have actually seen letters of Garibaldi's on this score. However, the past is no longer of any concern. As soon as Garibaldi has divested the Italian cause of Bonaparte (and *such is his object, expressly stated in a letter he wrote to an English acquaintance of mine, Green*),^b all disputes *within the revolutionary party* will cease. But what is important now is that *we* should come to an agreement on a programme. If you would care to make a *brouillon*,^c Engels, Wolff and I will agree possible modifications with you. The time is approaching when our 'small' if, in a certain sense, 'powerful party' (inasmuch as the others do not know what they want, or do not want what they know) must devise its plan of campaign. That *we in particular* (here in England) should adopt a national stance seems to me tactically correct—quite apart from any inherent justification.

4. As for our attitude towards Russia, I think you are mistaken. The view that I and Engels have formed is a quite independent one, having, I may say, been laboriously evolved over many years from the study of Russian diplomacy. True, Russia is hated in Germany and, in the very first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, we presented an anti-Russian war as the revolutionary mission of Germany. But hating and understanding are two altogether different things.

5. Your praise of my book^d gave me great pleasure, coming as it did from a competent judge. I think that Part II may very likely come out before Easter. It will take a somewhat different form, more popular TO SOME DEGREE. Not, of course, as a result of any impulse from within myself, but, first, because Part II has an expressly revolutionary function, and, second, because the conditions I describe are more concrete.

^a See this volume, p. 171. - ^b *ibid.* - ^c draft - ^d *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

In Russia my book has caused a considerable stir, and a professor in Moscow has given a lecture on it.¹⁸² Moreover, many Russians, in particular, have written to me very kindly about it. Ditto German-speaking Frenchmen.

6. *Ad vocem*^a *H. Bürgers*.²¹⁵ How like the gentle Heinrich. He was, it is true, nominally co-editor of the *N. Rh. Z.*, but never wrote for it, except for one article,^b of which I deleted one half and rewrote the other. So enraged was he about this (it happened during the early days of the paper) that he asked for a general vote. This I conceded as an exception, at the same time explaining that a newspaper office should be ruled dictatorially and not by general vote. Universal suffrage went universally against him. After that, he wrote nothing more. Prison, by the by, is said to have had a very moderating effect on him. Give me Casemate Wolff^c any day. Admittedly, his temperament is diametrically the opposite of Bürgers'.

What has vexed me more than Bürgers is that Miquel, a Göttingen lawyer and a very gifted and energetic member of our party, has joined Bennigsen.

7. *Polizei-Silhouetten* by Dr Eichhoff published in Berlin. Badly written, but contains some delectable things. Throws a fine light on the liberal 'police' and the 'law-courts' in Berlin. Was instantly confiscated. One copy arrived here safely.

8. I must confess my complete ignorance of *Prussian legal procedure*. I never imagined I should get *material* justice. But I did think the procedure was such that I would at least succeed in getting as far as a *public hearing*. That was all I wanted.

Under (old) Rhenish procedure, did a private action for *injuria* or libel also depend on prior permission being obtained from officers of the judiciary, i.e. the government?

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a As regards - ^b [H. Bürgers,] 'Hr. v. Ladenberg und die Volksschullehrer', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 182, 30 December 1848. - ^c Wilhelm Wolff

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE²¹⁶

IN AACHEN

[London, 15 September 1860]

Dear Lassalle,

Have just received this letter^a which I am sending off to follow my first.

Your

K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 September [1860]

Dear Engels,

You must let me have the Eichhoff^b and Lassalle's letter back **by return of post**.

I am counting on getting an article on Garibaldi, Lamoricière, or the CHINESE WAR for Saturday.^c

Shall probably be writing to you at greater length tomorrow.

In great haste.

Your

K. M.

Although my finances here are in a horrible muddle, I have sent my wife and children to Hastings for a week. I have not the means to keep them there any longer. Unfortunately, they've had rain almost all the time.

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

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a From Ferdinand Freiligrath - ^b K. W. Eichhoff, *Berliner Polizei-Silhouetten* - ^c 22 September

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 September 1860

Dear Engels,

The family arrived back safely yesterday.

With regard to the enclosed letter from Dana I should explain that, after your visit to London,²¹⁷ I wrote to Dana⁴² saying I would rather he assigned the 'NAVY' article to some other contributor to the *Cyclopaedia*.²¹⁸ After that, I didn't hear from him and thought the matter had been DROPPED until the enclosed letter turned up yesterday. If you could possibly do the thing—however briefly and superficially DOES NOT MATTER—it would be of *enormous help* to me, *particularly just now*, since, to obtain a breathing-space, I was forced on 14 September to *draw an anticipatory bill* on Dana, having a life of 2 months (payable 2 months after date). When writing to him, I reminded him of our long-standing friendship, as this was, in fact, against the PRINCIPLES of the *Tribune*. However, my letter crossed his, so just now it behoves us to keep him happy, quite apart from the necessity of his continuing to believe that we can do everything. So, if it is at all possible, you would oblige me more than I can say by doing the thing. Ten pages was the maximum prescribed by Dana. FIVE DO ALSO,^a if not otherwise feasible. The point is that something should go off.

How WITH Lamoricière?^b

What do you think of the Garibaldi situation?

Kossuth was balked by Mazzini's intervention; he had been sent by Bonaparte. Garibaldi was to have by-passed Rome and marched on Venice direct.²¹⁹

Now, *ad vocem*^c Vogt.

The thing's^d being printed here.

1. *Money*. All I have to pay is £25. £12 from Borkheim, Lassalle has promised me £8. There remains £5. The other printing costs, *ditto* distribution costs *will be met by Petsch, the publisher*. We are SHARERS TO EQUAL PARTS in the profits, after deduction and refund of

^a Five will also do. ^b See this volume, p. 195. ^c as regards. ^d K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

the costs. I told Petsch this was now the only condition upon which I would have the thing published in London.

2. The thing is not *confiscable*. This was a misapprehension on Lassalle's part. I had told him, on the contrary, that, though *not* confiscable, it could *not appear* in Berlin because no publisher there would print it because of the communist trial.⁴⁴

3. We are no longer in the 1850-58 era. Petsch has his agents in Leipzig, Berlin, and Hamburg. So, the thing will be distributed through *ordinary* booksellers' channels in Germany. In Belgium, Switzerland, and America, Petsch will sell *direct* through his agents there, thus saving a great deal of time. Advertisements in the newspapers, booksellers' notices, etc., will be attended to here, with my assistance. We shall send Siebel 50 copies to be distributed to journals, etc. Confiscation I hold to be *out of the question*. Vogt is not the Prince Regent,^a and Stieber has officially fallen into disgrace. I am deliberately keeping myself *en réserve* where *politics* are concerned.

4. We are saving time, for in Germany we might spend months yet doing the rounds; also time on proof-correcting, etc. It is Petsch's first publication (along with an anti-About pamphlet of Borkheim's^b), and he will go to no end of pains, if only in his own interests.

5. If the thing goes well, as I have every reason to suppose, Petsch will publish pamphlets, whether by you or me, in German or English and put an end to *BURRING* by German publishers. (2 sheets already printed.)

On this occasion, therefore, necessity would appear to have been a virtue. *Qu'en pensez-vous?*^c I believe that *Po and Rhine*^d ditto *Savoy*,^e etc., would have created much more of a stir had they come out here in London.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Apropos. You rightly considered *Ex-Reichs-Vogt* an unsuitable title. *Karl Vogt* seems unsuitable to me because I don't want to put 'Karl Marx' after *Karl Vogt*. Hence my proposed title, *Dâ-Dâ-Vogt*. For, as I reveal in the section containing the critique of Vogt's

^a William, Prince of Prussia - ^b [S. L. Borkheim,] *Napoleon III und Preussen*, London, 1860. - ^c What do you think? - ^d F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - ^e F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*.

Studien,^a Dâ-Dâ is an Arab writer who is made use of by Bonaparte in Algiers as Vogt is in Geneva. Dâ-Dâ will PUZZLE your philistine, and it's funny.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 October 1860

Dear Moor,

Where has your family been to, if they are now safely back home?^b I'm completely in the dark. To the SEASIDE, perhaps, or to the country? I hope it has done them good.

'NAVY' is most inconvenient just now.^c I'm having the hell of a time with the LAWYERS over matters connected with the firm—no one in Germany has an inkling of the way things drag on here, and it's precisely this week that the fellows must needs descend on me with a mass of files, etc. However, I shall do my best²⁷⁰ but it certainly won't be a quick job, for I'm in no way *au fait*.

Quanto a^d Vogt: I must say that I don't like your title at all.^e If you want to give him a nickname, surely it must be one that is comprehensible to people without their having to read the book; alternatively it should only appear in the actual book *after* the explanatory bit. To my mind, the simpler and more unaffected the title the better, except that Bonaparte, or at least Plon-Plon, should, if possible, figure in it as well as Vogt. If you object to 'Carl' Vogt, call him Herr Vogt, though I don't see why 'Carl' cannot appear above 'Karl'—no one is going to make a joke about it.

Printing in London: I have no confidence in a publishing operation that requires us to advance all or half the money. The enclosed letter from Siebel shows that he was far from giving up

^a C. Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas*. - ^b See this volume, pp. 195, 196, 201. - ^c *ibid.*, p. 196. - ^d As regards - ^e See previous letter.

the affair for lost, quite the contrary, and was only waiting for instructions in order to act (let me have it back, it hasn't been answered yet). I've seen only too often what happens when things are printed abroad, and I fear that it will be exactly the same this time. If Vogt is an exception (and, after all, his thing was printed in *Frankfurt!*), he was also backed up by the press, which certainly isn't going to happen to us. Besides, Mr Petsch is having to *pay* for the advertisements, etc., etc., and hence won't be particularly keen to advertise too much. *Tu verras*.^a At all events, you would certainly have been able to find a publisher in Germany long ago, had you got Siebel moving properly, and I always prefer it this way^b; furthermore, Hirschfeld's little press is *not* going to be in overmuch of a hurry. However, the thing is under way, and we shall have to see how it turns out. It would be best, I think, if, in addition to the title, you were to include nothing but the *chapter headings* in the advertisement; that would be quite sufficient. And, above all, see that the thing gets finished.

When 3-4 sheets have been printed, you might send me copies.

Apropos: What do 5 or 10 of Dana's pages amount to?^c I've no idea.

Lamoricière has been ignominiously surprised by the Piedmontese.²²¹ He was completely unprepared on that flank, his defences were directed exclusively against Garibaldi, and he had manned the worthless citadels in the towns with small garrisons fit only to deal with uprisings. Hence the succession of surrenders; overall, the Piedmontese were 6 to 1. At Castelfidardo the Austrians fought very well, likewise at Ancona, which is in no sense a fortress on the landward side; but, on the whole, the papal army shows how little can be achieved with a force which, though good in part, is heterogeneous and commanded by all kinds of foreign officers. Admittedly the Piedmontese were 3 to 1.

From a military point of view, Garibaldi appears to be getting short of breath. He has dispersed his good troops among the Sicilian and Neapolitan battalions to such an extent that he no longer has any kind of organisation, and as soon as he reaches a moderately well defended river line with a fortress he does not command, as at Capua, he comes to a halt. Not that it matters much for the time being, since the 30,000 Neapolitans can't subsist on that small strip of land, and will have to disband in a fortnight

^a You'll see. - ^b See this volume, p. 191. - ^c Engels means the size of the article on the navy that Marx requested him to write (see this volume, p. 196).

or advance, which they won't succeed in doing. But, unless he has some really exceptional strokes of luck, it's hardly likely that G. will reach the Quirinal²²² so quickly. On top of that, the Cavourians are now raising a hubbub; before long, these wretched bourgeois will be able to make his position untenable, so that as a *pis aller*^a he'll be forced to attack before he's capable of winning. Apart from this, it would be essential to trounce the Neapolitans as quickly as possible and then induce the Piedmontese to fraternise before Victor Emmanuel joined them, for by then it would be too late, and they would stay loyal to Victor Em. But it is of the utmost significance that the French in Rome²²³ should have been publicly placed by G. in the same category as the Austrians in Venice. Whether their expulsion will or will not be effected forthwith is of lesser significance.

Things in Austria look splendid. A National Association²⁴ philistine, a Rhenish Prussian, who lives in Bavaria (Franconia), relates that people from Munich, who recently attended the railway festival in Vienna, never doubting the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung's* reports about conditions in Austria, returned quite dumbfounded, so different had they found everything. The Austrians had told them that it was all humbug and that conditions there were no longer bearable. He also said that the bourgeoisie in Austria already had a specific for the financial imbroglio: *in Austria 20% of all landed property belongs to the clergy, and this must be confiscated.* Can one imagine a more splendid revolutionary situation? What is all that supercilious Prussian sophistry along with its National Association when compared with such a programme?

The writings of Prince Frederick Charles^b and Mr Waldersee^c have convinced me beyond doubt that the Prussians have organised and trained their army so splendidly that they must inevitably be beaten. In order to remedy the defect arising from 45 years' lack of war experience, they have created a mock conventional war in the shape of manoeuvres where everything is different from real war, and where soldiers and officers are expressly instructed to retreat on any pretext and where completely wrong notions and things are drummed into them. E.g., on manoeuvres soldiers are not, of course, permitted to enter and

^a last resort. ^b [Friedrich Karl, Prinz.] *Eine militärische Denkschrift*, Frankfurt am Main, 1860. ^c F. G. Waldersee, *Die Methode zur kriegsgemäßen Ausbildung der Infanterie für das zerstreute Gefecht...* Zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1852.

occupy houses; the houses, therefore, are *marked* as being occupied by posting soldiers round the outside. In Schleswig *during a battle* a Prussian captain received the order to occupy a farm, whereupon he posted his men round its perimeter fence, just as though on manoeuvres! Waldersee saw this with his own eyes. Prince Fr. Charles, by the way, is by no means a bad chap as soldiers go and absolutely detests the pointless grind of the Prussian parade ground. But, whether he's any good as a commander, it is impossible to say.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 October 1860

Dear Engels,

One of my letters must have failed to reach you, for I wrote and told you that my FAMILY was spending a week at the SEASIDE.^a

As regards Dana's pages,^b one of your large pages (e.g. in *Artillery*) was the equivalent of one of Dana's.

My impression of Siebel's letter was exactly the opposite of yours,^c namely his helplessness. *Meissner*, by reason of the *Demokratische Studien*, is actually in the enemy camp. Moreover, it would appear from his private conversation with Siebel that he expected a 'dignified' discussion and regards Vogt as a great man. *O. Wigand* is a *personal enemy* of mine and, years ago, on my offering to entrust him with the *Eighteenth Brumaire* (even for nothing), wrote me a churlish reply.^d *Oelbermann* in Bonn is a mere fantasy. I know the meridian of Bonn. All in all, the pamphlet^d is pretty well unpublishable in Germany (especially as

^a See this volume, pp. 195, 196, 198. - ^b *ibid.*, pp. 196, 199. - ^c *ibid.*, p. 199.

^d K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

Siebel has no connections with Leipzig publishers), judging by the style that has become established during the 10 years of reaction. And then to have the manuscript actually hawked round from one man to the next, thereby causing the whole thing to be blabbed out, without finding a taker—or only after protracted wanderings! I should, of course, prefer Cotta, Brockhaus or even Campe to Mr Petsch; but circumstances being what they are, I still regard him as a WINDFALL. Borkheim, who is a very good businessman, has great faith in Petsch. Finally, our last experiences in Germany were hardly encouraging.

Printing will go ahead more quickly this week at Hirschfeld's. He still had all kinds of stuff that had to be finished.

I shall think about the *title* again. The fact that Dâ-Dâ will PUZZLE your philistine pleases me and fits in with my SYSTEM OF MOCKERY AND CONTEMPT.^a Nevertheless (the title will, of course, be printed last), I shall again discuss it exhaustively with my critical conscience.^b Contents are as follows: I. The Brimstone Gang. II. The Bristlers. III. *Police Matters*. 1. Confession. 2. The Revolutionary Congress in Murten. 3. Cherval. 4. The Communist Trial in Cologne. 5. Joint Workers' Festival in Lausanne. 6. Miscellany. IV. Techow's Letter. V. Imperial Regent and Count Palatine. VI. Vogt and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. VII. The Augsburg Campaign. VIII. Vogt's *Studien*. IX. Agency. X. Patrons and Accomplices. XI. Lawsuit against the *National-Zeitung*. XII. Appendices.

As you have no time just now for articles, write to me *privately* when anything of a military nature happens in Italy, informing me, quite briefly, of the *chief points*. I shall then myself DODGE what is necessary into shape.

J. Ph. Becker wants to go to Naples^c (accompanied by Schily). He wants to raise a German volunteer corps there. (!!!)

I am completely broke. If you could send me a £ or two before the week is out, it would be very WELCOME.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

The effrontery of *The Times* (yesterday's) in suggesting that Garibaldi inspired 'CONFIDENCE' so long 'AS HE COULD BE BELIEVED TO BE THE AGENT OF THE SECRET INTENTIONS OF NAPOLEON III,'^d is truly staggering.

^a See this volume, p. 84. - ^b Marx apparently means his wife Jenny. - ^c See this volume, pp. 237, 246. - ^d *The Times*, No. 23739, 1 October 1860, leading article.

Edwin James, the clown, was in such a *FUNK* that he fled all the way back to London, arriving the day before yesterday.²²⁵ In the *Plon-Plonist Opinion nationale* Kossuth has addressed a letter to Garibaldi, which was written both in the spirit and at the behest of the Bonapartists.

Your RIFLE article^a has gone the rounds of the London press²²⁶ and has even been discussed in the pro-government *Observer*. This WAS a SENSATION.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

[London,] 2 October 1860

Dear Lassalle,

Forwarded your letter to Freiligrath forthwith.

When I wrote saying you should 'muster' a quota, I was, of course, deliberately using an ambiguous term. Only do not enlist the help of anyone who is not a *personal* friend of mine. I should be glad, by the by, to receive the contribution at an early date. Come to that, I don't believe it will be *à fonds perdu*,^b for we shall at least recoup the cost of production.

Engels wrote an essay on the English RIFLES^c for the *Darmstadt Militär-Zeitung*, which he subsequently translated for the *Manchester Volunteer Journal*. It has been reproduced and discussed by the entire London Press.²²⁶

From letters that have come to me straight from Garibaldi's camp, things would seem to be in rather parlous state. Cavour is actually Bonaparte's tool and controls Victor Emmanuel. Garibaldi is in a difficult position vis-à-vis Bonaparte and the Piedmontese army, the more so in that all the bourgeois and aristocratic riff-raff in Italy are on the side of Cavour. Somewhat to the

^a 'A Review of English Volunteer Riflemen' - ^b Money down the drain - ^c 'A Review of English Volunteer Riflemen'

detriment of his own army, G. has been compelled to disperse his best troops amongst Neapolitan riff-raff and Piedmontese *troupiers*.^a

You will forgive me, if I do not reply to your letter this time, nor, indeed, write more than a few lines. Besides being taken up (agreeably) with proof-correcting^b and my habitual tasks, I have the added blessing of a most frightful catarrh, affecting the whole of the left side of my head.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

The Supreme Tribunal has not yet reached a decision. As soon as the case is disposed of and I am debarred from public proceedings, I shall publish a sheet (pamphlet), *Prussian Justice*²³⁷ over here.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 October 1860

Dear Moor,

Enclosed £5 note E/L 33688 Manchester, 12 Jan. 60.

I would have sent it sooner, but Gumpert touched me for ten pounds, after which I had to wait a day or two so as not to make myself conspicuous by drawing a lot of money all at once.

As to printing in London, the chief consideration, of course, is that the thing^c should appear and appear **quickly**; but printing in Germany was preferable and could undoubtedly have been arranged. However SHARP Petsch may be, a German publisher, e.g. Meissner (who is far from being the philistine you imagine him to

^a soldiers - ^b of the pamphlet *Herr Vogt* - ^c K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

be—just take a look at his list) is in a much stronger position to break the *conspiration du silence*. Nor do I account it in any way a blessing that the party is thus also compelled to invest capital, for we've little enough as it is.

Title—I would repeat, and this is quite definitely Lupus's opinion also, that at any rate, a title that requires one to read half the book before one finds out what it means could not be more unhappy. Your philistine has long since ceased to take such an interest in Vogt as to puzzle over why you should call him Dâ-Dâ. The only thing that can make Vogt interesting is his connection with Bonaparte and Plon-Plon, and *this* you must emphasise in the title, if you are to arouse the philistine's curiosity. So far as the title is concerned, your system OF MOCKERY AND CONTEMPT^e is unlikely to produce anything but a title that is affected or contrived. A simple title is surely the best; MOCKERY AND CONTEMPT comes in the book soon enough.

So, *père*^b Garibaldi has drubbed the Neapolitans again after all, and taken 2,000 prisoners.²²⁸ The impression the chap makes on the troops must be tremendous. It's an excellent thing that Türr should have been discredited along with Rüstow's theory.^c Otherwise, the latter would undoubtedly have taken it into his head to become the German Garibaldi; among the bourgeois republicans, the chap could come to be dangerous. It will probably be all up with Bombalino before long; the troops will soon have nothing left to eat and will disperse, for the area is not large enough to support them. Apart from that, there's nothing to be said about the affair for the time being. By the way, there's no denying that the *rè galantuomo*^d is playing his hand with a great deal of BLACK if he should now go to Naples.

The success of my RIFLE article^e was not altogether fortuitous. I sent the little sheet,^f boldly marked in red, to the main London papers and the press up here and wrote to them more or less as follows: *The Correspondent, for England, of the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* presents his compliments to the Editor of the ... and begs to call his attention to an article of his in the *Volunteer Journal* (a copy of which is sent by post) on the Newton review. As this is the first professional opinion of a foreign military paper on the voluntary movement, it may be of interest.*—Quite any-

^a See this volume, pp. 83, 202. - ^b father - ^c See this volume, p. 389. - ^d Gallant king (Victor Emmanuel II) - ^e 'A Review of English Volunteer Riflemen' - ^f *The Volunteer Journal, for Lancashire and Cheshire*

mously, of course. I didn't write to *The Times* but they published an excerpt, nevertheless.^a

Siebel has sent me a portrait of his betrothed,^b very pretty. Marie Antoinette with just a tiny *souçon* of the virtuous Eugénie, but exceedingly mannish, notwithstanding—SHE WILL WEAR THE BREECHES. His 'sensible creature' will surprise him yet. *Madame la baronne*, her mother, was a milliner-cum-shop assistant in Düsseldorf and is still said to frequent Küpper's beer garden, where she puts away her 3 or 4 pints in an afternoon. Or so the philistines say.

According to the latest reports, Garibaldi is the grandson or great-grandson of the Dr Jos. Bapt. Maria Garibaldi of Ajaccio who was sent to Germany by King Theodore Neuhof, married Miss Katharina von Neuhof in Westphalia and, after the overthrow of his brother-in-law, settled in Nice.²²⁹ His face certainly has a Westphalian cast to it. Ewerbeck and Willich are both caricatures of G. in their own way.

In number one, volume three, of Kolatschek's German monthly there is said to be a very pointed article against Vogt.^c

Kind regards to the FAMILY.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 October 1860

DEAR Frederick,

I'm extremely busy at this moment. Shall write to you on Saturday.^d Some good stuff in Brass's pamphlet.^e

^a 'A German Account of the Volunteers', *The Times*, No. 23733, 24 September 1860. - ^b Reinhilde von Hurter. - ^c [A. Kolatschek.] 'Die Juchheisten' in *Stimmen der Zeit*, October 1860. - ^d 13 October - ^e A. Brass, *Was Noth ist*, Geneva, 1860.

If possible, let me have a word or two of guidance (by Saturday)
ON GARIBALDI'S GRAND BATTLE.²²⁸

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen
F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart,
1913

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

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

[London,] 23 October 1860

Dear Lassalle,

You will forgive me for writing no more than a few lines. Apart from my usual preoccupations, I am just now snowed under with proof-sheets.^a

I should be *greatly* obliged if you could let me have such money as you are able to send by the beginning of November, since I have given the printer (as a matter of fact, printers in London are paid *by the week*) an I.O.U. payable at the beginning of November.

Today I received a final nonsuit from the Supreme Tribunal. It reads:

Your appeal of August 23 of this year against the ruling on July 11 of this year of the Criminal Senate of the Royal High Court in the action for libel brought by Dr. K. Marx against Dr. Zabel, editor of the *National-Zeitung*, is hereby dismissed as without foundation after consideration of the relevant documents. For the Royal High Court did not find *an objective defamation of the plaintiff* in the two leading articles of the *Nat.-Zeit.* in question, nor did it find that there was an *intention to insult the plaintiff*. It was right, therefore, to refuse permission to proceed with the proposed action for libel.

The question whether there is an objective act of defamation, or an intention to insult, essentially pertains to matters of fact and the conclusions regarding them can only be disputed by an appeal to the Royal Supreme Tribunal if the decision of

^a of Herr Vogt

the Appeal judge is based on an error in law. However, such an error is not evident in the present instance. 'The costs, etc.'

How is your health? Mine is still pretty precarious.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 October 1860

Dear Engels,

Herewith the letter from Weber, to whom I must therefore send ABOUT 6 talers; so ends the spree with Prussian justice.^a You can pass on this news to Siebel.

Later on, I shall publish ABOUT one sheet ON PRUSSIAN JUSTICE²²⁷ here in London, but not until the book^b is safely in Germany.

During the first 4 weeks, all went very slowly at Hirschfeld's, partly because Zinn, the compositor, left him in the lurch, and also because he had a great deal to do and one of my sheets amounted to more than 2 ordinary printed sheets. However, last week I entered into a written agreement with him whereby he has got to finish by 15 November.

In the last number of *Stimmen der Zeit*, Kolatschek has brought the thing^c up again in the 'Juchheisten', in which friend Lassalle, among others, comes off 'horribly'.^d

How goes it with the Navy^e?

Do you think there might actually be war this autumn?

^a See previous letter. - ^b K. Marx's *Herr Vogt*. - ^c See this volume, pp. 206, 212. - ^d In the original: 'öklich' instead of 'eklig'. - ^e See this volume, pp. 196, 198.

What with proof-correcting and a host of petty things to do, I've had my hands so full that for a while I hardly had time to write to you.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 November 1860

Dear Engels,

A week ago on Friday,^a I sent you Weber's last letter, which I *must have back*.

I hope nothing untoward has happened, since I haven't heard a thing from you.

My hands are completely full, partly PRIVATE BUSINESS, partly proof-corrections^b (always to be done twice over); last week, too, as a result of the Supreme Tribunal ruling,^c I had to completely rewrite the bit about the lawsuit^d; finally the *Tribune*.

Is it true that *The Manchester Guardian* occasionally has some interesting stuff from Paris now?

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Now you can see what would have happened if I had relied on Siebel. Over a fortnight ago, I wrote⁴² asking whether he would be

^a See previous letter. - ^b K. Marx's *Herr Vogt*. - ^c See this volume, pp. 207-08. - ^d See *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 259-95.

willing to see to the copies (their despatch) for journals, etc., in Germany (and for which?). Needless to say, no reply.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

London, 5 November 1860

Dear Lassalle,

I herewith acknowledge with many thanks the £12, which arrived on Saturday.^a However, you should *not* approach the two people you name.^b

Szemere's statement surprised me as much as anything emanating from the Hungarian emigration could surprise me.³⁰ In no circumstances can *Szemere* be said to be guided by personal motives, but he suffers from 'statesmanship'!

As soon as I've done with the BUSINESS of printing^c and at last have my hands free, I shall write to you at length.

Your
K. M.

This time there seems good reason to hope that victory in the United States will go to the REPUBLICAN PARTY (whose organ is the *Tribune*).²³¹

I have today written to *Weber*, my lawyer, asking him to hand over the papers pertaining to the lawsuit to you,⁴² and would be glad if you would temporarily *house* them for me.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a 3 November 1860 - ^b Franz Duncker and Ludmilla Assing - ^c Herr Vogt

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 November 1860

Dear Engels,

From your letter, I see that you are yourself in straitened circumstances.²³² Nevertheless, not having anything pawnable left, I must ask you to send me the £5 you promised, and to do so, if possible, in the *course of this week*. Next Saturday (17 November), I have to pay Hirschfeld £25 against bills and haven't yet got together quite enough money.

The book^a (12 sheets, 24 in terms of normal printed pages) will be ready next week. Because of the Supreme Tribunal's verdict,^b I have had to completely rewrite the bit about the *lawsuit*,^c originally only a few pages long. It will now run to about 1 printed sheet. The whole of the last sheet in *brevier* (*appendices*). I haven't sent you the *individual* sheets because, in this case, as in any other, it would have detracted from the general EFFECT of the work. I shall send you 6 copies, 1 for you, 1 for Lupus, 1 for Gumpert, 1 for Borchardt, 1 for Heckscher, and 1 for Charley.^d

Your question concerning Lommel's pamphlet,^e about which you had heard no more 'and which was where the money went' seems to imply some sort of reproach. *D'abord*,^f even if it hasn't yielded a *centime*, I could **not** have written 'Agency', the most important chapter in the personal attack upon Vogt, without the help of Lommel. In reply to my various *CROSS-EXAMINATIONS*, the man had to write at least 40 letters. Add to which, he let me have his anti-Vogt statement, originally intended for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.²³³ I cannot see that people who are complete strangers to our party are under any obligation to work for us gratis. Besides, Petsch told me yesterday that he had sold 2 or 3 pounds' worth and would anyhow get rid of the rest—if not already sold out (he has just readvertised them in Germany)—in the UNITED STATES and Australia.

As soon as you have read the book, you will abandon the view that it could have been placed in Germany (by 1880, maybe)

^a K. Marx, *Herr Vogt* - ^b See this volume, pp. 207-08. - ^c See *Herr Vogt* present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 259-95. - ^d Charles Roesgen - ^e [G. Lommel,] *Hinter den Coullissen*, Geneva and New York, 1859. - ^f Firstly

through the offices of Siebel whose connections are *solely* literary. I've heard from Siebel.

I have given way to you over the title and (yesterday) inserted *Herr Vogt*. My wife was absolutely against this and intent on *Dâ-Dâ Vogt*, remarking most learnedly that, even in the case of Greek tragedy, the title and content would often seem at first glance to be unconnected.

I don't know whether you have seen Kolatschek's *Stimmen der Zeit*. The article 'Juchheisten' (in which our friend Lassalle comes off badly) does in fact contain some information (although that jackass Kolatschek overlooks this), which sheds light on *Vogt's* reason for selling himself to Bonaparte. At the beginning of 1858 a joint-stock company, 'La Cimentaire', a dubious type of loan bank, was founded in Geneva. Besides the managing director, who was never named, there was Vogt, *co-director*. By the end of 1858, the directors had consumed *the entire capital*. *Bankruptcy*. The MANAGING DIRECTOR was locked up. Criminal proceedings were to follow. From the National Council in Berne, Vogt rushed to Geneva. *Fazy quashed the case*. The shareholders did *not get a single centime*.

From those same 'Juchheisten' (why, BY THE BY, does not Kolatschek, having sold himself to the Austrians, call them *Juchheiten*?) I see that *Juchhe! nach Italien!*^a (for I could not bring myself to read the Vogt clique's *Demokratische Studien*, which Borkheim had put at my disposal), i.e. 'L. Bamberger', banker in Paris, editor of the *Mainzer Zeitung* in 1848, disgusting cockroach, has presumed to speak of 'communists on half-pay'.^b Hence I have written a short note about this wiseacre and have included him among Vogt's accomplices, and likewise introduced a few poor jests about the rest of the Juchheisten, L. Simon, Hartmann (the one who told Borkheim in Switzerland that Vogt had done me in), and H. B. Oppenheim.

Salut.

YOUR
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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^a [L. Bamberger,] *Juchhe nach Italia!*, Berne and Geneva, 1859. . ^b L. Bamberger, 'Des Michael Pro Schriftenwechsel mit Thomas Contra, aus dem Jahr 1859', *Demokratische Studien*, Hamburg, 1860.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] City, 14 November 1860

Dear Engels,

Our letters crossed.²³⁴ These few lines, acknowledging the £5 which arrived this morning, are being written at Borkheim's office.

There is a simple explanation for my having written so seldom of late, and then only a few lines at a time, namely overwork, indisposition and TROUBLE of all kinds. By the end of next week, when my hands will again be free, I shall be writing to you just as before.

I have today sent you by post the number of *Stimmen der Zeit* I mentioned yesterday,^a but I must have it back by next Wednesday^b at the latest, since it is borrowed.

I shall include the notice from the *Guardian*,—which I found helpful, thank you for it—among the 'Appendices' in the concluding chapter.²³⁵

Biscamp *married* the day before yesterday: an American whore. Good luck to him!

Imandt has written. Has a daughter. Has grown *thin* as a rake, has been ill all the summer and still is. *Pauvre diable!*^c

Borkheim sends his regards. B. has obtained permission from his firm to trade privately in wines and asks you to remember him, should you feel able to help him in this LINE (*every conceivable* type of wine).

No other news.

Salut.

YOUR

K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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^a See this volume, p. 212. · ^b 21 November - ^c Poor devil!

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 November 1860

Dear Engels,

Since Monday,^a my wife has been prostrated by an extremely virulent nervous fever. Yesterday, on Dr Allen's orders, I found all 3 children lodgings away from home, for he was afraid of a possible infection. Allen says the illness is a dangerous one, but he *hopes* she'll pull through. Last Saturday my wife was already feeling most unwell and I noticed symptoms of fever, and therefore wanted to call the doctor. But she refused. Sunday ditto. On Monday, of course, I wouldn't be put off any longer, and she herself felt that it wasn't just any ordinary cold or some such.

Szemere's here. Will also be passing through Manchester and will call on you.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

122

MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN LONDON

[London,] 21 November [1860]

My dear Szemere,

Mrs Marx having fallen very seriously sick (*Nervenfieber*^b), I was precluded from seeing you on Sunday, and visiting you on one of the following days. Mr Borkheim has told me that he saw you on Sunday last.

^a 19 November - ^b nervous fever

The article in the *Augsburg Gazette* alluding to you, has been written by Dr Biscamp,^a one of my friends, and living in my immediate neighbourhood.

With the best compliments of Mrs Marx and myself

Yours truly,

K. Marx

The *Courrier du Dimanche* of Nov. 18 publishes a letter d.d. 'Vienna, 14 Nov. 1860,'—which is written altogether in the sense [of] your public declaration.²³⁰

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

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123

MARX TO BERTALAN SZEMERE

IN LONDON

[London,] 22 November 1860

My dear Szemere,

My best thanks for your friendly letter and the Kossuth-Cobden-Memorandum²³⁶ which I forgot mentioning in my last.

The state of Mrs Marx has not yet improved.

Engels, whom you must consider as my *alter ego* and who is the author of the pamphlet 'Po und Rhein'^b I gave you on a former occasion, lives No. 6, *Thornclyffe Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester*.

The *Courrier du Dimanche* I receive from time to time by a friend at Paris. 'Is that Ganesco not a Wallachian? At all events, his name does not point to a French origin.

With my best compliments,

Yours truly,

K. Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, t. IV, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1946

Reproduced from the original

^a [E. Biscamp,] 'Die politischen Emigrationen und die Tmlerien', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 312 (supplement), 7 November 1860, - ^b *Po and Rhine* - ^c Probably W. Schily

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MARX TO ENGELS²³⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 November 1860

Dear Frederick,

Best thanks for the £10 and the 'NAVY'^a (splendid article).

Now, as regards my wife's illness, it is in one respect better and in another worse than I was aware. For, until the character of the disease was definitely determined, Allen concealed its true nature from me. Yesterday this was no longer possible. What my wife has got is—SMALL POX, and very badly, too, although she has been twice vaccinated against it. (Tell *no one* about it except Lupus.) And that's why Allen promptly removed the children from the house. It's a ghastly disease. Should Lenchen catch it, I shall at once send her to hospital. So far, I have done the nursing (the bulk of it) myself. But, as I find it too exhausting, I hired a nurse as soon as the £10 arrived today. For many weeks my wife had been in an exceptionally nervous state owing to our many TROUBLES, and was thus more liable TO CATCH the contagion in an omnibus, shop, or the like.

Writing articles is almost OUT OF THE QUESTION for me. The only occupation that helps me maintain the necessary QUIETNESS OF MIND is mathematics. During the past weeks I have written *de omnibus rebus*^b for the *Tribune*, mainly on the WARSAW CONGRESS, the STATE OF POLAND, ITALY, FRANCE and the money market.²³⁸ Nothing about China yet.

Have you had the Kolatschek?^c

The doctor has allowed my wife claret, taken in small doses, as she is exceptionally weak. Last night was dreadful—indeed, at the moment, I myself am SICK as well.

The devil alone knows what misfortunes we suffer.

I have boarded the poor children out with the Liebknechts, who live quite close by and to whom I sent the VICTUALLERS daily. They

^a F. Engels, 'Navy'. - ^b about everything under the sun - ^c See this volume, p. 213.

objected to going to BOARDING SCHOOL, because of the RELIGIOUS RITES.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO FRANZ DUNCKER

IN BERLIN

London, 24 November 1860

Sir,

I should be greatly obliged if you would insert the declaration^a overleaf in the *Volks-Zeitung* as soon as possible and let me have a copy thereof.

You will probably receive a copy of my *anti-Vogt* pamphlet^b next week. I am sending 3 copies to my friend Lassalle, 1 for himself, 1 for the Countess Hatzfeldt and 1 for Miss Ludmilla Assing.

Would you be so kind as to apprise L. of this; also of the fact that for the past week my wife has been prostrated by a very grave nervous fever, so that, on doctor's orders, I was compelled to lodge the 3 children elsewhere. L. will realise that, in the circumstances, I cannot write letters, but he would greatly oblige me by writing himself.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

K. Marx

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

^a K. Marx, *Declaration*, 24 November 1860. - ^b *Herr Vogt*

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 November [1860]

Dear Frederick,

My wife's condition has improved, in so far as this is possible under the circumstances. It is going to be a lengthy business. What might be called the paroxysm of the disease is now over.

Allen believes that the only explanation for the infection is the state of extreme nervous excitation in which she has been these many months.

Perhaps you would be kind enough to ask Heckscher to send the enclosed to the '*Reform*' without delay.

The day before yesterday, Petsch actually advertised *Herr Vogt* in the *Hermann* and the *Athenaeum* as due to appear this week.^a

From its date you will see that I scribbled the piece for the *Reform* as long ago as Saturday. I had intended to send it to you with an accompanying letter, but suddenly felt so unwell that any kind of writing was OUT OF QUESTION. Allen gave me some medicine, and today I feel all right again. Regards to Lupus.

Your

K. M.^b

Sir,

Your acceptance of the following declaration would much oblige me. You will be receiving a copy of my anti-Vogt pamphlet in the course of next week.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Karl Marx

*To the Editorial Board of the Reform
Declaration*

At the beginning of February 1860 the editorial board of the *Reform* were kind enough to publish a declaration by myself^c which began with these words:

^a The advertisement appeared in the *Athenaeum* on 24 November and in the *Hermann* on 1 December 1860. ^b Given below is the text of Marx's declaration published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 336 (supplement), 1 December 1860. ^c K. Marx, 'To the Editors of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Declaration'.

'I hereby make it known that I have taken steps preparatory to instituting legal proceedings for libel against the Berlin *National-Zeitung* in connection with the leading articles in Nos. 37 and 41 regarding Vogt's pamphlet *Mein Prozess gegen die Allgemeine Zeitung*. I reserve the right to answer Vogt in writing at a later date.'

In the course of February 1860 I brought a libel suit in Berlin against *F. Zabel*, the responsible editor of the *National-Zeitung*. My lawyer, Legal Counsellor Weber, resolved at first on an *official investigation*. With a ruling of April 18, 1860 the 'Public Prosecutor'^a refused to 'take action' against *F. Zabel*, on the grounds that there was 'no public interest' involved. On April 26, 1860 his refusal was confirmed by the Chief Public Prosecutor.^b

My lawyer then began *civil proceedings*. The Royal *Municipal Court* in a ruling of June 8, 1860 *prohibited* me from proceeding with my *lawsuit* on the grounds that the genuinely defamatory 'utterances and statements' of *F. Zabel's* were 'merely quotations from other persons', and that 'the intention to insult' was not present. The Royal *Court of Appeal* for its part declared in a ruling of July 11, 1860 that the alleged use of *quotation* did not affect the culpability of the articles, but that the defamatory passages contained in them did *not* refer to my 'person'. Furthermore, 'in the present case' the intention to insult 'could not be assumed'. Thus, the Royal Court of Appeal confirmed the negative ruling of the Municipal Court. In a ruling of October 5, 1860, which I received on October 23 of this year, the Royal *Supreme Tribunal* found that 'in the present case' no 'legal error' on the part of the Royal Court of Appeal 'could be discerned'. The *prohibition on suing F. Zabel* was thus definitely sustained and my claim *did not reach the stage of being accorded a public hearing*.

My *reply to Vogt* will appear in a few days.

London, November 24, 1860

Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

^a Lippe - ^b Schwarck

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MARX TO ENGELS²³⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 November 1860

Dear Engels,

My wife is now *out of danger*. Tell *Lupus straight away*, and give him my warm regards. The thing will drag on for a *long time*, and, as Allen says, when she is well again, she must *go away* at once for at least 4 weeks.

As for myself—the danger of infection being *greatest* for 10 days as from *yesterday*—I had myself *revaccinated* yesterday. Ditto Lenchen. A circumstance that has been of great help to me was having an appalling toothache. The day before yesterday, I had a tooth pulled out. While the fellow (Gabriel, he's called) did, in fact, pull out the root, after causing me great PHYSICAL PAINS, he left in a splinter. So, the whole of my face is sore and swollen, and my throat half closed up. This physical pressure contributes much to the disablement of thought and hence to one's powers of abstraction for, as Hegel says, pure thought or pure being or *nothingness* is one and the same thing.

Well, during these ten days, the isolation will have to be more stringent than ever.

I cannot write, of course, while in this state and, since the bill of £50 drawn on Dana 2½ months ago^a has in any case not been properly worked off—my wife had all manner of NERVOUS COMPLAINTS even before her illness, so that sundry matters were left undone and hence I'm in a great fix—I would ask you, at least during the next fortnight, to do as much writing as possible. Under the present circumstances it might seem to be appropriate to write to my old lady.^b But ever since she allowed the Prussian corporal^c to marry into the family, all INTERCOURSE has ceased in consequence of certain remarks passed by me. There has been an appalling spate of dunning from all quarters. To alleviate it, in some quarters at any rate, I have handed out the greater part of the £10. I wouldn't write about all this to you, who already do all you can and more, but *que faire?* But what's to be done? Moreover, all

^a See this volume, p. 196. - ^b Henriette Marx - ^c Johann Jakob Conradi (married Marx's sister, Emilie).

avenues are closed to me, for, strangely enough (due perhaps to the improvement), I cannot leave the house, since at the very time when I should be seeing as little of her as possible (which, of course, she can't be told), my wife wants me to be near her all the time.

Allen is of the opinion that, if she hadn't been twice vaccinated, she would not have pulled through. As things are, he considers even the SMALL POX to be a blessing. For, so he told me yesterday, he thought her nervous condition was such that this ailment was preferable to a nervous fever or something of that kind, which might otherwise have afflicted her.

The poor children are very scared. Allen is going to vaccinate them and the whole Liebknecht family on Friday.

You will probably be getting *Herr Vogt* on Friday.^a There was some delay last week, because *I* was unable to complete the revision of the final sheets on time.

My best thanks for the wine. Even before it arrived, Allen had prescribed wine for me, along with another medicine of a less pleasant kind.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 December 1860

Dear Moor,

As a result of God alone knows what combination of circumstances, I've had to draw out such a frightfully large sum of money in the past 4 weeks that I absolutely *must* wait a day or two now. If possible, I shall get a pound off to you tomorrow, and more as soon as I can, in the course of the next few days. For a

^a 30 November

while, at least, I am reduced to drawing only small amounts at a time; the point is that where Ermen is concerned, it behoves me just now TO APPEAR TO LIVE WITHIN MY INCOME (which I did *not* do during the last financial year); in view of the negotiations, this is an expedient that I simply cannot allow myself to be deprived of. If I could think up some pretext, I would try to borrow £5 for a fortnight from Gumpert, but I couldn't do so without his guessing what the reason was, and anyway I don't know whether he would have it at this season. I know very well what a fix you are in and shall do all I can—but the £10 I sent you recently has already been debited in advance to December's account, which means that that month is already heavily mortgaged. All the same, you'll get something tomorrow for sure.

I was ready to do an article^a for you this evening (last Friday^b my eye was so inflamed that writing by gas-light was out of the question), but Szemere—who sends you his regards—has just turned up, and so it's OUT OF THE QUESTION today as well. I shall do all I can tomorrow evening.^c

Books^d received. The thing's splendid. Especially the 'Studies' and 'Agency'; *cela est écrasant*.^e More about the rest shortly. Most of the copies have already been distributed.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 5 December 1860

Dear Moor,

Herewith at last the famous POST OFFICE ORDER FOR £2—PAYABLE Charing Cross since I didn't know of a MONEY ORDER OFFICE closer to you; let me know for future occasions.

^a See this volume, p. 220. - ^b 30 November. - ^c See this volume, p. 223. - ^d K. Marx's *Herr Vogt*. - ^e it's annihilating

Lupus has specially requested me to tell you in advance how much he enjoyed the dressing-down you gave Mr Simon. The more I read of the book,^a the better it pleases me. But shocking misprints and spelling mistakes. Once there's *Russian* instead of *Austrian* Emperor. Moreover, it looks bad when all the foreign words that your wife wrote in roman characters are printed in roman type. This invariably happens in the case of foreign printers and special precautions have to be taken to avoid it.

What you have omitted are résumés. E.g. at the end of the 2 chapters: 'Bristlers' and 'Brimstone Gang'; again, after 'Police Matters', after all the personal business (i.e. *before* the 'Studies'), and elsewhere, résumés would also have been appropriate, for in that way you would have presented your philistine *ad oculos*^b with a general impression. It would have meant only four extra pages and would have been extremely effective in a book in which the material and the innumerable names—the latter pretty well unknown to the said philistine—tend to be somewhat overwhelming; it would also have brought out the artistry of the whole arrangement, which is truly admirable.

How is your wife?

Your

F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS²³⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 December [1860]

Dear Engels,

Best thanks for the article.²⁴⁰

My wife is getting on very well, and I believe the wine is doing her more good than any medicine. But at night, when she is

^a K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - ^b plainly and visibly

restless, can't sleep, and is even a little delirious, it's still very disturbing.

How about letting me have another article by Saturday," *about my lawsuit*—perhaps, dated from *Berlin*? When I find writing LEADERS awkward, I date them from Berlin, Paris, etc. Such articles are easier to get through.

Might not something be said about the Chinese war? Or Bonaparte's military preparations, etc.?²⁴¹

At the moment, I have absolutely no 'ideas' about anything. What I have got is an 'orrible'^b headache.

The children—poor little devils—are still living in exile.^c To cheer them up, I have sent them a bottle or two of wine. The day before yesterday, the little one^d saw me walking past Liebknecht's house and shouted from the window: 'HALLOO, OLD BOY!'

Apropos! As soon as Freiligrath heard of my wife's illness (didn't, of course, know what it was), he, of course, wrote me a letter full of 'feeling'. But when I sent him *Herr Vogt*—with, of course (you can see just how many ideas I have from the way 'of course' has cropped up 3 times in 3 lines), a friendly inscription, and he had occasion to write to me about SOMETHING ELSE, he forgot to say a word about the book, OR TO ACKNOWLEDGE its receipt. To suggest that he had forgotten to do so, he wrote at the bottom of his letter, 'In great haste'. I believe there are certain parts that worry him stiff. Firstly, his 'indiscretion' *re* Vogt. But *Fazy*, in particular. He was intending to move to Geneva in the spring. One wonders whether the disclosure of the Fazy scandal might not prove a hindrance.

Blind, who had already ordered a copy from Petsch last Thursday,^e didn't get one until yesterday [Tuesday]. The thing wasn't distributed in London until then so as to prevent MR ALBERTS, OF THE PRUSSIAN EMBASSY, warning Berlin before my package of books arrived there. In London, of course, there have been a lot of jibes at my 'undignified' mode of attack. Twelve copies were ordered yesterday by that louse Trübner.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a 8 December - ^b In the original: 'öklüchen' instead of 'eketigen'. - ^c See this volume, pp. 214, 216. - ^d Eleanor Marx - ^e 29 November

131

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 December 1860

Dear Frederick,

Best thanks for the £2. The OFFICE closest to me is the CAMDEN TOWN MONEY OFFICE.^a

As regards the want of résumés, you are perfectly right. They were there originally, but were *deleted* by me when I saw how much the affair had grown without my noticing it. For, printed in the normal way, the thing^b would amount to a very stout volume. You will find, by the by, that in Chapter XI, 'A Lawsuit', all the personal stuff is so thoroughly dinned into your philistine that it will remain with him for the rest of his days.

As for Monsieur Edouard Simon, the cur described you in his mud-slinging article²⁴² (a malicious translation of Techow's 'police spy') as '*le mouchard toujours affairé*'.^c Whereat I took it upon myself to make an example of the laddie, since insults aimed at you vex me more than those directed against myself.

Apropos—BY THE BY—as soon as Lupus has got through the thing, I'd be grateful if he could drop me a lie or two. My wife's greatest pleasure at the moment consists in letters about it. On the whole, she is getting on well, but slowly.

Mr Philistine Freiligrath, that 'snotty Westphalian stout',^d wrote to me yesterday as follows:

'Your *book*' (not *pamphlet*, egad!) 'has been sent me by Petsch. Many thanks! From what I have read so far, I find it is, as I expected, full of wit and malice. There is so much detail as almost to make it difficult to get a general idea of it. You will excuse me if I do not enter into the case as such. Even today I still deplore the whole dispute from which now, as before, I would sooner stand aloof.'

What do you think of those two last sentences? The swine, who was already aware of Vogt's lies and Blind's turpitude, but now has them before him in black and white, is unwilling (not, mark you, that I invited him to do so) 'to enter into the case as such'. And 'now, as before,' he 'would sooner stand aloof from the whole

^a See this volume, p. 222. - ^b Herr Vogt. - ^c the ever busy spy - ^d J. Fischart, *Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung*. Ch. 3, p. 68.

dispute'. It now seems to me that he hasn't yet read the whole of it, for he would then see just *where* he stands. I have now discovered the secret of his intimacy with Blind (it is business, of course, that ties him to Vogt-Fazy). Namely, on the occasion of the Schiller festival, Freiligrath had 20,000 copies of his poem^a printed at a cost of £40-60. He wanted to make a *business* of it. But didn't sell *forty*. Since his speculation had failed, it now behoved him 'to palm off' the cost, as Petsch aptly put it, onto the Schiller committee.⁷⁵ In this Blind was his most servile *tool*. *Hinc*^b the 'reciprocal good turn' done by the snotty Westphalian snout.

You will find the misprints you reprobate listed in the errata. Originally, the list was 3 times as long. But since it looked bad, we shortened it. The fault lies entirely with Hirschfeld, a ninny who has no control over his compositor. Petsch isn't having anything else printed by him.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Should something or other occur to you that might do for a military pamphlet of 1-3 sheets, Petsch would be delighted, for he now wants to achieve the status of 'publisher and bookseller'. He's a very nice chap.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 12 December [1860]

Dear Engels,

BEST THANKS FOR ARTICLE.²⁴⁰

The item in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (if one disregards their own comments) is no more than a paragraph that appeared in the

^a F. Freiligrath, *Zur Schillerfeier. 10. November 1859. Festlied der Deutschen in London.* - ^b Hence

Londoner Lithographierte Korrespondenz (Schlesinger); with few exceptions, it was in *all* the German papers, for the most part under the heading 'London'.

The shorter version of the advertisement was confined to papers published in *England*. In the *German* papers, the table of contents was included.²⁴³

I am sending you herewith the advertisement in the *Buchhändlerbörsenblatt*,^a composed by Petsch himself. The well-known 'politician' he speaks of at the end is *magnus*^b L. Bucher, who indicated as much when talking to Borkheim.

The advertisements in the German papers probably appeared in the course of this week. A little after the book's arrival, it being undesirable (in view of the *Lawsuit*^c) to alert the Prussians.

Advertisements have been sent to the:

Allgemeine Zeitung; *Breslauer Zeitung*; *Bund* (Berne); *Deutsche Allgemeine*^d; *Frankfurter Journal*; *Hamburger Nachrichten*; *Freischütz*; *Reform*; *Karlsruher Zeitung*; *Kölnische Zeitung*; *Königsberger Hartung*^e; *Mannheimer Journal*; *National-Zeitung*; *Neue Preussische Zeitung*; *Publicist*; *Berlin Volks-Zeitung*; *Ost-Deutsche Post*; *Presse*; *Rostocker Zeitung*; *Schwäbischer Merkur*; *Trier'sche Zeitung*; *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*; *Zürcher Neue Zeitung*^f; *Neue Süddeutsche*^g (Munich); *Morgenblatt*; *Wochenblatt des Nationalvereins*^h; *Deutsches Museum*; *Illustrierte Zeitung*; *Ausland* (Augsburg); *Historische Deutsche Monatsschrift* (Brunswick).

New-Yorker Staatszeitung; *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*; *New-Yorker Abendzeitung*.

Times; *Athenaeum*; *Critic*; *Saturday Review*; *Illustrated News*; *Manchester Guardian*; *Hermann*.

Copies sent *inter alia* to Cotta, the *Reform*, Duncker, 6 to Siebel; various to the English papers (*Sat. Review*, *Athenaeum*, *Critic*, *Ill. News*); Lommel, Brass, Fischel. Over 50 free copies despatched in all, but only a few of them to newspapers.

41 sold in London to date.

Nota bene: Lommel's *Hinter den Coulissen* is now in great demand in Germany. There have even been orders from Riga.

Bucher (who contributes articles to the supplement of the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*, e. g., the one on Persigny and

^a Advertisements about the publication of *Herr Vogt* appeared in the *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, Nos. 150, 151 and 153; 5, 7 and 12 December 1860. - ^b the great. - ^c Reference is to Chapter XI of *Herr Vogt*. - ^d *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. - ^e *Königsberger Hartung'sche Zeitung*. - ^f *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. - ^g Marx apparently means the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. - ^h *Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins*

Palmerston) has promised Borkheim he will write a review for the A. Z. I fear Biscamp may forestall him.

Liebknecht has placed advertisements and lengthy excerpts in 4 German-American and 4 English-American papers. He is now, I might add, literary correspondent to the last-named.

'Mr Vogt' writes signed articles for some of the more obscure American-German papers. Rails at 'Bonaparte'.^a Declared that my pamphlet would *never* come out.

My wife is much better. But the children probably won't be allowed home for another fortnight. I myself have to spend almost all day with her and am feeling far from well. However, that will resolve itself as soon as she is in a more normal state of health.

A week ago, Allen cancelled the prescription for claret and prescribed port instead. I should be grateful, therefore, if you would send me a few bottles of the latter.

My library has arrived.²⁴⁴ Still at the CUSTOM HOUSE, for the 'COMMISSIONERS' have not yet decided whether I am to have it DUTY FREE.

Now, just guess how I got to the bottom of *Ludwig Simon's* secret. (See appendix 16c.^b)

Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 December 1860

Dear Moor,

In addition to Szemere, my brother-in-law^c also descended on me on Sunday. Sz. is off to Liverpool today and may return;

^a K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - ^b See K. Marx's *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 328-29, and this volume, pp. 234-35. - ^c Karl Emil Blank

my brother-in-law leaves tomorrow—so I've been in no position to do an article. Something on Austria^a for Saturday^b if possible.

As a person, Sz. is quite a decent chap; he has an Austrian's bouhomic and, at a time of revolution in Hungary, might even be energetic, resolute and clear-sighted; but *en dehors de son pays*^c he certainly has little in the way of knowledge or ideas. At any rate, I couldn't extract a great deal of sense from him in this respect. It's odd that, having adopted such a decidedly Bonapartist stance in his pamphlet,^d he should now have performed a complete volte-face. He made me, *inter alia*, the following conciliatory proposal: What, he inquired, would my attitude be if, given the disintegration of the Empire, the Habsburgs were to remain merely Kings of Hungary, and German Austria revert to Germany?^e Whereupon I told him, of course, that such a solution might be perfectly acceptable to us and that we would gladly make the Hungarians a present of the whole robber band. His negotiations regarding the wine business here went off quite well. Cobden's recommendations and the acquaintances he struck up *chez* Cobden in Paris have made things much easier for him.

If at all possible, I shall send you another two pounds tomorrow; unfortunately it's too late today.

Regards to your wife, who is getting better, I hope, and the girls.

Your

F. E.

Apropos port! I've none left that's drinkable, but shall try and lay my hands on some decent stuff tomorrow and send it off straight away.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a Engels wrote 'Austria—Progress of the Revolution' - ^b 22 December - ^c outside of his own country - ^d B. Szemere, *La Question hongroise (1848-1860)*, Paris, 1860. - ^e See this volume, p. 230.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 December 1860

Dear Frederick,

My wife is now much better. Allen thinks that the children—running two households is not only very inconvenient, but also expensive—will be able to come back on Sunday^a or Monday. I myself shall then resume my contributions to the *Tribune*, which has had only 2 articles^{a,b} in nearly 5 weeks. Let me have another one by Saturday if you can.

For the past two days, I have been confined to bed and taking medicine, but Allen says it is nothing of any consequence and I should be fit again in 3 or 4 days. Apparently, it's the result of the EXCITEMENT, etc.

As regards your view of Szemere, I would inform you, *strictly on the quiet*, that I am entirely of the same mind. The really funny part is that I had proposed to him, ironically, that they should keep the Habsburgs for themselves, that Pest would be the final place of refuge for the same, etc.^b

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a 23 December · ^b See this volume, p. 229.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 19 December 1860

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the £2 on Camden Town.

The more I read of the book,^a the more difficult I find it to imagine how Vogt will pass off these stories that 'will never come out'.^b 41 copies in London in a few days is a great deal; by now it will be even more. This is, of course, the best polemical work you have ever written; it's simpler in style than the Bonaparte^c and yet just as effective where this is called for.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 December 1860

Dear Frederick,

THANKS for the £2. I have sent Lenchen to the POST OFFICE to collect it.

My wife, or so Allen thinks, will not have any pock marks. She is, of course, still very indisposed (and it's precisely when they're recovering that sick people grow more restive and impatient), but Allen is perfectly satisfied with her PROGRESS.

^a K. MARX, *Herr Vogt*. - ^b See this volume, p. 228. - ^c K. MARX, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

As for myself, I am today (the worst thing was lack of sleep) much the better for having slept soundly all night and hope to be ALRIGHT again in 2, or, at the most, 3, days' time.

Having been too unwell to go out this week, I don't know how the book^a has been selling in London. Though I've been told by Liebknecht that the London Workers' Society^b has bought 6 copies for its library this week.

Zimmermann of Spandau (now a lawyer in London), formerly a member of parliament, bosom friend of Vogt, once a great traducer of the *Volk* and of my own person, last week gave a dinner at which the lawyer Höchster (*connu*^b from Elberfeld, now a very busy *avocat* in Paris) was present; our friend Rheinländer also attended. Zimmermann declared that Blind was hopelessly compromised. As to Vogt, he [Zimmermann] had been reluctant to credit bribery, although aware of the chap's vanity and frivolity. But now my work had convinced him that Vogt was nothing but an ordinary '*mouchard*'^c only distinguished from *mouchardus vulgaris*^d by the size of his salary, etc. Moreover, he (Z.) had written to acquaintances in Switzerland in order to leave Mr Vogt in no doubt about his views.

Bucher has written and told Borkheim that the case against Vogt has been fully proved. Also that my work had eradicated any 'prejudice he might have had against Marx's agitational activities'. He had, he wrote, expressed his views on these two points in the Camberwell^e businessmen's circle (to which he gives lectures on the history of German jurisprudence) and written ditto to 'influential persons in Germany'.

Zimmermann and Bucher are of importance here because of the philistines.

In the course of my ordeal—during the past 4 weeks—I have read all manner of things. *Inter alia* Darwin's book on *Natural Selection*.^f Although developed in the crude English fashion, this is the book which, in the field of natural history, provides the basis for our views. By comparison, A. Bastian's *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (3 stout volumes; the chap's a young Bremen doctor who has spent several years travelling round the world), with its attempt to present psychology in terms of 'natural science' and history in terms of psychology, is bad, muddled, and amorphous.

^a K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. ^b known. ^c police spy. ^d common police spy. ^e district in London. ^f Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London, 1859.

The only useful thing in it is a few ethnographical oddities now and again. And, what is more, very pretentious and atrociously written.

Apropos. As regards Ludwig Simon, try and guess how I succeeded in catching out the gentle Kunigunde.^a

Lassalle, from whom I got a letter a few weeks ago, is very ill. Not gout—osteitis? Is publishing, or so he writes, 'a long and important work' with Brockhaus in 2 volumes,^b 17 hours in bed, 3 hours up, and busy proof-correcting this 'long and important work'. I can hardly suppose the anti-Vogt piece, which I sent him, will serve to alleviate his aches and pains. But whose fault is it that he's a Berlin 'idealist politician'?

Have I already written and told you^c what a 'crassly material basis' there is to the intimacy between Freiligrath and student Blind^d?

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 December 1860

DEAR Frederick,

My best thanks for the wine and the £5. My wife finds the port excellent.

I am my old self again today.

Keil writes from Leipzig to say that, immediately on its arrival, the book^e sold 120 copies.

^a See this volume, pp. 234-35. - ^b F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*, Leipzig, 1861. - ^c See this volume, p. 226. - ^d The nickname 'student' dates back to 1847, when Blind's name figured in the press in connection with the revolutionary movement. - ^e K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

Richter (of the *Reform*) writes from Hamburg to say it's in great demand.

My wife sends you her best regards.

Your
K. Marx

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 December 1860

DEAR Frederick,

Herewith a cutting of the advertisement for *Herr Vogt* from the *Genfer Grenzpost*^a; the enormous LETTERS are themselves indicative of the love Brass feels for Vogt. By the by, in the last 5 numbers of the *Grenzpost* there are some *very good* articles.

Up till now, or so Petsch told me yesterday, 80 copies have been disposed of in London. On the other hand, he complains, 'not a single one'^b in Manchester.

Otherwise, to the best of my knowledge, nothing has appeared so far in the German press except in the *Reform*, which has mentioned the thing (favourably) several times^c and has promised a long article next week. So far as the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung* is concerned, it's all rather odd. They have been sent 2 lengthy reviews, one by that shit Biscamp, the other by Mr L. Bucher for the supplement. And still not a word. *But nous verrons*.^d

Well now:

1. L. Simon.^e The book was almost finished, up to the last page, when, late one evening, being on my way to Hirschfeld's about some proof-correcting, I called in for a moment at friend Rheinländer's OFFICE in the City. With an exceedingly cheerful

^a *Genfer Grenzpost*, No. 12, 22 December 1860. - ^b In the original the dialectal form 'ooch jar keene nicht'. - ^c *Die Reform*, Nos. 148, 150 and 152, 10, 15 and 19 December 1860. - ^d we shall see. - ^e See this volume, pp. 228, 233.

countenance, he told me that young Höchster (the lawyer's son) had come over from Paris and gone into business here in London. Rheinländer knows the Höchstes, father and son, very well from his Paris days. Young Höchster—I saw him later at R.'s—is an innocuous lad quite without political—I wouldn't say views—but ideas. He was once clerk to a banker—Königswärter^a or some such (at the moment I'm not quite sure whether I've got this well-known Bonapartist name right), where L. Simon was CHIEF *clerc*. R. asked Höchster about the gentle Kunigunde. 'Oh,' says he, 'he's not popular at the office. Although CHIEF of the *clerks*, he's so unsure of himself that he refers everything to the PRINCIPAL, and he's got very little idea of business. He's bad-tempered, and then a lot of his time is taken up with politics. The famous E. About comes to see him nearly every evening, and they work together. I have myself seen them correcting the proofs of one of their joint publications.' On CROSS-EXAMINATION by R., it then transpired that this joint work was *La Prusse en 1860*.^b In Königswärter's Bonapartist office, L. Simon was RATHER boastful about his connection with E. About, and young Höchster, being like a newborn babe in politics, believed he was telling R., against whom, of course, he does not harbour the least suspicion, something that was altogether to L. S.'s credit. What is particularly odd is that later, at the dinner given by Zimmernmann (to which Höchster JUNIOR was not invited) R. very artlessly asked old Höchster what he thought of my denunciation of L. S. Höchster *ainé*^c declared that for many years past, he had on principle stayed away from politics which had already been his undoing twice. All the same, he said, he found the thing hard to credit; but R. insisted that my source was a very 'reliable' one.

2. *Blind* has avenged himself in the grand manner. He has notified Petsch et Co. that he will no longer favour them with his custom. Such is 'the blind man's revenge'. Old Žižka!

3. About Freiligrath—who will today derive comfort from the plaster you applied to his snotty snout—and the material basis of his relations with *Blind*, I have, if I am not mistaken, already written to you.^d What actually happened was this:

At the time of the Schiller festival (1859), the noble poet, *through his agent Blind*, first offered the famous cantata^e to the management at the Crystal Palace.²⁴⁶ They were to pay him £40 DOWN IN CASH for permission to *publish* the renowned cantata and, *on the day* of the

^a Maximilien Koenigswarter · ^b Ed. About, *La Prusse en 1860*, Paris, 1860. ·

^c Senior · ^d See this volume, p. 226. · ^e F. Freiligrath, *Zur Schillerfeier*.

10. November 1859. *Festlied der Deutschen in London*.

Schiller festival, they were to sell it *in the Crystal Palace*, other sales being reserved by the mercantile poet for himself. The management thanked Mr F. profusely for his kindness and begged him to peddle his cantata himself.

Thereupon the noble chap, ostensibly at his own expense, got Hirschfeld to print 20,000 copies of the tripe. The cost of production was £40. The noble poet's plan was that *half* the profits should go to the Schiller Institute^b and the other half to his *propriis laribus*,^c which, after deduction of production costs (his retail price was 6d per copy), would have meant that he would clear £210 for himself, and, on top of that, gain kudos in Germany for his magnanimity.

But he had counted his chickens before they were hatched. Perhaps a few hundred COPIES (ALL IN ALL) were sold throughout the whole of England, and these were disposed of only by bringing the utmost pressure to bear on private individuals.

So now he found himself in trouble.^b Then Blind worried away at the Schiller Committee from morn till night and from night till morn in an endeavour to induce them to bear the printing costs, in which, after fierce altercations, he finally succeeded. *Hinc illae lacrimae*.^c

The disposal of the many COPIES left in stock was entrusted by Freiligrath to his blind friend, and last November (1860) this indefatigable little sharper engineered his own Schiller festival in London, so as to get rid of F.'s rubbish. No wonder, then, that F. is now, as before, 'on intimate terms' with his precious Blind.^d F. knows better than anyone else on which side his bread is buttered, *avant tout*^e when it comes to SHOP INTEREST (including, OF COURSE, literary fame).

Whilst on this subject, I should mention another DROLLERY characteristic of Blind.

On the quiet, without a word to friend Freiligrath or friend Kinkel (and drawing on the famous £100 fund), the pensive Blind had had printed something preliminary, or a preliminary something on Schiller and Blum.^f At half past seven in the morning, he, ere others dreamt of evil, placed outside the entrance to the Palace²⁴⁶ a boxful of his 'radical pamphlets' guarded by messenger-boys borrowed from the *Morning Advertiser* who pressed

^a own hearth - ^b In the original, 'Holland in Not' (Holland in trouble)—a phrase, dating back to the Netherlands' war of liberation against Spanish oppression (1572-1609). - ^c Hence these tears (Terence, *Andria*, 1. 1. 99). - ^d See this volume, p. 226. - ^e above all - ^f K. Blind, *Schiller. A Sketch of His Career and Works*, London, 1859.

the rubbish into the hand of each arrival. Anyone who asked what it cost was relieved, according to his outward APPEARANCE, of 6d, 3d, or as little as 1d. Anyone who didn't ask got the rubbish for nothing. And thus, even before Kinkel's speech^a of F.'s cantata^b was due to take place, the Badenese slyboots had gone one better and forced his trash onto all and sundry.

Salut. The children at home again. Regards to Lupus,

Your
K. M.

THANKS FOR THE ARTICLE.^c

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in: *Marx and Engels, Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1929

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 December 1860

In great haste

Dear Engels,

A letter has just arrived from J. Ph. Becker in Naples, asking that Borkheim send him *by return for Garibaldi*:

1. *Po and Rhine*.^d (I still have one copy of it that I discovered at Petsch's. So, that's ALL RIGHT.)

2. *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*.^e (My copy went to Schily long ago. I hope you have *one* and would ask you to despatch it *forthwith by post* to S. L. Borkheim, 44 Mark Lane, City, London.)

3. *Herr Vogt*.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a G. Kinkel. *Festrede bei der Schillerfeier im Krystallpalast*, London, 1859. -

^b F. Freiligrath, *Zur Schillerfeier. 10. November 1859. Festlied der Deutschen in London*. - ^c F. Engels, 'Austria—Progress of the Revolution'. - ^d F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - ^e F. Engels, *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*.

1861

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 January 1861

Dear Frederick,

I have mislaid your letter received this morning²³² and hence cannot remember how much it would cost to send the *Revelations*^a to Petsch. Those I still had in stock had already been sent to him last week.²⁴⁷

Have heard from Siebel. He had just returned to Elberfeld after spending his honeymoon in Paris. Has distributed the 6 copies and ordered 6 more.^b It would be a good thing if you could give him some advice as to how it should be advertised.

Toby^c has let out a prolonged cry of pain in the *Freischütz*.²⁴⁸

The most ghastly misprint (not listed) in *Herr Vogt*, repeated 3 or 4 times, was 'Nationalrat' [National Council] for 'Ständerat' [Council of States]. I have got Petsch to send out a correction explicitly to the *Genfer Grenzpost*.

The King of Prussia's^d death is most opportune. *Qu'en dites-vous?*^e

My wife is improving daily, although she's still very weak. On Saturday, I emptied the *last* medicine bottle.

Borchardt has yet to be hauled over the coals.^f

Salut.

Your

K. M.

^a K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^b K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - ^c Marx refers to Eduard Meyen comparing him to Punch's dog. Punch is one of the main characters in the traditional English puppet-show, *Punch and Judy*, from which the famous comic journal takes its name. On this, see also K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, p. 239. - ^d Frederick William IV - ^e What do you think of it? - ^f See this volume, p. 240.

The whole FAMILY asks me to send you their warmest greetings and best wishes for the New Year. My letter's so short because my brother-in-law and sister^a are here. They sail tomorrow for the Cape of Good Hope.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*. Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN ELBERFELD

London, 3 January 1861
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Siebel,

HAPPY NEW YEAR! TO YOU AND YOUR BETTER HALF.

I must acknowledge with many thanks the arrival of my library,²³⁹ ditto of your letter.

Of the 6 COPIES of *Herr Vogt* you ordered, will you kindly send one to the *Kölner Anzeiger*, one to the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland* (Hanover), 3 to any literary journals you please. The main thing is that you yourself should read through a copy and yourself do a notice of it.

As for the *Kölner Anzeiger*, you might use this little sheet as a weapon against the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

Sales of the book are going so well that Petsch is 'contemplating' a second edition. In such an event, it would be of the utmost importance that you should, if possible, supply me with *everything* that appears about it in Germany (I see nothing here but the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, and the *Volks-Zeitung*), and keep me *au courant*.^b

Ed. Meyen has already vented a heartrending 'cry of pain' in the *Freischütz*.²⁴⁸ *Vivat sequens!*^c

^a Johann Carel (Jaap Carel) and Louise Jua - ^b in the know - ^c Long live the seque!

Next time, you might try and find time to write to me at somewhat greater length.

I have been very unfortunate of late. My wife was dangerously ill for 5 weeks and I had to lodge the 3 children elsewhere.

As regards Schily, we'll knock some sense into him again.

Salut.

Your
K. Marx

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

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

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MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN BARMEN

[London.] 3 January 1861

Dear Siebel,

I have just noticed that a letter I sent you—in reply to the one received from you today—was wrongly addressed, namely, *Elberfeld, poste restante, C. Siebel, jun.* This I now rectify.

Again my best wishes.

I have just heard from Engels²³² who tells me that the busybody Dr Borchardt is most annoyed because I refer in *Herr Vogt* to the '3 German physicians'^a in Manchester as fellow SUBSCRIBERS TO *Das Volk*.^b POOR FELLOW, THIS FULL-MOUTHED WISEACRE.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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

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

^a Louis Borchardt, Eduard Gumpert and Martin Heckscher - ^b See present edition, Vol. 17, p. 119 and also this volume, p. 68.

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁴⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 January 1861

Dear Moor,

The *Revelations*^a will be despatched from here today or tomorrow post-paid to Petsch. The fellow had best stick a small label on the title page—London, A. Petsch & Co., 1861—so that people know where it is to be had.

Can't you get me Toby's cry of pain^{248?}

Shall write to Siebel.

In none of the German papers save the *Kölnische*^b have I found so much as an advertisement—which is surely odd.

Our old enemies are not escaping the fate they deserve. The editor *en chef* of the late lamented *Strassburger Correspondent* was, according to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,^c "a certain Mr Wolfers of Cologne"—the worthy Wolfers of Dumont's paper^d—couldn't you somehow convey this to Biscamp for transmission to the Augsburg *A. Z.*? Also, that the chap is not a Rhinelander but a beastly Belgian. Schwanbeck dead of delirium tremens, the worthy Brüggemann disappeared and consigned to oblivion, and Wolfers openly in the pay of Bonaparte—what more can you ask?

Doubtless King William I will now make a real ass of himself as well. When he tells the Berliners that much has happened that was unjust,^e perhaps he is referring to the enforced dismissal of Stieber.²⁵⁰ Apropos. Another friend, griffin *Greif*,^f would appear from a report in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*^g to be gravely ill as the result of an apoplectic fit. It's a good sign, these chaps being bowled over like ninepins. That the change of monarch²⁵¹ should go so nicely hand in hand with the Austrian revolution²⁵² of all things, is capital. Even the *Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins*^h now

^a K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^b *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 341, 8 December 1860. - ^c *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 1, 1 January 1861. - ^d *Kölnische Zeitung*. - ^e [King William I's speech to a deputation of Berlin municipal officers on his ascension to the throne.] *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 5, 5 January 1861. - ^f Engels has 'Vogel Greif', which means both 'bird Greif' (a personal name), and 'bird griffin'. - ^g *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, No. 2, 3 January 1861. - ^h 'Heidelberg, 21. December', *Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins*, No. 35, 28 December 1860.

declares that, unless Prussia moves fairly quickly, Austria will inevitably gain ascendancy in Germany. Things are going famously in Austria. Nothing could be more favourable than that stubbornly irresolute jackass Francis Joseph. Things are going famously and will be getting too much for Mr Bonaparte as well as for Franzl.

In North America things are also hotting up. With the slaves the situation must be pretty awful if the SOUTHERNERS are playing such a risky game.²⁵⁵ The least irruption of irregulars from the North might result in a general conflagration. At all events, one way or another, slavery would appear to be rapidly nearing its end and hence also COTTON PRODUCTION. What repercussions this will have on England we shall soon see. And with such powerful movements under way, a jackass like Bonaparte thinks he can go on fishing in troubled waters indefinitely.

Many regards,

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 January 1861

Dear Frederick,

I myself only had Toby's cry of pain²⁴⁸ for rapid perusal. Last week, by the way, I ordered 2 COPIES through Petsch, one of which you shall have.

Siebel's present address is Carl Siebel jun., *Barmen* (Kleine Wertherstrasse, No. 25).

Petsch has already advertised the *Revelations*^a in the *Buchhändler-Börsenblatt*.^b I've forbidden him to do so elsewhere out of consideration for Schapper.

^a K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^b *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, Nos. 150, 151 and 153, 5, 7, and 12 December 1860.

As regards booksellers' advertisements of *Herr Vogt*, I have so far seen them only in the *Reform*,^a the *Publicist*,^b the *Freischütz*,^c and the *Grenzpost*.^d Incidentally, I got Petsch to write, under my supervision, to all the chaps concerned, and thus the *mystère* will resolve itself within the next few days. He thinks it doesn't depend on the newspapers but on the *booksellers*, who have been putting the thing off until after Christmas and the New Year. And the advertisement goes into the newspapers only through the agency of the bookseller who is responsible for local sales. *Mais nous verrons!*^e

You can see what a hapless creature I am! Last Wednesday,^f (JUST A WEEK AGO) I got a cold and cough accompanied by a stabbing pain in the region of the liver, so that not only coughing, but turning my carcass from one side to the other, caused me physical PAINS. This seemed to me to indicate an inflammation. It was the first time I had felt a *dolor*^g of this kind, although Allen had often asked me searchingly whether I had. This time—particularly since I am already encumbered with a hair-raising DOCTORS BILL, not to mention other BILLS,—I have SO FAR BEEN treating myself. The treatment was simple—no smoking, CASTOR OIL, drink only lemonade, eat little, no spirits whatever, do nothing, stay at home (since the cold air at once sets me coughing). I'm not quite well yet and somewhat weak. By the by, you might sometime ask Gumpert what one ought to do about such acute attacks, should they recur. I shall ask Allen as soon as I can go out again and am once more completely fit.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

My wife (who is slowly improving, but still very weak) and the children send their regards.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a *Die Reform*, Nos. 148, 150 (supplement) and 152, 10, 15 and 19 December 1860. - ^b *Publicist*, Nos. 295 and 296, 15 and 16 December 1860. - ^c *Der Freischütz*, No. 150, 15 December 1860. - ^d *Genfer Grenzpost*, No. 12, 22 December 1860. - ^e But we shall see! - ^f 2 January. - ^g pain

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 January 1861

Dear Engels,

Yesterday I received the enclosed scrap of paper and thus can no longer avoid paying the agents £2 5/- for the books.²⁵⁴ In addition, the TRANSPORT thereof to my house will COST ABOUT 10/-. Duty has been waived. I'd certainly not write to you about this nasty matter, but *dura necessitas*,^a since I haven't a farthing.

Overleaf you will find a copy of a scrawl penned by *H. Beta* at *Gottfried Kinkel's* behest on the subject of *Herr Vogt*.

Your
K. M.

Magazin für Literatur des Auslands. 1861. No. 2.

'*Herr Vogt*—by Karl Marx. In the early years of the "refugees", many a little sum was doubtless expended on getting secret police to smell out frightful secrets and conspiracies. While the labour was great, the yield was rather pitiful. But as regards the *fear* inspired in many a refugee by the secret police, it was indeed quite desperate. Some men actually went mad as a result. Others, it is true, liked to boast about this fear, and to let all and sundry know that almost every state in Europe had assigned special spies to them. Boasting it was, not hypochondria. The devil in person eluded the notice of these small fry, even when he had them by the scruff of the neck. They ate and drank with him, entertained him as a friend at their tea-tables, and never noticed that his only object was to betray them,—not for 30 pieces of silver, not he! He was prepared to pay, and pay a lot, for the printing of this pamphlet with his own money. For ten years now the said Mr Karl Marx would seem to have laboured and snooped and nabbed letters and copied them so that he might appear on his own account and for his own delectation as the first among all your Vidocqs and Stiebers. All the long-forgotten rubbish and mistakes perpetrated by the emigration ten years since have been made use of, copied, extracted from friends over a cup of tea—not that one would wish to pillory the latter. In the space of ten years, any man, whether a refugee or not, is liable to write something nonsensical or over-hasty in private, counting on the discretion of friends, on its being swept away in the flow of time. But when friends carefully glean these occasional slips and snippets and deck them out with whimsy, thus raising a cloud of dust and filth, as in Mr Marx's pamphlets, when, for example, *things uttered in an agitated hour ten years since*^b—(voilà Gadofredum)^c—are printed in bold so that one sees Mr Marx's desire to make a ribaldry, a disgusting little anecdote out of

^a hard necessity. - ^b Marx's italics. - ^c That's Gottfried (Marx's remark).

them,—then indeed everyone deserves to be pilloried. Mr Marx is a master of constructive denunciation. Vidocq, Ohm, Sieber, etc., are mere lambs by comparison. Many will delight in wading through this churned-up filth, for it is masterly calumny^a; but we would urge caution on our readers: in the simian wilderness there are malicious baboons who, for want of other weapons, resort to ordure with which they bombard friend and foe alike. Beware: Throughout almost the whole of his 190 pages Mr Marx engages in this type of strategy, a type which eschews all expenditure on ammunition. Read it, by all means, but keep close at hand a basin of water and strong soap, not forgetting your smelling bottle!

H. B.^c

Such is Gottfried's Beta (Betziche), former editor of Drucker's *How Do You Do*, and Gottfried's eulogistic arse-crawler in the *Gartenlaube*, etc. A fine crew! What a style and what nonsense!

First published in MEGA, Abt. III,
Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE²⁵⁵

IN BERLIN

London, 16 January 1861
9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

D'abord,^b my best if belated wishes for a Happy New Year.

My wife is now convalescing. Her illness resulted in my falling seriously ill myself; and, at present, I am suffering from inflammation of the liver. And a very nice New Year's gift too! Hitherto, the complaint has merely been chronic. Now it is becoming acute.

This is the explanation for my silence, despite the very close sympathy felt both by my wife and myself for your sufferings. I hope that when you next write you'll have a better account to give me of yourself. If you would care to send me a *fairly detailed* report on your illness, I shall consult a doctor whom I regard as a veritable aesculapian *genius*.^c However, he does not live here, but in Manchester.

^a Betziche has 'Calumnrie' instead of 'Calumnrie'. Marx underlines the sixth letter to draw attention to the misspelling. - ^b First. - ^c Dr Eduard Gumpert

I was greatly tickled by the Royal Prussian Amnesty²⁵⁶ which in effect excludes all refugees from its indulgence. Gottfried Kinkel, who has recently joined the National Association,²⁵⁷ could, however, return, if a correct interpretation were put on the 'act of grace'. As for Bucher, Freiligrath, Borkheim, Zimmermann of Spandau, and many others, they have long been 'naturalised Englishmen'.

Faucher, former London correspondent of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, afterwards co-editor of the (MANCHESTER SCHOOL²⁵⁸) *Morning Star*,—a chap, by the by, with whom anyone can *consort* since he does not conceal but, indeed, openly flaunts, a lack of character typical of the Berliners, and who isn't actually taken politically *au sérieux*^a by any of his acquaintances,—believes that he can now play the Prussian Cobden. Good luck to him. Such, at least, was his plan when he left London.

One of my friends, J. Ph. Becker, is at present with Garibaldi in Caprera. He has written, telling me that the Mazzinists were almost exclusively responsible for the serious part of the south Italian movement, that Garibaldi does not exactly possess a superfluity of brains, and that the utmost confusion reigns in his friends' camp. Garibaldi, by the by, agrees with Mazzini in believing that Cavour isn't even well-intentioned with regard to Victor Emmannel, that he is rather Bonaparte's direct tool and that the Gaeta intervention,²⁵⁹ as well as Farina's appointment to Sicily and Farini's to Naples, etc., are nothing but carefully calculated moves to compel Vic. Em. to make fresh territorial concessions to France, and concessions in favour of Murat in southern Italy. Which will succeed, and soon become manifest.

The slavery crisis in the United States will bring about a terrible crisis in England in a year or two; the Manchester COTTON LORDS are already beginning to tremble.

I seldom read German stuff. Recently, however, I happened upon A. Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, etc. I think it's a bad book, formless and pretentious. His endeavour to explain psychology in terms of 'natural science' amounts to little more than a pious wish. His endeavour to explain history in terms of 'psychology', on the other hand, shows that the man does not know what psychology is, or, for that matter, history.

Darwin's work^b is most important and suits my purpose in that it provides a basis in natural science for the historical class

^a seriously - ^b Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London, 1859.

struggle. One does, of course, have to put up with the clumsy English style of argument. Despite all shortcomings, it is here that, for the first time, 'teleology' in natural science is not only dealt a mortal blow but its rational meaning is empirically explained.

I have lately had the opportunity of seeing rather more German newspapers. Ghastly stuff. And, withal, a self-satisfied mediocrity which is indeed NAUSEOUS.

Could you send me the 2nd volume of Eichhoff's *Polizei-Silhouetten*? Not to be had here.

Another thing I have just read is Walesrode's *Totenschau*.^a Has some nice tales! But lamely presented, though this is excusable in view of the time of its publication.

Wishing you all good health, and with regards from my wife,

Your

K. M.

Microślawski, who has just been in Paris, told my friend Schily that things looked 'bad'. At the same time, he expressed himself most unfavourably with respect to 'Klapka'. Yet I myself can't quite make up my mind about Mierosławski.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 18 January [1861]

Dear Frederick,

You must excuse my failure to acknowledge receipt of the £3 ere now. On Monday I had a relapse and, since there was no sign of improvement on Tuesday, I had to have recourse to Allen again, so that I am at present UNDER MEDICAL TREATMENT. Writing means that I have to stoop, which hurts, and so I kept putting it off. As you see, I am as tormented as Job, though not as god-fearing.

^a [L. Walesrode,] *Eine politische Todtenschau*, Kiel, 1859.

Siebel—whose time appears to be very valuable since there hasn't been a single line from him—has sent me 2 Cologne *Anzeigers*, containing two short reviews favourable to my book.^a The bookseller's advertisement was in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* supplement of 1 January.

I'd be glad if you would let me have for *The Times* a short critique in *English* of the Prussian amnesty^{b 286}—because of Allen's orders that I should refrain altogether from writing for at least another week. The following are the main points to be emphasised:

1. That the amnesty is the lousiest to have been proclaimed in any country (not excluding Austria) since 1849; (*mesquin*,^c typically Prussian);

2. That the state of the 'liberal' Prussian press may be judged by the plaudits it bestows upon this piece of ordure;

3. That, *whenever* a new government comes to power in Prussia, an amnesty is proclaimed in respect of certain minor misdemeanours, resistance to gendarmes, insults to officials, etc., and that the present amnesty is in fact no more than this.

4. In effect *all refugees*—i.e. all who took part in the revolution of 1848/49—are excluded from the amnesty. The prospect held out to those refugees '*liable to be sentenced by Our civil courts*' and who are permitted 'to return without let or hindrance' (as though everyone had not always been 'legally' entitled to return), is that the Ministry of Justice will '*ex officio*' lodge '*pleas for clemency*' on their behalf. This, in effect, guarantees nothing. This absurd formula was chosen presumably because Prussia is a 'state under the rule of law' whose constitution precludes the king from suppressing any judicial inquiry. A pretty mockery in a state where, on the admission of the Prussian *Gerichtszeitung* (in Berlin), there has been no justice for the past ten years. Furthermore, sentences *in absentia* could be AT ONCE pronounced and quashed. This 'legal' coquetry is indeed deserving of recognition when Stieber, Greif, and Goldheim continue to be left at large—ditto Simons, Manteuffel, etc.

5. Beasiliest of all is § 4 of the amnesty, whereby 'all those liable to be sentenced by military tribunals in the near future' must first 'appeal' for William's 'clemency', whereupon he 'will reserve his final decision until such time as he has received a report from Our Military Department of Justice'.

^a Herr Vogt - ^b See this volume, pp. 249 and 253. - ^c mean

Consider in this connection that, given the Prussian Landwehr's⁴¹ constitution, it is most exceptional for a Prussian refugee to be outside the jurisdiction of a 'military tribunal'; that the 'plea for clemency' is categorically prescribed, and nothing positive is promised in return for this humiliating procedure; finally that, more than any refugee, William himself is in need of an 'amnesty' since, from a strictly legal standpoint, he had no business to intervene in Baden,²⁶⁰ etc.

The Times will undoubtedly accept a critique of this kind with the utmost pleasure. I would send it simultaneously to other papers as well, just signing it, of course, 'A PRUSSIAN REFUGEE'. At the same time, I would write a personal letter to the Editor.^a

It is the only way we can give these Prussian dogs, and the corporal^b in charge of them, their deserts.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 January [1861]

Dear Frederick,

Today I promptly sent off TWO COPIES (one to *The Times*, one to the *Standard*) of the statement about the AMNESTY.^c

What do you think of the statement by Bucher *et cie*?²⁶¹

You will have seen in the Prussian press how Gottfried^d is again pushing himself into the foreground via the newspaper mob.

The advertisement (bookseller's) for my book has also appeared in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. This week it has again been sent to all the Berlin papers. The scoundrels on both sides intend to burke the thing.

^a See this volume, p. 248. - ^b William I. - ^c *ibid.*, pp. 248, 249. - ^d Kinkel

As to my condition, Allen is of the *same* view as Gumpert. But, whatever it may be, it is a highly disgusting condition, which incapacitates one for work. There is also some attendant physical pain, though today it's much better. I'm still taking medicine and Allen calls every three days. He was here again today. Riding, CHANGE OF AIR, etc. But I can't, of course, tell him where the shoe pinches. I have wondered off and on whether I might not fix something up with a LOAN SOCIETY through Borkheim so as to put my affairs in some sort of order, these having become much disorganised as a result of medical expenses, the impossibility of drawing on the *Tribune*, etc. But each time I get to the point, my heart sinks into my boots, for Borkheim (despite all his GOOD QUALITIES) is a braggart and every day—or rather each time I see him—he goes on about the money he is owed by refugees.

If you could send me an article whenever you have the time and the inclination [it would]^a be very welcome. I am still INCAPABLE. Most welcome of all would be an article from you for Saturday^b on French armaments,^c or on things French generally.

In my view there is *no* alliance between Russia on the one hand and Prussia and Austria on the other. It's simply that Russia, who always protects herself on two sides, has concluded certain agreements (relating to Poland and the Danubian Principalities) with the chaps in Warsaw²⁶²; but it's also *quite certain* that she has struck a new bargain with Bonaparte against other 'contingencies'.

Apropos: It might, perhaps, be even better if you wrote about Schleswig-Holstein.^d One point: the foul behaviour of the Berlin press, which constantly abuses Austria for 'impeding' Prussia's anti-Danish moves. Now that Austria has given its consent, it wails about 'snares', issues warnings, urges peace, etc. *Vide Volks-Zeitung, Kölnische Zeitung*, etc. See that you lay about the Berlin press. In the past I used to do so frequently in the *Tribune*. But it has to be constantly repeated.

Sabul.

Your
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

^a Manuscript damaged. - ^b 26 January - ^c See this volume, p. 257. - ^d Engels wrote the article 'German Movements'.

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

[London,] 28 January 1861

Dear Lassalle,

I am writing to you today in some haste, not from home, but from the City. In a few days, you shall have a longer letter and a reply *to all your inquiries*. First, my thanks for your package. I have passed one copy of the petition to Freiligrath. Engels will receive No. II; No. III will be retained by me. It is a truly splendid document and is part and parcel of the history of the present era.²⁶³

Perhaps you would be good enough to see that the enclosed note is delivered to Mr Eichhoff *without delay*.²⁶⁴

Owing to the current state of your health, friendly duty precludes my spurring you on to fresh labours. OTHERWISE I would have declared an anti-Zabel pamphlet, such as you envisage, to be a political deed.

My wife sends her kindest regards to you and the countess.^a Her convalescence is proceeding satisfactorily. I, for my part, expect I shall be able to forego all medicine for some time to come (I finished the last BOTTLE yesterday).

My best respects to the countess. In my next letter to you I shall take the liberty of enclosing a line or two for her.

Tout à vous^b

K. Marx

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

^a Sophie von Hatzfeldt. ^b Ever yours.

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MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 January 1861

Dear Engels,

When misfortunes come, they never come singly, as you will see from the enclosed letter from Dana. They have protested a bill for £30 I drew on them at 2 months' date on 10 December and, furthermore, have cancelled *all* articles for the next 6 weeks. Yesterday I went straight to Freiligrath, of course, and, if he is to have adequate security, about the only way out is for him to try and discount a bill which I shall give him on myself at 3 months. How I shall continue to make *SHIFT* here I can't imagine, for the rates, school, house, *GROGER*, butcher and God knows what else are denying me any further *RESPIRE*. What a dirty trick it was of Dana's to refer in his statement of accounts to the critical period of 1858/59 when my contributions were reduced to 1 article per week purely *as an exception*,²⁶⁵ an agreement that was in any case rendered null and void years ago *per usum*^a and, what's more, explicitly by letter. Now he is deducting *all* the articles they *didn't* print last year. Conversely, allowing his incorrect assumption that the agreement of 1858/59 remains in force, he would still not have the right to condemn me to 1½ months' idleness. And yet there's no action I can take against the chaps, since I'm entirely dependent on them. I really don't know what to do, though I have long seen this crisis looming up.

Lassalle's letter also enclosed. In his present missive, he shows no sign of remembering the impression Vogt's rubbish²⁶ had made on him. Still, it is better to see the light late rather than not at all. As to his proposed revival of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—*la* Hatzfeldt, about whom I enclose a memorandum²⁶³ for you, has 300,000 talers at her disposal—I would, circumstances being what they are, clutch even at this straw, but the tide in Germany hasn't risen high enough yet to bear our slip. The thing would prove abortive from the very outset.

Toby^b has again written to Borkheim, inquiring whether it was true that he had never heard about our £90 refugee affair. I was despised in Germany, he said, hence the universal silence. Even

^a by usage · ^b Eduard Meyen

the great L. Walesrode has declared that no one need reply to such scurrilities, etc. *En passant*, I should be grateful if you would send Borkheim—seeing that he contributed £12 to *Herr Vogt*—a reply to his letter. It is a point upon which he is very touchy.

Bucher and Rodbertus, who had been on the list of deputies for Berlin, were *struck off* by infuriated Little Germans²⁶⁶ following the publication of their statement.²⁶¹ The latter is bad, but the way *Bucher* serves G. K. (Gottfried Kinkel) in the last issue of the *Hermann*^a is good.

Mr Kolatschek wrote yesterday asking for a complimentary copy of *Herr Vogt* in order to review it. This has been sent. There have been relatively large sales of the pamphlet in Petersburg and Riga; on the other hand, *nothing* (maybe 6 copies) in Cologne.

The story Lassalle tells about Zabel is a good one.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

The swinish *Times* didn't take your amnesty piece.^b Nor did the *Standard*. Now get the thing into the *Guardian*, which you should send down here and from which I shall take it and arrange through Borkheim for it to appear in the swinish *Hermann*, etc., and elsewhere.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 January [1861]

DEAR Frederick,

Letter containing £10²⁵² received with very many thanks.

I must now be off, mainly for the purpose of paying the gas and rates, otherwise the fellows will send in the BROKER. As for the other cads, I shall have to see how I can arrange matters with them.

^a L. Bucher. [Letter to the Editor of *Hermann*.] In: *Hermann*, Nr. 108, 26. January 1861. - ^b See this volume, pp. 248-49.

I shall write to you at greater length as soon as I hear from you tomorrow.²⁶⁷

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Enclosed Lassalle's memorandum.²⁶⁸

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 31 January 1861]

Dear Marx,

It's difficult to answer Borkheim's letter.^a All local commission houses which buy coops for the Italian market *operate* there *themselves*. Hence they would regard an order from London as the action of a competitor and duly ignore it. Reuss, Kling & Co. and A. S. Sichel are the main houses in this line, but they certainly won't accept *small* orders. At all events, make sure that whoever approaches these people does *not* mention my name; it would serve no purpose whatever and might make me look a complete ass. If the order is of any size and the intention is to start a regular connection, the buyer would do best to come up himself and go to the manufacturers direct. The people here who buy for the London houses are exclusively in the EAST INDIA TRADE of else small chaps whom I don't know.

That's all I have to tell you today.

I can't imagine what fellows he is referring to who are up to all kinds of nonsense.

Your
F. E.

Thursday.^b

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

^a See this volume, p. 253. - ^b 31 January.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 February 1861

Dear Frederick,

Yesterday I got the enclosed note from Freiligrath^a which doesn't make matters any more agreeable. You must write and tell me at once what I ought to do.

In fact, I've been so BOTHERED from all sides that my head is going round and round and, on top of that, there is the unpleasantness of having to annoy you with all my *petites misères*.

I have written to Dana, who is definitely in the WRONG *legally*, but with little prospect of success.^b The fellows know that one needs them and that they, for their part, don't need one at this moment.

Weren't you going to send me the *Nazione*—certain letters of Mazzini's? Forgotten? You will shortly be getting the confiscated issue of the *Courrier du Dimanche* from me.

Bucher maintains—he asked Borkheim to tell me—that his review will still appear in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. You will doubtless have seen that at every opportunity the scoundrelly Blind brings his name before the public as an *homme d'état*.^c

The rotten book business has cost me more than £4 all in all. What a strange fate this LIBRARY has!²⁹³

No news from Siebel? His connections certainly seem to be exceedingly limited.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Thimm told *Petsch* a day or two ago that *Herr Vogt* has been the object of some particularly malicious abuse in Manchester. Brass, expressly for his own personal satisfaction, has ordered new type to be cast so that *Herr Vogt* can be advertised in an even more conspicuous manner. Given the large number of Swiss in Manchester, is it not possible to sell at least 1 copy of the *Grenzpost* there?

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a See this volume, pp. 252, 258. - ^b *ibid.*, p. 252. - ^c statesman

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 February 1861

Dear Moor,

I can't manage more than a line or two today. Provided the tailor is prepared to discount the bill for £35 if I draw it and so arrange it that the money doesn't have to be paid until July or August, *VERY WELL*, I shall draw it. But I must be able to count on the utmost discretion, for it could cost me my position. If Gumpert has got some money in (I haven't seen him since Friday), I might even be able to arrange it without that.²

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 February 1861

Dear Moor,

You can write and tell Freiligrath that we don't need his tailor. Gumpert has obtained so much money in payment of his accounts that he can lend me the greater part of what is needed, to be repaid monthly £5 *AT A TIME*; the business has therefore been fixed up. Freiligrath can have the £30 any day and then he need only pay the expenses, which I shall likewise remit to him within 24 hours of my knowing the amount. As far as I'm concerned, he can

² See this volume, pp. 255, 256-57 and 258.

write to me about it direct and you need not bother about this whole thing any more. I shall then make sure that I get at least part of the amount put down to the next financial year.

Your letters returned herewith. Not until my last had gone off,²³² did I discover that, according to Dana's calculations, you have drawn payment for 19 more articles than they printed. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is a dirty rotten business and, in this respect, the *Tribune* is behaving in true PENNY PAPER fashion. Its socialism amounts to nothing more than the highly contemptible petty bourgeois mania for getting the best out of a bargain.

Lassalle has become Isidor P-B^a again. What sort of politician is this who thinks he has reduced a government to pulp because he has demonstrated that it was guilty of inconsistency in so trifling a matter? He must have some fine notions of parliamentary rule and what stands for law and justice under that rule. The man is incorrigible. One can only wonder what his monumental work in two volumes^b will be about. At all events, anything can happen now that he has made such a complete volte-face *in re* Vogt.²⁵ As to his little paper,^c if I were you, I would advise him to start a weekly in opposition to the *Preussisches Wochenblatt*, *Berliner Revue*, *Wochenschau des Nationalvereins*,^d etc. La Hatzfeldt's 300,000 talers, which both of them will hang on to very tightly indeed, and madame's Lucullan mode of life won't leave enough in the way of an income to keep a daily going. There'd soon be a dearth of cash. On the other hand, a weekly of this description doesn't cost much and it would certainly be a nice source of income for us. Lassalle would, of course, have to pay us properly, i.e., English rates, otherwise it's no go. Besides, the thing would come in very useful as a mouthpiece for us.

Our Prussian corporal^e is suffering from a truly colossal attack of the shits. In every speech, the oaf talks of the impending life-and-death struggles.

The *Volunteer Journal* has published a revised version of my *Tribune* article on French armaments.²⁶⁸ This evening I shall, if possible send off a dozen copies to all the newspapers; the thing may create a sensation. I am also sending you one; since the scoundrels in New York are not at all interested in it now, and in any case it has been much shuffled about, no harm can be

^a Prussian Blue - ^b F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*, Leipzig, 1861. - ^c See this volume, p. 252. - ^d *Wochenschrift des Nationalvereins* - ^e William I

done. My pamphlet²⁶⁹ comes out next week; all I have left to do is read a few proofs and write the preface.

Bucher seems to be behaving quite decently.

Warm regards to your wife and children.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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MARX TO FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

IN LONDON

[London,] 7 February 1861

Dear Freiligrath,

I have so arranged matters with Engels that you can obtain the £30 *any day you like*, ditto the expenses at 24 hours' notice. The *tailleur*^a thus becomes redundant, and I would ask you to let Engels know *when* he is to send the money.^b

I shall myself be obliged to go to Holland, since I won't otherwise be able to weather the current crisis. Would you be so good as to inquire from some business friend of yours what the position is in regard to *passports* in Holland—whether one has to have a passport? The *Tribune's* 'turpitude',^c coinciding as it did with other misfortunes, was all the more disastrous for me in that it prevented me from making futher arrangements about my wife's convalescence in accordance with doctor's orders. Although I don't belong to the category of 'German martyrs' and have always been inimical to that category, I nevertheless think I have had my fair share of refugee-trouble.

Besides Lassalle's,^d I have received offers of journalistic employment from 2 other quarters in Germany. However—and doubtless

^a tailor · ^b See this volume, pp. 255, 256-57. - ^c *ibid.*, pp. 252, 253, 257. - ^d *ibid.*, p. 252.

you share this view—I don't believe the tide has risen high enough for me to agree to anything of the kind just now.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

You can see what a HUMBUC OLD Ruge is by comparing Engels' *Reichsverfassungskampagne*^a in the *Revue* with the version Arnold has palmed off on you.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 30, Bd. 2, Ergänzungshfte. No. 12, Stuttgart, 1911-12 (in F. Mehring, 'Freiligrath und Marx in ihrem Briefwechsel') and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 13 February 1861

Dear Mother,

I am returning herewith the contracts, 7 copies, duly signed, having kept the 8th here.²⁷⁰ I must say that, if it hadn't been for your sake, I could have made up my mind to do so only with difficulty. It was hard for me thus to exclude myself for no valid reason or on no good pretext, or so it seemed to me, from the only family business that remains to us—remains with any *certainty*. I believe that I also had a right to it and that my brothers^b had no right to assume that I should, without more ado and for no reason at all, relinquish that right in their favour. What I demanded was certainly not unfair; moreover, I had put forward that demand quite early enough for it to be taken into account during the deliberations. Emil Blank conceded as much when he was here. But I was told absolutely nothing more, and

^a F. Engels, *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. - ^b Hermann, Emil and Rudolf

not till the others had settled everything did they approach me with the demand that I agree to forgo my claim, basing that demand—in Emil's¹⁴⁰ letter—on reasons which may be very businesslike, but which *I*, for one, would not have cared to bring up in this way vis-à-vis my brothers; and, by way of consolation, *I* am left with Emil's *assurance* that Gottfr. Ermen, or so Emil is *convinced*, will not break his contract with me. This conviction is outweighed by that of our lawyer, who told Emil more than once that the contract *qua contract* affords me no legal guarantees. They have the business in Engelskirchen, and I have Emil's conviction.

Mother dear, I have swallowed all this and much more for your sake. Not for anything in the world would I contribute in the smallest way towards embittering the evening of your life with family disputes over inheritance. I believe that my conduct when I was at home,¹⁴⁰ just like my letters, has amply demonstrated that I was very far from seeking to place obstacles in the way of any agreement and that, on the contrary, I gladly made sacrifices so that everything might be settled in accordance with your wishes. That is why I have signed the thing without more ado. Whatever the cost, I would not wish you to be plagued with such things any longer, or to worry about them. Nor shall I bear any grudge against my brothers, or so much as mention the matter to them, unless they absolutely force me to do so, for it has been settled, and I have no desire to parade my belief that I have made a sacrifice. But I considered it my bounden duty to tell you frankly what my motives were in this matter, and it goes without saying that I never remotely supposed you could, perhaps, have arranged matters more favourably for me. On the contrary, I know that, throughout the negotiations I, too, was always in your thoughts and that you did all you could for me.

The matter is now settled, and that is that. You are unlikely ever to hear another word from me about it, and I need not say that, when Emil comes over here, I shall, as always, give him a fraternal welcome; though our views may have differed in this case, he is, nevertheless, a fine lad, who has always taken my interests over here very much to heart.

The dressing-gown has arrived, and I am very glad of it as it's freezing again, but the red epaulettes are a trifle *outré* for local taste. By the way, I now have the company of a young ratter, who has strayed into the house.

¹⁴⁰ Emil Engels

I hope you have got over your cold all right; it will also do you good to be freed from all the worry about the inheritance. But still, if possible, you should buy the Sieg.^a

Warmest regards to Hermann, Rudolf, the Blanks and the Boellings.

With much love,

Your son
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. 2, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1921

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

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MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁷

IN MANCHESTER

Dear Frederick,

[London,] 14 February 1861

You must really forgive me for not having answered your very kind letter^b before now. In the meantime, you will have received a communication from philistine Freiligrath.

I have had, and still have, an enormous amount of running about to do. For I intend to go to Holland so as to put my affairs over here in order, otherwise they will get out of hand. There are two things I require for the purpose, a passport and money, both of which I shall manage to get hold of here *d'une manière ou d'une autre*^c (I may have to go as far as Aachen.)

I haven't written to Lassalle yet. No doubt something in the nature of a weekly^d would be best, but, then again, what a risk we should run, given the indiscretion of our friend, if he were there on the spot as editor-in-chief, and thus in a position to get us all into hot water! He would, of course, immediately stress that the thing was a party organ, so that we, too, should be held responsible for every imbecility and our position in Germany would be ruined before we had so much as regained it. This requires the most careful consideration.

^a Engels is referring to a plot of land by the river Sieg. - ^b See this volume, pp. 256-58. - ^c in one way or another - ^d See this volume, pp. 252, 257.

The *conspiration de silence* in the German press is having a seriously adverse effect on sales of *Herr Vogt*. After a good start, they have accordingly come to a STANDSTILL. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* seems pretty well determined *not* to carry Bucher's review either. At any rate, we shall know one way or another in the next few days, for, if it intends to publish it at all, it can't go on putting it off much longer. Kolatschek is a certainty.

My wife recommends that you read *Hans Ibeles* by Johanna Mockel,^a in which Willich figures as Wildemann, etc., Mrs von Brüningk as Platonina, and that blackguard Kinkel as *Don Juan*. I myself know nothing about the rubbish save for what my wife has told me. She says that the book provides irrefutable evidence that Johanna Mockel threw herself out of the window because she had been crossed in love. (By the by, my wife's complexion is still far from smooth and probably won't be for some time to come.) At any rate, it's commendable in Parson Kinkel²⁷¹ that he should make money out of the late Mockel's CONFESSIONS by selling them to Cotta, and then consume it with Minna Werner, by whom he already has a child. Parsons are the cleverest of men. However, Johanna Mockel was an acrimonious body and her breath, for all her love of music, was acrid, too.

Have had the *Nazione*.^b Very good. Ditto the *Volunteer Journal*. But not your pamphlet.²⁶⁹

Vogt will never forgive Vincke for having put him in the shade so completely. Incidentally, those Prussian swine are making fools of themselves IN EVERY RESPECT. Firstly, the blackguards ask Bonaparte to continue his intervention at Gaeta²⁷²; secondly, the rascals have joined Bonaparte and Russia in declaring themselves in favour of continued French intervention in Syria.²⁷³ Austria opposes this, and, of course, so does Palmerston, FOR APPEARANCES SAKE. And the way they're carrying on at home! The rotten bunch is bound to come a cropper.

Wilhelm Liebknecht has been almost completely laid off by his American newspapers as well. One of the papers^c for which he wrote was sacked in New Orleans.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a Johanna Mockel, *Hans Ibeles in London*, Stuttgart, 1860. - ^b See this volume, p. 255. - ^c Presumably the *Deutsche Zeitung*

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE

IN BERLIN

[London,] 15 February 1861

Dear Lassalle,

I did not, as I had intended, send off a second letter to you on the heels of my first,^a because, in the meantime, a *crisis* had supervened, i.e., a financial crisis. Dana wrote from New York, saying that it (the *Tribune*) had dismissed *all* its European correspondents, retaining nobody save myself, but that 1. the *Cyclopaedia*^b was to be temporarily suspended; 2. my contributions were to be suspended for 6 weeks; 3. finally, that in future I was to write one article less per week.

Under these circumstances and in view of the expenditure arising out of my wife's illness, I have got to go to Holland and see my uncle Philips, if I am to put my financial affairs in some sort of order. Since I require money for the trip I have drawn a bill on you for £20 (ABOUT 34 talers) payable at 6 weeks' sight. I shall send you the required sum from Holland *before the expiry date* or else *bring it to Berlin in person*, for I may possibly come as far. I shall come, by the by, simply as a *traveller* if, that is, I cross the Dutch border and enter Germany. (If I were Karl Heinzen—Heineke the lusty knave²⁷⁴—I should say OVERSTRIDE.)

Your
K. Marx

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

^a See this volume, p. 251. ^b *New American Cyclopaedia*

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁷⁵

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 February 1861

Dear Engels,

I am leaving tomorrow on a passport made out not to me, however, but to Bühring,* valid for Holland. This created a vast amount of TROUBLE, as did raising enough money for me to get away at all. Have paid quite small sums on account to the most pressing creditors; in the case of others (e.g. GROGER), I invoked the American crisis and obtained a respite, but only on condition that my wife paid *weekly* during my absence. In addition, she has to pay £2 18/- in rates next week.

Nota bene. I presume you got a letter from my wife (ABOUT a week ago) in which she thanked you for the wine? She is a little worried lest it should have fallen into the wrong hands. The children, too, are greatly obliged to you for the wine. They would seem to have inherited their father's fondness for the bottle.

I shall probably go to Berlin as well—without a passport—to look into the matter of a weekly^a (Apropos—in Berlin William I is called *Handsome William*), and survey the dunghheap generally.

In the last number of the *Hermann*, that swine Blind published a letter Mazzini had written him.^b The importunate slimy creature clearly succeeded in convincing Mazzini that he represents the German émigrés. He uses the said *Hermann* as a receptacle for his filthy twaddle—patriotic—on the subject of Schleswig-Holstein, and also makes the latter an occasion for writing letters under his own name to the *Globe*, etc. Through Bronner—with him and Schaible he constitutes the 'Association for Freedom and Unity'²⁷⁶—he extorted so much money from a Bradford merchant that he was able to start a rotten little rag in Hamburg—the *Nordstern*—so as to throw his weight about in the North, while in

* Bühring—formerly represented the Faucher proletariat, his FREE-TRADE proletarians—has real inventive genius, but is not a business man, hence invariably swindled while others exploit his inventions.

^a See this volume, pp. 252, 257, 261. ^b 'Mazzini an Karl Blind über die Stellung Italiens zu Deutschland', *Hermann*, No. 112, 23 February 1861.

the South, through Schaible's agency, he courts notoriety as 'Blind, man of iron' in the columns of the Stuttgart *Beobachter* (a kind of South German *Volkszeitung*). The purpose of all this husiness on the part of the wretched creature is, on the one hand, to shout down the disgrace inflicted on him in *Herr Vogt*^a and, on the other, to become Hecker *secundus*. *Le pauvre hère*.^b

The Cologne people have done my library proud.²⁴⁴ The *whole* of Fourier stolen, ditto Goethe, ditto Herder, ditto Voltaire and, what to me is ghastliest of all, the *Economistes du 18 siècle* (brand-new, cost me some 500 fr.) and many volumes of classical Greek writers, many single volumes of other works. If I go to Cologne, I'll have something to say about it to that National Association man Bürgers. Hegel's *Phenomenology* and *Logic* ditto.

During the past fortnight there's been such a lot of confounded running around to do—real ingenuity was needed to prevent a complete break-up of the household—that I have read no newspapers whatsoever, not even the *Tribune* on the AMERICAN CRISIS. However, for recreation in the evenings I have been reading Appian's Civil Wars of Rome in the original Greek.^c A most valuable book. The fellow comes of Egyptian stock. Schlosser says he is 'soulless', probably because he probes the material basis of the said civil wars. Spartacus emerges as the most capital fellow in the whole history of antiquity. A great general (no Garibaldi he), of noble character, A REAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PROLETARIAT OF ANCIENT TIMES. Pompey a real shit; acquired spurious fame only by misappropriating, as Sulla's YOUNG MAN, etc., Lucullus's victories (over Mithridates), then Sertorius's (Spain), etc. As a general, was the Roman Odilon Barrot. As soon as he was brought face to face with Caesar and had to show what stuff he was made of—a mere louse. Caesar perpetrated the most stupendous military blunders, deliberately crazy ones, to discountenance the philistine opposing him. Any ordinary Roman general—Crassus, say—would have annihilated him six times over during the battle in Epirus.²⁷⁵ But anything could be done with Pompey. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Shakespeare would seem to have had some inkling of what Pompey was really like.^d

Salut,

Your

K. M.

^a See K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*, present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 111-32. - ^b The poor devil! - ^c 'Ἀππιανῶν Ἀλεξανδρέως πομπαικῶν. - ^d In Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (Act 5, Scene 2) the clown Costard impersonates Pompey.

I shall write to you from Holland.²⁷⁸ You will know without my telling you how grateful I am for the outstanding proofs of friendship you have given me.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 27 February 1861

Dear Mother,

I would have liked to answer your dear letter straight away, but with Emil's^a being here, have been so taken up with current business that it has been quite impossible. Well, he left yesterday morning and will probably reach Engelskirchen tonight. Dear mother, you have no need to worry about the possibility of my bearing any grudge against my brothers^b over the matter of the firm; it wouldn't occur to me. It was extremely disagreeable for me to have to withdraw from the family business in this way, nor could I find it agreeable when something I looked upon as a *right* to which I was entitled was lightly passed over for all kinds of reasons that had no bearing whatever on that right, my assent being, so to speak, demanded as a matter of course.^c I do not suggest that things haven't been arranged as well as, if not better than, they might have been had my claim been taken into consideration, but this is precisely what no one has taken the trouble to explain to me, and you cannot deny that, in the circumstances, it was expecting rather much of me to sign the thing. But having done so, I regard it as settled and you can count on me not to bear any of my brothers the slightest grudge about that. We shall need one another often enough and, besides, you know that I'm not in the least inclined to play the noble soul of whom no one takes note. I am sure Emil didn't notice any

^a Emil Engels - ^b Hermann, Emil and Rudolf - ^c See this volume, p. 260.

ill-temper on my part, still less any manifestation of annoyance towards himself, nor indeed could he have done, since I have now resigned myself to the thing and my only wish is that the business in Engelskirchen should yield good results for the four of us.

So, do not grieve over it, mother dear. For myself, the thing is over and done with, so much so that even the painful sensation I undeniably experienced, when I signed it, is likewise over and done with, disposed of and forgotten. If, I thought, this one aspect of the thing is disagreeable to *me*, then how many more such moments—far more disagreeable ones—must you have gone through in the course of the negotiations? And then I rejoiced at being able to put a stop to it all with one stroke of the pen. I might acquire a hundred other businesses, but never a second mother.

I am very well, by the way. Emil enjoyed himself here very much, and will have written to tell you that we have just about finished with Gottfr.,^a so that that affair, too, will at last be in order. Well, goodbye, and mind you keep fit and look after yourself properly. My warmest regards to Hermann,^b the Rudolfs,^c the Blanks, and the Boellings.

With much love,

Your son
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. 2, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1921

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first
time

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE⁶⁷

IN BERLIN

7 March 1861
Zalt-Boommel, Holland
(c/o L. Philips)

Dear Lassalle,

As I've already written and told you,^d I intend to proceed from here to Berlin in order to discuss with you personally the

^a Gottfried Ermen; ^b Hermann Engels; ^c Rudolf Engels and family; ^d See this volume, p. 263.

possibility of joint politico-literary enterprises, but also and more especially to see you again.

Now, however, I should like you to tell me exactly how matters stand as regards the following point. The only passport I have is an old one issued by the French when I was expelled in 1849.²⁷⁹ I could not bring myself to approach the Prussian Embassy in London. Nor did I wish to become a naturalised Englishman (like Freiligrath, Bucher, Zimmermann, etc.) and travel on an English passport. The following question arises: In 1845, when pursued in Belgium by the Prussian government,²⁸⁰ I obtained through my brother-in-law^a a Prussian expatriation permit. On the pretext of my having ceased to be a Prussian subject, I was, as you know, expelled by the Prussian government in 1849. However, in the eyes of the law, all refugees who had spent 10 years outside the country would equally have ceased to be Prussian 'subjects'. I have never been naturalised abroad. Further, in accordance with the resolution passed by the Preliminary Parliament²⁸¹ of 1848—a resolution that was regarded as virtually binding by all German governments on the occasion of the elections to the Frankfurt parliament²⁸²—all refugees, even though, like Vogt, etc., they might have been naturalised abroad, could avail themselves of their German citizenship and everywhere qualify for election to parliament. I invoked this when, in 1848, I requested that my Prussian citizenship be reinstated. This was refused by the Prussian ministry of the day, though they didn't venture to treat me as a foreigner until all was up with the revolution.

In practice, the only importance that attaches to this question just now is whether I shall be able to get to Berlin unimpeded. If only I can succeed in crossing the border, I shall have nothing to fear in Berlin; on the periphery, however, it's a more ticklish matter.

As you know, I am here with my uncle^b (who looks after my mother's affairs and has, in the past, frequently made me substantial advances against my share of the inheritance) in order to put my parlous finances in order. He's a stubborn man, but the fact of my being a writer greatly appeals to his vanity. So, when you write to me, you must refer to the success (*lucus a non lucendo*)

^a Wilhelm Robert Schmalhausen - ^b Lion Philips - ^c Literally: 'a grove from not being light'. The expression, first used by Quintilian in *De institutione oratoria* (I, 6, 34), illustrates the practice ascribed to ancient Roman etymologists of deriving words from their semantic opposites, as *lucus* ('grove') from *lucere* ('to shine, be light'), because a grove is not light.

of my recent anti-Vogt pamphlet, our joint plans for a newspaper, etc. and, above all, so couch your letter that I can demonstrate my 'confidence' in my uncle by giving him the letter to read. Nor should you omit to mention something about politics. *Vous m'entendez, mon cher.*^a

With kindest regards to you and the countess.^b

Your

K. Marx

(Zalt-Bommel is near Nymwegen. I don't imagine that the name is familiar to you. However, it attracted some attention as a result of the recent floods.)

The *conspiration de silence*, with which the entire German press has greeted my last piece,^c precisely as it did the previous ones, I really find most flattering, however detrimental it may be to sales. I trust your health has improved.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III. Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

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MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

Berlin, 24 March 1861
13 Bellevuestrasse
(Address: Dr F. Lassalle)

My dear Cousin,

I cannot thank you enough for your precious letter which fails only in being too short, although you have acted up to the English rule of packing the best things in the smallest compass.

I arrived at Berlin on Sunday last (17th March^d), at 7 o'clock in the morning. My travel was not marked by any incident save a 6 ½ hours' delay at Oberhausen, an abominably tedious little place. Lassalle who lives in a very fine house, situated in one of the finest

^a You take the point, my friend. - ^b Sophie von Hatzfeldt. - ^c *Herr Vogt*. - ^d In the original: 18 March.

streets of Berlin, had everything prepared for my reception, and gave me a most friendly welcome. The first hours having been talked away and my railway-fatigue chased by some rest and some refreshments, Lassalle introduced me at once to the house of the countess of Hatzfeldt who, as I soon became aware, dines every day in his house at 4 o'clock p. m., and passes her evenings with him. I found her hair as 'blond' and her eyes as blue as formerly, but for the remainder of her face I read the words imprinted in it: twenty and twenty make fifty seven. There were in fact wrinkles full of 'vestiges of creation', there were cheeks and chin betraying an *embonpoint* which, like coal beds, wants much time to be formed, and so forth. As to her eyebrows, I was at once struck by the circumstance that they had improved instead of deteriorating, so that art had by far got the better of nature. On later occasions I made the general remarks that she perfectly understands the art of making herself up and of finding in her toilette-box the tints no longer derived from her blood. Upon the whole, she reminded me of some Greek statues which still boast a fine bust but whose heads have been cruelly 'bknappered' by the vicissitudes of time. Still, to be not unjust, she is a very distinguished lady, no blue-socking, of great natural intellect, much vivacity, deeply interested in the revolutionary movement, and of an aristocratic *laissez aller* very superior to the pedantic grimaces of professional *femmes d'esprit*.^a

On Monday, my friend Lassalle drew up for me a petition to the chief of the Prussian police for my restoration to the civil rights of a Prussian subject.^b On Tuesday, Lassalle himself, who is a man of extraordinary audacity, carried the petition to Herr von Zedlitz (Polizeipräsident, partisan of the Junkerpartei and the king's^c confidant) and, what with menaces, what with flatteries—Zedlitz considering this direct appeal to himself, instead of to the subaltern authorities, as a compliment paid to his person—he has so far succeeded that to-day the ministerial paper—*Die Preussische Zeitung*—announces my return to the 'fatherland'. Still I have not yet received an official answer in regard to my re-naturalisation.

On Tuesday evening Lassalle and the countess led me to a Berlin theatre where a Berlin comedy, full of Prussian self-glorification, was enacted.^d It was altogether a disgusting affair. On Wednesday evening I was forced by them to assist at the performance of a ballet in the Opernhaus. We had a box for

^a clever women. ^b See present edition, Vol. 19, p. 339. - ^c William I. - ^d See this volume, p. 288.

ourselves at the side—*horribile dictu*^a—of the king's 'loge'. Such a ballet is characteristic of Berlin. It forms not, as at Paris, or at London, an *entrejeu*,^b or the conclusion, of an opera, but it absorbs the whole evening, is divided into several acts, etc. Not a syllable is spoken by the actors, but everything is hinted at by mimicry. It is in fact deadly—dull. The scenery, however, was beautiful; you assisted for instance at a sea-voyage from Livorno to Naples; sea, mountains, seacoast, towns, etc., everything being represented with photographical truth.

On Thursday Lassalle gave a dinner in honour of my return, gentlemen and ladies being invited. Among the celebrities there were the old general von Pfuel, 'Schlachtenmahler' Bleibtreu, Hofrath Förster (a known Prussian historiograph and formerly called the 'Hofdemagog',^d he being a personal friend of the late king^e) and so forth. Hofrath Förster brought out a toast on my humble self. I was seated at table between the countess and Fräulein Ludmilla Assing, the niece of Varnhagen von Ense and the editor of Varnhagen's correspondence with Humboldt.^f This Fräulein, who really swamped me with her benevolence, is the most ugly creature I ever saw in my life, a nastily Jewish physiognomy, a sharply protruding thin nose, eternally smiling and grinning, always speaking poetical prose, constantly trying to say something extraordinary, playing at false enthusiasm, and spitting at her auditory during the trances of her ecstasis. I shall to-day be forced to pay a visit to that little monster which I treated with the utmost reserve and coldness, giving her to understand by friend Lassalle that the power of attraction works upon myself always in a *centrifugal* direction and that, when I happen to admire a person very much, I am very apt to steal altogether out of its presence.

The state of things here is illboding for the powers that be. The Prussian Exchequer labours under a deficit, and all the old parties are in a movement of dissolution. The chamber of deputies will have to be re-elected during this season, and there is every probability that, during the process of its reconstitution, a great movement will pervade the country. This may, as my friend Lassalle thinks, be the proper moment for starting a newspaper^g here in the Prussian capital, but I have not yet come to a firm

^a horrible to say · ^b interlude · ^c war artist · ^d court demagogue · ^e Frederick William IV · ^f *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858*, Leipzig, 1860. · ^g See this volume, pp. 252, 257, 261.

resolution. The necessity of waiting for the official answer of the authorities to my petition may prolong my sojourn beyond the term originally contemplated.

You see, my dear child, I have much seen during a few days, but still you may be sure that I always wish myself back to Bommel.^a

With my best compliments to yourself, your father,^b and the whole family, believe me always

Your most sincere admirer

Charles Marx

First published in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. I, Part I, Assen, 1956

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MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN BARMEN

28 March 1861

c/o (Letter to me to be enclosed in an envelope)
13 Bellevuestrasse, Berlin, Dr F. Lassalle

Dear Siebel,

The secret of my journey, which WILL HAVE PUZZLED YOU TO SOME extent, is as follows:

As a result of the crisis in America the *Cyclopaedia Americana*,^c to which I was a contributor, has been completely suspended; similarly my contributions to the *Tribune*, my main resource, have been suspended until the end of April, and reduced by half for the period immediately thereafter (*apart from myself all their European correspondents have been provisionally dismissed*). This was compounded by a double misfortune: *Herr Vogt*, which, combined with the lawsuit, etc., cost me nearly £100, and a frightful stroke of ill-luck in that my wife (although twice vaccinated) caught small-pox and was ill for two months during which time I had to run two households, since the children couldn't remain at home.

^a Zalt-Bommel - ^b Lion Philips - ^c *New American Cyclopaedia*

So, I had to look round for other resources. Party friends here had already proposed to me starting a newspaper^a in the autumn. Hence my presence here. More in my next.

In the meantime, I have run into financial difficulties here (I shan't be staying much longer). If you could lend me 100-150 talers, you would oblige me.

Before returning to England I intend to see you at *all* events, if only on account of the newspaper project (for which 20,000 talers are READY). So, you must write and tell me, at *all* events, at which inn in Elberfeld I might best put up for 24 hours.

Your

K. Marx

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

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

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MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN BARMEN

[Berlin,] 2 April 1861

Dear Siebel,

A letter, which arrived from Amsterdam today, brought the pleasant tidings that I shall be able to SETTLE my chief financial difficulties (which run to hundreds of pounds), since my uncle^b (who looks after my mother's affairs) has declared himself agreeable so far as the main issue is concerned. I am thus rid of my *chief worry*, but as regards the *secondary matter* I wrote to you about,^c I shall have to rely on you.

I am bored stiff here. I am treated as a kind of LION and am forced to see a *great many* professional 'wits', both male and female. *C'est affreux*.^d What is keeping me here (*not for more than another week*, I hope) is the circumstance that I refuse to leave until I have forced the Prussian government to recognise my REINTEGRATION. (*Prima facie*,^e they are not making any difficulties about it, but are trying to shelve it.)

^a See this volume, pp. 252, 257, 261, 271-72. - ^b Lion Philips - ^c See previous letter. - ^d It's awful. - ^e On the face of it.

I shall be spending only one day in Elberfeld. Kindly write and tell me *by return*, how *quickly* one can get from Elberfeld to Aachen where I have an appointment.

For Part II of my political economy,^a I have dismissed Duncker in favour of Brockhaus. (Not that the latter knows this yet, but I have a sure means of forcing his hand.)

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

Elberfeld, 13 April 1861

To Miss Nanette

My sweet little Cousin,

I hope you have received the letter I sent you from Berlin^a although you were cruel enough to leave your admirer without one single word of acknowledgement. Now, my cruel little witch, how will you be able to defend such a line of conduct? Were you not aware that a world of Philistean hemmed me in, and that half an army of antiquated beauties and detestable blue stockings, did their best to transform me into an ass? Old Circe, as you are aware, metamorphosed the companions of Ulysses into pigs. These modern Circes have so far civilised themselves as to take to the asinine line. And was it not your duty, under such circumstances, to come to my rescue? Beware that I take my revenge, and conspire with *Waradje*²⁸³ against the tranquillity of your heart.

'An's Vaterland, das theure schliess' dich an'^b is a very fine sentence, but, quite confidentially, I may tell you that Germany is

^a See this volume, p. 269-72. . . ^b 'Join the dear Fatherland' (F. Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, Act II, Scene I).

a beautiful country to live out of it. For my own part, if I were quite free, and if, besides, I were not bothered by some thing you may call 'political conscience', I should never leave England for Germany, and still less for Prussia, and least of all for that *affreux*^a Berlin with its 'Sand'^b and its 'Bildung'^c and 'seinen überwitzigen Leuten'.^d

At Berlin everybody who has some spirit to lose, is of course extremely anxious for fellow sufferers. If the *ennui*, that reigns supreme at that place, be distributed among a greater lot of persons, the single individual may flatter itself to catch a lesser portion of it. For this reason the countess Hatzfeldt, Lassalle's Egeria, tried everything to prolong my sojourn in the metropolis of *tshakos*^e without heads. Yesterday she made her last effort, and we had the following scurrilous conversation:

She. 'This, then, is the thank for the friendship we have shown you, that you leave Berlin so soon as your business will permit?'

I. 'Quite the contrary. I have prolonged my stay at this place beyond the due term, because your amiability chained me to this Sahara.'

She. 'Then I shall become still more amiable.'

I. 'Then there remains no refuge for me but running away. Otherwise I should never be able to return to London whither my duty calls me.'

She. 'This is a very fine compliment to tell a lady, her amiability is such as to drive you away!'

I. 'You are not Berlin. If you want to prove me the sincerity of your amiability, do run away with myself.'

She. 'But I fear you will abandon me at the first station.'

I. 'I am quite sure of not "leaving the girl behind me"^f at the next station. You know that when Theseus, having eloped with the Greek beauty,^g abandoned her at some station or other, there at once the god Bacchus descended from the Olymp and carried the forlorn one in his arms to the abode of eternal pleasures. Now, I do not doubt but a god is already waiting for you at the first railway station behind Berlin, and I would be the most cruel of mortals to frustrate you of such a rendezvous.'

But enough of these fooleries. In true real earnest, I feel most happy in the idea of soon seeing again yourself and the whole Bommel family circle. Recommend myself to your 'rival',^h and tell

^a awful - ^b Allusion to the sandy soil of Brandenburg province, in whose central part Berlin is situated. - ^c education - ^d its awfully witty people - ^e shakos - ^f Paraphrased refrain of an old Irish song: 'The girl I left behind me. - ^g Ariadne -

^h Henriette Sophia van Antrooij

her that the deepest sentiments are the most difficult of being expressed in words. In that way she ought to interpret my silence, the respectful silence I have till now observed.

And now, my little charmer, farewell and do not altogether forget

Your knight-errant

Charles Marx

First published in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. I, Part 1, Assen, 1956

Reproduced from the original

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MARX TO LION PHILIPS²⁸⁴

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 6 May 1861^a

9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Uncle,

First, let me express my heartfelt thanks for the great friendship you have again shown me and the delightful hospitality extended to me under your roof. So as to avoid all suspicion of flattery, I shall make only the most fleeting allusion to the enormous pleasure I derived from consorting with a man of your experience who, on the one hand, observes the passing world with so humane, unbiassed and original an eye and, on the other, has preserved intact the fire and impetuosity of youth.

My onward journey from Bommel went entirely according to plan. In Rotterdam I found Jacques^b on the pier, spent a couple of hours chatting with him and then, the self-same day, hurried on to Amsterdam, where my business was speedily settled the next day. August^c and family—this time with the addition of his wife's niece from Rotterdam—were well and happy. August entrusted me with a special mission, namely to shake up Monsieur Jacques a little on my return to Rotterdam, for he is suffering *plus ou moins*^d

^a In the original: 1851 - ^b Jacques Philips - ^c August Philips - ^d more or less

from 'world-weariness', an illness which may simply be attributed to the fact that, unlike the great majority of mankind, he is self-critical and has not yet succeeded in adopting any definite political standpoint such as might be satisfactory to himself. On my return journey from Amsterdam I got to Rotterdam at half past nine at night, and had to board the STEAMER for London at 7 o'clock the following morning (Sunday).^a In the short time I spent with Jacques it was not, of course, possible for me to answer all the questions he put to me or even touch very briefly on all the points he raised. Therefore, having previously consulted his employers, Jacques decided to continue our discussion in London. I arrived in the world capital on Monday and found the whole family well and cheerful. Jacques turned up last Wednesday^b and left again yesterday morning, to the great regret of my family who would have liked to keep him here longer. We have arranged to conduct a kind of political correspondence with one another.

You will recall, dear Uncle, how you and I would often remark in jest that nowadays the rearing of human beings lags far behind cattle rearing. Now, having seen the whole of your family, I must declare you to be a *virtuoso at rearing human beings*. Never in my life have I made the acquaintance of a finer family. All your children have independent characters, each one an individual, each with his own intellectual predilections, and all equally distinguished by their humane culture.

Here in London there is great consternation over the course of events in America.²⁸⁵ The acts of violence which have been perpetrated not only by the SECEDED STATES, but also by some of the CENTRAL OR BORDER STATES—and it is feared that all 8 BORDER STATES, namely Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Maryland, and Delaware, will side with the secessionists—these acts of violence have rendered *all compromise* impossible. There can be no doubt that, in the early part of the struggle, the scales will be weighted in favour of the South, where the class of propertyless white adventurers provides an inexhaustible source of martial militia. IN THE LONG RUN, of course, the North will be victorious since, if the need arises, it has a last card up its sleeve in the shape of a slave revolution. For the North, the great difficulty is the QUESTION [of] HOW TO GET THEIR FORCES TO THE SOUTH. Even AN UNOPPOSED MARCH—in this season—of 15 MILES PER DAY, WOULD BE SOMETHING TRYING; but Charleston, the nearest attackable point, is 544 miles from Washington, 681 from Philadelphia, 771 from New

^a 28 April 1861 - ^b 1 May

York and 994 from Boston, and the three last-named towns are the main operational bases against the South. The distance of Montgomery, the seat of the SECESSIONIST CONGRESS,²⁸⁶ from those same places is 910, 1,050, 1,130 and 1,350 MILES RESPECTIVELY. A cross-country march would therefore seem to be QUITE OUT OF THE QUESTION. (Use of the railways by the NORTHERN INVADERS would merely lead to their destruction.) Hence, all that remains is sea transport and naval warfare which, however, might easily lead to complications with foreign powers. This evening the English government is to announce in the Commons what ATTITUDE it intends to adopt in such an eventuality.

For myself personally, developments in America are naturally RATHER damaging since transatlantic newspaper readers have neither eyes nor ears just now for *anything* save their own affairs. However, I have received an advantageous offer from the Vienna *Presse* which I mean to accept provided certain ambiguities are satisfactorily cleared up.^a I should have to write for it from London. My wife has a specific objection to our moving to Berlin, as she does not wish our daughters to be introduced into the Hatzfeldt circle, yet keeping them out of it altogether would be difficult.

I have today had an extremely amicable letter from Lassalle. He has still heard nothing more from von Zedlitz, the Police President, regarding my RENATURALISATION. The conflict between police and public in Berlin has now, so Lassalle tells me, entered a new phase.

With warm regards to you and yours from myself and the whole family,

Your affectionate nephew

K. Marx

First published in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Assen, 1956

Published in English in full for the first time

^a See this volume, p. 279.

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁸⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 May 1861

Dear Frederick,

Habes confitentem reum.^a But the *circonstances atténuantes*^b for my not writing were as follows: *D'abord*^c I spent, as you know, the greater part of my time in Berlin at Lassalle's house where it would have been *impossible* for me to write to you without my telling Lassalle what was in the letter, and THAT DID NOT SERVE MY PURPOSE. Later, I was continually *en route*, from Berlin to Elberfeld, Cologne, Trier, Aachen, Bommel,^d Rotterdam, and Amsterdam. Lastly, my original plan, as I wrote and told my wife, had been to go from Rotterdam to Hull and from Hull to Manchester so that I could give you a *detailed verbal report*. This was frustrated by my cousin Jacques Philips. For, as I was about to leave Rotterdam, he told me he would be coming to London the following day, AND HE WAS AS GOOD AS HIS WORD. So, of course, I had to proceed direct to London in order to do him the *honneurs* there. He did not leave here until the day before yesterday.

In any case, I now hope that you will come to us for a few days at Whitsuntide. I heard in Elberfeld that you wanted to visit your family at Whitsuntide. Even if you do, you could so arrange matters that you spend at least a couple of days with us. I have much to tell you, and this can be done better by word of mouth than in writing. Moreover, it irks my womenfolk if you always give London a miss.

First, then, to BUSINESS. For a start, I squeezed £160 out of my *niclé*^e so that we were able to pay off the greater part of our debts. My mother, with whom any discussion about cash is out of the question, but who is rapidly nearing her end, destroyed some I.O.U.s I had given her in the past. That was the distinctly pleasant result of the two days I spent with her. I myself said nothing to her about MONEY MATTERS and it was she who took the initiative in this connection. Further, when in Berlin, I paved the way for me to establish a connection with the *Vienna Presse*,²⁸⁸ should the need arise; in view of the present situation in America, this will doubtless prove indispensable. Finally, I have arranged

^a Your prisoner has a confession to make (Cicero, *Pro Q. Ligario*, paraphrased).

^b extenuating circumstances · ^c First · ^d Zalt-Bommel · ^e Lion Philips

through Lassalle for the second part of my political economy⁸ to be published by Brockhaus instead of Duncker. As to Duncker, Camilla Essig (alias Ludmilla Assing) rightly remarked to me that, if one wants to keep a book secret, one must get Duncker to publish it. However, I do at least figure in the recent piece by Rau-Rau⁹—the German Say.

Apropos. With regard to your *Po and Rhine*, etc., I am told by *la Haizfeldt*—who converses with all the Prussian generals at the house of her brother-in-law, General von Nostitz, and whose nephew Nostitz is, furthermore, an aide-de-camp to ‘handsome William’^b—that your pamphlet is considered in high, if not the highest, military circles (including, *inter alia*, that of Prince Charles Frederick) to be the product of an anonymous Prussian general. The same thing happened in Vienna, or so I was told by assessor Friedländer (brother of the editor of the Vienna *Presse*). I myself have discussed it with General Pfuel, now 82, but still mentally alert and become very radical. Pfuel didn’t know, of course, that we had conferred on him the honorary title of ‘von Höllenstein’.²⁸⁹ He has, by the by, fallen out of favour and is ranked by the Court with the Jacobins, atheists, etc.

NOW TO POLITICAL BUSINESS.

In Berlin there is, of course, no *haute politique*.^c Everything revolves round the struggle with the police (not that the latter are in the least presumptuous just now, being a model of civility and tolerance) in that people would like to see Zedlitz, Patzke, etc., removed from office and punished; secondly, round the opposition between the military and civilians. It is over these issues (in bourgeois circles, other particularly sore points are the military bills and tax exemption for the landowners) that matters will come to a head.²⁹⁰ (Count Tavernier, an artillery officer, told me that they would like nothing better than to turn their batteries on the Garde du Corps.) The prevailing atmosphere is one of general dissolution, and people of every rank regard a catastrophe as inevitable. This would seem to be more the case in the capital than in the provinces. Curiously enough, military circles share the general conviction that the *first* clash with the *crapauds*^d will result in a trouncing for the Prussians. Berlin is in a cheeky, frivolous mood. The Chambers are despised. In one theatre I visited, a comical ditty about Vincke was sung to the accompaniment of loud

⁸ K. H. Rau, *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie*. Bd. I, *Grundsätze der Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1860. - ^b William I. - ^c high politics -

^d Here, the French (literally—toads).

applause. Among a broad section of the public there is much dissatisfaction with the existing press. At the coming new elections (in the autumn) to the Second Chamber, there is no doubt that most of the fellows who sat in the Prussian National Assembly will be elected.²⁹¹ This is important, not on account of the said fellows, but because 'William the Handsome' mistakes them for red republicans. All in all, 'handsome William' has been dogged by the *spectre rouge*²⁹² ever since he became king. He considers his popularity as a 'liberal' to be a trap set for him by the overthrow party.

Now, under the circumstances it might, in fact, not be inopportune if we could bring out a paper^b in Berlin next year, although I personally find the place unpleasant. 20-30,000 talers would have to be got together in association with Lassalle, etc. But *hic jacet*.^c Lassalle put the proposal to me direct. At the same time, he confided that he would have to be editor *en chef* along with myself. And Engels? I inquired. 'Well, if three aren't too many, Engels can also be editor *en chef*, of course. Though you two ought not to have more votes than me, for otherwise I would always be outvoted.' As reasons why he, too, must take the helm he stated: 1. that he was generally regarded as being closer to the bourgeois party and hence could procure funds more easily; 2. that he would have to sacrifice his 'theoretical studies' and his theoretical tranquillity and ought, after all, to get something out of it, etc. If, however, we were unwilling, he went on: 'I would still be prepared, as before, to assist the paper financially and in literary ways; that would be an advantage to me; for I should have the benefit of the paper without the responsibility for it,' etc. This was just sentimental hot air, of course. Lassalle, dazzled by the esteem earned him in certain learned circles by his *Heraclitus*^d and, in another circle, consisting of spongers, by his good wine and food, doesn't know, of course, that he is of ill repute with the public at large. And then his intractability; his obsession with the 'speculative concept' (the fellow actually dreams of a new Hegelian philosophy raised to the second power, which he intends to write), his inoculation with early French liberalism, his arrogant pen, impertunity, tactlessness, etc. If subjected to rigid discipline, Lassalle might be of service as one of the editors. Otherwise, we would simply make fools of ourselves. But, in view of the great friendliness he showed me, you can see how difficult it was for me

^a red spectre - ^b See this volume, p. 252, 257, 261, 271-73. - ^c Here is the snag

^d F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*, Berlin, 1858.

to speak my mind. So, I was generally non-committal and told him I could settle nothing without prior discussion with you and Lupus. (That was the main reason why I didn't write to you from Berlin, for I didn't want to have a reply from you about this while I was there.) If we decide against it, the countess^a and Lassalle intend to set out on a year's trip to the East or to Italy. BUT HERE'S THE RUB.^b He now expects me to give him an answer, which I can't put off any longer. *Qu'en dis-tu?*^c

He's a frightfully pompous fellow, and so I had no alternative but to be constantly ironical at his expense, which wounded his *amour-propre*, the more so in that it aroused in the countess, whom he has impressed as a universal genius, a disquieting urge to emancipate herself from this Buddha. At certain times, strangely enough, *la Hatzfeldt's* voice has a Jewish intonation that has been acquired from and instilled in her by him.

Lupus's reservations about the Prussian police are QUITE OUT OF PLACE. The only difficulty that still remains can at most affect those who had formerly taken the military oath of allegiance. Assessor Friedländer tells me that Lupus is STILL THE MOST POPULAR MAN IN Breslau and in another district of Silesia as well, I forget the name. Elsner has turned into a good-for-nothing on the *Schlesische Zeitung*, just as Stein has on the *Breslauer*. Nevertheless, a go-ahead democratic party has again been formed in Breslau. The enclosed excerpt from the *Preussische Gerichts-Zeitung* was inserted at my instigation by its editor, Stadtrichter Hiersemenzel.^d Actuarial Stein, who has returned to Berlin from Zurich, sends Lupus his kindest regards.

You shall hear of my negotiations with the Prussian government and/or police in my next letter.²⁹²

Apropos. I have a present for you from Lassalle, a fine military atlas, which you must come and fetch in person.

Salut to you, Lupus and Gumpert.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a Sophie von Hatzfeldt · ^b Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 1 (paraphrased). · ^c 'What do you think of it?' · ^d 'Zur Auslegung des Amnestie-Erlasses vom 12. Januar 1861' (On the Interpretation of the Decree on the Amnesty of 12 January 1861), *Preussische Gerichts-Zeitung*, No. 26, 1 May 1861. The continuation of the article appeared in No. 30 of 15 May 1861.

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE ⁶⁷

IN BERLIN

London, 8 May 1861
 9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear Lazarus,

Post tot discrimina rerum.^a If anyone is responsible for my silence—during my travels, that is, for here in London I had to spend my first week playing Amphitryon^b to my cousin from Rotterdam^c—it is the countess.^d She had promised that I would find her portrait and a letter from her at Zalt-Bommel. Since neither of these materialised, and since I am a strict observer of the *jus vindictae*,^e I didn't write either. In addition, my time at Bommel was completely taken up. On the one hand, I had business with my uncle,^f and on the other, I had to pay court to my cousin.^g SO, YOU SEE, SIR, WRITING WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION. My stay in Trier was useful in as much as my mother destroyed some old I.O.U.s. Incidentally the old woman also intrigued me by her exceedingly subtle esprit and unshakable equanimity.

First, then, to the financial side. Herewith an interim payment of £20. You still have £10 to come. The concatenation of circumstances was as follows: My uncle gave me £150 in cash to pay bills due at the beginning of May. He promised to send a further bill to London a few weeks later. In the meantime, therefore, I borrowed the enclosed £20 from my cousin,^h ditto some money for the household, and a third amount for the repayment of various small loans in Germany. If, however, you must have the outstanding £10 straight away, let me know at once.

I couldn't go to Manchester as I had originally planned^b because my cousin from Rotterdam^c decided to travel to London hard on my heels. The pretext was his interest in discussing politics with me. IN FACT, however, I believe he wanted to make the acquaintance of his various female cousins. I wrote to Engels the day before yesterday about the plans for the newspaperⁱ and shall

^a After so many vicissitudes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I). · ^b playing the host · ^c Jacques Philips · ^d Sophie von Hatzfeldt · ^e law of retaliation · ^f Lion Philips · ^g Antoinette Philips · ^h See this volume, p. 279. · ⁱ See this volume, p. 281.

doubtless have an answer from him in a day or so. Conditions in America will probably be such that, even if nothing comes of the newspaper enterprise, I may move to Berlin for a semester or thereabouts, ALWAYS SUPPOSED THAT I GET MY RENATURALISATION. London, I CAN'T DENY IT, possesses an extraordinary fascination for me, although, to a certain extent, I live a hermit's life in this gigantic place.

Apropos. Blanqui is still in Mazas prison²⁹³ (Paris) where he is being *physically* maltreated by the gendarmes, etc., on the instructions of the examining magistrate. Taking advantage of the general amnesty, he had travelled from here to Paris—with no plans for conspiracy whatever—as an agent for a businessman. In England, as elsewhere in Europe, the scoundrelly press TRIES TO BURKE THE WHOLE AFFAIR. I have made an appointment for next Saturday with Simon Bernard, who knows more about the matter,²⁹⁴ and we shall then discuss the subject thoroughly. We intend, possibly in concert with Ernest Jones, to hold a PUBLIC MEETING about this outrage. As soon as I have spoken to Bernard and am better informed I shall send a report to the countess. But I would ask you to see to it at once through one channel or another that an item about this *guet-apens*^a appears in the Breslau papers. The German papers reprint one another's stuff, as you know.

To turn from tragedy to tragi-comedy, did you see in the newspapers that workers in Geneva boxed Fazy's ears in broad daylight?

Kossuth's behaviour here during the lawsuit²⁹⁵ was lamentable. Having at first taken the floor with such swagger in his AFFIDAVITS, etc., he bowed and scraped during the hearing itself, assumed as insignificant and subdued an air as possible, disavowed all *revolutionary* designs or intentions on his own part and thus stupidly deprived himself of the sympathies of a public predisposed in favour of such melodramatic characters.

I don't know whether you have followed the parliamentary debates on the MacDonald CASE.²⁹⁶ Palmerston's provocative behaviour towards Prussia^b has, in fact, no other aim than to explode the idea (Schleinitz's) of an Anglo-Prussian alliance. I need hardly tell you to what purpose, for you know the story.

Toby Meyen, in a Berlin letter to the Hamburg *Freischütz*, has produced very curious explanations of my stay in Berlin.^c *D'abord*,^d

^a trap - ^b Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons on 26 April 1861, *The Times*, No. 23918, 27 April 1861. - ^c 'Berliner Briefe', *Freischütz*, No. 49, 23 April 1861. - ^d First

Countess Hatzfeldt is said to have offered me 20,000 talers to found a newspaper. *Secundo*, I had imagined that *Herr Vogt* had won me support among the middle classes, on which score, however, I suffered a bitter disappointment. And, *ultimo*, I gave the thing up in despair, since 'not one man of letters' wished to have 'anything to do' with me. Good shot, Toby!

Rodbertus's pamphlet^a is highly commendable as regards its tendency. Otherwise, what is good in it isn't new and what is new in it isn't good. Roscher^b on the other hand is the true representative of professorial erudition. *Fausse science*,^c as Fourier would say.

Don't forget to knock at Brockhaus's door^d; 10-20 sheets, for I can never estimate the length in advance.

And now, *mon cher*, I must conclude by most cordially thanking you for the kind and amiable way in which you took me in and entertained me and, more especially, put up with my incivilities. As you know, I was beset by worries and am also troubled with my liver. But the chief thing is that we laughed together a great deal. *Simia non ridet*,^e and thus we have shown ourselves to be truly consummate Buddhas.

I enclose two small photographs, one for the countess, to whom I would ask you to convey my best respects, and one for yourself.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III. Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 May 1861

Dear Frederick,

Herewith *d'abord*^f a photograph. Lupus and Gumpert shall each have ditto as soon as I have got some more prints. I had the thing

^a [J. K.] Rodbertus, *Soziale Briefe an von Kirchmann*. Dritter Brief..., Berlin, 1851. - ^b W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirtschaft*. Band 1: *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*..., Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858. - ^c False knowledge - ^d See this volume, p. 274. - ^e A monkey doesn't laugh. - ^f first

done, partly for my cousin in Rotterdam,^a partly IN EXCHANGE for the photographs I had been given in Germany and Holland. Secondly, a cutting from a Düsseldorf paper about Herr Vogt. Lastly, I enclose a copy of the *Free Press*^b which is admittedly somewhat out-of-date, since you and Lupus did not, perhaps, follow the parliamentary debate on the Afghanistan affair very closely. It was the greatest CHECK Pam had experienced since 1848.²⁹⁷

What you say about the plan for a newspaper in Berlin corresponds precisely to my own view and I had already, *mutatis mutandis*,^c intimated the main points to Lazarus.^d And—though I had already told him positively in Berlin that I would undertake nothing of the kind without you and Lupus—I had, nevertheless, positively pledged myself to lay the matter before you ‘seriously and objectively’, and thus *salvavi animam meam*.^e

Propos Lassalle-Lazarus. In his *magnum opus* on Egypt,^f Lepsius proved that the exodus of the Jews from Egypt was nothing other than the story Manetho relates of the expulsion from Egypt of ‘the leper folk’, with an Egyptian priest named Moses at their head. Lazarus the leper is thus the archetype of the Jew and of Lazarus-Lassalle. Save that in our Lazarus’s case, leprosy has gone to the brain. Originally, his disease was secondary syphilis that wasn’t properly cured. As a result, he developed caries in one of his legs, and something of this still remains, according to his doctor, Frerich^g (I don’t know how that famous professor spells it), in the form of neuralgia OF SOMETHING OF THE SORT in one of his legs. To the detriment of his own physique, our Lazarus is now living as luxuriously as his counterpart, the rich man,^h and it is this, I think, that is mainly preventing his recovery. He has acquired altogether too much refinement and would, for instance, regard going into a pub as an outrage. Curiously enough, he asked me at least four times whom I meant by Jacob Wiesenrieslerⁱ in Vogt. However, considering his vanity, which has now grown truly ‘objective’, this was only *usus naturae*.^j We are all to be sent his new legal masterpiece (*Dharma*).²⁹⁸

While in Berlin I also went to see Friedrich Köppen. I found him still very much as he always was. Only he’s grown stouter, and ‘grizzled’. I went out on the spree with him twice and it was a real

^a Jacques Philips - ^b ‘Mr Dunlop’s Motion for a Select Committee on the Affghan Papers’, *The Free Press*, Vol. IX, No. 4, 3 April 1861. - ^c with the necessary alterations - ^d See this volume, pp. 281, 283-84. - ^e saved my soul. Cf. Ezekiel 3:19, 21. - ^f R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Bd. I-XII, Berlin, 1849-59. - ^g Friedrich Theodor von Frerichs - ^h See Luke 16 : 19-31. - ⁱ Marx is referring to Lassalle. - ^j in accordance with his nature.

treat for me. He made me a present of his two volume *Buddha*,^a an important work. Amongst other things, he told me how those scoundrels, Zabel *et cie*, had gained possession of the *National-Zeitung*. That paper was originally founded in 1848, with a fully paid-up share capital (but with no proper contract, IN A LOOSE WAY). Mügge, Köppen, and others, exerted themselves to that end. Rutenberg became editor-in-chief, with Zabel as his deputy, and, lastly, the Jew Wolff^b as manager. The paper made rapid headway as a result of its pale-ale-swiggig philistine moderation and its service to the parliamentary Left.²⁹⁹ Rutenberg was elbowed out by his *sociis*^c on the pretext, false or real, that he was adopting too conservative a line and was accepting gratifications from Hansemann. Zabel brought in a *faiseur*^d who did his writing for him, while Zabel frequented sundry public houses where he conversed with pale-ale-swiggig philistines and thus ensured the growth of the paper's popularity. The *coup d'état* (Manteuffel's)³⁰⁰ and the various arbitrary anti-press measures, the severity of which did not abate until the end of 1850, provided a welcome excuse *not* to convene the shareholders. Meanwhile, the paper, which, with the suppression of the revolutionary press and the rise of the Hinckeldey-Stieber régime, found itself for the first time in its true element, acquired stature in the eyes of the philistines. It became a going concern and, in ABOUT 1852, some of the shareholders grew importunate and demanded a statement of accounts, a general meeting, etc. The most refractory were then taken on one side by Jew Wolff and divinity student Zabel. It was divulged to them in confidence that, if the paper were not to be ruined, dead silence must be religiously kept in respect of its finances, since it was, in fact, bankrupt. (In fact, the shares, originally 25 talers, were by then already worth 100.) So, on no account must it be flushed, *d'une manière ou d'une autre*,^e out of its shy financial retreat. As a special concession, however, an *exception* would be made in their (i.e., the most troublesome shareholders') case and the amount they had invested would be returned to them in exchange for their shares. In this way, the most dangerous were indemnified. This farce was repeated on several occasions. The majority of those who were thus bought off, however, received—strictly in proportion to the passive resistance they put up—at the most 40, at the lowest 5%, of the sum they had originally invested.

^a C. F. Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*, Bd. 1-2, Berlin, 1857-59. · ^b Bernhard Wolff · ^c partners · ^d factotum · ^e in one way, or another

To this day, a considerable proportion of the liberal milksops have not received a FARTHING, nor are they any more capable of extracting a statement of accounts. They keep silent for fear of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*.^a Such is the *escroquerie*^b that has enabled Jew Wolff and divinity student Zabel to become leading dignitaries of *liberalismus vulgaris*, with 'surplus money' at their disposal. A pity I hadn't heard this tale before!

Rutenberg has been handed over by Manteuffel to Schwerin as an expressly guaranteed item of stock-in-trade. With his scissors he is now snipping the *Staatszeitung* to rights—a paper nobody reads any more. A type of *London Gazette*. Bruno,^c who is said to have fared hellish badly, vainly offered his services to the present ministry—i.e., in the form of continued contributions to the semi-official *Preussische Zeitung*. He is now the principal contributor to Wagener's (*Kreuz-Zeitung*) *Staatslexikon*. Besides, he's a FARMER at Rixdorf, or whatever the miserable hole is called.

One day, I witnessed a session of the second chamber from the press gallery. I had similarly witnessed a session of the Prussian Agreers³⁰¹ in the summer of 1848. *Quantum mutatum ab illis!*^d Not that they were Titans either—far from it! A cramped assembly room. Nothing much in the way of visitors' galleries. The fellows sit on benches (as compared with the arm-chairs of the 'Gentlemen'),³⁰² an odd combination of government office and school-room. A Belgian Chamber is imposing by comparison. Simson or Samson, or whatever the president's name is, avenges himself—with all the grotesque and brutal magisteriality of a ministerial *huissier*^e³⁰³—for the kicks dealt him by Manteuffel when dispensing discipline with his ass's jawbones among the philistines cowering below. In any other assembly this unspeakable SPECIES of servile insolence personified would already have had his ears boxed. In Berlin one is repelled, especially at the theatre, by the prevalence of uniforms (apropos, in the very first few days, *la Hatzfeldt* took me to a box close to that of 'handsome William' and company, in order to insult the royal family. Three hours of ballet. This was the only performance of the evening. Yet another aspect of Berlin), yet one cannot but rejoice when one espies, here and there among the crowd of kow-towing bureaucratic school-boys, some chap in uniform who at least holds his head erect and sits up straight. Vincke happened to be speaking—indeed, he never lets a session go by without doing so. I had, in fact, flattered

^a *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. ^b piece of swindling. ^c Bruno Bauer. ^d How much they have changed! (Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii, paraphrased.) ^e doorkeeper

the fellow. Had I heard him speak before, the portrait would have turned out very differently.³⁰⁴ In an indifferent comedy, *Die Journalisten*, by Freytag which I saw in Berlin, one of the characters is a fat Hamburg philistine and wine MERCHANT named *Piepenbrink*. Vincke is the spit and image of this *Piepenbrink*. The most revolting Hamburg-Westphalian patois, a torrent of hastily gabbled words, not a sentence correctly constructed or complete. And this is the Mirabeau of Hasenheide!^a The only figures in this gathering of pygmies who at least look decent are Waldeck, on one side, and Wagener and Don Quixote von Blanckenburg,^b on the other.

Went to see Siebel in Elberfeld. Had supper with him in Barmen. Pretty, young wife, sings well, admires her Carl—found her not unpleasing. Siebel just the same as ever. Consorts mainly with a liberal journalist (formerly Münster correspondent to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*),^c poets, musicians, and painters. The best among them, I thought, was Seel. Siebel took me to the 'California' in Barmen, a boring bunch. They drank my health. I got Siebel to tell them I had lost my voice, and he replied on my behalf with a few boring jokes which, however, were in the RIGHT PLACE. Siebel says that his father copies everything he does—writing verse and drinking, so that he's said to be a block, off the young chip.

In Cologne I called on Schneider II and Dr Klein. Just the same as ever—if anything, have gone even further. Spent a couple of hours tipping with them. In one pub saw, also incognito, Stuhlgang Königswinter (Wolfgang Müller).^d Called on Mrs Daniels. Not that nimny and National Association man Bürgers. But more about this later. I've indulged in so much chat that I haven't yet touched on essentials. Some more anon.

Totus tuus^e

K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a a vicinity of Berlin - ^b Moritz von Blanckenburg - ^c Suerlin - ^d In the original a pun on the word *Stuhlgang* (evacuation of the bowels) and the pseudonym of Wilhelm Müller—Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter. - ^e All yours.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 May 1861

DEAR Frederick,

I missed Gumpert. First, I went to Euston Square³⁰⁵ at 5 in the afternoon and waited there till 6. Later on, at ABOUT 8 O'CLOCK, I went to London Bridge Station. In neither case did I catch him.

Perhaps you would be so kind as to write and tell us *when* you are coming.^a

As regards your own relations with Prussia,^b let me begin by giving you the opinion of the leading jurists with whom I spoke in Berlin. Everything depends upon *whether or not you were conscripted*. If not, your CASE as a *Landwehr*⁴¹ man is one for the ordinary civil courts. It would seem, by the by, that the Prussians are officially concerned only with your Elberfeld affair, not the one in Baden.³⁰⁶

I don't know if you have read the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 19 April last. The final news item from Paris^c reads (I quote):

'By way of a warning to booksellers, *Herr Vogt* by Karl Marx has been placed on the list of proscribed books, thus frustrating the appearance of a much abridged French version, which is now in press.'

I had intended to give you a further account of my journey today, but Mr Bühring has just come to see me, so I must get this note off.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a See this volume, p. 279, 291. - ^b *ibid.*, p. 15. - ^c 'Paris, 17. April', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 109, 19 April 1861.

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE³⁰⁷

IN BERLIN

[London,] 29 May 1861

Dear Lassalle,

I have written to a friend^a in Germany⁴² who, I hope, will send you the remaining £10 (67 talers) within a week *at the latest*. I'm horribly put out by this business, but my uncle,^b as is the wont of such old gentlemen, while on the whole doing what he promised, is at least creating difficulties for me.

Because of conditions over there,³⁰⁸ my American articles^c continue to be wholly in abeyance for the time being, and will so continue until circumstances in Europe again acquire some interest for the TRANSATLANTICS.

In Paris the workers are in a most sorry plight as a result of the American crisis. Ditto in Lyons.

The whole of the official press in England is, of course, in favour of the SLAVEHOLDERS. They are the selfsame fellows who have wearied the world with their ANTISLAVE TRADE philanthropy. But COTTON, COTTON!

Engels has been here on a three-day visit. He is not yet going to move. If he did so, he'd have to give up his position, break his contract and incur severe financial loss, and this, he declares, he is unwilling to do. SAVE IN DECISIVE TIMES, NOR has he any intention of falling, perhaps before 3 months are out, into the clutches of Prussia's COMMON LAW WITHOUT DOING ANY GOOD TO ANYBODY.^d Circumstances, he thinks, are not yet ripe for the setting up of a paper.^e He thanks you very much for the MILITARY MAPS.

In my letter to the countess³⁰⁹ which you passed on to her, I gave her a more circumstantial and *accurate* account of Bonaparte's infamy vis-à-vis Blanqui, indeed of the WHOLE CASE.^f No doubt she will have told you about it. Please convey my kindest regards to her. I hope she is now in better health.

I am curious to hear more about YOUR TRANSACTIONS with the Prussian government. THANKS for the zeal you have displayed.

^a Carl Siebel. - ^b Lion Philips. - ^c Marx means his articles for the *New-York Daily Tribune*. - ^d See this volume, p. 290. - ^e *ibid.*, pp. 252, 257, 281. - ^f *ibid.*, pp. 284, 298.

To help overcome the intense annoyance I feel about my IN EVERY RESPECT UNSETTLED SITUATION, I am reading Thucydides.^a At least, these Ancients remain ever new.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 June 1861

Dear Frederic,

I have had a letter from Vienna today. To start with, Friedländer^b wants me to send him 2 articles, 1 about the business in America (in which I am to provide a brief political and military résumé of the whole mess, for 1 or 2 leaders) and 1 on the situation in England. Later (i.e. when he has had these articles) he will let me have his further suggestions; and, in fact, I am to get £1 for each article, 10/- for mere news-letters. This is good pay by German standards and I shall have to agree to the thing, *car il faut vivre*.^c Since I should like to get the 2 sample articles off this week, you must do^d the military part about America for me.^d I will then fit it into the political part.

A week ago I made a serious start on my book.³¹⁰ Have heard nothing more of Lassalle, save what his cousin Friedländer^e (Lassalle does not and must not know anything about the transactions with the *Presse*) wrote and told me from Berlin, namely:

'Since his return from Breslau,^f F. Lassalle has been partly busying himself with the affair of your naturalisation, whose satisfactory outcome I believe he prejudices

^a Thucydides, *De bello peloponnesiaco*. - ^b Max Friedländer - ^c for one's got to live - ^d See this volume, pp. 294-96. - ^e Julius Friedländer - ^f Polish name: Wrocław

by his excessive zeal and his memoranda tending to prove too much, and partly spending his time perusing and reading out loud the numerous letters that pour in from professors and privy councillors thanking him for a book so *fine*, so *interesting* and so *witty*, etc.^a These letters provide him with a grand opportunity to make conversation about his "excellent" book, thus proving that he is quite insensible to little titillations of this kind and wholly immune to vanity. The poor comess,^b who is fighting off a severe attack of influenza, finds it ever more difficult to play her official role of opposer, and I, too, am beginning to tire of acting as seconder.'

So much for Friedländer.

As regards the goings-on in the so-called National Association²⁸⁷ down here and Kinkel's consequent downfall, I shall write tomorrow, having still to write to Berlin and Vienna today.

Salut. Regards to Lupus.

CAVOUR'S DEATH! *Qu'en pensez-vous?*^c Garibaldi, the jackass, has made a fool of himself by a solidarity letter³¹¹ to the Yankees.³¹²

Your

K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE⁶⁷

IN BERLIN

[London,] 11 June 1861

Dear Lassalle,

Perhaps you would be so kind as to pass on the enclosed letter to the countess.³¹³

Many thanks for your book,^a which arrived here a day or two since (I immediately sent the other copies to their respective destinations in Manchester). I began at the end, namely with the Pelasgian affair, and then went back to the law of succession at the beginning, having now progressed as far as p. 215. It is an important work in every respect. However, I cannot send you a criticism, assessment, etc., until I have read right through the

^a F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. · ^b Sophie von Hatzfeldt · ^c What do you think about it?

whole thing. Merely *en passant*, then: In *India*, adoption is the prevailing form. *English* law has taken a course diametrically opposed to that of French law. Complete testamentary freedom (whereby no Englishman or Yankee is compelled to leave his family a farthing) dates back to the bourgeois revolution of 1688 and evolved in the same measure as 'bourgeois' property developed in England. Thus, it would seem after all that, aside from its specifically Roman origins, etc., complete testamentary freedom, indeed the making of wills generally, is a DELUSION, which, in bourgeois society too, must have roots of its own, independent of mythology, etc.

I have, alas, had a letter from Germany saying that the £10 cannot be remitted to you before the *end of this month*. *Until then*, I must trust to your diplomatic finesse. As you know, I was disagreeably surprised by the fact that my uncle,^a who honoured the bills I currently owed, put off giving me the additional amount I asked for until SOME MONTHS LATER. All the same, I couldn't help laughing at such a typically Dutch turn of events.

Whether or not I am accorded Prussian nationality there might still be some question of myself and FAMILY travelling to Berlin on *my passport* as a 'foreigner', and spending the winter there.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*. Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin. 1922

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

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ENGELS TO MARX³¹⁴

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 June 1861

Dear Moor,

Unfortunately, I haven't been keeping any newspapers on the American war, besides many of the places are not to be found on the map. The essential points are as follows:

The South had been quietly arming for years, particularly since

^a Lion Philips

the fuss over the presidential elections²⁵³ and, at the very last moment, had received money and arms *en masse* as a result of the treachery on the part of Buchanan's ministers.²⁵⁴ By 4 March, therefore, the North was completely crippled. Moreover, prior to the fall of Sumter,²⁸⁵ Lincoln did not or could not do anything, save effect a somewhat greater concentration of his few regular troops (18,000 in all, the majority scattered about the West on anti-Indian duties) and refurbish their equipment. Now finally, after the attack on Sumter, the North was sufficiently aroused to silence all outbursts on the part of the opposition, thereby making powerful military action a possibility. 75,000 men were drafted and may now be serving, but it would seem that ten times that number were eager to volunteer, so that there may be up to 100,000 men now serving even though they won't by any means have been concentrated yet. A further call-up by Lincoln is expected daily and will take less time, for everything is better prepared now. The 75,000 men, or rather the element occupying positions in the Washington region, on the Ohio facing Kentucky, and in St Louis (Missouri) (i.e. not counting the reserves in Ohio and Pennsylvania), have been sufficient for the time being to restore the balance between the forces of North and South along the line of the Potomac and momentarily even to permit a limited offensive by the North.

For the South, just as for the North, the primary objective was Washington. The South's offensive in that direction was far too weak; beyond Richmond the main force was evidently not strong enough to put in a timely thrust. All they managed to do was send a mobile column to Harper's Ferry on the Potomac above Washington. This position is ideally suited to an offensive against the North (Maryland and Pennsylvania), for it lies at the confluence of the Shenandoah, an important river, and the Potomac, is extremely strong tactically and commands both rivers completely. Seemingly, it was not without intent that the Federal Armory was sited up there by a government that foresaw and favoured future secession. The occupation of Harper's Ferry disrupts the control of the Potomac line by Union troops at a sensitive spot and will immediately afford the Southern troops complete command of both banks, assuming they advance *en masse* to this line.

The fate of Maryland and Delaware was dependent on Washington being held by the North; cut off from the South and occupied by Union troops, they at once fell to the Union. A second success for the North.

The reconquest of Missouri by the St Louis Germans³¹⁶ was the third success and one of enormous importance, for whoever holds St Louis blocks the Mississippi. The extent to which Kentucky's neutrality is favourable to North or South will probably depend on circumstances and events. For the time being, at any rate, it will restrict the theatre of war to^a the area that lies further east.^b

Result: Thus, for all its preparations, the South has achieved nothing, save that the North, after only 1 month's preparation, has already wrested from it the national capital and three slave states, while a fourth slave state doesn't dare secede;³¹⁷ also that the South's offensive on the Potomac has come to a halt, whereas the North has already advanced beyond this river, as yet without meeting resistance. For every man the South can still produce, the North will produce three or four. The seceded states have about 7½ million inhabitants, of which more than 3 million are slaves; a minimum of 1 million whites must be deducted to guard the slaves, so that barely 2½ million are left as the aggregate of the population available for war. If 10% of these are mobilised, probably the largest number ever mobilised for defensive purposes, this will produce at most 250,000 men. But there would certainly not be a muster of that order. Switzerland, with pretty well the same population—rather more than 2 millions—has *on paper* about 160,000 militiamen. By contrast the North—reckoning the free states alone—numbers nearly 20 millions, *all* of whom are available with the exception, perhaps, of California, Utah and the territories in the far West. If we say the available population amounts to 17 millions and if we assume that not 10% but simply one third of that, i.e. 3⅓%, are available for an offensive war, we arrive at over 500,000 men, more than enough to quell the South, even if it exerts itself to the utmost. Man for man, there is no question that the people from the North are markedly superior to those from the South, both physically and morally. Your pugnacious SOUTHERNER has a good deal of the cowardly assassin in him. Each of them goes about armed, but only because this will enable him, during a quarrel, *to fell his antagonist before the latter expects to be attacked*. That is the aver...

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

^a In the original the words 'Virginia and Carolina' were crossed out here. · ^b In the original: west.

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁴⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 June^a 1861

Dear Frederick,

I have put off writing for so long because Weber (the Palatine watchmaker) had promised me a *report* on the London National Association²⁵⁷ meeting, which was the scene of Kinkel's strange experience and was attended by Weber as a guest. I did not receive the enclosed from him until today. You will have seen from the last *Hermann* what it was all about.^b The final meeting has been adjourned until Saturday week.^c In the meantime, Juch, having been given the necessary SUPPLIES by a German businessman in the City, has set off to Coburg with the intention of getting the central committee of the National Association there to expel Zerffi (and hence *implicite*^d Kinkel). It's really splendid that Gottfried's boot-licking attitude to the English should have inspired such fanatical rage in all the liberal bourgeois in the City.

Letters have even arrived from Bonn, threatening Gottfried 'with a drubbing' should he return. The secret behind the support given to MacDonald by Zerffi (no doubt acting on instructions) and Gottfried³¹⁸ is this: Gottfried holds an English appointment as lecturer at the Kensington Museum,³¹⁹ the good Zerffi likewise at an Ashley (Shaftesbury)^e INSTITUTION. Gottfried's only ALLIES are the louts of the 'apolitical' choral and other drinking societies. Last week Gottfried bribed these people (probably with English money) to join the National Association *en bloc*. (For anyone can become a member of the beastly association by obtaining a card from Trübner, at a MINIMUM CONTRIBUTION of 3/-.) Again, Gottfried held a private meeting of his followers and sent a deputation to Heintzmann asking him to resign voluntarily (on account of the insult to Gottfried's dignity) from his position as chairman, failing which a motion would be proposed to that end.

BY THE BY, I should not forget to tell you that, while the row was going on, my friend Rheinländer joined the National Association

^a A slip of the pen in the original: 9 June. - ^b 'Protokoll der Versammlung der Londoner Mitglieder des Nationalvereins am 1. Juni 1861', *Hermann*, No. 128, 15 June 1861. - ^c The meeting Marx writes about took place on Tuesday, 18 June 1861. - ^d by implication - ^e Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper

(after talking it over with me), and brought in some fifty members (mostly clerks) from his Islington Choral Society; it was they more than anyone else who kicked up the anti-Gottfried row.

Rheinländer tells me that never before has the German business contingent in the City taken sides so fanatically over a political issue. How priceless it would be if Gottfried were forced to resign from the National Association because of his kow-towing to a foreign government! That would put paid to his status among the German MIDDLE CLASS riff-raff, and where would he be without them? Gottfried is aware that this is the issue upon which he will stand or fall, and is therefore busying himself after his own fashion. What particularly irks him just now is the way everyone is saying that 'the Volk and "Marx" had been right about him after all'.³²⁰ He told an acquaintance of Hirschfeld's, the printer, that the 'Brünstone Gang'⁶⁵ were the invisible leaders of the whole business'. Nice, is it not, that we, who haven't raised a finger, should be endowed by our enemies with such mystical 'powers'?

The second enclosure I am sending you (which please return as I have got to answer it) is a letter from *la Hatzfeldt*.³²¹ I shall keep her as my private correspondent in Berlin as she has incomparably more political nous (not to mention her good contacts) than 'the step that bears in itself the systematic principle of its walking'. (*Lassalle*, Vol. II, p. 545.)^a (Apropos. I presume you and Lupus have had L.'s opus?) There are two passages in her letter I should explain to you. With regard to the Blanqui affair, I had arranged for a letter to be sent her from Brussels (from Denouville).^b Initially, it's a matter of obtaining money to print a pamphlet, emanating from Denouville, about the—infamous—Blanqui trial. (Debates, etc., and discussion thereof.) Blanqui himself has, through Denouville, expressed his heartfelt gratitude to me and to the *parti prolétaire allemand (in partibus)*^c for the sympathy we have shown him.³²² I consider it a very good thing that we should again have direct links with the decidedly revolutionary party in France.

Second point: In the letter in which I notified Lassalle that there was nothing doing just now so far as the newspaper was concerned, I endeavoured to sugar the pill by saying that I might perhaps come to Berlin next winter.^d

^a F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. - ^b Louis Waiteau. - ^c German proletarian party (in exile). *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by infidels. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops holding purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. - ^d See this volume, pp. 283-84.

La Hatzfeldt's assessments of official democracy in Berlin is perfectly correct. She doesn't, of course, come into contact with the genuine rank and file, nor, of course, is she familiar with the prevailing mood in the pubs—which is better.

Many thanks for your letter about America.^a If anything of importance (military) should happen, you will, I presume, not fail to write and let me have your views about it. From the picture I have gained of General Scott—now 76, to boot—from the Mexican War³²³ (see Ripley^b), I would expect him to make tremendous blunders—if, that is, the old jackass isn't supervised by others. Above all, slow and irresolute. Incidentally, from the facts appearing in the *Tribune* I see that the North is now speaking openly of a slave war and the abolition of slavery.^c

Yesterday in the Commons, on the occasion of the Schleswig-Holstein affair, Lord Montagu, having previously given notice of his intention, raised the matter of Palmerston's London Protocol (on the Danish Succession) of 1850,³²⁴ etc. The Old Man^d had recourse to his usual method. Hardly had Montagu embarked on his speech than he was brought up short by a pre-arranged COUNT-OUT of the House.

On Saturday^e I have £2 to pay out in rates and should be most grateful if you could send this to me. *At the beginning of July I shall be getting a bit more money.* The fact that I have already spent what I brought back with me will not surprise you, since, besides the debts which occasioned the trip,³²⁸ nothing has been coming in for nearly 4 months, while school and doctor alone ate up nearly £40.

What's this about L. Simon, of whom there is some mention in the last part of *la Hatzfeldt's* letter?³²⁵ Was Simon in the *Landwehr*³¹? At any rate, you have sinned more³²⁶ than Ludwig (who was nowhere in the field, etc.). I don't understand the business. Regards to Lupus.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a *ibid.*, pp. 294-96. · ^b R. S. Ripley, *The War with Mexico*, 2 vols., New York, 1849. · ^c Marx presumably refers, among others, to the article 'Salient Features of the War' in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6270, 27 May 1861. · ^d Palmerston · ^e 22 June 1861

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁴⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 July 1861

Dear Frederic,

I was delighted to see Lupus here, as was the whole FAMILY. Despite his gout, the old man had quite a youthful air. He immediately handed over your letter,²⁵² and £2, which promptly went to the TAX GATHERER. I was expecting to get a SUPPLY from Germany this morning, but nothing has arrived yet. Since I am completely without REVENUE for the time being and yet IN A CONTINUAL COURSE OF CONSUMPTION (this being how some economists account for 'profit', which they see as deriving, not from the costs of production, but from the costs of consumption³²⁷), any supplies from Manchester would be most welcome.

Please write and tell me *at once* what you think about the moves (military) in Virginia. The BLUNDERS made by officers of the militia—Brigadier-General Pierce, by nature a 'tailor' from the State of Massachusetts—will, of course, recur often enough on both sides.³²⁸ Is Washington still threatened? Do you believe that the SOUTHERNERS' position at Manassas JUNCTION is an offensive one? Or aren't the fellows engaged rather in a withdrawal? In Missouri the defeat of the SOUTHERNERS seem certain,³²⁹ and who should now turn up there but the terrible 'COLONEL Börnstein'? From a private letter to Weber it transpires that 'COLONEL Willich' is in command of a corps from Cincinnati. He would not appear to have gone into action yet.

On studying these American affairs more closely, I have come to the conclusion that the conflict between South and North—for 50 years the latter has been climbing down, making one concession after another—has at last been brought to a head (if we disregard the effrontery of 'CHIVALRY's' fresh demands) by the weight which the extraordinary development of the NORTH WESTERN STATES has thrown into the scales. The population there, with its rich admixture of newly-arrived Germans and Englishmen and, moreover, largely made up of SELF-WORKING FARMERS, did not, of course, lend itself so readily to intimidation as the GENTLEMEN of Wall Street and the Quakers of Boston. According to the last census (1860), it had grown by 67 p. c. between 1850 and 1860, in

which year it numbered 7,870,869, whereas, according to the same census, the entire free population of the seceded SLAVE STATES WAS ABOUT 5 million. These NORTH WESTERN STATES furnished not only the BULK of the ruling party, but also the President^a in 1860.³³⁰ It was also this self-same area in the North that first came out unequivocally against any recognition of the independence of a SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. They cannot, of course, allow the lower reaches and estuary of the Mississippi to pass into the hands of foreign states. Again, in the Kansas affair³³¹ (from which this war really dates), it was the population of these NORTH WESTERN [States] who came to blows with the BORDER RUFFIANS.

A closer look at the history of the secession movement reveals that secession, constitution (Montgomery), Congress *ibid.*, etc., are USURPATIONS³³⁶ without exception. Nowhere did they allow the people *en masse* to vote. This 'USURPATION'—which is concerned, not only with secession from the North, but also with consolidating and intensifying the oligarchy of the 300,000 SLAVE LORDS in the South *vis-à-vis* the 5 million WHITES—has been the subject of highly characteristic articles which appeared in the Southern PAPERS at the time.^b

And now let us turn to high politics—Kinkel and the National Association in London.^c You will no doubt recall that, a week ago last Saturday, Heintzmann had adjourned the meeting (a fact he advertised in the *Hermann*^d), because Juch had been sent to Coburg, THERE TO MOVE A *placitum patrum*.^e At the same time, the GREAT Heintzmann had convened an extraordinary meeting for Tuesday^f to commemorate the Battle of Waterloo,³³² etc.

Foxy Gottfried, however, together with Zerffi, sent out secret circulars to their people (see last *Hermann*) summoning them to a meeting on Saturday.^g Gottfried and his people, having now got the field to themselves, effectively held their meeting behind the backs of the others. Gottfried (as one of the vice-presidents of the National Association) took the chair, and Zerffi (as a member of the committee of the self-same National Association) acted as secretary. It goes without saying that the resolutions pertaining to the MacDonald business,³¹⁸ etc., that were adopted at this meeting were agreeable to Gottfried and Zerffi. Now, on the following

^a Abraham Lincoln - ^b See this volume, pp. 305-09. - ^c *ibid.*, pp. 297-98. - ^d Marx refers to the 'Protokoll der Versammlung der Londoner Mitglieder des Nationalvereins am 1. Juni 1861', *Hermann*, No. 128, 15 June 1861. - ^e senatorial decision - ^f 18 June - ^g 15 June. The details are contained in an editorial on the National Association meeting of 15 June 1861 in the *Hermann*, No. 130, 29 June 1861.

Tuesday, Heintzmann called for a reading of the minutes of the last meeting at which he had taken the chair, and acted as though he knew nothing whatever about the interim meeting held by Gottfried and Co. Nor did Gottfried and Zerffi, who were present, call for the reading of the relevant minutes or, for that matter, say a single word about the meeting they themselves had arranged. What Gottfried did do, however, was to write to Juch the following day, requesting him to reproduce in the *Hermann* the minutes of his, Gottfried's, meeting enclosed in his letter. He even ominously invoked an agreement which he had made with Juch on handing over the *Hermann*. The latter, however, said 'quod non'^a (see last *Hermann*). The day before yesterday,^b it would seem, the row was discussed at a meeting of the National Association at Seyd's Hotel. But I haven't had a report on it yet.

This will give you some idea of what the 'Machiavellismus Gottofredi Magni'^c is like. You will further see from the last *Hermann*'s account of the meeting of the National Association^d that Blind—who has as many little dodges up his sleeve as there are fleas on a dog—invited 'Dralle'^e to join, in order to secure for himself a vote of thanks as the saviour of Schleswig-Holstein.^f This was, however, CAPPED BY Heintzmann, who didn't even give Dralle's NOTION a chance to be put to the vote. This same *summus*^g Blind got a third party to ask Weber, etc., whether he should 'appear as a speaker' at the MEETING TO BE HELD BY THE GERMAN COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION AND THE FRENCHMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS IN HONOUR OF THE JUNE INSURRECTION.^h Reply: If he wanted a drubbing—yes.

Ad vocem^h Lassalle's work:ⁱ

Lupus has made me a present of his copy, for disposal as follows: to be sent by you to my cousin, addressed to: 'A. Philips, Advokaat,^j Keizergracht bij de Westermarkt. L. L. 267, Amsterdam.'

You must, of course, erase Lassalle's dedication to Lupus. My cousin is interested in the theory of jurisprudence.

^a 'no go' - ^b 29 June - ^c 'Machiavellianism of the great Gottfried' - ^d 'Protokoll der außerordentlichen Sitzung der Londoner Mitglieder des Deutschen Nationalvereins, abgehalten den 18. Juni 1861, in Seyd's Hotel, 39, Finsbury Sqre', *Hermann*, No. 130, 29 June 1861. - ^e A pun on the name *Dralle* which also means 'buxom'. - ^f See this volume, p. 264. - ^g sublime - ^h As to - ⁱ F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. - ^j Barrister

You yourself, in order to get a foretaste—both of what is insipid and what is good in Lassalle's book, should, for a start, read the foreword to Volume I and Chapter XLI in Volume II, beginning at p. 517.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁴⁹

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 3 July 1861

Dear Moor,

Your questions about the state of affairs in Virginia are easier put than answered. Is Washington still threatened? Not immediately, otherwise the SOUTHERNERS would not have evacuated so much territory; but one doesn't know, of course, how the opposing sides compare in terms of strength. Should the first major attack by the Northerners be decisively repulsed, it's impossible to say what might happen, for there is no knowing where they would come to a halt again. However, the chances are three to one that, even in that case, the Potomac would form an adequate obstacle.

The position at Manassas Junction is determined by the SOUTHERNERS' need to maintain communications with North-West Virginia along the railway to Paris and Strasburg. If M. J. is lost, their nearest railway communication with West Virginia (on the far side of the mountains) would be the line from Richmond via Gordonsville to Staunton—80 miles to the south; they would lose the opportunity of rapidly moving their reserves, particularly those immediately to the rear of their dispositions, from west to east, etc., as need arose, while any elements in West Virginia could be cut off or forced to make a wide detour. Such is the

significance of the position—whether it has any tactical importance I can't say, for no conclusions at all can be drawn from the maps. All in all, the war in West Virginia will now turn on the railway junctions.

The affair at Big Bethel³²⁸ is of no significance. Tactically speaking, it was abominably MISMANAGED; a night attack carried out with volunteers like these and, what's more, with each column separated from the rest, could only end in confusion, mutual slaughter, and panicky flight.

On the other hand, the North would seem to be at fault in 2 respects: 1. the massive strength of the newly formed and fully mobile corps doesn't appear to have been called on at all; they were kept kicking their heels some 400-500 miles from the scene of the fighting, whereas on the Potomac they would have been worth their weight in gold, and 2. BRAVE OLD Scott would again appear to have made colossal plans for an encirclement³²⁹ which can only lead to a colossal dispersal of his troops; to what extent this may lead to defeats, given the slack ways and unknown heroes of the South, it is impossible to determine.

What is this about not voting on secession?^a According to all the papers up here, the resolutions at the conventions were ratified in each state by popular vote.

Let me know how *il capitano che'l gran Sepolcro liberò di Cristo, Goffredo il Magnanimo*^b subsequently got on in the affair.

Enclosed SL 62585, five pounds, Liverpool, 12 May 1860.

I shall see if I can't send you some more towards the end of the week.

How did Lupus get on at the Prussian Embassy?³²⁵

Many regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original
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^a See this volume, p. 301. - ^b Gottfried the Magnanimous, who liberated Christ's great sepulchre. Engels ironically likens Gottfried Kinkel to Godfrey of Bouillon, a character in Tasso's *Jerusalem liberata*. See this volume, pp. 297-98, 301-02.

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁴⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 July 1861

Dear Engels,

Your letter enclosing £5 most gratefully received.

For the past 3 days I have had a foul inflammation of the eyes which has prevented me from doing any writing or reading. However, I believe it will pass in a couple of days.

Lupus found Alberts extremely obstructive. (I would mention in passing that the latter is Bernstorff's factotum. Also chief police agent and chief pimp to the more select visitors from Prussia.) However, with his own particular braud of rudeness, he finally browbeat Alberts into entering a long scrawl on his Swiss passport to the effect that Lupus, an exile, was availing himself of the amnesty, etc., to travel to Wiesbaden, etc., for such and such a purpose. Initially, he had been told that, because of his 10 years' residence abroad—so this is the story they dish out to everyone—he had lost his Prussian citizenship. He should therefore have himself naturalised as an Englishman and travel on an English passport.

Zedlitz, BY THE BY, told Lassalle shortly before his resignation that I had republican or, at least, anti-royalist views, and it was their unvarying principle never to renaturalise anyone of that *couleur*. They didn't want to set a *praecedens* in my case.²⁹² Winter, Zedlitz's successor, told Lassalle he could not reverse his predecessor's decision. Finally Schwerin, who was also being pestered by Lassalle and wanted to be rid of him, said he would refer the matter to the Berlin municipal council—which, however, he *won't* do. During the debate in the Chamber on the subject of refugees, Vincke *et cie* applauded loudly when Schwerin announced that the government would always reserve the right to decide each particular case as it thought fit.³³⁶

As to the secession business, the matter has been quite wrongly represented in the English papers.* Everywhere, with the exception of South Carolina, there was the strongest opposition to secession.

* See this volume, pp. 301, 304.

*First: BORDER SLAVE STATES.*³³⁷ A CONVENTION of the BORDER STATES WAS held in the winter of 1861.³³⁷ Those invited were Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee and North Carolina. For this purpose, further CONVENTIONS were held in each of the above states so that DELEGATES might be sent to the GENERAL CONVENTION.

Delaware refused even to call a convention for this purpose.

Tennessee ditto. Its Democratic LEGISLATURE took it out of the Union by *coup de main*. Admittedly, an ELECTION was later HELD to ratify this INVALID ACT. This took place under A REIGN OF TERRORISM. More than $\frac{1}{3}$ didn't vote at all. Of the remainder, $\frac{1}{3}$ were against secession, including the whole of East Tennessee, which at this moment is arming to oppose the secessionists.

Kentucky. 100,000 for the UNION TICKET, only a few thousand for secession.

Maryland declared itself in favour of Union, and has now elected 6 UNION MEN AS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.³³⁸

North Carolina and even *Arkansas* elected UNION DELEGATES, the former actually by a large majority. Subsequently terrorised.

Virginia. The people elected a UNION CONVENTION (by a majority). Some of these chaps allowed themselves to be bought. When the Southern fever was at its height—fall of Sumter³³⁵—an ORDINANCE OF SECESSION WAS PASSED SECRETLY BY 88 TO 55. All other moves—while the ORDINANCE continued to be kept secret—aimed at the CAPTURE of the FEDERAL NAVY YARD AT NORFOLK and the FEDERAL ARMORY AT HARPER'S FERRY were carried out secretly. Were betrayed to the FEDERAL AUTHORITIES before their EXECUTION. An alliance with Jefferson Davis' GOVERNMENT was concluded in secret, and a huge mass of CONFEDERATE TROOPS was suddenly pitched into the territory. Under their protection (truly Bonapartist, this), it now voted for secession. 50,000 UNION VOTES nevertheless, despite the SYSTEMATIC TERRORISM. AS YOU KNOW, NORTH WESTERN VIRGINIA has now publicly broken with the secessionists.

*Second: GULF STATES.*³³⁹ A popular vote proper was taken only in a few states. In most of them, the *conventions*, which were chosen to decide the attitude of the southern states to Lincoln's election (subsequently, at the Montgomery Congress,³³⁶ it was *they* who formed the DELEGATES), usurped the power not only to decide on secession but also to recognise the Constitution, Jefferson Davis, etc. How this actually came about you will learn from the extracts below, taken from Southern American papers.

³³⁷ See this volume, p. 277.

Texas, where, after South Carolina, there is the largest SLAVE PARTY and TERRORISM, nevertheless 11,000 votes for Union.

Alabama. No popular vote either on secession or on the new Constitution, etc. The convention elected here PASSED the ORDINANCE OF SECESSION by 61 votes to 39. The 39 were from the NORTHERN COUNTIES, peopled almost exclusively by whites, but they represented more FREE MEN than the 61; for, in accordance with the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, each slave-holder also votes for $\frac{3}{5}$ of his slaves.

Louisiana. More UNION VOTES than SECESSION VOTES were cast at the election for delegates to the convention. But the DELEGATES defected.

The interests of the mountain districts, the west of Carolina, the east of Tennessee, the north of Alabama and Georgia, are very different from those of the southern SWAMPS.

The 2nd Decembrist nature³⁴⁰ of all this manoeuvring for secession (which is also why the fellows were compelled to provoke a war so that with the cry 'THE NORTH AGAINST THE SOUTH' they could keep the movement going), which will be apparent to you from the following excerpts, is also evident from the fact that the traitors in Buchanan's administration who were at the head of the movement—War Secretary Floyd, Navy Secretary Toncey, Treasury Secretary Cobb, Secretary of the Interior Thompson—together with the leading senators of the South, were deeply involved in the DILAPIDATIONS running to many millions which, in the course of December 1860, had been referred by Congress (House of Representatives) to a COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY. For some of these fellows, it was, at least, a question of escaping the penitentiary. Hence they are the most willing tools of the 300,000-strong SLAVEHOLDERS oligarchy. It goes without saying that the concentration, status, and resources of the latter enable it TO PUT DOWN any opposition for the time being. Among one section of the 'POOR WHITES', they found the MOB that served them in place of Zouaves.³⁴¹

Georgia. 'The Griffin Union':

'It is mere mockery for the same men who made the Constitution in Montgomery to come back to Georgia and ratify it under the name of a state convention.'

The Macon Journal:

³⁴⁰ Marx quoted American newspapers in English. Words in parentheses are Marx's and are written in German and English.

'The State Conventions ... called for another purpose ... assume that they are the people, and under such an assumption of power can appoint delegates to a General Convention without consulting the people. All the acts of the Congress of their Confederacy are passed in secret session with closed doors, and what is done is kept from the people.'

The Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (largest Georgia PAPER):

'The whole movement for secession, and the formation of a new Government, so far at least as Georgia is concerned' (and Georgia is the most populous of the slave states), 'proceed on only a quasi consent of the people, and was pushed through, under circumstances of great excitement and frenzy—by a fictitious majority. With all the appliances brought to bear, etc., the election of the 4th of January showed a falling off of nearly 3,000, and an absolute majority of elected deputies of 79. But, upon assembling, by wheedling, coaxing, buying, and all the arts of deception, the convention showed a majority of 31' (against Union). '...The Georgia Convention and the Confederate Congress have gone forward in their work, as none can deny, without authority from the people.'^a

Alabama. 'The Mobile Advertiser':

'The Convention has adopted the permanent Constitution in behalf of the State of Alabama... The great fact stands forth that the delegates were not chosen for any such purpose.'

The North Alabamian:

'The Convention made haste to usurp the prerogative, and ratify the Constitution... It is a remarkable fact that the substantial, physical force of the country, the hardfisted, handworking men, expected to do all the fighting when the country calls, were from the beginning opposed to the Ordinance of Secession.'

Mississippi. Similar complaints about usurpation in the *Jackson Mississippian* and *Vicksburg Whig*.

Louisiana. 'New Orleans True Delta':

'Here secession succeeded only by suppressing the election returns... The government has been changed into *despotism*.'

At the STATE CONVENTION of Louisiana (New Orleans) on 21 March 1861, OLD ROSELIUS (one of the leading POLITICIANS in the UNITED STATES), said:

'The Montgomery instrument³⁴² ... did not inaugurate a government of the people, but an odious and unmitigated oligarchy. The people had not been permitted to act in the matter.'^b

^a Marx quotes J. Guthrie [Address to the citizens of Louisville, Kentucky, on 16 March in reference to the condition of the country]. His source was probably the *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6210, 21 March 1861. ^b Ch. Roselius' speech in the Convention of Louisiana on 21 March 1861, *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6217, 29 March 1861.

In *Louisville, Kentucky*, Senator *Guthrie* (PRO-SLAVERY MAN, Treasury Secretary under Pierce) said on 16 March 1861 that the whole movement was a 'PLOT' and 'USURPATION'. Inter alia:

'In Alabama a majority of the popular vote was cast against going out, but a small majority of the delegates were for secession, they took Alabama out, and refused the people to have any voice in the matter. The vote of Louisiana, too, was against secession, but the delegates suppressed it,' etc.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 12 July 1861

Dear Engels,

Your last letter ²³² *together with enclosure*, or rather the enclosure minus letter, most gratefully received.

The grand tragi-comedy of Gottfried Kinkel has come to a worthy end, and POOR Gottfried has been knocked on the head.

To put the grand goings-on into a nutshell, what actually happened was this: On 15 June, Gottfried and Co., as I have already related,^a had, off their own bat, held a special meeting, at which they passed resolutions agreeable to themselves. On 18 June, Heintzmann took the chair at an extraordinary meeting, whose agenda did not include the great point at issue, since they were still awaiting a reply from Coburg.

The crucial meeting finally took place on 6 July, an answer HAVING MEANWHILE ARRIVED from the oracle at Coburg.²⁴³ Both parties were there in force, including the 35 members of the Association of German Men⁵ bought by Gottfried for cash. However, before the day of the meeting there had already been a considerable

^a See this volume, pp. 301-02.

amount of agitation. For instance, the Association of German Men had been harangued by Heintzmann *et cie* and told about Gottfried's machinations. The chairman of that association, a SHIP AGENT by the name of Schmidt (a Hanoverian), went over to the 'patriotic' side, of course,

Heintzmann—BY THE BY—has, of course, a twofold interest in view: on the one hand, to appear pleasing to the Prussian government, on the other, perhaps to obtain *hac via*^a from that government some important TRUSTIVE office connected with the forthcoming industrial exhibition.³⁴⁴ From what I hear, the fellow has performed the office of chairman after the true heavy-handed fashion of your Royal Prussian Elberfeld prosecutor. Not that this isn't the right way to handle the melodramatic Gottfried.

Well then, after the meeting (on 6 July) had been declared open, Heintzmann called for the reading of the minutes of 1 and 18 June. Neither Kinkel nor Zerffi dared so much as suggest that their minutes of the 15th should be read. Thus, they admit the illegality of the meeting secretly organised by themselves. Next, Heintzmann read out the letter from Coburg. The oracle over there had written as follows: While expulsion from the National Association could, of course, only be effected by the senate at Coburg, expulsion from the *comité* (as in Zerffi's case) was a local matter and hence must be decided in London.

Now, it so happened that the election of new officials to the London National Association was in general due to take place on 6 July. Hence, when Schmidt moved that they proceed with the agenda and allow the elections to decide the case, his motion was carried.

Gottfried made a very long speech and generally conducted himself in a melodramatically excited manner. The few hairs he still possesses stood on end. He was by turns acrimonious and threatening and even, at times, had recourse to irony, a field that is quite foreign to him. Throughout his speech, the utmost disorder reigned. Hissing. Notably, too, reiterated shouts of 'Gottfried', which he always regards as a grievous outrage. But oddest of all, it seems, was the manner in which, during the succeeding debate, even though he no longer had the floor, Gottfried kept leaping to his feet in order to interrupt, whereupon Heintzmann, raising a menacing arm, caused him by a mere gesture to subside into his seat.

^a thereby

At the elections Gottfried and his whole gang were thoroughly trounced. Heintzmann was elected chairman by 133 votes to Gottfried's 5. So, even the fellows he had suborned voted for the most part against him. No sooner had these results been proclaimed than he apparently adopted a most 'dignified' pose, a synthesis of the 'dying gladiator' and 'Christ crucified'. Has Gottfried deserved this of 'his beloved Germany'?

In the meantime, however, that creature Blind—who, as a 'republican', does not, of course, belong to the National Association—had succeeded by dint of obsequiousness, sharp practice, and intrigues of all kinds in having himself loudly acclaimed as the courageous and patriotic champion of Schleswig-Holstein at both the National Association meetings of 15 and 18 June.^a

So much for this war between mice and frogs.^b You will have seen that even the *Kladderadatsch* contained a joke or two at the expense of the noble poet.^c

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

[London,] 17 July 1861

My sweet little Cousin,

I hope you will not have mis-interpreted my long silence. During the first time I did not exactly know where to direct my letters to, whether to Aachen or to Bommel. Then, there came a

^a See this volume, pp. 264-65. - ^b An allusion to *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice), a Greek poem which parodies Homer's *Iliad*, and also to G. Rollenhagen's poem *Fröscheuseler, der Frösch und Meuse wunderbare Hofhaltung*. - ^c Kinkel. Marx refers to 'Der deutsche Mann. Ein Spielzeug für Wortklaubler'. *Kladderadatsch*, No. 29-30, 30 June 1861.

heavy pressure of business, and during the last 2 or 3 weeks I laboured under a most disgusting inflammation of the eyes which very much limited the time I had disposable for writing or reading. So, my dear child, if I must plead guilty, there are many attenuating circumstances which I trust you, as a gracious judge, will allow to influence your sentence. At all events, you would do me great wrong in supposing that during all that time one single day had passed away without the remembrance, on my part, of my dear little friend.

My Berlin affair has not yet been brought to a definite issue. You will remember that during my stay in the Prussian metropolis the Hohenzollern authorities seemed to yield, and even furnished me with a passport for one year. Yet hardly had I turned my back upon them, when Lassalle, to his utter astonishment, received a letter from the Polizeipräsident v. Zedlitz to the purpose that I could not be 'renaturalised' because of my '*politische Bescholtenheit*'.^a At the same time the Prussian government declared that *all* the Political Refugees, having been absent from Prussia for more than 10 years, had lost their right of citizenship, had become foreigners, and would, consequently, like all other foreigners, only be re-naturalised at the pleasure of the king. In other words, they declared their so-called amnesty^b to be a mere delusion, sham and snare. This was a point I had tried to drive them to during my Berlin stay, and it was more than even the Prussian press and the Prussian chamber of deputies were able to bear silently with. Consequently, the case gave rise to bitter discussions in the journals, and to an interpellation of the cabinet in the *Abgeordnetenhaus*.^c For the nonce the ministry escaped by means of some equivocal and contradictory statements, but the whole affair contributed not a little to disillusion people in Germany as to the 'new era' inaugurated by what the Berliners irreverently call the 'Schöne Wilhelm'.^{d 345} Lassalle, with his usual stubbornness, tried hard to get the better of the authorities. First he rushed to Zedlitz and made him *such a scene* that the Freiherr^e got quite frightened and called his secretary for assistance. A few weeks later, Zedlitz having been removed from his post, in consequence of hostile demonstrations against him by the Berlin mob, Lassalle called upon Geheimrath^f Winter, the successor of Zedlitz, but the 'successor' declared that his hands were bound by the decision of

^a political unreliability - ^b See this volume, pp. 248-49. - ^c Chamber of Deputies.

^d 'Handsome William'. - ^e Baron. - ^f Privy Councillor.

his 'predecessor'. Lassalle, lastly, caught hold of Count Schwerin, the minister of the Interior who, to escape from the violent expostulations of my representative, promised him to leave the whole case to the decision of the Berlin magistrate—a promise he is, however, not very likely to keep.³³⁶ As to myself, I have attained at least the one success of forcing the Berlin government to throw off its liberal mask. As to my return to Berlin, if I should think proper to go there before May 1862, they could not prevent it because of the passport granted to me. If I should delay my return, things will perhaps have so altered in Prussia, that I shall not want their permission. It is really ridiculous that a government should make so much fuss, and compromise itself so much, for fear of a private individual. The conscience of their weakness must be awful.

At the same time I had the good fortune of being honoured by the singular attention of the French government. A person at Paris whom I do not know, had a translation of my pamphlet *Herr Vogt* already in print, when an order on the part of M. de Persigny forbade him going on with the translation. At the same time a general warning was communicated to all the booksellers at Paris against selling the German original of *Herr Vogt*. I got only acquainted with this occurrence by a Paris correspondence published in the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung*.^a

From the Gräfin Hatzfeldt I have received a letter filling 16 pages.^b Take an example of this, my dear child. She has gone—of course, in company of Lassalle—to a bathing place near Frankfurt on the Main. Thence they will proceed to Switzerland, and, after a month's sojourn there, to Italy. She feels much *ennuyée*^c and thinks herself much to be pitied, because she has no other business on hand save that of amusing herself. It is in fact a bad plight for an active, stirring and rather ambitious woman whose days of flirtation are gone by.

A *propos*, I have sent from Manchester to August^d the two volumes of Lassalle's new juridical work^e and should like to hear whether the packet has found out its address. From Jacques^f I have heard nothing.

I think not, my dear child, that Mrs Marx and her daughters will find an occasion of paying this year a visit to Bommel, because the Doctor thinks a seabath during the hot season would be the

^a See this volume, p. 290. - ^b Sophie von Hatzfeldt's letter to Marx of 14 June 1861 - ^c bored - ^d August Philips - ^e F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. - ^f Jacques Philips

best she could do for getting rid of the remainders of the terrible disease that befell her last autumn.^a On the other hand, I hope you will not forget your promise to visit London where all the members of the family will feel happy to receive you. As to myself, I need not tell you that nothing in the world would give me greater pleasure.

I hope, my sweet little charmer, you will not prove too severe, but, like a good Christian, send me *very soon* one of your little letters without revenging yourself for my too long protracted silence.

Recommend me to your father, to my friend 'Jettchen', the Doctor,^b your brother Fritz and the whole family, and believe me always

Your most sincere admirer

Charles Marx

I am quite astonished at the news of the *attentat*^c on his Prussian Majesty,^d alias 'Der schöne Wilhelm'.^d How could any person of common understanding risk his own head in order to kill a brainless ass?

First published in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Assen, 1956

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 July 1861

Dear Engels,

I do not believe that you can apply to the Prussian Embassy in London for a 'certificate of good conduct'^e without presenting the fellows with a document most compromising to yourself.

Neither under Prussian nor international law is the Prussian Embassy a supervisory body obliged to issue *testimonia* as to the

^a See this volume, p. 216. - ^b Antonie Johannes Wouters van Anrooij - ^c attempt - ^d 'handsome William'

conduct of foreigners or Prussians. Only insofar as it issues *passports* does it have to consider whether someone's reputation, either as a result of a court decision or by *rumor publicus*, is that of a criminal. As for the rest, it is SUPPOSED TO KNOW NOTHING about private individuals. What it does know, it knows *per abusum*^a as a *moucharderie*^b institution. Thus, a certificate of good conduct from that quarter would be tantamount to a certificate of good conduct from the illegal (and hence *officially non-existent*) *secret political police, sub auspiciis*^c of Alberts, the Embassy clerk. But you cannot recognise such an authority, and the chief of police in Barmen would be very hard put to it, were you to ask him to indicate the paragraph in the Prussian statute book according to which the Prussian Embassy in London possesses such attributes.

The same cannot be said of the Prussian consul in Manchester. Consuls are commercial, not political representatives of their state. Hence they are SUPPOSED TO KNOW the businessmen of their locality and, in particular, those of their own nationality. Hence the consul would be able to give a certificate to the effect that X. X. has lived in Manchester for 10 years as a respectable businessman and is known to be such. The Prussian government has no right whatever to demand any other kind of testimonial and would be too cautious to do so *officially*. But the former it can demand, because your request for renaturalisation has put you on the same footing as FOREIGNERS of whom suchlike testimonials, etc., may be required when they apply for naturalisation in Prussia.

The Prussian government has no more right to demand any sort of testimonial concerning your *political conduct* than, say, a *confession of political faith* executed by you yourself.

I have heard nothing more either from Vienna^d or from Dana, although the latter sends me the *Tribune* every week.

Brockhaus will not definitely make up his mind^e until I have sent him the manuscript.³¹⁰ This is a far from pleasant condition since he will submit the manuscript to the judgment of his idiots of literary advisers over there. Come to that, I'm not progressing as fast as I should like, owing to much domestic TROUBLE.

Have you read any of Lassalle's book^f? Have you sent the book to my cousin^g? This last is of importance to me, since I am sorely in need of that youth's *bons offices*.^h

Lassalle and the countessⁱ are at a spa near Frankfurt am Main.

^a by abuse - ^b institution for police spies - ^c under the auspices of - ^d See this volume, p. 292. - ^e *ibid.*, pp. 274 and 285. - ^f F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. - ^g August Philips - ^h good offices - ⁱ Sophie von Hatzfeldt

I was called upon by an emissary from the Poles, who at the same time brought me a whole bundle of J. Ph. Becker's letters, sent by Schily, which I haven't yet read. Hasn't paid me a second visit, probably because he didn't like the home-truths I told him about the poor outlook for any kind of CONSPIRACY in Prussia just now. You shall have the Becker letters as soon as I've read them; ditto a letter from Lassalle to me, as soon as I have answered it.^a

Heard anything from Lupus?

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE³⁴⁸

IN BERLIN

[London,] 22 July 1861^b

Dear Lassalle,

You must attribute my somewhat prolonged silence to sundry 'ATTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES'. *D'abord*,^c I have as yet not succeeded—despite the most positive assurances that have been given me in this respect—in putting my financial affairs in order and thus, which galls me more than anything else, letting you have the remaining £10.

Secundo: For a few weeks now I have been suffering from a horrible inflammation of the eyes (better just during the last day or two) which made *all reading and writing* exceedingly irksome.

Let me begin by thanking you sincerely for your endeavours with regard to my renaturalisation. At least, we have managed to compromise the Prussian government and demonstrate the emptiness of its so-called amnesty.^d I believe that O. Becker's

^a See this volume, pp. 316-19. - ^b In the original: 1862. - ^c Firstly - ^d See this volume, pp. 248-49 and 312.

strange attempt at assassination³⁴⁶ (it's not clear from the newspapers whether he's a Russian or a German) will greatly contribute to a frightful termination of the 'new era'.³⁴⁷

I have read the 2nd part of your work^a (when I wanted to begin on the first, I was prevented by my eye-trouble) and have derived very great pleasure from it. I began with No. II because the subject was more congenial to me; not that this will prevent me from subsequently considering the thing in its totality.

You have misconstrued to some extent the very brief comments in my previous letter^b—no doubt it was the way I put it that was to blame. *D'abord*, by 'testamentary freedom' I didn't mean freedom to make a will, but freedom to make it with complete disregard for one's family. In England, the will as such goes back a very long way, nor can there be the slightest doubt that the Anglo-Saxons adopted it from Roman jurisprudence. That the English, even at a very early date, considered testacy rather than intestacy to be the norm, is evident from the fact that as far back as the Late Middle Ages, if a *pater familias* died *ab intestato*,^c only the obligatory portions went to his wife and children, according to circumstances, whereas $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ fell to the Church. For the priests assumed that, had he made his will, he would for the salvation of his soul have left a certain amount to the Church. Generally, it seems to be in this sense that wills in the Middle Ages had a religious connotation and were made for the benefit of the deceased rather than the survivors. But the point I was trying to make (I am not, of course, concerned here with feudal property) was that, after the revolution of 1688, the restrictions governing family settlements, to which the testator had till then been *legally* subject, were lifted. That this was in keeping with the system of free competition and the society based thereon cannot seriously be questioned; nor that Roman law, modified to a greater or lesser extent, was adopted by modern society because the *legal* idea that the subject of free competition has of himself corresponds to that of the Roman *person* (not that I have any intention of enlarging at this juncture on what is a most important point, namely that the *legal* representation of certain property relations, though undoubtedly deriving from them, is not for all that, and cannot be, congruent with them).

You have shown that the adoption of the Roman will originally rested on a misconception (and still does, so far as the sagacity of

^a F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. ^b See this volume, pp. 293-94.

^c intestate

learned jurists is concerned). But it by no means follows from this that the will in its *modern* form—no matter with what misconceptions of Roman law modern jurists may construe it—is the *misconceived* Roman will. If this were so, it might be said that every attainment of an earlier age adopted by a later one is a *misunderstanding of the past*. It is certain, for instance, that the 3 unities, as theoretically construed by the French dramatists³⁴⁹ in Louis XIV's day, rest on a misconception of Greek drama (and of Aristotle as the exponent thereof). On the other hand, it is equally certain that they understood the Greeks in a way that corresponded exactly to their own artistic needs. Hence their continued adherence to this so-called 'classical' drama long after Dacier and others had provided them with a correct interpretation of Aristotle. It is also certain that all modern constitutions are largely based on a *misconception* of the English constitution, adopting as essential precisely that which appears to be declining in the English constitution—and which continues to exist in England *in name only per abusum*^a—e.g. a so-called responsible *cabinet*. The misunderstood form is precisely the general one. It is the one that lends itself to general use at a certain stage in the development of society.

Whether, for example, the English would or would not have had the form of will they now have (which, although it derives directly from the Roman and corresponds to Roman forms is *not* the Roman) without Rome is, to my mind, neither here nor there. Now, let me put the question another way, e.g.: *Might not legacies* (and under the so-called will of today the chief beneficiary becomes, in fact, merely a *universal legatee*³⁵⁰) have arisen of themselves out of bourgeois society, even without any reference to Rome? Or, in place of legacies, just written instructions on the part of the *defuncti*^b as to the disposal of their assets?

What still seems to me *not proven* is that the Greek will was imported by Rome, although there would admittedly seem to be every probability that this is so.

You will have seen that Blanqui's sentence—one of the most outrageous that have ever been pronounced—has been confirmed in the court of appeal.²⁹³ I am now curious to see what his friend in Brussels^c will have to tell me.

My wife sends her kindest regards.

Your
K. M.

^a by abuse . ^b deceased . ^c Louis Watteau

As regards Brockhaus,^a I shall consider the matter as soon as I have finished.³¹⁰ Hitherto I have never sent a manuscript out on spec.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 August 1861

Dear Frederick,

This is to inform you in much haste that the £5 has been most gratefully received.

An odious little sheet was sent to me yesterday entitled *Thusnelda*^b—by Kinkel and Zerffi, attacking Heintzmann *et cie*. Rarely have I encountered such abysmally stupid juvenilia.

The worthy Heinrich Bürgers has made a pro-National Association²⁴ speech at the Gürzenich,³⁵¹ and there was a general *frisson* of pleasure when he breathed the name of the noble man of Gotha.^c

Handsome William appears to be completely out of his mind. The fool is studying folio volumes on the coronation of Frederick I.

I am sending you the *Thusnelda* herewith. Look after it for me.

Also enclosed an article ON THE COUNTING OUT OF THE HOUSE ON THE OCCASION OF THE DANISH QUESTION.^d

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

^a See this volume, pp. 274, 285, 315. - ^b *Thusnelda. Teutonisch-satyrisch-humoristisches Klatschblatt* - ^c Ernest II - ^d See this volume, p. 299.

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MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

[London,] 24 September 1861

My sweet little Cousin,

You must excuse me for sending you today only a few lines. The fact is that I reserve to myself the pleasure of addressing you a real letter^a in a few days. For the present, I wish only to learn, by your gracious interference, whether August^a has at last received *Lassalle's work*.^b Lassalle *bothers me with a new letter as to this subject*, he considering of course 'his work' as something awfully important. He presses me to answer him by *next post*, and thus I must again call upon you. You will much oblige me by informing me as soon as possible of the real state of the case.

Apropos. The book was to be sent to August from Manchester, not from London, but I have been assured that *it had been* sent from Manchester to Amsterdam. Of course, I don't care a fig for the whole 'loss', if loss there be, since August would certainly not much miss 'the work'. But courtesy obliges me to make these researches.

In writing me, you will be of course so friendly to inform me at the same time of what you are doing and so forth, knowing my deep interests in all that concerns you.

My best compliments to your father and the whole family.

Believe me always your most sincere admirer

K. M.

First published in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. I, Part I, Assen, 1956

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^a August Philips - ^b F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 September 1861

DEAR Frederick,

Our youngest^a has had jaundice ever since I got back³⁵²; her condition had been unsatisfactory long before that. Yesterday the yellowness was gone from her eyes, and there is every indication that she is on the mend.

I sent one article to the *Tribune* the week before last and one this week.^b In two weeks' time we shall know (meanwhile I am continuing with one article per week) whether things can go on in this way.

The *Vienna 'Presse'*, or so I gather from what the *Times* *CORRESPONDENT* wrote yesterday,^c has finally revised its attitude towards Schmerling and hence it may now be possible to establish a connection with the paper.

In the issue of Kolatschek's *Stimmen der Zeit* that arrives in London this Monday (or so Kolatschek has written and told Borkheim) there is a special supplement on *Herr Vogt*.^d

Very many thanks for the *Manchester Guardians* (most useful to me just now) and the BRITISH ASSOCIATION PUBLICATION.³⁵³

At the beginning of this week, a young officer by the name of E. Oswald—dressed in Garibaldi OFFICER UNIFORM—called here with an introduction from Schily. A former Prussian lieutenant, he joined Garibaldi as a volunteer, and was promoted lieutenant under Medici. After the disbandment of Garibaldi's army, he went to Paris, where he took employment as a worker in a factory to make ends meet. He is now over here and intends to go to America to join in the struggle. What he needs are funds to get him there. A sailing vessel leaves here every week for New York, and the fare is only £6. Borkheim is prepared to put up £5 on his own account and that of one or two acquaintances. So it's up to a few liberal philistines (Borchardt, etc.) in Manchester to raise a further small sum, partly to provide the passage money. The £6,

^a Eleanor Marx. ^b 'The American Question in England' and 'The British Cotton Trade' written on 18 and 21 September 1861. ^c Report from Vienna. 23 September 1861. *The Times*, No. 24049, 27 September 1861. ^d See this volume, p. 324.

however, does not include food. Borkheim turned *d'abord*^a to Kinkel with a view to obtaining Oswald's travelling expenses from the revolutionary funds.^{b1} But Gottfried said: *quod non*.^b (When in Zurich, Borkheim had succeeded by this means in procuring the money for Anneke's passage to America.) Nor will the American Embassy give a single FARTHING. Oswald seems to me to be an excellent young man and entirely unassuming into the bargain. Once he got to New York, a recommendation from me to Dana would be very useful to him. However, something must be done about it quickly, for his stay in London simply means *faux frais de production*.^c

Oswald says that, as a soldier, Türr isn't worth twopence either. A mere intriguer. Garibaldi kept him on, primarily because he had been recommended by an Italian friend of Garibaldi's, previously associated with Türr, but more especially by virtue of his function as the 'REPRESENTATIVE OF HUNGARY'. Whenever Garibaldi employed him in any kind of independent military role, he was dissatisfied with him. Rüstow, too, evidently took little or no part in the affair. Officially his duty was that of 'historiographer' of the war. Oswald says of Garibaldi that he is essentially a guerrilla leader, but would be unable to cope with a larger army on a larger terrain. His strategical advisers are Cosenz and Medici.

When are you going to Germany?^{b3-4}

Best regards from all the family. Regards to Lupus, Gumpert, etc.

Your
K. M.

Have seen Meyen's sample issue of the *Berliner Reform*. Pure or rather filthy rubbish.

Apropos. Have just had a letter from my niece,^d who says that August Philips in Amsterdam has still not received the Lassalle.^e Perhaps you would find out whether it was sent off by the office.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a first · ^b no · ^c overhead costs · ^d Marx's cousin, Antoinette Philips · ^e F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 October 1861

Dear Engels,

Circumstances have finally CLEARED to the extent that I have at least got firm ground under my feet again and am no longer in a state of complete suspense. As you know, shortly after my return from Manchester³⁵² and as soon as I thought the moment opportune, I again started writing for the *Tribune* at weekly intervals. Last week included, I had sent them 6 articles.³⁵⁵ Then, in the *last* mail, the first 2 articles^a actually came back in print, the first of them (over 3 columns on English opinions on the UNITED STATES) in a PROMINENT PLACE and particularly REFERRED TO on the front page of the paper. To this extent, then, the matter is in order and hence I am assured of £2 per week.

Secondly: I had, as you know, already written to the Vienna *Presse* from Manchester, asking for 'information'.³⁵⁶ About 3 weeks ago I got an answer which was *politically* entirely satisfactory to me. (In the meantime, the paper has modified its attitude to Schmerling.) At the same time, Friedländer (on behalf of Zang, the proprietor) asked for 2 sample articles. These^b I sent off and yesterday morning I got an answer to the effect 1. that the articles had appeared with due prominence on the front page,³⁵⁷ 2. that I was engaged on a regular basis from November, £1 per article, 10sh. per news-letter.

As regards the *Tribune*, I must first of all find some way of drawing bills, for it can hardly be arranged through Freiligrath in future.

For the rest, this twofold engagement holds out an assured prospect of putting an end to the harried existence led by my family over the past year, and also of finally completing my book.³¹⁰ Thanks to you, I was able to placate the more pressing of the blackguards at the beginning of September, but even so, the

^a K. Marx, 'The American Question in England' and 'The British Cotton Trade', *New-York Daily Tribune*, Nos. 6403 and 6405, 11 and 14 October 1861.

^b K. Marx, 'The North American Civil War' and 'The Civil War in the United States', *Die Presse*, Nos. 293 and 306, 25 October and 7 November 1861.

harassment was still quite intolerable, and in October it again reached a crescendo. I am writing today to my old lady^a to find out whether anything can be squeezed out of her. I shall likewise see if I can raise something from a LOAN SOCIETY. My chief concern, of course, is to put my affairs into some sort of order, pending the availability of amounts WORTH DRAWING from New York and Vienna, and above all to have leisure in which to work during the interval that must necessarily elapse. In the MEAN TIME, we have pawned everything that was not actually nailed down and, what is even worse, my wife is seriously unwell. When it was simply a case of enduring the pressure of day-to-day adversities, she did this bravely, but she has been cast down by the complete absence of prospects. In the meantime, the favourable news from Vienna and New York has already evoked a favourable reaction.

Borkheim had strangely misled both himself and me over Kolatschek's *Stimmen der Zeit*. True, No. 39 carried a contribution running to a printer's sheet headlined 'K. Vogt und K. Marx', but it was written by the student *Abt*, the 'lowest of the low', whom you will remember from Geneva. Having taken due note of the actual content of my pamphlet^b in the first 2 pages, he devotes the remaining 14 to railing in the most rabid and villainous fashion against me and, notably, Schily and Imandt, on account of the 'Bristlers'.³⁵⁸ He concludes by saying that, if I don't recant, he will attack me 'at the only vulnerable spot he knows' and compromise me in a manner 'that I shall regret'. Needless to say, I didn't take the slightest notice of the scoundrel. But something very odd must have happened to put Mr Kolatschek at *Abt's* mercy, for, as *Abt* says, he had had the scrawl as far back as January and had refused to print it until September.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Don't forget to send me as detailed a report as possible on the *status quo* in Manchester.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a Henriette Marx - ^b *Herr Vogt*

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 November 1861

Dear Frederick,

You must excuse me for my failure to send a more prompt acknowledgement of the £5, ditto the wine. Very many thanks for both. It so happened that I have been very busy of late, on top of which I have had a great deal of domestic BOTHER.

Once again, the *Tribune's* front page calls attention to an article of mine as 'MOST INTERESTING'.^a Odd the way these YANKEES³¹² hand out *testimonia* to their OWN CORRESPONDENTS.

I had an answer from my old lady^b yesterday. 'Soft' words, BUT NO CASH. She also tells me what I have long known, namely that she is 75 and is suffering from many of the infirmities of old age.

Up till now I have also been vainly trying to raise a LOAN over here. The guarantors I was able to produce were not, as I had in any case already suspected, sufficiently respectable. Many chaps have been more fortunate in this line. E. g. that scoundrel Beta got £50 out of a LOAN society on the guarantee of Mr—Edgar Bauer!

Russia's goings-on in Poland aren't bad at all. No less nice are the GESTS and EXPLOITS of handsome William.³⁵⁹

You may perhaps have seen from the German, or also from some of the English newspapers, with what persistent impertunity citizen and statesman Blind is 'blossoming' into a German Mazzini.^c

Apropos. While you were away,³⁶⁰ I received *avis*^d from Holland that Lassalle's books^e had *not* been received by my cousin.^f Perhaps you would be so good as to make inquiries about it.

Write soon, for I have an especial need of your letters during what is still a highly critical interlude for me.

If you have a moment, could you write me a report on the Armstrong controversy³⁶¹ for the *Presse*?

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a K. Marx, 'The London Times and Lord Palmerston', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6411, 21 October 1861. ^b Henriette Marx. ^c See this volume, p. 264.

^d notification. ^e F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. ^f August Philips

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MARX TO LOUIS WATTEAU ³⁶²

IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 10 November 1861

Dear Citizen,

My reply to your last letters has been delayed for so long because I was waiting from day to day for news from a lady you know.^a At last I have learned that she left for Italy some months ago but will shortly be returning to Berlin.

If the first letter for L.^b has not arrived, I imagine that the fault must lie in the address; it was marked *via Gibraltar* instead of *via Southampton*. After I had been advised of this mistake, I corrected the address on the second letter. This I not only franked but also registered. I enclose the receipt from the English post office.

The 50 francs I am sending you comes from a German working men's club.^c In my next letter I shall send you a further contribution. Please be so kind as to acknowledge receipt and send copies of your pamphlet³⁶³ in return.

It would be useful if you were to write me a letter I could send to Berlin and which would establish the monetary resources needed for a <rescue attempt>.^d I should return it to the appropriate quarter.

Rest assured that there is no one more interested than myself in the lot of a man^e whom I have always regarded as the brains and inspiration of the proletarian party in France.

Salut.

K. M.

First published in full in *La Nouvelle revue socialiste. Politique. Culture*, No. 20, Paris, 1976

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^b Cyrill Lacambre - ^c the German Workers' Educational Society in London - ^d The words in brackets are crossed out in the original. - ^e Auguste Blanqui

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 November [1861]

Dear Engels,

Iterum Crispinus!^a

Well, this is how matters now stand.

On 9 November, I drew £16 on the *Tribune* for the 8 articles then sent. Out of this £16, I paid £3 apiece on account to butcher, baker, TEAGROECER, OILMAN, MILKMAN, and GREENGROECER. I spent 10/- on coal, which will all be gone by tomorrow. Your £5 went for the most part on the repayment of small cash loans. So, I'm broke, and there are further debts to be paid—the LANDLORD, school fees, the cobbler, and essential purchases for the family against the winter. I write for the *Presse* almost every day. With the *Presse* and the *Tribune* combined I might be able to make SHIFT. But in view of the constantly reaccumulating deficit (not a milliard, admittedly³⁶⁴) and a whole year's loss of income this really can't be done.

Now there has been yet another disaster.

As you know, I advanced Petsch & Co. £25 for the printing of *Vogt*, it being agreed that this was to be repaid out of the SALE OF COPIES, before any other deductions. Moreover, they owe me a few pounds for *Hinter den Coulissen*,^b the *Communist Trial*^c and the *18th Brumaire*,^d etc.²⁴⁷

On the other hand, I obtained newspapers and books from the fellows to the value of £10 9/-, if only to be in possession of some security.

Koller (an *associé*^e) has now had a row with Petsch, who is not in the business at present. There's a lawsuit pending between the two over the *firm's liquidation*.

The rascally Koller, whom I pressed about my claim, wrote instead advising me of his suit in the COUNTY-COURT⁷ regarding the £10 9/-. I went to see Zimmermann. He told me that my suit

^a *Ecce iterum Crispinus* (Behold, this Crispinus again). Juvenal, *Satirae*, IV, 1 (figuratively: the same again). - ^b [G. Lommel,] *Hinter den Coulissen. Historisch-politische Bilder aus der Neuzeit*, I. Theil. Vom Oktober 1847 bis Mai 1848. - ^c K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*. - ^d K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - ^e partner

would cost me about £30-£60 in a SUPERIOR COURT, and that it would be better if I established my claim in the form of a counter-claim in the COUNTY-COURT, to which I had been summoned by Koller. Nor does he himself practise in the COUNTY-COURTS. So, to this end, I shall have to see an English SOLICITOR before the week is out (and as soon as possible), which I can't do without CASH.

If I were quit of this wretched situation and did not see my family oppressed by MISERABLE adversities, how overjoyed I would be at the fiasco of the Decembrist financial system, so long and so frequently prognosticated by me in the *Tribune*.

So William the Handsome or handsome William has done some plain speaking in Silesia: 'If you elect democrats, we shall be ruined.' 'Soldiers are the only answer to democrats.'³⁶⁵

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 November' [1861]

Dear Engels,

This is to acknowledge, in much haste, receipt of the £5, also the *Manchester Guardians* which arrived the day before yesterday.

I am now going straight to a SOLICITOR.^a My wife is very much affected [...] ^b and I fear the thing will end badly, if there is a long STRUGGLE.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

^a See this volume, p. 327. - ^b Word illegible.

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁴⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 November 1861

Dear Moor,

Have the YANKEES gone quite out of their minds, playing such a mad trick on the CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS?³⁶⁶ The FACT that even over here in the Channel, a warship was lying in wait for the MAIL STEAMER shows that general instructions had gone out from Washington. There could be no clearer *casus belli*² than to forcibly seize political prisoners on board a foreign vessel. The fellows must be completely crazy to saddle themselves with a war against England. If war should really break out, you could send your letters to New York *via* Germany or Le Havre, under cover to a third party, but you'll have to take care that you're not aiding and abetting the ENEMIES of the QUEEN.^b

I was delighted to hear that Bakunin had bolted. The poor devil must have been very much the worse for wear. What a way to make a journey round the world!³⁶⁷

Monsieur Bonaparte would also seem to get no money and Fould pretty well at his wits' end.³⁶⁴ I can't help wondering what's going to happen there.

Things are going swimmingly in Russia and Poland, and now there's also a chance that good old Prussia may at long last be involved in a crisis, provided the electors don't allow themselves to be intimidated again.³⁶⁸ But the purse, the purse! That may well serve to keep the few 'men of Progress' afloat a little while longer. In Cologne it is even rumoured that good old Heinrich Bürgers might stand for Parliament.

Varnhagen's *Tagebücher*^c must be quite interesting. All the same, the fellow was a scurvy, cowardly knave. There was quite a witty article about the thing in the *Kreuz-Zeitung*,—full of spite and malice, of course.^d

^a cause of war - ^b Victoria - ^c K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher. Aus dem Nachlaß Varnhagen's von Ense*, Bd. I-II, Leipzig, 1861. - ^d 'Varnhagen und seine "Pulverkammer"', *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, 24 November 1861 (supplement).

On 1 December, I shall send you another fiver.
Many regards,

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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ENGELS TO MARX³⁶⁹

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 2 December 1861]

I/Z 07595, *Newcastle on Tyne*, 14 August 1860

Dear Moor,

The above is the number of the enclosed fiver, which could not go off till today, as the first of December fell on a Sunday. Once again, I didn't register it.

During the past few days I have at last read some of the Lassalle.³ His stuff about retroaction may be quite plausible, but doesn't hold water, as is apparent, e.g., in the case of divorce legislation, of which it might also be said, and has in fact been said by many a Berlin philistine: 'If I'd known how difficult it was to get divorced, I should never have got married.' By the way, it's grossly superstitious of the fellow to go on believing in the 'idea of law', absolute law. His objections to Hegel's philosophy of law are for the most part perfectly justified, but he hasn't yet really got into his stride with his new philosophy of mind; even from the philosophical standpoint he should have progressed sufficiently to regard the process alone, not just its momentary result, as the absolute, in which case no other idea of law could follow than precisely the historical process itself. The style's nice, too. 'The hand-wringing despair of the contradictions', etc., and then the introduction. Pure Ephraim Artful. I dare say I shan't get very much further, unless I find it might come in useful as a course in Roman law, in which case I shall read the whole thing. How,

³ F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*.

by the way, one could think it worthwhile to send so simple and, *au fond*,^a insignificant an idea chasing right through the *Corpus juris*,³⁷⁰ applying it to every single point—as though it would gain weight in the process—is quite beyond my comprehension. But even nicer is the assumption that this WILD GOOSE CHASE, conducted in and around the ‘plenitude of the concrete’, is the *proof* of his pudding and he must therefore remain infallible ever after.

In Berlin things will now begin to hum. The new little Chamber’s half-hearted ‘progress’ democracy³⁷¹ will prove too red for handsome William, after all, and by March they’ll already find themselves in a state of mild chronic crisis. I am curious to see what happens. If only the chaps in the Chamber aren’t too timid, they will yet succeed in toppling the handsome one, but I don’t trust that democratic breed.

I hope your wife is feeling better. Cordial regards to her and the girls.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 December [1861]

Dear Engels,

Didn’t send an acknowledgment sooner because afflicted by great TROUBLE. My wife is very indisposed. I shall write to you this evening, as I have to concoct an article today.^b

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a basically - ^b Presumably ‘The Principal Actors in the *Trent Drama*’, which Marx dated 4 December 1861.

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MARX TO ENGELS³⁷²

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 December 1861

Dear Engels,

From my PERTINACIOUS silence you may discern with what reluctance I write to you at all. Considering the great efforts—greater, even, than you can manage—that you make on my behalf, I need hardly say how much I detest perpetually boring you with my lamentations.

The last money you sent me, plus a borrowed pound, went to pay the school bill—so that there shouldn't be twice the amount owing in January. The butcher and *épiciér*^a made me give them I.O.U.s, one for £10, the other for £12, due on 9 January. Although I didn't know with what I should pay them, I couldn't risk being sued lest I bring the whole house tumbling about my ears. I owe the LANDLORD £15, and shall owe him £21 in January. Ditto the GREEN GROCER, the baker, the news agent, the milkman, and the rest of the rabble whom I had placated with payments on account after my return from Manchester,³⁵² lastly the TALLYMAN, since the onset of winter meant buying indispensable items of winter clothing, which therefore had to be got on tick.

The amount I can expect at the end of the month is £30 at most, since those scoundrels from the *Presse* are *not* printing some of my articles. I have, of course, first to accustom myself to keeping within the 'bounds of German reason'. (Incidentally, though, they are making quite a splash in their paper with my contributions.)

What I have to pay (including interest at the pawn-shop, etc.) amounts to £100. It is remarkable how, despite an occasional helping-hand, the loss of all income combined with debts that are never quite paid off invariably brings the same old muck to the surface again.

Today I have written to *Dronke* because he still owes me some money. But just gently nudging his memory, not urging; I made so bold as to tell him that, if he could make me an advance, you would guarantee its repayment.³⁷³

Once I'm out of this mess, New York and Vienna will allow me at least to jog along again.

^a grocer

My wife was in a dangerous nervous condition, and for a few days Dr Allen was most alarmed. He knows, or rather suspects, where the shoe pinches, but is too tactful to say anything untoward. The poor woman is still very out of sorts, but so resilient is she by nature that, as soon as things take a turn for the better, I feel sure she will be all right again.

There isn't going to be *war* with America, as I have said from the very beginning in the *Presse*,^a and I am only sorry I didn't have the means to exploit the boneheadedness of a Stock Exchange dominated during this silly season by Reuter and *The Times*.

I agree with your STRICTURES ON Izzy^b (who writes from Florence to say he 'has had a very interesting meeting' with Garibaldi, etc.). The 2nd volume is more interesting, if only by reason of the Latin quotations. Ideologism permeates everything, and the dialectical method is *wrongly* applied. Hegel never described as dialectics the subsumption of vast numbers of 'CASES' UNDER A GENERAL PRINCIPLE.

My writing is progressing, but slowly.³¹⁰ Circumstances being what they were, there was, indeed, little possibility of bringing such theoretical matters to a rapid close. However, the thing is assuming a much more popular form, and the method is much less in evidence than in Part I.^c

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 December 1861

Dear Frederick,

Best thanks for your letter.²³²

IN COMPENSATION for services previously rendered,^d Dronke sent £5 by return, and yesterday he himself came up to town where he had a meeting with one of his directors.

^a K. Marx, 'The Trent Case', *Die Presse*, No. 331, 2 December 1861. - ^b See this volume, pp. 330-31. - ^c K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - ^d See this volume, p. 332.

He is going to try and discount the bills. I told him at once that an essential condition was that they should not be put into circulation before they fell due.

That bastard Koller has resorted to another manoeuvre. He has not allowed the case to proceed in the COUNTY COURT⁷ but has brought it before the SHERIFF COURT³⁷⁴ and increased the sum for which he is suing me to £20—alleging that I had undertaken to be jointly responsible for all the costs of *Vogt*. This, namely, by way of a REPLY to my counter-claim.³

My attorney, Sidney Herbert, has deemed it *formaliter*^b necessary to file a *counter-suit* at the same COURT. The whole difficulty centres on the fact that my AGREEMENT with Petsch was not made *in writing*.

My wife is feeling better.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁴⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 December 1861

Dear Engels,

You know how the Dronke business came about.^c I wrote to him, not because of the bill, but to dun him. In the circumstances, I was, of course, compelled to inform him of the critical situation I was in, a situation which he, like anyone else, must, and did, find quite natural in view of the American affair. As a result of this communication, he came to see me and, thus, the arrangement was made which, to begin with, I would never even have thought of, had you not *expressly* stated in your letter²³² that you would accept the bills if I was able to get them discounted through

^a See this volume, pp. 327-28. - ^b formally - ^c See this volume, pp. 332 and 333.

Freiligrath or 'some other person'. I say this much in order to absolve myself of any semblance of indiscretion.

There is *nothing* doing with F., as I already knew beforehand. He only had the tailor and by the time of the *Tribune* affair he'd already lost him, because two of his clerks had obtained articles of clothing to the value of £70 on his recommendation and decamped without paying. Moreover, my RELATIONS TO F. were SO CHANGED that, when he arranged to have even my bills on the *Tribune* discounted again by Bischoffsheim, he did so only with reluctance. But, even if he had *wanted* to, he **couldn't** particularly since the latent bankruptcy of his bank *court par les rues de Londres*.^a

This letter will go off at the same time as one to *Dronke*, informing him that I embarked on the TRANSACTIONS with him as a result of a misunderstanding and asking him therefore to regard them as *non avenues*.^b I also told him that, if he could discount the bills on *me* personally WITHOUT ANY INTERVENTION OF OTHER PERSONS, this would be agreeable to me. I had to tell him that, because I can see no way out, and indeed my situation is one of the utmost peril.

His address, letters to be marked *private*, is 49 Oldhall Street, Liverpool. Judging by what *Dronke* says (though I believe he's in Newcastle and not in Liverpool at all), he would simply try to arrange the matter with his OWN BANKER.

Unfortunately, I couldn't help informing my wife of the contents of your letter, insofar as it referred to the bill transaction. And news of this kind always brings on a kind of paroxysm.

As to *war with America*, Pam may *possibly* succeed in bringing it about, but not without difficulty. He has got to have a *PRETEXT* and it *doesn't* seem to me *as though Lincoln will give him one*. Some of the Cabinet, Milner Gibson, Gladstone, *plus ou moins*^c Lewis, can't be so easily BEFOOLED as John Russell.

Taken by and large, the Americans have not been at fault, either *materially* or *formally*, under *English* maritime law, which is in force there.³⁷⁵ AS TO THE QUESTION OF MATERIAL RIGHT, the English CROWN LAWYERS have themselves given a decision along these lines.³⁷⁶ They have therefore adduced, since Pam needed a *PRETEXT*, an *ERROR in forma*, a TECHNICALITY, A LEGAL QUIBBLE. BUT this, too, is erroneous. Under *English* maritime law one must distinguish between two cases. Whether A NEUTRAL SHIP CARRIES BELLIGERENT GOODS AND PERSONS OF CONTRABAND OF WAR, either in the form of objects or persons. In the latter case, the ship with CARGO and PERSONS is TO BE SEIZED AND BROUGHT INTO A PORT FOR ADJUDICATION. In the first instance—if

^a is the talk of London - ^b null and void - ^c more or less

it is established *beyond doubt* that the GOODS (properly speaking an impossibility in the case of persons) have not *passed* into the possession of a neutral, the BELLIGERENT GOODS of persons may be seized ON THE HIGH SEAS, while the ship, etc., gets off scot-free. This sort of jurisprudence has—if we disregard the AUTHORITIES—been constantly asserted by England, as I have discovered for myself by consulting Cobbett's Register^a on all the squabbling that has gone on with neutrals since 1793.

Conversely, since the English CROWN LAWYERS confined the problem to an ERROR *in forma* and thus conceded the Yankees the *right* to seize all English ships with BELLIGERENTS aboard and bring them into port FOR ADJUDICATION, the Yankees may very well—and in my view will—declare that they are satisfied with this concession, that in future they will commit no *formal* infringements in case of seizure, etc., and deliver up Mason and Slidell FOR THE NONCE.

If Pam is absolutely set on war, he can, of course, bring it about. In my view, *that is not his intention*. If the Americans act in the way I imagine they will, Pam will have provided stupid John Bull with fresh proof that he is 'THE TRULY ENGLISH MINISTER'.³⁷⁷ The chap will then be free to do whatever he likes. He will seize this opportunity,

1. to force the Yankees to recognise the Declaration of Paris on the rights of the neutrals³⁷⁸;

2. to use this as a pretext for *something he has hitherto not dared to do*, namely request and prevail upon the English Parliament to sanction the abandonment of the OLD ENGLISH MARITIME LAW, the said abandonment having been subscribed to by Clarendon—on his (Pam's) instructions—unbeknown to the Crown and without the prior knowledge of Parliament.

Pam is an old man, and, since the time of Catherine II, the Russians have been trying to enforce the declaration published in Paris. There are still two things they lack: *the sanction of the English Parliament* and *the accession of the UNITED STATES*. On this occasion, both would be achieved. It seems to me that these warlike alarms are simply theatrical props with which to make stupid John Bull believe that the definitive abandonment of his OWN MARITIME LAWS in favour of Russia is a victory over the Yankees won thanks to the PLUCK of the 'TRULY ENGLISH MINISTER'!

Additional reasons for these warlike alarms seem to be: Diversion of attention from Poland (for at public meetings even fellows such as Conningham from Brighton are demanding the

^a Cobbett's Weekly Political Register

STOPPAGE OF FURTHER PAYMENT OF THE DUTCH-RUSSIAN LOAN³⁷⁹) and diversion of attention from Denmark where Russia is engaged at this moment in ousting Glücksburg, the HEIR PRESUMPTIVE appointed by herself.³⁸⁰

It is, OF COURSE, possible that the Yankees won't give way, and, in that case, Pam will be forced into war by his preparations and rodomontade to date. However, I would rate the odds at 100 to 1 against.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 December 1861

Dear Engels,

When the outside world first began to 'dun' me, I wrote—since I didn't want to be always pestering you—not only to my mother and other relations, but also to Siebel. Now that young man, as I see from his letter, has again written to you. Consider the matter as *non avenue*.^a

I am extremely vexed that you should have had to give Dronke an I.O.U. for my sake. Originally, he promised to arrange the matter in less onerous a form and to give longer TERMS.³⁷³

I don't yet know quite how I am to weather this crisis. Whatever happens—since otherwise it would be plainly impossible—I shall write to my LANDLORD and tell him that he cannot be paid *now*, that I intend to give him a bill, etc.

The court case is also going wrong.^b Since the point at issue TURNS ON PARTNERSHIP, my LAWYER considers it necessary—if I am not

^a not having happened. ^b See this volume, pp. 327-28 and 334.

to be made to pay the £20—that the case be removed from the SHERIFFS COURT³⁷⁴ and taken before a SUPERIOR COURT. I am due to appear at the SHERIFF'S COURT on January 3rd. My mistake lay in not having concluded a *written* contract with A. Petsch. Sidney, my attorney, believes I should be pretty safe in the SUPERIOR COURT.

The rotten *Presse* is printing barely half my articles. They're jackasses. I wonder how they propose to pay, whether I'm expected to write individual articles on 'spec', or what?

In the meantime, may I wish you in advance every happiness for the New Year. If it's anything like the old one, I, for my part, would sooner consign it to the devil.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

1862

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MARX TO JOSEF VALENTIN WEBER

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 January [1862]

Dear Weber,

I have just had some TICKETS from Urquhart for a meeting next Monday.³⁸¹

Of the 3 TICKETS enclosed, one is intended for you. You can also take in some friends on it.

Will you please let the Workers' Society^a have the other 2 TICKETS. (These will gain admission for as many as wish to go.) At the same time, I should be obliged—since I have not got the Society's address—if you would inform them that I cannot give a lecture³⁸² on Monday because of the meeting.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in the newspaper *Neues Deutschland*, No. 15, 15 January 1963

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a the German Workers' Educational Society in London

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 February 1862

Dear Engels,

My prolonged silence is due, not to anything 'intrinsic', but to the sordid state of affairs which I didn't want to bore and plague you with.

As you know, on New Year's Day, I was able to SETTLE only that part of my debts which couldn't, or so it seemed, be put off any longer (e. g. my LANDLORD, to whom I shall owe a whole year's rent by the end of next month). Most of the money went on debts upon which bills had been drawn.

The *Vienna Presse*, as was only to be expected in view of the present rotten state of affairs in Germany, has not turned out to be the milch-cow it should have been. I am supposed to receive £1 per ARTICLE. But since the fellows only print perhaps one article in four, and quite often *none at all*, damn-all comes of it except loss of time and annoyance at having to write on spec, whether or no the gracious editorial board condescends to accord the article its imprimatur.

I had to give way in my lawsuit with Koller,^a the main reason being that, as soon as the SOLICITOR wanted a £30 advance since the case went to a SUPERIOR COURT, I was not, of course, able to produce that sum. I had to pay the SOLICITOR £5 for himself and for the COUNSEL he had retained, and also come to an arrangement with Koller whereby I am to pay him £18 by monthly instalments of £2; I paid him the first £2 on the last day of January, and have to pay the next £2 at the end of February, but what with, I don't know.

During the past 2 months the *Presse* has printed so little of my stuff that I have no balance there worth mentioning.

What makes the situation even PLEASANTER is that for nearly 2 months now little Jenny has been undergoing medical treatment. The child has grown visibly thinner. Jenny is now already old enough to feel the full strain and also the stigma of our circumstances, and I think this is one of the main causes of her

^a See this volume, pp. 327-28, 334 and 337.

physical indisposition. (Apropos. Yesterday Allen prescribed *wine* for her, and I'd therefore be grateful if you could send down a few bottles.) For instance, unbeknown to us, she called on Mrs Young to see whether she mightn't go on the stage.

TAKE ALL IN ALL, leading such a dog's life is hardly WORTH WHILE.

As regards the copies of Urquhart's paper,^a I haven't yet been able to get hold of them. Write and let me know *with which issue to begin*, and Collet will do what is necessary. Herewith the chap's denunciation of Bakunin,^b whom I haven't seen. He is living at Herzen's place.

Have you by any chance inquired whether Lassalle's opus^c did in fact go off to August Philips?

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER³⁸³

IN GENEVA

London, 26 February 1862

Dear Becker,

You must attribute my prolonged silence to one thing only—my inability to help. The American civil war has meant the total loss of my principal source of income for a whole year. Subsequently (a couple of months ago), this 'business' was resumed, but on a very 'restricted' basis.³⁸⁴ So far as acquaintances are concerned, however, I can count very few who have any means at their disposal. E. g., it is some while since that I wrote to Siebel on your behalf⁴² but I am told by Borkheim that he gave no signs of life. In Manchester, a few 'revolutionary adventurers, who were sailing

^a *The Free Press*. See this volume, p. 344. - ^b Probably Collet's article 'Bakunin' in *The Free Press*, Vol. X, No. 3, 5 March 1862. - ^c *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*

to the United States for the good cause,' had scraped the bottom of the barrel.

Now, as regards the subscription to your work,^a I shall do *my utmost* but can hold out little hope. All the riff-raff in the associations here—with the exception of the Workers' Educational Society,³ which has nothing in the way of *funds*—is *constitutional*, and actually favours the Prussian National Association.²⁴ The fellows would sooner give money to have a work like yours suppressed. As you probably know, these Germans, both young and old, are all of them pert men of sterling worth and practical insight, and look upon people like you and me as immature fools who have still not recovered from their revolutionary fancies. Nor is the riff-raff at home any better than it is abroad. The time I spent in Berlin,^b etc., convinced me that any attempt to influence the canaille by *literary* means would prove utterly futile. The fellows' self-complacent stupidity, which possesses in its press—that pitiable press—an extraordinary elixir of life, is beyond belief. And then the spiritual passivity to boot—nothing short of a *sound thrashing* would reanimate your stolid German who, having lost his philosophical illusions and applied himself to money-making and 'Little Germany' and 'practical constitutionalism', is now no better than an impulsive clown. So far as I'm concerned, Germany may altogether [...],^c but a roomful of precocious and decrepit children.^d

The *Hermann* is the property of the erstwhile Royal Prussian Procurator Heintzmann: 'with God for King and Fatherland', 'a modicum of Little Germany' and moderation in the exercise of freedom. A namesake of yours, one Becker from Leipzig, who writes for that paper, is a good chap but not influential enough to help us in a matter such as a subscription. Engels only returned to Manchester a few days ago after an absence of several months. He and Wolff (of Breslau)^e will do what they can. However, with the exception of the above-named and 3 or 4 others, the numerous German population in Manchester consists of the same philistines as it does here and everywhere else.

Quoad^f 'Vogt'^g, do with it as you please. It goes without saying, of course, that I could not but be *delighted* if the pamphlet which

^a J. Ph. Becker, *Wie und Wann? Ein ernstes Wort über die Fragen und Aufgaben der Zeit*, Geneva, London, Manchester, 1862. - ^b See this volume, pp. 279.82, 286.89. .

^c Manuscript damaged. . ^d Allusion to a passage in Heine's poem, 'Zur Beruhigung' (paraphrased). . ^e Wilhelm Wolff . ^f As regards - ^g K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

the press has all but killed by silence in Germany, could be used to some effect at least in Switzerland. A French translation was made in Paris, without my previous knowledge, and was already being printed but *vanished* by supreme imperial ukase.^a So, in fact, there is *no* French edition.

Let me assure you, my dear friend, that nothing could be more painful to me than to have to stand by helpless and passive and witness the struggles of a man such as yourself. I admire your steadfastness, your fervour, and your energy. The Ancients—I think it was Aeschines—said that one should endeavour to acquire worldly goods so that one might help one's friends in need! What profound and humane wisdom lies therein!

At the earliest possible opportunity I shall let you know the result of communications to various persons about the subscription.

In the meantime, farewell. My wife asks to be kindly remembered to you.

Yours

K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. VI, No. 11, 1888 and in full in Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 February 1862

Dear Moor,

Today I am sending you, CARRIAGE PAID, a case containing:
8 bottles of claret,
4 bottles of old, 1846, hock,
2 bottles of sherry.

I haven't any port that would suit the circumstances. I trust it will do Jenny good. Poor child! However, I don't imagine that the

^a See this volume, pp. 290, 313.

thing is of any consequence. She has grown a lot and, with care and exercise, will doubtless regain her strength.

I shall get the £2 for Koller^a off to you tomorrow or on Monday.^b

This year, I am spending more than my income. The crisis is affecting us badly,³⁸⁵ we have no orders, and, starting from next week, shall be working merely half-time. Nevertheless, I have to get hold of the £50 for Dronke within 4 weeks and next week there's a year's rent to be paid for my lodgings. I'm moving out; this morning that damned Sarah^c stole the money from my coat pocket. So, don't address *anything more* to Thorncliffe Grove. I'm living with Mary nearly all the time now so as to spend as little money as possible; unfortunately, I can't dispense with my LODGINGS, otherwise I should move in with her altogether. I haven't got any new lodgings as yet and shall have to go and look for some.³⁸⁶ Write again soon and let me know how things are going. What is the *Tribune* up to?³⁸⁴

Would you like a military article on America for the *Presse*? The numbers of *The Free Press* I am short of are October-February 1861/62.

Best wishes to your wife and the girls.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁴⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London.] 3 March 1862

Dear Engels,

I am sending my wife to a LOAN OFFICE today to see what can be done there, for I've had a disgustingly rude letter from my LANDLORD, and, if the fellow puts a BROKER into the house, I shall be sued by all and sundry.

^a See this volume, p. 340. - ^b 3 March - ^c Sarah Parker

The wine hasn't arrived yet.

I should be grateful if you could let me have *this week* (by Friday morning^a) an article in *English* on the American war.³⁸⁷ You can write it *without the slightest misgiving*. The *Tribune* will print it as the LETTER OF A FOREIGN OFFICER. *Nota bene*: The *Tribune* hates McClellan, who is in league with the Democratic Party and, *throughout the period* in which he was COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALL THE ARMIES, prevented any action by *intervening directly* not only on the Potomac (where this may have been justified), but in *every* theatre of war, especially in the west. (He was also at the bottom of the highly infamous intrigue against Frémont.³⁸⁸) Moreover, out of *esprit de corps* and a hatred of CIVILIANS, this same Mac has sheltered all the army's traitors, e.g., Colonel Maynard and General Stone. The latter's arrest took place a day or 2 after Clellan had been dismissed as COMMANDER IN CHIEF of all the armies. Similarly, the *New York Herald's* impudent 'REPRESENTATIVE'^b in Washington was arrested as a SPY against McClellan's wishes, having on the previous day entertained McC.'s entire STAFF to a champagne breakfast.

You will recall my having told you from the start that nothing would come of the expectations regarding the China trade. This is confirmed by the latest BOARD OF TRADE report:^c

	1860	1861
	[£]	[£]
<i>China</i>	2,872,045	3,114,157
<i>Hong Kong</i>	2,445,991	1,733,967
Total	5,318,036	4,848,124

So, a decrease in total exports. More of them direct, fewer via Hong Kong. In the meantime, the Russians have seized another fine island off Korea.^d Add to this their new 'OCCUPATIONS' in Java,^e and their supremacy of the NORTHERN PACIFIC is assured.³⁸⁹ The extent to which Paine's influence has *russified* the *entire* English press is borne out by its profound silence over Russia's PROGRESS in this area, ditto its passive attitude vis-à-vis Poland.

^a 7 March. - ^b Malcolm Ives - 'Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation for the Year ended December 31, 1861. Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures', *The Economist*, No. 966, 1 March 1862. - ^d Tsushima - ^e Should read 'Japan'. See this volume, p. 347.

Apropos. Will you be so good as to let me know *at long last* what has become of the Lassalle^a that was intended for my cousin Philips,^b since, failing that knowledge, I am unable to write to the said cousin.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3. Stuttgart, 1913

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

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁴⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 March 1862

Dear Moor,

Enclosed POST OFFICE ORDER for £2, Camden Town.

The book^a went off long ago, i.e. on 9 October, in a parcel to our agent E. Schröder in Amsterdam, and was enclosed in bale no. 118 for B. ter Haar and Son of that city. I enclosed a note to Schröder at the time, asking him to see to the thing. Everything was correctly addressed to your cousin,^c so all he can do, if he hasn't got it yet, is approach Schröder.

You shall have the article.³⁸⁷ The braggarts of the South are now getting a splendid thrashing. Most cheering of all is the reception met with everywhere by the gunboats on the Tennessee river as far up as Florence, Alabama (here the mussel shoals begin, disrupting navigation). So in west Tennessee, in the plains, the majority is also decidedly pro-Union. 15,000 prisoners, including Johnston, the Confederates' best general, who decided Bull Run by his rapid concentration on the centre, is no laughing matter.³⁹⁰

I shall be seeing Lupus this evening. If he can advance me something until 1 July, I shall get it for you. I myself shall be *au*

^a F. Lassalle, *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*. - ^b See this volume, pp. 313, 315, 320, 322, 341, and this page (the next letter). - ^c August Philips

sec^a until then. Should there be [no] peace or some other settlement in America, it may well be that my total income from 1 July 1861-62 will be reduced to £100 and I shall thus run into debt. We have a whole heap of goods and can't sell a thing and, if we are saddled with them until matters in America have been straightened out, we are likely to lose all the profit made up till the end of December.⁸⁸⁵ However, I imagine the scrap will continue, for I don't see how the fellows can make peace.

What's this about a Russian island off Korea?^b And what's this about occupations in Java? (QUERY Japan?) *Je n'en sais rien.*^c How about the *Free Presses*?

By the way, according to your figures, trade with China has surely increased significantly. 10 years ago, if I remember rightly, it alternated between 1 and 3 millions.

How is little Jenny? Warm regards to her, your wife and Laura.

Your
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁴⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 March 1862

Dear Frederick,

My best thanks for the POST OFFICE order and the wine. That swine Koller, who has an I.O.U. of mine, had already dunned me yesterday.^d

I enclose herewith the 3 last *Free Presses*.^e I haven't yet seen Collet in person, but feel sure he will be able to get hold of the other numbers as well.

In my letter to you, read Japan for Java.^f I obtained the actual FACTS from sundry numbers of the *Tribune* which contained the

^a without cash - ^b See this volume, p. 345. - ^c I know nothing about it. - ^d See this volume, p. 340. - ^e *ibid.*, pp. 344, and this page (the previous letter). - ^f *ibid.*, p. 345.

official Russian communiqués and reports from American consuls—all of them suppressed by the English press. I sent the relevant numbers to **Urquhart** and haven't yet got them back. I had previously used them for a *Presse* ARTICLE on the Russian advance in Asia. However, the jackasses didn't print it. Now, you know what a bad memory for names I've got. So, at the moment I can't provide you with the names. The first island^a lies exactly half way between the south-western extremity of Japan and the Korean mainland. It has a large harbour and, according to the American account, is capable of becoming a second Sevastopol.^b As regards the other islands that are actual Japanese possessions, one of them, if I am not mistaken, is called Jeso.^c However, I shall see if I can retrieve the documents.

Chinese trade, compared with what it was like up to 1852, has certainly increased, but by no means on the same scale as have all other markets since the Californian-Australian discoveries.³⁹¹ Moreover, in earlier REPORTS Hong Kong, as an English possession, is shown separately from China, so that exports under the heading 'China' invariably (from the 40s on) amount to less than total exports. Finally, the increment achieved since 1859 fell back in 1861 to its former level.

In consequence of the American crisis, the BOARD OF TRADE report for 1861^d shows a considerable change in the ranking order of the various markets for English exports. *India* leads with £17,923,767 (including Ceylon and Singapore. India alone, £16,412,090).

Second market Germany, normally 4th. 1860: £13,491,523. 1861: £12,937,073 (not including what goes via Holland and, to a lesser degree, via Belgium). In view of Germany's economic importance to England, what a diplomatic advantage it would give us, circumstances being different, over bluff John Bull!

France this year the 5th market. 1860: £5,249,980. 1861: £8,896,282. However, that includes Switzerland as well. England, on the other hand, now ranks as the *premier market* for France.

Out of the total exports of £125,115,133 (1861), £42,260,970 go to English 'POSSESSIONS' and 'COLONIES'. If one adds to that what England exports to other parts of Asia, Africa and America, there remains at most 23 to 24% for export to the countries of Europe.

^a Tsushima · ^b 'Russian Progress in Asia', *New-York Daily Tribune*, No. 6497, 30 January 1862. · ^c Hokkaido · ^d 'Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation for the Year ended December 31, 1861. Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures', *The Economist*, No. 966, 1 March 1862.

Should Russia continue to advance in Asia at the same rapid pace as during the past 10 years, until all her EFFORTS are concentrated on India, it will be the end of John Bull's world market, a demise that will be hastened by the United States's protective tariff policy, which that country will certainly be in no hurry to relinquish, if only out of REVENGE against John. Moreover, John Bull is discovering to his horror that his main colonies in North America and Australia are becoming protectionist to the same extent as he himself is becoming a FREE-TRADER.³⁹⁷ The complacent, brutal stupidity with which John has acclaimed Pam's 'SPIRITED POLICY' in Asia and America, will one day cost him damned dear.

To me it does NOT seem VERY PROBABLE that the SOUTHERNERS will have concluded peace by July 1862. When the NORTHERNERS have 1. SECURED the BORDER STATES—and it is upon these, in fact, that everything has centred from the start—and 2. the Mississippi as far as New Orleans and Texas, the war may well enter a 2nd phase during which the NORTHERNERS will make no great exertions of a military nature but, by isolating the GULF STATES,³⁹⁸ finally bring them to the point of voluntary RE-ANNEXATION.

During this war Bull has acted with what must be wholly unprecedented effrontery.³⁹⁹

In terms of brutality on the English side, the *Mexican Blue Book*^b exceeds anything previously known in history. Menshikov appears a GENTLEMAN compared with Sir C. Lennox Wyke. Not only does this blackguard evince the most immoderate zèle^c in the execution of Pam's secret instructions but, by his insolence, also seeks to avenge himself for the fact that, in the exchange of diplomatic dispatches, Señor Zamacona, the Mexican Foreign Minister (now resigned) and erstwhile journalist, invariably proves himself superior. As for the chap's style, herewith a few examples from his dispatches to Zamacona.

*'The arbitrary act of stopping all payments for the space of two years³⁹⁴ is depriving the parties interested of their money for that space of time, which is a dead loss of so much value to them.' 'A starving man may justify, in his own eyes, the fact of stealing a loaf on the ground that impenious necessity impelled him thereto; but such an argument cannot, in a moral point of view, justify his violation of the law, which remains as positive, apart from all sentimentality, as if the crime had not had an excuse. If he was actually starving, he should have first asked the baker to assuage his hunger, but doing so' (starving?) 'of his own free will, without permission, is acting exactly as the Mexican government has done towards its creditors on the present occasion.' 'With regard to the light in which you view the question, as expressed in

^a See this volume p. 277. - ^b *Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Mexico*. Parts I-III. London, 1862. - ^c zeal

your above named note,^a you will excuse me for stating that *it cannot be treated of partially, without also taking into consideration the opinions of those who directly suffer from the practical operation of such ideas as emanating from yourself.*' 'I had a full right to complain ... of having first of all *heard of this extraordinary measure ... by seeing it in printed bills placarded through the public streets....*'^b

'I have a duty to perform both to my own *Gov.* and to that to *which* I am accredited, *which* impels me....' etc.^c

'I suspend all official relations with the Government of this Republic until that of Her Majesty^d shall adopt such measures as *they* shall deem necessary.'^e

Zamacona writes and tells him that the INTRIGUES OF FOREIGN DIPLOMATISTS in the past 25 years have been largely to blame for the TROUBLES in Mexico.^f Wyke replies that

*'the population of Mexico is so degraded as to make them dangerous, not only to themselves, but to everybody coming into contact with them!'^g

Zamacona writes, saying that the propositions he [Wyke] has made would put an end to the Republic's independence, and were incompatible with the dignity of any independent state.^h Wyke replies:

'Excuse me for adding that such a proposition as I have made to you does not necessarily become undignified and impracticable simply *because you, an interested person,*'* (i.e., Foreign Minister of Mexico) *'are pleased to say so.'ⁱ

But *satis superque!*^j

According to a letter from Schily to Rheinländer, things look most precarious in Paris and, unless there is war, Badinguet¹⁶³ cannot hold on for another year. What bad luck for the chap that he should have the Parisians to govern, and not the Berliners, who admire him.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

- PS. 1. How do I translate *cigs* into German?
2. What are FEEDERS ON CIRCULAR FRAMES?
3. Could you inform me of all the different types of workers employed, e.g., at your mill (all, that is, EXCEPT THE WAREHOUSE), and in what proportion to each other? For in my book³¹⁰ I need an

^a Zamacona to C. Wyke, 21 July 1861. - ^b C. Wyke to Zamacona, 22 July 1861. - ^c C. Wyke to Zamacona, 23 July 1861. - ^d Victoria. - ^e C. Wyke to Zamacona, 25 July 1861. - ^f Zamacona to C. Wyke, 25 July 1861. - ^g C. Wyke to Zamacona, 26 July 1861. - ^h Zamacona to C. Wyke, 27 July 1861. - ⁱ C. Wyke to Zamacona, 30 July 1861. - ^j More than enough

example showing that, in mechanical workshops, the *division of labour*, as forming the basis of manufacture and as described by A. Smith, does not exist. The proposition itself has already been set forth by Ure.^a All that is needed is an example of some kind.

I must write and tell the chaps at the *Presse* that some new ARRANGEMENT will have to be made. It's all the same to me if they *don't* print the best articles (although I *always* write them in such a way that they can print them). But financially it's no go if, out of every 4 or 5 articles, they print 1 and only pay for 1. That places me far below the PENNY-A-LINERS.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 8 March 1862]

Dear Moor,

Encl. what I had promised. The second article will follow next week.^b I haven't seen Lupus yet; shall call on him this evening. The *Free Presses* and your letter have arrived.^c

Do you know a Prussian refugee by the name of Sippel (Sippel),^d a mathematician? Apparently, the chap was tutor to a family by the name of Montgomery in Hampstead, was arrested before the amnesty²⁵⁶ while travelling with this family in Prussia and not released until several months later, and is now said to be applying for a post as professor of mathematics at the University of Belfast. Someone up here wants to know more about the man, presumably in connection with some BUSINESS or other.

^a A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vols. I-II, London, 1776; A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures: or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., London, 1835. - ^b See this volume, pp. 345, 346. - ^c *ibid.*, p. 347. - ^d In the original the name is written in both German and Roman characters.

Telegrams should be addressed in future to: 7 South Gate
St. Mary's Manchester.

In haste.

Your
F. E.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3,
Berlin, 1930

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 March 1862

Dear Engels,

Because your article^a failed to arrive, I have been unable to write to New York today. My relations with the *Tribune* are no longer such that, if (assuming they print the article) I send them SOMETHING ELSE in place of the sequel, they will print it. Rather, I am convinced that they are on the point of giving me my *cong e* again along with all the other European correspondents. Their format has been reduced. They print perhaps one article in 3 or none at all. These are the usual indications of such a procedure.

So, let me have the sequel by Tuesday^b or better still, the *conclusion*, since it is only the conjectural part relating to the future that can be of any real interest to them.

I'm not getting on very well with my book,³¹⁰ since work is often checked, i.e. suspended, for weeks on end by domestic disturbances. Little Jenny is still by no means as well as she should be.^c

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen
F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart,
1913

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

^a See this volume, pp. 345, 346, 351. - ^b 18 March - ^c See this volume, pp. 340-41.

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁴⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 April 1862

Dear Frederick,

My wife was discreet enough not to write to Dana. What the intention was is now unmistakably evident from the fact that the fellows don't even send me the *Tribune* any more.³⁹⁵

Enclosed letter from Friedländer. Arrived on Saturday.^a Fine ideas these Gerinans have. I am to send him an article on the opening [of the exhibition³⁴⁴], which, with the SEASON TICKET needed to this end, the clothes I'd have to buy and sundry incidental expenses, would cost me at least 10 guineas—and, IN EXCHANGE, the prospect of selling a total of 4 to 6 articles à £8 (*summa summarum*^b), or, at very best, à £12. And, since one must always assume the minimum where these chaps are concerned, I should actually lose money on the 4 articles! I have written to tell him⁴² that I am confined to my room and cannot therefore send off on Thursday the desired inaugural sermon but shall, from time to time, submit a few articles on the exhibition along with the other ones. So far as the 'other' articles are concerned, the cat is now out of the bag.^c I article per week (à £1), and even that is hedged about with somewhat hypothetical clauses. I must accept, of course, and have already accepted, since something is better than nothing at all. What the chaps are particularly interested in at the moment is America, and I should be grateful if you would send me an article (before the end of the week that is) on the progress of the war (I mean the battle of Corinth³⁹⁶), and generally write to me from now on whenever military events take a new turn. If only to disseminate correct views on this important matter in the land of the Teutons. (I had already revised your earlier articles for them; were published, what's more.^d)

In his new science, Vico says that Germany is the only country in Europe where an 'heroic tongue' is still spoken.^e Had he had

^a 26 April. ^b in all. ^c Marx uses the expression *des Pudels Kern* (the core of the matter) from Goethe's *Faust*, Teil I, Sc. 3. - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The American Civil War'. - ^e G. Vico, *Principj di una scienza nuova*.

the pleasure of becoming acquainted with the Vienna *Presse* or the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, the old Neapolitan would have abandoned this preconceived idea.

On arriving in London,³⁹⁷ I found a letter from my LANDLORD, in which he said he would call today (28 April) in order to get the rest of the £20. However, he can't have a centime. During my month's absence, the list of debts relating to IMMEDIATE NECESSITIES has, of course, grown. In addition, there are 2 extra items that must be paid for and are even more urgent than the LANDLORD. Firstly, £7 for the piano MASTER since, CIRCUMSTANCES being what they are, my wife had to give him notice and hence must also pay him. Secondly, £10's worth must be redeemed from the pawn-shop, whither have departed not only the children's things but also those of the maids, right down to their boots and shoes. Because of the LANDLORD, I have so far remained incognito (*excepto* Borkheim), so that my wife may tell him that I have not yet returned and attempt to put him off *indefinitely*. For it's a question of SHIFTING.

So far Borkheim has advanced £20; promises the remainder for the beginning of next week.³⁹⁸

My wife saw Dronke in the street with madame and offspring, but they didn't see her.

As regards *Ariadne*, *adhuc sub iudice lis est.*^a For the disputed point in this case is a legal one. In Diodorus^b she figures as a star. I don't find her shown as a constellation. Rather, indeed, as a *planetoid*, No. 43, Plate II, *Mädler*, latest issue, 5th Edition (which I have), Berlin 1861. So, at all events, the girl is in the firmament. As things stand, it is a nice legal point as to whether you or Lupus have won. Your general contention that all those persons placed by the Greeks among the stars live on in the astronomical charts would also seem to be doubtful in the extreme.

What was it you wanted besides the English army ESTIMATES? As soon as I am 'mobile' again, I shall see to the matter.

Kinkel has departed with his tail between his legs. He makes no reply. Instead, a line or two from his man Beta in which the swine attests that it was only after 6 months' urging on his part that Gottfried let him have the necessary biographical notes (which, from time immemorial, the said swine has been using regularly every 2 years) and the photograph, etc., at the request of Keil, editor of the *Gartenlaube*. But the real joke is that, *after* the MacDonald affair,²⁹⁶ Keil and Beta (Juch has the relevant letter

^a The case is still before the court (Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 78). · ^b [Diodorus Siculus,] *Diodori bibliotheca historica*.

written by the last named and Eichhoff has seen it) refused to proceed with the matter, and it was only with difficulty that Gottfried engineered the final 'set-to'.³⁹⁹ However, I am writing to Eichhoff, instructing him to drop the matter for the time being, since otherwise he'll take the edge off Gottfried's defeat.⁴² For Juch' is too cowardly to come out with Beta's letter. Otherwise, he would have already done so of his own accord in a note appended to the latter's statement.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Little Jenny is still far from being her proper self.^a Our youngest^b has been seriously ill but is now recovered.

You should read the enclosed excerpts from Urquhart.^c

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

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MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE⁴⁰⁰

IN BERLIN

London, 28 April 1862

9 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Lassalle,

You'll be terribly angry with me, OLD BOY, and justifiably so, but, at the same time, with absolutely no justification. If I postponed writing to you from one day to the next, it was because I was hoping from one day to the next to put my affairs so far in order as to be able at least to pay off the £10 I owed you and, besides, write to you with an *easy mind*. Instead, the situation has grown worse every day. The *Tribune*, with which I had taken up

^a See this volume, pp. 340-41, 352. - ^b Eleanor Marx - ^c From *The Free Press* published by Urquhart.

again—though at $\frac{1}{3}$ of my former income—has finally *got rid* of all its foreign correspondents. So, I now find myself in a complete vacuum. I have no intention of treating you to a tale of woe of any sort; it's a wonder I haven't actually gone *mad*. If I mention the beastly mess at all, it's simply so that my other misfortunes should not be compounded by a misunderstanding with you.

What you say about J. Ph. Becker in your last letter is absolutely wrong.⁴⁰¹ I. e., you don't know the man except from hearsay. He is one of the noblest German revolutionaries there has been since 1830, a man who can be reproached with nothing save an enthusiasm which fails to take account of circumstances. As for his connections with the Italians, a bosom friend of Orsini's^a has *entrusted me* with papers that leave no room for doubt on this score, whatever the Italians, and even Garibaldi, may say. As for his relationship with Türr—whom I had denounced over here in *The Free Press* even *before* 1859⁴⁰²—all it amounts to is this: During the Baden campaign⁴⁰³ Becker made Türr a lieutenant. Hence a kind of comradely relationship. Had Becker intended to exploit this connection and accept the offers made him in Paris by Türr *in the presence* of one of my London friends,^b he would not have endured the martyrdom which he, a man of 60, is in fact enduring. I know full well the sources whence Becker has obtained his exiguous financial support. They are confined to people within our *closest* circle. True, he fell foul of some of the Italians because his strongly Teutonic sentiments caused him to reject certain *well-intentioned* plans. It is indeed exasperating that men of Becker's stamp should be so egregiously slandered.

As for *my book*,³¹⁰ it won't be finished for another two months. During the past year, to keep myself from starving, I have had to do the most despicable hackwork and have often gone for months without being able to add a line to the 'thing'. And there is also that quirk I have of finding fault with anything I have written and not looked at for a month, so that I have to revise it completely. At all events, the work loses nothing thereby, and *pro anno*^c the German public has, after all, far weightier things to think about.

Ad vocem^d your book^e which I have of course now quite finished, and individual chapters reread, it strikes me that you apparently haven't read *Vico's 'new science'*. Not that you'd have found anything in it immediately to your purpose; but it does provide a philosophical view of the spirit of Roman law,

^a Marx probably means Simon François Bernard. - ^b Victor Schily. - ^c for this year. - ^d As regards - ^e *Das System der erworbenen Rechte*

contrasting with that of the legal philistines. You would scarcely be able to work your way through the original, as it is not only written in Italian but in a very peculiar *Neapolitan* idiom.^a However, I commend the French translation, *La Science nouvelle*, etc.; traduite par l'auteur de l'essai sur la formation du dogme catholique. Paris. Charpentier, Editeur—1844. To whet your appetite, I shall do no more than quote the following sentences:

'L'ancien droit romain a été un poème sérieux, et l'ancienne jurisprudence a été une poésie sévère dans laquelle se trouvent renfermés les premiers efforts de la métaphysique légale.' '...l'ancienne jurisprudence était très poétique, puisqu'elle supposait vrais les faits qui ne l'étaient pas, et qu'elle refusait d'admettre comme vrais les faits qui l'étaient en effet; qu'elle considérait les vivans comme morts, et les morts comme vivans dans leurs héritages.' 'Les Latins nommèrent *heri* les héros; d'où vint le mot *hereditas* ... l'héritier ... représente, vis-à-vis de l'héritage, le père de famille défunt.'^b

Vico contains in embryo Wolf (Homer),^c Niebuhr (*Römische Königsgeschichte*),^d the fundamentals of comparative linguistics (even if in fanciful form) and a whole mass of really inspired stuff. So far, I have never been able to get hold of his legal writings proper.

Under the circumstances in which I now find myself (and have found myself for the better part of a year) I shall not be able to do a critique of your book until BY AND BY. On the other hand, I should be grateful, *not for my own sake*, but for that of my wife, if, without a prior *quid pro quo* on my part, you could let Brockhaus advertise the first part of the political economy.

Never have the English middle classes (and aristocracy) put their foot in it with such effrontery as during the great struggle that is taking place on the far side of the Atlantic. By contrast, the English WORKING CLASS, which suffers most from the *bellum civile*,^e has never before shown itself as heroic and noble. This is the more admirable when one knows, as I do, all the mechanisms that were set in motion, both here and in Manchester, to incite them to stage

^a G. Vico, *Principj di una scienza nuova*. - ^b 'Ancient Roman law was a grave poem and ancient jurisprudence austere poetry which contained the first attempt to formulate legal metaphysics.' '...ancient jurisprudence was highly poetical in that it supposed true those facts that were not so, and refused to admit the truth of facts that were so indeed; in this it regarded the living as dead, and the dead as living in their inheritance.' 'The Latins called *heroes heri*; whence comes the word *hereditas* ... the heir ... represents, vis-à-vis the inheritance, the deceased *pater familias*.' -

^c F. A. Wolfius, *Prolegomena ad Homerum sive de operum homericorum prisca et genuina forma varisque mutationibus et probabili ratione emendadi*, Vol. I, Halis saxonn, 1795. - ^d B. G. Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte*, Th. I-III, Berlin, 1827-32. - ^e civil war

a demonstration.⁴⁰⁴ The only major organ they still have, the *Newspaper* owned by that low-down scoundrel Reynolds,^a has been bought by the SOUTHERNERS, as have the most important of their LECTURERS. BUT ALL IN VAIN!

Varnhagen's book^b interested me a great deal and I can understand how *timely* its appearance was. On no account must you fail to *congratulate* Ludmilla about it *on my behalf*. Nevertheless, this has not raised Varnhagen in my esteem. I find him shallow, insipid and paltry and would ascribe his abhorrence of Counsellor to the Legation Kölle to the shock of encountering his own double.

Please return the enclosed letter from the *régicide* Simon Bernard. Do you think I should get involved in the matter? I rather think not.

My kindest regards to the Countess.^c She shall soon have a letter from me all to herself. I hope she has never allowed herself to be misled by trifles such as my omitting to write, nor ever doubted the lasting attachment and admiration I feel for her.

Your
K. M.

First published in: *F. Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Bd. III, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922

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

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁴⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 May 1862

Dear Moor,

There was no end of trouble at the office last week, on top of which I didn't feel very well, hence didn't manage to write. Friedländer's magnanimous letter returned herewith. Those people have peculiar ideas of London!^d

^a *Reynolds's Newspaper*. ^b K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher. Aus dem Nachlaß Varnhagen's von Ense*, Bd. I-II, Leipzig, 1861 (published by Ludmilla Assing). -

^c Sophie von Hatzfeldt. ^d See this volume, p. 353.