

**KARL
MARX
FREDERICK
ENGELS**

**Collected
Works**



Volume 42
Marx and Engels
1864 -1868

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KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

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Preface

Volume 42 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains their correspondence from October 1864 to March 1868. Chronologically, the volume covers the period, very important for the history of Marxism and the international working-class movement, of the founding and the early years of the International Working Men's Association (the First International). This period was also marked by the publication of Marx's most important work, Volume One of *Capital*.

With the foundation of the International the correspondence of Marx and Engels became particularly intense and ideologically rich, and the circle of people with whom they corresponded, active members of the working-class movement in various countries, grew wider. An important place in their letters is devoted to the pressing problems of the organisation and revolutionary tactics of the working class, to the theory and practice of the proletarian struggle.

Marx and Engels had countless ties with the working-class movement. This can be seen from the numerous letters published in this volume that deal with the activity of the International Working Men's Association, an organisation set up with Marx's direct participation. These letters are one of the most important sources revealing the history of the emergence of the International and the way that it turned under the guidance of Marx and Engels into a true centre for uniting the militant forces of the working class. All of Marx's previous activity had prepared him for the task of leading the movement of the international proletariat, and Engels was fully justified in writing later that among those who attended the meeting in St Martin's Hall,

London, on 28 September 1864 to proclaim the International 'there was only one person who was clear as to what was to happen and what was to be founded: it was the man who had already in 1848 issued to the world the call: "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"' (see Frederick Engels, 'Marx, Heinrich Karl', present edition, Vol. 27).

'Marx was the heart and soul of this organisation' is how Lenin described the role of the founder and leader of the first international mass organisation of the proletariat (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Moscow, 1977, p. 49).

The letters included in this volume throw light on Marx's many-sided activity in the International Working Men's Association, his leading role on its guiding body, the Central (General) Council, his active participation in all the discussions that took place in the Council, the drafting of its decisions and the preparation of congresses of the International, their agendas and resolutions. From the letters it is also obvious that after the founding of the International Engels constantly helped Marx in guiding it. Until his move from Manchester to London in 1870, Engels could not take part directly in the work of the General Council, but during those years too Marx discussed all important questions concerning the International with him, kept him informed of the course of discussions in the Council and of the decisions being drafted, and made use of his recommendations. Engels helped to draw up the tactical line of the International, explaining it in letters to active members of the working-class movement, particularly in Germany, and frequently wrote to the press to present the position of the International Working Men's Association on various questions.

Marx guided the activity of the new organisation with characteristic confidence, skilfully overcoming the difficulties obstructing the path of the development of an independent proletarian movement. He constantly thwarted attempts by petty-bourgeois democrats and supporters of sectarian and reformist trends to deflect the International Working Men's Association from a revolutionary course and to subject it to tasks and aims alien to the interests of the working-class movement.

Marx's letters to Engels of 4 November, to Joseph Weydemeyer and Lion Philips of 29 November 1864 and others show what an effort it cost Marx, right from the foundation of the International, to counteract the constant attempts by petty-bourgeois elements to exert their influence over it. Thanks to Marx's endeavours the new organisation acquired a truly proletarian class character. The

first considerable success in this respect, of historic significance, was the adoption by the Central Council of the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules of the International drafted by Marx. As Marx himself admitted, it was no easy task to work out a common platform for all the different contingents of the working class, with their different levels of development, that had been drawn into the ranks of the International. But Marx, author of its first programme and its associated documents, performed this task brilliantly. Without making the slightest concession of principle to sectarian trends, these documents did not shut the doors of the international organisation to the British trade unions, the French and Belgian Proudhonists, or the German Lassalleans. On learning from Marx of the content of the Inaugural Address, Engels wrote that he could not wait to see it and that 'it must be a real masterpiece' (see this volume, p. 20).

While guiding the International and drafting all the most important documents that set out the strategy and tactics of the proletarian movement, Marx persistently did his utmost to ensure that in the daily battles for particular and purely economic demands the workers should gain an understanding of the common tasks of their class struggle against capitalism. The establishment of firm contacts by the International with the working-class organisations in various countries, the setting up of sections of the International in the main European countries, its active support of the strike movement in 1865-67, and the victories gained by striking workers in a number of industries in Britain and France thanks to this support—all this helped to enhance the authority of the International Working Men's Association and helped the workers to realise gradually the strength of proletarian solidarity.

As the correspondence shows, during this period Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention to the formation and ideological training of progressive militants of the working class. Marx sought to create a strong nucleus of proletarian revolutionaries on the General Council and administrative bodies of the International in various countries. Under his direct influence, the Germans Georg Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner and Karl Pfänder, the Frenchman Eugène Dupont, the Englishman Robert Shaw, the Swiss Hermann Jung and other members of the General Council acquired the necessary theoretical knowledge and became acquainted with scientific socialism. The letters from Marx and Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, Paul Lafargue, Johann Philipp Becker, Joseph Weydemeyer and other eminent figures in the

working-class and socialist movement show how patiently and persistently they taught their friends and comrades, helping them with advice, responding to their requests and criticising their shortcomings and mistakes.

In the period of the activity of the International the need for an independent workers' press was particularly acute. 'It is impossible to have a movement here without its own press-organ,' Marx wrote to Engels on 2 December 1864. From the inception of the International Working Men's Association Marx and Engels directed their efforts towards setting up press-organs for it in Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. They endeavoured to take part personally in the production of a number of newspapers and to lend them a revolutionary character. They also concerned themselves with the composition of the editorial boards and contributors and encouraged like-minded people to work on them (see Marx's letters to Engels of 2 December 1864, 9 May and 26 December 1865 and others). Thanks to this, the leaders of the International not only organised the widespread publication of its documents in various countries, but also trained a whole galaxy of working-class journalists who propagated its ideas.

Marx attached great importance to the establishment of close relations between the International and the British trade unions. He strongly supported the participation of their representatives in its founding, believing that this would help to disseminate the ideas of the International in Britain, then the citadel of the capitalist world and the country with the most developed and organised working-class movement (see Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of 29 November 1864). Marx saw the further drawing of the British trade unions into the ranks of the International as an important way of broadening its mass base in the British Isles, and also as a means of overcoming the narrow-mindedness typical of British trade unions, expressed in their efforts to limit their activity to the economic struggle. To arouse the political activity of the trade unions and turn them into real centres of resistance to the capitalist system—this was the task that Marx set before the International in including, among other things, the question of the trade unions in the agenda of the Geneva Congress (see Marx's letter to Hermann Jung of 20 November 1865). The General Council relied on the support of the trade unions, organising campaigns to aid strikers both in Britain and on the Continent and thereby helping to kindle a spirit of proletarian solidarity in British workers.

The leaders of the large London trade unions represented a considerable force on the General Council, and from the very beginning of the International Marx sought to use the authority of these 'real worker-kings of London' (p. 44) in order to strengthen the position of the International in Britain. At the same time, taking into account the ideological dependence of many trade union leaders on bourgeois liberals and radicals, he did his utmost to counteract any reformist tendencies shown by them. Marx's tactics aimed at removing obstacles to making the British working class a revolutionary force. He frequently managed to encourage reformist-minded trade union leaders to act in a revolutionary way.

One of the most striking episodes in the activity of the International in Britain was its participation in the broad movement for electoral reform that began in spring 1865. On Marx's advice, the British members of the General Council joined with representatives of the radical bourgeoisie in the leadership of the Reform League to campaign for the demand for universal suffrage. After beginning in London, the movement gradually gained strength, spreading to the provinces, and its powerful dimensions gave Marx grounds for hoping that it would be successful. 'If we succeed in re-electrifying the political movement of the English working class,' he wrote to Engels on 1 May 1865, 'our Association will already have done more for the European working class, without making any fuss, than was possible in any other way.'

Using the influence of the International on British workers, Marx strove to give the reform movement a radical nature, to turn it into a national struggle for a democratic political system in Britain, to encourage workers to stand for their own political platform, regardless of the position of the bourgeois parties (see Marx's letters to Kugelmann of 23 February 1865 and 9 October 1866, to Engels of 13 May 1865, and others). In this connection the drawing into the struggle for reform of those strata of British trade union workers who had previously been indifferent to politics both pleased Marx and encouraged high hopes. 'We have succeeded in attracting into the movement,' he wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann on 15 January 1866, 'the only really big workers' organisation, the English "*Trade Unions*", which previously concerned themselves *exclusively* with the wage question.'

The reform movement did not yield the expected results, however. The unity of its supporters was undermined by the bourgeois radicals who renounced the League's original pro-

gramme calling for universal suffrage. After having come 'to a compromise with the bourgeoisie' (Marx to Johann Philipp Becker of 31 August 1866), the reformist trade union leaders began playing up to the radicals. This enabled the ruling circles in Britain to limit themselves to introducing a moderate reform in 1867 that extended the franchise to the top strata of the working class only. The need to assert a truly proletarian world outlook and principles of revolutionary tactics of the proletariat, to counter reformist ideology and practice had now become even more evident. It was to this end that the subsequent activity of Marx and his associates in the International in Britain was directed.

As can be seen from their correspondence, Marx and Engels focused their attention also on the prospects for the development of the German working-class movement. As Corresponding Secretary for Germany on the General Council, Marx hoped that the German proletariat would become one of the leading national detachments of the International Association. The objective prerequisites for this existed. The activity of the Communist League and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* during the revolution of 1848-49 prepared the ground for the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism in Germany. However, the propagation of these ideas and the principles of the International came up against serious obstacles there. Reactionary legislation prevented the formation of the sections of the International. On the other hand, the very ideas of the international class solidarity of workers encountered resistance from Ferdinand Lassalle's followers, who had inherited his sectarian dogmas and nationalistic approach to the working-class movement. 'As long as these abominable Lassalleans rule the roost in Germany, that country will be infertile ground for the "*International Association*",' Marx wrote to Engels on 13 February 1865.

A number of Marx's and Engels' letters written shortly after Lassalle's death in 1864 contain an assessment both of his services to the cause of the liberation of the German working-class movement from the tutelage of the liberal 'patrons' (Schulze-Delitzsch and others) and of the harm that his mistaken views and tactics had done to the development of the class consciousness of the German workers. In a letter to Kugelmann of 23 February 1865 and a number of other letters, Marx noted that Lassalle did not understand the real conditions for the liberation of the working class, had only a superficial knowledge of the ideas of

scientific socialism, and tended to vulgarise economic theory. In campaigning for the solution of the social question by setting up producer associations with state help, Lassalle was fostering the illusion of the 'social mission' of the reactionary Prussian monarchy (see this volume, p. 101). At the same time he denied the expediency of the economic struggle of the working class and opposed the creation of trade unions, the true centres of organisation of the workers. By orienting the latter towards attaining their goals by reformist means, Lassalle began the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.

In a number of letters Marx and Engels criticised Lassalle's political tactics. They condemned the absolute importance that he attached to the demand for universal suffrage, which he proclaimed as the most effective way of liberating the proletariat. The example of Bonapartism in France enabled them to foresee the demagogical use of this demand by the Prussian counter-revolution. They also strongly condemned Lassalle's policy of flirting with Bismarck and his attempt to form an alliance with the Prussian Junkers against the bourgeoisie, particularly after they learnt of Lassalle's direct negotiations with the head of the Prussian government. 'Objectively it was the act of a scoundrel, the betrayal of the whole workers' movement to the Prussians,' Engels wrote to Marx on 27 January 1865.

In opposition to the Lassalleans, Marx and Engels sought to set the German working-class movement on the revolutionary path. They attached great importance to bringing the General Association of German Workers, founded by Lassalle in 1863, into the International (see Marx's letter to Carl Siebel of 22 December 1864). The Association had many healthy proletarian elements within its ranks, including former members of the Communist League, and Marx hoped that if the General Association of German Workers joined the International this would be an important step towards overcoming Lassalleanism and that eventually it would be possible radically to reshape this organisation, to change its programme and tactics and also its organisational principles. However, the Lassallean leaders of the Association opposed its joining the International.

In the struggle against the influence of Lassalleanism on the German working-class movement an important part was played by Engels' pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* published in Germany in February 1865. Marx and Engels discussed its plan and content in detail in their letters. In them they denounce the social demagoguery of the Prussian

government and Bismarck's use of the Bonapartist tactics of manoeuvring between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, reveal the inconsistency and cowardice of the bourgeois opposition Party of Progress and determine the tasks of the working class in the struggle for democratic transformations in Germany (see, for example, Marx's letters to Engels of 3, 10 and 18 February 1865). The ideas expressed in their letters were developed in the pamphlet, in which Engels stressed that the main thing in the tactics of the working class was to avoid compromise with reaction, to denounce the anti-revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie and to pursue the policy of creating an independent proletarian party.

An important milestone in the break by Marx, Engels and their supporters with the Lassalleans was the cessation of their short-lived cooperation on the Berlin *Social-Demokrat*. The letters of Marx and Engels reflect their relations with this newspaper of the General Association of German Workers quite fully. By agreeing to contribute to it, Marx and Engels hoped to influence the German working-class movement in the spirit of the principles of the International, and later Marx intended to make use of the *Social-Demokrat* to propagate the ideas of *Capital*. On 14 November 1864 he wrote to Engels: 'It is important for us to have a mouthpiece in Berlin, especially for the sake of the association I was involved in founding in London, and for the sake of the book I am planning to publish.' However, the *Social-Demokrat's* servile attitude to Bismarck's government and the cult of Lassalle that was blown up out of all proportions in its columns caused Marx and Engels to review their decision. Convinced that, in spite of their warnings, the newspaper's editor Schweitzer was still trying to justify the policies of the Prussian ruling circles and to sing the praises of Lassalle, they both announced publicly that they refused to contribute to it (pp. 96-97, 98-99, 104-05, etc.).

After the break with the *Social-Demokrat* Marx and Engels continued to strengthen contacts with the German workers, relying on the progressive elements who were disillusioned with Lassalle's dogmas and the tactics of making advances to government circles, and helped a considerable section of the German proletariat to part company with Lassalleanism.

Marx and Engels gave constant support to Wilhelm Liebknecht and later to August Bebel in their struggle to consolidate the forces of the German working class on a revolutionary basis, on the platform of the International. This help was particularly great at the time when the question of the ways of the national

unification of Germany was being decided and circumstances demanded that German proletarian revolutionaries should put up a firm challenge to Bismarck's policy of uniting the country from above, under the supremacy of Prussia, by opposing to it the policy of revolutionary democratic unification from below. At that juncture, as Marx and Engels frequently stressed in their letters, it was most important to denounce the militaristic regime of the united state being created by Bismarck, to support democratic demands and to rally militant detachments of the German proletariat on a national level (pp. 297-98, 300, etc.). Marx and Engels expressed their warm approval of Liebknecht's speeches criticising the policies of the Prussian ruling circles from the tribune of the North German Reichstag to which he was elected with Bebel in 1867. 'Liebknecht is doing very well,' Engels wrote to Marx on 13 October 1867 concerning one of the denunciatory speeches by this true parliamentarian of the working class. The activity of Liebknecht, Bebel and their supporters, the creation of German sections of the International, the increasing influence of its ideas among the German workers, and the growing opposition to the Lassallean leadership in the ranks of the General Association of German Workers—all this inspired Marx and Engels with the conviction that the working-class movement in Germany would take the path of revolutionary struggle and master the principles of scientific socialism.

Seeking to consolidate the position of the International in France, Marx did his utmost to counter the claims of bourgeois republicans to leadership of its local organisations. To this end, on his initiative the Central Council adopted decisions on the conflict in the Paris section (see Marx's letters to Engels of 25 February and 7 March 1865 and to Hermann Jung of 13 March 1865). At the same time Marx was constantly searching for ways of overcoming the belief of a section of French workers in utopian Proudhonist doctrines. This is why in the letters published in this volume so much space is devoted to criticism of Proudhon's petty-bourgeois views that had a perceptible influence during this period not only on the French, but also on the Belgian and to some extent on the Swiss working-class movement. A generalised criticism of Proudhon's views was provided by Marx in his letter to Kugelmann of 9 October 1866 where he sums up the results of the Geneva Congress at which the difference between Proudhon's views and the revolutionary line of the leadership of the International became particularly evident: 'Beneath the *cloak of*

freedom and anti-governmentalism or anti-authoritarian individualism these gentlemen, who for 16 years now have so quietly endured the most wretched despotism, and are still enduring it, are in actuality preaching vulgar bourgeois economics, only in the guise of Proudhonist idealism!

Analysing the causes of the spread of Proudhonist utopias, Marx points to Proudhon's 'pseudo-critique' of the bourgeois system, to his outwardly radical phraseology that impressed the '*jeunesse brillante*' (brilliant youth) and students, and also the backward, semi-artisan strata of workers engaged in small-scale production (p. 326). Marx strongly condemns the Proudhonists for their disparaging attitude to 'all *revolutionary* action, i.e. arising from the class struggle itself, every concentrated social movement, and therefore also that which can be achieved by *political means* (e.g., such as limitation of the working day *by law*)' (ibid.). In a letter to Engels of 20 June 1866 Marx describes the sharp reproof which, in the course of a discussion on the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, he delivered to a number of French members of the General Council of the International who were seeking in a spirit of Proudhonist nihilism to call nations and nationalities 'obsolete prejudices'.

Marx's letters in this volume also show what importance he attached to the setting up of sections of the International in countries like Belgium (see his letters to Léon Fontaine of 15 April and 25 July 1865) and Switzerland (see his letters to Johann Philipp Becker of 13 January, Kugelmann of 15 January 1866 and others). For propagating the principles of the International Working Men's Association and founding its sections in the USA Marx made use of contacts with Joseph Weydemeyer, Sigfrid Meyer and other participants in the European revolutionary movement who emigrated to America. Marx and Engels followed closely the development of the working-class movement in the USA, noting each of its successes with pleasure. Thus, Marx rated the results of the workers' congress in Baltimore very highly: 'The watchword there was organisation for the struggle against capital, and, remarkably enough, most of the demands I had put up for Geneva were put up there, too, by the correct instinct of the workers' (p. 326).

During this period Marx and Engels paid great attention to drafting the platform of the International on the national

question. They substantiated the tactics of the international proletarian organisation in relation to the national liberation movement, regarding the support of the working class for the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations as one of the most important conditions of its own liberation. The correspondence of Marx and Engels reveals how much energy Marx spent on organising public meetings and gatherings in defence of the fighters for Poland's independence. Unlike the Proudhonists, the leaders of the International regarded the demand that Poland should be reorganised on a democratic basis as an integral part of the struggle for the democratic transformation of Europe, in which the working class had a vital interest. Marx's consistently internationalist standpoint on the Polish question was also reflected in his polemic with the English radical journalist Peter Fox, one of the leaders of the British National League for the Independence of Poland. Although supporting Poland's national sovereignty, Fox shared the Francophile attitudes of the English radicals and the illusions of the Right bourgeois-aristocratic wing of the Polish national movement concerning 'assistance' to it from the ruling circles of the Western powers (see Marx's letters to Engels of 10 December 1864, 25 February and 4 March 1865, to Jung of 13 April 1865, and others). In his polemic with Fox Marx argued that the Polish revolutionaries should look not to the Western powers, who had treacherously betrayed the interests of insurgent Poland, but to the European proletariat, its true and selfless ally. In the opinion of Marx and Engels, the prime role in the liberation of Poland should be played by the united efforts of the representatives of the Polish national liberation and Russian revolutionary movements, their joint struggle against the common foe—Tsarist autocracy.

An important contribution to the elaboration of the national and colonial question and the substantiation of the principles of proletarian internationalism was made by Marx and Engels in connection with determining the International's position on the liberation struggle of the Irish people. Their letters that deal with this problem formulate a number of fruitful ideas concerning the interdependence and inter-connection of the national liberation and proletarian movements. The national liberation of Ireland and the revolutionary democratic transformation of its agrarian structure was regarded by Marx as an essential prerequisite for the successful development of the British proletarian movement and for ridding the British workers of reformist and chauvinistic prejudices. In his letters to Engels of 2 and 30 November 1867, he

set out the basic demands of his proposed programme on the Irish question, which he trusted would receive the support of the British working class. The main ones were: Irish self-government and independence from Britain, an agrarian revolution and the introduction of protective tariffs to ensure the country's economic independence. Noting that the British ruling classes had virtually established colonial rule in Ireland, introducing the practice of 'clearing' estates, i.e. evicting Irish peasants from the land in the interests of English landlords and capitalists, Marx in a letter to Engels described this as a blatant manifestation of national enslavement mixed with social oppression: 'In no other European country has foreign rule assumed this form of direct expropriation of the natives' (p. 461).

On the initiative of Marx the General Council of the International conducted a campaign of support for the Irish people, while Marx himself in his public statements constantly defended the fighters for Irish independence, the Fenians. He stressed that the activity of these petty-bourgeois revolutionaries reflected the protest by the mass of the peasantry against the policy of eviction from the land, and also the discontent of the urban poor with the colonial regime. Describing Fenianism, Marx pointed out that it 'is characterised by socialist (in the negative sense, as directed against the appropriation of the soil) leanings and as a lower orders movement' (p. 486).

At the same time Marx and Engels were clearly aware of the weaknesses of Fenianism and emphasised that conspiratorial, adventurist tactics, and the use of terroristic methods of struggle did harm to the national liberation movement and prevented the establishment of international unity of action between the British proletariat and the Irish working people (see Marx's letters to Engels of 28 November and 14 December 1867 and of Engels to Marx of 29 November and 19 December 1867).

Commenting on the importance of the struggle to liberate Ireland and the participation of English workers in this struggle expressed in the letters of Marx and Engels, Lenin wrote in 1914: 'In the Irish question, too, Marx and Engels pursued a consistently proletarian policy, which really educated the masses in a spirit of democracy and socialism. Only such a policy could have saved both Ireland and England half a century of delay in introducing the necessary reforms, and prevented these reforms from being mutilated by the Liberals to please the reactionaries' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, Moscow, 1977, pp. 441-42).

The correspondence of Marx and Engels illustrates Marx's truly colossal work on his main life's work, *Capital*. In a number of cases letters alone enable us to ascertain precisely what problems of economic theory were of interest to him at this or that point in time, to date the different preliminary versions of *Capital* and to determine the nature of non-extant manuscripts. From the letters we can get an idea of the way in which Engels helped Marx during the writing of *Capital*, of their constant exchange of views on problems of political economy, and of Engels' part in collecting factual material, determining the specific features of capitalist production and the influence of the economic situation, crises, etc., on it (see, for example, Engels' letters to Marx of 12 April 1865, 26 and 27 August 1867 and others).

Aware of the role that his work would have to play in the development of scientific socialism and the proletarian movement, Marx devoted all his energies to it, 'studying by day and writing by night'. 'I have *not an hour to spare*,' he wrote during this period (pp. 263 and 214). Marx hoped to 'deal the bourgeoisie a theoretical blow from which it will never recover' (letter to Carl Klings of 4 October 1864). Explaining to Ludwig Kugelmann the reasons for his refusal to attend the Geneva Congress of the International, Marx wrote on 23 August 1866: 'I consider that what I am doing through this work is far more important for the working class than anything I might be able to do personally at any *congrès quelconque* [congress whatsoever].'

In January 1866 Marx began to prepare Volume One of *Capital* for publication on the basis of the manuscripts of 1863-65. At first he assumed that it would contain the first two books 'The Process of Production of Capital' and 'The Process of Circulation of Capital', but already in the course of the work he decided that it would contain only the first book. And although he himself wrote that he had begun recopying it and '*polishing the style*' (Marx to Engels of 13 February 1866), much more than that was involved. Some chapters were considerably expanded by introducing new material. Thus, for the sections on the working day, machinery and the general law of capitalist accumulation, Marx made extensive use of factual data in the recently published Blue Books (containing the reports of parliamentary commissions, such as the Children's Employment Commission), about which he informed Engels on 21 July 1866 and in a number of other letters (p. 296).

The extreme exhaustion resulting from his scientific work and the performance of his numerous duties as a leader of the International and the constant material hardships had a serious

effect on Marx's health. As can be seen from many letters, the preparation of the manuscript of the first volume of *Capital* for the publishers was frequently interrupted by acute bouts of ill health which forced Marx to put aside the work. 'Dear Mr Kugelmann, you can believe me when I tell you there can be few books that have been written in more difficult circumstances,' Jenny Marx confided in Kugelmann in a letter of 24 December 1867, 'and I am sure I could write a secret history of it which would tell of many, extremely many unspoken troubles and anxieties and torments' (p. 578). Nevertheless, in November 1866 Marx was able to send the first part of the manuscript to Hamburg, and on 2 April 1867 he informed Engels that he had completed the book and would take the manuscript to the publisher himself in a few days' time.

The Marx-Engels correspondence from May to August 1867 reflects the work of proof-reading the first volume. Marx systematically sent sheets of print to his friend in Manchester. Thus Engels was the first reader and most competent reviewer of Marx's great masterpiece. After reading the greater part of it, he congratulated the author on elucidating the most complex economic problems 'simply and almost sensuously merely by arranging them suitably and by placing them in the right context' (p. 405). 'The theoretical side is quite splendid,' Engels remarked in his letter of 1 September 1867, adding: 'The *résumé* on the expropriation of the expropriators is most brilliant and will create quite an effect.'

At the same time Engels made certain suggestions for improving the structure of the book and expounding a number of questions. In this respect, his letters to Marx of 16 and 26 June and 23 August and Marx's letters to Engels of 3, 22 and 27 June and 24 August 1867 are of considerable interest. Taking account of Engels' suggestions, Marx wrote a special appendix on the form of value.

Marx greatly appreciated Engels' opinion of *Capital*. He wrote: 'That you have been satisfied with it so far is more important to me than anything the rest of the world may say of it' (p. 383). A striking document revealing the collaboration between the two great thinkers and revolutionaries, and a moving testimony to Marx's profound gratitude to his friend, is Marx's letter to Engels written on 16 August 1867 at 2.0. a.m. when he had just finished correcting the last sheet of Volume One of *Capital*. 'So, *this volume is finished*. I owe it to **you** alone that it was possible! Without your self-sacrifice for me I could not possibly have managed the immense

labour demanded by the 3 volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks!’

The publication of Volume One of *Capital* (September 1867) became an outstanding event in the history of human thought. As Lenin said, in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and particularly in *Capital* Marx ‘revolutionised’ political economy (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Moscow, 1978, p. 49). Volume One of *Capital* contains a thorough analysis and explanation of the essence of capitalist exploitation, reveals and expounds the economic laws of the motion of bourgeois society and shows the inevitability of capitalism being replaced by a new social system as a result of a revolution carried out by the working class. In this work Marx gave the proletariat a mighty ideological weapon in its struggle for the socialist transformation of society. ‘Marx’s economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism,’ stressed Lenin (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, Moscow, 1977, p. 28). History has confirmed the correctness of Marx’s comparison of Volume One of *Capital* with ‘the most terrible missile that has yet been hurled at the heads of the bourgeoisie (landowners included)’ (p. 358).

The letters included in this volume also deal with the steps taken by Marx and Engels to popularise Volume One of *Capital* and its main ideas. On 27 April 1867 Engels wrote to Marx: ‘I am convinced that the book will create a real stir from the moment it appears, but it will be very necessary to help the enthusiasm of the scientifically-inclined burghers and officials on to its feet and not to despise petty stratagems.’ To attract attention to *Capital* Marx and Engels sent copies to their comrades and acquaintances, circulated notices through the publisher Otto Meissner announcing its publication, wrote reviews for various press organs and published extracts from the preface to Volume One in various periodicals.

Engels played a most important part in propagating Volume One of *Capital*. In order to thwart a possible ‘conspiracy of silence’ by bourgeois scholars, Engels suggested attacking ‘the book *from the bourgeois point of view*’. Marx fully approved of his friend’s plan, describing it as ‘*the best tactic*’ (p. 427).

Engels prepared a series of brilliantly written reviews for liberal and democratic newspapers (see present edition, Vol. 20). Their publication made it impossible for bourgeois ideologists to ignore *Capital* and helped to expose attempts to belittle the importance of Marx’s work and distort its content.

However, the main aim behind all the efforts by Marx and Engels to disseminate and propagate *Capital* was to equip the working-class movement with a revolutionary economic theory, to introduce workers to truly scientific ideas concerning ways of getting rid of capitalist exploitation. It is no accident that in his letter of 30 November 1867 Marx asked Kugelmann to explain to Liebknecht 'that it really is his duty to draw attention to my book at *workers' meetings*'. Engels in his turn wrote to Hermann Meyer on 18 October 1867: 'I hope you will be able to bring Marx's book to the attention of the German-American press and of the workers. With the 8-hour-agitation that is in progress in America now, this book with its chapter on the *working day* will come at just the right time for you over there, and, in other respects too, it is likely to clarify people's minds on a variety of issues.' Other letters in this volume also testify to the true party concern for the working-class movement and the practical application of the conclusions of Marx's economic theory.

The correspondence of Marx and Engels for this period shows what great importance they attached to the publication of *Capital* in other languages. Already on 31 July 1865, when the book was only being prepared for publication, Marx expressed the idea of making an English translation straightaway from the proofs of the German text. Subsequently, Marx and Engels returned frequently to the discussion of this question, looking for a translator and a publisher (see Engels' letters to Marx of 24 June and 23 August 1867; Marx's letters to Engels of 27 June and to Kugelmann of 11 October 1867 and 6 March 1868). Unfortunately, the English edition of Volume One of Marx's main work did not come out during his lifetime.

At the same time efforts were made to prepare a French translation of Volume One. Marx believed that a French edition of *Capital* would help the French workers to realise how invalid Proudhon's reformist projects were for solving the social question. 'I consider it to be of the greatest importance to emancipate the French from the erroneous views under which Proudhon with his idealised petty-bourgeoisie has buried them,' he wrote to Ludwig Büchner on 1 May 1867. The search for a translator and publisher, as several letters show (including those of Marx to Engels of 28 November 1867 and to Victor Schily of 30 November 1867), turned out to be no easy matter in this case too. Marx was not able to realise his intention of bringing out a French translation of Volume One of *Capital* until 1872-75.

The publication of Volume One of *Capital* was, as Marx

intended and the publisher insisted, to be followed by that of the two other volumes. Marx immediately set about revising his manuscripts of the second and third books of *Capital*, elaborating certain problems in greater detail as he went along. Thus, in his correspondence with Engels the question of the replacement of fixed capital is discussed (pp. 409-13); 'for the chapter on ground rent' (pp. 507-08) Marx asks Engels for help in selecting books and consultations on agro-chemistry, etc. 'We must keep a close watch on the recent and very latest in agriculture....,' he writes to Engels on 25 March 1868.

Marx showed a rare conscientiousness in his studies. Again and again he would return to what might appear to be sufficiently studied problems, making use of new material. This was one of the reasons for the delay in the preparation of the subsequent volumes of *Capital*. It was Engels who completed this task after Marx's death on the basis of Marx's manuscripts.

A subject of constant attention for Marx and Engels during the period under review was not only the state and level of development of the working-class movement in different countries, but also the general economic and political position of these countries, and the international situation. All this had to be taken into account in elaborating the tactics of the international working-class movement at different stages. Therefore, many of the letters in this volume contain a description of the most important events that took place during these years in Europe and beyond the Continent, new phenomena in economics, including those related to the economic crisis of 1866, and in political life. Marx and Engels discussed with each other and their acquaintances the details of the struggle of the political parties in England, the symptoms of the imminent bankruptcy of the Bonapartist regime in France, the situation in Germany produced by the growing rivalry between Prussia and Austria, Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the first steps to carry out Bismarck's plan for uniting the country by 'blood and iron'. The founders of Marxism made a thorough examination of the alignment of forces in the international arena, and of the positions of the European powers in the conflicts that followed one after another (the Luxemburg crisis of 1867, the international complications arising from the Rome expedition of Garibaldi and his followers, the Crete uprising, etc.) and testified to the growing danger of a new war. The assessments made by Marx and Engels

of all these events are remarkable for their historical accuracy and depth. They were based on a dialectical-materialist analysis of the phenomena in question, which made it possible to reveal their class roots and essence, to expose the contradictory aspects, to determine the possible consequences and to conclude from this what tasks confronted the working class.

Marx and Engels made a close study of the course of the US Civil War, which entered its final stage during this period. Their letters contain assessments of military operations and forecasts on the future development of events, a profound analysis of which enabled Marx and Engels to conclude that things were coming to a head and that the economic, moral and political advantages of the North would lead to the defeat of the slave-owning South.

The revolutionising influence of the US Civil War on the development of the democratic and working-class movement was obvious to Marx and Engels. At the same time they also saw the limitations of the bourgeois democracy of the Northern states, and also the anti-democratic, sometimes downright counter-revolutionary trends in the policies of the bourgeois ruling circles of the North. Criticising President Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln, Marx and Engels noted that his policies reflected the desire of the big bourgeoisie in the North to ally with the defeated planters of the Southern states, and to continue the system of racial discrimination against the 'liberated' Black people, etc. Engels wrote to Marx on 15 July 1865 that renewed hatred towards blacks was 'coming out more and more violently' and that Johnson 'is relinquishing all his power vis-à-vis the old lords in the South.... Without coloured suffrage nothing can be done, and Johnson is leaving it up to the defeated, the ex-slaveowners, to decide on that. It is absurd.' That is why when Johnson was defeated in the 1866 elections Marx gave the main reason for this in a letter to François Lafargue in a single sentence: 'The workers in the North have at last fully understood that white labour will never be emancipated so long as black labour is still stigmatised' (p. 334).

This statement by Marx is yet further confirmation that the events of his day, including questions of international politics, were seen by him and Engels primarily from the viewpoint of the interests of the revolutionary proletariat. Already during the founding of the International Marx called on the working class to proclaim its own independent policy opposed to that of the ruling classes. In his letter of 25 February 1865 to Engels he emphasised: 'The working class has its own foreign policy, which is most

certainly not determined by what the middle class considers opportune.'

It was from this standpoint that Marx and Engels elaborated the tactics of the working class in connection with the growing threat of war in Europe. They condemned with severity the wars unleashed by the ruling classes for territorial, dynastic and anti-popular ends, and linked the struggle against such wars and against militarism in general with the liberation movement of the proletariat against the capitalist exploitative system. It is no accident that when the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 broke out, Marx did his utmost to see that the International dissociated itself from the aggressive, expansionist tendencies introduced by the ruling circles of Germany and Italy into the struggle for the national unification of these countries, which was objectively progressive in the given historical situation. Marx and Engels saw these tendencies as a source of further aggravation of international contradictions, of fresh military conflicts. They predicted that the war of 1866 would be fraught with new, even more extensive military conflicts, first and foremost between Prussia and France. In a letter to Engels of 27 July 1866 Marx stressed that the end of the war would not lead to a lasting peace in Europe. 'That we shall soon be back to bashing is clear enough,' Engels replied to him on 6 August 1866. All this required the further mobilisation of the forces of the working class for the struggle against the threat of war.

Criticising the pacifist illusions of the bourgeois-democratic League of Peace and Freedom, Marx and Engels at the same time supported the idea of joint action by the working class with all truly anti-militarist forces prepared to stand up for peace between nations in deeds and not just in words. Guided by Marx the International tirelessly carried on an energetic struggle for peace, consistently denouncing the foreign policy and diplomacy of the ruling classes in the capitalist countries.

From this volume it is clear that from 1864 to 1868 Marx and Engels continued to study the natural and social sciences, in particular world history, philology, ethnography and philosophy. Marx's letter to Engels testifying to Marx's interest in higher mathematics and his study of differential calculus was written at the end of 1865. In their letters Marx and Engels exchange views on books they have read, talk about discoveries in various spheres of science and assess new scientific hypotheses (see, for example,

pp. 7-8, 184-85, 212, 232, 291-92, 304-05, 320-25, 495, 547-49, 557-59).

Their letters show the leaders of the proletariat to be men with an extraordinarily wide range of interests, capable of discerning and assessing fruitful ideas and discoveries marking the steady advance of science. These discoveries, as Marx and Engels so rightly assumed, served as further proof of the correctness of the proletarian revolutionary world outlook and dialectical-materialist views on the development of nature and society. Thus, in the research on the social system of ancient and mediaeval Germany by the German historian Georg Maurer, Marx saw the 'Mark theory' as factual confirmation of the view, expressed earlier by Marx himself, that communal property in land came first, that everywhere it preceded the emergence of private property in land (see his letter to Engels of 14 March 1868). The striving of Marx and Engels to make full use of the latest achievements of the various sciences shows that Marxism, both during its formation and throughout its subsequent development, rested on the finest achievements of human thought.

The biographical material contained in the letters in this volume gives a clear picture of the great thinkers and revolutionaries, and enables the reader to form a clear idea of the conditions in which they lived and struggled and the characteristic features of the theoretical and practical activity at the time when, after the founding of the International, they virtually became the leaders of the mass international proletarian movement. An important document in this respect that supplements the correspondence, is Marx's 'Confession' (answers to questions in a semi-humorous questionnaire) which reveals the richness and integrity of his personality (see Appendices).

From the material in the volume it is clear that both Marx and Engels were extremely high-principled and unwavering on scientific and political questions, yet possessed the necessary flexibility in solving the urgent tasks of the working-class movement, and also that they were exceptionally modest and lacked any trace of personal vanity. Marx who frequently wrote that the whole burden of the leadership of the International lay virtually on him, stated in a letter to Liebknecht of 21 November 1865 that he could not read out his report on the German working-class movement at the London Conference because, as he wrote, 'I was too personally introduced in it'. Resolute and high-principled in criticising the errors of friends and comrades, Marx and Engels were always ready to encourage and support

them and to come to their assistance. On 8 December 1864 Marx wrote to Engels: '*Apropos Liebknecht...* I have sent him money several times in the course of the last six months and now I want to send his wife something ... since I know they are in dire straits. I would appreciate it if you would make a contribution, too.'

Marx's service to the cause of the working class is exemplary. In a letter to Kugelmann of 9 October 1866, for example, he writes that if he were prepared 'to take up a practical trade' he could dispose of his pecuniary troubles entirely. But Marx never strove for personal well-being, although the hardships endured by his family caused him no little suffering. 'Working for the cause', for the party, for the liberation of the working class and the whole of the working people, that was Marx's aim throughout his life. 'I laugh at the so-called "practical" men and their wisdom,' he wrote on 30 April 1867 to Sigfrid Meyer, admitting what sacrifices the writing of *Capital* had cost him. 'If one wanted to be an ox, one could, of course, turn one's back on the sufferings of humanity and look after one's own hide. But I should really have thought myself *unpractical* if I had pegged out without finally completing my book....' And to his future son-in-law Paul Lafargue Marx wrote: 'You know that I have sacrificed my whole fortune to the revolutionary struggle. I do not regret it. Quite the contrary. If I had to begin my life over again, I would do the same' (p. 308).

The letters in this volume supplement the works written by Marx and Engels in the period in question. They provide an important source for studying Marxist ideas and the creative and revolutionary biographies of Marx and Engels, and for elucidating their leading role in the development of the working-class liberation movement at the stage when the foundations of the international proletarian struggle for socialism were being laid.

* * *

Volume 42 contains 344 letters from Marx and Engels, of which 159 are published in English for the first time and 185 were published earlier, most of them in part only. These publications are mentioned in the Notes. Of the 12 items included in the Appendices, two were written in English and the rest are published for the first time in this language.

During the work on the text of the volume and the notes and indexes to it the dating of some of the letters was established more accurately as a result of additional research. The two letters from Marx to Engels of 6 February 1865, printed earlier as indepen-

dent ones, are published in this volume as one letter.

Obvious slips of the pen are corrected without comment. Proper names, geographical names and individual words contracted by the authors are given in full, except when these contractions were made for the sake of conspiracy or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes and passages with missing or illegible words are marked by three dots in square brackets. If the context allows a presumable reconstruction to be made of the missing or illegible words, these words are also given in square brackets. Passages crossed out by the authors are reproduced in the footnotes only in cases where there is a significant discrepancy. If a letter is a rough copy or a draft, a postscript to a letter of another person, or a fragment quoted elsewhere, this is marked either in the text itself or in the Notes.

Foreign words and expressions are retained in the form in which they were used by the authors with a translation where necessary in the footnotes and are italicised (if underlined by the authors, they are given in spaced italics). English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels in texts originally written in German, French and other languages are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term 'nigger', which has acquired generally—but especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century.

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

The volume was compiled, the text prepared and the Preface, Notes and the Subject Index written by Vladimir Sazonov and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C. C.P.S.U.). The Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals were prepared by Natalya Kalennikova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The translations were made by Christopher Upward and John Peet and edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Glenys Ann Kozlov, Lydia Belyakova, Elena Kalinina and Margarita Lopukhina (Progress Publishers), and Larisa Miskievich, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editors Svetlana Gerasimenko, Elena Kalinina and Anna Vladimirova (Progress Publishers).

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

October 1864-March 1868

1864

1

MARX TO CARL KLINGS¹

IN SOLINGEN

[Draft]

London, 4 October 1864
 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill^a

Dear Friend,

I was glad to receive further signs of life from the workers of the Rhine Province, as conveyed in your letter of 28 September.²

B. Becker or *M. Hess*? I know them both; both are old members of the movement. Both are honest. Neither of them is capable of leading a movement of any import. Becker is a weak man, in fact, and Hess a muddle-head. It is therefore difficult to decide between the two. I also think it scarcely signifies which of the two you elect, as there will be no difficulty in finding the right people at the decisive moment.

Enquiries have reached me, e.g. from Berlin, as to whether I would accept the presidency?³ I replied that it was *impossible*, because for the present I am still forbidden to take up residence in Prussia.^b However, I would certainly think it a *good gesture by the party*, vis-à-vis both the Prussian government and the bourgeoisie, if the workers' congress were to *elect* me, to which I would make a public reply explaining why I *cannot* accept the election. Such a step would be important for the following reason in particular: a big public MEETING of workers took place here in London on 28 September, with English, German, French and Italian workers participating. The Parisian workers had, moreover, sent over a special delegation, headed by Tolain, a worker, who was put up as

^a The Marx family lived here from March 1864 to March 1875. - ^b At this point, the following passage is deleted from the manuscript: 'in any case, if I were to assume the leadership, the government would immediately suppress the whole thing.'

a candidate by the working class in Paris in the last elections for the Corps législatif.⁴

At this MEETING, a *Comité* was elected—an *international Comité* to represent the workers' interests, which is directly linked to the workers in Paris and includes the leaders of the London workers. I was elected as representative of the German workers (and my old friend Eccarius, the tailor, along with me).^a If I were thus nominated by the German congress—although I would have to *decline* the election now—the *Comité* and with it the workers in London and Paris would regard this as a gesture on the part of the German workers. Next year, the *Comité* will be calling an *international workers' congress* in Brussels.⁵ Unfortunately, I shall not be able to attend in person, as I am still exiled from the model state of Belgium, just as I am from France and Germany.

I shall send you some '*Manifestoes*'^b at the first *safe* opportunity.

This letter will be brought to you by one of my friends^c from Barmen.

I have been sick throughout the past year (being afflicted with carbuncles and furuncles). Had it not been for that, my work on *political economy*, '*Capital*', would already have come out. I hope I may now complete it finally in a couple of months and deal the bourgeoisie a theoretical blow from which it will never recover.

Farewell; you may count on my remaining ever a loyal champion of the working class.

Yours

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*,
No. 8, 1934

Printed according to the original

^a At this point, the following passage is deleted from the manuscript: 'to establish a liaison between the German workers' movement and the English one.' - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - ^c At this point in the manuscript, the following words are deleted: 'C. Siebel from Barmen or'.

2

MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT⁶

IN BERLIN

[Copy]

London, 16 October 1864
Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Countess,

In recent weeks I have been so seriously ill that I was obliged to keep to my bed and hence, unfortunately, to defer until now my reply to your friendly letter of 1 October.

I assure you that I still cannot bring myself to accept Lassalle's death as a *fait accompli*! I see him in my mind's eye so full of life, spirit, energy and plans, so very, very young, and now suddenly his voice is silenced and his breath departed—I find it impossible to reconcile the two, to conceive of both simultaneously, and the reality oppresses me like an awful, nightmarish dream.

You are quite right to imply that no one appreciated Lassalle's greatness and significance better than I. He himself was most aware of this, as his letters to me show. As long as the correspondence between us lasted, I always expressed to him my heartfelt appreciation of his achievements, on the one hand, while always frankly advising him of my criticisms and reservations regarding those things I considered faulty, on the other.

In one of his last letters to me he wrote, in that peculiarly forceful manner he had, of the satisfaction that this gave him. But, apart from all his abilities, I felt affection for him *as a person*. The pity is that we have always concealed this fact from one another, as if we were going to live for ever...^a

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

Printed according to the original

^a The end of the letter is missing.

3

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 November 1864

Dear Engels,

Your long silence worries me. I presume you are back.⁷ Why have we not heard from you?

I have all kinds of important things to tell you, which I shall do immediately as soon as you give some sign of life.

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

4

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 November 1864

Dear Moor,

The crisis and its innumerable vexations must be my excuse for not writing to you earlier. Never in my whole life have I had such a glut of Jewish chicanery as now, and you can just imagine how much correspondence that entails.

Later this week, I shall go and see Borchardt to complete the business of Lupus' legacy,⁸ which is now about to be concluded.

My travels⁷ took me as far as Sonderburg^a; I did not go to Copenhagen, in part because I had neither the time nor a passport, and in part because Bille, the editor of the *Dagbladet*,

^a Danish name: ~~S~~nderborg.

had just arrived in Lübeck when I was in Kiel, and so I had no contact in Copenhagen at all, never having seen any of the other papers anywhere.

Schleswig is a curious country—the east coast very pretty and prosperous, the west coast also prosperous, heath and moors in the middle. All the bays extremely beautiful. The people are decidedly one of the biggest and heaviest of all the human races on Earth, especially the Frisians on the west coast. One only needs to travel across the country to be convinced that the main stock of the English comes from Schleswig. You know the Dutch Frisians, in particular those colossal Frisian women with their delicate white and fresh red complexions (which also predominate in Schleswig). They are the ancestral types of the northern English, and in particular those colossal women, who are also found here in England, all are of decidedly Frisian type. There is no doubt in my mind that the ‘Jutes’ (Anglo-Saxon *eotena cyn*), who migrated to England with the Angles and Saxons, were Frisians, and that the Danish migration to Jutland, as to Schleswig, dates only from the 7th or 8th century. The present Jutland dialect is proof enough of this.

These fellows are great fanatics and, for that reason, really took my fancy. You must have read something by that extraordinary ‘Dr K. J. Clement of North Friesland’. The man is typical of the whole race. These fellows are in deadly earnest about their struggle against the Danes, which is their whole purpose in life, and the Schleswig-Holstein theory is not an end but a means for them. They regard themselves as a physically and morally superior race to the Danes, and indeed they are. Bismarck was really kidding himself when he thought he could get the measure of such people by his own methods.⁹ We have held out against the Danes for fifteen years and became consolidated on our territory, and are we supposed to let these Prussian bureaucrats get us down?—that’s what these fellows were saying.

The situation regarding language and nationality is most bizarre. In Flensburg, where the Danes claim that the whole of the northern part is Danish, especially by the harbour, all the children, who were playing down by the harbour there in droves, spoke *Low German*. On the other hand, north of Flensburg the language of the people is Danish—i.e. the Low Danish dialect, of which I hardly understood a word. The peasants in the tavern at Sundewitt,^a however, spoke Danish, Low German and High

^a Danish name: Sundeved.

German by turns, and neither there nor in Sonderburg, where I always addressed the people in Danish, was I answered in any language but German. At all events, Germanisation has encroached considerably on North Schleswig, and it would be very difficult to make it entirely Danish again, certainly more difficult than German. I would rather it was more Danish, for one day something will surely have to be given up to the Scandinavians here, for decency's sake.

I have recently been doing some work on the philology and archaeology of the Frisians, Angles, Jutes and Scandinavians, and here, too, I have come to the conclusion that the Danes are no more than a nation of advocates, who will *knowingly and brazenly lie*, even in matters of scholarship, if it is in their interest. Mr Worsaae ON THE DANES ETC. IN ENGLAND TO WIT.^a By way of contrast, next time you come here I will show you a book, which is in the main very good, by the lunatic Clement from North Friesland about Schleswig and the migration to England in the 6th to 8th centuries.^b The fellow is certainly knowledgeable, despite his eccentricity. But he does appear to be a prodigious drinker.

To my surprise, the Prussians in Schleswig created a very good impression, particularly the Westphalians, who looked like giants at the side of the Austrians, but admittedly much more ponderous. The whole army went around entirely unshaven, with their buttons undone and generally bearing themselves in a most unsoldier-like fashion, so that the natty Austrians acted almost like Prussians here. Amongst the officers of the Prussian artillery and engineers I encountered several very agreeable fellows, who told me all kinds of interesting things, but the infantry and cavalry maintained a most dignified reticence and enjoyed a thoroughly bad reputation with the population. There was a notable lack of enthusiasm for Prince Frederick Charles' conduct of the war, and no one at all, not even those who had been decorated, had a good word to say about the distribution of rewards. The non-commissioned officers behaved well towards the older soldiers, and indeed generally when in company; on the other hand, I did see one of the Brandenburg sappers drilling recruits in Sonderburg, a real old infamous Prussian. It was, by the way, remarkable to observe the different tone that prevailed in the 3rd and 7th army corps in this respect. Your March Tribe, as Georg Jung has

^a J. J. A. Worsaae, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*. - ^b K. J. Clement, *Schleswig, das urheimische Land des nicht dänischen Volks der Angeln und Frisen und Englands Mutterland, wie es war und ward*.

it, submit to being kicked around and trampled on, whereas with the Westphalians (amongst whom there is a very strong admixture of Rhinelanders from the right bank) the non-commissioned officers mostly associate with their men *d'égal à-égal*.^a

What do you think of the commercial crisis? I think it is all over, i.e. the worst is. It is a pity these things do not come to a proper head.

Can you explain: *Rüm Hart, klar Kimmang?*

Give my kindest regards 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

5

ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS¹⁰

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 2 November 1864

Dear Hermann,

No joy with the Niersteiner. The wine arrived here with a distinct sourness to it, it does not taste at all as it did at your house, and I shall therefore have to forgo any more orders.

The money crisis, I think, is over. Now only 3 things can have any effect:

1. possible major insolvencies owing to bad news from India. Such are, however, not expected by those most deeply involved. India had its crisis in the spring, when discount was at 32% in Bombay.

2. large deliveries of cotton arriving in Liverpool, say 100,000 bales in one week, which would mean the sudden completion of a mass of loss-making contracts and consequent insolvencies. This danger also appears to be receding. The Liverpool men know how deeply they are all implicated and are being extremely tolerant towards each other. Those who cannot pay the difference lost *in*

^a as an equal among equals

full are offering part of it, and a settlement is usually reached. Moreover, the deliveries arriving are moderate, and the cotton now at sea (400,000 bales from India and China) will probably come little by little, and no one will be hit very hard.

A favourable factor in *both* cases is that the money market is experiencing a decided lift and confidence is returning.

3. if in America Lincoln were *not* elected. However, his re-election is as certain as anything ever can be in America. I have no doubt that the war will be continued until the South is totally subjugated,¹¹ irrespective of who becomes President, but if McClellan should be elected, at least 6 months of uncertainty would ensue, until people learned precisely what his policy was. But after the elections in the individual states, there can be no question of that happening.

The result of all this will, in my view, be as follows: the American war will continue, certainly, until late next year, and will end with bands of Southerners resorting to brigandry, as in Naples 2 years ago,¹² in the course of which much cotton will be burnt. We shall therefore remain dependent on the same sources for our cotton as in the past year. Supplies from these are only increasing slowly. However, since consumption has become more and more limited owing to high prices, stocks of finished goods, even in the hands of the individual consumers themselves, must now be exceedingly small, and as consumption after all absolutely requires a very large quantity of cotton goods, I believe that increased demand will fully accommodate the increased supply of raw cotton, and, consequently, not only will the downward trend cease to continue, but by next summer we ought, by and large, to see a general rise.

During the money crisis the price of cotton was not determined by the state of the cotton trade but by the state of the money market in general. I believe we've got over that now, and prices will once more be determined naturally by supply and demand, and then with the healthy state of business and the absolute deficiency in stocks, and with prices lower now, I am sure we can expect business to thrive with prices as a whole rising.

There may yet be sporadic shocks, perhaps from India, perhaps from Liverpool. We may, in consequence, again find ourselves momentarily somewhat depressed, but it cannot last, nor will it be of any import, and it would assuredly be an error to speculate *à la baisse*^a on such evidence. Conversely, I am equally

^a on prices falling

persuaded that any attempt to force prices up again rapidly would immediately be frustrated by the customers here and by the money market, too. This was already shown yesterday. Cotton has risen 3-3 1/2d. above its lowest point, yarns 1d., in some instances 1 1/2d. Yesterday, the spinners were demanding a further increase of approx. 1d., and business^a came to an immediate halt. If we succeed in forcing prices down another 1/2 PENNY à 1 PENNY in Liverpool, the spinners will be able to accept the prices being offered; otherwise, the purchasers will presumably have to pay the extra in the end, as the demand is undeniably there.

SEWINGS were still very quiet, especially seven LEAS, for which there is not a buyer to be found.

This is my opinion. We are covered for one to two months and are expecting substantial ORDERS in a week or two.

Please pass on my regards to Emma, the little ones, Rudolf, the Blanks and the Boellings, and, if you are writing to Engelskirchen, then to mother^b and everyone there, too. The chicaneries arising from the fall in prices have caused me a deal of botheration.

Your
Frederick

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. II, 1921

Printed according to the original
and the *Deutsche Revue*

Published in English in full for the
first time

6

MARX TO ENGELS¹³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 November 1864

Dear FREDERICK,

I was very pleased to hear from you again.

All well here. Myself included, since your departure from here⁷

^a The manuscript breaks off here. The end of the letter is printed according to the *Deutsche Revue*. - ^b Elisabeth Engels

until the day before yesterday, when yet another carbuncle appeared below my right breast. If the thing does not clear up quickly and others appear, I intend to use Gumpert's arsenic remedy this time.

I would translate your runic *rüm hart*, etc.^a as Dutch-Frisian for open heart, clear horizon. But I fear that there may be a quite different explanation, so I give up the riddle.

You must send all the *enclosed papers* back to me as soon as read. *I still need them*. So that I do not forget any of the things I wanted to tell you, I am going to number them.

1. *Lassalle and Countess Hatzfeldt*.

The lengthy document is a copy of a circular that Herwegh's wife (*honi soit qui mal y pense*^b), Emma, sent to Berlin immediately after the catastrophe,¹⁴ so that EXTRACTS from it could be put in the newspapers. You will see from it how cleverly Emma manages to put herself and her spineless Georg in the limelight at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the report; how the account evades two important points, *firstly* Rüstow's meeting with Dönniges and daughter, when the latter must have *renounced* Lassalle before the scene recounted by Emma took place. *Secondly*: how the duel came about. Lassalle wrote the insulting letter. But then something happened which is *not* reported and which led directly to the duel.

The suppression of two such important and crucial points makes one sceptical of the accuracy of the account.

The Hatzfeldt letter. On her arrival in Berlin I got Liebknecht to take her a brief letter of condolence from myself.^c Liebknecht wrote to me^d that she was complaining 'I left Lassalle in the lurch', as if I could have done the man any greater service than by keeping my mouth shut and letting him do as he liked. (In his last speech before the Düsseldorf assizes, he played the part of Marquis Posa with handsome William as Philipp II,^e whom he was trying to persuade to suspend the present constitution, proclaim universal direct suffrage and ally himself with the proletariat.¹⁵) You can see what is behind her letter and what she wants of me. I wrote a very amicable but diplomatically discouraging letter in reply.^f The latterday Redeemer! That personage and the sycophants, who surround her, are mad.

^a See this volume, p. 9. - ^b the shame be his who thinks ill of it (the motto of the English Order of the Garter) - ^c See present edition, Vol. 41, p. 563. - ^d on 30 September 1864 - ^e Marquis Posa and Philipp II are characters from Schiller's *Don Carlos*; William—King William I of Prussia. - ^f See this volume, p. 5.

Apropos. A couple of NUMBERS of E. Jones' *Notes to the People* (1851, 1852) happened to fall into my hands again; as far as the economic articles are concerned, the main points in them had been written directly under my guidance and partly even in direct collaboration with myself.^a WELL! What do I find in them? That at that time we conducted the same polemic—only better—against the co-operative movement, since it claimed, in its present narrow-minded form, to be the *last word*, as Lassalle conducted against Schulze-Delitzsch in Germany 10-12 years later.

In his last will and testament Lassalle has 'installed' Bernhard Becker, the unfortunate fellow, who was Juch's editor on the *Hermann* for a while, as his successor in the office of President of the General Association of German Workers²—in his 'last will and testament' (like a ruling prince). The Association's congress meets in Düsseldorf this month,¹⁶ and strong opposition to this 'decree' by last will and testament is expected.

Also enclosed, letter from a worker in Solingen, Klings,² in fact the clandestine leader of the Rhineland workers (former member of the League¹⁷). *This letter is not to be returned but filed.*

2. WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

Some time ago, London workers sent an address to workers in Paris about Poland and called upon them to act jointly in the matter.^b

For their part, the Parisians sent over a deputation headed by a worker named Tolain, who was the *real workers' candidate in the last elections in Paris*,⁴ a thoroughly nice fellow. (His *compagnons* were quite nice lads, too.) A PUBLIC MEETING in St Martin's Hall was called, for 28 September 1864, by Odger (shoemaker, President of the local COUNCIL OF ALL LONDON TRADES' UNIONS and, in particular, also of the TRADES' UNIONS SUFFRAGE AGITATION SOCIETY,¹⁸ which is connected with Bright) and Cremer, a MASON and secretary of the MASONS' UNION. (These two had arranged the big TRADE-UNION MEETING ON North America chaired by Bright in St James's Hall, ditto the Garibaldi manifestations.¹⁹) A certain *Le Lubez* was sent to ask me if I would participate *pour les ouvriers allemands*,^c and, in particular, whether I was willing to provide a German worker to speak at the MEETING, etc. I provided them with Eccarius, who put on a splendid

^a E. Jones, 'A Letter to the Advocates of the Co-operative Principle, and to the Members of Co-operative Societies', 'Co-operation. What It Is, and What It Ought to Be' (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 573-89). - ^b 'To the Workmen of France from the Working Men of England', *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 112, 5 December 1863. - ^c for the German workers

performance, and I was also present myself in a non-speaking capacity on the PLATFORM. I knew that on this occasion 'people who really count' were appearing, both from London and from Paris, and I therefore decided to waive my usual standing rule to DECLINE ANY SUCH INVITATIONS.

(*Le Lubez* is a young Frenchman, i.e. in his thirties; however, he grew up in Jersey and London, speaks capital English and is a very good intermediary between the French and English workers.) (Music teacher and *leçons*^a OF FRENCH.)

At the MEETING, which was *chock-full* (FOR THERE IS NOW EVIDENTLY A REVIVAL OF THE WORKING CLASSES TAKING PLACE), Major Wolff (Thurn-Taxis, Garibaldi's adjutant) represented THE LONDON ITALIAN WORKINGMEN'S SOCIETY.²⁰ It was resolved to found a 'WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION', whose GENERAL COUNCIL is to have its seat in London and is to 'intermediate' between the workers' SOCIETIES in Germany, Italy, France, and England. Ditto that a General WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS was to be convened in Belgium in 1865. A PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE was set up at the MEETING, with Odger, Cremer and many others, some of them former Chartists, former Owenites, etc., representing England, Major Wolff, Fontana, and other Italians representing Italy, *Le Lubez*, etc. for France, Eccarius and myself for Germany. The COMMITTEE was empowered to co-opt as many people as it chose.

SO FAR SO GOOD. I attended the first meeting of the committee. A *Sub-Committee* (including myself) was set up to draft a *déclaration des principes* and provisional rules.²¹ Indisposition prevented me from attending the meeting of the Sub-Committee and the subsequent meeting of the full committee.

At these two meetings, which I did not attend,—that of the Sub-Committee and the subsequent one of the full committee—the following occurred:

Major Wolff had submitted the regulations (statutes) of the *Italian Workers' Associations* (which possess a central organisation, but, as emerged later, are essentially associated BENEFIT SOCIETIES) to be used by the new Association. I saw the stuff later. It was EVIDENTLY a concoction of *Mazzini's*, and that tells you in advance in what spirit and phraseology the real question, the labour question, was dealt with. As well as how the NATIONALITIES question intruded into it.²²

What is more, an old Owenite, Weston—now a MANUFACTURER himself, a very amiable and worthy man—had drawn up a

^a lessons

programme full of extreme confusion and of indescribable breadth.

The subsequent full committee meeting instructed the Sub-Committee to remodel Weston's programme, ditto Wolff's REGULATIONS. Wolff himself left to attend the congress of the ITALIAN WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS in Naples and persuade them to join the central association in London.

A further meeting of the Sub-Committee, which again I did not attend, as I was informed of their rendezvous too late. At this meeting, '*une déclaration des principes*' and a revised version of Wolff's rules were presented by Le Lubez and accepted by the Sub-Committee for submission to the full committee. The full committee met on 18 October. Eccarius wrote to me that it was a case of *periculum in mora*,^a so I went along and was really shocked when I heard the worthy Le Lubez read out a fearfully cliché-ridden, badly written and totally unpolished preamble PRETENDING TO BE A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, with Mazzini showing through the whole thing from beneath a crust of the most insubstantial scraps of French socialism. What is more, the Italian rules had by and large been adopted, whose aim, apart from all their other faults, was really something quite impossible, a sort of central government of the *European* working classes (with Mazzini in the background, of course). I remonstrated mildly, and, after prolonged debate, Eccarius proposed that the Sub-Committee should subject the thing to further 'editing'. However, the 'SENTIMENTS' expressed in Lubez' DECLARATION were carried.

Two days later, on 20 October, Cremer representing England, Fontana (Italy) and Le Lubez met at my house. (Weston was unable to be present.) I had not previously had the papers (Wolff's and Le Lubez') in my hands, so could not prepare anything; but I was absolutely determined that NOT ONE SINGLE LINE of the stuff should be allowed to stand if I could help it. To gain time, I proposed that before we 'edited' the preamble, we ought to 'discuss' the RULES. This was done. It was 1 o'clock in the morning before the first of the 40 RULES was adopted. Cremer said (*and that was my whole aim*): we have nothing to put before the committee that is to meet on 25 October. We must postpone it until 1 November. But the Sub-Committee can meet on 27 October and attempt to reach a definite conclusion. This was agreed and the 'papers' were 'bequeathed' to me for my perusal.

^a danger in delay (Livy, *History of Rome*, Vol. XXXVIII, Chap. 25)

I could see it was impossible to make anything out of the stuff. In order to justify the extremely peculiar way in which I intended to edit the SENTIMENTS that had already been 'carried', I wrote AN ADDRESS TO THE WORKING CLASSES^a (which was not in the original plan; A SORT OF REVIEW OF THE ADVENTURES OF THE WORKING CLASSES SINCE 1845); on the pretext that all the necessary facts were contained in this 'Address' and that we ought not to repeat the same things three times over, I altered the whole preamble, threw out the *déclaration des principes* and finally replaced the 40 RULES by 10. Insofar as INTERNATIONAL POLITICS is mentioned in the 'Address', I refer to COUNTRIES and not to NATIONALITIES, and denounce Russia, not the *minores gentium*.^b The Sub-Committee adopted all my proposals. I was, however, obliged to insert two sentences about 'DUTY' and 'RIGHT', and ditto about 'TRUTH, MORALITY AND JUSTICE' in the preamble to the rules,^c but these are so placed that they can do no harm.²³

At the meeting of the General Committee my 'ADDRESS', etc., was adopted with great enthusiasm (UNANIMOUSLY). The debate on the form of publication, etc., is to take place next Tuesday.^d Le Lubez has a copy of the 'Address' for translation into French and Fontana one for translation into Italian. (For a start there is a weekly CALLED *Bee-Hive*,^e edited by Trade Unionist Potter, a sort of *Monteur*.) I am to translate the stuff into German myself.

It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form that would make it ACCEPTABLE to the present outlook of the workers' movement. In a couple of weeks, the same people will be having MEETINGS on the franchise with Bright and Cobden. It will take time before the revival of the movement allows the old boldness of language to be used. We must be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*.^f You will get the stuff as soon as it is printed.

3. *Bakunin* sends his regards. He left today for Italy where he is living (Florence). I saw him yesterday for the first time in 16 years. I must say I liked him very much, more so than previously. With regard to the Polish movement, he said the Russian government had needed the movement to keep Russia itself quiet, but had not counted on anything like an 18-month struggle. They had thus provoked the affair in Poland. Poland had been defeated by two things, the influence of Bonaparte and, secondly, the hesitation of

^a K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. -

^b smaller nations - ^c K. Marx, 'Provisional Rules of the Association'. -

^d 8 November - ^e *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 160, 5 November 1864. - ^f strong in deed, mild in manner

the Polish aristocracy in openly and unambiguously proclaiming *peasant socialism* from the outset.²⁴ From now on—after the collapse of the Polish affair—he (Bakunin) will only involve himself in the socialist movement.

On the whole, he is one of the few people whom after 16 years I find to have moved forwards and not backwards. I also discussed Urquhart's DENUNCIATIONS with him. (Apropos: the International Association will probably lead to a rupture between myself and these friends!²⁵) He inquired a great deal after yourself and Lupus. When I told him of the latter's death, he said straightaway that the movement had suffered an irreplaceable loss.

4. *Crisis*. By no means burnt out on the Continent yet (esp. France). Incidentally, what the crises have lost in intensity, they have now gained in frequency.

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

7

ENGELS TO MARX²⁶

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 November 1864

Dear Moor,

Your Frisian solution is quite right, but for one word. In *North Frisian*, *Kimmang* means: look, or eye; these North Frisians are of a speculative disposition and have substituted the *inward* horizon for the outward one, rather as Wagener is now calling for an 'inward Düppel'.²⁷ It is an old sailors' saying.

The Herwegh and Hatzfeldt papers returned enclosed. What was the further provocation you refer to which Lassalle inflicted on the Walachian^a and was suppressed by Emma^b? Lassalle's fatal error was obviously that he did not throw the hossy^c straight on

^a Janko von Racowija - ^b Emma Herwegh - ^c Helene von Dönniges

the bed in the boarding house and deal with her appropriately, it was not his fine mind but his Jew's pizzle she was interested in. It is yet another of these affairs that only Lassalle could get involved in. That it was *he*, who forced the Walachian into the duel, is doubly crazy.

Old Hatzfeldt's idea that *you* should write an *apotheosis* of the latterday Redeemer^a is really priceless.

The letter from the Solingen worker^b was *not* enclosed.

I cannot wait to see the Address to the Workers,^c it must be a real masterpiece, to judge by what you tell me of the people involved. But it is good that we are again making contact with people who do at least represent their class, which is what really matters ultimately. The effect on the Italians will be particularly good, as there is some chance that this will at last put an end to this *Dio e popolo*^d among the workers—it will come as quite a surprise to the worthy Giuseppe.^e Incidentally, I suspect that there will very soon be a split in this new association between those who are bourgeois in their thinking and those who are proletarian, the moment the issues become a little more specific.

Concerning Lupus' legacy, we had a meeting with the lawyer this morning.⁸ The sum still owing to you will amount to a little over £200; as soon as I have the money, I shall send most of it to you. There are still some details we do not know exactly, so we cannot finally calculate yet. The tax authorities want a list of all the books, and the exact value of the clock Lupus left. Please send me something itemising all the larger works and at the end just: so MANY PAMPHLETS ETC., everything IN ONE CLUMP.

I must close now, as I have to go to a Directors' meeting of the Schiller Institute,²⁸ of which I am chairman, as you know, to Mr Borchardt's annoyance. Happily, beer has been introduced.

Kind regards to your wife and the girls.

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

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^a Ferdinand Lassalle - ^b Carl Klings (see this volume, p. 15) - ^c K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^d 'God and People' - ^e Mazzini

8

ENGELS TO MARX²⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 November 1864

Dear Moor,

In respect of the legacy,⁸ a further £200 enclosed in 2/2 à £100 banknotes. All being well, there will be approx. £40 to come. I'll send the other two halves as soon as you telegraph receipt.

You will have received the *Dagblättern*^a with the celebrated article. Unfortunately, I could not find the 2nd section of the article, but there was not much in it.

The end appears to be approaching at Richmond.³⁰ However, as long as Lee is not obliged to stay entirely on the defensive, which in particular means pulling all his troops back from the Shenandoah Valley as well, and as long as Richmond is not *completely encircled*, all the advances Grant makes against the defences at Richmond or Petersburg will be of little importance. It is just as it was at Sevastopol, which was not encircled either.³¹ I cannot imagine what Monsieur de Beauregard will do, probably no more than Hood before him, if as much. I have no confidence at all in this much-vaunted hero.

I am sending you yesterday's *Guardian*^b; you must have a look at the RELIEF Committee's report in it, and see what a difference there is between Mr Marie's *ateliers nationaux* and those of your English gentlemen.³² In the case of the former, tasks of doubtful utility were performed, but most of the money that was spent passed into the hands of the workers, who had lost their jobs. Here, tasks of similarly doubtful importance (but ultimately of definite utility to the bourgeoisie) were also performed, but of the £230,000 a mere £12,100 is going to pass into the hands of the FACTORY OPERATIVES, for whom the whole sum was intended (in other words, just that which is set down as being for UNSKILLED LABOUR). The ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF THE DISTRESSED FACTORY OPERATIVES is thus turned into one FOR THE RELIEF OF THE UNDISTRESSED MIDDLE CLASSES, who thereby save on rates.

All my regards.

Your

F. E.

^a i.e. *Dagbladet* - ^b 'Central Executive Relief Committee', *The Manchester Guardian*, No. 5686, 8 November 1864

[Note by Marx]

Please return this letter, as I am going to file it on account of the remarks at the end.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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Published in English in full for the first time

9

MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 November 1864

Dear Engels,

I have had to stay mainly *in bed* for almost a week on account of the carbuncle. The thing is now *healing up*. However, as the carbuncle is just below the breast, I still have trouble leaning forward in order to write. So, to keep it as brief as possible:

1. Please send the *enclosed* letters addressed to me back to me (both the one from Schweitzer and the one from Liebknecht) and reply *by return*, as the people need our reply as soon as possible.³⁴

My view is that we should *promise* occasional contributions from time to time. It is important for us to have a mouthpiece in Berlin, especially for the sake of the association I was involved in founding in London,^a and for the sake of the book^b I am planning to publish. It is also important that whatever we do, we do it *together*.

If you agree with me, you can *send* me a few lines for these chaps, or say in a few lines what statement *I* am to make in your name.

2. You will receive the 'ADDRESS' along with the 'PROVISIONAL RULES', etc., in a few days. The thing was not quite so difficult as you think, because we are dealing with 'workers' all the time. The only LITERARY MAN in the Association is the Englishman, Peter Fox, a writer and AGITATOR who is, at the same time, one of the people from *The National Reformer* (atheist but anti-Holyoake). I am

^a International Working Men's Association - ^b *Capital*

sending you the very kind note he passed on to me concerning the 'ADDRESS'. Mazzini is RATHER DISGUSTED that his people are among the signatories, *mais il faut faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.^a

3. Your stuff from the *Guardian*^b I find most valuable. I had already pieced this abomination together from the 'FACTORY REPORTS', but only in a most laborious and fragmentary fashion.

4. 2 COPIES received from the Manchester SOLICITOR for signing, etc. In a day or two, I shall send you the signed copies, along with the list (inventory), etc., which you will then have to record. Of course, I can no longer reel off a complete list of all the stuff we left in the flat, etc., and put a value on it.⁸

That old HUMBUG McCulloch has died. I hope the British Museum buys up his ECONOMICAL LIBRARY. But no doubt Edinburgh will get in first.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

I have just come across P. Fox's letter, which I am enclosing; please send it back as soon as you have had time to peruse it.

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10

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 November 1864

Dear Moor,

Glad that the carbundle is getting better. Let us hope it is the last. But do take arsenic.

Acknowledgement from the charming private secretary^c gratefully received.

^a but one has to grin and bear it - ^b *The Manchester Guardian* (see this volume, p. 21) - ^c Laura Marx (a reference to Marx's receipt of money in respect of Wolff's legacy; see this volume, p. 20)

A few lines for Schweitzer enclosed.³⁵ It is a very good thing that we shall again be getting a voice in the press; also very good that Liebknecht is going to be co-editor (as long as he is under no illusions); that does at least provide some safeguard. Meanwhile, we shall do better if we conceal our enthusiasm, as 1. Liebknecht is no diplomat, and one cannot rely too much on his *CLAIRVOYANCE*, 2. the countess^a will, above all, be trying to swamp the paper from beginning to end with a deliberate 'apotheosis',^b and 3. we really must find out first who else has been approached. Perhaps you are better informed than I am, but in the letters from Liebknecht you sent me there is no mention of the paper nor of this man Schweitzer, so I am very much in the dark. For that reason, I have asked for some clarification about the company we shall be seen to be keeping. We might after all find ourselves cheek by jowl with Mr Karl Grün or some such scum.

And what a dreadful title: *Der Socialdemokrat!* Why do these fellows not simply call it the *Proletarier?*

Enclosed papers returned with thanks. Why haven't you sent the Solingen letter^c you promised?

Amid the nonsense written by Emma Herwegh,^d I notice there is a further attempt to turn Lassalle into a demi-god, as follows: only his mighty spirit kept him alive for so long, anyone else would have given up the ghost 2 hours after being wounded—but you ask Allen some time about the way peritonitis develops following a wound, and he will tell you inflammation hardly sets in at all within 2 hours, and is scarcely ever fatal in *less than* 24 hours, and usually not until much later. These people are really given to deification.

Schaaffhausen in Bonn has given a pretty lecture on man and apes, pointing out that Asiatic anthropoids have rounded heads, like the human beings there, but in Africa both are long-headed, and commenting that, with the present state of knowledge, this is the strongest argument against the unity of the human race. Someone ought to try saying that at a gathering of naturalists in England!

It is splendid how Müller and the Rev. Cappell have made fools of that gang Kinkel, Juch & Co. even from the gallows. It is a long time since I have come across anything quite so absurd as the conduct of these fellows. How fortunate Gottfried^e is in the people whose cases he takes up! First MacDonald, then Müller. And then

^a Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^b of Lassalle - ^c See this volume, pp. 15, 20. - ^d *ibid.*, p. 12. - ^e Gottfried Kinkel

the way these gentlemen threw their weight around was the immediate cause of Koehl cutting that other lad's throat in the Thames marshes.³⁶ Just you wait and see what a mass of MARE'S NESTS they unearth concerning that affair, too.

Kindest regards to the family.

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

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Published in English for the first time

11

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 November [1864]

DEAR FRED,

1. I am sending the stuff for the SOLICITOR. You will have to copy the enclosed inventory and put it into whatever shape you think fit.^a

2. *Ad vocem*^b *Solingen*. I had put the letter out READY when I sent you the *last but one* letter-package, and it hasn't been 'seen any more since then'.^c I suspect it has ensconced itself in a notebook and WILL TURN UP one fine morning.

3. *Ad vocem Schweitzer*.

Is a Dr of Law, formerly of Frankfurt am Main. Published a confused pamphlet *against* Vogt in 1859.^d Subsequently, a social novel I have not read.^e Declared his vigorous support for Lassalle. Later, during Lassalle's lifetime, he got to know sundry writings of ours at Liebknecht's house while staying in Berlin and, even at that time, sent me a message through Liebknecht saying how amazed he was at finding that everything about Lassalle that he liked had been plagiarised.

^a See this volume, pp. 20, 23. - ^b With regard to - ^c J. W. Goethe, 'Der Fischer'. - ^d J. B. Schweitzer, *Widerlegung von Carl Vogt's Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europa's*. - ^e J. B. Schweitzer, *Lucinde oder Capital und Arbeit*.

I have written, like you, concerning the *prospectus of contributors*.³⁷ Have sent Liebknecht German translation of the address of the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE at the same time, with a view to eventual publication in the paper. (The stuff will appear today or tomorrow and will be sent to you.^a)

As far as Lassalle's apotheosis is concerned,^b the Hamburg *Nordstern*, edited by that jackass Bruhn (who at the same time continues to print *Heinzen's* ELUCUBRATIONS, as though nothing had happened), is exclusively dedicated to this matter just as before, and the *Social-Demokrat* can scarcely compete with it in that respect.

Old Hatzfeldt seems to be most disappointed by the letter I sent in reply to her 'ploy',^c although it was most delicate and considerate in tone. Since that time, she has—kept silence.

Social-Demokrat is a bad title. But there is no need to throw away the best titles immediately on things that may prove to be FAILURES.

Wilhelm Liebknecht is an unquestionably big man among the Berlin workers, as you can see from the Berlin correspondence of *The Morning Star*. I am only afraid he will soon be sent packing.

4. *Ad vocem Peritonitis*,^d it says in *Andral: 'Clinique Médicale'*: '*La Péritonite aiguë ... en certains cas un petit nombre d'heures s'écoulent entre l'époque de l'invasion de la maladie et celle de la mort, tandis que d'autres fois la péritonite, toujours aiguë par ses symptômes, ne devient mortelle qu'au bout de 30 à 40 jours.*'^e

And under the rubric:

'*Péritonite par violence extérieure*'^f he describes the case of a Parisian worker who was kicked in the stomach by a horse, in the region of his navel. Was only taken to the Charité^g *le surlendemain*, 'offre tous les symptômes d'une phlegmasie aiguë du péritoine'^h (later confirmed by *ouverture du cadavre*ⁱ). Died *du 5-ème au 6-ème jour*,^j and amongst the general OBSERVATIONS concerning this case, it says: 'jusqu'au dernier moment, on n'observe aucun trouble des facultés intellectuelles et sensoriales.'^k

^a K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. -

^b See this volume, pp. 20, 24. - ^c *ibid.*, p. 12. - ^d *ibid.*, p. 24. - ^e '*Acute peritonitis ... in some cases just a few hours elapse between the onset of the disease and death, whereas on other occasions peritonitis, which is always acute in its symptoms, does not cause death for from 30 to 40 days.*' - ^f '*Peritonitis due to external violence*' - ^g hospital in Paris - ^h two days later, 'exhibits all the symptoms of acute phlegmasia of the peritoneum' - ⁱ autopsy - ^j on the 5th or 6th day - ^k 'until the very last, no disturbance of the mind or senses is observed' (see G. Andral, *Clinique médicale, ou choix d'observations recueillies à l'hôpital de la Charité (clinique de M. Lermnier)*, t. 4, Paris, 1827, pp. 511, 532, 533)

5. *Take care to keep* the enclosed memorandum for student Blind published in a rag in which he has puffed himself up with surpassing zeal since 1859.³⁸ This '*Beobachter*' est le '*grand*' organe de la démocratie Suabaise^a!

6. Prof. Huber has held his 'labour convention' with ABOUT 100 workers' associations. He is conservative in politics but a co-operator as far as POLITICAL ECONOMY is concerned. His *Leipzig Convention* nearly ended in a real 'thrashing' for Huber and his comrades, with the great majority declaring themselves to be 'radical' in politics.³⁹

7. I gather all kinds of things have been published by the COMMITTEE in Manchester about the COTTON-FAMINE⁴⁰—I mean IN REGARD TO THE WORKINGMEN. Can you get hold of it for me?

8. My chest still hurts me when I write and lean forward. Hence this 'itemised' letter.

Regards to Gumpert.

Ditto to Madame Lizzy.^b

Your
K. M.

[Enclosure: List relating to W. Wolff's Legacy]

SILVER WATCH	£2
<i>BOOKS:</i>	
Schlosser, <i>Weltgeschichte</i>	£1 10s.
Schleiden, <i>Studien</i>	3s.
<i>Schiller's Werke</i>	10s.
Duller, <i>Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes</i>	5s.
Duncker, <i>Geschichte</i>	£1
Mommsen, <i>Geschichte</i>	10s.
Schoemann, <i>Griechische Alterthümer</i>	5s.
Lange, <i>Römische Alterthümer</i>	3s.
Preller, <i>Griechische Mythologie</i>	5s.
Nösselt, <i>Weltgeschichte</i>	4s.
Völter, <i>Geographie</i>	5s.
Mortimer-Ternaux, <i>Histoire de la Terreur</i> , 2 v.	5s.
Arago, <i>Astronomie Populaire</i>	10s.
Müller, <i>Physik</i>	3s.
Baer, <i>Magnetismus</i>	1s.
Figuiet, <i>Année scientifique</i> , 3 vol.	5s.

^a is the 'grand' organ of Swabian democracy - ^b Lizzy Burns

Mignet, <i>Révolution française</i>	5s.
Egli, <i>Handelsgeographie</i>	2s.
Ritter, <i>Europa</i>	3s.
Cotta, <i>Geologische Briefe</i>	2s.
Garrido, <i>Spanien</i>	1s.
Freytag, <i>Bilder aus dem Leben des Volkes</i>	2s.
Moleschott, <i>Lehre der Nahrungsmittel</i>	3s.
Harting, <i>Die Macht des Kleinen</i>	1s.
Grube, <i>Biographiien aus der Naturkunde</i>	1s.
<i>Reisen des Marco Polo</i>	1s.
Kiesselbach, <i>Gang des Welthandels</i>	1s.
Jacobs, <i>Hellas</i>	1s.
Smith, <i>English Latin Lexicon</i>	5s.
Rost, <i>Griechisch-Deutsches Lexicon</i>	5s.
Giebel, <i>Säugethiere</i>	5s.
Tschudi, <i>Thierleben der Alpenwelt</i>	5s.
Freytag, <i>Soll und Haben</i>	2s.
Pauli, <i>Bilder aus England</i>	1s.
Overbeck, <i>Pompeji</i>	10s.
Guhl, <i>Leben der Griechen und Römer</i>	10s.
Lau, <i>Sulla</i>	1s.
Macauley, <i>History of England</i>	10s.
Frankenheim, <i>Völkerkunde</i>	1s.
<i>Stieler's Handatlas</i>	£1 10s.
Berghaus, <i>Physikalischer Schulatlas</i>	5s.
Spruner, <i>Historischer Schulatlas</i>	5s.
Mozin, <i>Dictionnaire</i>	£1
55 PAMPHLETS	10s.
102 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLBOOKS	£31

I have put a much higher valuation on the stuff than it would fetch if sold, what with the selling-price of SECONDHAND BOOKS in England. On the other hand, all kinds of things are missing that I have not been able to remember. There is thus COMPENSATION. If you want to add anything regarding the other goods and chattels, please do so.

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

12

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 November 1864

Dear Moor,

I received enclosed today from Schweitzer.⁴¹ Herwegh and Hess—fine company. As things stand and as I am not very familiar with the exact circumstances, I shall have to leave it to you to answer the man *on behalf of both of us*, as he wants his answer by return. Moses^a of all people!

Please return the letter to me and let me know what you have written, and I can then confirm your statement to him later on.

Solicitor's stuff received.⁸

Kindest regards.

Your

F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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13

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 24 November 1864]

Dear FREDERICK,

Letter from the old Hatzfeldt woman enclosed, which I would like sent back *by return*.⁴²

Also enclosed the letter from the man in Solingen^b which has turned up again, and Schweitzer's letter.

^a Moses Hess - ^b See this volume, p. 15.

I sent off 3 'Addresses'^a to you today, 1 for yourself, 1 for Gumpert and 1 for Ernest Jones. If you can distribute some more anywhere (gratis), you only have to ask.

As for Schweitzer, I have written—not to him but to Liebknecht—that we both dislike the company, but we intend FOR A NONCE to adopt *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*,^b but to *disown* them *immediately* as soon as they do anything silly. I also ask why Bucher and especially *Rodbertus* are not among them!⁴³

Moses^c and Herwegh (who are, incidentally, of some stature, compared with B. and Ph. Becker, IN A LITERARY SENSE) are, after all, more highly regarded by people in Germany than by us. At least, one cannot publicly denigrate them, as one can fellows like Grün, etc.

In great haste.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

I have just been obliged to write long letter to the old woman^d to extricate myself from the Blind affair she has tried to involve me in. Student Blind has, of course, not let the opportunity slip by of puffing himself up, by issuing a 'protest' in the name of the Republic^e and selecting a few passages from Lassalle's speeches which are indeed quite sickeningly royalist.⁴⁴ Also to advise her against reproducing the 'wanted' portraits of her enemies.⁴⁵

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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^a K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^b an attitude of grin and bear it - ^c Moses Hess - ^d Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^e ['A Republican Protest',] *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 270, 29 September 1864; 'Republikanischer Protest', *Hermann*, No. 2407, 8 October 1864; *Die Westliche Post*, October-beginning of November 1864.

14

MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

London, 24 November 1864
 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

My dear Countess,

I have just informed you by telegraph⁴⁶ (to avoid all delay in reply) of my view that the two photograms of von R. *et Co.*^a should, *in no circumstances*, appear together with Lassalle's in the pamphlet. It would, on the one hand, dishonour the deceased, and, on the other, give the publication a gaudy appearance which should be avoided completely. Furthermore, as you know, '*contra hostem vindicatio aeterna sit*'^b is my motto too, but, for revenge to be successfully executed, it is advisable *not* to initiate the public in one's vindictive '*intent*'.⁴⁵

'*Ex ossibus ultor*'^c would seem to me the best title for Lassalle's portrait. They were also my *last words* spoken at the graveside of my never-to-be-forgotten friend W. Wolff⁴⁷ some six months ago.

As regards ex-student *Blind*, that fellow who made himself known before 1848 by peddling Heinzen's nonsense and as the *homme entretenu*^d of the wife of the Jewish banker Cohen^e (whom he later married in London), so I would ask you to remember that in my piece *Herr Vogt* (see pp. 58-69 and *Appendices* 9 and 11)^f I do not merely describe this student Blind as a '*deliberate liar*', but I prove by reference to *legal documents* that this wretched man fabricated '*false witness*' to cast suspicion on myself and to extricate his neck from a noose that this creature had made for himself for the purpose of *merely making himself look big* (which is indeed this rascal's sole purpose in every public step, or rather crawl, he undertakes).⁴⁸

Then Blind succeeded in deflecting the catastrophe of his

^a Janko von Racowitza and Helene von Dönniges - ^b A paraphrase of an article from the Twelve Tables (a code of law of ancient Rome) which says: 'Adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas [esto]' (III, 7); Marx uses the word *vindicatio* in the sense of revenge. - ^c 'Let the avenger rise' (Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 625: 'ex oriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor'). - ^d kept man - ^e Friederike Ettlinger, Cohen's and later Karl Blind's wife - ^f See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 116-32, 315, 317-20.

political operations—by *simply saying nothing*. In this he was sustained firstly by the fact that *Freiligrath* (*this entre nous*^a) unfortunately continued to parade publicly as his friend, and that *Lassalle*, although I had strongly urged him to do so, neglected to force my pillorying of Blind *d'une manière ou d'une autre*^b on the attention of the German public.⁴⁹ This appeared necessary to me because the liberal press in Germany instinctively took the side of a scoundrel like Blind, and therefore sought to hush up my attack. Lassalle considered Blind too insignificant. It was only later that he discovered that there are times when one cannot decline a 'combat with a flea'.^c

When Lassalle was here in London,⁵⁰ he sought to enlighten Louis Blanc and Mazzini about Blind on his personal visits to them, but in vain. The man is exactly what Mazzini, Ledru, etc., had hoped, but failed, to find in the other Germans of standing, a servile lackey and sycophant. Through his relations with these people he makes the English think that he represents Germany, and he impresses the Germans by his boasting here. Yet the whole of this fellow's activity consists in writing, in conjunction with 3 or 4 South Germans,^d *from, for and about 'Karl Blind'* and, at every possible opportunity, to force on the English, Germans and Americans his 'unofficial judgment' as the self-appointed representative of '*German republicanism*' (a party, which is well known to exist only on the moon, since the German bourgeois is interested in a constitutional monarchy, the feudal lord in an aristocratic monarchy, and the worker in general not in *mere forms of state*, but in the form of state as the expression of economic social conditions, and, at all events, has never recognised ex-student Blind as representative). He is a true master of dictating letters to one of his 6 satellites,⁵¹ in which they call on the said, etc., 'Karl Blind' to do this or that, or congratulate him on this or that, and then—by oversight or OTHERWISE—the replies from the same Karl Blind gain entry to the press.

As one of the 'YOUNG MEN' who were active in the service of F. Hecker, Blind learnt that art, which is by no means rare among the South Germans, of self-defamation and creating a spurious PUBLIC OPINION about people who are essentially nonentities. In London he thought himself far enough advanced along the road or to have served long enough in the 'Democratic cause' to

^a between ourselves - ^b in one way or another - ^c Heinrich Heine, *Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 11. - ^d Marx presumably has in mind, first and foremost, Eduard Bronner and Karl Heinrich Schaible.

exploit for himself those arts he had acquired in the service of others.

Regarding his education, it is, as I told Lassalle during his sojourn here, that of a *Baden publican*,^a who has read Rotteck's *Weltgeschichte*, Welker's *Staatslexikon* and Mr Struve's republican Almanac.^b

In his manoeuvres in Germany Mr Blind enjoys the particular support of Mr *Gustav Rasch* of Berlin.

Bernhard Becker, as the FORMER SUBEDITOR of the London *Hermann*, best knows how Blind composed *with his own fair hand* the paeans of praise to himself that appeared e.g. in the *Hermann*. He does this mostly and on average. By way of variation he will occasionally get a certain *Dr Bronner* in Bradford or his *Schaible* (see '*Herr Vogt*') via London to put their names to *his* epistles. All the agitation of this person is nothing but a tissue of lies, self-deception and hot air. In this field, however, he has no rivals. He demonstrated the height of his dexterity when Garibaldi visited London.¹⁹ He first spread the rumour in the English papers that he was an *intimate* friend of Garibaldi. Imposing himself as is his custom, he issued 'addresses' to Garibaldi from London and you know that in his kind-hearted naivety Garibaldi will write a nice letter back to anyone. Then he descends on the Isle of Wight (before Garibaldi made his ceremonial entry to London), and 'appoints' with him the date on which Garibaldi would receive the German deputation (Blind, you see, had so arranged things as to get a few Germans, including Kinkel and *unfortunately* my friend Freiligrath as well, to elect him as the leader of a deputation) and at the same time sends mysterious hints to some London papers^c that Garibaldi WAS 'CLOSETED' WITH 'HIS FRIEND' (Blind) and, of course, settled some very important affairs of state with him.⁵² But Blind's masterstroke is still to come. As serving-man to the European 'kings of democracy'^d (for so he designates Mazzini, Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and indeed COMPARED WITH student Blind even they are 'great men'^e), our Baden trickster manages so to arrange things that he, as a member of the society and a leader, fetches Garibaldi from the Duke of Sutherland's, where he is staying, and escorts him in the Duke's State Carriage

^a An allusion to Karl Blind's father, Johann Adam Blind who was a publican in Mannheim. - ^b G. Struve, *Die neue Zeit. Ein Volkskalender auf das Jahr 1.* - ^c 'Interview of Karl Blind with Garibaldi', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 22726, 11 April 1864. - ^d Marx quotes Karl Blind - ^e Cf. the title of Marx and Engels' pamphlet: *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 227-326).

to Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc. He seizes the opportunity to have the carriage stand for a while outside Mr Blind's house for Garibaldi to 'PAY HIS COMPLIMENTS TO Madame Karl Blind'. By skilful MANAGEMENT all this even appears in *The Times*,^a and at the moment when Garibaldi is being idolized by all London. Perhaps you recall how 'Rameau', the nephew, in Diderot's wonderful piece, bursts out in admiration at the genius of Bouret, the general tax-collector, who cunningly devised a way to disaffect his little dog from himself and make it prefer the minister! This Garibaldi-farce was Blind's Bouret-prank! It is my belief that from that time on he began *bona fide* to think himself a great man! He has really got hold of something with Schleswig-Holstein! Did you not know then that for years Blind has been deriving his chief importance from acting as a 'representative' for Schleswig-Holstein against Denmark, saying 'he' had 'forced' the German tyrants into war against Denmark,⁹ and that was why friend Rasch dedicated his piece about the 'orphaned' kith and kin^b to him! Did you not know that in the Prussian House Prof. Virchow (probably at Mr Rasch's instigation) cited Blind's great influence in the Schleswig-Holstein affair^c as proof of what a single man can do by his own efforts for a whole nation! The shameless man had made those German jackasses believe that he had got the English to change their view of Schleswig-Holstein! His feeble leaflets about Schleswig-Holstein are just about (and that is saying something) the most stupid thing that has appeared in this LINE. (Incidentally, Mr ex-student's best friend and associate is that lout Karl Heinzen in America, whose business for 20 years past has been to slander me in a manner such as even Lassalle never experienced. I have *never* thought it worth the trouble to reply to this fellow, but I was astonished that the *Nordstern*—for a long time also a major mouthpiece for student Blind—is *constantly* printing Heinzen's filth, which is extremely hostile to the principles of the workers' party, and generally makes propaganda for Mr Heinzen.)

But Garibaldi, Schleswig-Holstein, America, Lassalle, all are for the ex-student only a pretext for puffing up his own self-importance! The modest fellow wrote in his own fair hand a short while ago to the '*Glasgow Sentinel*' that the whole of Europe

^a 'General Garibaldi', *The Times*, 19 April 1864. - ^b G. Rasch, *Vom verlassenem Bruderstamm. Das dänische Regiment in Schleswig-Holstein*, Bd. 1-3; *Vom verrathenen Bruderstamm. Der Krieg in Schleswig-Holstein im Jahre 1864*. Bd. 1-2. - ^c R. Virchow's speech in the House of Representatives on 9 December 1863. In: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der [...] beiden Häuser des Landtages, Haus der Abgeordneten*, 13 Sitzung, Bd. 1.

(literally) was not yet divided into two hostile camps with regard to 'Karl Blind', but that a *tiers parti* existed in this respect, too!^a In *The Observer* he describes himself as 'THE ILLUSTRIOUS CHIEF OF THE GERMAN REPUBLICANS'.^b

A few more little touches to the description of this man, who, if one views him aright, is a *highly comical character*.

After his success with Garibaldi MR KARL BLIND JOINED THE SHAKESPEARE COMMITTEE,⁵³ as was stated in the *Athenaeum*!^c He had now clearly progressed to the status of 'literary' representative of Germany, too!

During the skirmish in Baden (1849),⁵⁴ Struve, as he himself recounts in a piece about the 'Baden revolution',^d sent the 'young man', as he calls Blind, as Under-Secretary to Schütz, who had been appointed Secretary, from Mainz to Paris, to rescue ex-student Blind from conflict with Brentano. The government to which Blind was directed as Under-Secretary to Secretary Schütz,—the *provisional government no longer existed* when Secretary and Under-Secretary arrived in Paris. Nevertheless, in mysterious hints in English papers, he let it be understood that he held an important diplomatic post as agent of the German 'republican government' in Paris!

In the first few years after 1849 he lived in *Belgium* with his present wife. Since this woman has children from her marriage to the dead banker (and they inherited) and she also has children by Blind (at that time still illegitimate), a court in Baden ruled that Cohen's children should be taken away from his widow Cohen because of her 'immoral' relations with ex-student Blind. The court in Brussels gave this ruling legal force in Belgium, and this caused Blind to flee to England together with his wife and the children. He later got English papers to print (and was brazen enough to boast *publicly* of it on a visit to South Germany) that he had been *expelled from Belgium for political reasons!*^e

His next deed you will see from the enclosed cutting, which he had printed in many London papers. What provoked it was the report disseminated in some papers that Garibaldi had declared his support for the *slave-owners*! Blind used this to extort a short letter from Garibaldi with 'CORDIAL GREETINGS FOR MRS BLIND'. You can see what lies he told Garibaldi from his remark 'I THANK YOU FOR YOUR

^a 'M. Karl Blind', *North British Daily Mail*, 30 March 1863. - ^b Marx refers to the reports on Blind's meetings with Garibaldi published in *The Observer*, Nos. 3804, 3805 and 3806, 10, 17 and 24 April 1864. - ^c *The Athenaeum*, No. 1902, 9 April 1864. - ^d G. Struve, *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden*. - ^e 'M. Karl Blind', *North British Daily Mail*, 30 March 1863.

GOOD NEWS'.^a What on earth could this 'GOOD NEWS' have been in October 1864? Blind was obviously writing Garibaldi the most monstrous lies about the progress of 'republicanism' in Germany, which is presumably just awaiting Blind's arrival to lash out.

The most splendid aspect of the affair is that the London paper to which Blind is a regular contributor, the *mouthpiece of the publicans* (a most appropriate context to a 'Blind'), is a fanatical supporter of the Confederates!^b And by the by, the paper—*The Morning Advertiser*—is at one and the same time the mouthpiece of spirits, the LOW CHURCH (English pietism),⁵⁵ the SWELL-MOB which is concerned with GAMBLING, PRICEFIGHTS AND SO FORTH, and the most lickspitting poodle of Palmerston's. FROM A LITERARY STANDPOINT, it cannot be counted among the English daily press and is in general only read in TAPROOMS.

So much for the man.

In Lassalle's lifetime he issued an address casting doubt on the former's integrity.⁵⁶ But Lassalle—as far as I know—did not think it worth the trouble of a reply. I was only surprised that B. Becker, who is fully aware of Blind's doings, did not then take the opportunity to blazon abroad *my revelations about Blind*.^c

One of the reasons why I have joined the International Working Men's Association here is to expose that man. After the statements I have made against Blind, branding him as a '*deliberate liar*' and a '*falsifier of evidence*', I cannot of course further involve myself in polemic against the fellow. I reserve the right to treat him as a *figure of comedy* should the occasion arise. If I should now take his scrawl against Lassalle, which I have incidentally *not seen*, as grounds for an attack on him, people here, who know of my implacable hostility to Blind, will think that in fact I am only using Lassalle's name as a pretext for personal spite.

But do send me the (printed) declaration by the workers. I shall ensure that it gets into a *German* paper here and if student Blind then makes any further moves, perhaps he will give me the opportunity to let me fall upon him.

At all events, you may depend on it that he will be shown *no* favours. In the meantime, the best thing you can do is to disseminate my revelations about Blind as a '*deliberate liar*' and '*falsifier*' as far as possible *in Germany*. (If his scrawl about Lassalle had set any mice stirring here, a word or two about it *at all events*

^a Blind published Garibaldi's letter to him in *The Morning Advertiser*, 9 November 1864. - ^b i.e. the southern slave-owning states - ^c Marx means his revelations about Blind in *Herr Vogt*.

would have reached my ears.) This would force him to break his silence and so enable me to open my mouth again concerning a fellow whom I have *publicly* declared to be *atrocious*.

Apart from anything else, it would be quite impossible for me to travel to Berlin on account of the fresh outbreak of the fearful carbuncle disease that I have been struggling against for 14 months with slight interruptions.

You may, however, be sure that I shall seize whatever opportunity I find appropriate (but you will have to leave it to me to choose whatever moment appears favourable to me) to rebuff all malicious attacks on the friend who has been prematurely taken from me.

Yours very respectfully

K. M.

First published in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. XXVII, Assen, 1982

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

15

ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER⁵⁷

IN ST LOUIS

Manchester, 24 November 1864

Dear Weydemeyer,

I was most pleased to hear from you again at long last.⁵⁸ We have been without your address for years, otherwise you would already have received a reminder from me earlier on. My address is still Ermen & Engels and will probably continue to be so for five years or so yet, unless the storm breaks in Germany. Marx' address is No. 1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London, but Dr Marx, London, will also suffice if need be.

Our plump little pig Blind is showing off here in Europe, wherever he can, just as he did over there, it is the only little pleasure the poor wee creature has, and he indulges it with an assiduity worthy of a better cause and greater success. However, ever since Marx belaboured him so thoroughly in *Herr Vogt*, he has been keeping out of our range.

As far as Lassalle's flirtations with Bismarck are concerned, they are beyond dispute. The passages quoted by Blind^a were, of course, actually uttered by Lassalle in the speech he made in Düsseldorf in his defence and published by him, so there is nothing to be done there.¹⁵ For all his distinctive qualities, Lassalle had that Jewish respect for momentary success, which made it impossible for him to deny Louis Bonaparte his respect, or to refrain from professing such overtly Bonapartist principles as he did. Those, who were more closely acquainted with him, knew that these things were not occasional happenings. You can readily imagine that this was as disagreeable to us as it was grist to the mill of piglet Blind, and that alone would have been sufficient ground for us to have had nothing to do with all Lassalle's agitation during his lifetime, although there were other reasons, too. Nevertheless, that is all over and done with now, and we shall have to see whether his agitation was just a flash in the pan, or whether there was really something to it.

You will have heard that our poor Lupus died here on 9 May of this year. His was a loss for the party of an altogether different order from Lassalle's. We shall never again find such a steadfast fellow, who knew how to talk to the people and was always there when things were at their most difficult. For 4 long weeks he had the most terrible headaches, his German doctor^b neglected him, and at length a vessel burst in his brain from the colossal pressure of the blood, he gradually lost consciousness and died 10 days later.

Nothing of much interest is happening here in Europe. The suppression of the Polish uprising²⁴ was the last decisive event; for his assistance in this, the Tsar^c gave Bismarck permission to take Schleswig-Holstein from the Danes. It will be a long time before Poland is capable of rising again, even with help from outside, and yet Poland is quite indispensable to us. The despicable behaviour of the liberal German philistines is to blame; if those curs in the Prussian Chamber had had more insight and courage, all might be well—Austria was ready to march in support of the Poles at any time, and it was only Prussia's attitude that prevented it, and the treachery of Mr Bonaparte, who was, of course, only prepared to keep his promises to the Poles if he could do so *safely*, i.e. if he was covered by Prussia and Austria.

That war of yours over there¹¹ is really one of the most

^a 'Ein republikanischer Protest', *Die Westliche Post*, October-beginning of November 1864. - ^b Louis Borchardt - ^c Alexander II

stupendous things that one can experience. Despite the numerous blunders made by the Northern armies (enough by the South, too), the tide of conquest is rolling slowly but surely onward, and, in the course of 1865, at all events the moment will undoubtedly come when the *organised* resistance of the South will fold up like a pocket-knife, and the warfare turn into banditry, as in the Carlist war in Spain⁵⁹ and more recently in Naples.¹² A people's war of this kind, on both sides, has not taken place since great states have been in existence, and it will, at all events, point the direction for the future of the whole of America for hundreds of years to come. Once slavery, the greatest shackle on the political and social development of the United States, has been broken, the country is bound to receive an impetus from which it will acquire quite a differed position in world history within the shortest possible time, and a use will then soon be found for the army and navy with which the war is providing it.

It was incidentally quite understandable that the North had some difficulty in providing itself with an army and generals. From the outset, the South's oligarchy had brought the country's few military forces under its control, it supplied the officers and furthermore raided the arsenals. The North found itself with no resources other than the militia, while the South had been training for years. From the outset, the South had a population accustomed to the saddle for use as light cavalry, on a scale the North could not match. The North adopted the habit, introduced from the South, of filling positions with party supporters; the South, in the midst of a revolution and with a military dictatorship, could brush that aside. Hence, all the blunders. I do not deny that Lee is a better general than any the North has, and that his latest operations around the fortified camp at Richmond³⁰ are masterpieces from which our glorious Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia could learn much. But, ultimately, the determined attacks of Grant and Sherman made all strategy superfluous. It is clear that Grant is sacrificing a colossal number of men, but what else could he do? I have absolutely no idea of the level of discipline in your army, its cohesion under fire, its capacity and willingness to endure hardship, and in particular the nature of its *MORALE*, i.e. what can be demanded of it without its becoming demoralised. With such scanty reports and no proper maps, one needs to know all this before permitting oneself any judgment on this side of the water. What does seem certain to me, however, is that the army now commanded by Sherman is the best you have, as superior to Hood's as Lee's is to Grant's.

Your field-manual and elementary tactics are, as I hear, positively French—the basic formation thus presumably being the column with intervals between platoons. What kind of field artillery do you now have? If you can enlighten me on these points, I shall be greatly obliged. What has become of the great Anneke? Since the battle at Pittsburgh-Landing was all but lost⁶⁰ because he was not supplied with everything which he should have had, according to the Prussian field-manual, he has quite vanished from my view. Of the Germans who have joined in the war, Willich appears to have given the best account of himself, whereas Sigel has UNMISTAKEABLY demonstrated his mediocrity. And Schurz, the valiant Schurz, farting away amidst the shower of bullets and shells, what foes is he demolishing now?

Apropos. The Prussian cannons that smashed Düppel^a and Sonderburg⁶¹ from 6,500 paces were our old long bronze 24-pounders, rifled and rebuilt as breech-loaders, 54-pound shells with 4-pound-charge! I've seen them with my own eyes.

Kindest regards to your wife.^b

Your
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 33, 1906-1907 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

16

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 November [1864]

DEAR FREDERICK!

Weydemeyer's letter returned enclosed (how odd it should come at the same time as the one from the countess^c)⁵⁸ with Schweitzer's letter,^d which I forgot to enclose yesterday.

^a Danish name: Dybbøl. - ^b Louise Weydemeyer - ^c Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^d See this volume, p. 29.

I still need to hold on to the 'clipping'.^a

The position is now as follows:

1. It was not until after I wrote to you that I saw that Blind has sent an answer to the Swabian *Beobachter* via Dr Bronner (unsigned, of course, but dated Bradford; letter, naturally, *written* by *Blind himself*, in which he firstly proves that by his influence over '7' million Germans he in fact shaped American politics; secondly, he has the impudence to say that the Vogt affair has been disposed of by statements from all sides.⁶² So, I have grounds here for replying and referring to the 'AFFIDAVITS',⁶³ and, at the same time, an extract from Weydemeyer's letter would kill two birds with one stone, firstly exposing Blind's influence on America and secondly giving the old countess some kind of satisfaction as far as Lassalle is concerned.

2. These '*Republican Protests*', which Blind has sent with the *same date* to St Louis, Frankfurt am Main and the London *Hermann*, are only *identical* in their general drift. In the shit in the *Hermann* and the *Frankfurter Journal*,^b which I shall try to send you later today, this *Baden publican*^c has simply put together the passages which were *most damaging* to ourselves, whilst across the ocean he is more insolent and resorts to bare-faced lies.

But the *real* 'POINT' is this, a 'POINT' typical of the way he manufactures his pamphlets: in the *European* edition he says that the protest comes from *American and European republicans*, whilst in the American edition he calls upon the *American government* to protest. Here we have caught the dog *in flagranti*.^d

3. Since Lassalle is dead and can do no more harm, we must of course—as far as possible, i.e. without compromising ourselves—defend him against these petty-bourgeois scoundrels.

My plan is therefore this: to reply (briefly) in the *Swabian Beobachter*; 1. putting the record straight about the '*statements from all sides*' in the Vogt affair; 2. giving an extract from Weydemeyer's letter about Blind's influence in America; 3. exposing the fellow afresh by comparing the European and American editions of his 'Republican Protest'; finally 4. concluding that it is NOT WORTH WHILE defending Lassalle against such a comical character.

If this seems all right to you, send me a wire and I will tie the whole business up tomorrow, amongst other things in order to have some peace with the 'old girl'. I said in my letter to her, by

^a from *Die Westliche Post* with Blind's article 'Ein republikanischer Protest' - ^b *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* - ^c See this volume, p. 33. - ^d red-handed

the way, that Lassalle only has himself to blame for being kicked by that jackass, because, although I strongly and repeatedly urged him to do so, he did not give all possible publicity in Germany to my denunciation of Blind in *Herr Vogt*^a

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

17

MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

[London,] Saturday, 26 November 1864

My dear Countess,

These few lines in the greatest of haste (there being just time before the last post goes) to inform you that I have been fortunate enough to be vouchsafed the opportunity to get a hold on Blind *immediately* and deliver him a vigorous kick for his attack on our Lassalle.⁶²

I shall send you my attack on him on Monday which will appear in the form of a short letter to the Stuttgart *Beobachter*.^b You will then learn of the circumstances of the case, too.

Yours very respectfully
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

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

^a See this volume, p. 30. - ^b K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'.

18

MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

London, 28 November 1864

My dear Countess,

From the enclosed^a you will see the circumstances that have presented me with the opportunity to renew my tussle with ex-student Blind and, at the same time, deliver him a kick in the name of Lassalle.

You must arrange for publication in the papers at your disposal, but *not before two days have elapsed* after you receive this, so that Mayer of Swabia—i.e. the editor of the *Beobachter* in Stuttgart—has no excuse for refusing it.⁶⁴

Yours very respectfully

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31,
Moscow, 1963

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

19

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER⁵⁷

IN ST LOUIS

London, 29 November 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Weiwi,

The whole household and myself were extraordinarily pleased to hear from you and your family again. My wife asserts that she wrote to yours^b *last* and is thus expecting to have the first letter back from her.

^a K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - ^b Louise Weydemeyer

I am, at the same time, sending you by mail 4 copies of a printed 'Address',^a of which I am the author. The newly established INTERNATIONAL Workers' Committee, in whose name it has been put out, is not without significance. Its *English* members consist chiefly of the heads of the TRADE-UNIONS here, in other words, the real worker-kings of London, the same people who organised that gigantic reception for Garibaldi and who, by that monster meeting in St James's Hall (under Bright's chairmanship), prevented Palmerston declaring *war on the United States*, which he was on the point of doing.¹⁹ On the French side, the members are unimportant figures, but they are the direct spokesmen of the leading 'workers' in Paris. There is likewise a link with the Italian associations, which recently held their congress in Naples.²² Although I have been systematically refusing to participate in any way whatsoever in all the 'organisations', etc. for years now, I accepted *this time* because it concerns a matter by means of which it is possible to have a significant influence.

For the past 14 months I have been suffering almost constantly from carbuncles, which often threatened my life. More or less cured now.

Engels will have written to you of the loss of our friend Lupus.^b

Curiously enough, I received a letter from Berlin last Friday, in which the old Hatzfeldt woman urged me to defend Lassalle against Blind's 'Republican Protest'.⁴² The next day I received your letter to Engels, containing the *much amended American* edition of the same garbage. By a third coincidence, I was, at the same time, sent 2 numbers of the Swabian *Beobachter* (from Stuttgart) which I never see otherwise. In the first number the editor^c was poking fun at a letter from Mr Blind to the American nation which had been translated from the English by 'Mr Blind' and sent to him and to other South German editors; in it, '*almost at official request*', as he puts it, he gives his inexpert opinion on Lincoln's election, etc.^d In the same number, the editor said that one can see from my book attacking Vogt^e what Blind's vanity leads to, etc. Whereupon, Blind sent the *enclosed* reply through his man-of-straw, Dr Bronner of Bradford, 1. setting out just how powerful his influence in America was, and 2. having the impudence to say that the Vogt affair was 'a put-up-job'.⁶² This then enabled me (using your letter and copying the passages relating to Blind) to put out the

^a 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^b Wilhelm Wolff - ^c Karl Mayer - ^d 'Bescheidenheit — ein Ehrenkleid', *Der Beobachter*, No. 245, 21 October 1864. - ^e *Herr Vogt*

statement^a as desired by the old Hatzfeldt woman against that clown, without identifying myself with those aspects of Lassalle's agitation^b which are not to my liking. Write soon.

Your
K. Marx

The source of Blind's boastful epistle which I am copying out for you is No. 268 of the *Beobachter* (Stuttgart), 17 Nov., 1864.

It is absolutely essential that you write me a few lines, *suitable for publication*, about Mr Blind's *American* influence.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 33, 1906-1907 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

20

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, 29 November 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Friend,

Today you will receive from me by post 6 copies of the 'ADDRESS OF THE WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION',^c of which I am the author. Please be so good as to convey a copy with my kindest regards to Madame Markheim (Fulda). Give one to Mr Miquel as well.

The Association—or rather its Committee—is important because the leaders of the LONDON TRADE-UNIONS belong to it, the same people who organised that enormous reception for Garibaldi and thwarted Palmerston's plan for a war with the United States by means of the monster meeting in St James's Hall.¹⁹ The leaders of the Parisian workers are also in contact with it.

^a K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - ^b See this volume, pp. 40-42. - ^c 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'

In the last few years I have been much afflicted with illness (e.g., in the last 14 months by a recurrence of carbuncles). My private circumstances have improved in consequence of a legacy from the death of my mother.^a

I think that my book on capital (60 sheets) will at last be ready for the press next year.⁶⁶

You will doubtless understand the reasons for *not* allowing myself to become involved in Lassalle's movement in his lifetime, without my spelling them out in detail. However, that cannot deter me—the more so since persons close to him are urging me to do so—from taking up his defence, now that he is dead, against such despicable curs as the clamorous K. Blind.^b

I am afraid that in mid-spring or early summer of next year there will be war between Italy, Austria and France. This will be very damaging for the movement in France and England, which is growing significantly.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours very respectfully

K. Marx

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2,
Nr. 1, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

21

MARX TO LION PHILIPS⁶⁷

IN ZALT-BOMMEL

London, 29 November 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Uncle,

I hope that you are in the best of health despite the ABOMINABLE weather. All is well here. Except that, to the great alarm of the whole family, I had a most malignant carbuncle below the left breast at the beginning of this month, which kept me in great pain for 2-3 weeks. Other than that, everything has been going well.

^a Henrietta Marx (died 30 November 1863) - ^b See this volume, pp. 40-42.

The trade crisis, which I predicted to you long before its actual arrival,^a has by this time long since lost its edge, although its consequences in the manufacturing districts proper are still very considerable. On the other hand, I believe a political crisis is to be expected in the spring or early summer. Bonaparte has again reached the point where he will have to make war again if he is to raise a loan. The Venetian business is being kept open (I am acquainted with some of the agents there) so that it can provide a point of contact if need be.^{6b} It is possible that Bonaparte will again find a way out, and then he will keep the peace (for he is no REAL Napoleon), but that is rather improbable.

The enclosed printed 'Address'^b is written by myself. The matter hangs together like this: in September the Parisian workers sent a delegation to the London workers to demonstrate support for Poland. On that occasion, an international Workers' Committee was formed. The matter is not without importance because 1. in London the same people are at the head who organised the gigantic reception for Garibaldi and, by their monster meeting with Bright in St James's Hall, *prevented war with the United States*.¹⁹ In a word, these are the real workers' leaders in London, with one or two exceptions all workers themselves. 2. On the Parisian side, Mr Tolain (*ouvrier*^c himself, as well) *et Co.* are at the head, i.e., the same people who were prevented by a mere intrigue on the part of Garnier-Pagès, Carnot, etc., from entering the Corps législatif at the last elections in Paris as representatives of the workers there,⁴ and 3. on the Italian side, it has been joined by the representatives of the 4-500 Italian workers' clubs which held their general congress in Naples some weeks ago,²² an event which even *The Times* considered important enough to merit a few dozen lines in the paper.^d

Courtesy toward the French and the Italians, who always require florid language, has obliged me to include a few superfluous turns of phrase in the preamble to the 'Rules',^e though not in the 'Address'.²³

A few days ago I received a letter from America from my friend Weydemeyer, Colonel in the regiment stationed at St Louis (Missouri). Amongst other things, he writes—and these are his exact words:

^a Marx to Lion Philips, 17 August 1864 (present edition, Vol. 41). - ^b 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^c worker - ^d *The Times*, No. 25021, 4 November 1864. - ^e K. Marx, 'Provisional Rules of the Association'.

'We are regrettably being detained here at St Louis, since, in view of the many "conservative" elements here, a military force is a continuing necessity to prevent a break-out and the possible release of the numerous Southern prisoners.... The whole campaign in Virginia is a BLUNDER, which has cost us innumerable men. But for all that, the South will not be able to hold out much longer: it has sent its last man into battle and has no fresh army to call upon. The present invasion of Missouri, like the incursions into Tennessee, has only the character of a RAID, a foray: there can be no thought of a lasting re-occupation of districts that have been lost.'^a

When you reflect, my dear Uncle, how at the time of Lincoln's election 3¹/₂ years ago it was only a matter of making *no further concessions* to the slave-owners, whereas now the avowed aim, which has in part already been realised, is the *abolition of slavery*, one has to admit that *never* has such a gigantic revolution occurred with such rapidity. It will have a highly beneficial influence on the whole world.

At a public MEETING this week the fellow-member of our race *Benjamin Disraeli* has again made a dreadful laughing-stock of himself by assuming the mantle of guardian angel of the HIGH CHURCH⁶⁹ and CHURCH RATES, repudiating criticism in religious affairs.^b He furnishes the best evidence of how a great talent unaccompanied by conviction creates rogues, albeit gold-braided and 'RIGHT HONORABLE' ones.

Those jackasses in Germany have again made a proper laughing-stock of themselves over the Müller affair,³⁶ with ex-parson Kinkel at their head.

With kindest regards from the whole family to you and from me to Jettchen, Dr, Fritz^c et Co.

Ever your faithful nephew

K. M.

First published in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. I, Part 1, Assen, 1956

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

^a Marx quotes from J. Weydemeyer's letter to Engels written in October 1864. - ^b An account of Disraeli's speech at the meeting in Oxford on 25 November 1864 was published in *The Times*, No. 25040, 26 November 1864. - ^c Henriette van Anroij, Dr van Anroij and Friedrich Philips

22

MARX TO ENGELS²⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 December 1864

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR THE *GUARDIAN*.^a

I did send on a few COPIES of the 'Address'^b to E. Jones afterwards, with a letter to him saying that he would probably receive one from you first. He writes today that he has neither seen nor heard anything from you. His address is 55, not 52, Cross Street. He says in his letter that, when the Assizes are over, he will form a branch association in Manchester amongst his acquaintances.

Could you by any chance dig up the address of the musician *Petzler* (maybe from the Manchester directory, or the Schiller Association²⁸)? He has *a lot of* contacts among the Manchester workers, and without ANY INTERVENTION ON YOUR PART I could put him in touch with E. Jones *from here*. You would only need to send me *Petzler's* address.

The worst thing about agitation of this kind is that one gets very BOTHERED AS SOON AS ONE BECOMES INVOLVED IN IT. E.g. Address to Lincoln now on the agenda again, and again I had to compose the thing^c (which is far more difficult than writing a proper work)—so that the phraseology to which that kind of writing is limited, is at least distinguishable from vulgar-democratic phraseology.⁷⁰ Fortunately, Mr Fox is doing the Polish business which is coming up in connection with 29 November, the anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1830.⁷¹

In the Committee, since the address for Lincoln is to be handed over to Adams, *some* of the English wanted to have the deputation introduced BY A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT—as IS CUSTOMARY. This desire was suppressed by the majority OF THE ENGLISH and the unanimity of the continentals, and it was declared instead that such OLD ENGLISH CUSTOMS OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED. On the other hand: M. Le Lubez, as a real *crapaud*,^d wanted the address to be directed not to Lincoln but TO THE

^a *The Manchester Guardian* - ^b K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^c K. Marx, 'To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America'. - ^d philistine

AMERICAN PEOPLE. I made him look suitably foolish and made it clear to the English that FRENCH DEMOCRATIC ETIQUETTE IS NOT WORTH A FARTHING more than MONARCHICAL ETIQUETTE.

Apropos. Naturally it is impossible to have a movement here without its own press-organ. *The Bee-Hive* (weekly, organ of the TRADES-UNIONS) was therefore declared to be the organ of the Association. By a stroke of ill-luck, to which the workers are particularly susceptible, a scoundrel called *George Potter* (in the BUILDING STRIKES⁷² he acted as MOUTHPIECE in *The Times*, but with articles written not by *himself* but by *others*) has installed himself as MANAGER with a clique of shareholders, who have so far formed the majority. The COMMITTEE, whose English members are mostly *Bee-Hive* shareholders (a share costs only 5s., and no one can have more than 5 votes, even if he holds 5,000 shares; thus 1 vote per share up to a maximum of 5), has therefore decided that we should set up a share-fund here which will enable us to create shareholders AND TO SWAMP THE OLD MAJORITY. I would appreciate it if you would let us have a contribution for this purpose as well. The whole operation must, of course, be confined to the close friends of the members of the Committee, as otherwise counter-measures would be promptly taken by the other side (i.e. before the GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS which is not far off now).

Besides the *Hermann*, there was also another little paper here, the *Londoner Anzeiger*, which belongs to the worthy Jewish bookseller Bender. It is trying to build itself up as a competitor to the *Hermann*, as the editorship has been taken over by a certain L. Otto von Breidschwerdt, although he writes under the name of L. Otto. I shall hardly become directly involved in the thing at all, as I had my fill with the *Volk*, but it is good for reprinting statements in London as soon as they appear in the German newspapers, e.g. like the one against Blind.^a

This Otto first got to know Eccarius, at whose suggestion he became a German member of the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE. He is a Swabian, Stuttgarter born and bred. Quite a young fellow, ABOUT 27 OR 28. Very much like my wife's elder brother.^b Began as a cadet in the Austrian army, where he learnt all kinds of languages and was stationed all over the place. Subsequently studied in Tübingen. As a person, he is a very pleasant, witty fellow and well-mannered. His head is still stuffed full of petty Swabianisms and Germanic nonsense. For all that, very good knowledge and ability. But he

^a K. Marx. 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - ^b Ferdinand von Westphalen

seems to me to have more inclination than a gift for writing; dull, doctrinaire. He is useful as a go-between with South Germany and especially the Land of the Swabians. Also writes in the *Augsburger*^a from time to time, which is, incidentally, entirely what you would expect from the Vogt standpoint.

I wrote to Mr Klings that it was difficult, but also quite unnecessary, to decide between Moses and Bernhard.^b Both were honest and both incompetent. I said that, at the present moment, it was neither here nor there who has the title of President. When the time became decisive, there would be no difficulty in finding the right people.^c

I am very much afraid I can feel another carbuncle starting on my right hip. Allen knows nothing about it as I have been treating myself for some time. If I went to him now about the arsenic business, which after all you cannot start without a doctor and to which he might perhaps not even agree, he would give me the most dreadful dressing down for having been carbunculing for so long behind his back!!

YOURS
K. M.

In his reply to Mayer the Swabian (via his man-of-straw Bronner),^d Blind states that Lincoln and Frémont were fighting for his vote because it would decide the ELECTION.⁶² And in an American newspaper, *The Radical Democrat*,^e that *he* was responsible for the Polish revolution.

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 *Allgemeine Zeitung* - ^b Moses Hess and Bernhard Becker - ^c See this volume, p. 2. - ^d [K. Blind,] Article marked 'Bradford, 25. Oct.', *Der Beobachter*, No. 268, 17 November 1864 - ^e *Missouri Democrat*

23

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 December 1864

Dear Engels,

You will find enclosed

1. *Free Press*.^a
2. Swabian *Beobachter*.

(With the latter, I have managed to get the fellow at least to adopt an ironical tone towards Blind again, whereas, as a result of the letter transmitted by Bronner,^b he was so bowled over by Blind's boasting—I have sent the scrawl to *Weydemeyer*—that he absolutely drew in his horns and paid compliments to the 'excellent man'. Incidentally, the editor—*hinc illae lacrimae*^c—is the man whom I referred to in *Herr Vogt* as the 'garrulous Swabian, Karl Mayer',^d and who is moreover the son of that Mayer the Swabian so incessantly derided by Heine.⁷³)

3. Letter enclosed from Red Becker.^e I had, you see, sent a copy of the statement^f to the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Please return Becker's letter to me.⁷⁴

Apropos Liebknecht. At the end of the year he is, of course, in a very tight spot. I have sent him money several times in the course of the last six months and now I want to send his wife^g something in the form of a Christmas present for the children, since I know they are in dire straits. I would appreciate it if you would make a contribution, too. But you must let me know quickly, as *periculum in mora*.^h I would then send the whole lot to Frau Liebknecht at the same time.

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 Presumably *The Free Press*, No. 12, 7 December 1864, with the article [C.D. Collet,] 'Russia's Designs on the Pope'. - ^b See this volume, p.51. - ^c hence these tears (Terence, *Andria*, I, 1, 99) - ^d See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 120 and 205. - ^e Hermann Heinrich Becker - ^f K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - ^g Ernestine Liebknecht - ^h danger in delay (Livy, *History of Rome*, Vol. XXXVIII, Chap. 25)

24

MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 December 1864

DEAR FRED,

MY COMPLIMENT TO MRS LIZZY.^a

You had already given me your PRIVATE ADDRESS some time ago, but not the 'FIRM' to which to write. I am very glad to have it now, as I sometimes find it desirable to drop you a few lines ON SATURDAYS.

The £5 for Wilhelm^b is already on its way to Berlin today.

You have not sent me back the Becker.⁷⁴ However cunningly 'the Red' fancies he has extricated himself from the matter, his letter is a DOCUMENT WHICH ONE FINE MORNING HE MAY FIND TO TURN UP for unforeseen purposes. The old Hatzfeldt woman will, incidentally, ensure that the statement^c gets to the right person.⁶⁴

WHAT ABOUT SHERMAN'S EXPEDITION?⁷⁵

Apropos. Your POOR-HOUSE *Purdy* is said to have published an absolutely disgraceful document during the COTTON-FAMINE,⁴⁰ recommending reducing support to a minimum, on the grounds that the HEALTH OF THE COTTON-OPERATIVES WAS said to have improved; as a result of this, FAMINE DISEASES are said to have broken out in the EAST OF LANCASHIRE. (That was in the early days of the COTTON-FAMINE.) Do you know anything about it? And, in general, can you obtain for me the OFFICIAL PAPERS in Manchester (of the Committee,^d etc.) relating to the COTTON-FAMINE?[?]

Lothario Bucher, whom Lassalle appointed executor to his will and to whom he left £150 a year pension, has, as you probably already know, gone over to Bismarck's camp. Baron Izzy^e would perhaps have done the same himself as 'Minister of Labour', Marquis Posa to Philipp II of the Uckermark,^f but NOT IN THE SMALL WAY OF Lothario, with whom the Hatzfeldt woman has fallen out and who can now shake hands with Edgar Bauer and the Prussian consul in Milan, Mr R. Schramm. The Prussians were looking for a post for Mr Schramm 'where yer don't need no exam'.^g I also

^a Lizzy Burns - ^b Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^c K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - ^d See this volume, p. 27. - ^e Lassalle - ^f Marquis Posa and Philipp II are characters from Schiller's *Don Karlos*. By 'Philipp II of the Uckermark' Marx means William I. - ^g Berlin dialect in the original here: 'wo ken Examen nicht netig.'

fancy Mr Rodbertus' intentions are 'none too 'onourable' because he is claiming to 'have *entirely divorced* the social question *from politics*',^a a sure sign that he has got the ministerial itch. What a contemptible gang, all that riff-raff from Berlin, Brandenburg and Pomerania!

I fancy there is a SECRET UNDERSTANDING between Prussia, Russia and France for THE WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA IN NEXT SPRING. Venetia will, of course, provide the WAR-CRY.⁶⁸ The Austrians are behaving with abysmal cowardice and stupidity. This ensues from Francis Joseph himself interfering personally in Austrian politics. Buol-Schauenstein, etc., all the sensible *hommes d'état*,^b are obliged to keep their traps shut, and the Russian agents, such notorious fellows as the present Austrian FOREIGN MINISTER,^c are giving all the orders. For all that, the Austrians' behaviour would be inexplicable, unless these fellows either have faith in Prussia's perfidious promises or are determined to accept the long-standing promise of compensation in Turkey.

What do you say to Collet's profound discoveries—based on Urquhart—about Nebuchadnezzar and the Russians' Assyrian ancestry, and the further discovery, which is cited as 'Urquhart's', that IN ITALY THE POPE IS THE ONLY REAL THING?^d

Today's *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*—the *Moniteur*^e of the mineworkers in England and Wales—is printing the whole of my 'Address'.^f The London 'BRICKLAYERS' (OVER 3,000 men) have announced they are joining the International Association, and they are fellows who have *never* before joined a MOVEMENT.

There was a SUB-COMMITTEE²¹ meeting last Tuesday,^g at which Mr Peter Fox (his real name is P. Fox André) presented his address on Poland⁷¹ to us. (This kind of thing is always dealt with beforehand in the SUBCOMMITTEE before going to the GENERAL COMMITTEE.) The piece is not badly written and Fox has endeavoured to apply the concept of 'class', at least a semblance of it, although it is normally alien to him. His real forte is FOREIGN POLICY, and it is only as a propagandist of atheism that he has had dealings with the WORKING CLASSES AS SUCH.

But easy though it is to get the English workers to accept a rational approach, one has to be all the more careful the moment

^a Marx quotes almost literally Liebknecht's letter to him of 2 December 1864. - ^b statesmen - ^c Alexander Mensdorff-Pouilly - ^d [C.D. Collet,] 'Russia's Designs on the Pope', *The Free Press*, No. 12, 7 December 1864. - ^e mouthpiece - ^f K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association', *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 93, 10 December 1864. - ^g 6 December

men of letters, members of the bourgeoisie or semi-literary people become involved in the movement. Fox, like his friend Beesly (Professor of Political Economy at the University of London, he took the chair at the founding MEETING in St Martin's Hall^a) and other 'DEMOCRATS', have a fanatical 'love' of France, which, as far as FOREIGN POLICY is concerned, they extend not only to Napoleon I but even to Boustrapa,⁷⁶ as opposed to what they call, not without justice, the English aristocratic tradition, and as a continuation of what they call the English democratic tradition of 1791/92. WELL! Not content in his address (which, incidentally, is not to appear as an address from the whole Association but as an address from the English section concerning the POLISH QUESTION, endorsed by the whole Committee) with telling the Poles, which is true, that the French people has been traditionally more sympathetic towards them than the English, Mr FOX WINDS UP HIS ADDRESS mainly by consoling the Poles with the passionate friendship that THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASSES have conceived FOR THE FRENCH DEMOCRATS. I opposed this and unfolded a historically irrefutable tableau of the constant French betrayal of Poland from Louis XV to Bonaparte III. At the same time, I pointed out how thoroughly *inappropriate* it was that the ANGLO-FRENCH-ALLIANCE should appear as the 'core' of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, albeit in a democratic version. To cut matters short, Fox's address was accepted by the SUBCOMMITTEE on condition that he altered the 'TAIL' in accordance with my suggestions. Jung, the SWISS SECRETARY (from French Switzerland), declared that, as a MINORITY on the GENERAL COUNCIL, he would move that the address be rejected as ALTOGETHER 'bourgeois'.⁷⁷

Our *Major Wolff* has been locked up by the Piedmontese for the moment in the fortress of Alexandria.

Louis Blanc has written to the General Secretary *Cymer* that he approves the 'Address' and regrets not having been able to attend the St Martin's Hall MEETING, etc. ALTOGETHER, the sole purpose of his letter is to get him CO-OPTED AN HONORARY MEMBER. Foreseeing that attempts of this kind would be made, I had, however, fortunately got the BY-LAW accepted that no one (except workers' SOCIETIES) could be invited to join and that nobody at all could be an *honorary member*.⁷⁸

Salut.

Your
K. M.

^a See this volume, pp. 15-16.

Gumpert will get the photograph as soon as he sends me the long-promised one of his wife.

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

25

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 December 1864

Dear FREDERICK,

In great haste. Please send Becker's letter back to me.^a I hope you have not lost it.

Happy New Year!

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

26

MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

[Draft]

London, 22 December 1864
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

My dear Countess,

A few days ago, a friend in Hamburg sent me the *Nordstern* containing my statement against Blind,^b duly emended with misprints.

^a See this volume, pp. 52,53. - ^b K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'.

It was at your request that I made this statement, although its composition did not come easily to me as I did *not* agree with Lassalle's *political tactics*. However, all my scruples were removed by Blind's shameless outburst against the deceased in the *St Louis Westliche Post*.⁴⁴ I had not the slightest idea which papers you would send the statement to. The *Nordstern* was the furthest from my mind. Mr Bruhn has now seized upon this opportunity to make an 'indecent gesture' in my direction, by hinting to his readers in the commentaries that I had sought access to his emporium through the back door and had been granted it as an act of extreme graciousness only because a third party had intervened especially on my behalf.⁶⁴ I have no doubt that his accomplice in America^a will make use of this. Is it Mr Bruhn's desire that I should be forced into exposing him publicly for the conceited nonentity that he is?

If Bruhn, Bernhard Becker and *tutti quanti* set out to oppose me and my efforts in any manner whatsoever that I consider harmful to the workers' movement itself, a storm will break about these gentlemen's heads that will take their breath away. Reasons of long-standing personal friendship and party interest, which held me back vis-à-vis Lassalle, can no longer have the slightest force in respect of these *dii minorum gentium*.^b This I am stating once and for all, so that I cannot later be charged with ambiguity or inconsiderateness.

In no circumstances, do I wish the *Eighteenth Brumaire* to be published, and, if steps have already been taken to this end, they are to be checked forthwith.⁷⁹

I scarcely dare express any good wishes for the New Year, knowing as I do that the old year has left you, my dear Countess, only with memories.

Yours very respectfully

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 Blind - ^b Literally: minor gods; here, creatures of a lesser kind.

27

MARX TO CARL SIEBEL

IN ELBERFELD

London, 22 December 1864
 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill

Dear Siebel,

A Happy New Year!

You will perhaps have seen that Engels and I have agreed to become contributors to the Berlin *Social-Demokrat*.⁸⁰ Nevertheless—this *entre nous*^a—either that paper will have to dissociate itself from the apotheosis of Lassalle, or we shall dissociate ourselves from it. But the poor devils have a lot to contend with.

You will have received the 'Addresses'^b sent to you and have no doubt guessed I am the author. For the sake of the movement *here*, it is important for us that German workers' associations should join the Central Committee here. (As has happened in many cases with the Italians and the French.) Now Liebknecht has written to me that the Berlin printers' association will be joining, but that it is very doubtful whether the 'General Association of German Workers'² will join, on account of the intrigues of Mr Bernhard Becker, whose importance was '*invented*' by Lassalle. (*Entre nous* this is perhaps Lassalle's *only invention*.)⁸¹

Today I wrote the old Hatzfeldt woman a kind of threatening letter, *sub rosa*,^c of course.

Now it would be highly desirable for you to pay a brief visit to Solingen to explain on my behalf to the cutler, *Klings*, how exceedingly important it is that the Association of German Workers should decide to join the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION at its congress in Düsseldorf on 27 December of this year.⁸² You might surreptitiously hint that, for such nonentities as B. Becker, etc., what matters is, naturally, not the cause but the '*infiniment petit*',^d i.e., their own persons. But such a hint must be dropped *diplomatically*, without implicating me.

You understand that it is necessary that the General Association of German Workers should join only for a start, on account of our

^a between ourselves - ^b K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^c allusively (see previous letter) - ^d infinitely small

opponents here. At a later date, the whole organisation of this association will have to be broken up, as its basis is fundamentally wrong.

If you do not now at last write me a few lines, I shall presume that you have become totally disloyal to me, and will proclaim you excommunicated.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Deutsche Zeitung*,
Nr. 473, 16 October 1920

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

1865

28

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG⁸³

IN LONDON

Manchester,⁸⁴ [about 8 January 1865]
58 Dover Street, Oxford Street

My dear Jung,

I felt rather shocked at reading in the 'Beehive' and the 'Miner' of this week that at our last Committee-sitting

'It was *unanimously* agreed to invite Messrs Beesly, *Grossmith*, Beales and Harrison, to the *soirée* which is to be held on the 16th'.^a

I do not mention the mere anachronism, that no such resolution was taken on *last Tuesday's* sitting.^b

What I object to is the positive falsehood that *Mr Grossmith* was invited.

This *Grossmith*, although he seldom or never attends our sittings, figures as a member of the Committee under all our addresses.

How could *our* Committee invite a *member of our Committee* to a *soirée given by our Committee*? Shall this, perhaps, form a sort of *premium* to be gained by regular absence from our weekly *séances*?

Since I cannot return to London before the end of next week, you'll much oblige me

By asking at next Tuesday's sitting, who is the *writer* of the report in the 'Beehive' and the 'Miner'?

Who empowered that writer to make our Committee the '*unconscious*' instrument of exalting *Mr Grossmith*?

You will understand at once how important it is to nip in the bud any attempt at turning our Committee into the tool of local ambitions, or any sort of intrigues.

^a *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 169, 7 January 1865; *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 97, 7 January 1865. - ^b on 3 January

You will oblige me, by informing me, under the above address,—and supposing you to make the interpellation—what answer was given to you.⁸⁵

Salut et fraternité.

K. Marx

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

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the first time

29

ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS¹⁰

IN BARMEN

[Manchester,] 10 January 1865

Dear Rudolf,

My view of the American war¹¹ is this: the South is gradually becoming exhausted and cannot replace its armies. The North has not yet mobilised the half of its resources. The South is limited to defence, so much so in fact that counter-attacks such as, e.g., Longstreet undertook in the Shenandoah Valley, are now a thing of the past. Hood attempted yet another one, but, in so doing, revealed his own impotence and decided the whole campaign at one stroke.⁸⁶ The North is superior to its Southern opponents at all points and, furthermore, has Sherman's 40,000 men at its disposal who can go wheresoever they please, everywhere destroying the South's forces, communications, resources and supplies deep in the South's own territory.⁷⁵ Charleston is certain to fall in 4-6 weeks at the latest, once Sherman has encircled it on land.⁸⁷ The South has but one army left, that at Richmond.³⁰ That will assuredly be quite decisively beaten in the present year, and with that the defence of the South *by armies* will be at an end. A guerrilla war, brigandry, etc., may then ensue and will probably do so into next year.

If the South arms its Negroes, that will be so much the better for the North. However, they will take good care not to. At the last moment, if at all. The Negroes are not so stupid as to allow themselves to be massacred for the whip that flays their backs.

There will certainly still be moments when things look better for the South than they do now, but we have seen that happen too often before, and I shall not be deceived by that. Such moments are merely *a respite*.

I do not believe we shall get cotton from America; but I do believe we shall see a temporary fall. Cotton is at present so subject to speculation that prices are affected by every vicissitude of public opinion. There are, moreover, 500,000 bales in Liverpool, and the people here do have a tendency to fly to extremes immediately and shout: the South is done for, is bound to surrender in 14 days, etc.—a rise is thereby inconceivable. We shall be at the mercy of whatever news we receive, though always with the proviso that we know the STOCK in Liverpool to be double what it was last year. I also believe we shall see the year 1865 close below present prices, as we must expect more cotton from all parts.

Your
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. II, 1921

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

30

MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 January 1865
58 Dover Street

My sweet child,

I wanted to leave Manchester tomorrow, but I'll be hardly able to do so before Sunday (15th Jan.) next.⁸⁴ Ernest Jones, whom I am anxious to speak, is busily engaged in the neighbouring towns and has invited me (and Engels) for next *Friday* evening when he'll be at home. I have not yet seen him, and could not see him before that day. This is one cause of delay. There are others, but at all events I shall not stay longer than until Sunday.

The German translation of the 'Address to the Working Classes'^a has been reprinted in the *Mainzer Zeitung*, the 'Address to Lincoln'^b in the *Berliner Reform* and the London *Hermann*. The latter honour is probably due to Mr Juch's anxiety lest his rival Bender might monopolize 'our protection'.

The weather here was abominable. Today 'the sun shines', as Müller has it, but its rays are reflected by the ice drops covering the dirty streets. Even the sunbeams must here always have something disagreeable to fall upon.

I have not yet seen a Borchardt, and as to the Gumperts, I had only a few minutes' conversation with the Dr yesterday evening.

On my arrival I did not find Frederick, but in his stead a letter informing me that he would be back from fox-hunting at 6 o'clock. Meanwhile he had taken all precautionary measures for making my '*entrée joyeuse*'^c (with your great historical knowledge you'll not be at a loss as to the '*entrée joyeuse*'). Whether his change of domicile is an improvement, seems a rather debatable question. At all events, the people are less impudent.

Apropos. There is much '*chronique scandaleuse*' just now in the Freiligrath world, as far as it is connected with the General Bank of Switzerland. There has appeared a pamphlet at Genève, disclosing the scandalous mismanagement of Fazy,^d Freiligrath's 'natural superior'. He has been forced to resign his post as supreme director of the bank, and '*um zu retten, was zu retten ist*'^e (literally this) Jew *Reinach* has been put into his place, assisted by a Frenchman and—*Karl Vogt* who has the despicable meanness of betraying, and denouncing, and publicly declaring against Fazy, his old idol, the man in fact of whom he is a mere 'creature'.

I suppose you are aware that the first '*abonnement number*'^f of the 'Social-Democrat' has been *confiscated* by the police at Berlin.⁸⁸ This is a rather favourable accident. Those fellows stand in need of some small political martyrdom.

I hope all is right at home. The cat being gone, the mice ought to dance. Pay my compliments to Ma, 'Success', 'Mine Own' and the 'Prophet'.^g As to yourself, my dear Aaron, I dreamt of you last

^a K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. -

^b K. Marx, 'To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America'. -

^c 'joyful entrance' (a French medieval expression used to welcome the arrival of a prince or king into one of his own towns). - ^d *James Fazy. Sein Leben und Treiben. (Von einem Westschweizer)*, *Neue Zürcher-Zeitung*, Nos. 321-360, 16 November - 25 December 1864. - ^e to save what can yet be saved - ^f regular issue for the subscribers - ^g Mrs Marx, Laura, and Eleanor Marx and Helene Demuth

night, and saw you in your bloomer costume, performing the most wonderful jumps, almost flying through the air, after you had before done the Davenport trick in the most admirable manner.⁸⁹ I felt quite proud and chuckled in my sleeves over the success of my old acquaintance, and had the most lively remembrance of the rather unplastic dance you had in bygone times executed before the golden calf, in the desert.^a

Show Ma the inclosed. She will remember Bochum-Dolfs, from Paris. He is now the happy father of 10 children with whom he 'vagabonds' through the world.

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925, and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September 1929

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31

MARX TO JOHANN BAPTIST VON SCHWEITZER¹

IN BERLIN

[Draft]

To. J. B. v. Schweitzer (*Social-Demokrat*)

London, 16 January 1865

Sir,

Despite its brief existence, your *Social-Demokrat* has already carried *two attacks* on the '*International Association*'. I am only awaiting the '*third*' before my friends and I *publicly* dissociate ourselves from any connection with your paper. In the event of such a dissociation, I should be compelled to deal '*critically*' with certain things which, in deference to party interests, I have hitherto not aired, and this may not be at all to the liking of certain gentlemen. The first attack on the '*International Association*'

^a Here a strip of paper is cut off at the bottom of the page, presumably bearing Marx's signature. The paragraph that follows is a postscript in the left-hand corner of the first page of the letter.

tion' was contained in an inane passage in B. Becker's 'Message'.⁹⁰ I did not hold you responsible for it for the very reason that it was a 'message' and you unfortunately have an official connection with the 'General Workers' Association'² (emphatically not to be confused with the working class).

The bare-faced, lying gossip of Mr Moses Hess^a is another matter; if you had had the slightest consideration for me and my friends you would *under no circumstances* have accepted it, you could only have accepted it *with the intention of provoking me*.

With regard to Moses' fabrication itself, I shall be making a public statement about it *after* I have obtained certain information from Paris.⁹¹ Regarding your acceptance of that abomination of an article, I should be obliged if you would inform me *whether I am to consider same as a declaration of war by the 'Social-Demokrat'?*

Your most obedient servant

K. Marx

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

Printed according to Marx's
Notebook for 1865

32

MARX TO ENGELS⁹²

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 January 1865

DEAR FREDERICK,

Letters enclosed

1. from Weydemeyer,
2. from Schily,
3. from Liebknecht. I must have all 3 back.
4. from Schweitzer and 5. a scrawl about Vogt, which I would also like back.

By way of explanation for letters 2, 3 and 4, the following: I do not know whether you get the *Social-Demokrat* (or have taken out a

^a [Moses]H[ess], 'Paris, 10. Jan. [Arb.-Associationen. Internat. Arb.-Assoc. *Avenir national*], *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 8, 13 January 1865.

subscription to it). (If neither should be the case, Bender can always send you one from here, as he has ordered 6 copies on the off-chance.)

There was a contribution in the *Social-Demokrat* from that jackass Moses Hess,^a in which he related how *we* had approached *L'Association* (paper of the Paris associations) asking them to print a translation of our address^b (on the contrary, Massol had made Schily an *offer* to that effect) and join our Association; they are said to have refused, however, because *we* had originally approached Tolain and others who were Plon-Plonists.⁹³ Tolain himself had admitted as much, etc.

I discovered this scrawl on the day after my return from Manchester.⁸⁴ Therefore wrote furious letters to Paris⁹⁴ and Berlin.^c From Schily's and Schweitzer's letters it emerges that the whole thing can be blamed on Hess' asininity (mixed with a certain amount of MALICE, perhaps) and on Liebknecht's asininity *toute pure*.^d

The affair created a great furore in the *Comité* here yesterday. Le Lubez, entirely on Tolain's side, declares the whole thing to be slanderous, since fellows like Horn (Einhorn, rabbi) and that gas-bag Jules Simon (of *La Liberté*^e) are on the *Comité* of *L'Association*. However, at my suggestion, it was resolved not to send the 500 CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP TO Paris until Schily had reported further from Paris.⁹⁵

The Association is doing famously here. At its soirée,^f which I did *not* attend, ABOUT 1,200 people (they would have had 3× as many if the hall had been big enough) gathered, which brought approximately £15 into our exceedingly depleted EXCHEQUER.

Letter has come from Geneva about joining,⁹⁶ and from DIFFERENT PARTS OF ENGLAND.

There will be a MEETING for the Poles in the course of February (especially to collect money for the *new émigrés*, which also explains Lord Townshend as CHAIRMAN), organised by the (English) POLISH LEAGUE, the *Polish* society here and our Association.⁹⁷

What do you say to Lassalle's 'bequest', as described by Liebknecht?⁹⁸ Is it not exactly like his own Sickingen, who wants to compel Charles V to 'assume the leadership of the movement'?⁹⁸

^a [Moses] H[ess], 'Paris, 10. Jan. [Arb.-Associationen. Internat. Arb.-Assoc. *Avenir national*], *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 8, 13 January 1865. - ^b K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^c See this volume, pp. 64-65. - ^d pure and simple - ^e *La Liberté de penser* - ^f See this volume, p. 60. - ^g Sickingen and Charles V are characters in Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*.

Yesterday, I sent *Article on Proudhon*^a to Schweitzer, in response to his urgent request (and also to make up to him for having bitten his head off instead of Liebknecht's for the BLUNDER in the *Soc.-Dem.*). You will see from it that several very savage blows, ostensibly aimed at Proudhon, strike home at our '*Achilles*'^b and were intended to do so.

Apropos. Each secretary of our Association will receive a package of *CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP* next week (for the 'Association', not for the '*Comité*', of course) for distribution (1s. for annual subscription, 1d. for the CARD). You must get rid of a few in Manchester. It will not be many. But let me know about HOW MANY I can send for this purpose? It is IN FACT ONE OF THE WAYS AND MEANS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS. WILL SHE, PERHAPS, BECOME A MEMBER? LADIES ARE ADMITTED.

YOURS TRULY
K. M.

P.S. I left a pair of winter *BOOTS* (shoes) at your house in Dover Street, ditto new pair of knitted stockings, and probably the 2 silk handkerchiefs as well. I only mention it so that you can DROP a word to your landlords 'some time or other' so that they know that an eye is kept on them.

By means of a most ingenious experiment Prof. Tyndall has managed to separate out the rays of the sun into a *heat-ray*, which even melts platinum, and a *cold light-ray which has no heat at all*. This is ONE OF THE FINEST EXPERIMENTS OF OUR DAYS.

P.S. II

Liebknecht has also sent me a note from the editors, urgently asking for a contribution from you. For the moment they are thinking either of the *YANKEE WAR* or the *Prussian Army Reform*, as they say their paper is read by more people of standing than any other Berlin paper.

Now, as far as the *YANKEE WAR* is concerned, you explained to me before that it was not suitable for the *Social-Demokrat*.

Regarding the *Prussian Army Reform*, the paper would be a very good place for it. Only QUESTION for *me* is *this*: would not an analysis of this topic involve you in a one-sided conflict with the men of Progress,⁹⁹ which would be undesirable at this moment and on *this* topic, since the King^c has declared he will not give way

^a K. Marx, 'On Proudhon [Letter to J. B. Schweitzer]'. - ^b Ferdinand Lassalle - ^c William I

on any point, so has naturally turned the question into a burning constitutional issue?¹⁰⁰ Or can you treat the question, in accordance with your military view, in such a way as to kill *both* birds, which is what is *wanted*?

At all events, as I have already sent the paper an article DIRECTLY (signed by me), you can be published there, too. And you ought to do so, while there is still an organ in existence at all.

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

33

ENGELS TO MARX¹⁰¹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 January 1865

Dear Moor,

I will send the letters back to you tomorrow or on Sunday, as I simply have to read this dreadful handwriting and these pale inks by daylight; yesterday evening I was only able to skim through them.

Moses^a really has been extraordinarily tactless (no doubt the *head of the party*^b took a certain malicious pleasure in it), but Liebknecht even more so. But I am surprised the latter has not already committed more such gaffes, it always was his FORTE.

I am sending the fellows the little Danish folksong about Tidmann, who is struck dead by the old man at the Thing for imposing new taxes on the peasants.^c It is revolutionary but not indictable, and above all it is directed against the feudal nobility, which the paper^d *absolutely must condemn*. I am making a few remarks to that effect. I shall probably be able to do the article on the reorganisation of the army^e as soon as I get the new military budget proposals, etc.; I am writing to ask them to send them to

^a Moses Hess (see this volume, pp. 65,66) - ^b Bernhard Becker - ^c F. Engels, 'Herr Tidmann. Old Danish Folk Song'. - ^d *Der Social-Demokrat* - ^e F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

me and am telling them at the same time that I shall be coming out against the government—PAST AND PRESENT—just as much as against the men of Progress,⁹⁹ and that the article must *not be published* if the first point is unacceptable to them.¹⁰² As far as the American war is concerned, perhaps something can be made of it at a later date after all. The present phase is not yet complete, the calm, to use J. Grimm's term, is 'inorganic'.

Good old Lassalle is after all gradually being unmasked as a common or garden scoundrel. It has never been our practice to judge people by what they thought but rather by what they were, and I do not see why we should make an exception in the late Izzy's case. Subjectively, his vanity may have made the affair seem plausible to him, but objectively it was the act of a scoundrel, the betrayal of the whole workers' movement to the Prussians. Throughout, the stupid fop does not seem to have obtained from Bismarck anything at all in return, nothing specific at all, let alone guarantees⁹⁸; he seems just to have taken it for granted he would *definitely* do Bismarck in the eye, in exactly the same way as he could not fail to shoot Racowitza dead. That's Baron Izzy all over for you.

Incidentally, it will not be very long now before it becomes not merely desirable but *necessary* to make this whole affair public. We can only gain from it, and, if the business with the Association^a and the paper in Germany bears fruit, the fellow's heirs will have to be thrown out soon enough now. Meanwhile, the proletariat in Germany will soon see what it has got in Bismarck.

Kind regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

I can only see my way to disposing of approx. 1/2 dozen cards; I will see Jones about it, I'm very busy just now.

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 General Association of German Workers

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 30 January 1865

Dear Engels,

Tout d'accord.^a As far as your anxiety about confiscation is concerned, what you must do is to announce quite briefly, as a foreword to the first article,^b that you are firstly going to throw light on the subject from the military point of view, secondly you are going to criticise the bourgeoisie and, thirdly, the reaction, etc., and the attitude of the workers' party to the question, etc., whereby *the drift* can already be narrowly outlined or hinted at. This will, *de prime abord*,^c make it more difficult for the government to confiscate. If it does so in spite of that, the *Social-Demokrat* will thereby be hurled into a new phase (for the fellows cannot at present confiscate without releasing the confiscated material, or taking it to court), and, at the same time, you must keep a copy of the manuscript of No. III. It is then the easiest thing in the world to publish it in the one of the 2 German papers *here*^d and then send COPIES of it to Hamburg, etc., where one or other of the bourgeois papers is sure to print it.

It seems to me that Schily has allowed himself to be duped by M. Hess. This is quite evident from all Moses' epistles to the *Social-Demokrat*. (Cf. F.L. No. 15 of the *Social-Demokrat*^e which has just arrived and is, on the whole, full of the most revolting 'Lassalleanism'. The gentlemen from Iserlohn speak of 'Lassalle-Lincoln'.^f) Moses is our *adversary*, has forgotten neither our 'expulsion from Brussels' nor our 'ejection from Cologne'¹⁰⁴ and always counts it to Lassalle's credit that he had the 'tact' so necessary for a 'leader of the people' to take M. Hess seriously.

By the way, being the 'organ of the General Association of German Workers', the *Social-Demokrat* finds it extremely difficult to extricate itself from the apotheosis-soup.

^a In complete agreement (see previous letter) - ^b F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*, Chapter 1. - ^c from the outset - ^d The reference is presumably to the *Hermann* and the *Londoner Anzeiger*. - ^e A reference to Hess' report 'Paris, 25. Jan. [Associationswesen. Clerus. Der oppositionelle Wahlsieg]', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 15, 29 January 1865. - ^f Quoted from the report 'Iserlohn, 25. Januar', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 15, 29 January 1865.

Incidentally, since we now know that Izzy planned to trade off the workers' party to Bismarck⁹⁸ (we were previously quite unaware of *how*) so that he might become known as the 'Richelieu of the Proletariat', I shall not now have any scruples about making it *sufficiently plain* in the preface to my book that he is a parrot and plagiarist.¹⁰⁵

I wonder whether the 'poems': 'To follow Lassalle is our every wish'^a and other nonsense which *the workers* are sending to the *Social-Demokrat*, do not emanate directly or indirectly from the old lady.^b At all events, I have already told the editors several times in writing that this nonsense has got to stop BY and BY.¹⁰⁶

What sort of fellows the men of Progress⁹⁹ are is evident yet again from their conduct regarding the combination question.¹⁰⁷ (*En passant*, the Prussian Anti-Combination Law, like all continental laws of this kind, has its origin in the decree of the *Assemblée Constituante of 14 June 1791*,¹⁰⁸ by which the French bourgeois imposed the most severe penalties on ANYTHING OF THE SORT, in fact workers' associations of any kind,—e.g. loss of civil rights for a year—on the pretext that this constituted *restoration of the guilds* and is in contravention of *liberté constitutionnelle*^c and the '*droits de l'homme*'.^d It is so characteristic of Robespierre that, at a time when it was a crime punishable by the guillotine to be 'constitutional', as defined by the *Assemblée* of 1789, all of its laws directed *against* the workers remained in force.)

Here in London Mr Bright has again spoiled his whole rapport with the workers by his SPEECH opposing the application of the Ten Hours' Bill¹⁰⁹ to the BIRMINGHAM TRADES.^e A bourgeois of that kind really is INCORRIGIBLE. And the fellow does that at a moment when he wants to make use of the workers to beat the oligarchs!

Apropos. As I have now told the *Social-Demokrat* twice that they must purge their paper of this infantile 'apotheosis' as far and as quickly as possible, it will doubtless do no harm if you make similar remarks to the editors when you send your article.^f If we allow them to use our names, then we can, at the same time, demand that *now*, when people are *aware of Lassalle's intended treachery*, they should not help to throw dust in the eyes of the

^a Quoted from an anonymous poem published in the section 'Einsendungen von Arbeitern' in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 15, 29 January 1865. - ^b Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^c constitutional liberty - ^d 'rights of man' - ^e J. Bright's speech in the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on 19 January 1865. In: *The Times*, No. 25087, 20 January 1865. - ^f *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*

workers or turn themselves into a vehicle for just any kind of loutish rubbish.

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

35

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 February 1865

Dear FREDERICK,

Enclosed letter from Strohn to be returned; write to me and let me know your thoughts about the publishing business at the same time.¹¹⁰

This 'Siebold' is the Siebold of champagne fame, NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT. I really am rather afraid that he did not merely find my reception of his bubbly enthusiasm very dry, but THAT HE CAUGHT SOME QUEER WORDS AT GUMPERT'S DOOR, AS I TOLD YOU AT THE TIME. At all events, it is nice of the fellow and quite typical of wine-salesman politics to go straight from us to Karl Blind and run as his MESSENGER to Hamburg. Has Blind perhaps also placed an order for 'sparkling wines' and granted his most gracious protection to scum-scoundrelism as well? I hope for the sake of bubbly's good reputation that Siebold is no such VENAL scum, although there was no mistaking that while one of his eyes was sparkling with enthusiasm, the other HAD AN EYE TO BUSINESS. Regarding Freiligrath, I FEEL SURE that he is much TOO CAUTIOUS to agree *publicly* in any way to collaborate (*in partibus*,^a it goes without saying) with Blind. HOWEVER, I SHALL TRY TO ASCERTAIN THE FACT. At all events, it is very good that Strohn has so gratifyingly baulked Ruge and Blind. I sent off

^a to all appearances (*In partibus infidelium*—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).

a few sarcastic marginalia to him earlier today,¹¹¹ intended specifically for Meissner, concerning the *nobile par*^a of antagonistic brothers.

You must excuse the scraps of English in my epistle as there was a SITTING OF THE COUNCIL yesterday which lasted until ONE O'CLOCK. ('Liquor' and 'smoke' are *banned* from these 'SITTINGS'.) The first thing was the answering epistle from Lincoln, which you may find in tomorrow's *Times*¹¹² and certainly in *The Daily News* and *The Star*.^b In the reply to the LONDON EMANCIPATION SOCIETY¹¹³ (which counts among its members such illustrious figures as Sir Charles Lyell and the 'Voice of World History', alias K. B.^c), published in yesterday's *Evening Star*, the old man drily dismisses the fellows with two formal clichés, exactly as he had done in his earlier answer to the *Manchester* branch of the EMANCIPATION SOCIETY; whereas his letter to us is in fact everything we could have asked for, and, in particular, the naive assurance that the *United States* could not involve itself directly in 'PROPAGANDISM'. At any rate, it is the only answer so far ON THE PART OF THE OLD MAN that is more than a strictly formal one.

Secondly, a delegate was there from the Poles (*aristocrats*), who have links with the 'LITERARY SOCIETY',¹¹⁴ through whom these gentlemen conveyed their solemn assurance, with an eye to the forthcoming MEETING on Poland, that they are *democrats* and that every Pole is *now* a democrat, since the aristocracy has dwindled away to such a degree that they would be *mad* not to recognise the *impossibility* of restoring Poland without a peasant rising. WHETHER or not these fellows believe what they say, at all events, the last lesson they had does not seem to have been entirely wasted on them.²⁴

Thirdly, there were statements from various TRADES UNIONS about their joining. Ditto from an association in *Brussels* which is promising to organise branches throughout Belgium.¹¹⁵

I then handed over an issue of the *Daily St. Louis Press* which had arrived just yesterday containing leader about our 'ADDRESS TO THE WORKINGMEN'^d and an excerpt from it which had obviously been arranged by Weydemeyer.^e

But now the most remarkable thing of all.

Cremer, OUR HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY, had received a written invitation for the 'COUNCIL', as well as a private visit, from a PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE which is meeting *privatim* at the London

^a noble pair (Horace, *Satires*, II, III, 243) - ^b *The Morning Star* - ^c Karl Blind -

^d K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. -

^e *St.-Louis Daily Press*, No. 22, 10 January 1865.

Tavern next Monday. Object: MONSTER MEETING FOR MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.
Chairman:—Richard Cobden!

The point is this: as E. Jones told us previously, these fellows have been a complete failure in Manchester. They have therefore adopted A BROADER PLATFORM, in which REGISTRATION FOR PAYING POOR-RATE figured instead of MANHOOD SUFFRAGE, however. That is what is stated in the printed circular sent to us. However, since various indications made it clear to them that nothing less than MANHOOD SUFFRAGE can attract ANY CO-OPERATION WHATEVER ON THE PART OF THE WORKING CLASSES, they have announced they are prepared to accept the latter. A *big* demonstration in London would lead to similar ones in the provinces, write the provincials 'yet once again', having 'all ready' realised that they are not able TO SET THE BALL A-GOING.

The next question raised yesterday was this: should our SOCIETY, I.E. COUNCIL, agree to what these fellows want (they include all the old SHAM CITY AGITATORS such as Sam. Morley, etc.) and send a few delegates to attend the transactions of their provisional committee as 'watchmen'? Secondly, if these fellows pledge themselves *directly* to the slogan of MANHOOD SUFFRAGE and the PUBLIC MEETING is being called under this slogan, should we promise our support? *The latter* is, you see, just as crucial to these fellows as it was in the American business.¹¹³ Without the TRADES UNIONS, NO MASS MEETING IS possible, and without us, the TRADES UNIONS are not to be had. This is also the reason why these gentlemen have come to us.

Opinions were *very* divided, for which *Bright's* latest silly tricks in Birmingham were much to blame.^a

On my motion, it was decided that: 1) the delegation should be sent (in my motion, I excluded FOREIGNERS from it; but Eccarius and Lubez were elected on to it as 'Englishmen' and *silent* witnesses) just as 'observers'¹¹⁶; 2) SO FAR AS THE MEETING IS CONCERNED, we should act with them *firstly* if MANHOOD SUFFRAGE is proclaimed directly and publicly in the programme, and *secondly* if people *selected by us* are included on the *permanent* committee, so that they can keep an eye on those fellows and compromise them in the event of fresh treachery, which, as I made plain to all of them, is *at any rate intended*. I am writing to E. Jones about the matter today.¹¹⁷

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 See this volume, p. 71.

36

MARX TO ENGELS¹¹⁸

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 February 1865

DEAR FREDERICK,

Enclosed

1. Letter from Siebel¹¹⁹ reporting on his meeting with Klings, with which I had 'charged' him.^a My only comment on it is that I am not going to interfere in the affair *any further*. If Klings succeeds—without *our* help—in getting rid of B. Becker and his testamentary importance, together with the beastly old girl,^b that suits me. There is nothing to be done with the Workers' Association² as bequeathed by Baron Izzy.^c The sooner it is disbanded, the better.

2. *Rheinische Zeitung* with leading article,¹²⁰ probably by Red Becker.^d It amounts to an APPEAL *ad misericordiam*^e from the 'men of Progress'.⁹⁹

My opinion is now that *the two of us* must issue a statement, and that this crisis particularly gives us the opportunity to reoccupy our 'LEGITIMATE' position. ABOUT 10 days ago, I wrote to Schweitzer that he must stand up to Bismarck and the workers' party must drop even the appearance of flirting with Bismarck, etc.¹²¹ By way of thanks, he has 'all ready' been philandering with Pissmarck more than ever.

'Yet again' Moses Hess is 'all ready' *denouncing* the 'International Association',¹²² for the second time in No. 16 of the *Social-Demokrat*, which contains the letter I wrote about Proudhon,^f bristling with misprints. I wrote a furious letter to Liebknecht about it yesterday,¹¹¹ telling him that this was the **very last** warning; that I do not give a FARTHING for 'good will' when its actions are those of ill-will; that I cannot make it clear to the members of the 'INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE' here that things like that occur *in bonne foi*^g out of pure stupidity; that while their gutter rag continues to eulogise Lassalle, even though they know what treachery he had up his sleeve,⁹⁸ and while it conducts this

^a See this volume, pp. 58-59. - ^b Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^c Ferdinand Lassalle - ^d Hermann Heinrich Becker - ^e for mercy - ^f K. Marx, 'On Proudhon [Letter to J. B. Schweitzer]'. - ^g good faith

cowardly flirtation with Bismarck, it has the effrontery to let the Plonplonist⁹³ Hess accuse us here of Plonplonism, etc.

My opinion is now that we should take up Moses' denunciation or insinuation in order *d'abord*^a to issue a brief declaration of war against Bonaparte Plon-Plon, at the same time making honourable mention of Moses' friend, the Rabbi Ein-Horn. Then we should use this to declare ourselves ditto against Bismarck, as well as against the rogues or fools who are dreaming or drivelling about an alliance with him for the sake of the working class. Then, of course, in conclusion the beastly men of Progress should be told that they have, on the one hand, run their cause into the ground by their political cowardice and helplessness, and that, on the other hand, if they are demanding an alliance with the working class against the government—which at the moment is, of course, the only correct line—then they would at least have to make the concessions to the workers that accord with their own principle of 'FREETRADE' and 'DEMOCRATISM', in other words, repeal of all the exceptional laws against the workers, which in addition to the combination laws quite specifically include the present Prussian legislation on the press. They would ditto have to proclaim, at least in principle, the restoration of universal suffrage, which was abolished by the coup d'état in Prussia.¹²³ This would be the minimum to be expected of them. Maybe something ought to be put in about the military question as well. At all events, the thing needs to be tied up quickly. And you must get your 'ideas' about the whole statement down on paper. I will then add mine to it and knead it all together, will send the whole thing back to you once again AND SO FORTH. The moment seems to me to be favourable for this 'coup d'état'. We cannot miss this moment for our '*restitutio in integrum*'^b out of consideration for Liebknecht or for anyone else.

AT THE SAME TIME, you must not fail to let the *Social-Demokrat* have your article on the military question^c SO SOON AS POSSIBLE.

I would of course write to them—*quoad*^d statement—that, if they do *not* accept same immediately, same will 'all ready' appear in other papers.

If they do accept it, well and good, and it will not even matter if it blows them sky high. (Although Bismarck will take care not to resort to forcible measures at the present moment.) If they do not accept it, we have a decent excuse for getting rid of them.^e At all

^a first of all - ^b restitution to full rights - ^c F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^d regarding - ^e See this volume, pp. 79-80.

events, the air must be cleared and the party purged of the stench left behind by Lassalle.

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

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ENGELS TO MARX¹⁰¹

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 5 February 1865
Mornington St[reet]

Dear Moor,

I fully agree about the statement.^a But you will have to do it yourself, or I shall never get the military article^b done. I fear the thing is getting to be so long that it will only be feasible in pamphlet form. I and II are finished (except for revision), III not yet. I have had a lot of interruptions, Blank was here, etc., etc. So, you do the statement. The exceptional law also includes the restriction on the right of association and assembly, all the legislation concerning *journeymen's road books*¹²⁴ and finally Article 100 of the penal code: Incitement of citizens to hatred and contempt (another Napoleonic legacy). Then, if you can work it in, some indication that in a predominantly agricultural country like Prussia it is despicable to attack only the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat, without even mentioning the brutal patriarchal exploitation of the rural proletariat by the big feudal aristocracy. It is less important to say anything about the military question, but the *budget question* should be given prominence: what use is it to the workers to have a parliament elected by universal suffrage, if it is as powerless as Bismarck wants to make the

^a See previous letter. - ^b F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

present bourgeois parliament—whose successor it would after all be? And if it cannot even reject new taxation?

Those are my thoughts *ad hoc*.^a So, get going and sent the thing to me straightaway.

Meissner. SO FAR SO GOOD. You should go there yourself, of course. *Conto a metà*^b has its advantages if you reserve the contractual right to inspect the books and documents and if Meissner is prepared to make you an interest-free advance equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the fee you are claiming anyway. Strohn's letter seems to suggest that Meissner WOULD RATHER NOT PART WITH ANY MONEY IF HE COULD HELP IT.⁶⁶ At all events, you must go there yourself with the manuscript^c and settle it.

Moreover, get on with it quickly now. The time is really ripe for the book, and our names again command respect in the public eye. You know how fashionable it is to procrastinate in publishing in Germany. So, do not miss the moment—it may make an enormous difference to the impact it produces.

Siebold. I have told you before that lads like that are not to be trusted and I was sure from the beginning that he would call on Blind in London. The assumption that he had picked up some odd remarks *ad portam Gumperti*^d is quite unnecessary. The fellow has always done that and will always do so. But it is a good thing we have our eye on him 'all ready'.

I gather from Siebel's letter,¹¹⁹ which I am keeping here, that the Lassalle Association² will very soon be ruined, thanks to its officers' roguish tricks and embezzlement, and a very good thing too that it 'will have turned out thus'. The beastly old girl^e and her cliques will do the rest. The less we concern ourselves about the whole filthy business, the better. LET IT ROT AND BE DAM'D TO IT.

I find the *Social-Demokrätchen*^f more repugnant with every passing day. That shitty Hess, who is, in relation to us, really acting like a secret employee of Lassalle, with his protectorial airs; Mr Schweitzer's bloody pretentious articles on the encyclical and Bismarck, flirting with every kind of trash and only scolding the bourgeoisie,^g the complete lack of sparkle and talent, and the absence even of any common sense, with just a few exceptions, it is all a bit too much for me. Lassalle-worship three times a week,

^a on the subject - ^b a joint account - ^c of *Capital* - ^d at Gumpert's door (see this volume, p. 72) - ^e Sophie von Hatzfeldt - ^f Literally: *Little Social-Demokrat* - ^g Engels is referring to the following articles by Schweitzer published as leaders in *Der Social-Demokrat* (Nos. 5, 6 and 14; 6, 8 and 27 January 1865): 'Das Kirchentum und die moderne Civilisation', 'Das Ministerium Bismarck und die Regierung der Mittel- und Kleinstaaten' and 'Das Ministerium Bismarck. I'.

the devil can stomach that, and it is good that the crisis is coming. I shall tell these gentlemen so in my next letter as well, have had no opportunity to do so until now. Apropos, how are you addressing your letters to *Liebkecht*? I would like to give him a telling-off from time to time as well, or encourage him, *s'il y a lieu*.^a

I must stop now. Best wishes and do send the statement *straightaway*. I shall have finished the article by Wednesday or Thursday.

Your
F. E.

I have tried to sound out my brother-in-law^b about Siebel, but I could discover nothing except that he is 'always drunk', runs around with actresses, and his wife wants to divorce him.

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO THE LADIES.

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

38

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 February [1865]

Dear Engels,

As good luck would have it, in the feuilleton section in the *Social-Demokrat* which arrived today your call for the crushing of the aristocracy comes right after my article^c condemning even a 'pseudo-compromise'.

In the first instance, I now believe it is better to send in the few lines below,¹²⁵ instead of the statement I had originally intended.^d They will inevitably provide the *occasion* for a *further statement*. But

^a if there are grounds for doing so - ^b Karl Emil Blank - ^c F. Engels, 'Herr Tidmann. Old Danish Folk Song', K. Marx, 'On Proudhon [Letter to J. B. Schweizer]'. - ^d See this volume, pp. 75, 76-77.

my 'aesthetic' sense tells me—on further reflection—that the latter would not be entirely appropriate, because it would come *too soon* after Becker's APPEAL.¹²⁰ These few lines, on the other hand, will *quite certainly* provoke a real tussle between Schweitzer and Red Becker etc., in which we can then intervene and declare *our* policy briefly, forcefully and *without any beating about the bush*.

I enclose letter from the unfortunate Liebknecht¹²⁶ and note sent him by the old Hatzfeldt woman; there is still not enough 'Lassalle' in the paper^a for her liking.

As to Klings, I am not going to answer at all. Let the fellows manage by themselves.^b

Letter from Schily just received (can only send it to you in a few days time), from which it emerges:

1. that Moses'^c insinuations were pure invention,
2. that our plan will have a 'fantastic' effect in Paris, and the workers there are not taking any notice whatsoever of *L'Association*, which Mr A. Horn, Löb Sonnemann and other riff-raff use to indulge their self-importance.⁹⁵

If the attached statement meets with your approval, make a copy of it and sign it. Then send it back. I will then put my name to it as well and post the thing to Berlin.

Apropos. Lincoln's answer to us is in today's *Times*.¹¹²

[Postscript]

Liebknecht's private address is: '13 Neuenburger Strasse, Berlin'. You can send to *Mrs* Liebknecht at that address whenever you want to write privately. Poor W. Liebknecht is obviously in an exceedingly embarrassing situation. He will have to be told that it is a case of either bending or breaking. In the latter case, I should think he could certainly earn an honest living as a schoolmaster in Manchester.

First published (without Postscript) 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 *Der Social-Demokrat* - ^b See this volume, p. 82. - ^c Moses Hess

39

ENGELS TO MARX²⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 February 1865

Dear Moor,

Statement^a enclosed. They will take exception to the fact that we refer to Moses^b *by name*, which, when published, could be regarded as a breach of editorial secrecy. Do not forget to give Liebknecht instructions about this, so that a justifiable technical objection of this kind does not delay the matter again.

Liebknecht is becoming more and more stupid. He calls it a compromise that we should not merely sanction in silence every stupid thing that appears in the paper^c but also tolerate the paper *casting aspersions* on our own affairs and actions,¹²⁶ in defiance of every convention. But we always have a fine LOT of agents to act for us and will certainly not be such jackasses as Lassalle and 'bequeath' anything to them, *s'il y avait de quoi*.^d If things go wrong in Berlin, Liebknecht would do best to come over, leaving his family behind, we will then see what can be done, he will be able to make acquaintances soon enough at the Schiller Institute²⁸ here, and whatever else can be done, will be; I think he might very well manage to settle down here like that, and if not, nothing is lost, and if it works out all right, he can bring his family over later. If he brings his family along straightaway, he will *certainly* go to the dogs here, because the cost will then be so much greater that the attempt cannot possibly last long. It will not be easy to obtain work teaching children, as Lupus did; but he can, of course, explore the possibilities.

Bender has sent me a bill for 5s. per quarter for my subscription to the *Social-Demokrätchen*, which seems exorbitant to me.

The devil knows how one's work here is subject to all kinds of interruptions. Another committee meeting of the Schiller Institute yesterday, so this evening is the first time since Friday that I have managed to get down to the military question.^e

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^b Moses Hess - ^c *Der Social-Demokrat* - ^d if there were anything to bequeath - ^e F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

The attempt by Hatzfeldt and Klings to throw out Bernhard Becker has been a complete fiasco, and Klings has been thrown out. Whatever happens we must avoid soiling our hands in *that* dirty business; it is just as the worker said in the Gürzenich^a in 1848: they may fall as they will, a rogue will always come out on top.

What mad German Schweitzer writes 'as who'! This second LEADER ON Bismarck's ministry is once again as pretentiously abstruse as it could possibly be, even though there is no longer any direct flirtation with Bismarck, and it is good that he openly calls Prussia's policy *anti-German*.^b But how naive of Liebknecht that he demands that *we* ought to make clear to them what their attitude to the government should be, whereas what he should do is to ask above all for a categorical statement from Mr Schweitzer as to *what attitude he intends to adopt towards the government*.

It looks to me as if a compromise is at hand in Prussia now, with the Prussian Chamber rescuing its prerogative regarding the budget, *but giving way on everything else*. Bismarck will certainly not think of seriously disputing the budget-prerogative in the long run, since, if he did so, he would get neither money nor credit and he is badly in need of both. Meanwhile, the affair can still founder on any number of trivial details.¹⁰⁰

In America, the start of the Richmond campaign in March or April will probably be decisive for the whole year.³⁰ If Grant succeeds in driving Lee out, the CONFEDERACY IS PLAYED OUT, their armies will break up, and only bandit-warfare, like that already rife in West Tennessee now and in general nearly everywhere, will remain to be overcome. In reality, the only army the SOUTHERNERS now have is Lee's; everything depends on its destruction. Now we can already assume that the area from which Lee procures his supplies is confined to South Virginia, the Carolinas and at most part of Georgia.

Salut.

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

^a A hall in Cologne used for public meetings during the 1848-49 revolution. -

^b [J. B. Schweitzer,] 'Das Ministerium Bismarck. II', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 18, 5 February 1865.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 February 1865

Dear Moor,

Manuscript enclosed, now swollen to the dimensions of a full-sized pamphlet^a and no doubt now quite unsuitable for the little paper.^b So far, it has only been very cursorily revised and will have to be gone through again. Regarding the military question, some statistics about the population fit for military service have yet to be inserted, and some more about the petty bourgeoisie at the end, which I quite forgot in the 'heat of battle'. You will notice, by the way, that the piece has been thrown together straight out of my head, without any kind of literary sources, since it had to be finished quickly. I now await your comments on it.

But where next with it? To Liebknecht or to Siebel, to find a publisher? What do you think? Best outside Prussia, probably, or do you think there is nothing in it that might lead to confiscation? I have lost all my instinct for the publishing situation in Prussia. Let me know your opinion on this point, too—the possibility of publication in Prussia.

Another S. D. (Sow's Dirt)^c has just arrived. What a lot of feeble whining about the position of the party. No cut or thrust at all. For ever keeping the little back-door open for Bismarck. Peaceful collaboration! And then Moses,^d who has come round to the point of view that the bourgeoisie and the government in France are vying with each other to do the *right thing* by the workers. France these days is a real paradise for Moses. It is a bit too much even for Schweitzer to stomach, he has put a ? after it.

Should I leave that section in III in, about the present workers' movement?

It seems to me that Roon's speech really does imply compromise. The man is prepared to negotiate.¹²⁷ For that reason, the piece

^a *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* - ^b *Der Social-Demokrat* - ^c Engels is referring to *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 19, 8 February 1865, containing Schweitzer's article 'Die deutsche Social-Demokratie' and Hess' article 'Paris, 4. Febr. [Neue Gesetzworschläge betr. Cooperativ-Associationen. Die internationale Arbeiter-Association. Unterrichtsfrage]'. - ^d Moses Hess

must come out *fast*. So, do let me know soon what you think with respect to publisher.

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

41

MARX TO ENGELS²⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 February 1865

Dear FREDERICK,

The thing^a is good. Although the style is too slapdash in places, it would be NONSENSE to polish or elaborate it at all now, as the main thing is to get it out IN THE NICK OF TIME, as the conflict¹⁰⁰ is 'all ready' on the point of being resolved.

My advice therefore is this:

Send the pamphlet straight to *Meissner* in Hamburg and tell him that *speed of publication* is paramount; and he should let you know immediately whether he will take it (leaving him to decide the fee), because then you would attract attention to the thing in advance in the Berlin and Rhineland papers.

The thing is much too long and 'too cheeky' for the *Social-Demokrat* in present circumstances. But I would arrange for notices, short ones, in the *Social-Demokrat* (through Eccarius), in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* through Siebel, and maybe even send a notice to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, to the effect that a pamphlet by you is being published at such and such a place, in which you are simply setting out our position on this specific question, as opposed to that of the Reaction, men of Progress⁹⁹ and Lassalleans, along with treatment of the PURELY MILITARY QUESTION.

Even if there are still things you have got to add to it, send the manuscript IMMEDIATELY ad Meissnerem (Hamburg) all the same and tell him that a few additions are to follow relating to such-and-such page (you can mark the places). There should have been

^a F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

rather more mention of the *country people*, which your German lout is far too inclined to ignore as non-existent. To judge by Strohn's last letter, he himself is probably away from Hamburg again, so that the piece cannot be sent to him but will have to go direct to Meissner.

An evil wind of reconciliation is blowing in Berlin, fanned from the direction of *Russia* this time and further strengthened by the turn for the worse in the business with Austria. The *Petersburger Zeitung* advises unconditionally making concessions to the chamber in the matter of *budget-approval* and *two-year military service*. It says, amongst other things:

'The present time appears to us, if not an alarming one, then, nevertheless, a grave one, and if circumstances do not become especially advantageous, it is still to be feared *that the future will be dismal*. In times of distress and danger, however, as history has proved only too often, *the strict enforcement of discipline in the army and the civil service is rarely enough on its own*. The real power of the state is then based, as it always is in general, far more on the unity of government and people. Although we do not underestimate the *conciliatory manner*, in which the government approached the people's representation in this year's session, nevertheless, in view of what we have just said, we cannot suppress the desire that this conciliatory spirit may *also spread to action*.'^a

It appears that the Muscovites need their Prussians for the wheeling-movement they are about to execute *against* Austro-Galicia, as announced in the *Moscow Newspaper*.^b According to the same *Moscow Newspaper*, this final subjugation of Poland, which however necessarily means the ruthless continuation of Muraviov's policy, would '*open a hole into the heart of Germany*'. Our good 'men of Progress' and equally good 'Lassalleans' are missing all that by sleeping.

Letter from Schily enclosed.

To Moses'^c great distress, the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION' is creating a great stir amongst the workers in Paris. As a result of Moses' gaffe, Tolain has stepped down. (We have *not* formally accepted his resignation.) *H. Lefort* (editor of the *Avenir*,^d etc.), who is also on the editorial committee of *L'Association*, has at his request been appointed LITERARY DEFENDER (ATTORNEY GENERAL) of *our* Association in Paris. The latter is already under attack from *Horn* (a paragraph in the Rules¹²⁸). This Jew Horn will soon notice that Moses Hess is not the only German around. *Fribourg* has opened a

^a Quoted (with some digressions) from the article 'Die Eröffnung der preussischen Landtags-Session' published in *St.-Petersburger Zeitung*, No. 10, 14 (26) January 1865. Italics by Marx. - ^b *Московскія вѣдомости* - ^c Moses Hess - ^d *L'Avenir national*

bureau de renseignement^a for us; CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP WERE sent to him the day before yesterday.

At the preparatory session for the Polish meeting,⁹⁷ I also saw OLD Oborski again, who does *not* send his regards.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Apropos. The fact that Lincoln answered us¹¹² so courteously and the 'BOURGEOIS EMANCIPATION SOCIETY'¹¹³ so brusquely and purely formally^b made the *The Daily News* so indignant that they did *not* print the answer to us. However, since they saw, to their dismay, that *The Times* was doing so, they had to publish it *later* in *The Express*.^c *Levy* also had to eat humble pie. The difference between Lincoln's answer to us and to the bourgeoisie has created such a sensation here that the West End 'clubs' are shaking their heads at it. You can understand how gratifying that has been for our people.

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

42

MARX TO ENGELS¹¹⁸

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 11 February [1865]

DEAR FRED,

It being Saturday today, I am assuming you won't be sending off your thing^d this very day, so there will still be time for these 'supplementary' suggestions for changes:

1. In the passage where you *ask what the workers want?* I would not answer as you do that the workers in Germany, France and

^a information bureau - ^b See this volume, p. 73. - ^c 'President Lincoln and the International Working Men's Association', *The Express*, 6 February 1865. - ^d F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

England are demanding this and that. The answer sounds as though (at least, that's what it will be *taken to mean*) we have accepted Izzy's^a slogans. I would be inclined to say rather^b:

It would seem that the demands put forward at the present moment by the most advanced workers in *Germany* amount to the following, etc. This doesn't commit you at all, which is all to the good, as later on you yourself criticise universal suffrage if not accompanied by the requisite conditions. (Moreover, in England e.g., etc., the word 'direct' would indeed be meaningless, it is after all only the opposite of the 'indirect' suffrage invented by the Prussians.) The form in which the louts in Germany conceive of state intervention *à la* Lassalle is such that one must ANYHOW take care not to identify oneself with 'same'. It would be a lot more dignified (and safer), if you took the louts at their word and *let them say for themselves* what *they* want. (I say the *louts* because they are the really argumentative section who have been *infected by Lassalle*.)¹²⁹

2. I would not say that the 1848-49 movement failed because the bourgeois opposed *direct universal suffrage*. What happened was rather that this was proclaimed by the people of Frankfurt to be an ancient German right and proclaimed by the Imperial Regent^c with all due formality.¹³⁰ (In my opinion, too, as soon as the matter comes up for serious discussion in dear old Germany, this franchise must be treated as a rightfully *existing* law.) As that is no place for a lengthy exposition, I would make do with the following phrase: that the bourgeois at that time preferred peace and servitude to the mere *prospect* of struggle and freedom, or something of that sort.

Taken as a whole, it's a very good piece, and 'Oi' am particularly tickled by the passage which shows that the present louts' movement IN FACT only exists *par la grâce de la police*.^d

In great haste.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

I have crossed out the bit where you console the reactionaries, I DON'T KNOW WHY, by saying that a soldier does not turn reactionary in

^a Lassalle's - ^b A sentence deleted by Marx follows here: 'This is not the place for you to set out your own view—or alternatively you could drop the introductory section and just say the following:'. - ^c Archduke John of Austria - ^d by gracious permission of the police

the 3rd year—or not for long—although you later say the opposite.

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

43

ENGELS TO MARX ¹¹⁸

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 13 February 1865

Dear Moor,

YOUR SUGGESTIONS came just in time yesterday and have both been used. How necessary the one about the demands of the louts in particular was,^a was further brought home to me by Nos. 20 and 21 of the *Sow's-Dirt*^b which arrived today.

By the by, our attitude seems to be bearing fruit in spite of everything. There is a certain revolutionary note in No. 21 which was entirely absent before. By the by, I've written to Liebknecht that there's no point in raising a storm, they must just drop their flirting with reaction and make sure the aristocracy and reaction get their *SHARE*, too, but for the rest *abuse* neither them nor the bourgeoisie, which is superfluous in quiet times.¹³¹

But one can see that Izzy^c has given the movement a Tory-Chartist character,¹³² which it will be difficult to get rid of and which has given rise to a tendency in Germany which was previously unheard of among the workers. This nauseating toadying to the reaction comes through everywhere. *WE SHALL HAVE SOME TROUBLE WITH THAT*. You wait and see, the louts will be saying, what's that Engels after, what has he been doing all the time, how can he speak in our name and tell us what to do, the fellow's up there in Manchester exploiting the workers, etc. To be sure, I

^a See previous letter. - ^b *Der Social-Demokrat* - ^c Lassalle

don't give a damn about it now, but it's bound to come, and we shall have Baron Izzy to thank for it.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

44

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 February 1865
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Engels,

You'll see from the enclosed how things stand with regard to our statement^a about Moses.¹³³ At the same time, you will have read Moses' scrawl in the last *Social-Demokrat*.^b

This time I believe Liebknecht is right: Mr von Schweitzer is pretending to see in our statement only a personal attack on Moses; he 'overlooks' the stand against Bonapartism, etc., probably knowing full well WHAT HE IS ABOUT. It might perhaps not come amiss to Schweitzer if a public *break* (who knows whether he has committed himself to something which will soon force one or not?) were occasioned by this Moses business, *instead of ad vocem*^c *Bismarck*? I have therefore written him letter (copy retained¹³⁴) in which I *d'abord*^d give him a summary of our relations to date and ask him where in all this we for our part have gone 'beyond the bounds'? And I analyse the MOSES CASE once more. I then say that because of Moses' latest silly outburst, our statement is TO A CERTAIN DEGREE out-of-date, and the matter can therefore be allowed to rest.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^b [Moses] H[ess], 'Paris, 7. Febr. [Amerika.—Der Orient.—Italien.—Die Internationale Arbeiter-Association]', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 21, 12 February 1865. - ^c concerning - ^d firstly

As far as the *other point* in the statement is concerned, the hint to the workers, we would be setting out our position at length *elsewhere* on the attitude of the workers towards the Prussian government. At the same time, I took the opportunity—apropos of the telegram in today's *Times* about the Prussian ministerial statement—to make our opinion *quoad*^a Bismarck and Lassalle¹³⁵ clear to Mr von Schweitzer once again.

(I would in fact not be at all surprised if Bismarck were to *reject outright* the repeal of the Combination Laws to the extent that some of the men of Progress⁹⁹ have now been obliged to demand. The right of combination, and all that it entails, interferes too much with police domination, the Rules Governing Servants,¹³⁶ the flog-'em and birch-'em rural aristocracy and bureaucratic tutelage in general. As soon as the bourgeoisie (or some of them) appear to turn serious, the government will certainly make a joke and do a *volte-face*.^b The Prussian state can *not* tolerate COALITIONS and TRADES UNIONS. That much is certain. On the contrary, *government support* for a few lousy co-operative societies suited their dirty game to a tee. Officials becoming even more nosey, control of 'new' money, bribery of the most active of the workers, emasculation of the whole movement! However, since the Prussian government is so short of money just now, this plan is scarcely more to be feared than the Order of the Swan of old!¹³⁷

Nota bene, Lassalle was *opposed to the campaign for the right of combination*. Liebknecht improvised it among the Berlin printers against Lassalle's wishes. That was the starting-point of the whole affair that beau Becker^c has now taken over.¹³⁸)

For the present we should—in my opinion—exercise 'restraint' *quant au*^d the *Social-Demokrat*. I.e. write *nothing* (Eccarius excepted). Things will soon reach such a pass that we shall either have to break *openly* with it, or we shall be able to collaborate with it in a proper manner. Moses will have to receive his chastisement on some later occasion.

MEANWHILE, I am *delighted* that you have got into the swing again. You are by nature always able to get back to working at speed. I take it my letter came in time?^e

As long as these abominable Lassalleans rule the roost in Germany, that country will be infertile ground for the '*INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION*'. For the present, we must be patient. The

^a concerning - ^b about-turn - ^c Bernhard Becker - ^d with regard to - ^e See this volume, pp. 86-88.

Prussian government will put an end to this foul morass of Izzy^a soon enough.

Apropos. Cutting from the latest *Hermann* enclosed. You must make a few bad jokes about this notice from Messrs Blind-Wolffsohn, for me to pass on to Eccarius for insertion in his *London correspondence*.¹³⁹ I have been so put out by this lousy correspondence with Berlin (apart from the amount of time the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION inevitably takes up) that I absolutely must make up the lost ground.

Tyndall has succeeded in using a simple mechanical technique to break down sunlight into heat-rays and pure light-rays. The latter are cold. You can *light your cigar straight* from the former, and through a burning-glass they can melt platinum, etc.

* My best compliments to Mrs Burns. I am indeed very glad to hear that the *o* was an inorganic intrusion upon her name, and that she is a namesake of the great poet.^b If Mrs Gumpert declines becoming a member of a *Workingmen's* Association, I hope Mrs Burns will not follow that example, but will believe with her namesake that 'a man is a man for all that'.^{c*}

Salut.

Your
K. M.

HAVE AN EYE UPON JONES! HE IS A FELLOW 'TOO CLEVER BY HALF'!

Apropos. I think I should be in a position to send you the cards by Tuesday. I SEND ABOUT 2 DOZEN, which you don't need to dispose of all at once. But give *some of them to E. Jones*.

The latter has written to me about the electoral agitation (whereupon I wrote him that he should write me a 2nd letter¹¹⁷ which I could read out *at the Comité*. Which he duly did).¹⁴⁰ But he didn't say *anything* in his letter about the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION. As he is a *fox* and I want to pin him down, you should insist that he forms A BRANCH COMMITTEE immediately (the number of MEMBERS doesn't matter *for the present*) and that he and his friends take out CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP. They must realise that the 'INTERNATIONAL' is the only means and method of establishing co-operation (political) *between London and the provinces!*

Concerning the cards, our RULES are as follows: *existing societies* (UNIONS, etc.) who wish to affiliate *in that capacity* need only take out *corporate membership*. That doesn't cost them anything, or they can

^a Lassalleanism - ^b Robert Burns - ^c R. Burns, *Is There for Honest Poverty*.

make a voluntary donation. On the other hand, *every member* of such a society who wishes to become an *INDIVIDUAL MEMBER* of the Association, must take out his annual membership card at 1s. 1d. In France and Belgium, because of the laws there, it has 'turned out' that they will all *have to* become 'INDIVIDUAL' MEMBERS of the *English* society, since they are not able to join as societies. Every branch society or affiliated society *outside* London and *ENVIRONS* elects a secretary to correspond with us. We can 'reject' people we disapprove of.

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

45

MARX TO VICTOR LE LUBEZ¹

IN LONDON

London, 15 February 1865

My dear Lubez,

The very success of our association warns us to be cautious. In my opinion, M. Beales joining our council would spoil the whole affair.^a I believe him an honest and sincere man; at the same time, he is nothing and can be nothing save a Bourgeois politician. He is weak, mediocre and ambitious. He wants to stand for Marylebone at the next Parliamentary election. By that single fact he ought to be excluded from entering our committee. We cannot become *le piedestal* for small parliamentary ambitions.

You may be sure that if Beales is admitted *le ton cordial, sincère et franc*^b that distinguishes now our Debates, will be gone, and make place to *word-mongering*. In the wake of Beales will follow *Taylor*, this unbearable nuisance and tufthunter.

In the eyes of the world, Beales' admission will change the whole character of our society, we will diminish into one of the numerous societies which he favours with patronage. Where he has driven in the wedge, others of his class will follow, and our

^a See this volume, pp. 109-10. - ^b the cordial, sincere and frank atmosphere

efforts, till now successful at freeing the English working class movement from all middle class or aristocratic patronage, will have been in vain.

I know beforehand that if Beales be admitted, there will arise questions mainly of a social sort, which will force him to tender his demission. We will have to issue manifestos on *the land question*, etc., which he *cannot* sign. Is it not better not to let him instead of giving him afterwards an opportunity of denying us.^a

I know that after the foolish step taken by Mr Dell,^b there will be certain difficulties in ensuring this candidature.

I would think that by means of quiet talks with the chief English members, the whole question could be [settled]^c before it is put before the committee again.

Yours fraternally

K. Marx

Apropos. For all his enthusiasm for Poland, Mr Beales has as yet done nothing other than follow the Duke ...^d in throwing all the demonstrations for Poland into confusion. Yesterday, he attempted the same trick again, under similar instigation.

First published abridged in the language of the original (English) in: I. Tchernoff, *Le Parti républicain au coup d'état et sous le Second Empire*, Paris, 1908 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

Reproduced from the text of Tchernoff's book, verified with the manuscript copy in French written in an unknown hand

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 16 February 1865]

DEAR FREDERICK,

Jones has written, asking me to send him ABOUT 1 DOZEN CARDS; I am sending you 1 DOZEN for him and 1 for yourself. What you can't

^a The rest of the letter, missing in the English original, has been translated from the extant French manuscript. - ^b See this volume, p. 110. - ^c Manuscript damaged -

^d An omission in the original; Marx presumably means Duke Townshend.

dispose of WITHIN A REASONABLE period of time you can send back.
Price 1s. 1d. PER CARD.

I remind you AGAIN that *Petzler* may, in my opinion, be very useful in *this matter*. For years now he has had many PERSONAL RELATIONS (AS SINGMASTER and socialist) with the Manchester workers.

You must return enclosed letter (to Lessner) when you have read it. How do you think we should MANAGE this business? I shall keep my mouth shut, of course, but *Lessner* won't be able to do that.¹⁴¹

I am pleased to see in today's *Times* that the Prussian Chamber has accepted the motion *against* the Combination Laws. The government will now arrange for it to be rejected in the LORDS HOUSE. Red Becker^a—no doubt spurred on by your literary contribution^b—has brought in the amendment about the rural population.¹⁴²

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

47

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 February 1865

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed 2 letters from *Liebknecht*, 1 to you and 1 to me. Ditto an *earlier* one from *Schweitzer*.

My view is this:

Once *Liebknecht* has given in his notice,¹⁴³ *il faut en finir*.^c If he had put the matter off, we could have done so, too, since your pamphlet^d is on the stocks.

^a Hermann Heinrich Becker - ^b F. Engels, 'Herr Tidmann. Old Danish Folk Song'. - ^c we must put an end to it - ^d F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

I consider Schweitzer to be incorrigible (probably has a secret arrangement with Bismarck).

What confirms me in that view is

1. the passage I have underlined in his letter of 15th enclosed¹⁴⁴;

2. the *timing* of the publication of his 'Bismarck III'.¹⁴⁵

To do justice to both points, I shall now *copy out* for you *word for word* a passage from my letter to him¹³⁴ of 13 February:

'...since our statement^a has become partially out-of-date, following the correspondence from M. Hess in No. 21 received today, we will allow the matter rest there.¹²⁵ Our statement did, of course, contain another point as well: praise of the anti-Bonapartist stance of the Parisian proletariat and hint to the German workers that they should follow this example. We regarded this as more important than our sally against Hess. Meanwhile, we shall set out our views in detail elsewhere on the relation of the workers towards the Prussian government.^b

'In your letter of 4 February you say that I warned Liebknecht myself not to overstep the mark, so that he would not be sent to the devil. Quite right. But I wrote to him at the same time that one could say *anything* if one put it in the right way.^c A form of polemic *against* the government which is "possible" even for the Berlin meridian is certainly very different from flirting with the government or even pretending to compromise with it! I wrote to you myself that the *Social-Demokrat* must eschew even the appearance of doing so.¹²¹

'I see from your paper that the ministry is making ambiguous and procrastinatory statements with regard to the repeal of the Combination Laws. On the other hand, a *Times* telegram reports that it was in favour of the proposed state aid for the co-operative societies.^d It would not surprise me at all if *The Times* had for once telegraphed a correct report!

'Combinations and the TRADES UNIONS they would give rise to are of the utmost importance not merely as a means of organising the working class for the struggle against the bourgeoisie—just how important is shown among other things by the fact that even the workers of the United States cannot do without them, in spite of franchise and republic—but in Prussia and indeed in Germany as a whole the right of combination also means a breach in the domination of the police and the bureaucracy, it tears to shreds

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^b See this volume, pp. 89-90. - ^c *ibid.*, pp. 75-76. - ^d *The Times*, No. 25107, 13 February 1865.

the Rules Governing Servants¹³⁶ and the power of the aristocracy in rural areas, in short, it is a step towards the granting of full civil rights to the "subject population" which the Party of Progress,⁹⁹ i.e. any bourgeois opposition party in Prussia, would be crazy not to be a hundred times more willing to permit than the Prussian government, to say nothing of the government of a Bismarck! As opposed to that, however, the aid of the Royal Prussian government for co-operative societies—and anyone who is familiar with conditions in Prussia also knows in advance its necessarily minute dimensions—is worthless as an economic measure, whilst, at the same time, it serves to extend the system of tutelage, corrupt part of the working class and emasculate the movement. Just as the bourgeois party in Prussia discredited itself and brought about its present wretched situation by seriously believing that with the "New Era" the government¹⁴⁶ had fallen into its lap by the grace of the Prince Regent,^a so the workers' party will discredit itself even more if it imagines that the Bismarck era or any other Prussian era will make the golden apples just drop into its mouth, by grace of the king. It is beyond all question that Lassalle's ill-starred illusion that a Prussian government might intervene with socialist measures will be crowned with disappointment. The logic of circumstances will tell. But the *honour* of the workers' party requires that it reject such illusions, even before their hollowness is punctured by experience. The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing.⁷

WELL! He replied to this letter of mine of 13th with his letter of 15th, in which he demands that in all 'practical' questions I should subordinate myself to *his* tactics; he replies with '*Bismarck III*' as a fresh specimen of these tactics!! And really it now seems to me that the *impudent* manner in which he raised the question of confidence apropos of the statement against Hess was not due to any tenderness for Moses but to the *firm resolution* not to give space in the *Social-Demokrat* under any circumstances to our hint to the German workers.

So, as a break must be made with the fellow after all, it had best be done at once. As far as the louts in Germany are concerned, they can scream as much as they like. Those of them who are any good will after all have to rally round us sooner or later. If the statement given below seems all right to you, make a copy of it, sign it and send it to me. As it was scrawled in great haste, alter

^a William I

anything that seems unsuitable to you, or re-write the whole thing, just as you wish.

Your
K. M.

To the Editor of the 'Social-Demokrat'

The undersigned promised to contribute to the *Social-Demokrat* and permitted their being named as contributors on the express condition that the paper would be edited in the spirit of the brief programme submitted to them. They did not for a moment fail to appreciate the difficult position of the *Social-Demokrat* and therefore made no demands that were inappropriate to the meridian of Berlin. But they repeatedly demanded that the language directed at the ministry and the feudal-absolutist party should be at least as bold as that aimed at the men of Progress.⁹⁹ The tactics pursued by the *Social-Demokrat* preclude their further participation in it. The opinion of the undersigned as to the royal Prussian governmental socialism and the correct attitude of the workers' party to such deception has already been set out in detail in No. 73 of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* of 12 September 1847, in reply to No. 206 of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*^a (then appearing in Cologne), in which the alliance of the 'proletariat' with the 'government' against the 'liberal bourgeoisie' was proposed. We still subscribe today to every word of the statement we made then.

I'll send the Weydemeyer back to you tomorrow. What do you say to the 'Freiligrath-Blind' *Eidgenossenschaft*?^{b 147}

For a couple of days now, I have had a carbuncle on my posterior and a furuncle on my left loin. All very nice.

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 A reference to Marx's article 'The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*'. -

^b confederation

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 20[-21] February 1865

Dear Moor,

The letter from Matzeratt enclosed.^a

Quant à^b Petzler, so the photographer is an altogether different Petzler from the other one. I saw the photographer, you know, the day before yesterday, at a scientific soirée at the Schiller Institute,²⁸ and the fellow is at least 20 years younger and looks quite different. Heaven knows what has become of the musician.

Your
F.E.

[Pencilled note on the reverse of the letter]

Quite forgot to post the letter yesterday. NO ANSWER YET FROM HAMBURG.^c

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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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 February 1865

Dear Moor,

In great haste, herewith the statement.^d Schweitzer's letter is 'rotten to the core'.^e The fellow has the job of compromising us,

^a See this volume, p. 94. - ^b With regard to - ^c from Meissner (see this volume, pp. 84-85. - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^e See this volume, pp. 94-95.

and the longer we have our dealings with him, the deeper we'll sink into the mire. So, the sooner the better! Liebknecht's and Schweitzer's letters likewise returned. You must have given Liebknecht a terrible dressing down if my letter appeared 'kind' to him!¹³¹

Enclosure from Meissner. This time it really is full steam ahead with the publication,^a and that's what really matters. I replied to his proposal to fix the number of copies himself as follows: suits me, but he must then *tell* me how many there are to be, he only gets the *first* impression for 2 *louis-d'or*. (N.B. In the meantime, he will have had to make up his mind and get things ready for printing.)

In haste.

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 ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, before 22 February 1865]

DEAR FREDERICK,

Enclosed some secret contributions to the *crème bonapartiste* as a Sunday *treat* and *pour la bonne bouche*.^{b148}

You must keep these scraps of paper. MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZIE.^c

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

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

^a F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^b as a special delicacy - ^c Lizzie Burns

51

ENGELS TO OTTO MEISSNER
IN HAMBURG

Manchester, 22 February 1865

Dear Sir,

Your kind letter of 17th inst. has only just been delivered to me, since postal communication via Ostende has been interrupted for three full days, and I am greatly obliged to you for your prompt agreement to publish, and more especially for your rapid prosecution of the printing.^a

I accept your fee of 2 *louis-d'or* per sheet of print and likewise leave it to you to decide the number of copies to be printed, under the condition, however, that you inform me of it in your next letter; it goes without saying [that I] am only making [over the first impression]^b for this fee.

Announcements in the n[ewspapers shall be] attended to forthwith.

The apparent delay in [despatch] here, to which you justifiably allude, arose from the following: I finished on Saturday evening, 11 February, and wrote the accompanying letter late that night; the letter was taken to the post on Monday 13th at 10.00 a.m. and went by the mail-boat from Dover that Monday evening—no later than it would have done if I had posted it on Saturday evening. The pious English do not allow mail-steamers to leave on Sunday evening, at least not to Ostende.

Yours respectfully
Fr. Engels

I hope to receive 12 copies by post here on 27th or 28th inst.

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 Engels refers to his pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^b The manuscript is damaged; here and below the words in square brackets are reconstructed according to Engels' letter to Marx of 22 February 1865.

52

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT¹⁴⁹

IN HANOVER

[London, 23 February 1865]

In the few brief excerpts, which Eccarius gives from my speech at the workers' society, there are certain things *that convey precisely the opposite of what I said*.¹⁵⁰ I have written to him about it, leaving it to him whether to correct it or not in the next piece he contributes, as it is not very important in the present circumstances.¹¹¹

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

53

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, 23 February 1865
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Friend,

Yesterday I received your letter, which I found most interesting, and will now reply to the various points.

First of all, I shall briefly describe my attitude towards *Lassalle*. Whilst he was pursuing his agitation, our relations were suspended, 1. on account of his bombastic self-adulation, which he managed to combine with the most shameless plagiarism of writings by myself and others; 2. because I *condemned* his *political* tactics; 3. because, even *before* he began his agitation,⁵⁰ I had fully explained and 'proved' to him here in London that direct *socialist* intervention by a '*Prussian state*' was an absurdity. In his letters to me (from 1848 to 1863), as well as when we met personally, he had always declared himself a supporter of the party I represent.

As soon as he had become convinced in London (at the end of 1862) that he could not play his game *with* me, he resolved to set himself up as 'workers' dictator' *against* me and the old party. In spite of all that, I acknowledged his merits as an agitator, although towards the end of his brief career even that agitation appeared to me in an increasingly dubious light. His sudden death, our friendship of old, the grief-stricken letters from Countess Hatzfeldt, my indignation at the *cowardly impudence* of the bourgeois papers towards the man they had feared so much while he was alive, all these things induced me to publish a short statement attacking that wretch Blind^a but not dealing with the *substance* of Lassalle's doings (Hatzfeldt sent the statement to the *Nordstern*^b). For the same reasons, and in the hope of being able to drive out those elements whom I thought dangerous, Engels and I promised to contribute to the *Social-Demokrat* (it has published a translation of the 'Address',^c and, at its request, I wrote an article about Proudhon^d when the latter died) and allowed our names to be put out as contributors, after Schweitzer had sent us a *satisfactory programme of its editorial board*.³⁴ We had a further guarantee in *W. Liebknecht* being an unofficial member of the editorial board. In the meantime, it soon became clear—the proof of this came into our possession—that *Lassalle* had in fact *betrayed* the party. He had entered into a formal contract with Bismarck (with *no* guarantees *of any kind* in his hands, of course). At the end of September 1864, he was to go to Hamburg and there (together with the crazy Schramm and the Prussian police spy Marr) 'force' Bismarck to incorporate Schleswig-Holstein, i.e. to proclaim such in the name of the 'workers', etc., in return for which Bismarck promised universal suffrage and a few spurious socialist measures.⁹⁸ It is a pity that Lassalle was unable to play this farce through to its conclusion! It would have made him appear deuced foolish and an utter gull! And it would have put paid to all such attempts for ever!

Lassalle got on the wrong path because he was, like Mr Miquel,¹⁵¹ a '*realistic politician*', only on a larger scale and with grander aims! (BY THE BYE, I had long ago seen through Miquel sufficiently to explain his conduct to myself^e by the fact that the National Association¹⁵² offered a splendid excuse for a petty

^a K. Marx, 'To the Editor of the Stuttgart *Beobachter*'. - ^b See this volume, pp. 56-57. - ^c K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^d K. Marx, 'On Proudhon [Letter to J. B. Schweitzer]'. - ^e See this volume, pp. 107 and 112.

Hanoverian lawyer to make himself heard beyond his own four walls, in Germany at large, and then to exploit the enhanced 'reality' of his own self retrospectively in his native Hanover, playing the 'Hanoverian' Mirabeau under 'Prussian' protection, furthermore.) Just as Miquel and his present friends eagerly seized hold of the 'New Era'¹⁴⁶ inaugurated by the Prussian Prince Regent in order to national-associate and to fasten on to the 'Prussian leadership',¹⁵³ just as in general they cultivated their 'pride of citizenship' under *Prussian protection*, so Lassalle wanted to play the Marquis Posa of the proletariat to the Philipp II of the Uckermark,^a with Bismarck as intermediary between himself and the Prussian monarchy. He was merely imitating the gentlemen of the National Association. But, if the latter were invoking Prussian 'reaction' in the interests of the middle class, he was shaking hands with Bismarck in the interests of the proletariat. Those gentlemen had more justification than Lassalle, inasmuch as the bourgeois is accustomed to regard the interest he perceives immediately in front of his nose as 'reality', and as this class has, in fact, compromised everywhere, even with feudalism, whereas the working class must in the nature of things be genuinely 'revolutionary'.

For a histrionically vain character like Lassalle (who was not, however, to be bribed with such paltry things as office, mayoralties, etc.), it was a most seductive thought that he, Ferdinand Lassalle, might perform a deed for the direct benefit of the proletariat! He was, in fact, too ignorant of the real economic conditions required for such a deed to be critically self-consistent! The German workers, on the other hand, had 'demoralised' too far in consequence of the despicable 'realistic politics' with which the German bourgeoisie had tolerated the reaction of 1849-1859 and watched the people's minds being stultified, for them not to hail such a mountebank of a saviour who was promising to help them reach the promised land with one bound!

So, to take up the thread where I left off above! Hardly had the *Social-Demokrat* been established when it became clear that the old Hatzfeldt woman was planning to execute Lassalle's 'testament' posthumously. She had contact with Bismarck through Wagener (of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*^b). She placed the 'Workers' Association' (Gen. German),² the *Social-Demokrat*, etc., at Bismarck's disposal. The

^a Marquis Posa and Philipp II are characters in Schiller's drama *Don Carlos*. Here Marx calls William I of Prussia 'the Philipp II of the Uckermark'. - ^b *Neue Preussische Zeitung*

annexation of Schleswig-Holstein was to be proclaimed in the *Social-Demokrat*, Bismarck to be generally acknowledged as patron, etc. The whole of this fine plan was *frustrated* because we had Liebknecht in Berlin and on the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat*. Although Engels and I disliked the editorial board of the paper, its lickspittling cult of Lassalle, its occasional flirting with Bismarck, etc., it was, of course, more important publicly to stay with the paper for the time being in order to thwart the intrigues of the old Hatzfeldt woman and prevent the workers' party from being totally compromised. We therefore put on *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*,^a although *privatim* we were constantly writing to the *Social-Demokrat* telling them that they should stand up to Bismarck just as much as to the men of Progress.⁹⁹ We even tolerated that affected fop, Bernhard Becker, who is taking the importance bequeathed to him in Lassalle's testament quite seriously, intriguing *against* the *INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION*.^b

In the meantime, Mr Schweitzer's articles in the *Social-Demokrat* were becoming more and more Bismarckian. I had earlier written to him to say that, although the men of Progress can be *intimidated* over the 'Combination question', the *Prussian government* would *never under any circumstances* concede the complete abolition of the Combination Laws because that would entail breaching the bureaucratic system, giving freedom of thought and expression to the workers, tearing up the Rules Governing Servants,¹³⁶ abolishing flogging and birching by the aristocracy in rural areas, etc., etc., which Bismarck could never allow, it being altogether incompatible with the Prussian *bureaucratic* state.^c I added that, if the Chamber were to repudiate the Combination Laws, the government would resort to empty *phrases* (such as e.g. that the social question requires 'profounder' steps to be taken, etc.) in order to preserve them. All this has come to pass. And what did Mr von Schweitzer do? He wrote an article *in support of* Bismarck¹⁴⁵ and is reserving all his heroism for such *infiniment petits*^d as Schulze, Faucher, etc.

I believe that Schweitzer, etc., mean it *sincerely*, but they are '*realistic politicians*'. They wish to take due account of the *existing* state of affairs and not leave this *privilege* of 'realistic politics' to Messrs Miquel *et* Comp. alone. (The latter seem to wish to reserve the right of *INTERMIXTURE* with the Prussian government.) They know that the workers' papers and the workers' movement in

^a a brave face on it - ^b See this volume, pp. 64-65. - ^c *ibid.*, p. 90, 95-96. - ^d nonentities

Prussia (and hence in the rest of Germany) only exist *par la grâce de la police*.^a They thus want to take the circumstances as they are, not to irritate the government, etc., quite as our 'republican' realistic politicians want to 'put up with' a Hohenzollern emperor. As I am not a 'realistic politician', however, I found it necessary together with Engels to serve notice on the *Social-Demokrat* in a public statement^b (which you will probably soon see in one paper or other).

You will see at the same time why there is *nothing* I can do in Prussia at the moment. The government there has flatly refused to restore my Prussian citizenship.¹⁵⁴ I should only be permitted to *agitate* there in a manner agreeable to Mr von Bismarck.

I prefer my agitation here through the 'International Association' a 100 times. The effect on the *English* proletariat is direct and of the greatest importance. We are NOW STIRRING THE GENERAL SUFFRAGE QUESTION here, which is, naturally, of *quite different significance* here than in Prussia.¹⁵⁵

As a whole, the progress made by this 'Association' has *exceeded all expectations* here, in Paris, in Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. Only in Germany, of course, I am opposed by Lassalle's successors who 1. are stupidly afraid of forfeiting their own importance; 2. are aware of my avowed opposition to what the Germans call 'realistic politics'. (It is this sort of '*reality*' that puts Germany so far behind all civilised countries.)

Since any person who takes out a card at 1 SHILLING can become a MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION; since the French have chosen this form of INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP (ditto the Belgians) because the law prohibits them from joining us as an 'association'; and since the situation is similar in Germany, I have now resolved to ask my friends here and in Germany to form small SOCIETIES, regardless of how many MEMBERS there may be in each locality, each member of which will acquire AN ENGLISH CARD OF MEMBERSHIP.¹⁵⁶ Since the English society is *public*, there is no obstacle to this procedure even in France. I should appreciate it if you, too, would get in touch with London in this way in your neighbourhood.

My thanks to you for your prescription. Oddly enough this vile disease had broken out once more 3 days before it arrived. So, the prescription was most timely.

In a few days I shall send you another 24 ADDRESSES.^c I have just been interrupted in my writing by a friend, and, as I very

^a by the grace of the police - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^c K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

much want to send off this letter, I shall take up the other points in your letter next time.

Yours
K. M.

First published in *Sozialistische Auslandspolitik*, No. 18, 1918

Printed according to the original

54

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 February 1865

Dear Moor,

I'm a bit concerned at not having heard from you today, in view of the furuncles and carbuncles you mentioned, in the most interesting places (or rather most interested). I hope you are not LAID UP.

I was particularly disappointed as I hoped to get the explanation—as well as the Weydemeyer—about the unspeakable mess the *Social-Demokrat* fellows made of your speech at the London Workers' Society festivity. They make you speak pure S.-D. Eccarius never reported that to them.¹⁵⁰ This piece of infamy and the reprint of the article from the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in the following number, *ostensibly about universal suffrage, about which it says not a word*,¹⁵⁷ is proof enough for me that the fellow^a has simply been bought and has the job of compromising us. I hope the statement^b is on its way. We must not delay a moment longer.

But *quelle bête notre ami*^c Liebknecht, who is supposed to keep an eye on the newspaper and *never reads it on principle!*

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

^a Schweitzer - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. -
^c what a fool our friend

55

MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 February 1865

Dear FRED,

I quite forgot—*you must excuse me—to send back Weydemeyer's letter. I enclose it. Ditto a letter of Dr Kugelmann with enclosure of wiseacre Miquel's letter.¹⁵¹ Ditto a prescription * from Kugelmann. Oddly enough the prescription arrived just after the disease had broken out afresh. (Nota bene, the passage in Kugelmann's LETTER, saying I wrote that I wanted to defend Lassalle, referred to *Blind's* attack.⁶² I have now told him (Kugelmann) the plain truth.^a Return the letters from Kugelmann and Miquel.) I have had the prescription made up and have already taken the POWDER, but I would still like Gumpert's opinion of it. It's a most troublesome business. Unlike last year, however, my faculties are *not* affected and (*to the extent that sitting down for a long time is not physically troublesome*) I am perfectly able to work. Incidentally, I have the feeling in every part of my CADAVER that the stuff is about to burst out all over.

Strohn passed by here. He was still in Hamburg when your manuscript^b came in, in the nick of time to recommend to Meissner that he should accept it. Strohn was informed that a manuscript from Rüstow on the same topic was rejected. Apropos. Have you taken any steps yourself regarding your pamphlet in the newspapers, OR AM I TO DO IT? On this occasion, Eccarius himself was responsible for the incomprehensible BLUNDER.¹⁵⁰ When his article arrived, I wrote to him at once (22 February) enquiring whether the thing had been *falsified* by Schweitzer?¹¹¹ *Quod non.*^c

When I sent our statement^d to that jackass Wilhelm^e (23 February), I wrote this to him:

'In the few brief excerpts, which Eccarius gives from my speech at the workers' society,^f there are certain things that *convey precisely the opposite of what I said*. I have written to him about it, leaving it

^a See this volume, pp. 101-05. - ^b F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^c Not so. - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^e Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^f German Workers' Educational Society in London

to him whether to correct it or not in the next piece he contributes, as it is not very important in the *present* circumstances.¹⁴

My letters to Eccarius and Liebknecht have been written so that, if Schweitzer (who from the private letter he had just previously received from me^b VERY WELL KNEW WHAT HE WAS ABOUT, of course) should try to use Eccarius' BLUNDER to defend himself, we could *if necessary* cut off this *retraite*.^c MEANWHILE, I HAVE TOLD ECCARIUS PRIVATELY NOT TO make any BOTHER about the whole filthy business until such time as Schweitzer's own behaviour requires it. Eccarius was very unwell, and that is probably to blame for the NONSENSE. On the other hand, I imagine that Schweitzer, who already had Wilhelm's resignation¹⁴³ in his possession and was therefore prepared for a statement from us, was delighted to accept the report, 1. so as to show by means of the passage about *Prussia* what *extravagant* demands we were making of *him*, and 2. by means of the conclusion to the report that we did IN FACT share *his* views. The *galantuomo*^d is forgetting, by the way, that I have kept copies of my *private letter to him*.¹³⁴

I have informed Liebknecht that, if Schweitzer should turn it down, he should put the thing in the *Berliner Reform* and tell Schweitzer about this at the same time, and also that I have simultaneously sent the statement to two Rhineland papers, so that Schweitzer cannot *procrastinate* this time. I have in fact sent 2 COPIES to Siebel, instructing him to insert the thing in the *Rheinische Zeitung* and the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (the latter being the workers' paper) *two days after receipt of my letter*, and to send us a report on any comments in the local press.¹⁵⁸ So, this time there is nothing Schweitzer can do about it any more. I would not be surprised if the Lassalleans, especially in the Hamburg *Nordstern*, declared we had *sold ourselves to the bourgeoisie*. BUT NEVER MIND!

The 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION' has managed so to constitute the majority on the committee to set up the new REFORM LEAGUE that the *whole leadership* is in our hands.¹⁵⁵ I have put the full details in a letter to E. Jones.¹¹¹

Such a conflict has broken out in Paris between our own representatives that we have sent Lubez to Paris to clarify matters and effect conciliation.⁹⁵ His CREDENTIALS state that Schily has been attached to him as an adjunct, and I have given Schily private instructions.¹⁵⁹ We could have sold 20,000 cards in Paris, but since one group was accusing the other of having Plon-Plon behind

^a See this volume, p. 101. - ^b *ibid.*, pp. 95-96. - ^c retreat - ^d honourable man

them, etc., the distribution of cards has had to be suspended for the time being. Under this military despotism, people are naturally highly suspicious of each other (my impression is that this time both sides are doing each other an injustice), and they are not capable of sorting out their differences and reaching an understanding by MEETING or through the press. A further factor is this: the workers seem to want to take things to the point of *excluding* any LITERARY MAN, etc., which is absurd, as they need them in the press, but it is pardonable in view of the repeated treachery of the LITERARY MEN. Conversely, the latter are suspicious of *any workers' movement*, which displays hostility towards them.¹⁶⁰

(Apropos these 'LITERARY MEN', I am reminded that the workers here (*English*) want to *make me editor* when *The Bee-Hive*^a is transformed, which is to happen in 3 months time, and have already informed me of this. However, I shall mull over the matter in all its multifarious aspects, before making a move in one direction or another.)

So, what we have in Paris is, on the one hand, *Lefort* (a LITERARY MAN, well-to-do into the bargain, in other words 'bourgeois' but with an unsullied reputation, and, as far as *La belle France*^b is concerned, the real founder of our Association), and, on the other, *Tolain*, *Fribourg*, *Limousin*, etc., who are workers. WELL, I shall let you know the outcome. At all events, Wolff, an acquaintance, who has just returned from Paris, tells me that there is growing interest in the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION'. The *Débats*^c has also intervened in the matter.

As far as the London UNIONS, etc., are concerned, every day brings about new ADHESION, so that BY AND BY we are becoming a force to be reckoned with.

But that is where the difficulty begins as well. Already Mr *BEALES* (*THE REGISTERING BARRISTER of Middlesex*, one of the *most popular* people in London at present, President of the POLISH LEAGUE,⁹⁷ co-founder of the NEW REFORM LEAGUE, IN FACT THE GO-BETWEEN between WORKING-MAN and MIDDLE CLASS, *honest* and well-meaning to boot) has got himself proposed as MEMBER for our COUNCIL. The opportunity arose because as a SUB-COMMITTEE together with him we were to prepare the Polish MEETING (Marquis Townshend in the chair) for next Wednesday.¹⁶¹ This was most unfortunate for me. I could, of course, have prevented the matter *by force*, as all the CONTINENTALS would have voted with me. BUT I DID NOT LIKE ANY SUCH DIVISION. So, by

^a See this volume, pp. 154-55. - ^b beautiful France - ^c *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*

means of private letters^a to the PRINCIPAL ENGLISH MEMBERS, I have managed to persuade Beales' PROPOSER^b *not* to bring forward his MOTION again. The '*official*' reason given was: 1. that Beales WILL STAND FOR MARYLBONE at the next parliamentary elections and that our Association must by all means avoid appearing TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF ANY PARLIAMENTARY AMBITION; 2. that Beales and we ourselves can be of greater assistance to each other, if we sail our separate ships. Thus, the danger has been temporarily averted. Incidentally, other parliamentarians, such as Taylor, etc. (fellows, who have close links with Mazzini), had taken it into their heads to tell us that the TIME *was not OPPORTUNE* for a Polish meeting. I answered through our COUNCIL that the WORKING CLASS has ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY, which is most certainly not determined by what the MIDDLE CLASS considers OPPORTUNE. They always considered it OPPORTUNE TO GOAD ON THE POLES AT THE BEGINNING OF A NEW OUTBREAK, TO BETRAY THEM DURING ITS PROGRESS BY THEIR DIPLOMACY, AND TO DESERT THEM WHEN RUSSIA HAD THROWN THEM DOWN. In fact, the chief purpose of the MEETING is to raise money to support them. Are the poor émigrés (*this time mostly WORKINGMEN and PEASANTS* and thus not in the least PROTECTED BY PRINCE ZAMOYSKI *et Co.*) to starve because it appears to the ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASS JUST NOW INOPPORTUNE TO MENTION EVEN THE NAME OF POLAND?

Cutting enclosed by *Mr Blind from The Morning Star*.¹⁶² Mazzini, who did tell Fontana that Blind was a *liar*, was absolutely furious that *his Italian Workers' Association*²⁰ here sent out the Italian version of my 'Address'^c into the world without the omissions Mr Mazzini had *expressly* demanded, e.g. the passages attacking the MIDDLE CLASS.

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Some port wine and claret would do me a world of good UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

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 See this volume, pp. 92-93. - ^b William Dell - ^c K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

56

ENGELS TO CARL SIEBEL

IN ELBERFELD

Manchester, 27 February 1865

Dear Siebel,

Marx has sent you our statement denouncing the *Social-Demokrat* in Berlin.^a In the meantime, to do something positive to prevent the people from lumping us together with Bismarckery, I have written a pamphlet,^b and O. Meissner in Hamburg has accepted it. I should be grateful if you would arrange for a notice concerning it to be placed in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* and other papers to which you have access, with something like the following content:

A pamphlet by *Fr. Engels* entitled *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* will shortly be published by Otto Meissner in Hamburg. It originated at the request of a so-called 'social-democratic' paper^c to the author to express his views on the subject in that paper.^d Detailed treatment of the subject, however, required more space than a newspaper could command; the pro-Bismarck direction adopted by the latest 'Social-Democracy' furthermore made it impossible for the people at the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to collaborate with the organs of *this particular* 'Social-Democracy'. In these circumstances, the above-mentioned work is being published *independently* in pamphlet-form...¹⁶³

You will need to act quickly as Meissner has written that the pamphlet was already going to be *distributed* on 24 February. It will vex the Lassallean clique most dreadfully, the men of Progress⁹⁹ no less so, and not least Monsieur Bismarck. There are some most impudent things in it which have previously, for the most part, been passed over with tactful timidity. As long as the press does not again totally ignore the thing¹⁶⁴ with its fulminations against all and sundry, the story will have some effect.

So, be quick now! This is all important. For the *Rheinische Zeitung* I shall supply the necessary material through Dr Klein in Cologne.

Best wishes to your wife.

Your

F. E.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^b F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^c *Der Social-Demokrat* -

^d See this volume, pp. 67-69.

N.B. You can further add: and sets out the views of the 'Social-Democrats' of 1848 with regard to both the government and the Party of Progress.

First published in *Deutsche Zeitung*,
No. 473, 16 October 1920

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

57

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 February 1865

Dear Moor,

As you had *positively* promised to take the necessary steps regarding the newspapers^a *immediately* Meissner sent a positive reply, I counted on it that this had been done. Meanwhile, today I dispatched the necessary to Siebel,^b Liebknecht and Klein in Cologne (for the *Rheinische Zeitung*),¹⁶³ as there is no time to lose. If you have anyone else who can do anything, please write to them—PERHAPS Kugelmann? His letter returned enclosed, ditto Miquel whose high-faluting refashioning of the theory into a platform for mayoral dignity and bourgeois benevolence greatly amused me.¹⁵¹ It is more or less how Heinrich Bürgers will view the world if he should ever become mayor of Nippes or Kalscheuren.

Jones has got SESSIONS again, I have not been able to see him yet. More tomorrow, 7 o'clock has just struck and I must post this letter.

Your
F. E.

^a Engels refers to the publication of a notice about his pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see this volume, p. 84). - ^b See this volume, pp. 111-12.

I have no port wine in the WAREHOUSE and will have to get hold of some first, but will do so immediately.

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

58

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 March 1865

Dear Moor,

You must excuse me for neglecting my correspondence this week. Borkheim was here and took up a lot of my time; he left this evening; then there is COTTON-PANIC following Sherman's advance,⁷³ with endless letter-writing and vain attempts to dispose of our STOCK. I think Richmond will be abandoned within a fortnight, and, unless by some miracle Lee manages to get a fresh respite of 2-3 months, the final, decisive battle will be fought within 4 weeks.³⁰

I must go home now and write to Meissner and Siebel, who is putting himself to a lot of trouble—he says he has sent you the statement.^a I am glad the thing is finally published; *still nothing* in the damned *Social-Demokrat* of 1 March—presumably, they tried to go back on it?¹⁶⁵ It's a load off my mind that we have at last made the break with that gang. So, now we have the grand concluding article on Bismarck^b which was supposed to patch everything up. *O, jerum, jerum, jerum!*^c

Your
F. E.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^b A reference to the fifth article of the series 'Das Ministerium Bismarck', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 28, 1 March 1865. - ^c *O, jerum, jerum, jerum! O quae mutatio rerum!* (Oh, dear me, dear me, dear me. A crazy world. Lord, hear me!)—part of the refrain from a student song attributed to Höfling.

I have in my hurry not managed to find any decent port, but sent claret yesterday. Will keep looking for some port.

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,] 4 MARCH 1865

DEAR FRED,

Our statement^a is in today's *Social-Demokrat*. Although claiming that the statement from these 'gentlemen' requires no further comment, Mr Schweitzer has, nevertheless, 'anonymously' devoted one of his 'bloody pretentious' LEADERS¹⁶⁶ to us. Lassalle and B. Becker, 'President of Mankind', FOR EVER! At all events, I have Mr Schweitzer's exceedingly humble letter of invitation, etc. in my possession. Siebel has sent 5 newspapers (the *Barmer*, the *Elberfelder*, the *Düsseldorfer*, the *Rheinische* and the *Neue Frankfurter*) carrying the statement.¹⁵⁸ The enclosed cutting is from the *Elberfelder*. I am glad, firstly, that we are 'out' and, secondly, that we were 'in'. If we had not been, we would never have penetrated the 'mystères of Lassalle'.

I have written to Kugelmann (please send his prescription back to me) about your pamphlet^b (it looks *very good* in print; if there is a 2nd impression, only a sentence here and there would need to be altered). Can you send me another 2 COPIES? I would like to use Eccarius' good offices to put two short notices in Bender's rag^c (London) and in the *Hermann*, but that will hardly be possible unless I let them have 2 copies.¹⁶⁷

The 'Polish Meeting' (WEDNESDAY) went off very well, and *full*, although the BOURGEOIS had done everything they could to wreck it by declaring it 'INOPPORTUNE'.^{d 168}

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, "To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*". - ^b F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^c *Londoner Anzeiger* - ^d See this volume, pp. 109-10.

*Affairs in France are very complicated.*⁹⁵ I will tell you about it and send you Schily's REPORT (I have to translate extracts from it this very day and accordingly inform the SUBCOMMITTEE of it) in my next letter. For the moment, I shall just mention that there is A FIGHT between our original workers' representatives and the politico-social gentlemen (including the boss of the *Association*^a so admired by Moses^b) as to *who* is to be in contact with us. The [French],^c particularly the *Parisian* workers (although already links with 25 other French cities, too) literally regard the London COUNCIL as a workers' government 'abroad'.

Major Wolff has returned after serving his sentence in Alessandria.

Apropos: did I tell you that *Mazzini* later secretly communicated his 'displeasure' to Fontana after all (and his predilection for K. Blind, whom he had himself branded as a 'liar'^d)?

Your wine came yesterday; received with THANKS.

For the past week my brother-in-law^e from the Cape^f has been here again; he leaves next Tuesday. My niece^g from Maastricht came with him (daughter of my sister, widow Schmalhausen); I shall have to take her back IN ABOUT A WEEK LATER.

My old trouble is plaguing me in various sensitive and 'aggravating' places, so that sitting down is difficult.

Apropos: is the Lupus affair^h still not quite wound up? Ditto I never heard a word from Mr Borchardt about the outstanding money he was going to collect in. You will see from the enclosed scrawl, which is just one example, how I am being sent claims of every conceivable kind, things I had totally forgotten about. This is the most recent to have raised its head from the days of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It is something I have to take into account in every possible way because otherwise the fellows will make a public scandal.^h

It seems all up with CONFEDERACY.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

^a See this volume, p. 118-19. - ^b Moses Hess - ^c Manuscript illegible - ^d See this volume, p. 110. - ^e Johann Carl Juta - ^f Cape of Good Hope - ^g Caroline Schmalhausen - ^h See this volume, pp. 117-18.

I wonder if you could send me the papers from the Manchester press relating to the COTTON-CRISIS?⁴⁰

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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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 March 1865

Dear Moor,

Yours of the day before yesterday received, as was the *Social-Demokrat* today containing that droll article excommunicating us.¹⁶⁶ It really makes one laugh.

I have been at home with 'flu most of today, but I shall go and see the lawyer about the Lupus affair⁸ as soon as possible. Everything will be straight as soon as the fellow completes; Borchardt has been paid his £100 (i. e. less the money he has already had), and the Schiller Institute²⁸ its £100, too; furthermore, I gave the lawyer approx. £150 to cover tax and am only waiting for his account now before remitting the rest to you directly. I shall put together a provisional balance sheet for you in a day or two so that you can see how things stand.

Things from Siebel and a certain Lange enclosed.^a *Qu'en penses-tu?*^b Send the stuff back, as well as the letter from *Meissner*, which I must have for my correspondence with him. I am sending him the cuttings for him to see that we have also got people to push things along.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* has also printed our statement,^c but only up to the words that the *Social-Demokrat's* tactics preclude our further participation in it.

Bruhn returned enclosed. HOW THE HELL CAME YOU TO OWE THAT FELLOW ANY BRASS?^d However much it is, I shall send it to you at once.

^a See this volume, pp. 135-38. - ^b What do you think of it? - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^d See this volume, pp. 117-19.

2 COPIES of the pamphlet^a despatched herewith. They are the last ones. But I have ordered some more. There is an announcement about the pamphlet in the *Kölner Zeitung*.^b

What kind of 'PAPERS from the Manchester *press* relating to the COTTON-CRISIS' are you talking about? Surely you mean from the RELIEF COMMITTEE^{32?} I have not seen Maclure for some time; as soon as I encounter him, I shall have a word with him about it.

Gumpert does not think much of Kugelmann's phosphate of lime. At all events, it is not a specific remedy. He says you ought to take arsenic. Returned enclosed.

I must now go to the Schiller Institute to chair the *Comité*. By the by, one of the fellows there, a chemist,^c has recently explained Tyndall's experiment with sunlight^d to me. It is really capital.

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 March^e 1865

DEAR FRED,

My brother-in-law^f is leaving today to return to the Cape. I've got to accompany him onto the ship. So, I'm very short of time—hence just the following in the utmost brevity:

1. *Ad vocem*^g *Bruhn*. A worker in Paris received a letter from a worker in Hamburg saying that Bruhn is slandering us in every way he can. Firstly, he says I owe him 60 talers which I never

^a F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^b *Kölnische Zeitung* - ^c probably Carl Schorlemmer - ^d See this volume, p. 91. - ^e In the original: May. - ^f Johann Carl Jutta - ^g As regards

repaid. Secondly, you and I are said to have sold the Prussian government, or rather 'Police-Chief Stieber', a manuscript about the refugees.¹⁶⁹ The Parisian sent the letter to Lessner, who passed it on to me. I replied to Lessner by return of post, for communication to the Parisian, that I had *never* had any financial dealings with Bruhn (which I believed at that time to be the case), and in general considered that for Bruhn to ever have 60 talers to his name was like something out of Munchausen. Furthermore, I explained the affair of Bangya and the manuscript, in which connection our declaration of April 1853^a in the *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*^b and references to it in *Herr Vogt* page such and such^c were to be consulted. WELL! Then Bruhn's letter arrived. So, I racked my brains and think I remember the following: in the spring of 1849 I came to Hamburg to collect money for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. I had just enough in my POCKET to get to Hamburg. However, stayed 14 days in a FIRST-RATE hotel. I explained to Baron Frisch, who later intended to send us donations, that I needed money to pay the hotel bill and my return fare. I now have a dim recollection that since I didn't want to take the money as a 'PRESENT' from him and he for his part didn't want it back, it was agreed that *Bruhn*, who was just as much a scoundrel then as now, should receive it. I had forgotten the whole bloody business; however, I now wrote to Bruhn¹¹¹ that I couldn't remember any financial transaction with *him*. Since the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was banned when I got back to Cologne from Hamburg and I myself was kicked out of Prussia, it was possible that in the whirl of events at the time I had forgotten.¹⁷⁰ It is still striking that he waited from 1849 to 1865 to *remind* me. But it was a simple matter. He should let me know by letter how much he thought he had on me and send me Grübel's address. I would then write to Grübel myself. If the latter *confirmed* what he said, his demand would be satisfied. This procedure is absolutely essential, as I am *still* uncertain about the matter *even at this moment*, and the way I have been fleeced by claims of this kind is really scandalous.

2. From the *enclosed from Schily* you will see what transpired in Paris whither we sent Le Lubez to settle the disputes that had broken out there. (We had given *Schily* ditto FULL POWER to negotiate,^d as we were aware of Le Lubez's bias towards Lefort.⁹⁵ Here I should just mention in passing that *Béluze*, President of the

^a In the original: January 1852. - ^b K. Marx, 'Hirsch's Confessions'. - ^c See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 219-20. - ^d See this volume, pp. 108-09.

People's Bank,¹⁷¹ who controls the few Paris Associations and their organ *L'Association*, is *with* Lefort.) *What else happens*—which will only be concluded this evening, as far as our intervention is concerned—in the *next letter*.^a

3. The things from *Siebel* returned. It strikes me as *most unfortunate* that he gives *London* as the origin of the notice put in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*,^b thus exposing *me* as the presumed author.

4. Letter from Liebknecht enclosed.

5. One copy of the circular from the Geneva BRANCH-ASSOCIATION^c enclosed.

6. The letter from Meissner enclosed.

7. *Lange*: not to be directly rebuffed.^d Write and tell him that he would do best to post the thing to you, 2 COPIES, and you would send one to me each time. As he rightly realises himself, after our recent experience we would have to hold back *for the present* from making contributions to any German paper. He would, of course, have the same right as any other EDITOR of a journal to reprint whatever extracts he liked from your pamphlet.^e

Salut.

Your
K. M.

The first numbers (2 sheets) of Blind's *Eidgenosse* have come, with the only contributions by Blind, Struve and Rasch.¹⁷² Trivia. Emblem consisting of hand with dagger, to kill the 'tyrants'.

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^a See this volume, p. 130 - ^b [F. Engels,] 'Notice Concerning *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*'. - ^c 'Aufruf an alle Arbeiter, Arbeitervereine und Arbeiterassoziationen in der Schweiz zum Beitritt der "Internationalen Arbeiter-Association"'. - ^d See this volume, p. 116. - ^e F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 MARCH [1865]

DEAR FRED,

I can only write these few lines today, as I have much else to do. The statement from Herwegh and Rüstow^a is good. The impudence of Mr Schweitzer, who knows perfectly well that all I need to do is publish his own letters, is fantastic. Though what else can the wretched cur do?

As you will already have guessed, the scrawl he quotes from the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* is from student 'Blind'.¹⁷³ I'm sending you the first No. of this 'lackey'^b of the deposed Kings of Democracy and Holloway-type 'SELFADVERTISERS' and 'PUFFERS'. You must arrange for a few jokes about the fellow to reach Siebel, for him to hawk around to the various papers.

By the by, if there should be a 2nd impression of your pamphlet,^c we can, in a short preface, make a brief official statement on *our* position with regard to the Lassalle shit and the *Social-Demokrat*. It would be, of course, *beneath* our dignity to take up the cudgels directly with that gang of riff-raff in minor journals.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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^a concerning the breach with *Der Social-Demokrat* - ^b *Der Deutsche Eidgenosse* -
^c F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

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ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER⁵⁷

IN ST LOUIS

Manchester, 10 March 1865

Dear Weydemeyer,

At last I have got down to answering your letter of 20 January. I had sent it to Marx who—partly because he was indisposed—kept it a very long while, IN FACT did not return it until a week ago today,^a so that my letter could no longer catch the STEAMER; I was too occupied with business on that day.

My best thanks for your detailed answers to my questions.^b With the negligent reporting on militaria^c in the papers here, I had lost the thread of all the 'combined' operations; I found the Red River expedition¹⁷⁴ quite puzzling and I was not much wiser about Sherman's move eastward from Vicksburg,⁷⁵ as there was no mention here of the Southern corps advancing from New Orleans. These combined operations with a point of meeting up not merely in the enemy's territory but even behind his very lines show precisely how crude are the ideas of strategy of a nation that has no experience of war whatever. And yet if the noble Wrangel and Prince Frederick Charles had not been 2 to 1 in the Danish war⁹ they would have got up to much the same tricks. The battle at Missunde¹⁷⁵ and the 2 inexplicable 'demonstrations' (to give a nameless thing some kind of name, nevertheless) against Düppel²⁷ before the assault were, if anything, even more childish.

As to Grant's conduct at Richmond,³⁰ I am trying to explain it in another way. I am completely of the same opinion as you that *strategically* the only correct thing was to attack Richmond from the *west*. However, it seems to me—insofar as one can form a judgement from such a distance and from such vague reports—that Grant preferred the eastern side for 2 reasons:

1. because he could provision himself more easily there. Whilst on the western side he commanded only the roads to Fredericksburg and to Tennessee (both crossing areas that had been exhausted), on the eastern side he had the Fredericksburg line, and the York and James RIVERS as well. Since the difficulty of supplying large armies with provisions has played an important part

^a See this volume, p. 107. - ^b *ibid.*, pp. 39-40. - ^c military matters

throughout the war, I would not like to condemn Grant out of hand until I am clear on that score. You reproach him with having turned his back to the sea. But if one controls the sea and has secure points of embarkation (Monroe and Norfolk), then that is an *advantage*. Compare Wellington's campaigns in Spain and the Crimean campaign, where the Allies, who had been victorious on the Alma, positively *ran away from the enemy* in order to ensure their rear the protective cover of the sea south of Sevastopol.¹⁷⁶ That the possession of the Shenandoah valley was the best way to secure Washington is clear. But? The question arises

2. did Grant (and Lincoln) *want* to have Washington completely secure? On the contrary, it seems to me that with the loose constitution of the Federation and the great indifference to the war in some parts of the North, Lincoln never seriously wanted to drive the Confederates out of Richmond, that, on the contrary, he just wanted to pin them down in a position where they represented something of a threat to Washington, Pennsylvania and even New York. I believe that without that he would have got neither the recruits nor the money to finish the war. I certainly believe that Grant would have very much liked to have taken Richmond in the last 3-4 months, but he has not sufficient forces to do so. I see them estimated at from 70-90,000 men and Lee at 50-70,000. If this ratio is approximately correct, then, with his attack acknowledged to be strategically wrong, he has done everything possible to frustrate any offensive defence by Lee, and to encircle Richmond on at least 3 sides out of 4. For, after distinguishing himself amongst all the other generals of North and South in the last 2 years just by his brilliant use of counter-attacks, I cannot believe that Lee would now abandon this tactic unless *forced to*. It was, however, a stupendous gain for the North if it succeeded in pinning down the South's best army at Richmond, in one corner of the southern territory, because of a childish *point d'honneur*,^a until the whole hinterland was cut off and militarily disrupted for the South, firstly by conquest of the Mississippi valley and then again by Sherman's campaign, until finally, and this seems to be the case now, all the Union's available troops are marching on Richmond and one decisive blow can put an end to the whole business.

The latest news we have is from New York, dated 25 February, i.e. it includes the taking of Charleston and Wilmington, and Sherman's advance from Columbia to Winnsborough. This Sher-

^a prestige

man appears to be the only fellow in the North who knows how to use his men's legs to win battles. But he must, incidentally, have splendid lads under him. I can't wait to see what will happen. If Lee assesses his desperate situation aright, he has no choice but to pack up and go south. But where to? The only way *open* to him is to Lynchburg and Tennessee; but that would be exceedingly hazardous to march into such a narrow mountain valley with just one railway, and Knoxville and Chattanooga fortified ahead of him. Besides, that would probably mean sacrificing Beauregard, Hardee and all other Confederate troops positioned in North Carolina, and exposing his flank to Sherman. Or he could advance from Petersburg, turn Grant's left flank and march directly south against Sherman? Daring, but better; the only way to draw to himself the remnants of the fleeing armies, delay Grant by destroying the railways and bridges, and fall on Sherman with superior strength. If the latter offers battle to this combined force, he will certainly be beaten; if he falls back toward the coast, he will open up the road toward Augusta for Lee who will there be able to make his first respite. But Sherman and Grant would then surely join forces and Lee would then again be faced by a superior force, this time as good as in open country; for I do not believe the Confederates can again concentrate so many heavy guns in any one place inland as to organise another Richmond there. And even if they were to do so, they would only be jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. Or else—invasion of the North? Jefferson Davis would no doubt be capable of this, but that would also spell the end within a fortnight.

Now, however, Lee can only send some of his forces southwards as well to join with Beauregard and company and stop Sherman, and this seems to me the most probable course. In this case, Sherman will probably give them a proper 'drubbing', as they say in South Germany, and then Lee will really be stuck. But even if Sherman were to be defeated, Lee would only have gained one month's respite, and the troops advancing from every part of the coast—not to mention Grant's successes in the meantime against the weakened Richmond army—would soon make his position as bad as it had been before. One way or another, the game is up, and I look forward to the arrival of each STEAMER with expectancy; there is a positive deluge of exciting news just now. The strategic speculations of the numerous SOUTHERN SYMPATHISERS here are most comical to listen to, they are all epitomised by the remark made by the Polish general Sznayde in the Palatinate who said after every rout, 'We are doing exactly what Kossuth did.'

Incidentally, I am most grateful to you for your explanations about military organisation in America, it was only as a result of them that I obtained a clear picture of many aspects of the war there. I have been familiar with the *canons Napoléon* for many a long year, the English had *already replaced them* (light, smooth-bore 12-pounders with a charge weighing $\frac{1}{4}$ of the ball) when Louis Bonaparte re-invented them. You may have any number of Prussian howitzers, as they have all been withdrawn now and replaced by rifled 6-pounders and 4-pounders (which fire 13-pound and 9-pound heavy shells). I am not surprised that the ELEVATION of your howitzers is only 5° , it was no higher with the old long howitzers the French had (until 1856), and, if I am not mistaken, the English ones were only a little more. In general, the high-angle fire from howitzers has been used for a long time only by the Germans; its great unreliability in range-finding in particular had brought it into disrepute.

Now to other matters.

A Frankfurt lawyer 'von Schweitzer' had indeed established himself in Berlin with a little paper called *Der Social-Demokrat* and asked us to write for it. As Liebknecht, who is in Berlin, was to join the editorial board, we accepted.^a But then, firstly, the little paper embarked on an insufferable cult of Lassalle, whilst we meanwhile received positive proof (the old Hatzfeldt woman told Liebknecht about it and urged him to work for the same ends) that Lassalle was *much more deeply* implicated with Bismarck than we had ever realised. There was an actual alliance between the two which had gone so far that Lassalle was to go to Schleswig-Holstein and there to advocate the annexation of the duchies by Prussia, while Bismarck had rather less definitely consented to the introduction of a sort of universal suffrage and more definitely to the right of combination and concessions regarding social policy, state support for workers' associations, etc.⁹⁸ The foolish Lassalle had *no guarantee whatever* from Bismarck, *au contraire*^b he would have been put in prison *sans façon*^c as soon as he became troublesome. The gentlemen on the *Social-Demokrat* knew this, but, for all that, they continued to intensify their cult of Lassalle. In addition to that, the fellows allowed themselves to be intimidated by *threats* from Wagener (of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*) into paying court to Bismarck, flirting with him, etc., etc. That was the last straw. We published the enclosed statement^d and made our exit, with

^a See this volume, pp. 22, 23-24. - ^b on the contrary - ^c without ceremony - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'.

Liebknecht doing likewise. The *Social-Demokrat* then declared that we did not belong to the Social-Democratic Party,¹⁶⁶ which excommunication naturally did not bother us. The whole Lassalleian General Association of German Workers² has taken such a wrong road that nothing can be done with it; however, it will not last long.

I was asked to write about the military question, which I did, but, in the meantime, relations between us became more strained, and the article turned into a pamphlet,^a which I have now had published separately; I am now sending you a copy of it by the same STEAMER. To judge by the newspapers I receive, the thing appears to be creating quite a furor, especially on the Rhine, and it will, at any rate, make it very difficult for the workers to ally themselves with reaction just now.

The INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION in London is going from strength to strength. In Paris especially, in London no less so. It is also going well in Switzerland and Italy. Only the German Lassalleans are refusing to bite, and in present circumstances least of all. However, we are again receiving letters and offers from all sides in Germany, a decisive change has taken place, and the rest will turn out right.

The only reply I can make to your wife's^b question is that I have not yet entered into a state of *holy* matrimony.

Photographs enclosed, of Lupus and myself, I have come out a little too dark; but it is the only one I have left.

Schimmelfennig has taken Charleston—Hurrah!

Write soon.

Your
F. Engels

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No. 33, 1906-1907, 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

^a F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^b Louise Weydemeyer's

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 March^a 1865

Dear Moor,

Schweitzer's brazenness really is ludicrous. But it does show how hard he has been hit by our withdrawal^b and how well he knows that *very much* depends on it for his petty paper. After Herwegh and Rüstow have come out in *support* of **our** statement,^c anything can happen. Schweitzer will soon become aware of the effect his big talk has had, especially on the Rhine. Siebel has done a capital job in circulating the pamphlet.^d The *Bonner Zeitung* has twice published long extracts already and is intending to produce still more. The *Rheinische*^e has also got a long extract as well. Our standing with the Rhineland workers being what it is, this agitation-by-clique against us won't get very far.

Siebel had already sent me the little piece from the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*.¹⁷³ Student Blind as always. He is having to make a couple of phrases of Lassalle's last a whole year. I haven't received the *lackey*^f yet.

The legacy business is complete, the LAWYER will send the statement of account next week, he has still got approx. 10s. to collect in or pay out, he wasn't sure which. So, I can send you the money on Monday then.^g Meanwhile, my statement of account enclosed, according to which another £^g approx. are due to you.

The ideas Liebknecht has about Manchester! He has got nothing to gobble and asks me what a house '*with garden*' costs here! The fellow is simply soft in the head. Schweitzer, he said, *could* not sell himself to Bismarck because he would have been *obliged* to use the good offices of the beastly old woman.^h

I'm finding the new movement a terrible fag, by the way. It's the devil's own job letter-writing in the evening as well for the party and publisher, etc., until 1 or 2 o'clock, after letter-writing all day at work.

^a The original has: February. - ^b from the *Social-Demokrat* - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^d F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^e *Die Rheinische Zeitung* - ^f *Der Deutsche Eidgenosse* - ^g No figure in the original. - ^h Sophie von Hatzfeldt

Siebel has sent me Lange's pamphlet.^a Confused, Malthusian with some Darwinian ingredients, flirting with all and sundry, but several good passages against Lassalle and the bourgeois consumers' co-op fellows. I'll send it to you in the next few days.

Schily's letter also returned enclosed which I found most entertaining. Our old comrade is turning himself into a very useful diplomat.¹⁵⁹ How did the two of you settle the dispute?

It's impossible to get anywhere with Jones. Hardly are the SESSIONS over when the Assizes begin. THE TRADE IN CRIME SEEMS HIGHLY FLOURISHING.

Adios, and my kindest regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

EXECUTION of Will W. Wolff

Debit

Payment from Steinthal & Co. incl. interest	£1,083-9-3
" " " Heywood BROTHERS incl. interest	" 234-14-9
Debts collected by Dr Borchardt	" 66-13-0
	<hr/>
	£1,384-17-0

Credit

To payment to Marx	£234-14-9	
" " " do	" 350-0-0	
" " " do	" 200-0-0	
" " " do	" 40-0-0	
	<hr/>	
	£824-14-9	
" " to Borchardt	£ 100-0-0	
" " Schiller Institute ²⁸	" 100-0-0	
" " Engels	" 100-0-0	
" " Wood, Solicitor	" 150-0-0	
" " Payment to LANDLORD	" 13-4-9	
Paid by Borchardt { " funeral expenses	" 57-11-0	
" " of 2 bills	" 1-2-4	
" " of PROBATE DUTY .	" 30-0-0	1,376-12-10
	<hr/>	
	Balance	8-4-2

^a F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft*.

There is also a certain amount in interest I have got to make over to you for the period from 9 November (when I received the balance of approx. £633 from Steinthal but only sent you £200 in the first place and also held back other payments). I can't attend to it today as the cashier has already left and locked away the relevant book; you will receive it along with Wood's statement of account; but it won't be much. Most of the interest due arose from the fact that the £633 remained with Steinthal from May until November, which produced approx. £16 extra for you.

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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 March 1865

Dear Engels,

There are mistakes in your financial statement, viz. you sent me £235 on 8 June, £350 at the beginning of July (the letter enclosing the money isn't dated, but I can tell from a letter of 5 July which said it was about to be sent) and £200 on 9 November 1864; on the other hand, the last £40 itemised on the statement *you said would eventually follow* (in the enclosed letter dated 9 November) but you *never sent it*. I hope that you will be able to convince yourself of this on checking your books again, and if so, that you will send me the money by return of post, before I leave for the continent (with my NIECE³⁴), which will probably be at the end of this week.¹⁷⁷

With regard to *Schweitzer's brazenness*, I have decided on a different course. There are some things about which one would be glad to enlighten the public but can only do so *in response to direct provocation*, and then one must not miss the OPPORTUNE TIME OF A REPLY. And such is the case with Schweitzer's comments connected with

³⁴ Caroline Schmalhausen

the garbage from Blind.¹⁷³ I intend to reply in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* actually on behalf of *both of us*, but I shall sign in *my name* alone, as it would be *ludicrous to imply you shared responsibility for 'Achilles'*,¹⁷⁸ and as I shall be quoting mainly (*exclusively*, if my plan works out) from Schweitzer's letters to me anyway.

My plan therefore is this:

Schweitzer is reproducing, in print, the lies put out by the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*, knowing them to be lies. (Is the article in the form of an editorial in the paper, or what?) Viz.: 1. neither Lassalle's name nor any mention of Lassalle appeared in the prospectus we received 'printed as manuscript'. (Liebknecht had prevented that.) 2. In note of 30 December Schweitzer *most humbly* asks my pardon for so brazenly using passage from private letter of condolence, as both introduction and conclusion to his hymn of adulation. 3. By means of short extracts from Schweitzer's letters from 30 December 1864 to 15 February 1865 (his last letter), I shall show that the conflict over '*tactics*' was a lasting one from the *first*, trial number^a right up until we announced our withdrawal,^b and was by no means a quarrel suddenly picked, as man-of-honour Schweitzer pretends, with his support for Blind's shit. At the same time, this little mosaic of excerpts from Schweitzer's letters will show with what *servility* this selfsame brute behaved towards us, until he suddenly turned *vicious* on being kicked. This will make salutary reading for bourgeois and workers alike (and for Rüstow). All in all, good *introduction* for the break with 'Lassalleanism', which is in any case inevitable. (Of course, as far as student Blind is concerned, if that water-newt should ever COME OUT again, I shall always treat Lassalle as a dead lion set beside a live ass. It is indecent that such an 'uneducated' Baden publican should even presume to put himself on a level with a man who has studied Heraclitus and the Roman law of inheritance.)

Let me know by return if you approve of my plan, as I can't afford to lose any time.¹⁷⁹ (And don't forget to tell me in what form Blind's twaddle appeared in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*.) In my opinion, it's necessary.

Although, unlike you, I don't have the pleasure of corresponding with the Too-Clever-By-Half,^c nor of being able to foul his nest for him, nevertheless I've been infernally HARASSED just recently, quite apart from the furuncles, which won't go away; e.g., last night I didn't get to bed until 4 o'clock in the morning.

^a of 15 December 1864 - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'. - ^c Gottfried Ermen, Engels' partner

Besides my work on the book,^a the *INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION* takes up an enormous amount of time, as I am IN FACT the HEAD of it. And what a waste of time! (And it would come just now, with the French business⁹⁵ and the election business¹⁵⁵ here, etc., all at the same time.) E.g. the French shit:

28 February. Tolain and Fribourg here from Paris. Meeting of the *CENTRAL COUNCIL*, where they state their case and bicker with Le Lubez until 12 o'clock at night. Then reconvene in Bolleter's tavern, where I had another 200 odd cards to sign. (I have now got them to change this stupid practice by having our handwriting engraved on the plate, and only the *GENERAL SECRETARY*^b signs by hand. Meanwhile, the remaining 1,000 cards OF THE OLD EDITION had to be signed IN THE OLD STYLE.)

1 March. Polish MEETING.¹⁶⁸

4 March. *SUBCOMMITTEE*²¹ meeting about the French question until 1 o'clock in the morning.

6 March. *SUBCOMMITTEE* meeting about ditto until 1 o'clock in the morning.

7 March. *SITTING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL* until 12 o'clock at night. Resolutions passed. (I enclose resolutions, along with the private instructions which the *CENTRAL COUNCIL* is sending to Schily, who, as you can see from resolution V, has been appointed *CENTRAL COUNCIL DELEGATE (AMBASSADOR) AT Paris*.)¹⁸⁰

(This meeting of 7 March, in which Le Lubez was utterly *culbuté*,^c was very embarrassing and stormy, and left the English in particular with the impression THAT THE FRENCHMEN STAND REALLY IN NEED OF A BONAPARTE!) In between times, people *dashing this way and that* to see me in connection with the conference with Bright which was held last Saturday (11 March), etc. Reported briefly on same to Jones (he had enquired beforehand about it on Friday), instructed him to convey the letter to you.¹⁸¹

WELL, *mon cher*, *que faire?*^d He who says 'A' must also say 'B'.

You will see from the enclosed *Nordstern* (SEE THE 2 FIRST LEADERS) that, despite his hatred for us, Bruhn immediately seized the opportunity to *attack* Schweitzer, out of sheer *professional jealousy*.¹⁸² This is most important since Bruhn's paper is of longer standing, and this has at least sowed *dissension in the camp of these fellows themselves*.

A short notice about your pamphlet will appear in Bender's *Anzeiger*^e this week. I sent one to the *Hermann* (Juch), saying he

^a *Capital* - ^b William Cremer - ^c overturned - ^d what is to be done, my dear fellow? - ^e *Londoner Anzeiger*, 17 March 1865

should form his *own* opinion of it, etc.^a This he will do. I chose this approach because with Juch I'd always poked fun at the notices sent to the *Hermann* by Blind, for Blind and about Blind, and the two of us here are generally regarded as *one* person.

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 HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 March 1865

My dear Jung,

Mr Cremer has quite *misunderstood* me (and I shall write him *immediately* upon that point). I was so far from any intention of moving new amendments on Tuesday evening^b to the old resolutions¹⁸³ that, before the arrival of your letter, I had to-day posted to Schily a letter *containing the very same resolutions*. I wrote him at the same time to wait with their communication until Thursday next, so as to give Mr Le Lubez the time to fulfil his functions, viz. to communicate himself the resolutions.

What I said to Cremer, and to Fox ditto, was, that if Le Lubez and Mr Wolff, by their foolish behaviour, had not excited the feelings, and killed the time, the resolutions would and might have been *rédigées* in a way more polite on the one, and more *logical*, on the other hand; [so that] f.i. Resolution II (concerning Lefort's [defensive ways]) might, by a short phrase, have lost its aspect, while Resolution IV concedes *too much* to Lefort etc. All this might have been mended, and I expressed to Mr Cremer my regret that it had, after the vote on the *contents* of the resolutions, not been left to the subcommittee²¹ to give it the convenient stylistic *form*.

^a See this volume, p. 134. - ^b 14 March

Yet, I should consider it the *greatest folly* to reopen the questions once settled, and which, as far as the *substance* of the resolutions goes, have been settled in the most fair spirit. I should consider it, particularly, quite unworthy of the Central Council to *rescind one single word* after the exhibitions Le Lubez and Wolff have made of themselves. Moreover, by my letter to Schily such a course has become *impossible*.

You will, of course, oblige me by communicating to me your *résumé historique*—but I beg you to understand me well. I shall like to read it, as the thing itself interests me, but not in order to control your writing.¹⁸⁴ I am convinced beforehand that you will not embitter the spirits. I fear Mr Le Lubez has already sent to *his* friends private despatches in that childish spirit.

Yours fraternally
K. Marx

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 14 March 1865

Dear Moor,

The business of the £40 is based solely on a statement of the business I made out in November, in which this £40 figures as 'CASH' to you, but undated. I had the impression myself that I had *not yet* sent you this £40, but as I had no opportunity to check, I could only go by the memorandum. Today I checked my account in the ledger, but I couldn't deduce anything relevant from that either. But if you've not had the £40 and, at the same time, I too have the vague feeling that that is the position, that's good enough, and I've already given the cashier instructions to have the money ready tomorrow.

On the question of the statement in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*,^a I'm in complete agreement. Though on the whole it doesn't matter at all if Mr Schweitzer occasionally takes it into his head to indulge in such barefaced effrontery, I did, nevertheless, find it galling that this vulgar upstart rogue should be allowed to get away with such behaviour towards us. Furthermore, if his smarmy letters aren't published *now*, they won't be any use at all later. It's always nice when someone like that gets the scolding he deserves for once. So, do it straightaway, and please ask Dresemann to send 2 COPIES, so that I can have one.

In haste.

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
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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 March 1865

DEAR FRED,

There are a lot of things, some of them important, that I want to write to you about. But as there's A VERY GREAT DEAL OF BUSINESS to do in connection with my departure tomorrow,¹⁷⁷ just the following bare facts:

The remaining HALVES of the notes received.

You can send the POST OFFICE order to my wife.

I've sent off a note from Bender asking for 50 copies, etc., of your pamphlet,^b etc., to O. Meissner direct, as I had to write to him today. It is possible that Meissner's answer may arrive *too late* for the *next Londoner Anzeiger*. Since Bender does at present

^a See this volume, p. 129. - ^b F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*.

without doubt know best how to disseminate things of this kind in England, you should send him *a note about the price of the pamphlet by return* if you can (i.e. if you know it yourself). He will then advertise it straightaway in the next number. His address is 8 Little Newport St., Leicester Square.

I did a short, highly condensed little article for Bender, such as I thought would be suitable for his paper,^a a kind of prospectus of contents, and sent Juch conversely, contrariwise and notwithstanding, just your pamphlet itself, asking him to do a critique of it in his own way and according to his own point of view.^b Then I received enclosed note from Juch (*to be kept*). There certainly wasn't the time for a critical review. So, I sent the notice originally intended for Bender (in today's *Hermann*) to Juch^c (and the enclosed message to Bender instead^d). At the same time, I wrote to Juch—diplomacy becoming increasingly important—that I couldn't meet his request because I was going away, that he should print copious extracts in a later number; I would discuss his difficulty in finding contributors with him when I returned to London. (I am thinking of placing Eccarius there, instead of with the *Social-Demokrat*.) I sent him ditto a copy of my statement against Schweitzer, although the *Hermann* won't be able to print it until next Saturday's edition (copies sent at the same time to *Reform* in Berlin and to the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*^e); no amendments in the version for the *Hermann* except a stab at Blind inserted at the beginning.

Bender has written to me ditto:

'Most obliged and grateful for notice you sent; but we now need a review as well.'

I've passed this on to Eccarius.

Also enclosed a number of the *Rheinische Zeitung* sent to me by Liebknecht with HIS SPEECH.¹⁸⁵ His wife^f has written to mine; they are really down on their luck. He still owed the *Social-Demokrat* £5, etc. I can't send him anything at the present moment.

Nordstern enclosed. You must *keep* this document. You can see these gentlemen are now trying to make out that that wretch Schweitzer completely *falsified* Lassalle.¹⁸⁶ So, my statement against Schweitzer, which also repudiates Lassalle, even though very

^a *Londoner Anzeiger* - ^b See this volume, pp. 130-31. - ^c K. Marx, 'Review of Engels' Pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*'. - ^d K. Marx, 'Synopsis of Engels' Pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*'. - ^e K. Marx, 'Statement [Regarding the Causes of the Breach with the *Social-Demokrat*]'. - ^f Ernestine Liebknecht

indirectly, comes at a most opportune moment. It will all come out in the wash by and by.

It appears from the enclosed letter from Bruhn that I was right about Frisch.^a I've sent him the 6 talers (not 60!), although I'm not convinced by it, at the same time saying that I would 'make further enquiries' regarding the 50, etc.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Apropos. *Klings* called in on his way to America. He had all kinds of interesting things to report to me. A real 'Rhineland' worker.

On 5 March the *Cologne* branch of the *General Workers' Association*² decided to issue a protest (along the lines of our statement^b) against the *Social-Demokrat*, and against *B. Becker* as well, who is a kind of Biscamp Secundus. They have STOPPED THE MONEY SUPPLIES. And this refusal to pay taxes is catching.

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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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ALBERT LANGE¹⁰¹

IN DUISBURG

[Copy]

Manchester, 29 March 1865
7 Southgate

Dear Sir,

I must offer you my profound apologies for allowing your kind letter of the 2nd-4th inst. to remain unanswered for so long. I

^a See this volume, pp. 117-18. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'.

only hope you will not condemn me unheard. My excuse is that for the first few days I was greatly preoccupied in part with an accumulation of current business, but in part also with the large amount of urgent correspondence, which one always faces when one suddenly appears before the public again after long *otium cum (vel sine) dignitate*^a and at the same time has such merry adventures as we have had with the *Social-Demokratichen*.³⁴ In addition to all that, I moved house, and that momentarily threw my papers into some disarray, in which your letter was mislaid; I only found it again the day before yesterday and I now hasten to reply to you.

I am most grateful to you for so kindly offering to send your *Sphinx* and other publications¹⁸⁷ to Marx and myself. My bookseller here is Mr Franz Thimm, Manchester, through whom you may send everything to me. Sending things via the bookseller requires 3-4 weeks as a rule; if you would send me at least the first few Nos. in a simple open wrapper by post (it does not cost much), I should be obliged to you and will gladly reimburse you. Communications for Marx should be sent to me here, and he will receive them within 12 hours of arrival. As you yourself rightly realise, I could not commit myself at all at this stage regarding possible future contributions; let us leave the question open for the time being, although, in your case, we are at least not running the risk of incurring the suspicion of wishing to rule over any section of the proletariat in Germany from England.

Meanwhile, the involuntary delay in my reply has given me the opportunity to obtain your publication on the working-class question^b; I read it with great interest. I, too, was immediately struck on first reading Darwin^c by the remarkable similarity between his description of the vegetable and animal life and the Malthusian theory. Only my conclusion was different from yours, viz.: that it is to the everlasting disgrace of modern bourgeois development that it has not yet progressed beyond the economic forms of the animal kingdom. The so-called 'economic laws' are not eternal laws of nature but historical laws that appear and disappear, and the code of modern political economy, insofar as the economists have drawn it up correctly and objectively, is for us merely a summary of the laws and conditions in which modern bourgeois society can exist, in a word: its conditions of production

^a honourable (or dishonourable) leisure (Cicero, *Oratio pro Sextio*, 45) - ^b F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft*. - ^c Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection...*

and exchange expressed and summed up abstractly. For us, therefore, none of these laws, insofar as it is an expression of *purely bourgeois relations*, is older than modern bourgeois society; those which have been more or less valid for all previous history, are thus only an expression of such relations as are common to all forms of society based upon class rule and class exploitation. Amongst the former we may count the so-called Ricardian law,¹⁸⁸ which is valid neither for serfdom nor for the slavery of antiquity; amongst the latter, whatever part of the so-called Malthusian theory can be sustained.

The parson Malthus filched this theory, like all his other ideas, directly from his predecessors; the only part of it which is truly his is the purely arbitrary application of the two progressions.¹⁸⁹ The theory itself has long since been reduced by the economists in England to rational dimensions; the population exerts pressure on the means—not of subsistence, but of *employment*; mankind could multiply more rapidly than modern bourgeois society can stand. For us yet another reason to proclaim this bourgeois society to be a barrier to development which must fall.

You yourself raise the question of how the increase in the means of subsistence can be made to keep pace with the increase in population; but excepting one sentence in the preface, I find no attempt at an answer. We start from the premise that the same forces which have created modern bourgeois society—the steam engine, modern machinery, mass colonisation, railways and steamships, world trade—and which through the unending commercial crises are already now working towards its ruin and ultimate destruction—that these means of production and exchange will also be sufficient to reverse the relationship in a short while and to raise the productive power of every individual to such an extent that he will produce enough for the consumption of 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 persons, that enough people will become superfluous to urban industry to devote far more manpower than before to agriculture, that science will at last be applied to agriculture on a large scale as well and as systematically as in industry, that those areas of South Eastern Europe and Western America which have been inexhaustibly fertilised for us by nature itself will be exploited on a far mightier scale than before. Not until all these areas have been turned by the plough and there is then dearth, will it be time to say *caveant consules*.¹⁹⁰

Not enough is being produced, that is the root of the whole matter. But *why* is not enough being produced? Not because the limits of production have been reached—even for today and by

present-day means. No, but because the limits of production are determined not by the number of hungry bellies, but rather by the number of purchasers with full *purses*. Bourgeois society has no desire, and can have no desire, to produce more. Those impecunious bellies, the labour which cannot be utilised *with profit* and is thus incapable of purchasing, fall prey to the mortality figures. Let us assume that there is a sudden boom in industry, such as is constantly occurring, to enable this labour to be employed with profit, then the labour will acquire the money with which to purchase, and the means of subsistence have as yet always been found. It is the endless *circulus vitiosus*^a in which the whole political economy revolves. One takes bourgeois conditions in their entirety as one's premise, and then proves that each separate part is a necessary part thereof—ergo, an 'eternal law'.

I was greatly amused by your description of the Schulzian co-operatives.¹⁹¹ We have been through all that here in a different form, although it is now more or less a thing of the past. People in Germany have yet to develop their proletarian pride.

There is a remark about old Hegel which I cannot let pass without comment: you deny him any deeper knowledge of the mathematical sciences. Hegel knew so much mathematics that none of his disciples was capable of editing the numerous mathematical manuscripts he left behind. The only man who, to my knowledge, has enough understanding of mathematics and philosophy to be able to do so is Marx. That the detail of the philosophy of nature is full of nonsense I will of course gladly grant you, but his *real* philosophy of nature is to be found in the second part of the *Logic*, in the theory of Essence, the true core of the whole doctrine.^b The modern scientific theory of the interaction of natural forces (Grove's *Correlation of Forces*, which I think first appeared in 1838) is, however, only another expression or rather the positive proof of Hegel's argument about cause, effect, interaction, force, etc. I am no longer a Hegelian, of course, but I still retain a deep feeling of piety and devotion for the titanic old fellow.

Yours very respectfully

Friedrich Engels

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1,
Nr. 5, 1909

Printed according to a copy made
by an unidentified person

Published in English in full for the
first time

^a vicious circle - ^b G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik* Erster Theil. *Die objektive Logik* Zweites Buch. *Das Wesen*.

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MARX TO SOPHIE VON HATZFELDT

IN BERLIN

London, 10 April 1865

My dear Countess,

I shall be obliged if you would hand the copy of the '18th Brumaire' with my marginal amendments, i.e., corrections, to Mr Wilhelm Liebknecht.⁷⁹

I have read Becker's^a attacks on you with the greatest indignation, and, to judge from letters I have received from people of the most divergent views, the scoundrel has thereby generally done harm not to you, but only to himself. I am in entire agreement with Mr Rüstow that it is incomprehensible that any section of the Association of German Workers could calmly listen to such scandalous talk. The most elementary sense of decency should make such infamy impossible.¹⁹²

Yours most respectfully

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31,
Moscow, 1963

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

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MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

London, 11 April [1865]

Dear FRED,

Returned home some twenty-four hours ago.¹⁷⁷ So, for the moment just a few lines to let you know.

^a Bernhard Becker

Letter from Wilhelmchen^a enclosed. I sent him the STAMPS he asked for.

Quoad^b B. Becker, I didn't get to see his dirty work until I got here. But thought reply really was needed.^c (Rüstow and Herwegh have replied in the *Nordstern* on behalf of Hatzfeldt. Rüstow calls B. Becker a 'police-spy'.¹⁹²) Sent it to *Rheinische* and *Düsseldorfer*.^d As soon as copies arrive, 1 for you.

I shall attend a SITTING of the 'INTERNATIONAL' this evening for the first time for 3 weeks. In the interval, revolution. Le Lubez and Denoual gone, Dupont APPOINTED FRENCH SECRETARY. As a result of Le Lubez's intrigues, and more particularly those of Major Wolff who is A TOOL in Mazzini's hand, the Italian delegates Lama and Fontana have left. Pretext: Lefort (who has meanwhile announced his departure in the journal *L'Association*¹⁹³) must keep his post as DEFENDER GENERAL IN THE PARIS PRESS. The Italian WORKING MEN'S CLUB²⁰ has not withdrawn from the Association, but no longer has a REPRESENTATIVE on the COUNCIL. Meanwhile, I shall get Bakunin to lay some counter-mines for Mr Mazzini in Florence. The English SHOEMAKERS' UNION—5,000 strong—has joined the Association during my ABSENCE.¹⁹⁴

How's the COTTON-CRISIS? I WANT INFORMATION ON THAT POINT.
In great haste.

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 MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 April 1865

Dear Moor,

It's good to have you back again, and I certainly hope this lousy squabble will soon be over. Letters from Dronke and Borkheim

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^b With regard to - ^c K. Marx, "The "President of Mankind" ". - ^d *Rheinische Zeitung* and *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*

enclosed. I had told the latter how it was possible to work with Kolatschek's great-German organ supporting Austrian rule in Hungary, Poland and Italy, as we would immediately have all our friends in the other countries down on us, hence the vague reply.¹⁹⁵

I had always half expected that the naive *fraternité* in the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION would not last long. If there were an active *political* movement among the workers here, just the same SPLITS would occur. It will pass through a lot more such phases and will take up a great deal of your time. But it does still remain something quite different from Lassalle's Association.²

I couldn't resist a hearty laugh when I read in Wilhelmchen's^a letter that the *official* Berlin community of that Association consists of 5 people, as there was recently a perfectly serious report in the *Social-Demokrat* of their transactions, in which they congratulated each other on *such a large* turn-out.^b

Ad vocem^c COTTON-CRISIS, things are looking quite cheerful here. Cotton (MIDDLING Orleans) stood at 31³/₄d in July, was quoted at 14³/₄d last Thursday, and today, if one is selling, it hardly fetches 14d. So, it has depreciated by more than half. It was still worth 27d on 30 December, which is a fall of 12¹/₂-13d in 3 months! On top of that, there's been a fall in flax, wool, sugar and all IMPORTS GENERALLY, which makes a loss of at least £40-50 mill. stg. You will readily understand that all the philistines are in a cold sweat. In Liverpool, *bankruptcy has altogether gone out of fashion now*. Anyone who becomes insolvent goes to his creditors (generally people there have only a couple), notifies them and offers them such and such an amount, which is always accepted at once as they are glad to get *anything at all* and have got to avoid any scandal so that the whole rotten edifice doesn't collapse. Hundreds of such settlements are said to have been reached on the quiet, and today rumour even has it here that one of the biggest Stockport manufacturers, who owns 3 big factories and is reputed to have made £200,000 over the last few years in COTTON-SPECULATION alone, has just come to a similar understanding on the quiet. But what we've seen so far is nothing. The bills, which were drawn from India against the white cotton, run out in the next 6 weeks, and there will be many more besides Joyce who will come to grief. A lot of people in Scotland are finished as well, and one fine day it's bound to be the turn of the banks, and that'd be the end of the

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht's - ^b *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 43, 5 April 1865. -

^c Regarding

matter. The spinners and manufacturers are becoming bankrupt by the dozen in Austria, too—in the whole of Bohemia only ‘the great Liebig’ is still on his feet, all the others have gone bust—and in Poland it’s all just starting as well.

Industry itself is not much affected. The small fry mostly went bust ages ago or quietly melted away, and the big ones can operate reasonably profitably once more, if they can get any orders at all. Among them, the only ones who are going bust are those who have bad machinery or who couldn’t keep their fingers out of COTTON. Everyone is making a loss on their stocks of cotton yarns and fabrics. We too could sing you a woeful song about that, twice as woeful for me in particular as it would have been if droned out last year. That’s what comes of being an *associé*.^a

Glorious is also the ethics of trade, as at present. You buy something today, and by the time it’s delivered, it is worth 3, 4, or 5d a pound less. This leads to all kinds of dirty tricks and repudiations, as people try to get out of these unprofitable contracts at any cost, and that lands you in interminable altercations and squabbling correspondence. I’m sick to the teeth with it. You can have no idea how much letter-writing and aggravation this entails.

I hope your wife got the £3? Final statement of account enclosed, I’ll send the £12 in a few days, it’s too late for a Post OFFICE order today.

Best wishes.

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

^a partner

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

London, 13 April 1865
 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Jung!

* In No. 30 of *Der weisse Adler*, 223 *Münstergasse*, Zürich there is a report of our Polish Meeting of 1 March.¹⁶⁸ This report must have been translated from the *Daily News* or some other English *middleclass paper* which, intentionally, suppressed the Resolution, proposed in the name of the 'International Association', and unanimously adopted by the St Martin's Hall Meeting.

As you are the *Swiss Secretary*, it belongs to you to rectify the report, and to request the *Editor* of the paper to print the notice¹⁹⁶ which I translate literally from the Report in *The Bee-Hive*.^a

Yours fraternally*

K. Marx

It goes without saying, dear Jung, that you can change the concluding words at your discretion. Since you are *plus ou moins*^b a Frenchman, I simply wanted to draft the scheme for you in German.

First published in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Jg. 6, Leipzig, 1916

Reproduced from the English original. The last paragraph translated from the German

Published in English for the first time

^a *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 177, 4 March 1865. - ^b more or less

74

MARX TO LÉON FONTAINE¹⁹⁷

IN BRUSSELS

[Draft]

London, 15 April 1865

Dear Citizen,

At its last sitting (see enclosure) the Central Council appointed me *pro interim*^a to be secretary for Belgium in place of Citizen Le Lubez, whose resignation as Council Member was unanimously accepted. Citizen Dupont has taken his place as secretary for France.

I will, if you wish, later give you a brief account of the disagreeable incidents which occurred within the Central Council. In my opinion, they were really instigated by a person alien to our Council, well known as an Italian patriot^b but an inveterate enemy of the interests of the proletariat, without which republicanism could be no more than a new form of bourgeois despotism. Did he not, as one of his most blindly faithful followers^c confessed to me, go so far as to demand that all the passages hostile to the bourgeoisie should be deleted from the Italian translation of our 'Address'^d.

Despite these regrettable incidents and the more or less voluntary resignation of several individuals, our Association is making glorious headway. Founded only a few months ago, today it already numbers almost 12,000 members in England alone.

The Central Council will be much obliged to you if you send me *an official report on the present state of our society in Belgium*.

In your correspondence please be so kind as to keep the official letters, which are destined for the Central Council's archives, separate from such private communications as you may be good enough to send me.

^a provisionally - ^b Giuseppe Mazzini - ^c Giuseppe Fontana - ^d K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'.

My address is: A. Williams,^a Esq., 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, N. W. London.

Greetings and fraternity.

Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Bolshevik*,
No. 11, 1934

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

75

ENGELS TO MARX²⁹

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 16 April 1865

Dear Moor,

The *Nordsterns* returned enclosed. Herwegh and Rüstow have certainly acquired a funny Dido^b dog in Reusche. The fellow is a real comic turn with his solemn declarations. The inevitable oath beside Lassalle's dead body makes a precious counterpart to Willich's apple-tree.¹⁹⁸ It's a real blessing that these people live so far away and that they still show a certain reserve in their attempts to approach us.

I haven't received No. 43 of the *Social-Demokrat*, so let me have it some time if there's anything particular in it.

Your
F. E.

What do you say about Richmond?³⁰ I had expected that Lee would act like a *soldier* and surrender, instead of taking to his heels, at least so as to secure better terms for the army. But it's better the way it is. He has ended like a scoundrel, and the tragedy closes on a comic note.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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

^a Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym - ^b A reference to Engels' dog.

76

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] SATURDAY, 22 April 1865

DEAR FRED,

The scribble from the *Rheinische Zeitung* enclosed.

I'll write a detailed letter to you tomorrow. I'm as limp as a wet rag today, partly from working late at night (nothing practical), partly from the diabolical muck I've been taking.

Dronke would be ALL RIGHT, if I could turn copper into gold like he does. AS IT IS, we must utilise the moment when the bourgeois papers are competing to print denials of SLANDER which tomorrow, if the struggle is being fought in earnest, they perhaps wish to have endorsed.

Salut. MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.^a

Your
Moor

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

77

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG¹

IN LONDON

[London,] 25 April 1865

Dear Jung,

I hope I may have the pleasure of your company at my house on Monday evening (ABOUT 8 O'CLOCK OR LATER, if that hour is too early for you) for a MEETING with ERNEST JONES and a small SUPPER. Apart from yourself, *only* Odger, Cremer and P. Fox. Had I

^a Lizzy Burns

wished to invite *more* guests, I should have had to ask *too many* for the purpose of the evening. This *entre nous*.^a

I have just written to Cremer¹¹¹ that he should issue the letter of authority for P. Vinçard immediately, which Dupont must then deliver to Vinçard forthwith. It would be best if Dupont could despatch the thing to Vinçard *direct* without it having to go by way of Fribourg.

Vinçard had already written to Lubez that he would *not* accept if he did not receive the POWERS *direct* from London.¹⁹⁹ In a letter to Fribourg Lubez promised to inform the 'CENTRAL COUNCIL' of this, but did not do so. I have reason to believe that Fribourg subsequently '*forgot*' the matter, not unintentionally.

I shall give you a verbal account of what further occurred in Paris (which was for the most part good); but in the meantime you should tell Dupont.

Salut et fraternité.

K. Marx

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

Printed according to the original

78

MARX TO ENGELS²⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 MAY 1865

DEAR FRED,

You must excuse me for not writing until today and thus breaking my LAST PROMISE. It happened not because it is 'sheer delight to break one's word',^b but because I really am OVERWORKED, as completing my book,^c on the one hand, and the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION', on the other, are making very heavy demands on my time.

Today is little Jenny's birthday, and this evening I shall be having Ernest Jones to my house along with Odger, Cremer, Fox

^a between ourselves - ^b Paraphrased quotation from F. Rückert's poem 'Die Weisheit des Brahmanen'. - ^c *Capital*

and Jung, so it will be a political birthday party. Laura had 'THE QUESTION POPPED' by one Charles Manning, born in South America, English father, Spanish mother. He's rich and generally a nice fellow, BUT LAURA 'DOES NOT CARE A PIN FOR HIM'. 'SHE HAS ALREADY KNOWN HOW TO DAMP' the passionate southern temperament. However, as my girl is a friend of his sisters, and he is frightfully IN LOVE, it is A DISAGREEABLE CASE.

I enclose a 'curiosity'. The *Nordstern's* correction makes it a worthy organ of the German louts.

I am also enclosing for you THE LATTER END of a letter from Schily, whose report on the Moses woman^a will amuse you.

The great achievement of the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION' is this:

THE REFORM LEAGUE IS OUR WORK. On the inner committee of 12 (6 MIDDLECLASSMEN and 6 WORKINGMEN), the WORKINGMEN ARE ALL MEMBERS OF OUR COUNCIL (including Eccarius).¹⁵⁵ WE HAVE BAFFLED all attempts by the middle class TO MISLEAD THE WORKING CLASS. This time the movement in the provinces is completely dependent on that in London. Ernest Jones, e.g., had DESPAIRED TILL WE SET THE BALL A-GOING. If we succeed in re-electrifying the POLITICAL MOVEMENT of the ENGLISH WORKING CLASS, our ASSOCIATION will already have done more for the European working class, WITHOUT MAKING ANY FUSS, than was possible IN ANY OTHER WAY. And there is every prospect of success.

You know that the *Italian* society²⁰ has not withdrawn from the ASSOCIATION, but its DELEGATES have from the COUNCIL.^b We now have *Spaniards* on it instead. ONE ROMAN NATION FOR THE OTHER. If those fellows don't appoint new delegates soon, as we have asked them to, Bakunin will have to arrange FOR SOME LIFE ITALIANS.

Weber junior^c has been thrown out of the workers' society here for making false reports to the *Social-Demokrat* and for stirring up trouble in the branch society 'Teutonia', which is run by two fanatical Prussians by the name of Klinker.²⁰⁰

Our joint statement^d really was successful beyond all expectation. Not merely have we blown apart the 'General Association of German Workers'² as an organ of the Prussian government and in SIX WORDS generally cleared the heads of the German workers of their intoxication with royalty. The present *split in the Party of Progress*⁹⁹ was also the direct result of our stand.

THE CHIVALRY OF THE SOUTH has ended worthily. In addition, Lincoln's ASSASSINATION was the most stupid act they could have committed. *Johnson* is STERN, INFLEXIBLE, REVENGEFUL and as a former

^a Sibylle Hess - ^b See this volume, p. 140. - ^c Louis Weber - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'.

POOR WHITE has a deadly hatred of the oligarchy. He will make less fuss about these fellows, and, because of the treachery, he will find the TEMPER of the North commensurate with his INTENTIONS.

Did you see how Blind HEADS the letter of condolence from the 'influential' Germans?²⁰¹ Blind is a genius in his way. IN THE VERY NICK OF TIME he does not merely go running to Freiligrath, etc., but has enough presence of mind to realise that, of the other signatories, ALPHABETICALLY 'Berndes' would open the list. So, he runs first to Freiligrath, etc., and gets him first of all to form a group and, after that worthy (who is now at one with Ruge as well), certain other INFLUENTIALS, I almost said INFINITESIMALS, such as Heintzmann and Kinkel, and puts himself 'alphabetically' at the top. Then he goes running to Berndes and gets him to start a second column next to himself, so that another lot of names, Trübner, etc., follows on. That is how the matter appears in *The Times*. In the same day's *Morning Star* the second column is added to the bottom of the first, with Blind AT THE TOP OF THE WHOLE, AND HIS FOOTMAN Freiligrath after him, etc. And not content with that, at his instigation, the *Star* of the same number also carries a notice on the front page THAT 'KARL BLIND HEADS, ETC.'

Isn't that genius for you?

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

79

ENGELS TO MARX²⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 May 1865

Dear Moor,

A belated many happy returns to little Jenny on her—20th?—birthday. THE OTHER AFFAIR LOOKS JUST LIKE LAURA ALL OVER.^a But what else

^a See this volume, p. 150.

can one say except repeat the verdict of the Stalybridge jury: SERVES HIM RIGHT.

I'll be sending all the things back to you in a few days time. I was very pleased to see in the *Nordstern* that something has at last been started against Becker^a and Schweitzer in Solingen, too.²⁰² As all I have seen concerning this business *since your departure* has been the *Social-Demokrat* and two letters from Liebknecht, I am not at all clear as to what has come to pass on the Rhine in this connection; from the miserable silence maintained by the *Social-Demokrat* about developments in the General Association of German Workers, I could only *deduce* that things must be looking bad for these gentlemen. But it is understandable that I really do need to know how things stand on the Rhine, especially since in the beginning the scoundrels had some momentary success there. If you've got any material on it, please let me have it, I'll send everything back to you, and in general I will as a rule send all the documents back in future because now you need to have this stuff together.

Have you taken out a subscription to the *Nordstern*? It would be a good thing if you did, because we've got to know what's happening.

It is vital for us to have some contacts with the workers on the Rhine so that in future we can counter intrigues of that kind from the outset. Apropos, peculiar things seem to have been happening to Klings. Some jackass gave him my address as *58 Dover Street*. Klings goes there, does not find me, of course, and goes to see Rode in Liverpool, and the latter tells Eichhoff I'd pretended to be out when Klings called, did not wish to see him, what is this supposed to mean, etc., to a man like Klings who was after all going to 'organise everything' in America with Weydemeyer and the others (which others?), etc., etc. Monsieur Rode, whom I've never met, did thereby express his surprise that I had 'not yet' sent him a copy of my pamphlet.^b Can you understand that?

The statement attacking the President of Mankind is very good.^c Just what was needed and no more.

The worst of it is that the people in Germany will now demand that someone assumes the leadership over them, and who can do it? Eccarius would be the man, but he won't want to leave London.

The International Association really has gained an enormous amount of ground in such a short time and with so little to-do. But

^a Bernhard Becker - ^b F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^c K. Marx, 'The "President of Mankind"'.
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it is a good thing it is at present occupied in England, instead of eternally having to deal with the disorders in France. So, you have something to compensate you for the time it's cost you.

How's the book^a going?

As far as the strategic situation is concerned, at Richmond Grant has achieved a precise replica of the battle of Jena,²⁰³ and with the same result: the whole of the enemy army is trapped.³⁰ Only he didn't have so far to march to gather the fruits.

Johnston has now surrendered, too, so I've won my wager of 2 months ago: that by 1 May the SOUTHERNERS would have no army left. Whoever still offers resistance will be taken in as a BRIGAND, and rightly so. At any rate, Johnson will insist on confiscation of the great estates, which will make the pacification and re-organisation of the South rather more acute. Lincoln would scarcely have insisted on it.

The SOUTHERN SYMPATHISERS here are consoling themselves for the hypocritical wailing they were obliged to put on over the assassination,^b by prophesying that it'll be Grant I, Emperor of America, within 4 weeks. What jackasses they have made of themselves!

Incidentally, their 'Majesties'^c must be absolutely furious that Lincoln's assassination has made such a colossal impact throughout the world. None of them has yet had such an honour.

Best wishes to your wife and the girls.

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

^a *Capital* - ^b of Abraham Lincoln - ^c Engels uses the South-German dialect here: 'Färschten'.

80

MARX TO ENGELS²⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 MAY 1865

DEAR FRED,

You need not send anything back (except Schily's letter^a). Just keep the things safely. I enclose ONE *Free Press* (the QUEER ARTICLE ON THE 'RECONSTRUCTION OF ITALY' is from the pen of the HIGH PRIEST himself, from Urquhart^b), also two *Nordsterns* (one of them somewhat out of date). I've got a subscription to the latter, but no longer to the *Social-Demokrat*. The latest *Nordstern* will give you some idea of the situation on the Rhine.²⁰⁴ Incidentally, the *total number* of the faithful whom B. Becker still commands is barely 1,000.

Before I forget: there were several allusions to your pamphlet^c in the debate in the Prussian Chamber. *Gneist*, for instance, said the Minister of War^d would not persuade them, even if his statistics spoke with the tongue of 'Engels' (Laughter.) (That is how the affair appeared in the *Berliner Reform*.^e)

As everywhere, the London workers, of course, also include A KNOT OF ASSES, FOOLS AND ROGUES, RALLYING round a scoundrel. The scoundrel in this case is 'George Potter', A RAT OF A MAN, SUPPORTED BY A VENAL but witty Irishman by the name of *Connolly*, who is a dangerous STUMP-ORATOR. Although the bourgeoisie hate the said Potter as chief STRIKE-MANAGER, they do, nevertheless, support him against our people because they smell VENALITY in him, whereas they know that our people are TRUE MEN. This Potter DERIVES HIS POWER particularly from the fact that he is PRESENTLY the MANAGER of *The Bee-Hive*, the official organ of the TRADES UNIONS, although he uses it against the OFFICIAL COUNCIL of these UNIONS which is in our hands.¹⁸ Since the paper is based on shares, the idea is now to distribute as many SHARES as possible (5SH. PER SHARE) amongst our workers. For my part I have undertaken to collect the MONEY FOR ABOUT 30 SHARES. FOR this, I'm counting on you (SINGLE HANDED OR with friends) for £5, I WRITE TO Dronke for £1 and I will pay the rest myself. (Although my FUNCTION with the CENTRAL COUNCIL costs me a *lot* of money,

^a See this volume, p. 150. - ^b D. Urquhart, 'Construction of the "Kingdom of Italy"', *The Free Press*, 3 May 1865. - ^c F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^d von Roon - ^e [Account of Gneist's speech in the House of Deputies,] *Berliner Reform*, No. 69 (supplement), 22 March 1865.

compared with what I can afford.) The money must already be AT HAND *this* week, as the General Meeting of the SHAREHOLDERS is next week. If we are only strong enough (and Odger, for instance, has guaranteed 50 SHARES) to elect the DIRECTORS, we shall have that rogue Potter (who is only the MANAGER) UNDER OUR THUMBS. This matter is of decisive importance for the whole movement.²⁰⁵

E. Jones was here, very charming SOCIALLY SPEAKING. But between ourselves, *he* is *only* trying to use our Association for electoral agitation. Of the 12 cards I sent him, he returned 11, he had not sold a single one, whereas POOR Schily, for instance, paid for 24 for himself alone. I told him he should just put them back in his pocket again, I would dispose of them later, but I could not appear in front of the English workers and tell them that. BY AND BY HE WILL FIND OUT that if only for speculative reasons he should not have treated the business so lightly and RATHER CONTEMPTIBLY. I will write to him and tell him to hand over the 'ADDRESSES'^a to you. You can give them to whomsoever you please. They are just dead weight with him. Incidentally, I don't take kindly to the fact that he was here to wangle a job as RECORDER out of Sir G. Grey either.

Today I am to submit an 'ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON.'²⁰⁶ Mr Le Lubez wants to return to the COUNCIL as—DELEGATE FOR DEPTFORD, the same fellow as resigned as DELEGATE FOR FRANCE,^b BUT HIS ADMITTANCE (WE HAVE TO CONFIRM THE DELEGATES) WILL NOT RUN QUITE SO SMOOTHLY AS HE SEEMS TO FANCY. I would be pleased if you could form even just a BRANCH OF 6 MEN in Manchester, and could get yourself elected as their CORRESPONDENT FOR LONDON. FOR THE CORRESPONDING people are *eo ipso*^c MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL, and have a seat and a vote on it, WHEN AT LONDON.

NEW BRANCHES have been formed in Lyon, Neufchâteau (*département des Vosges*) and St Denis. The French BRANCHES (apart from Paris) are not linked with Paris, in view of the existing laws, but directly with London.

I'm hoping to put the finishing touches to my book^d by 1 September (despite numerous interruptions). It's going ahead well, although I am still not quite well.

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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^a K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. -

^b See this volume, p. 140. - ^c of themselves - ^d *Capital*

81

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 May 1865

Dear Moor,

Schily's letter returned enclosed. That passing glimpse of the family life of Moses and the Moses woman^a was most entertaining. Many thanks for the *Nordsterns*. The reports in them provide a check on the negative evidence of the *Social-Demokrat*, which I am keeping on until June (and if it is not being taken anywhere in London accessible to you, I am willing to continue taking it, one never knows what may happen).

By the by, the rag in question—i.e., the *Social-Demokrat*—has now gone into such decline that one really feels sorry for it. Poor Schweitzer's heroic soul is at its last gasp, every shred of an idea and all the fruits of his reading have already been used up and he hasn't even a fart left in him to serve up to his readers. Nor is Mauses^b producing anything any more, Mauses, the last hope of the new 'party'.²⁰⁷ 'News of the Association' is a complete blank, too—literary section re-printed from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.²⁰⁸ After four months editorship during one of the most turbulent periods we have known since 1848, that milksop has been pumped dry, right down to the dregs, and those are the fellows who wanted to annex the whole German proletariat by one trick.

Ad vocem^c Potter: five pounds encl., you can take some, i.e., five of the SHARES in my name and five in Samuel Moore's, whom I've admittedly not yet seen, but he's sure to take some; we'll send you PROXY for the general meeting.^d If Gumpert also wants 5 SHARES, you can pass some of those 20 on to him—so: 5 for me, 5 for Moore, the remaining 10 to be distributed to other people, but make sure that, if the people are *not quite reliable*, you reserve the right to take them back again.

As for the suggestion that *I* should form a BRANCH of the International Association here, it's quite out of the question. Apart

^a Moses and Sibylle Hess. See this volume, p. 150. - ^b Moses Hess. Engels makes a pun on the name *Moses* and the word *Maus* (mouse). - ^c concerning - ^d See this volume, pp. 154-55.

from Moore and Gumpert, I see no one here, as I can't broach that kind of thing with the Kyllmanns or we would have a squabble at once. Besides, my position as its correspondent for London would impose all kinds of obligations on me, which I would be unable to fulfil as soon as real contacts with the workers were found or arose here. *Et à quoi bon?*^a I wouldn't be able to take any of the burden off your shoulders anyway.

Apropos. Moses is still up to his tricks against the International Association in the *Social-Demokrat*²⁰⁹; if you haven't read the piece, I'll send it to you.

The number of the banknote is: B/C 48498, Manchester, 4 January 1864.

The tongues of Engels, etc., are not a reference to me, as I thought myself at first, but to the statistician Privy Councillor *Engel* in Berlin who sorted out the things for Roon which I criticised.^b

Jones must be allowed to go his own way. He doesn't seem to me to have any real confidence in the proletarian movement any more. I can never find him here anyway, he's always away.

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

82

MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 MAY 1865

DEAR FRED,

The £5 received with THANKS. Will be invested as suggested.

You are right about the COMMITTEE IN MANCHESTER.^c

Quoad^d E. Jones, it is necessary to march with him for the time being. He and his people will be figuring at the next Manchester

^a And what would be the use? - ^b See this volume, p. 154. - ^c *ibid.*, pp. 155, 156. - ^d Regarding

CONFERENCE (NEXT TUESDAY) together with our DELEGATES (Odger and Cremer ON THE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION), Howell as secretary of the REFORM LEAGUE (BRICKLAYER, ONE OF THE MEMBERS OF OUR COUNCIL) and Beales and Mason Jones as bourgeois representatives of the same LEAGUE.²¹⁰

Without us this REFORM LEAGUE would never have come into existence, or else it would have fallen into the hands of the MIDDLECLASS. The glorious failure of BAINES'S BILL (which will result in a CHANGE OF MINISTRY and the COMING IN of the Tories), originally SUPPORTED BY THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH WANTED SOME SUCH SMALL MEASURE FOR THE HUSTINGS, occurred in the Lower House itself with direct reference to the 'extravagant' demands recently put up by the WORKING CLASS (I.E. OUR MEN).²¹¹

As Dronke wrote me, Reinach I, who is NOW MANAGING DIRECTOR of the BANK OF SWITZERLAND, will be ruthlessly putting an end to the OFFICE in London, which is causing nothing but expenses. Reinach I is, of course, not bound by the same political and personal considerations as Fazy²¹² and Klapka were.

A ghastly carbuncle has broken out again on my left hip, NEAR the INEXPRESSIBLE PART OF THE BODY.

Regards to Mrs Lizzy.^a

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Apropos. Monsieur Le Lubez, who had miscalculated about how important and dangerous he is, WANTS NOW TO RETURN TO THE CENTRAL COUNCIL IN THE CAPACITY OF A REPRESENTATIVE 'FOR GREENWICH'! We replied that *d'abord*^b we had to wait for certain letters to come, which he had written to France at the time of the CONFLICT.²¹³

I hardly think the *Social-Demokrat* will see out another quarter. Moses^c believed himself safely ensconced and didn't want to give up his prestigious position as Lassalle's really secret agent at any price.²⁰⁷ *Le pauvre diable!*^d

Lassalle's will is now proven. He has left **nothing** to B. Becker apart from his 'NOMINATION', accompanied by rules of conduct dictated 'with all severity and authority'.

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
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^a Lizzy Burns - ^b first of all - ^c Moses Hess - ^d The poor devil!

83

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 MAY 1865

DEAR FRED,

Cutting *ENCLOSED* which includes my address to Johnson.^a

Edgar's^b reappearance did, of course, surprise us greatly. *QUITE THE FELLOW I THOUGHT HIM*, and his career quite as I expected it. *IT IS A PITY* that he could not always have been right-hand to Garibaldi. He would have suited him to a tee. But the poor devil is still very weak. He will be staying here for some time, apropos of which you could be doing *A GOOD WORK* by contributing to the replenishment of my *wine-cellar*.

I am working like a horse at the moment, as I must make use of the time when I am fit for work, and the carbuncles are still with me, though they only trouble me locally and do not disturb the brain-pan.

In between times, since one cannot always be writing, I am doing some *DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS* $\frac{dx}{dy}$. I have no patience to read anything else at all. Any other kind of reading always drives me back to my writing-desk.

Special meeting of the 'INTERNATIONAL' this evening. A good old codger, an *OLD OWENIST*, *Weston* (CARPENTER), has put up the following two propositions that he is constantly defending in *The Bee-Hive*:

1. that *A GENERAL RATE IN THE RISE OF THE RATE OF WAGES* would be of no benefit to the workers;

2. that the *TRADES-UNIONS* for that reason, etc., are *harmful*.

If these two propositions, in which *he* alone in our *SOCIETY* believes, were to be accepted, we should be in a terrible mess, both in respect of the *TRADES-UNIONS* here and the *INFECTION OF STRIKES* now prevailing on the Continent.

He will be supported in the matter by a native Englishman—since non-members are also admitted to this meeting—who has written a pamphlet to the same effect.^c I am, of course, expected

^a K. Marx, ['Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson']. - ^b Edgar von Westphalen's - ^c T. J. Dunning, *Trades Unions and Strikes: Their Philosophy and Intention*.

to produce a refutation. I ought therefore really to have worked out my *réplique* for this evening, but I thought it more important to get on with writing my book,^a and so I shall have to rely on improvisation.

I know in advance, of course, what the two main POINTS will be:

1. that *wages* determine the value of commodities;
2. that if the capitalists pay 5s. today instead of 4, tomorrow they will sell their commodities for 5s. instead of 4 (being ENABLED to do so by the increased demand).

Trite though that is, and however little it penetrates the topmost surface of things, it is, nevertheless, not easy to explain to the ignorant all the competing economic questions involved. YOU CAN'T COMPRESS A COURSE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY INTO 1 HOUR. BUT WE SHALL DO OUR BEST.²¹⁴

Edgar regards it as a GOOD OMEN that he met you first in England. He liked Lizzy^b very much.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

It is a most strange irony of fate that this Edgar, who never exploited anyone other than himself and was always a WORKMAN in the strictest sense of the word, went through A WAR OF AND WITH STARVATION for the slave-owners. Ditto that both brothers-in-law have for the moment been ruined by the American war.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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Dear LIBRARY,

I should prefer it if the translation of the Address^c could appear in the *Reform*^d and the *Rheinische Zeitung*. It will, of course,

^a *Capital* - ^b Lizzy Burns - ^c K. Marx, ['Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson']. - ^d *Berliner Reform*

be necessary to say that the original is in English, and it will do no harm if I am named as the author.²¹⁵ The bourgeois papers are still holding it against us that of A. Lincoln's replies to the various messages of congratulations on his RE-ELECTION, only the reply to ours^a was more than a *formal* ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECEIPT.¹¹²

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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85

MARX TO ENGELS²⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 June 1865

DEAR FRED,

You must excuse my long silence. The whole time I have been suffering throughout from bilious nausea (probably on account of the heat), had all kinds of other TROUBLES as well, and apart from that I have used the time, when fit to write, for official work on my book.^b You know how, when one is in such a condition, one is always resolving to send letters but never manages to.

Not much new to report. The valiant *Nordstern* did not appear since my last despatch to you, probably for lack of money. I received it again today, and it does not mention the interval at all. As you will see, the rag is nothing but a dungheap of loutism. In their denunciation of B. Becker, these fellows are now declaring everyone a 'traitor' who dares to lay a finger on even one syllable of the truth as revealed by Lassalle.²¹⁶ Meanwhile, Mr B. Becker has provisionally ceded his chairmanship to that lout Fritzsche (of Leipzig) and set up his residence in Berlin in order to do business with Mr Bismarck directly.

^a K. Marx, 'To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America'. -

^b *Capital*

A pretty shambles Baron Izzy's whole movement has degenerated into! But the fellow obviously had the right instinct for how to make himself Saviour of the German louts! Meanwhile, the 'unfaithful one'^a is living in blissful happiness as a boyar lady with her Wallachian^b in Bucharest.

I have had no letters from Liebknecht for some while. But that is no doubt because for a long time, while my correspondence was suspended, I did not answer the notes that used to come in almost daily from him, none of them having anything to say, and each successive one invariably confirming the nullity of its precursor.

In respect of the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION', I will just mention the following here:

The Italian gentlemen have *come back* and indicated to us last Tuesday^c that they have yet once again nominated Major Wolff as their delegate. Mr Mazzini appears to have convinced himself that he may need us, whereas we care not a FARTHING for him.

A YANKEE by the name of Leon Lewis (in Paris at the moment) has become the American secretary. In my opinion, he is worthless, although he has plenty of money and even more ambition. The fellow imagined that by founding a paper, *The Commoner*, he could revolutionise England in 24 hours or in 6 months at the very least. He offered this paper-to-be to us as our organ, but found that we are setting very business-like and by no means enthusiastic conditions, and so he has 'temporarily' left for France with his wife, who is also a great politician, I suspect to see if he can apply his 'LEVER' there with any more success.

I should like your advice on the following point:

I read a PAPER (which would perhaps cover two printed sheets) at the CENTRAL COUNCIL about the question raised by Mr Weston^d as to the effect of A GENERAL RISE OF WAGES, etc.²¹⁴ The first part of it is a reply to Weston's nonsense; the second A THEORETICAL exposition, insofar as it was appropriate for the occasion.^e

Now they want to have it printed. On the one hand, that could perhaps be useful to me, since they are in contact with J. St. Mill, Professor Beesly, Harrison, etc. On the other hand, I have my doubts:

1. to have 'Mr Weston' as adversary is not exactly 'vairy-flattering';

2. the second part of the paper contains, in an extraordinarily condensed BUT RELATIVELY POPULAR FORM, many new ideas which are

^a Helene von Dönniges - ^b Janko von Racowitza - ^c 20 June - ^d See this volume, pp. 159-60. - ^e K. Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*.

anticipated from my book,^a whilst at the same time it does, of necessity, have to skate over a lot of problems. The question is, whether it is advisable to anticipate things of that kind in such a way? I think you can decide on this better than I can because you can look at the matter with more detachment from a distance.

I also had a lot of trouble TO PUT OFF the CONGRESS announced for this year, in the face of pressure from Schily, J. Ph. Becker, and some of the Paris COMMITTEE. I did, however, succeed—and that was decisive—in persuading the COUNCIL here that in view of the electoral agitation, etc., there should only be a preliminary (private) *conference in London* this year, to which the CENTRAL FOREIGN COMMITTEES would each send one delegate (not the AFFILIATED SOCIETIES BUT THEIR ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES). I am certain that the Brussels Congress would come to nought. The time was not yet ripe for it.²¹⁷

Our Eccarius has become one of the main London electoral agitators and would have accepted the invitation to agitate in the country (on £2 per week), if this were not the height of the tailoring SEASON. He has a peculiarly dry, humorous manner of speaking which particularly appeals to the English.

Edgar^b is already much recovered. An odd fish for whom fodder and fancy clothes really are the only things of account; as egotistical as a dog or a cat, BUT A KIND-NATURED ONE. His brain has also begun to display certain activity.

Johnson's policy likes me not. A ludicrous AFFECTATION of severity towards individuals; hitherto excessively VACILLATING and weak when it comes down to it. The reaction has already set in in America and will soon be much fortified if the present lackadaisical attitude is not ended immediately.

What do you say to the debates in the Prussian Chamber? At any rate, the revelations about the judicial system, etc., following in rapid succession were splendid. Ditto the obvious blow which the National Association Great-Prussia men¹⁵² received, as was shown particularly in the Polish debates.

Ad vocem^c Poland, I was most interested to read the work by *Elias Regnault* (the same who wrote the 'histoire des principautés danubiennes'), 'La Question Européenne, faussement nommée La Question Polonaise'. I see from it that Lapiński's dogma that the Great Russians are *not Slavs* has been advocated on linguistic, historical and ethnographical grounds in all seriousness by Monsieur *Duchiński* (from Kiev, Professor in Paris); he maintains

^a *Capital* - ^b Edgar von Westphalen - ^c Regarding

that the real Muscovites, i.e., inhabitants of the former GRAND DUCHY OF MOSCOW, were for the most part Mongols or Finns, etc., as was the case in the parts of Russia situated further east and in its south-eastern parts. I see from it at all events that the affair has seriously worried the St Petersburg cabinet (since it would put an end to *Panslavism* in no uncertain manner). All Russian scholars were called on to give responses and refutations, and these in the event turned out to be terribly weak. The purity of the Great Russian dialect and its connection with Church Slavonic appear to lend more support to the Polish than to the Muscovite view in this debate. During the last Polish insurrection²⁴ Duchiński was awarded a prize by the National Government for his 'discoveries'. It has ditto been shown geologically and hydrographically that a great 'Asiatic' difference occurs east of the Dnieper, compared with what lies to the west of it, and that (as Murchison^a has already maintained) the *Urals* by no means constitute a dividing line. Result as obtained by Duchiński: *Russia* is a name usurped by the Muscovites. They are not Slavs; they do not belong to the Indo-Germanic RACE at all, they are *des intrus*,^b who must be chased back across the Dnieper, etc. Panslavism in the Russian sense is a cabinet invention, etc.

I wish that Duchiński were right and AT ALL EVENTS that this view would prevail among the Slavs. On the other hand, he states that some of the peoples in Turkey, such as Bulgars, e.g., who had previously been regarded as Slavs, are non-Slav.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Philistine Freiligrath descended on us with wife and daughter^c 2 weeks ago! He now has his immediate superior Reinach on his back who is here 'to investigate' and is giving him a proper roasting.

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

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Published in English in full for the first time

^a R. I. Murchison, E. de Verneuil, Count Alexander von Keyserling, *The Geology of Russia in Europe and the Ural Mountains*. - ^b intruders - ^c Ida and Käthe Freiligrath

86

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN BERLIN

[London,] 24 June 1865

Dear Liebknecht,

You must explain to yourself my long silence by continuing indisposition and much work in intervals when I have been capable of it. Your letters, moreover, contained nothing which would have required urgent reply.

The *Nordstern* has most likely been suspended for a while owing to lack of money? At least, it has not arrived here for a couple of weeks. A fine gutter rag, to be sure! The declaration by various associations^a that anyone who so much as lays a finger on the articles of faith as revealed by Lassalle is guilty of high treason, is priceless. *Haut-gôût*,^b INDEED!

What is Mr B. Becker doing in Berlin, and how is the *Social-Demokrat* 'surviving'?

You have quite the wrong notion of Dr Kugelmann. I have been in correspondence with him for years past. He was a socialist back in 1848, in Düsseldorf. AS TO Pieper, the VERY NAME OF Kugelmann was not known to him when he was here.²¹⁸

I have not yet written to Stumpf because I have not been writing any letters over this period. As regards the letter he entrusted to Bruhn, I have not, of course, ever set eyes upon it.²¹⁹

The INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION is making great strides *despite* the 'ENORMOUS SUPPORT' it is receiving from Germany.²²⁰

As regards the 'Louis Bonaparte',^c I could see from YOUR DROPPING OF THE SUBJECT that the matter has come to nothing.⁷⁹ I AM RATHER glad of this, as I shall later be having it re-printed in the essay-collection all the same.

What is old Hatzfeldt doing? And the fracas over the will?²²¹
Salut.

Your
K. M.

^a A reference to the various branches of the General Association of German Workers (see this volume, p. 161). - ^b strong meat - ^c K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

What are Messrs E. Bauer, Bucher *et Co.* up to?
Edgar^a will probably be staying here a while longer yet.^b

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the original
Published in English for the first
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87

MARX TO ELEANOR MARX

IN LONDON

[London,] 3 July 1865
Maiden Tower

Dear Miss Lilliput!

You must excuse the 'belated' character of my answer. I belong to that sort of people who always look twice at things before they decide one way or the other. Thus I was rather startled on receiving an invitation on the part of a female minx, quite unknown to me. However, having ascertained your respectability, and the high tone of your transactions with your tradespeople, I shall feel happy to seize this rather strange opportunity of getting at your eatables and drinkables. But, pray, don't neglect the latter, as spinsters usually have bad taste of doing. Suffering somewhat under an attack of rheumatism, I hope you keep your reception room clear of anything like draught. As to the ventilation required, I shall provide for it myself. Being somewhat deaf in the right ear, please put a dull fellow, of whom, I dare say, your company will not be in want, at my right side. For the left, I hope you will reserve your female beauty; I mean the best-looking female amongst your guests.

I am somewhat given to tobacco-chewing, so have the stuff ready. Having from former intercourse with Yankees taken to the habitude of spitting, I hope spittoons will not be missing. Being rather easy in my manners, and disgusted at this hot and close English atmosphere, you must prepare for seeing me in a dress

^a Edgar von Westphalen - ^b See this volume, p. 159.

rather adonistic. I hope your female guests are somewhat in the same line.

Adieu, my dear unknown little minx.

Yours for ever

Doctor Crankey

No British wines, I hope!

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925 and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September, 1929

Reproduced from the original

88

ENGELS TO MARX²⁹

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 15 July 1865

Dear Moor,

Liebknecht has been expelled from Prussia; has he written to you since and given you his address? The poor devil will probably need money, and a few pounds will be more valuable to him at this moment than otherwise. But where should they be sent to?

Mr Johnson's policy is less and less to my liking, too. NIGGER^a-hatred is coming out more and more violently, and he is relinquishing all his power vis-à-vis the old lords in the South. If this should continue, all the old secessionist scoundrels will be in Congress in Washington in 6 months time. Without COLOURED SUFFRAGE nothing can be done, and Johnson is leaving it up to the defeated, the ex-slaveowners, to decide on that. It is absurd. Nevertheless, one must still reckon on things turning out differently from what these barons imagined. After all, the majority of them have been completely ruined and will be glad to sell land to immigrants and speculators from the North. The latter will arrive soon enough and make a good number of changes. I think the MEAN WHITES will gradually die out. Nothing more will become of this RACE; those who are left after 2 generations will merge with the immigrants to make a completely different RACE.

^a See p. XL of the Preface.

The NIGGERS will probably turn into small SQUATTERS as in Jamaica. Thus ultimately the oligarchy will go to pot after all, but the process could be accomplished immediately at one fell swoop, whereas it is now being drawn out.

I don't think that you would win many laurels by a disputation with Mr Weston, and it would certainly not make a good *début* in English economic literature.^a Otherwise, I cannot see it would do much harm to anticipate a few odd points from your book^b—N. B. if the latter is *really* almost finished now—how does it stand? The ultimate and final date for completion was 1 September, and the price, you remember, is 12 bottles of wine.

In the elections here Jones has been working BODY AND SOUL for Heywood, but as a TEETOTALLER and PERMISSIVE BILLS man²²² he won't pull much with the workers. Moore has been working hard, too. The Manchester SNOBS will be gladdened by James, the fellow wants to become a JUDGE and nothing more. The election is costing him a pretty penny, just for the champagne his committee and cronies have swigged. TALK ABOUT BRIBERY, CORRUPTION AND TREATING, fellows like that fat Knowles came in droves to the Queen's Hotel, where the headquarters was, gorged their fill and swigged rivers of champagne, and everything was settled with a slip of paper on which a committee-member wrote: valid for 2 LUNCHEONS and 3 BOTTLES CHAMPAIGN. In Lancaster, the 3 candidates together disbursed £20,000, and there was free booze for a whole week in every pub. I was here in the Queen's Hotel at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the elegant SMOKING ROOM looked like the old den in Windmill Street,²²³ and customers were served by CELLAR BOYS in white shirt-sleeves and aprons, instead of BARMAIDS in satin dresses. The whole company was drunk, and at half past six the landlord had to have the hotel cleared by a police patrol. My task consisted in getting James' committee people to tipple until they were incapable of doing their job, and in several cases I was successful beyond expectation.

I've had a very hard time at the office, Charles^c was away, Franz Ermen ditto, and a colossal amount of work to boot. Things are better now. I am now on Grimm's Fairy Tales, German heroic epic, ancient Frisian law, etc. As soon as I have got through that somewhat, I'll have a serious go at Old Norse. The poetry in it is a tough nut because of its deliberate obscurity and all the many names in the mythology, and I can see it's NO USE doing this just as

^a See this volume, pp. 159-60, 162. - ^b *Capital* - ^c Charles Roesgen

a side line; I need to spend 4 weeks all at once on it and nothing else, when I have little to do.

Many regards to the LADIES.

Your
F. E.

Moore has been asking me about the SHARES for *The Bee-Hive*; how do things stand? AND HOW DID YOU GET ON WITH POTTER?²⁰⁵

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 MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 25 July 1865

Dear Moor,

How do you like our Prussian Mirabeaus in—the **Zoological Gardens**? Harkort and Co. as wild animals, Bismarck himself could not have thought that up.²²⁴

By the by, it seems certain to me that Mr Bismarck decidedly wants to have a collision. For me the most convincing evidence of this is the behaviour of Schweitzer's shit-rag,^a which is being confiscated every day now. The workers are now suddenly expected to take the part of the Deputies, after being called on for 6 months not to get excited; there are to be mass meetings, etc., and every effort is to be put into agitating against the government. Further corroboration is provided by the unanimous refrain from the reactionary press, which is comparing the banquet with the February banquets in Paris,²²⁵ and finally the government's whole proceeding, the pointless provocations, etc. Meanwhile, it was to be expected that Bismarck would come a cropper. Wasn't cleverly enough organised anyway.

^a *Der Social-Demokrat*

On the other hand, Schweitzer-Becker seem to want to take the opportunity to make a decent EXIT. The *Social-Demokrat* and the Association^a are to be suppressed so that those gentlemen can be whitewashed. I've stopped reading that rag as of 1st inst., incidentally. Bismarck seems to have had his fill of paying for it, and so have I. So, if anything should happen, I shall have to rely on you for information.

32° Réaumur in the shade in Germany! They say people are still only living in the cellars. It's as sultry as the tropics here, too.

Kindest 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 for the first time

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MARX TO LÉON FONTAINE²²⁶

IN BRUSSELS

[Draft]

[London,] 25 July 1865

Dear Citizen,

Some considerable time ago I sent a letter to you by an Englishman, who was to visit Germany and travel through Brussels. Since then I have had no news, either from you or from my Englishman. I shall not refer back to my reply to your letter, but will deal solely with current matters.

Mr Le Lubez has rejoined the Central Council as delegate from an English branch,^b and the Italian society in London²⁰ has reinstated Mr Wolff as its representative on the Council.^c

Mr Charles Limousin, one of our correspondents in Paris and editor of the *Tribune ouvrière...*, following the seizure of the *Tribune ouvrière*, and being unable to find another printer in Paris, went to Brussels in an attempt to bring out the paper there. Whilst

^a General Association of German Workers - ^b in Greenwich (see this volume, p. 158) - ^c See this volume, p. 162.

there, he investigated the state of our affairs. He was told that, after it had unanimously approved your proposal that it should amalgamate with our Association, the Société Fédérative had withdrawn:

1. because it insisted on the right to choose its own correspondents and not have them imposed on it by the Central Council;
2. because it refused to pay for the membership cards, although it remitted lf. 50 just as before.

According to Mr Limousin's letter, you had then approached the Société typographique, but with the same result owing to the same difficulties.

With regard to the election of correspondents, the Central Council has acknowledged the right of affiliated societies to choose their own representatives. It has only retained the power to confirm them. Things were different in Brussels because no society had yet been constituted there. Would it not be possible to reach a compromise, whereby the societies would accept you as their correspondent, but they would, for their part, choose an administrative committee, as was done in Paris and Geneva?

With regard to the dues, the societies will readily realise that the Central Council would be prevented from any general action if all the affiliated societies claimed the right not to pay dues. It appears that the objection is to paying dues *twice*. Would it not be possible to find an amicable solution to these matters? The Central Council will make any concession compatible with its responsibilities.

For my part, I am convinced that your actions were dictated solely by your zeal for the common cause, and I am appealing to this same zeal in asking you to work for reconciliation and restoration of relations. You would oblige me greatly by replying immediately, firstly because I have to give the Central Council a report on this affair, and secondly because a *preliminary conference* of members of the various administrative committees will be taking place in London on 25 September.²¹⁷

The Central Council is persuaded that the congress cannot take place this year, but the preliminary conference in London will make preparations for it.^a

With fraternal greetings

Ch. Marx

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

Printed according to Marx's Notebook

Translated from the French

^a See this volume, pp. 173-74.

91

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹IN MANCHESTER^a

[London,] 31 July 1865

Dear Engels,

As you may have suspected, the reasons for my prolonged silence are not the most pleasant.

For two months I have been living solely on the pawnshop, which means that a queue of creditors has been hammering on my door, becoming more and more unendurable every day. This FACT won't come as any surprise to you when you consider: 1. that I have been unable to earn a FARTHING the whole time and 2. that merely paying off *the debts* and furnishing the house cost me something like £500. I have kept accounts (AS TO THIS ITEM) PENCE FOR PENCE, as I myself found it unbelievable how the money disappeared. To top that, I have been sent every conceivable, antediluvian IOU from Germany where God knows what rumours had been circulated.

To begin with, I wanted to come up to you to discuss the matter with you in person. But, at the present moment, any time lost cannot be made up as it is not good to interrupt my work. Last Saturday I told the Sub-Committee of the 'INTERNATIONAL'²¹ that I was going away, so as at least to have a fortnight for once completely free of disturbance for PUSHING ON with my work.

I assure you that I would rather have had my thumb cut off than write this letter to you. It is truly soul-destroying to be dependent for half one's life. The only thought that sustains me in all this is that the two of us form a partnership together, in which I spend my time on the theoretical and party side of the BUSINESS. It is true my house is beyond my means, and we have, moreover, lived better this year than was the case before. But it is the only way for the children to establish themselves socially with a view to securing their future, quite apart from everything they have suffered and for which they have at least been compensated for a brief while. I believe you yourself will be of the opinion that, even from a merely commercial point of view, to run a purely proletarian household would not be appropriate in the cir-

^a The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London.

cumstances, although that would be quite all right, if my wife and I were by ourselves or if the girls were boys.

Now, regarding my work, I will tell you the plain truth about it. There are 3 more chapters to be written to complete the theoretical part (the first 3 books). Then there is still the 4th book, the historical-literary one,²²⁷ to be written, which will, comparatively speaking, be the easiest part for me, since all the problems have been resolved in the first 3 books, so that this last one is more by way of repetition in historical form. But I cannot bring myself to send anything off until I have the whole thing in front of me. WHATEVER SHORTCOMINGS THEY MAY HAVE, the advantage of my writings is that they are an artistic whole, and this can only be achieved through my practice of never having things printed until I have them in front of me *in their entirety*. This is impossible with Jacob Grimm's method which is in general better with writings that have no dialectical structure.²²⁸

The *English* version will be dealt with differently on the other hand. Fox has no doubt that he can find me a publisher as soon as I get the first sheets of print back. I would then arrange with Meissner that, in addition to the proofs for correcting, he would also send me the clean proof of each sheet, so that the German could be corrected at the same time as it is being translated into English. Regarding the latter, I shall of course need your assistance. I am expecting my real earnings from this work to come from the English edition.²²⁹

As far as the 'INTERNATIONAL' is concerned, the position is as follows:

I made over the £5 to Cremer to buy shares in *The Bee-Hive*. But since Cremer, Odger, etc., were going up to Manchester at that time, nothing came of it, and Potter HAD THE BETTER OF IT.²⁰⁵ They decided to postpone the matter until the next meeting of shareholders (actually, the annual one). But I don't think that anything will come of it. Firstly, because the squabble between Odger and Potter has become a public scandal. Secondly, because *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* has offered its columns to us.²³⁰ (Apropos. At a recent meeting with the *Miner* we undertook to let it have contributions gratis. So, if you have time to write a little article ON FOREIGN POLITICS (**Prussian**, etc.), now and then, send it to me to be passed on to the paper.)

According to our Rules a public *congress* ought to be held in Brussels this year. The Parisians, Swiss and some of the people here, too, are going for it hammer and tongs. In the present circumstances—especially since I have so little time to write the

necessary documents for the CENTRAL COUNCIL as well—I can only foresee a disgrace. Despite considerable opposition from the other side, I have succeeded in turning the public congress in Brussels into A PRIVATE PREALABLE CONFERENCE in London (25 September) which only DELEGATES OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES will attend and at which the future congress is to be *prepared*. Official reasons given for postponing the congress were:

1. The need for PREALABLE UNDERSTANDING between the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

2. The obstacles to the Association's propaganda arising from the STRIKES IN FRANCE, the elections, REFORM MOVEMENT and WORKINGMEN'S EXHIBITIONS IN ENGLAND.²³¹

3. The ALIEN BILL RECENTLY PRESSED in Belgium²³² which rules out Brussels as a RENDEZVOUS for an INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS.²¹⁷

I do not see the *Social-Demokrat* any more, as the Workers' Society^a has also stopped it.²⁰⁰ Nor am I taking the *Nordstern* any more, but I do see it occasionally at the Society. It said the Rhineland branches had on the main question deserted Bernhard.^b

Edgar^c is a very expensive guest for us, especially in the present circumstances, and he does not seem in the least inclined TO DECAP.^d

In consequence of the hot weather and related biliousness, I have again been vomitting nearly every day for the past 3 months, as I did previously in Brussels.

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

Dear Engels,

London, 5 August 1865

MY BEST THANKS FOR THE £50 AND the speed with which the help came.

I was greatly amused by the part of your letter¹³¹ which deals with the 'work of art' TO BE.^d But you misunderstood me. The only

^a German Workers' Educational Society in London - ^b Bernhard Becker (see this volume, p. 152) - ^c Edgar von Westphalen - ^d *Capital*

POINT IN QUESTION is whether to do a fair copy of part of the manuscript and send it to the publisher,^a or finish writing the whole thing first? I have decided in favour of the latter for many reasons. No time is lost by it, AS FAR as the *work itself* is concerned, although some time is lost in printing; however, on the other hand, once begun, that cannot then be interrupted in any way either. Furthermore, in view of the level of the thermometer, progress with it has been as fast as anyone could have managed, even having no artistic considerations at all. BESIDES, as I have a MAXIMUM LIMIT of 60 printed sheets, it is absolutely essential for me to have the whole thing in front of me, to know how much has to be condensed and crossed out, so that the individual sections shall be evenly balanced and in proportion within the prescribed limits.²³³ In any case, you can be sure that I shall spare no effort to *complete as soon as possible*, as the thing is a nightmarish burden to me. Not only does it prevent me from doing anything else, but it is also DAMNEDLY irksome to have the public kept entertained with the expectation of laurels to come (not by me, to be sure, but by Liebknecht and others). And furthermore, I know that time will not stand still for ever just as it is now.

Eichhoff has written a few lines to me, but couldn't call on me owing to pressure of business. In his letter he said Dronke would visit (he was here yesterday) but in such a confused way there was no making sense of the *scriptum*.^b That 'treatise' is sticking to POOR Eichhoff like his own skin, and no operation will detach it from him.

What do you make of Siebel's productions as a patriotic-liberal poet? The thing appears to have been written during extremely depressing hangover. It is utter nonsense and surpasses EVERYTHING our friend has previously produced.

The *Social-Demokrat's* attempt to commit itself in support of the bourgeoisie is a sign of complete and utter fiasco, although I share your view that the first calls in Berlin did not occur without some ministerial prompting.^c However, the other Lassallean faction, which executed a *volte face*^d against the *Social-Demokrat* as a result of our statement,^e are also quite a pitiful rabble. These fellows are not merely at loggerheads with B. Becker and Co. as to whose faith in Lassalle is the true one, but several of their branches have published that phrase inspired by OLD Hatzfeldt and coined specifically with us in mind, that anyone who tried to overturn or

^a Otto Meissner - ^b what he had written - ^c See this volume, pp. 169-70. - ^d about-turn - ^e K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of the *Social-Demokrat*'.

change even one syllable of the truths as revealed by Lassalle, was declared a *traitor* to the 'people'.²¹⁶

It is ages since I last answered Liebknecht, despite various notes he sent me; however I am going to do so now. He is in Hanover for the time being now, but his wife^a is still in Berlin. The reason why I did not write was partly that I was very busy, and also I had enough on my hands with my OWN TROUBLES. On the other hand, I was furious with him for the nonsense which he had been retailing about me at the Berlin Lassalle-Association and which is there for all to read in the scrap of a pamphlet about B. Becker's expulsion from that association which the old sow got someone called Schilling to publish (Farthing would have been a more appropriate name).²³⁴ With his usual talent for being too lazy to acquaint himself with the facts, he drivels the greatest nonsense about the Bangya-manuscript¹⁶⁹ and my intercession for Becker *quoad*^b Vienna *Botschafter*,^c etc. And, moreover, the whole way in which he plays the part of my 'PATRON' and 'apologises' for me to the louts of Berlin for *them* not knowing my works; and generally behaves as though so far I had done nothing in affairs of action. So, I allowed some time to elapse, so as not to say anything rude to him and to pacify myself with the thought that Liebknecht will be Liebknecht and that his intentions are 'good'. The 30,000 members of the old Berlin Journeymen's Association, and ditto the Association of Printers there organised a kind of ovation for him when he was expelled. With his usual optimism, Wilhelmchen sees 'the proletariat of Berlin at my (that is, his) and our (yours and mine) feet'.²³⁵ At the same time, he has not managed even to form a single BRANCH of 6 members for the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION in Germany, although the sanguine fellow must surely realise that I cannot serve up his DELUSIONS to the English as true coin. He also kept on writing to me about my 'book'.^d But however often I sent him 'books' (first the whole remainder of 'Vogt',^e then the whole remainder of the 'Communist Trials'^f) at his most sanguine request, from the moment he received them, I never heard a dying word more about them.

Mr *Groote*, Party of Progress⁹⁹ deputy for Düsseldorf, has written to him saying that what he did in Berlin has had more effect than the actions of 100 Party of Progress deputies.

^a Ernestine Liebknecht - ^b with regard to - ^c The original has: *Beobachter*. - ^d *Capital* - ^e K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*. - ^f K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*.

Edgar^a has just recently caught a cold which has gone to his nose, which, as a result of this ACCIDENT, looks positively Bardolphian.^b

During the warm weather I have been regularly working day and night by the open window. Outcome: an attack of rheumatism in my right arm, particularly the shoulder blade, which is very painful and makes writing, especially any *lifting-movement*, difficult. I instinctively cry out if I unintentionally raise my arm in bed at night, which tells you how nasty the thing is. Does Gumpert know of any kind of NOSTRUM for it?

You probably know that at the Gymnastic Festival in Paris, the worthy Gottfried Kinkel refused the laurel crown he was offered by a Jew who was presiding, with the words: 'I want no crown, not even a crown of laurel', but at once added in fairly unvarnished words that he had by no means yet given up his claims to the Presidency of the German Republic, the 'office' that was his due. The *Nordstern* ridiculed him rather effectively as much for this bit of melodrama, and for his whole SPEECH, which was *disgusting*.^c The Festival opened with a toast to Badinguet.^d

Where is Strohn?

As soon as you have time and inclination, do not forget to send me something 'continental' for the *Miner*.^e

Kindest regards to you from the whole family, and from me to Mrs Lizzy.^f

Your
K. Marx

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
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^a Edgar von Westphalen - ^b Bardolph—a character from Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry IV*. - ^c *Nordstern*, Nos. 315 and 316, 8 and 15 July 1865. - ^d nickname of Napoleon III (the name of a bricklayer in whose clothes Napoleon fled from prison in 1846) - ^e *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* - ^f Lizzy Burns

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁶

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 August 1865

Dear Moor,

I have got a remedy for your rheumatism that Gumpert once used to cure me with within 24 hours, and from a much more severe attack, too. Get yourself 2 big bags of flannel made, big enough to cover the affected part completely and a bit over; have these bags filled with BRAN and heated each in turn in the oven, just as hot as you can bear it; you put each in turn on the place, changing them as often as ever you can. All the while keep yourself warm and quiet in bed, and you will soon feel very considerable relief, but you mustn't discontinue the treatment on that account until all the pain has gone (say 24-36 hours).

Eichhoff has just called; he has got himself made DIRECTOR of a LIMITED COMPANY in London; it is crystal clear to me from the whole affair that the idea is for him to be duped of a substantial sum again, but there's absolutely no helping the fellow, with his mania for seeing everything *couleur de rose*.^a He has now gone so far as believing that the silk-trade here in England absolutely could not go on without him.

I'm so pleased the book^b is making rapid progress, for I had really begun to suspect from one or two phrases in your last letter that you had again reached an unexpected turning-point which might prolong everything indefinitely. The day that manuscript is sent off, I shall drink myself to kingdom come, that is, unless you come up here the next day so that we can seal it together.

Many thanks for the *Free Presses*.

Our worthy Liebknecht simply cannot help putting his foot in it, or writing off to people just whenever the mood takes him. We shall always be annoyed with him for 10 months out of 12, as soon as he is by himself and has to act on his own initiative. In the meantime *que veux-tu?*^c Liebknecht does as Liebknecht is, and all the exasperation and all the grumbling will not help matters. And after all, when all's said and done, at the moment he is the only reliable link we have in Germany.

^a through rose-coloured spectacles - ^b *Capital* - ^c what would you have?

A WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS in Brussels would certainly be the greatest stupidity in present circumstances.²¹⁷ Just remember our own experiences in that little country.²³⁶ That sort of thing can only be done in England, the FRENCHMEN ought to know that. It would just be throwing away money and time and trouble to attempt anything of that kind in Belgium.

Have you got Schilling's pamphlet on B. Becker?^a You might let me have it for a couple of days.

I don't know whether Strohn is in Hamburg or Bradford, I haven't heard anything from him for quite a long time now.

The Rhineland philistines are supposed to be frightfully angry with Bismarck; it is splendid that those jackasses are having their 'historical development on a legal basis' so nicely demonstrated. Have you seen Bismarck's latest dodge to raise money? The Cologne-Minden Railway had granted the state the right to *buy up its shares at par* in return for an interest-guarantee from the state (100-taler shares are now standing at over 200 talers); he has bartered away this right to the Railway for 13 million talers, and the *Kölner Zeitung* calculates that in this way he *got hold of 30 million talers*, including sale of the shares already owned by the state, etc. The question is, will the Cologne-Minden Railway pay up without the Chamber's approval for the deal. If it does so, Bismarck will again have a clear road for years ahead, and the philistines will have been atrociously shitted upon. We shall soon see.²³⁷

Lizzy^b says Edgar^c can't have been wearing his Texan hat, or he couldn't possibly have caught a cold in the nose.

Your

F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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^a C. Schilling, *Die Ausstossung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'*. - ^b Lizzy Burns - ^c Edgar von Westphalen

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MARX TO ENGELS²³⁸

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 9 August 1865

DEAR FRED,

Letter from Mr Siebold enclosed.²³⁹ You need not send it back. Secondly, I am sending you the Hatzfeldt rubbish.^a Do *not* send it back, but store it. Don't show it to *anyone* either. Fortunately, this rubbish has left no trace in the German press. The only thing relating to it which appeared publicly in the press was a statement by *Metzner* (ex-authorised representative of the Berlin branch^b) and *Vogt*^c (STILL its treasurer), countersigned *W. Liebknecht*, in which they stated:

1. that Schilling had falsified the report, suppressed some resolutions and made others their direct opposite;

2. that that old girl Hatzfeldt could have spared her comments since the Association had forbidden her to interfere in any way.

That appeared in *Reform*^d and *Volks-Zeitung*.²³⁴

I have been medicating myself for a couple of days now and am feeling utterly rotten, quite incapable of working. But Allen tells me that I shall be up and about again in a few days. It's the bilious trouble and a consequence of the 'bitter' labour of thinking in the HOT WEATHER. *Officially* I'm now *away from home* on account of the '*INTERNATIONAL*'.

Edgar^e is vegetating. In his hermit-like existence he has become accustomed to the narrowest kind of egotism, pondering the needs of his stomach from morn till night. But as he is a good-natured sort, his egotism is that of a KIND-NATURED CAT or a friendly dog. To the devil with hermit-life. He has even lost all interest in women, and his sex-urge has gone to his belly, too. At the same time, he is constantly anxious about his precious health, that same lad who was, on the other hand, used to feeling 'safe' amongst snakes, tigers, wolves, and leopards.

He now wishes he was back in Texas again. But there is no escape from the confrontation with his *cher frère*.^f

^a C. Schilling, *Die Ausstossung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'*. - ^b of the General Association of German Workers - ^c August Vogt - ^d *Berliner Reform* - ^e Edgar von Westphalen - ^f dear brother (Ferdinand von Westphalen)

You can tell what his back-to-nature thinking is like from the fact that his present ideal is to set up a STORE—a cigar or wine STORE—obviously secretly hoping that this will be the surest way to apply oneself to the cigars and wine.

He likes to pretend to be an OLD GENTLEMAN who has settled his accounts with life, has nothing more to do and is only living 'for his health's sake'.

Besides, he is preoccupied with his *attire* as well, and the 'OLD GENTLEMEN' in Rotten Row²⁴⁰ make him very sad because he cannot keep up with them. Queer cove! Laura, who HAS a small CARBUNCLE on her left cheek JUST NOW, SAYS THAT 'HER MOTHER'S BROTHER IS AN EXCEEDINGLY BRIGHT FELLAH!' Tussy^a 'THAT SHE LIKES HIM, BECAUSE HE IS SO FUNNY' and little Jenny that Lina Schöler and he can congratulate each other 'TO HAVE SAFELY GOT RID OF EACH OTHER'. WELL, THEY ARE A BAD LOT. The girls have also SEVERELY CROSS-EXAMINED ME AS TO THE 'Mrs Burns'.

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 MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 August 1865

Dear Moor,

That unctuous trash from the Hatzfeldt woman^b really is unctuous trash with all that is in it about Lassalle the only saviour, Liebknecht, etc. Dear old LIBRARY^c has really surpassed himself this time in his customary spinelessness, lack of imagination and

^a Eleanor Marx - ^b C. Schilling, *Die Ausstossung des Präsidenten Bernhard Becker aus dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Verein und der 'Social-Demokrat'*. - ^c Wilhelm Liebknecht

forgetfulness, that is, unless the whole report is a fabrication. The devil take such an advocatus.

Ditto our sparkling-wine enthusiast Siebold. With what self-assured naivety the fellow tried to 'reconcile' you to Blind!²³⁹ And then those interesting 'old Swedes' whom nobody has ever heard of and whom we're supposed to write to, to make 'contact'. Quite à la Harro Harring. I'm increasingly coming round to think that from the most southerly latitude of North Friesland onwards everything beyond urban bourgeois and peasant politics is pure Harro Harring.^a But no doubt you will be having that dolt on your back every year.

Next week (about Friday 25th inst.) Moore and I are going to Germany and Switzerland for a fortnight, and maybe we shall also 'cast a casual glance' over Italy.²⁴¹ If I can so arrange it, I shall call in briefly at Modena Villas^b on my way back.

The 28th of this month, i.e. Monday week, is the date of the General Meeting of the Cologne-Minden shareholders, which will decide Prussia's politics for the next few years. I can't imagine that those fellows will be such jackasses as to pay out 13 mill. talers in cash to Bismarck without having the approval of the Chambers.²³⁷ But your liberal Rhineland burgher is capable of a good many tricks the moment he has a chance of swindling the state, and thinks that in his capacity as Deputy he can obtain indemnity for himself afterwards. But if the deal were to fall through, or if it were made conditional on authorisation by the Chambers, that would be more or less the end for Monsieur Bismarck; even that adventurer would not survive such a defeat *in financialibus*^c and after such a desperate attempt. But the fact that he is momentarily coming to terms with Austria again, shows that intellectually and morally he is *au bout de son latin*.^d He knows only too well that he can't start a war without being brought down immediately, so he goes on lashing out with big talk, chalking up little gains and turning Germany into the laughing stock of the world. But the philistine is almost as much impressed by him as by Boustrapa.⁷⁶ The philistine now no longer requires even ephemeral victories from his idols, but only that they can brag. This is how Classen-Kappellmann became the idol of Cologne as well, because he took to his heels at the crucial moment.²²⁴

^a See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Great Men of the Exile* (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 284-90). - ^b the street in London, where Marx lived - ^c in financial transactions - ^d at the end of his strength

It was also a nice thought of Siebold's to put in a good word for C. V. Rimestad in Copenhagen, who is one of the *Dagbladet* people! The so-called Workers' Association is a propaganda organisation of the Scandinavian Eider-Danes and the Hall ministry.²⁴²

What will Father Urquhart be saying next month about the legal advisers to the Prussian throne? What splendid lads they are!

Kindest regards to the LADIES and Edgar.^a

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 ENGELS²⁴³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 August 1865

DEAR FRED,

Since you are setting off on your travels,²⁴¹ I *must* tell you that I have to pay a BILL for £10 to BUTCHER on 28 August, and the LANDLORD is also becoming very TROUBLESOME. BY THE BY, the English state appears HARDPRESSED FOR MONEY. At all events, the TAXGATHERERS were more pressing this MONTH than ever before and have unexpectedly 'relieved' me.

I am still SICK, although Allen is getting rid of the LIVER troubles. But now I have caught a kind of INFLUENZA, which, he says, will last 5-6 days and which really is the biggest nuisance of all, AS FAR AS MENTAL ACTIVITY IS CONCERNED. I hope that with that I shall have settled MY DEBT TO NATURE.

Löhrchen^b is not really very well either. For the past year she has been getting much thinner than she ought to be. But she is a strange child and only today agreed to go to the Dr with my wife.

^a Edgar von Westphalen - ^b Laura Marx

I HOPE IT IS NOTHING SERIOUS. Little Jenny and Tussy^a are very well. (Ditto Edgar's^b STATE OF HEALTH much improved.) My wife had bitten out the 2 front teeth in the middle of her lower jaw, and yesterday had 4 teeth fitted by way of replacement. These are more or less the only 'events' that have occurred here.

Being unwell, I am unable to write much, and then only BY FITS AND STARTS. In between, I am just dabbling in irrelevancies, although with the INFLUENZA I cannot even read properly. I 'took the opportunity' to 'take up' a little astronomy again, amongst other things. And one thing I would like to mention that was new to me at least, but perhaps you have known about it for some time. You know Laplace's theory of the formation of the CELESTIAL SYSTEMS and how he explains the rotation of the various BODIES about their own axis, etc. Proceeding from there, a YANKEE, Kirkwood, has discovered a kind of law concerning the *differences* in the rotation of the planets, which had previously appeared quite abnormal. The law is as follows:

* 'The *square of the number of times* that each planet rotates during one revolution in its orbit, is proportioned to the *cube of the breadth of a diameter of its sphere of attraction*.'*

This means that between two planets there must be a point at which their power of attraction is equally strong; so that a body at this point would remain stationary between them. On the other hand, the body would fall towards one planet or another on either side of that point. This point thus forms the LIMIT of the SPHERE OF ATTRACTION of the planet. This SPHERE OF ATTRACTION is, in turn, the measure of the breadth of the GAZEOUS RING from which, according to Laplace, the planet was formed when it first became separated from the GENERAL GAZEOUS MASS. Kirkwood concluded from this that, if Laplace's hypothesis is correct, a specific relationship must exist between the VELOCITY OF THE PLANET'S ROTATION and the BREADTH OF THE RING from which it was formed OR ITS SPHERE OF ATTRACTION. And he has expressed this in the above law, and proved it by analytical calculations.

Old Hegel made some very good jokes about the 'sudden reversal' of centripetal to centrifugal force, right at the moment when one has attained 'preponderance' over the other; e.g., centripetal force is greatest near the sun; *therefore*, says Hegel, centrifugal force is greatest, since it overcomes this *maximum of centripetal* force and vice versa. Moreover, the forces are in

^a Eleanor Marx - ^b Edgar von Westphalen

equilibrium when half way between the apses.²⁴⁴ Therefore they can never depart from this equilibrium, etc. Incidentally, taken as a whole, Hegel's polemic amounts to saying that Newton's 'proofs' added nothing to Kepler, who already possessed the 'concept' of movement, which I think is fairly generally accepted now.^a

You know that the *President* of the BANK OF SWITZERLAND IS NOW Mr *Karl Vogt*, who betrayed his friend Fazy as soon as the latter left Geneva,²¹² and cheated together with Reinach (the real ACTING DIRECTOR). I asked Freiligrath how Mr Vogt, who is otherwise of ill repute as a FINANCIER in Switzerland, had come by this honourable post. *Answer*: the Swiss have hardly a share left in the 'BANK OF SWITZERLAND'. The Jews in Berlin and Frankfurt a. M. take the decisions. And they support Vogt. Meanwhile, Reinach has been teasing our POOR Freiligrath so much that the latter wrote him the right-thinking rejoinder that even the Prussian police never persecuted him quite so much. They say Fazy swindled the bank out of 1½ mill. frs.

A few weeks ago, Professor Beesly had an article about Catiline in *The Fortnightly Review*, vindicating the latter as a man of revolution.^b Much of it is uncritical (as one would expect from an Englishman, e.g. wrong information on Caesar's position at that time), but his intense rage at the oligarchy and 'respectable people' is very nice. Likewise his sallies against the professional English 'DULL *littérateur*'. Mr *Harrison* had an article in the same *Review* expounding why 'political economy' can adduce 'nothing' in refutation of communism.^c It seems to me that now there is more MOVEMENT amongst English thinkers than amongst the Germans. The latter are sufficiently preoccupied with celebrating Classen-Kappellmann.²²⁴

Regards to Mrs Lizzy.^d The children are depending on you not to pass through London without stopping on your way home.

Your
K. M.

You cannot have the remotest conception of the utter nonsense contained in the PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS of 1857 and 1858 on banking, etc., which I recently had to refer back to.^e As in the monetary

^a See G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie als der Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Zweiter Theil, § 270. - ^b E. S. Beesly, 'Catiline as a Party Leader', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. I, 15 May to 1 August 1865. - ^c F. Harrison, 'The Limits of Political Economy'. - ^d Lizzy Burns - ^e *Report from the Select Committee on Bank Acts*

system, capital=gold. In the midst, shame-faced recollections of A. Smith and excruciating attempts to reconcile the chaos of the MONEY MARKET with his 'enlightened' ideas. MacCulloch, who has at last now gone the way of all flesh, distinguishes himself most of all. The fellow was obviously in receipt of a substantial *douceur*^a from Lord Overstone, who is consequently '*facile maximus argentariorum*'^b and has to be cleared, come what may. I shall have to reserve my critique of this whole unsavoury stew for a later paper.²⁴⁵

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 MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 August 1865

Dear Moor,

Encl. £20, first half, B/G 56794, Manchester, 9 January 1864, second to follow as soon as you acknowledge receipt. I cannot send more until I know how the final accounts work out, and I shall not know that until my return or even later.

That business of Kirkwood's law was new to me, as it was to Moore. But is it really proven, or is it not perhaps just a hypothesis?^c Surely it ought to be possible to verify a thing like that.

I hope you are all restored to health now. That trouble with Laura is probably of no more consequence than with little Jenny that time, but it really is absurd of you to allow yourself to continue in such a way. In such circumstances, you should put your foot down as master of the house. I expect you have shaken off YOUR INFLUENZA NOW, with the warm weather, that kind of thing really takes it out of you, but at least it is easily cured now.

^a sweetener - ^b without doubt the greatest banker - ^c See this volume, p. 184.

The old women are just coming to sweep out the office and drive me from my post; so I must quickly finish.

Kindest 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 for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 August 1865

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £20, FIRST HALF of which received. I most certainly would not BOTHER YOU, but the end of the quarter, whose bills have been put off, is a very difficult time.

Regarding Kirkwood's law, there is no doubt that it explains the difference in the ROTATORY MOVEMENTS, e.g., between those of Jupiter and those of Venus, which hitherto appeared entirely fortuitous.^a But *how* he finds out and proves the law itself, I do not know, but on my next visit to the British Museum I will try to get to the bottom of the original work and will tell you more about it then. The only 'problem' attached to the matter, as far as I can see, consists in mathematically determining the SPHERE OF ATTRACTION of each planet. The only *hypothetical* thing about it is probably the assumption of Laplace's theory as a premise.

My INFLUENZA has invaded my nose to such an extent that the TEXAN BOYS^b 'nozzle' has reproduced itself in me, accompanied by a frightful cold and a muzziness in the head such as must have filled the whole of Laplace's universe of incandescent gas.

The fellows and friends of the 'INTERNATIONAL' have now discovered after all that I am *not* away, and I have therefore

^a See this volume, pp. 184, 186. - ^b Edgar von Westphalen's

received a SUMMONS TO ATTEND a meeting of the SUBCOMMITTEE today. The 4 weeks of my disappearance have been totally SPOILT for me by the DOCTOR'S prescriptions.

Amongst the books from Lupus' legacy I have in my possession there is a copy of Egli's *Neue Handelsgeographie*. This Swiss says in the preface that into the 'biographies of commercial geography' he has now and again

'woven a view from life, a view in contemplation of which the soul may lose itself for a moment, in comfortable repose ... genre miniatures woven in ... a piece of life shall here unfold before our eyes. Life evolves from life alone'.

The following shows you what this naive Swiss means by 'views from life':

'Markgräfler wine grows on the sunny hills of Mühlheim and Badenweiler. It was not for nothing that our dearly beloved Hebel sang:

"At t'Mill by t'Post
Tallyho, mine host!
Drink up lads: a grand wine flows,
Smooth as olive oil it goes!
At t'Mill by t'Post.'"^a

To prove 'that I have not taken the easy path', this same naive Swiss refers to the list of works he has used. This list numbers precisely 20 items, where along with naive 'children's literature' as the *Buch der Erfindungen*, etc., there are two works by the self-same Mr Egli.^b

kindest regards from the WHOLE FAMILY.

Your
K. M.

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^a J. P. Hebel's poem 'Der Schwarzwälder im Breisgau'. - ^b J. J. Egli, *Praktische Erdkunde mit Illustrationen* and *Praktische Schweizerkunde für Schule und Haus*

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 11 September 1865

Dear Liebknecht,

As soon as I know whether you are still in Hanover, I shall report to you the reasons for the interruption in correspondence, and indeed write at greater length.

On 25 September, a (PRIVATE) *conference* between the COUNCIL of the International here and the DELEGATES of the ADMINISTRATIONS in Switzerland, France, and Belgium will take place here. Can you not send yourself over here as DELEGATE from Germany?²⁴⁶

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

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

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 20 September 1865

Dear Miller,^a

I received yours yesterday afternoon, too late to post a letter here. *Illness* had much to do with my protracted silence. There were other reasons which I think useless now to dwell upon. Much business pressing upon my time just now, I can only return these few lines.

^a Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym

A *Report*²⁴⁷ (English, of course) on your part is very important. It must be here on Monday next (25 September). It cannot arrive timely unless you send me the letter *directly* by the Leipzig post.

The Swiss have chosen two delegates, Mons Duplex, a Frenchman, and Mr *Philipp Becker*, a German.

Old Hatzfeldt dwells at Paris, where the old hag is intriguing with the 'horn-bearing' father of 'Socialism', *Moses*,^a her most cringing slave. It was at her instigation, that he inserted his 'warning' in the *Nordstern* and his slander into the *Social-Demokrat*.²⁴⁸ She is now concocting with him the 'Apotheosis' of her own belated 'Oedipus'.^b The London correspondent of the *Social-Demokrat* seems to be cracked Weber.^c All these things have been reported to me from Paris. As to myself, I carefully abstain from taking any notice whatever of what is going on in the Berlin and Hamburg 'organs' of the movement.^d This so-called movement is so disgusting a thing that the less you hear of it the better.

We have founded here a *weekly* paper of our own *The Workman's Advocate*. You will oblige by sending correspondence (English) for it to my address.

Yours truly
A. Williams^e

First published in the language of the original, English, in *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1963

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101

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Manchester, 21 September 1865

Dear Liebknecht,

It was bad luck that you chose to write to me just as I was leaving for 3 weeks on the Continent,²⁴¹ so that I only found your

^a Moses Hess - ^b Ferdinand Lassalle - ^c Louis Weber - ^d *Der Social-Demokrat* and *Nordstern* - ^e Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym

letter^a waiting for me on my return. The £5 banknote B/V 68754, Manchester, 16 January 1865, encl. as requested.

I cannot write much today, as I want to get the banknote sent off as well; but I will just say that Marx has, of course, every reason to be angry with you. The manner in which you rebutted Becker's^b absurd allegations against Marx in your Berlin defence-speech was exceedingly weak and incompetent, and in respect of both the Bangya-affair¹⁶⁹ and several others you twisted the facts as much as did Mr Becker, although you could easily have gained better knowledge by referring to *Herr Vogt*.²⁹⁴ These are extremely disagreeable matters, which Madame Hatzfeldt will now purvey to the world in this distorted form, and with your seal of approval,^c and you demand that Moor should take all that so calmly?

Your
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

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

102

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG¹

IN LONDON

[London,] 30 September [1865]

Dear Jung,

I am expecting you tomorrow (Sunday) FOR DINNER (A VERY FRUGAL ONE); I have also asked De Paepe and Becker.^d Please be so kind and invite *Kaub in my name*. This morning I am SO PRESSED BY BUSINESS OF ALL KIND THAT I CANNOT AFFORD TO WRITE TWO LETTERS.

YOURS FRATERALLY

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the original

^a of 30 August 1865 - ^b Bernhard Becker - ^c See this volume, p. 176. - ^d Johann Philipp Becker

103

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Dear Moor,

[Manchester,] 4 October 1865

I always strike unlucky with my plans for coming to London. I met my mother^a just 3 days before my return here, in Ostende, to be exact, and I couldn't make it an hour shorter, of course. Nor could I have met her any earlier, as neither of us knew where she would be 2-3 days before. But I was DUE here on 15 September,²⁴¹ as Charles^b had to leave on that day, as he in fact did. Since then, as always when I come back from a journey, the very devil has got into the cotton market, I have had to look after Charles' work as well as my own, and that is no trifle when cotton goes up in a fortnight from 18 to 24 1/2d. per pound, yarns on the other hand by 8-9d. per pound, and telegrams of every description pour in. I hope that is all over now, and besides Charles will come back at the beginning of next week, so that I can gather my wits again at last. This horrible rush has made it positively impossible for me to write even 2 lines to you, in fact, since I've been back, I've not been able to write a line of private correspondence at all. As soon as ever I can, I will write at greater length; meanwhile do let me know how you all are and how the 'book'^c is getting on. I think I should manage to come over some time for 3×24 hours, as soon as we have got things in order here. But our office is looking like a pigsty, Gottfried^d has taken on 3 fellows for me who are absolutely hopeless, and is holding me to the contract which says I am to make something of them. So, you can see the way things are here. I shall have to sack one or two of them.

Your
F. E.

Kindest regards to all.

I was also 'all ready' among the Swabians; however, they are not creating any School of Poetry but are cotton-spinning, or emigrating.

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 Elisabeth Engels - ^b Charles Roesgen - ^c *Capital* - ^d Gottfried Ermen

104

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 October 1865

DEAR FRED,

I shall arrive in Manchester ABOUT 4.40 tomorrow afternoon and will make my way to your official dwelling.²⁴⁹

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

105

MARX TO ENGELS⁶

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 November 1865
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

DEAR FREDERICK,

I arrived here on Friday^a evening. Strohn had pressed me very strongly to spend some days with him, but I had too much on my mind. I knew things were awry in London and thus wanted to be on the spot.

The DISAPPOINTMENTS MRS Lizzy^b prophesied for me came true with a vengeance. *D'abord*,^c on arrival at King's Cross,^d my case had gone, and I still have not got it back even now, which is particularly annoying because of the 'papers' it contained, for which I am responsible. Then I found my child^e was still very unwell. Finally, the LANDLORD had been round, had made threats, and my wife had only calmed him down with *promises of my return*. The man talked of putting the '*BROKER*' into the house and also of

^a 3 November - ^b Lizzy Burns - ^c Firstly - ^d railway station in London - ^e Laura Marx

terminating the LEASE, which the contract admittedly entitles him to do. All the other riff-raff appeared in the LANDLORD'S wake, some of them in person, and some in the form of threatening letters. I found my wife SO DESOLATE that I *had not the COURAGE* to explain the TRUE STATE OF THINGS to her. And I *really do not know what to do!* And we also have to get coals in, etc.

As well as these DISAPPOINTMENTS ONE GOOD NEWS. One of the two aunts in Frankfurt (the one who is 73,^a the other^b is two years younger) has passed on, but *ab intestato*^c (being afraid of dying if she should make a will). I shall therefore have to share with the other heirs, which would not have been so if there had been a will, as she cared nothing for the others. And then another pleasant circumstance—we have to wait for the power of attorney from Mr Jutta from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

All these pleasant circumstances have rather gone to my stomach, so that I at once had myself made up some more of Gumpert's medicine.

Salut (to Mrs Lizzy, too).

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

106

MARX TO SALOMON FULD²⁵⁰

IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN

London, 9 November 1865

Dear Dr Fuld,

As I have lost my aunt's private address, I am taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed letter¹¹¹ for forwarding to Madame Babette Blum.

Yours respectfully

Dr K. Marx

First published in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, Berlin, 1965

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Esther Kosel - ^b Babette Blum - ^c intestate

107

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 13 November 1865

Dear Moor,

You should receive herewith at the same time a registered letter with £15, which I made out on Friday and gave to our errand-boy to attend to. I received no answer from you on Sunday, which I found somewhat surprising, and it occurred to me that the boy did not give me the ticket for the letter on Saturday morning. When I looked into it today, it turned out that the wretch had messed up the whole business with his procrastinating and still had the letter in his pocket. That was the last straw as far as his slovenliness was concerned, and he was sacked. I am extremely annoyed about this, as you must meanwhile have been thinking I had quietly put your last letter in my pocket and left things to take their course, without writing a single word to you.

Your
F. E.

Has Edgar^a gone?

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

108

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 November 1865

DEAR FRED,

You must excuse me for not most gratefully acknowledging receipt of the £15 until today and for not writing to you until *tomorrow*. I am so pressed that I cannot manage it today.

^a Edgar von Westphalen

Little Jenny has diphtheria, but I hope it will soon be over.

As soon as you have read the enclosed letter—whose manner and style do, incidentally, stand out most favourably from those of the Rhineland workers—please be so good as to send it back. Courtesy requires that it should be answered.²⁵¹

Salut.

Your
K. Marx

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

109

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 November 1865

My dear Jung,

On my return from Manchester,²⁴⁹ I find your letter from which I am deeply concerned to see that you are still suffering. I fear very much that you have been always interrupting your cure by a premature application to work.

I shall call upon at your house on *Sunday afternoon*. I should like to find Dupont there since I must communicate to him different things.

My whole family takes the most earnest interest in everything concerning you and sends you the best wishes for your reconvalescence.

My compliments to Mrs Jung.

Yours fraternally
K. Marx

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

Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first time

110

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 November 1865

Dear Moor,

Your letter was only passed on to me yesterday evening, and I shall be making enquiries as to how it was left lying around for so long.

I hope little Jenny is ALL RIGHT again and at least has got over the acute stage of the illness and the danger therewith. I'm sending her a case of port, sherry and claret this evening, to restore her strength. It gave me a real fright when I read the word diphtheria; it is not something to be made light of.

The letter from the Berliners really took me aback.²⁵¹ It has obviously been written by someone with a lot more to him than Wilhelmchen^a and his references to the latter do not appear to be without a certain irony. Now the letter has certainly not been written by a worker, the mere fact that Grimm's rules of orthography are impeccably observed shows that, and I am just a mite suspicious as to how genuine the thing is. At any rate, we ought to obtain more information about the 3 signatories, Wilhelmchen should know them at least, if the business is *bona fide*. It is rather the form of the document that makes me suspicious, the content most definitely implies the contrary. But as you won't in any case be going to Berlin to found a new organisation there, it will not signify if you write to these people. Letter returned encl.

What do you say to the NIGGER-rebellion in Jamaica and the atrocities perpetrated by the English?²⁵² *The Telegraph* says today:

* 'We should be very sorry if the right was taken away from any British officer to shoot or hang all and every British subject found in arms against the British Crown!' *^b

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

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^b *The Daily Telegraph*, No. 3249, 17 November 1865.

111

MARX TO ENGELS²⁵³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 November^a 1865

Dear Engels,

Little Jenny is on the mend again now and thanks you very much for the wine.

Regarding the financial questions, it would be futile to approach Dronke about it. To have some peace with the LANDLORD, and that is at the root of it all, I have persuaded him to take a bill of exchange up till the middle of February for the current quarter, for which I owe him $\frac{2}{3}$. As for the other creditors, I have satisfied the most pressing with the £15 and am considering ways and means of putting together at least an instalment for the others. Your offer is very generous, and as soon as my work^b is finished and out, the remainder will have to be made up through other commitments, or if that should not succeed, *although I fully expect it will*, we shall have to move somewhere cheaper, perhaps to Switzerland.

The Berlin letter is genuine.²⁵¹ Some days after it arrived, I received a letter about it from Liebknecht, who is in continuous contact with the Berliners. It also emerges from Liebknecht's letter that those curs from the *Social-Demokrat* would oh so dearly love to resume their ties with us. The kind of illusions Liebknecht is for ever indulging in can be seen from the following passage:

*'The people that have applied to you from Berlin, are *our* friends. If you could come, show yourself but once—the gain would be immense. Come if it is possible.*

Surely Liebknecht ought to know that even if I could go to Berlin AT PRESENT, just as a VISITOR, I would have to be completely quiet and keep myself to myself and not address workers' clubs!²⁵⁴

Liebknecht also writes:

*'Professor *Eckardt*'* (now the 'principal' radical in the south, as a letter from Stumpf in Mainz makes clear) *'of Mannheim places the *Wochenblatt*^c at our disposal. He would be delighted if you and Engels were to write for it a few articles, but not too strong.*

The Workman's Advocate is as weak as ever. However, it must have some appeal as it appeared in a larger format last week. I know no more details, as I shall be present at the Association

^a In the original: October. - ^b *Capital* - ^c *Deutsches Wochenblatt*

again for the first time tomorrow. The Parisians have published a report on the *conference* together with the *programme* we drew up for the next congress. It appeared in *all* the liberal, quasi-liberal and republican papers in Paris.²⁵⁵ You will see what a friendly reception it had from the following report by Fox on the last meeting of our COUNCIL which I am cutting out of *The Workman's Advocate* for you. Our Parisians are somewhat taken aback that the para. on Russia and Poland which they did *not* wish to have, is the very one to create the biggest stir.²⁵⁶ I hope that you will now use some of your leisure time to write the occasional article on one subject or another for the *Advocate*.

The Paris publication absolves me from the trouble of writing a report on France.

The Jamaican business is typical of the utter turpitude of the 'TRUE ENGLISHMAN'.²⁵² These fellows are as bad as the Russians in every respect. But, says the good old *Times*, these DAMNED ROGUES ENJOYED 'ALL THE LIBERTIES OF AN ANGLO-SAXON CONSTITUTION'.^a I.e. they ENJOYED THE LIBERTY, amongst others, of having their hides taxed to raise money for the PLANTERS to import COOLIES and thus depress their own labour market below the minimum. And these English curs with their sensibilities sent up an outcry about 'BEAST BUTLER' for hanging *one* man! and refusing to allow the former planters' diamond-spangled yellow womenfolk to spit in the faces of the FEDERAL SOLDIERS! The Irish affair²⁵⁷ and the Jamaica BUTCHERIES were all that was needed after the American war¹¹ to complete the unmasking of English hypocrisy!

Please do not forget to obtain the necessary data from Knowles for me (and *as soon as possible*). AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES, either for a MULE SPINNER, or for a female THROSTLE spinner; *how much* yarn (or *cotton*, that is, *including* the *déchet*^b that is lost in spinning) is spun *per week* ON AVERAGE by an AVERAGE NUMBER (or, for that matter, any number) by each individual; and then, of course, an arbitrary (corresponding to the labour-wage) *price* for the cotton and the *price of yarn*. I cannot write out the second chapter^c²⁵⁸ until I have these details.

Ernest Jones' address is now 47 Princess Street.

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

^a *The Times*, No. 25347, 20 November 1865. - ^b waste - ^c of *Capital*

112

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG²⁵⁹

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 November 1865

* My dear Jung,

The following are the questions:I. *Questions relating to the Association*

- 1) Questions relating to its organisation.*
- 2) The establishment of friendly societies for the members of the Association.—Moral and material support to be given to the Association's orphans.

II. * *Social Questions* *

- 1) Co-operative labour.
- 2) Reduction of the hours of labour.
- 3) Female and children's labour.
- 4) * *Trades Unions*.* Their past, their present, and their future.
- 5) Combination of efforts, by means of the International Association, in the struggle between capital and labour.
- 6) *International Credit*: foundation of international credit institutions, their form and their mode of operation.

7) *Direct and Indirect Taxation*.

8) Standing armies and their effects upon production.

III. * *International Politics* *

The need to eliminate Muscovite influence in Europe by applying the right of self-determination of nations, and the re-establishment of Poland upon a democratic and social basis.

IV. *A Question of Philosophy*

The religious idea and its relation to social, political, and intellectual development.

*The other *resolutions* as to the Congress etc. you find in the number of *The Workman's Advocate* which contains the report on the three days' sittings of the Conference.²⁶⁰

Don't forget to ask for an *official* report on Vésinier.

Send me the *address* of *Kaub* which I have mislaid.

Yours fraternally*

K. Marx

113

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG^a

[London,] 21 November 1865

My dear Miller,^b

Since the conference²⁴⁶ held at this place I fell again very sick. Afterwards I had to leave London for family affairs.²⁴⁹ Hence my protracted silence. As to your report, I could *not* lay it before the conference, because I was too personally introduced in it.²⁶¹ As to your Berlin speech, there were some very disagreeable blunders in it which could only emanate from yourself, because they alluded to facts only known to you, but half forgotten and wrongly reproduced by you.^c But this is a thing of the past.

I have received the Berlin letter, and I shall answer to it.²⁵¹ I have at present neither the *time* nor the means to go to Berlin. Even if I could, you know very well that all and every sort of agitation would be out of the question. The Prussian government has not in vain declared that the amnesty, as far as I was concerned, still excluded me from Prussia, and only gave me leave to travel as a Foreigner through the Bismarckian world.¹⁵⁴

The Workman's Advocate I shall send you one of these days some numbers of. You can write to it on *every* subject you please, social or political. Till now it is a paper of good will, but very mediocre still. Of course, myself had and have not yet the time to contribute to it, although I am one of its Directors.²³⁰ (By my continual relapse into damned ill health I was forced to interrupt the finishing of my book^d and must now apply to it all my time, part of which is, with all that, absorbed by the International Association.) Engels has promised to contribute^e but not yet done so. And the same is the case with other people.

The Conference has resolved that a *Public Congress* is to take place at the end of May, at Geneva. A programme of questions to be there debated, has been resolved upon.^f But nobody can assist who does not belong to a society connected with us, and being sent as a delegate of such society. I now call upon you *very seriously* (I

^a The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London - ^b Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym - ^c See this volume, p. 176. - ^d *Capital* - ^e See this volume, pp. 198-99, 205. - ^f See previous letter.

shall do the same at Mayence through Stumpf, and shall write to the Berliners^a on it) to enter the Association with some men, few or many, we do not care. I shall send you *cards* which I have prepaid, so that you can *give them away*. But now work! Every *society* (whatever its number) can embody itself by paying 5 shilling in the block. The *cards*, on the contrary, which cost each 1 shilling, give the right of *individual* membership, which is important for all workingmen going to Foreign countries. But treat this money matter as quite secondary. The principal thing is to get up members, individual or societies, in Germany. On the congress, *Solingen* was the only place represented (they had given power of delegation to our old friend Becker,^b whom you are very mistaken in if you consider him as a tool of Megära Hatzfeldt).

The programme (of questions to be lead before Congress) I shall send you in my next letter. All the Paris liberal and republican papers have made great fuss about our Association. *Henri Martin*, the well known historian, had a most enthusiastic leader about it in the *Siècle!*²⁵⁶ I have heard nothing of *Quenstedt*.²⁶²

A thing which will rather surprise you, is this: Shortly before the arrival of workingmen's letter from Berlin, I received from that very same place—'centre et foyer des lumières',^c of course—a letter on the part of—*Lothar Bucher*, inviting me to become the London money article writer of the *Preussische Staatsanzeiger*, and giving me to understand that everybody, der noch bei Lebzeiten im Staat wirken will, 'sich an die Regierung ralliiren' muss.^d I have answered him by a few lines which he is not likely to exhibit.²⁶³ Of course, you must not *publish* in the papers this affair, but you can communicate it, under the seal of discretion, to your friends.

Freiligrath's London shop—viz. the London branch of the Bank of Switzerland—will be shut up, never to be opened again, before 1866.^e

Give my best compliments to Madame and Alice.^f

Yours truly

A. Williams^g

^a August Vogt, Sigfrid Meyer, Theodor Metzner - ^b Johann Philipp Becker - ^c centre and hearth of enlightenment - ^d who wishes to be active in the state during his lifetime must 'rally to the government' - ^e See this volume, p. 208. - ^f Ernestine and Alice Liebknecht - ^g Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym

Some curious letters, written long time since, during his stay at London, by Bernhard Becker to Dr Rode have fallen into my hands.

I have opened this letter again, and by that operation somewhat torn it, in order to add that, during the past spring I had sent a letter to Dr Kugelmann, together with cards of membership for our Association.^a I have received *no answer* on his part.²⁶⁴ The letter of which you speak has never arrived at my hands. Please, write him on this affair. If he writes to me, let him do so under the address of 'A. Williams, Esq.', and not the other one.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946 and in the language of the original, English, in: *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1963

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114

MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE²⁶⁵

IN BRUSSELS

[London, about 25 November 1865]

I. Questions relating to the Association

- 1) Question of organisation.
- 2) System of friendly societies for the members of the Association. Moral and material support for the Association's orphans.

II. Social questions

- 1) Co-operative labour.
- 2) Reduction of the hours of labour.
- 3) Children's labour.
- 4) [Trades' Unions,] their past, their present, and their future.
- 5) [Combination] of efforts, by means of the International Association, in the struggle between capital and labour.
- 6) International credit, banking institution, mode of operation.
- 7) Direct and indirect taxation.
- 8) Standing armies and their effects upon production.^b

^a Marx is referring to his letter to Kugelmann of 23 February 1865 (see this volume, pp. 101-06). - ^b The French text mistakenly has here: 'Association'.

III. Questions of International Politics

The need to reduce Muscovite influence in Europe by applying the rights of self-determination of nations, and the re-establishment of Poland upon a democratic and social basis.

IV. Question of Philosophy

The religious idea and its relation to social, political and intellectual development.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

Printed according to the Minutes of the meeting of the Brussels section of the International Working Men's Association of 25 November 1865

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

115

ENGELS TO MARX²⁵³

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 December 1865

Dear Moor,

Enclosed on the new month's account a further two five-pound notes, please to confirm receipt to me at 86 Mornington Street or if possible telegraph tomorrow early in the morning to 7 Southgate, as I'm not registering the letter this time because of the fuss.

As far as I can tell from the German newspapers, Prof. *Eckardt*^a is a South German democrat, one of the Swabians and Bavarians who seceded from the National Association.¹⁵² It is not clear to me how we are supposed to collaborate with him, it's something like Kolatschek.

That the gentlemen from the *Social-Demokrat* would like to resume their ties with us is typical of that riff-raff. They think everyone is as much of a swine as they are. Bismarck seems to have realised how powerless they are and therefore to have thrown them out, so at last there's a trial and Schweitzer has been

^a See this volume, p. 198.

sentenced to 1 year of imprisonment.²⁶⁶ B. Becker has now also detached himself from Schweitzer and given up his post as President of Mankind, so that everything is now falling apart just splendidly. So that it was not our intervention, but our non-intervention that put paid to the whole caboodle. This no doubt means that 'Lassalleanism' in its official form will soon come to the end of the line.

Every post brings news of worse atrocities in Jamaica.²⁵² The letters from the English officers about their heroic deeds against unarmed NIGGERS are beyond words. Here the spirit of the English army is at last expressing itself quite uninhibitedly. 'THE SOLDIERS ENJOY IT.' Even *The Manchester Guardian* has had to come out against the authorities in Jamaica this time.

Regarding *The Workman's Advocate*, I will see what can be done, meanwhile perhaps you could send the paper to me. You have no notion at all of the TROUBLE and chasing around involved here in obtaining these PENNY WEEKLY PAPERS which are not worth the bother to the NEWSAGENTS. You still do not get them even if you order and pay for them in advance. Or put MRS Burns down for a subscription with an order for the PAPER to be sent here by post.

Every good wish to MRS and MISSES.

Your

F. E.

G/P 62563. London, 4 August 1865—£5

E/M 35757. Liverpool, 15 May "—" 5

How much is the bill for that you accepted, and when is it due?

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

116

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

Dear FRED,

[London, 2 December 1865]

I found your letter just as I arrived home (I was at the Museum^a where I had some things to look up). I've just TIME TO

^a the British Museum Library

acknowledge the £10 with best thanks. I shall write more tomorrow.

Salut and COMPLIMENTS to MRS Lizzy.^a

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

117

MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 December 1865

DEAR FRED,

Please forgive me for not thanking you on behalf of the FAMILY for the CHRISTMAS present until today, and indeed for not writing at all for so long. I have been so VERY BOTHERED ALL THAT TIME OVER and have wasted so much time dashing this way and that, transactions right and left to satisfy A, and thereby falling into the clutches of B, etc., that my work has been chiefly confined to the night, and the good intention to deal with correspondence the next day comes to grief every day.

With regard to the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION and all that that entails, it has consequently been weighing down on me like an INCUBUS, and I would be glad to be able to get rid of it. But that is impossible, least of all at the present time. On the one hand, sundry bourgeois—Mr. Hughes, M.P., at their head—have conceived the idea of turning *The Workman's Advocate* into a proper *funded* paper, and as one of the DIRECTORS I MUST WATCH THE TRANSACTIONS, TO PREVENT FOUL PLAY.²³⁰ On the other hand, the Reform League, one of the organisations we founded, has had a triumphant success at the St Martin's Hall MEETING, the largest and most purely working-class MEETING that has taken place since I have been living in London. The people from *our* COMMITTEE were at the head

^a Lizzy Burns

of it and put forward our ideas.²⁶⁷ If I resigned tomorrow, the bourgeois element, which looks at us with displeasure in the wings (FOREIGN INFIDELS), would have the upper hand. With the complete failure of the workers' movement in Germany, the workers' elements in Switzerland have grouped themselves all the more around the sections of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION there. In the middle of this month first number of the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Section de la Suisse Romande* appeared in Geneva, and a German organ²⁶⁸ will shortly appear under the editorship of Becker,^a which has a chance on account of the *Nordstern's* demise and the discrediting of the *Social-Demokrat*. (Old Becker is desperate for articles and has asked me to write *urgently to you* about it, as *pro nunc*^b he has *no* contributors.) Finally, in France the Association is making great progress, in the absence of any other centres of movement. So, if I were to resign in these circumstances, I should be doing very serious damage to the cause; but, on the other hand, since I have so little time just now, it is no trifle for me: ABOUT 3 MEETINGS in the West End or the City, EVERY WEEK first a session of the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL, then of the STANDING COMMITTEE,²¹ then of the DIRECTORS OF SHAREHOLDERS of *The Workman's Advocate!* And in addition all manner of writing to do.

I have had a few lines from Liebknecht. He is living at 2 Gerichtsweg, Leipzig, to be addressed as J. Miller,^c Esq. Things seem to be going badly with him as usual, but he seems to have some prospect of getting a position as a lexicographer, as well as of being granted civic rights in Leipzig, and becoming one of Beust's subjects.

Dr Kugelman has also written to me.²⁶⁴ Justus Möser's successor, the present mayor of Osnabrück, Mr Miquel, has now openly turned renegade; for the moment with bourgeois leanings, but 'already' veering in the aristocratic direction. A certain Wedekind, formerly consul SOMEWHERE, rolling in money and an enthusiastic National-Association member,¹⁵² has rewarded him for his merits by making him his son-in-law. Kugelman has seen 'gentle Heinrich'^d in Cologne. He is now cosily installed as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He complained that I had not visited him in Cologne and was treating him as a 'turncoat', etc. He claimed always to have 'kept faith with the "cause"' and only to be working with the bourgeoisie against the aristocracy now 'to promote the evolution and clarification of the *class contradictions*'

^a Johann Philipp Becker - ^b at present - ^c Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym - ^d Heinrich Bürgers

(which in a speech in Cologne scarcely a year ago he declared NON-EXISTENT), etc.

Bonaparte appears to me shakier than ever. The business with the students²⁶⁹ is symptomatic of ominous signs of conflict in the army itself, but above all the Mexico affair²⁷⁰ and that original sin of the LOWER EMPIRE,^a *debts!* Nor has the fellow managed to pull off a single coup in the past year. Indeed things have reached such a pass with him that Bismarck figures as a rival to him!

Palmerston's death has obviously been a blow here. If he were still alive, Governor Eyre would have been awarded the *ordre pour le mérite!*

Freiligrath is also ending the year with tremendous bad luck. Jew Reinach has closed down the business here, with a great brouhaha, coming to London expressly for the purpose.^b Freiligrath, who owed the bank money anyway, suffered the further misfortune that 3 days before the ARRIVAL of the mighty Reinach one of his clerks absconded with £150. But still the old boy^c has got powerful protection TO FALL BACK UPON. His Plonplonist⁹³ friends in Paris (e.g. EX-COLONEL Kiss, who married the daughter of the former French minister Thouvenel, a millionaire, and is now at the head of an enormous company) will find a new position for him soon enough.

Happy New Year! To Mrs Lizzy,^c too.

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 ENGELS²⁷¹

IN MANCHESTER

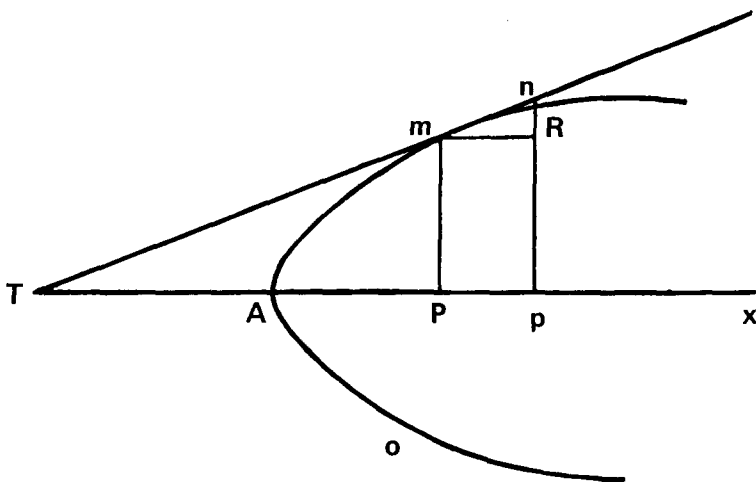
[London, end of 1865-beginning of 1866]

Appendix

While I was last staying in Manchester²⁴⁹ you once asked me to explain differential calculus. The thing will be quite clear to you

^a the designation of the Byzantine Empire; used figuratively it means any state experiencing decline - ^b See this volume, pp. 158, 164. - ^c Lizzy Burns

from the following example. The whole of differential calculus arose originally from the task of drawing *tangents* through any point on any curve. So, that is the example I am going to use for you.



Assume that the line nAo is any curve whose nature (whether it's a parabola, ellipse, etc.) is *unknown* to us and on which a tangent is to be drawn at point m .

Ax is the axis. We drop the perpendicular mP (the ordinate) onto the abscissa Ax . Now assume that point n is the infinitely closest point on the curve beside m . If I drop a perpendicular np onto the axis, p must be the infinitely closest point to P and np the infinitely closest parallel line to mP . Now drop an infinitely small perpendicular mR onto np . If you now take the abscissa $AP...x$ and the ordinate $mP...y$, then $np = mP$ (or Rp), increased by an infinitely small increment $[nR]$, or $[nR] = dy$ (differential of y) and $mR (= Pp) = dx$. Since the part of the tangent mn is infinitely small, it coincides with the corresponding part of the curve itself. I can therefore regard mnR as a Δ (triangle), and the ΔmnR and mTP are similar triangles. Therefore: $dy (= nR):dx (= mR) = y(mP):PT$ (which is the subtangent of the tangent Tn). Thus, the subtangent $PT = y \frac{dx}{dy}$. We now have a *general differential equation* for drawing the tangent at any points on *any* curves. If I am now

to operate with this equation and to determine through it the length of the subtangent PT (once I have found this, I merely need to connect the points T and m by a straight line in order to have the tangent), so I need to know the *specific character* of the curve. According to its character (parabola, ellipse, cissoid, etc.), it will have a *distinct form of general equation* for its ordinate and abscissa at any point, which one can find in algebraic geometry. Thus, if the curve mAa , e.g., is a parabola, I know that y^2 (y =the ordinate at any given point)= ax , where a is the parameter of the parabola and x is the abscissa corresponding to the ordinate y .

If I put this value for y into the equation $PT = \frac{y dx}{dy}$, I must then work out dy , i.e. to find the differential of y (which represents an infinitely small increment of y). If $y^2 = ax$, I know from the differential calculus that from $d(y^2) = d(ax)$ (I have to differentiate both sides of the equation, of course), it follows that $2y dy = a dx$ (d always means differential). Thus $dx = \frac{2y dy}{a}$. If I put this value of dx into the formula $PT = \frac{y dx}{dy}$, I get $PT = \frac{2y^2 dy}{a dy} = \frac{2y^2}{a}$ (since $y^2 = ax$) $= \frac{2ax}{a} = 2x$. Or the subtangent of any point m on the parabola = twice the abscissa of the same point. The differential values are cancelled in the operation.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

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

1866

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 January 1866^a

Dear Moor,

£10 encl. in 2 Bank-of-England notes. How stands it with bill of exchange for LANDLORD? Tell me how much and date when due, so that I may make my dispositions.

That malicious compilation of *Social-Demokrat* garbage in the Schulze-Delitzschite pamphlet^b had already been sent me anonymously from Berlin; it is always a good thing to have such a résumé with extracts. Schulze-Delitzsch has also announced that in the next few days he is to publish a reply to Lassalle, in which he is going to demolish him.²⁷²

You will already know as well that Racowiça died of consumption, so presumably Mamsell Dönniges is once more IN THE MARKET, IF EVER SHE WAS FAIRLY OUT OF IT.

Mr Held's speech has also been sent me from Berlin. He's a real Berlin scoundrel.

Monsieur Bonaparte's progress is most decidedly that of the crab. The trouble in the army over Mexico²⁷⁰ is very serious, and so is the student trouble in Paris.²⁶⁹ It is very important that the Paris students should take the side of the proletariat, confused though their ideas on the subject may be. The École polytechnique will follow soon enough. It would be so splendid if the rascal lived to see his OWN DOWNFALL, and it now almost appears that he might. It is getting more and more rotten for Bismarck every day, too, and, if those scoundrels in Cologne had not got him out of the soup, it would probably already have been all up with him now.²³⁷

^a The original has: 1865. - ^b [E. Richter,] *Die Geschichte der social-demokratischen Partei in Deutschland seit dem Tode Ferdinand Lassalle's*.

I am agog for the next parliament, the disintegration of the old parties must surely proceed apace now. JOHN BRIGHT IS EVIDENTLY BIDDING FOR OFFICE—it is true, I have not yet read the speech he gave yesterday.^a

Have you read Tyndall's 'HEAT CONSIDERED AS A MODE OF MOTION'? If not, you should do so. A great deal of work has been done in this field, and the matter appears to be assuming a rational shape; the atom theory is being taken to such extremes that it must soon fall apart.

Please don't forget to send me *The Workman's Advocate* and *The Free Press*.

Regards and best wishes to your family for the New Year.

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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 JANUARY 1866

DEAR FRED,

In the greatest of haste.

Best thanks for the £10.

The bill of exchange falls due on 18 February and is for £48. I wanted the LANDLORD to draw it only for the 2 terms that were due and not for the third one as well, which is not due until the end of January. But he insisted.

A plot has been hatched against the *INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION*, in which connection I need your co-operation. Further details later. For the moment, suffice to say: Mr Le Lubez and Vésinier (the

^a Engels is referring to J. Bright's speech on the Parliamentary Reform delivered at the meeting in Rochdale on 3 January 1866, *The Times*, No. 25386, 4 January 1866.

latter well aware that an INQUIRY into his past is in progress; he is in Brussels again) have a French branch here²⁷³ (IN FACT an opposition branch); Longuet, the editor of *Rive gauche*, also belongs to it, and it is tied up with all that pack of Proudhonists in Brussels. Vésinier began by publishing a long screed against us in the *Echo de Verviers*, OF COURSE ANONYMOUSLY.²⁷⁴ Then, in the *same* paper which is putting out the SLANDERS against our Association (among other things, falsely calls Tolain and Fribourg Bonapartists, too), the London BRANCH published a programme, a draft of future statutes, which *they*, the Faithful, are going to put to the Congress.²⁷⁵

The real crux of the controversy is the *Polish question*. The fellows have all attached themselves to the Muscovitist line pursued by Proudhon and Herzen. I shall therefore send you the earlier articles by the oracles in the *Tribune du Peuple* against Poland and you must do a refutation, either for our papers in Geneva (the 'German' one^a) or for *The Workman's Advocate*.²⁷⁶ The Russian gentlemen have acquired some bran-new allies in the Proudhonised section of 'Jeune France'.^b

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 JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER³³

IN GENEVA^c

London, [about 13 January 1866]
I Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

My dear friend Becker,

If you are vexed with me, you have 'every right' and at the same time 'no right' to be so. (You know from Heinzen that I am a 'sophist'.) Apart from having some 1,200 pages of manuscript^d

^a *Der Vorbote* - ^b 'Young France' - ^c The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London. - ^d of *Capital*

to copy and my publisher^a grumbling at me for a long time now, and apart from the fearful waste of time which the Central Committee, the STANDING COMMITTEE²¹ and the Committee of Directors of *The Workman's Advocate* commit me to in this Babylon, I have had the most exceptional aggravations and difficulties in my 'private circumstances' which obliged me to leave London for a while²⁴⁹ and are still unresolved, etc., etc.

You will see from the enclosed note, which I received *today* (or rather my wife did), that a parcel, which I sent to you *ABOUT 14 days ago*, has been most commendably confiscated by the French police. It contained chiefly '*Manifestoes of the Communist Party*'.^b Also a note from me briefly answering your questions and telling you that *Bender* agreed that I should publish your appeal in *English* in *The Workman's Advocate*, ditto a report on activity in Switzerland, etc.²⁷⁷

The reason why we decided not to publish any official report on the conference²⁴⁶—apart from lack of money and the fact that the *Rules* oblige us to present a general report to the Congress, such *double emploi*^c thus to be avoided—was basically that to initiate the public in the situation, especially the very 'fragmentary' nature of the conference, would do us more harm than good and provide our opponents with a useful weapon. We knew that two members of the Central Committee, Le Lubez and Vésinier, were just waiting to seize this opportunity. Events have confirmed this. Firstly, Vésinier's denunciation of the Central Committee and the conference in *L'Écho de Verviers*.²⁷⁴ Directly following that, in the same paper, came Le Lubez' declaration of principles and draft of statutes²⁷⁵ that he hoped to impose on the Association in the name of the French branch he had founded in London as a counterweight to ourselves.²⁷³ This plot has meanwhile been frustrated. The branch has deserted its founder. Its two best men, Longuet (editor of the *Rive gauche*) and Crespelle, have joined the Central Committee. The latter has resolved that Vésinier must either substantiate his slanders or be expelled.

I cannot send you any articles *pro nunc*.^d I have *not an hour to spare*. *Engels*, however, will do so, as soon as he has seen the first number^e and knows where and how. *Liebknrecht* will as well, from Leipzig. I will ditto write to Dr Kugelman in Hanover about it. Ditto to *Stumpf* in Mainz.

No. 1 of *Dupleix's* paper^f is weak. Jung has written to him about it.

^a Otto Meissner - ^b by K. Marx and F. Engels - ^c double work - ^d for now - ^e of *Der Vorbote* - ^f *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*

Liebknecht is living at 2 Gerichtsweg, Leipzig (*address J. Miller^a*).

In one way the movement here has progressed well, but badly in another respect. The Reform League we founded has held a mass MEETING for universal suffrage, bigger than I ever saw here in London.²⁶⁷ All the speakers were working men. *The Times* itself was shocked and published 2 leading articles about the 'ugly' incident.^b The obverse side is that this movement is demanding far too much of our best working-class forces.

The Workman's Advocate is weak. It will improve now that *Eccarius* is editor. But there are enormous difficulties in raising the money for it.

I have received a letter from Berlin, signed by Vogt,^c Metzner and other workers, in which they give a perceptive and critical assessment of the present state of the workers' movement in Germany. The only uncritical thing about it is their demand that I should come to Berlin and take the matter in hand. Surely they must know that the Prussian government has 'forbidden' me to settle in Prussia.^d

Before I hear from you *by what way* I can let you have the 'Manifestoes', I am going to send one experimentally *via Mainz*. You may be able to make use of some things in it for your paper.

The best thing the German sections can do is for the time being to register in Geneva and keep in continuous contact with you. As soon as some such arrangement is made, let me know, so that at last I can announce at least some progress in Germany *here*.²⁷⁸

I am sending this letter under cover to Dupleix, on account of the 'French confiscation'. The Empire seems to me to be tottering. *D'abord*,^e the business with Mexico and the UNITED STATES.²⁷⁰ Then the mutiny of 3 French regiments.²⁷⁹ Then the student unrest.²⁶⁹ Bonaparte's losing his head, as manifested in his row with England about the renewal of the 'extradition treaty'²⁸⁰ and his banning of the lickspitting '*Indépendance belge*'. Finally, the *trade crisis*, which will be greatly hastened by the present English, resp. European, overimporting to the UNITED STATES.

Best greetings from wife and children.

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 in full for the first time

^a conspiratorial pseudonym of Wilhelm Liebkecht - ^b *The Times*, Nos. 25367 and 25368, 13 and 14 December 1865. - ^c August Vogt - ^d See this volume, p. 201. - ^e Firstly

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MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 January 1866^a

DEAR FRED,

Laura quite forgot to send you the *Tribunes*^b which I had put out ready a week ago. She is today making amends for her negligence. Ditto a *Workman's Advocate*.

I am enclosing with this letter:

1. Communication from the publisher in Vienna.^c (You must send this back.)²⁸¹

2. Dr Kugelmann.

3. Meyer^d from Berlin. (I have only written back to these people today. Time is so very short.)²⁸²

In the meantime, we have crushed the wretched plot hatched by Vésinier in Belgium²⁷⁴ and by Le Lubez in London. The editor of the *Rive gauche* and friend of Rogeard, Longuet, also Mr Crespelle—the two most intelligent members of the branch founded by Le Lubez²⁷³—have joined our Central Committee. His branch has declared itself against him, for us. The CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS SUMMONED VÉSINIÉR 'TO SUBSTANTIATE HIS ACCUSATIONS OR TO BE EXPELLED'. The fellow reproaches us in the *Echo de Verviers* among other things for:

'Il (le comité) 'a été chargé d'un des plus grands intérêts de l'humanité et il abandonne de gaieté de coeur le but sublime pour dégénérer en comité des nationalités à la remorque du bonapartisme.'^e

And this degeneration was in fact made manifest in us by our statement in favour of Poland, against Russia.²⁸³

'Cédant à des influences fâcheuses'^f (the idiot imagines the Polish § of the programme originated from the PARIS DELEGATES, whereas the latter sought in every possible way to get rid of it as 'inopportune'), 'il a inscrit dans le programme du Congrès de Genève des questions en dehors du but de l'association et contraires au droit, à la justice, à la liberté, à la fraternité, à la solidarité des peuples et des

^a The original has: 1865. - ^b *La Tribune du Peuple* containing a series of articles by H. Denis, entitled 'La question polonaise et la démocratie'. - ^c Arnold Hilberg - ^d Sigfrid Meyer - ^e 'They' (the Committee) 'were charged with one of mankind's greatest concerns but are frivolously abandoning their lofty goal in order to degenerate into a committee of nationalities in tow to Bonapartism.' - ^f 'Succumbing to pernicious influences'

racés, telles que celles: "D'anéantir l'influence russe en Europe etc.", et cela juste au moment où les serfs russes et polonais viennent d'être émancipés par la Russie, tandis que les nobles et les prêtres polonais ont toujours refusé d'accorder la liberté aux leurs. On conviendra au moins que le moment est mal choisi. Avant d'approuver *ces articles*, les membres anglais du comité auraient bien dû se demander s'il ne serait pas aussi urgent de mettre un terme aux progrès effrayants du paupérisme anglais, de la prostitution des ouvrières, et de la misère des ouvriers de la Grande Bretagne, de la famine et du dépeuplement de l'Irlande etc.! Quant au membre allemand du comité, qu'il nous dise aussi si l'influence de la politique de M. de Bismarck n'aurait pas aussi besoin d'être anéantie en Europe; la Prusse et l'Autriche ne sont-elles pas copartageantes de la Pologne et solidaires du crime de la Russie contre cette nation malheureuse? Et quant aux prétendus délégués de Paris, sont-ils bien venus de flétrir l'influence russe, alors que les soldats de Bonaparte occupent Rome qu'ils ont bombardée, massacrant les défenseurs de la république mexicaine après avoir détruit la république française? Que l'on compare les fautes et les crimes commis par les gouvernements, et l'on sera convaincu qu'il ne faut mettre aucun peuple au ban de l'humanité pour les forfaits de ses oppresseurs, que le devoir du comité central était de proclamer la solidarité, la fraternité entre tous les peuples, *et non d'en mettre un seul d'entre eux au ban de l'Europe.*'^a

He then appended this lie:

'Cette faute énorme a déjà eu de fatales conséquences: les Polonais ont demandé en masse à faire partie du Comité, et sous peu ils seront en immense majorité.'^b (CAPTAIN Bobczyński is the *only one* who is on it—Holtorp doesn't count

^a 'they included in the programme for the Geneva Congress questions not concerning the goal of the Association and contrary to law, justice, liberty, fraternity and the solidarity of peoples and races, such as: "the elimination of Russian influence in Europe etc."; and this they did at the very moment when the Russian and Polish serfs had just been emancipated by Russia, whereas the Polish nobility and priests have always refused to grant freedom to their own. It will at least be agreed that the moment was ill-chosen. Before approving *these articles*, the English members of the committee should have really asked themselves if it was not a matter of equal urgency to put an end to the frightening increase in English pauperism, in the prostitution of working women and the misery of working men in Great Britain, in famine and depopulation in Ireland, etc.! As for the German members of the committee, let them also tell us whether the influence of Mr Bismarck's policy in Europe does not equally merit elimination; do not Prussia and Austria have an equal share in the partitioning of Poland, are they not equally responsible for Russia's crime against that unfortunate nation? As for the self-styled delegates from Paris, does it come well from them to condemn the influence of Russia, when Bonaparte's soldiers are occupying Rome, which they have bombarded, are massacring the defenders of the Mexican republic, having already destroyed the French republic? If one compares the misdeeds and crimes committed by governments, one is persuaded that no people should be put beyond the pale of humanity for the infamies of its oppressors, and that it was the duty of the Central Committee to proclaim solidarity and fraternity among all peoples, *and not to put one of them alone beyond the pale of Europe.*' - ^b 'This enormous error has already had dire consequences: the Poles have asked to join the Committee *en masse* and before long they will represent the overwhelming majority.'

and is himself conspiring with Le Lubez.) 'Déjà ils ne se font pas faute de dire qu'ils se servront de *l'Association* pour aider au rétablissement de leur nationalité, sans s'occuper de la question de l'émancipation des travailleurs.'^a

The Poles—they had just sent a deputation to see us—burst out laughing when these PASSAGES were read out. We are commemorating their revolution on 23 January.²⁸⁴

You will be amused by WISEACRE Denis' *concluding prayer to Proudhon*.²⁸⁵ This SENSATIONAL WRITER has done great harm with his little bit of learning and with his Lassalle-like trumpeting of scholarship, of which he had no conception, with his spurious critical superiority over the SOCIALIST SECTARIANS.

Le Lubez is of no account. Fox rightly calls him 'Le père enfantin',^b but Vésinier is just the fellow for the Russians. Of little merit as a writer, as his *Vie du Nouveau César* and his other pamphlets attacking Bonaparte show. But with talent, great RHETORICAL POWER, much energy and above all unscrupulous through and through.

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 WILHELM LIEBKNECHT¹

IN LEIPZIG^c

[London,] 15 January 1866

Dear LIBRARY,^d

Happy New Year!

You must excuse my silence, ditto the brevity of these lines of mine. You will not believe how BOTHERED I am for time.

^a Already they do not shrink from saying that they will make use of *the Association* to help to restore their nationhood, without concerning themselves with the question of the emancipation of the workers.' - ^b 'Le père enfantin' ('The childish father')—a pun on 'Père Enfantin' ('Father Enfantin'). An allusion to Le Lubez' efforts to imitate the chief representative of the Saint-Simonian school, Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin. - ^c The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London - ^d nickname for Wilhelm Liebknecht

Indisposition, for ever recurring periodically, all manner of unfortunate *mischances, demands made on me* by the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, etc., have confiscated every free moment I have for writing out the fair copy of my manuscript.^a I hope to be able to take Volume I of it to the publisher^b for printing myself in March. (The whole thing, the two volumes, will, however, appear *simultaneously*.²³³ *This is good.*)

So, this very much by way of summary.

Today I am sending you by post the 2 latest issues of *The Workman's Advocate*, of which Eccarius is now editor.^c If, as I hope, you send any *articles* for it, please do so to me (political, social, as you will).

I also enclose *CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP* for you. I have paid for them. You can therefore give them to whomever you like, and have only to inscribe the name and after the £, put 0, but after the 0s., 1d.

The conditions, *GENERALLY*, are these: *a society as such* that wishes to join has an *Association collective membership Card*, for which 5s. per year is to be paid. But, if all the members join *individually*, they have to take out cards of the kind I am sending you. This is advantageous for workers. The cards serve as a passport abroad, and their *confrères*^d in London, Paris, Brussels, Lyons, Geneva, etc., will get jobs for them.

The Association has made great progress. It already has 1 official English paper, *The Workman's Advocate*, a Brussels one, *La Tribune du Peuple*, a French one in Geneva, *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Section de la Suisse Romande*, and a German one in Geneva, *Der Vorbote*, which will be appearing in a few days. *Address: 6 rue du Môle, Genf, J. P. Becker*, in case you want to write to the old man occasionally (as I hope you will).

I am now hoping you will soon make it possible for me to announce the foundation of a Leipzig section and enable me to present correspondence. (*In English*. It can then be used in *The Workman's Advocate* as well.) The number is not important, although *THE MORE, THE BETTER*.

If people want to join *en masse*, as a society, you will see that the *total price* of 5s., which they have to pay annually, is *nothing*.

J. P. Becker writes to me^e:

'Sections are going to be formed in Leipzig, Gotha, Stuttgart and Nuremberg; shall we register them here for the time being, until there is a large number and a Central Committee has been formed in Germany?'²⁷⁸

^a *Capital* - ^b Otto Meissner - ^c See this volume, p. 224. - ^d colleagues - ^e J. Ph. Becker to Karl Marx, 18 December 1865

I have replied *in the affirmative*.^a However, since there can be several branches in one town, you and your people can establish links direct with us.

I have had a second letter from the Berliners.^b I am at last writing to them today.²⁸² Ditto to Dr Kugelmann.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

I will let you know next time what questions are to be dealt with at the Geneva Congress at the end of May.²⁸⁶

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX,
Moscow, 1946

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, 15 January 1866
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Friend,

A happy New Year and best thanks for your kind letter.

You must excuse the brevity of these lines on account of my being excessively busy at present. I'll write more fully next time.

I am enclosing two cards²⁸⁷ and will let you know in my next letter which questions are to be dealt with at the public congress in Geneva at the end of May.²⁸⁶

Our Association has made great progress. It already has 3 official organs, one in London, *The Workman's Advocate*, one in Brussels, *La Tribune du Peuple*, one put out by the French section in Switzerland, *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, *Section de la Suisse Romande* (Geneva), and in a few days time a journal is to be put out by the German-Swiss section, *Der Vorbote*,

^a See this volume, p. 215. - ^b August Vogt, Sigfrid Meyer and Theodor Metzner

under the editorship of *J. P. Becker*. (Address: 6 rue du Môle, Genf, J. P. Becker, in case you wanted to send him an occasional article, political or social).

We have succeeded in attracting into the movement the only really big workers' organisation, the English '*TRADE UNIONS*', which previously concerned themselves *exclusively* with the wage question. With their help, the English society we founded to achieve *UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE*^a (half of its Central Committee consists of members—working men—of our Central Committee) held a giant MEETING a few weeks ago, at which only working men spoke.²⁶⁷ You can tell what effect it had from the fact that the *LEADERS* of two successive issues of *The Times* were concerned with this MEETING.^b

As regards my work,^c I am now busy 12 hours a day writing out the fair copy. I am thinking of taking the manuscript of the first volume to Hamburg myself in March and using the opportunity to see you.

I was much amused by the antics of Justus von Möser's successor.^d How wretched a man of talent must be who seeks and finds satisfaction in trivialities of that kind!^e

As regards Bürgers, he is doubtless well-meaning, but weak. It is not much over a year ago that he declared at a public MEETING in Cologne (it appeared in print in the Cologne papers) that Schulze-Delitzsch had 'solved' the social question once and for all and that only *personal friendship for me* had induced him (Bürgers) to stray onto the tangled paths of communism! After such *public statements*, could I regard him as other than a 'renegade'?

Your most sincere friend

K. Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 1, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

^a the Reform League - ^b *The Times*, Nos. 25367 and 25368, 13 and 14 December 1865. - ^c *Capital* - ^d Johannes von Miquel - ^e See this volume, pp. 207-08.

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MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER

IN BERLIN

[London,] 24 January 1866

Dear Friend,

At the same time as I sent the cards to you, I wrote a detailed letter to Mr Vogt.^a I thought I was being very clever in using two different addresses. The only error I may possibly have committed is to have put No. 6 instead of 16 in Vogt's address.²⁸⁸

I should therefore be grateful if you would enquire at the Post Office and inform me of the results. Since I wrote to you,²⁸² a fresh carbuncle has developed in a spot that is very painful when I sit, so that after my daily labour of fair-copying my manuscript^b for the publisher,^c I am extraordinarily exhausted.

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

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 January 1866

Dear Moor,

What is holding me up is that I have no material and hardly any recollection either about the way in which the emancipation of the serfs was finally carried out in Russia, what land the peasant received, who paid for it, what his present *de facto* relation is to

^a August Vogt - ^b *Capital* - ^c Otto Meissner

the landowner, etc., etc. I have undoubtedly seen the earlier *plans* of the nobility and the emperor,^a but not the definitive implementation. Have you any material on it^b?

Your
F. E.

N.B. I shall not refer *directly* to the article in the 1864 *Tribune*,^c *cela serait lui faire trop d'honneur*.^d

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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 February 1866

Dear Fritz,

It was a close shave this time. My family did not know how *sérieux* the *cas*^e was. If the matter recurs in that form three or four times more, I shall be a dead man. I am marvellously wasted away and still damned weak, not in the mind but about my loins and in my legs. The doctors are quite right to think that *excessive work at night* has been the chief cause of this relapse. But I cannot tell these gentlemen the reasons that *force* this extravagance on me—nor would it serve any purpose to do so. At this moment, I have all kinds of little progeny about my person, which is painful but no longer in the least dangerous.

What was most loathsome to me was the interruption in my work,^f which had been going splendidly since JANUARY 1ST, when I got over my liver complaint. There was no question of 'sitting', of

^a Alexander II - ^b See this volume, pp. 212-13. - ^c H. Denis, 'La question polonaise et la démocratie', *La Tribune du Peuple*, Nos. 41-43, 45, 46; 5, 26 March, 17 April, 29 May, 30 June 1864. - ^d that would be doing it too great an honour - ^e serious the case - ^f on *Capital*

lying down, I was able to forge ahead, even if only for short periods of the day. I could make no progress with the really theoretical part. My brain was not up to that. I therefore elaborated the section on the 'Working-Day' from the historical point of view, which was not part of my original plan. What I have now 'inserted' supplements your book^a (*sketchily*) up to 1865 (and I say so in a note²⁸⁹) and fully justifies the discrepancy between your estimation of the future and what will actually happen. Therefore, as soon as my book appears, it is necessary to have the second edition of your book, which will be easy in the circumstances. I shall provide the necessary theory. Regarding the additional historical supplement, which you should give as an appendix to your book, *all the material*, excepting the 'FACTORY REPORTS',^b the 'Children's Employment Commission Reports' and the 'Board of Health Reports',^c is utter trash and scientifically unusable. Your energy being undiminished by carbuncles, you will easily cope with this material within 3 months.

As far as the *Russians* are concerned, I have *no material*. As soon as my condition permits, I shall go to the Museum^d about it and look around for it among the Poles. There's been a great crisis with *The Workman's Advocate*, which will appear tomorrow as *The Commonwealth*, a transformation pushed through by the bourgeois element, for which *my* absence from the COUNCIL was to blame. From my sickbed I have, nevertheless, managed to baulk the plot by means of written threats, with the effect that *Eccarius* has been made editor instead of a gentleman from *The Nonconformist*, and an EDITORIAL SUPERVISION COMMITTEE has been appointed which will meet weekly. It consists of myself, Fox, Howell, Weston and Miall (the PUBLISHER-EDITOR of *The Nonconformist* and our PUBLISHER NOW), 4 atheists against one 'PROTESTANT'.²⁹⁰ POOR Eccarius now needs your article^e *urgently* (there being a whole mass of intrigues and I unable to help; my book requires all my writing time).

Your wine is having a miraculous effect on me. While my illness was in full bloom I had to buy bad PORTWINE—it being the only wine suitable for an acute carbuncle condition.

Apropos. As I see from one of the latest 'FACTORY REPORTS', John Watts has published a pamphlet 'ON MACHINERY.'^f Ask him, on my behalf, to send me a copy.

^a F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^b *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department*. - ^c *Public Health. Reports of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council*. - ^d the British Museum Library - ^e F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - ^f J. Watts, *Trade Societies and Strikes.... Machinery....*

I am going to write a few lines to Wilhelm^a cursing him for his spinelessness. The collapse of the *Social-Demokrat* and of all the Lassallean trash is, of course, the very thing we want.²⁹¹

Lyons (the workers there) have sent £8 to the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

Salut.

Your
Moor

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

128

ENGELS TO MARX²⁶

IN LONDON^b

Manchester, 10 February 1866

Dear Moor,

I have just spoken to Gumpert here and discussed your condition with him. He is firmly of the opinion you should try arsenic. He has used it in one case of carbuncles and one of very virulent furunculosis, and achieved a complete cure in approx. 3 months. He is now giving it to three ladies, so far with the greatest of success; they are positively thriving on it. FOWLER'S SOLUTION is what he is giving, I believe it is 3 drops 3 times a day (I am not quite so sure about that any more), but altogether the patient takes *about 1 grain of arsenic a day*. In view of the specific effect that arsenic has with all skin diseases, there is every prospect of it being effective with you, too. He thinks iron would only have a symptomatic and hence strengthening effect. And with arsenic there is no special diet to be observed at all, *just living well*.

You really must at last do something sensible now to shake off this carbuncle nonsense, even if the book^c is delayed by another 3

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^b The letter bears the stamp: Albert Club / Manchester. -

^c *Capital*

months. The thing is really becoming far too serious, and if, as you say yourself, your brain is not UP TO THE MARK for the theoretical part, then do give it a bit of a rest from the more elevated theory. Give over working at night for a while and lead a rather more regular life. When you are yourself again, come up here for a fortnight or so, so that you have a bit of a change, and bring enough papers along with you for you to be able to do a spot of work here—if you like. Incidentally, the 60 sheets will make 2 thick volumes.²⁹³ Can you not so arrange things that the first volume at least is sent for printing first and the second one a few months later? This would keep both publisher^a and public happy and yet no time will have been lost *realiter*.^b

You must also bear in mind that as things stand now, the situation on the Continent may change rapidly. In Prussia things are moving with marvellous rapidity. Bismarck is pressing hard for a crisis. First the decision by the Supreme Tribunal,²⁹² and then now the threat of an authentic interpretation of the constitution by the King.^c The philistines' last illusion about peaceful historical development has gone to the devil. The first plausible pretext, perhaps no more than a serious complication over Schleswig-Holstein even, may be the spark that sets it off, once the troops are concentrated on the frontier; although I myself hardly believe that anything will happen without a more general cause, but the possibility is there. What would be gained in these circumstances by having perhaps a few chapters at the end of your book completed, and not even the first volume can be printed, if events take us by surprise? Something may happen any day in France, too, in Austria the attempted reconciliation with Hungary can only lead to sharper division.²⁹³

Q.E.D.: get yourself back on your feet and *ad hoc*^d give the arsenic a try.

Your
F. E.

Kind regards to Madame^e and the YOUNG LADIES.

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 Otto Meissner - ^b in actual fact - ^c William I - ^d to that end - ^e Jenny Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1866

DEAR FRED,

Tell or write to Gumpert to send me the prescription with instructions for use. As I have confidence in him, he owes it to the best of 'Political Economy'^a if nothing else to ignore professional etiquette and treat me from Manchester.

I was laid up again yesterday with a vicious cur of a carbuncle erupting on left loin. If I had enough money, that is, more > -0, for my family, and if my book were ready, I would care not a fig whether I was thrown on the charnel heap today or tomorrow, alias perished. But things being as they are, that cannot be contemplated just yet.

As far as this 'damned' book is concerned, the position now is: it was *ready* at the end of December.²²⁷ The treatise on ground rent alone, the penultimate chapter, is in its present form almost long enough to be a book in itself.²⁹⁴ I have been going to the Museum^b in the day-time and writing at night. I had to plough through the new agricultural chemistry in Germany, in particular Liebig and Schönbein, which is more important for this matter than all the economists put together, as well as the enormous amount of material that the French have produced since I last dealt with this point. I concluded my theoretical investigation of ground rent 2 years ago. And a great deal had been achieved, especially in the period since then, fully confirming my theory incidentally. And the opening up of Japan²⁹⁵ (by and large I normally never read travel-books if I am not professionally obliged to) was also important here. So here was the 'SHIFTING SYSTEM', as it was applied by those curs of English manufacturers to *one and the same* persons in 1848-50, being applied by me to myself.²⁹⁶

Although ready, the manuscript, which in its present form is gigantic, is not fit for publishing for anyone but myself, not even for you.

I began the business of copying out and *polishing the style* on the dot of January first, and it all went ahead swimmingly, as I

^a *Capital* - ^b the British Museum Library

naturally enjoy licking the infant clean after long birth-pangs. But then the carbuncle intervened again, so that I have since been unable to make any more progress but only to fill out with more facts those sections which were, according to the plan, already finished.

Otherwise, I agree with you and shall get the first volume to Meissner as soon as it is ready.^a But in order to complete it, I must at least be able to *sit*.

Please do not forget to write to Watts,^b as I have now reached my chapter on machinery.²⁹⁷

Could you not dash off an article on Prussia for *The Commonwealth*, under the rubric *Berlin*? Bear in mind how important it is for us to have a firm footing in London. The articles on Poland^c can take their time. But with the German papers, which are at your disposal, it would be fun for you to write about Prussia. My influence here depends partly on people seeing at last that I do not stand entirely alone.

I am less bothered by political affairs (not *qua*^d individual but on account of the book) than by the *economic* situation, which is pointing more and more ominously to a crisis.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Greetings to your 'Irish' lady-friend.^e The Irish ladies, notabene Roses O'Donovan, etc., have thanked us for the appeal in our paper and for Fox's articles.²⁹⁸

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 See this volume, p. 226. - ^b *ibid.*, p. 224. - ^c F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - ^d as - ^e Lizzy Burns

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 February 1866

Dear FRED,

Most sincere thanks for the first half of the £50 note.

In respect of the 'Viennese',^a I wrote him LONG SINCE that he should write to you. I told him I was agreeable to anything, except that I did not know UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES if I would be capable of supplying a contribution for the first issue.²⁸¹

That cur of a carbuncle is working away, but I hope to be rid of it in a few days.

Things are really aboil in Prussia. Yet the patience of our friends is great. If Bismarck sends them home, everything will now result in banqueting and Kappel-Klassenmann.²²⁴ On the other hand, if the Chamber sits for long, the outcome may be nasty.²⁹⁹

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 FRIEDRICH LESSNER³⁰⁰

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 February 1866

Dear Lessner,

You will see what the matter is from the enclosed letter from Freiligrath. Please do what you can.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

^a Arnold Hilberg

I cannot find Freiligrath's letter. His wife will give you the details about Ulmer's situation. His wife has died, and he has no money to bury her. Our Society^a must therefore do something at once. You must send the money to Freiligrath.

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, 19 February 1866

Dear Moor,

Had encl. £10 note for you in my pocket, but could not get to speak to you on your own yesterday.³⁰¹ I hope that today's expiry date for the bill of exchange passed uneventfully and that the trifling deficit from the full amount occasioned no unpleasantness.

I have forgotten everything—'Klein Zaches'^b that I put on top of a row of upright books in the book-case at the foot of the sofa in your room, the 'FACTORY REPORT'^c and *The Commonwealth*. Please send me a copy of the latter for me to read Fox's article.^d

How is the upper carbuncle, and the one down on your thigh? I have not yet been able to see Gumpert.

Your
F. E.

Sincere regards to the LADIES and especially little Tussy^e from her chimpanzee.

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
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^a The German Workers' Educational Society in London - ^b E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Klein-Zaches, genannt Zinnober*. - ^c *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department*. - ^d P. Fox, 'The Irish Question', *The Commonwealth*, Nos. 153 and 154, 10 and 17 February 1866. - ^e Eleanor Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS⁶

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 February 1866

Dear FRED,

You can imagine how opportunely the £10 came. I had been served with two threats of distraint, for £6 "0" 9d. for the bloody municipal TAXES, and for 1sh. 16d. for the QUEEN'S TAXES. And I had until Friday to pay.

As regards the carbuncles, the position is:

Concerning the *upper one*, from my long practical experience I was able to tell you that it really needed *lancing*. Today (Tuesday), after receiving your letter, I took a sharp RAZOR, a RELICT OF DEAR LUPUS, and *lanced the cur myself*. (I cannot abide doctors meddling with my private parts or in their vicinity. Furthermore, I have Allen's testimony THAT I AM ONE OF THE BEST SUBJECTS TO BE OPERATED UPON. I always recognise *what has to be done*.) The *sang brûlé*,^a AS MRS LORMIER SAYS, spurted, or rather leapt, right up into the air, and I now consider this carbuncle buried, although IT STILL WANTS SOME NURSING.

As far as the *lower cur* is concerned, it is becoming malignant and is *beyond* my control and kept me from sleeping the whole night through. If this diabolical business advances, I shall have to send for Allen, of course, as, owing to the *locus* of the cur, I am unable TO WATCH AND CURE it myself. And in general it is clear that ON THE WHOLE I KNOW more about carbuncular complaints than most doctors.

And by the by, I still hold to the view that I *suggested* to Gumpert during my last STAY in Manchester: that is, that the itching and scratching between my testis and posterior over the past 2½ years and the consequent *peeling of the skin* have been more aggravating to my constitution than anything else. The business started 6 months before the first monster carbuncle which I had on my back, and it has persisted *ever since*.

My dear BOY, in all these circumstances one appreciates MORE THAN EVER the good fortune of a friendship such as exists between

^a bad blood

ourselves. You should know for your part that there is *no* relationship I value so highly.

I will send you 'Zaches' and 'FACTORY REPORTS'^a tomorrow. You will understand, MY DEAR FELLOW, that in a work such as mine,^b there are bound to be many SHORTCOMINGS in the detail. But the *composition*, the structure, is a triumph of German scholarship, which an individual German may confess to, since it is IN NO WAY **his** merit but rather belongs to the *nation*. Which is all the more gratifying, as it is otherwise the SILLIEST NATION under the sun!

The fact, which Liebig had 'denounced' and which prompted Schönbein's investigations, was this:

The *upper* layers of the soil always contain more ammonia than the *deeper* ones, instead of containing less of it as they would have to do if they had lost it through cultivation. The *fact* was recognised by every chemist. Only the cause was *unknown*.

Hitherto, decay was considered to be the sole source of ammonia. All chemists (including Liebig) denied that the nitrogen in the air could serve as a nutrient for plants.

Schönbein proved (by experiment) that any flame burning in the air converts a certain quantity of the nitrogen in the air into ammonium nitrate, that every process of decomposition gives rise to both nitric acid and ammonia, that the mere evaporation of water is the means causing the formation of both plant nutrients.

Finally, Liebig's 'jubilation' at this discovery:

'The combustion of a pound of coal or wood restores to the air not merely the elements needed to reproduce this pound of wood or, under certain conditions, coal, but the process of combustion *in itself*' (note the Hegelian category) 'transforms a certain quantity of nitrogen in the air into a nutrient indispensable for the production of bread and meat.'^c

I FEEL PROUD OF THE GERMANS. IT IS OUR DUTY TO EMANCIPATE THIS 'DEEP' PEOPLE.

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31,
Moscow, 1963

Printed according to the original

^a E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Klein-Zaches, genannt Zinnober; Reports of the Inspectors of Factories...* - ^b *Capital* - ^c J. Liebig, *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agricultur und Physiologie*, pp. 77-78.

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ENGELS TO MARX³⁰²

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 February 1866

Dear Moor,

Thanks for 'Klein Zaches',^a etc., which I take as evidence that you have received the £10.

I have just come from Gumpert, whom I did not see until this evening on account of my influenza and having missed him several times. He considers that you *should start the arsenic at once*. Whatever happens it can do you no harm, but only good. He dismisses Allen's comment that it does not agree with you as rubbish. He also considers treatment with poultices to be nonsense; it only encourages *inflammation of the skin*, which is precisely what needs to be suppressed, while it does not encourage suppuration. Ice-packs would be much better, but as long as you are in Allen's hands, these could only be applied if he prescribed them, of course. But above all, sea air, to restore your strength. A spot on the south coast would be preferable, it is true, as in this season the weather there is better than up here, but if you would rather be near Gumpert, there are places enough on the coast here WITHIN AN HOUR'S RIDE FROM MANCHESTER.

You can see I have got Gumpert to change his attitude, so that he is now pressing you to take arsenic at once, even though Allen is still treating you externally, whereas before, for reasons of etiquette, he would not hear of it. But do me a favour now and take the arsenic, and come up here just as soon as your condition permits, so that you do at last get better. With this constant procrastination you are just ruining yourself; no one can withstand such a chronic succession of carbuncles for long, apart from the fact that eventually you may get one that becomes so acute as to be the end of you. And where will your book^b and your family be then?

You know that I am prepared to do what is in my power, and, in this extreme case, more even than I ought to risk in other circumstances. But you must be sensible, too, and do me and your family the one favour of *getting yourself cured*. What would become

^a E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Klein-Zaches, genannt Zinnober*. - ^b *Capital*

of the whole movement if anything were to happen to you, and the way you are proceeding, that will be the *inevitable* outcome. I really shall not have any peace day or night until I have got you over this business, and every day that passes without my hearing anything from you, I worry and imagine you are worse again.

Nota bene. You should never again let things come to such a pass that a carbuncle which actually ought to be lanced, is not lanced. That is extremely dangerous.

Kindest 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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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 March 1866

DEAR FRED,

The thing will soon be all over now. I think that by tomorrow or the day after at the latest I shall not merely be able to rise from my bed, but to go out, and that with this last malignant cur the series of carbuncles is finished, FOR THIS SEASON. I also feel much better again GENERALLY. This last attack was atrocious. It did not merely put paid to any work, but to any reading, too, EXCEPT Walter Scott.

I found the arsenic not at all unpleasant to begin with (when the taste of the CINNAMON predominated). Now I am beginning to find its specific flavour most repugnant. Otherwise, I believe it was helpful. I took it 3 TIMES A DAY from the outset.

How are things with your contributions for *The Commonwealth*?^a
And with John Watts 'ON MACHINERY'?^b

^a F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - ^b See this volume, pp. 224, 228.

The sofa to which I have been confined for 9 days now is in my study, but right by the window, so that at certain times of day, e. g. as at this moment, I can enjoy a most refreshing breeze.

You have no further cause for anxiety now, BUT AS FAR AS ACTUAL OUTBREAKS ARE CONCERNED you can regard the business as terminated.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Little Tussy^a 'SENDS HER BEST COMPLIMENTS TO HER CHIMP'.

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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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 March 1866

Dear Moor,

Gumpert is *décidément*^b of the opinion that, just as soon as your condition allows, you should go to the seaside for at least 4 weeks and in any case have a change of air. Now what do you think of that? Would you prefer to go to a seaside resort near here (Lytham, or Blackpool or New Brighton perhaps) or on the south coast? Make your MIND up about it, and if the former, then come up here. I shall raise the money for the purpose and, as I promised you, a bit more as well. These constantly recurring carbuncles have really just got to stop, or you will be unable either to work or to do anything else. So, you must reach a decision.

You yourself disrupted my contributions for *The Commonwealth*^c by asking for something on Prussia as well as on the Polish business.^d As a result, the one was interrupted and the other not completed in time either. I was suddenly collared TO CANVASS for the money for the Schiller Institute²⁸ which I told you about, and that kept me off it every evening last week, and I have to go out again now.^e I expect to have got that behind me in a fortnight but, at all events, to dispatch an article on Poland this week.

^a Eleanor Marx - ^b decidedly - ^c F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - ^d See this volume, p. 228. - ^e See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 402-04.

Fine revelations from Jamaica. And what an embarrassment they are to *The Times*, as well as Russell's resignation. The paper is going DOWN very rapidly.³⁰³

If possible, you must read the statement by the Cologne-Minden directors about their shady deal. They say that insofar as they are party to it, it is *in law* just a *private arrangement*; as soon as the King^a ratifies it, *he* will have to sort out the constitutional side. In other words, the bourgeoisie in Cologne themselves do not want to have a constitution.³⁰⁴

Kind 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
Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 March 1866

Dear FRED,

As it seems decided I am to go away, I think it is best to go to Margate. The air is particularly good there. Besides, not far from London in case anything were to happen. And although the last carbuncle has also disappeared, the wound has not healed up yet, so lengthy train journey would be awkward for me.

Now what ought I to do 'AT LARGE'?—according to Gumpert's prescriptions?

I am going out into the open air again for the first time today.
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 William I

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 10 March 1866]

CONFIDENTIAL!

Excerpt from a letter to Freiligrath,³⁰⁵ who asked me for information on some commercial philistine and, at the same time, expressed his regret at your illness and wished you well:

'Marx needs to rest from working at night and from worry, as well as sea-air and good living. That will put him back on his feet all right. Such troubles are spared to plump bourgeois like Blind. Instead, the poor man has the misfortune that for all the levers and thumbscrews he applies, nobody speaks of him other than Blind himself. Such fellows have their carbuncles on the insides of their skulls. But enough of the "DELIBERATE LIAR".

'How are you actually doing now? I hear the bank in London^a has closed down. A good thing too, for you, in the long run, the liaison with Fazy and Co. could have compromised you later in some unforeseen way.²¹² I am sure you will soon pick up a decent position again.'

In haste.

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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 MARCH 1866

DEAR FRED,

Did you receive the lines I wrote last Tuesday?^b I need to know in order to ascertain whether my letters are being tampered with. It was addressed to MRS BURNS.

^a a branch of the Bank of Switzerland - ^b See this volume, p. 236.

If I am to go to the seaside at all, it will have to be now, as I do not wish to waste any time. I told you in my last letter that in that case I wanted to go to *Margate*, and the requisite steps must be attended to now. I also asked you in my little letter what Gumpert has in mind by the 'cure'? Continuing with the arsenic, etc., or what?

Everything is at sixes and sevens on the 'INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL' and the 'newspaper board',^a and a great desire is being manifested to rebel against the absent 'tyrant',^b but at the same time to wreck the whole shop as well.^c My wound (from the last carbuncle) has healed up sufficiently (and so far no new one has appeared) for me to go out into company next Monday and Tuesday; but, at the same time, I can still scarcely endure those late meetings in some corner of Fleet Street,³⁰⁶ and what is even worse, I am still in a state of such nervous irritation that I could hardly contain the storms within 'the bounds of pure reason',^d but would more probably explode with excessive violence, which would be pointless.

When shall we finally see Polish article I?^e

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^f

[London,] 15 March 1866

My dear Frederic,

The bearer of these lines is citizen Orsini, the brother of the immortal martyr,^g and a member of our association. He leaves

^a *The Commonwealth* - ^b i.e. Marx - ^c See this volume, pp. 249-51. - ^d Presumably an ironical allusion to Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. - ^e in the series of articles 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - ^f The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London. - ^g Felice Orsini

England for the United States, whence he will return in some months. Your advice on commercial matters may, perhaps, prove useful to him. At all events, you will be delighted to make his personal acquaintance.

Yours truly
K. Marx

Mr *Frederic Engels*, 7 Southgate, St Mary's, Manchester.

PS. I know that Bradlaugh is an honest man and occupies a respectable position in the city as solicitor.

First published, in German, in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913 and in the language of the original, English, in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1930

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

Margate [16 March 1866]
5 Lansell's Place

Dear FRED,

I arrived here yesterday evening.³⁰⁷ I have been dashing about all day today (after taking a warm sea-bathe) and have only just returned to my lodgings (right by the sea) in order to send you my address before the post-office closes. You will get more detailed news tomorrow. Your first Polish article^a will appear not this week, but next. The air here is wonderful.

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 F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?'

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MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

IN LONDON

Margate, 16th March, 1866
5 Lansell's Place

My dear Child,

I arrived here yesterday evening, $\frac{3}{4}$ past seven. According to your instructions I left my luggage behind me in the cloakroom and was then landed by the omnibus at a small inn called the 'King's Arms'. Having ordered a rump steak, and being shown to the coffee room, which was rather dimly illuminated, I took rather fright (you know my anxious temper) at a lean, long, stiff sort of man, midway between parson and commis-voyageur, solitarily and motionlessly seated before the chimney. From the vagueness of his glanceless eye, I thought him a blind man. I was confirmed in that notion by some long, scarf-like, narrow white thing spread over his legs, with regular holes in it. I fancied it to be paper outcut by the blind man to serve as a catchpenny from the frequenters of the inn. When my supper arrived the man began somewhat to wave, quietly took off his boots and warmed his elephantine feet at the fire. What with this agreeable spectacle, and his supposed blindness, and what with a rump steak, which seemed, in its natural state, to have belonged to a deceased cow, I passed the first Margate evening anything but comfortably. But, in compensation, the bedroom was snug, the bed clean and elastic and the sleep sound. When at the breakfast table, who should step in but the man of the evening. He turned out to be deaf and not blind. What had so much vexed me—I mean the thing on his knees—was a pocket handkerchief of singular fashion, with a greyish ground interspersed by black eyes which I had mistaken for holes. Feeling shy of the man, I settled my bill as soon as possible and, after some erratic course, hit upon my present lodging, in front of the sea, a large sitting room and a bedroom, 10/- per week. When striking my bargain the additional clause was agreed upon that, on your arrival, you will get your bedroom *for nothing*.

The first thing I did was to take a warm sea-bathe. It was delicious, so is the air here. It is a wonderful air.

As to boarding houses, they are about empty now, and, as I understood the librarian, hardly yet prepared for the reception of guests. As to dining-rooms, there was some difficulty to get at a proper one, but by the by this obstacle will be overcome.

And now, with my best compliments to all, by-bye.

Yours

Mohr

I have already walked five hours to-day.

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925 and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September 1929

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MARX TO ANTOINETTE PHILIPS

IN SALT-BOMMEL

Margate, 18 March 1866
5 Lansell's Place

My dear Child,

From the address you will see that I have been banished, by my medical adviser, to this seaside place, which, at this time of the year, is quite solitary. Margate lives only upon the Londoners, who regularly inundate it at the bathing season. During the other months it vegetates only. For my own part right glad I am to have got rid of all company, even that of my books. I have taken a private lodging which fronts the sea. In an inn or Hotel one might have been exposed to the danger of falling in with a stray traveller, or being pestered by local politics, vestry interests, and neighbourly gossip. As it is, 'I care for nobody, and nobody cares for me'.^a But the air is wonderfully pure and reinvigorating, and you have here at the same time sea air and mountain air. I have become myself a sort of walking stick, running up and down the

^a from the English folk-song 'The Miller of the Dee'

whole day, and keeping my mind in that state of nothingness which Buddhism considers the climax of human bliss. Of course, you have not forgotten the pretty little diction: 'When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be; when the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.'

Withdrawing a little from the seaside, and roaming over the adjacent agricultural districts, you are painfully reminded of 'civilisation', because from all sides you are startled by large boards, with governmental proclamations on them, headed: *Cattle Disease*. The ruling English oligarchs were never suspected to care one farthing for 'der Menschheit ganzes Weh',^a but as to cows and oxen, they feel deeply. At the opening of Parliament, the horned cattle gentlemen of both houses, commoners and lords, made a wild rush at government. All their talk sounded like a herd of cows' lowing, translated into English. And they were not like honest king Wiswamitra, 'der kämpfte und büsste für die Kuh Sabalah'.^b On the contrary. They seized the opportunity to 'battre monnaie'^c out of the cows' ailings at the expense of the people.³⁰⁸ By the by, the East sends us always nice things—Religion, Etiquette, and the Plague in all forms.

I am very glad to hear of Waaråtje's^d winding up adventure. Verily, verily, I tell thee, my sweet little cousin, I always felt deep sympathy for the man, and always hoped that one day or other he should fix his melting heart in the right direction, and not persevere performing the nasty part in the children's tale: 'The Beast and the Beauty'.^e I'm sure he will make a good husband. Is his innamorata a 'Bommelerin' or an importation?

A few days before leaving London, I made the acquaintance of Mr Orsini, a very fine fellow, the brother of the Orsini who was sent to the grave for sending Bonaparte to Italy.³⁰⁹ He has now left England for the U. States, in commercial matters, but during the few days of our acquaintance, he did me good service. Although an intimate friend of Mazzini's, he is far from sharing

^a 'all misery of mankind'. Paraphrase of a passage from Schiller's poem 'Das Eleusische Fest': 'doch der Menschheit Angst und Wehen / Fühlet mein gequältes Herz' (yet the pains and woes of humans / ever fill my tortured heart) - ^b 'who wrangled and suffered for the cow Sabalah'—an episode from the epic poem *Ramayana*; used by Heine in *Buch der Lieder*, 'Die Heimkehr' (Marx gives a free rendering of the words from Heine's poem; see this volume, p. 245). - ^c 'coin money' - ^d *Waaråtje* ('really', 'indeed')—the word always used by student Petrus from Hildebrand's novel *Camera obscura*. Marx presumably refers in this letter to pastor Roodhuizen who later became Antoinette's husband. - ^e 'La Belle et la Bête', a tale by Jeanne Marie Le Prince de Beaumont.

the antiquated antisocialist and theocratical views of Mazzini. Now, during my forced and prolonged absence from the Council of the International Association, Mazzini had been busy in stirring a sort of revolt against my leadership. 'Leadership' is never a pleasant thing, nor a thing I ambition. I have always before my mind your father's^a saying in regard to Thorbecke that 'der Eselstreiber den Eseln immer verhasst ist'.^b But having once fairly embarked in an enterprise which I consider of import, I certainly, 'anxious' man as I am, do not like to give way. Mazzini, a most decided hater of freethinking and socialism, watched the progress of our society with great jealousy. His first attempt of making a tool of it and fastening upon it a programme and declaration of principles of his hatching, I had baffled.^c His influence, before that time very great with the London working class, had sunk to zero. He waxed wroth, when he saw that we had founded the English *Reform League*¹⁵⁵ and a weekly paper, *The Commonwealth*, to which the most advanced men of London contribute, and of which I shall send you a copy after my return to London. His anger increased, when the editors of the *Rive gauche* (the journal of *la jeune France*,^d directed by Rogeard, author of the *Propos de Labienus*,³¹⁰ Longuet, etc.) joined us, and when he became aware of the spread of our society on the Continent. He improved my absence, to intrigue with some English workingmen, raise their jealousies against 'German' influence, and even sent his bully, a certain Major Wolff (a German by birth) to the Council there to lodge his complaints and more or less directly to denounce me. He wanted to be acknowledged as 'the leader (I suppose *par la grace de dieu*)^e of the continental democratical movement'. In so doing, he acted so far quite sincerely, as he utterly abhors my principles which, in his eyes, embody the most damnable 'materialism'. This whole scene was enacted behind my back, and after they had made sure that my malady would not allow me to be present. The English wavered, but, although still very weak, I rushed to the following *séance*, Mr Orsini accompanying me. On my interpellation, he declared them that Mazzini had lost his influence even in Italy and was, from his antecedents and prejudices, quite disabled from understanding the new movement.³¹¹ All the Foreign secretaries declared for me, and, if you, our Dutch secretary,³¹² had been present, I hope you would have also cast your vote for your humble servant and admirer. As it was, I carried a complete

^a Lion Philips - ^b 'the ass-driver is always hateful to the ass' - ^c See this volume, pp. 16-18. - ^d young France - ^e by the grace of God

victory over this redoubtable adversary.³¹³ I think that Mazzini has now had enough of me and will make *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.^a

I hope to receive a few lines from you. Don't forget that I am quite an insulated hermit.

Your most sincere friend

Bloch^b

First published in the language of the original, English, in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. I, Part 1, Assen, 1956

Reproduced from the text of the journal

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MARX TO LAURA MARX

IN LONDON

Margate, 20 March 1866
5 Lansell's Place

My dear Cacadou,^c

Very good news indeed! I prefer Mrs Grach to the mother of all the Gracchi.³¹⁴ I am right glad that I have taken my lodgings in a private House, and not in an Inn or Hotel where one could hardly escape being pestered with local politics, vestry scandals, and neighbourly gossip. But still I cannot sing with the miller of the Dee, that I care for nobody and nobody cares for me.^d For there is my landlady, who is deaf like a post, and her daughter, who is afflicted with chronic hoarseness, but they are very nice people, attentive, and not intruding. As to myself, I have turned into a perambulating stick, running about the greatest part of the day, airing myself, going to bed at 10 o'clock, reading nothing, writing less, and altogether working up my mind to that state of nothingness which Buddhism considers the element of human bliss. However, with all that, I shall not turn out, on Thursday,^e that paragon of beauty which worthy By Bye,^f in his phantastic

^a a good face on a bad business - ^b Presumably this is Marx's nickname, or may be the signature he chose to be incognito in Margate. - ^c Laura's jocular nickname - ^d from the English folk-song 'The Miller of the Dee' - ^e 22 March, when Marx intended to go to London to attend a soirée arranged by his daughters (see this volume, pp. 249-50). - ^f Marx's daughter Jenny

mood, seems to expect. The toothache on the right side of the face has not yet altogether disappeared, and the same side is afflicted with an inflammation of the eye. Not that there is much to be seen of it, but that eye has taken to the vicious habit of shedding tears on its own account, without the least regard to the feelings of his master. But for this state of things, I should have my photogramme already taken, since you get here 12 *cartes de visite* for 3 s. 6 d. and 48 *cartes* for 10 sh. Mummelchen^a will oblige me by pacing her steps to Mr Hall and ordering him to prepare a solution of zink (he will know the composition of the drug) for my eye the which I expect to find ready on my arrival at London. This bad eye interferes with my nightrest. Otherwise, I am turning [over] a new leaf.

Withdrawing somewhat from the seaside, and roaming over the adjacent rustic district, you are painfully reminded of '*civilisation*' by large boards, staring at you everywhere, headed 'Cattle Disease', and placarded over with a government proclamation, the result of the wild rush which the horned cattle gentry, lords and commoners, made at the government, on the opening of Parliament.³⁰⁸

Oh, oh King Wiswamitra
 What fool of an oxen art thou,
 That thou so much wrangle'st and suffer'st
 And all that for a cow.^b

But if honest Wiswamitra, like a true Indian, tormented himself for the salvation of the cow Sabala, those English gentry, in the true style of modern martyrs, bleed the people to compensate themselves for their cows' ailings. The horn plague upon them! The horn, the horn, as discreet By Bye rings it lustily.

On Sunday, I made up my mind to walk *per pedes*^c to Canterbury. Unhappily, I only formed this grand resolution, after having already measured for two hours the length and breadth of the piers and so forth. So I had already expended too much physical power, when I set out for the archbishop's seat or see, as you like. And from here to Canterbury are fully 16 miles. From

^a Marx's wife Jenny - ^b Heinrich Heine, 'Den König Wiswamitra' (from *Buch der Lieder*, 'Die Heimkehr'). Marx quotes an English translation of the second stanza of the poem, which in the German original reads as follows:

O, König Wiswamitra
 O, welch ein Ochs bist du,
 Dass du so viel kämpfest und büssest
 Und alles für eine Kuh!

^c on foot

Canterbury I returned to Margate by rail, but I had overworked myself, and could not sleep during the whole night. Limbs and loins were not tired, but the plants of my feet turned out tender hearted rogues. As to Canterbury, you know, of course, all about it, and more than I can boast, from your Eves, the trusted source of knowledge for all English Eves. (One cannot help, in your company, bad punning. But mark, Thackeray did worse, by playing upon Eves and Ewes.) Happily, I was too tired, and it was too late, to look out for the celebrated cathedral. Canterbury is an old, ugly, medieval sort of town, not mended by large modern English barracks at the one, and a dismal dry Railway Station at the other end of the oldish thing. There is no trace of that poetry about it, which you find in continental towns of the same age. The swaggering of the private soldiers and the officers in the streets, reminded me somewhat of Vaterland.^a In the inn, where I was scantily purveyed with some slices of cold beef, I caught the newest scandal. Captain Le Merchant, it seems, had been taken up by the police on Saturday night, for systematically knocking at the doors of all the most respectable citizens. And a summons will be taken out against the Captain because of this innocent pastime. And the redoubtable Captain will have to bend down his diminished head before aldermanic majesty. This is my whole packet of 'Canterbury Tales'.^b

And now, Cacadou, pay my compliments to Elly^c to whom I shall write one of those days, and whose little letter was very welcome. As to Möhmchen,^d she will hear of me by the by.

That damned boy Lafargue pesters me with his Proudhonism, and will not rest, it seems, until I have administered to him a sound cudgelling of his Creole pate.

My good wishes to all.

Your master

Has Orsini still received the letter I sent him?¹¹¹

First published, in German, in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, Nr. 2, 1907-1908 and in the language of the original, English, in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

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^a Fatherland - ^b An allusion to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. - ^c Eleanor Marx - ^d Marx's wife Jenny

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 22 March 1866

Dear Hermann,

Your document is with the LAWYER. Unfortunately, he was out today when I called, so I can't tell you whether he has already sent it to Liverpool, nor what progress has been made with the relevant fair copies. But I shall call again one day soon to prod him.

I am writing to you today about the statement of my account which you sent to me and which had to wait until I had a quiet day to look through, as your entries for the last half year of 1864 have been done quite differently from ours. I therefore had to go through all the stuff again from the beginning and have at last sorted it out. The items coincide with the exception of the remittances which, according to your letter of 20 July 1864, were credited direct to my account with F. Engels & Co., so I shall presumably find these items in my statement of account with F. Engels & Co. These items are:

	Remittance via Apolda	£	2.	2.	2
1864, 30 June	{ » Munich	»	1.	2.	—
	{ » Rieslingen	»	8.	19.	6
» 3 July	{ » London tot.	»	287.	3.	3

I find that, according to your statements of account I am actually losing money in respect of the transferred balances debited to me here. The exact calculation of the difference for the 18 months amounts to £ 1. 14. 9, and in future I shall therefore take the liberty of sending you a statement every 6 months for I naturally have no alternative but to accept the statements of the firm here. For my convenience, I am still keeping your account here separate as well.

Please be so good as to send me a summary statement of my account with F. Engels & Co. *as soon as possible*, so that I can make up my private account-book. And from *mid-year* 1864, of course, as I have had no statement for this account from you since then at all—as far as I am aware. (If you didn't make up the account in mid-year 1864, then from the *beginning of 1864*.)

Business has got better again since last September; we have been fully occupied since then, at present even excessively so, and are setting up new DT-machines. Prices have improved too, and in the last half-year of 1865 we have even made enough to cover my costs from June 1864 onwards, with a little left over for myself as well; in the first year of my PARTNERSHIP WE didn't make a brass farthing, you know, even without writing anything off for machinery. We must be doing splendid business now, but if cotton should drop below 18d. for MIDDLING ORLEANS owing to the greater supply, we shall lose everything again. However, I'm not expecting that to happen; I think good American cotton will, by and large, hold at approx. 19d., while Surat may admittedly fall a lot. Moreover, I think we are not getting more cotton than we need and will, by and large, stay at approx. 19d. for MIDDLING ORLEANS until about the autumn, when there may perhaps be some more speculating, which will force prices up.

I shall be writing to Mother^a in a day or two, as soon as I can manage it; I received her letter last Monday and was glad to learn she is well again now. My kindest regards to her and all our brothers and sisters from

Your
Friedrich

Apropos. As you know, the capital credited to me here amounted to a little over £13,000 as far back as 30 June 1864, and since I am under no obligation to have more than £ 12,000 in the business, there is no need for you to provide cover for purchases through us; or I could send you some remittances, especially as approx. another £ 300 is due in interest at the end of June. I can also make payments to Funke on your account if you so wish; in this way, you can draw approx. £ 1,500 up to 30 June, or at once. Only please do not draw bills on us, since Gottfried^b objects, he thinks people might regard it as improper practice, the name of the firms being one and the same.

Anton^c already has 4-5 patents now. There is no stopping him, every other day a new patent of his is announced in the press.

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,
Bd. II, 1921

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

^a Elisabeth Engels - ^b Gottfried Ermen - ^c Anton Ermen

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MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

Margate, 24 March 1866
5 Lansell's Place

Dear FRED,

The belated arrival of this letter will tell you how 'professionally' I am applying my time here. I am reading nothing, am writing nothing. The mere fact of having to take the arsenic three times a day obliges one to arrange one's time for meals and for strolling by the sea and over the adjacent HILLS in such a way that one finds 'no time' for anything else. And in the evening one is too tired to do anything other than sleep. The weather is, by and large, rather raw, and in particular there is often an east wind blowing here, which is SOMEWHAT CHILLING, but one soon becomes accustomed to that, too. You can tell how much I am restored from the fact that last Sunday I marched *per pedes*^a to Canterbury (17 miles from here) in less than 4 hours. As regards company here, it does not exist, of course. I can sing with the MILLER OF THE DEE: 'I CARE FOR NOBODY AND NOBODY CARES FOR ME.'^b

The day before yesterday^c I had to go to London in the evening to attend a 'soirée' of my daughters. My uncle^d had sent them £ 5 at Christmas, which was, however, 'borrowed' from them for GENERAL PURPOSES and which they only got back when your money arrived. They arranged their annual 'PARTY' with it and so bombarded me with letters that I 'made' for London, as Mr Nothjung used to say. But I returned to my hermitage here the very next morning (i. e., yesterday).

Before setting off for Margate (which I did on Wednesday, 14 March^e), I had to attend the consecutive evening meetings, on 12 and 13 March, firstly of the SHAREHOLDERS of *The Commonwealth*²⁹⁰ and secondly, on the 13th, of the CENTRAL COUNCIL, although still in a thoroughly wretched condition at the time.

On the former occasion Mr Cremer had set everything up for Eccarius to be given his marching orders, which would probably

^a on foot - ^b from the English folk-song 'The Miller of the Dee' - ^c 22 March - ^d Lion Philips - ^e Presumably this is not correct, for Marx arrived at Margate on Thursday, 15 March (see this volume, p. 239).

have happened if I had not appeared. So, the meeting only achieved the 'voluntary' resignation of Mr Cremer from the editorial board. How the matter turned out later, I do not know, since the whole thing was only SETTLED 'provisionally' for one week, and the general SHAREHOLDERS-MEETING was deferred to 19 March. But it will probably mean *beati possidentes*^a here too, and as a result of that meeting Eccarius was, to begin with, the *possidens*.^b

The intrigue on the CENTRAL COUNCIL was closely bound up with the RIVALRIES and JEALOUSIES concerning the journal (Mr Howell wished to be EDITOR-IN-CHIEF and Mr Cremer ditto). Mr Le Lubez had used this to agitate against GERMAN INFLUENCE, and at the meeting of 6 March a beautifully and quietly prepared scene took place. To wit, Major Wolff suddenly appeared and made a solemn speech in his own name and in Mazzini's and in that of the ITALIAN SOCIETY²⁰ against the reply to Vésinier's attacks, which Jung had sent to the *Echo de Verviers* in the name of the CENTRAL COUNCIL.²⁷⁴ He made a very violent attack on Jung and (*impliciter*^c) myself. Odger, Howell, Cremer, and others gave vent to their longstanding Mazzinism. Le Lubez fed the flames and, AT ALL EVENTS, a resolution was passed which included what amounted to an *amende honorable*^d for Mazzini, Wolff, etc. It was a serious matter, as you can see. (Of the FOREIGNERS, there were only A FEW PRESENT, and none of them voted.) It would really be a neat trick of Mazzini's to let me bring the Association so far and then to appropriate it for himself. He demanded that the English should recognise him as leader of the continental democrats, as though it was for the English gentlemen to appoint leaders for us!

On Saturday (10 March) the FOREIGN SECRETARIES of the Association gathered at my house to hold a council of war (Dupont, Jung, Longuet, Lafargue, Bobczyński). It was resolved that, whatever happened, I was to attend the COUNCIL on Tuesday (13th) and *protest* against the PROCEEDINGS in the name of *all* the FOREIGN SECRETARIES. The PROCEEDINGS were irregular, you see, as Wolff is no longer a MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL, therefore no resolution on a matter in which he was personally implicated ought to be passed in his presence. Furthermore, I was to explain Mazzini's position vis-à-vis both our Association and the CONTINENTAL WORKINGMEN'S PARTIES, etc. Finally, the French were to bring Cesare Orsini (who is BY THE BY a personal friend of Mazzini) along to give EVIDENCE ON Mazzini, Wolff and the STATE OF 'SOCIALISM' in Italy.

^a blessed are they who have possession (Horace, *Odes*, IV, IX, 45) - ^b the man in possession - ^c by implication - ^d apology

The affair went off better than I had ever expected³¹³; though the English element was unfortunately not well represented (on account of the bloody Reform League¹⁵⁵). I gave that Lubez a thorough dressing down. In any case, it has been made clear to the English (in fact only a minority is meant here, too) that the whole CONTINENTAL ELEMENT stands behind me as one man and that here it is by no means, as Mr Lubez had insinuated, a case of GERMAN INFLUENCE. Lubez had sought to put it to them that AS LEADER OF THE ENGLISH ELEMENT ON THE COUNCIL, I was holding DOWN the other CONTINENTAL ELEMENTS; the English gentlemen are, on the contrary, NOW persuaded that by means of the CONTINENTAL ELEMENT I have got them entirely under my thumb, should they kick over the traces. More about that next time.

Before coming here, I did, of course, pay off the most pressing DEBTS at home, as otherwise I should not have had a moment's peace of mind. If you can send me a little bit more at the end of this month, I would appreciate it. Meanwhile, the power of attorney from the Cape^a will be here at last, and thus something will at least be flowing into the coffers, even if it is not very much.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.^b

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 MARX

IN MARGATE

Manchester, 27 March 1866

Dear Moor,

I had just made up my mind to write you a letter of congratulations on what I inferred from your silence to be your

^a from Johann Carl Juta (Marx presumably refers to the power of attorney for receiving his share of legacy at the death of his aunt, Esther Kosel; see this volume, p. 194) - ^b Lizzy Burns

conscientious abstinence from work, when your letter arrived. It reassured me not a little, as I was beginning to suspect that another carbuncle might be the reason for your obstinate silence. You must keep taking plenty of exercise and continue visiting the archbishop in Canterbury *per pedes*,^a that is the sure way to eradicate it once and for all. In this case, and in others, too, the most important thing is to endure the boredom of the seaside for long enough; if you can, you should stay there for the whole of April, so that the trouble can be completely cured.

Old Hill has just come and interrupted me. So I must break off for today. The £10 encl.

E/T 96963, Manchester, 20 January 1865.

Your
F. Engels

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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

Margate, 2 April 1866
5 Lansell's Place

Dear FRED,

D'abord,^b the £10 received with kindest thanks.

In my absence there has been a *changement de décoration*,^c or rather, *de direction* on *The Commonwealth* which will be realised next week.²⁹⁰ *Odger*, EDITOR; *Fox*, SUBEDITOR; the 'SON OF TOIL'^d contracted to supply an article a week for 10s.; *Cremer* OUT OF PLACE; has also tendered his resignation as GENERAL SECRETARY of the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION'. Taken as a whole, I have no objection to the CHANGE. Eccarius could hardly have (or at least ought not to have) imagined that he would be allowed to retain nominal control

^a on foot - ^b Firstly - ^c change of decor - ^d pen-name for Johann Georg Eccarius

from the moment the paper established itself. I warned him to no avail. It was a 'political' error on my part to have given way to his entreaties and proposed him by letter for his now defunct job. If I had not been ill, he would have knocked on the door in vain. I knew in advance that I would find the affair coming home to roost. Avoidance of any appearance of pursuing personal interests or abusing personal influence for clandestine purposes, and good understanding with the English must, of course, be more important to us than satisfying Eccarius' more or less justified ambition.

People of a dry disposition like Eccarius also have a certain dry egoism, which easily leads them astray. When the REFORM LEAGUE decided on the big MEETING in St Martin's Hall,²⁶⁷ the League's COUNCIL nominated him as one of the PUBLIC SPEAKERS. The fellows in Potter's clique objected to him as a FOREIGNER. I warned him expressly not to accept his 'BRIEF'. However, he thought he had got over all his troubles and flattered himself with the important part in the METROPOLITAN MOVEMENT. And he was A DEAD FAILURE. The poor fellow has, of course, lived a life of DISAPPOINTMENTS, and the honorary positions the English SPONTANEOUSLY allowed him, as Vice-President of the 'INTERNATIONAL', etc., deceived him to the point where he now believed he could suddenly make up for the whole of his past life. If he had followed me, operated slowly, maintained a modest posture, everything would be in the best of order. If I even went so far as to muddy myself for his sake, despite his lack of discipline and his wilful behaviour, I was moved to do so particularly by the consideration that he has always worked with us and never reaped the fruits of it. But one always makes BLUNDERS if one allows oneself to be influenced by suchlike considerations.

As regards the newspaper itself,^a the danger—arising from lack of funds—lies in the growing encroachments and dominance of the *Nonconformist* clique.^b

The accursed traditional nature of all English movements is manifesting itself again in the REFORM-MOVEMENT. The same 'INSTALLMENTS' which but a few weeks ago were rejected with the utmost indignation by the people's party—they had even refused Bright's ultimatum of HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE—are now treated as a prize worthy to be fought for. And why? Because the Tories are screaming blue murder.³¹⁵ These fellows lack the METTLE of the old Chartists.

^a *The Commonwealth* - ^b See this volume, p. 224.

What do you think of the Austro-Prussian troubles³¹⁶? I see no continental papers at all. However, it is at least clear to me that Russia is behind the Prussians and that the Austrians, who know this, are *volens volens*^a consoling themselves with French support. A pretty game these heads of state are playing! It is the eternal dilemma the German philistine confronts us with at every turn. For Bonaparte, real CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY would be a true GODSEND.

Admittedly, there is still always the possibility that one fine day the affair will simply end with the worthy Bismarck's dismissal. But since Düppel,²⁷ 'William the Conqueror'^b believes his 'glorious armies' are invincible, and a second Olmütz^c must appear to be a risk even to him, in view of the INTERNAL CONFLICT.³¹⁷

The weather has been very bad here for several days, as if it had been made especially to order for the COCKNEYS who have invaded this place for the Easter holiday.

For how long must I take the arsenic?

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS.

Your
K. M.

My friend Kaub has written to me from Paris that a certain M. Rebour has found a means to separate water into hydrogen and oxygen, using a method which would entail the expenditure of 2 sous per day FOR A FIRE TO MELT IRON WITH. He is, however, keeping the matter secret for the time being still, as on a previous occasion a discovery had been stolen from him and patented in London. *Qui vivra verra*.^d You know how often we have both dreamed of a cheap way of making fire from water.

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 willy-nilly - ^b William I (an ironical comparison with the Norman William who conquered England in 1066) - ^c Czech name: Olomouc - ^d Time will tell.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN MARGATE

Manchester, 2 April 1866

Dear Moor,

I hope you have received the £10 which I sent to you in Margate. I was in Wales over the holiday and have at last got round to writing to you today.

Orsini called on me, but unfortunately I could do nothing for him; I have no connections of any kind in New York any more, and it is OUT OF THE QUESTION to find anyone here to run the guano DODGE with him and advance the funds for it. He is a very nice fellow.

Polish article No. 3^a will be done tomorrow evening, if nothing interferes. I shall send it direct to Eccarius, CARE OF EDITOR OF *The Commonwealth*. Unfortunately, the proof-reading is so abysmal, and it's about time that they stopped reprinting the LEADERS from *The Nonconformist* every week. It really is sheer impudence on Miall's part to pass the newspaper off so openly as a mere appendix of *The Nonconformist*.

What do you say to Bismarck? It almost looks now as if he is pushing for war and is thereby offering Louis Bonaparte a splendid opportunity to acquire a piece of the left bank of the Rhine without any effort and thus set himself up *à vie*.^b Even though all those who bear any responsibility for this war—if it comes to that—deserve hanging, and I would with equal impartiality gladly extend that to the Austrians as well, yet I would most of all like to see the Prussians soundly thrashed. Then there are 2 possibilities: 1. the Austrians will dictate the peace in Berlin within a fortnight, and direct intervention from abroad will thereby be avoided, but at the same time the present regime in Berlin will be made impossible, and there will be another movement which will disavow the specific nature of the Prussian regime right from the outset; or 2. there will be a sudden change in Berlin before the Austrians arrive, in which case the new movement will also get under way.

My opinion of the military situation is that the two armies are more or less evenly matched, and that the battles will prove very

^a F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - ^b for life

bloody. In any case, however, Benedek is a better general than Prince Frederick Charles, and unless Francis Joseph assists Benedek or Frederick Charles has some very good and influential staff officers, I believe the Prussians are in for a drubbing. Alone the braggery after Düppel²⁷ indicates that another Jena is possible.²⁰³

If the first battle ends in a decisive defeat for the Prussians, there will be nothing to stop the Austrians advancing on Berlin. If Prussia wins, she has not the power to launch and sustain an offensive to Vienna across the Danube, let alone to Pest and beyond. Austria is quite capable of imposing a peace on Prussia SINGLE-HANDED, although Prussia cannot do so on Austria. Every Prussian success would thus be an encouragement to Bonaparte to intervene. Furthermore, both the German swine will now already be seeking to outbid each other with offers of German territory to the third, French, swine.

Your
F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN MARGATE

Manchester, 6 April 1866

Dear Moor,

That the Russians are behind the Prussians at once struck me as very probable, too. The mere fact that the Austrian paper guilder is almost at par again and will thus have to be disturbed again, aroused suspicion, but the simultaneous Cuza affair³¹⁸ even more so, and *ce cher*^a Bismarck would not have put out all his efforts if he did not have the Russians behind him. It is possible that things are so far committed already that neither Bismarck nor that old

^a that dear

jackass William have a say in the matter any more and that it depends entirely on the whim of the St Petersburgers whether there shall be war or peace. How clumsily this Bismarck is acting, incidentally. It is too absurd how he tries to represent the poor Austrians as the attacking party. Even more splendid, however, is the fact that the fellow is seriously thinking of convening a German parliament *on 1 June* to reform the federal constitution. This is to be a remedy against the smaller states: he—*lui* Bismarck^a—is appealing to the people instead of to the governments. That even called forth universal derisive laughter from the German philistines.³¹⁶

After the upheaval that has occurred on *The Commonwealth*,^b by the way, I was no longer able to get the said articles^c to the editors on time, as they would have had to take the roundabout route via Margate, so I am sending them to you for the next number. I found the relevant data on the emancipation of the Russian serfs in an article by Mazade, *Revue des II Mondes*.^d

And how is your health now? You haven't had any further carbuncles or small furuncles? And how are you otherwise, are you building yourself up? Are you still visiting old 'Cantuar'^e *per pedes*^f? The arsenic must be taken for at least 3 months, and will not do you the slightest harm anyway.

Otherwise, there is nothing new here except for a foul east wind and clouds of dust.

How much longer are you thinking of staying in Margate? At least until the end of this month, I hope?

Reform movement—general admission of general indolence. What a tiny INSTALMENT!³¹⁵

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 Bismarck of all people - ^b See this volume, pp. 252-54. - ^c F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - ^d 'La Russie sous l'empereur Alexandre II.—La société et le gouvernement russes depuis l'insurrection polonaise', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 62, 15 March 1866. - ^e the Archbishop of Canterbury - ^f on foot (see this volume, p. 249).

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MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

Margate, 6 April 1866
5 Lansell's Place

DEAR FRED,

I have been greatly restored here, and not the smallest sign of a return of the atrocious carbuncles. The spot where the last and most malignant one was still feels a little tender. Perhaps it healed too quickly and an atom of pus is still lurking beneath the healed skin. However, if that were so, the warm sea bathes and the rough towel that I dry myself with would no doubt have dissipated the foul matter; and indeed in the last two days this vestige of the wound seems to be disappearing altogether. The only drawback is a recurrence here of rheumatic pains in my right shoulder, which is seriously disturbing my sleep. I have now been here for nearly 4 weeks and have lived for my health's sake alone. It is time to put a stop to that soon.

Our letters crossed, so that you have answered mine. You do not mention the possibility of Italy creating a diversion for Prussia's benefit.

There can be no shadow of doubt that Russia is behind the Prussians, although she is allowing Mr Bonaparte to act as arbiter on the stage. One must not lose sight of the fact (to use a Hegelian turn of phrase) that the DANUBIAN MINE³¹⁸ WAS SPRUNG at the very moment that Bismarck made his *démarche*.³¹⁶

Even granted, which is probable, that the Prussian curs withdraw with their tails between their legs, it remains clear, and must become clear even to the German philistines, that *unless there is a revolution* in Germany, the Hohenzollern and Habsburg curs will throw our country back for another 50-100 years by civil (dynastic) war.

I must tell you frankly that the 'INTERNATIONAL' is in a sorry state, particularly since the impatience of the French has led to the congress being fixed for the *end of May*.²⁸⁶

THE FACT IS THIS, that the English LEADERS in London, now that we have given them a platform (to which must be added the inability of any Englishman to do two things at once), are very *cool* within our MOVEMENT proper. My absence for almost 3 months has done

untold harm. What is to be done? In France, Belgium, Switzerland (and here and there in Germany, and even sporadically in America) the Association has made great and sustained progress. In England, the reform movement, which we brought into being, has almost KILLED us. That would be of no consequence, if the Geneva Congress had not been announced for the end of May, and if the Parisians, for whom this movement is *the sole possibility*, had not, through their own paper *Le Congrès*, made it almost impossible to prorogue the congress.³¹⁹ The English would soon see the rottenness of the REFORM MOVEMENT, as it now is. After my return the threat of flirtation with the Potter-clique, etc., would soon put everything back on the right lines. But THERE IS NO TIME. For the English even the FAILURE of the congress is a trifle. But for us? A *fiasco of European dimensions!!* I really do see scarcely a way out. The English have neglected to do anything which might give the congress any kind of respectable form. *Que faire!*^a Do you think I *should go to Paris* to put to the people there how *impossible* the congress now is? Answer soon. The only possible way out I can see is by agreement with the Parisians. On the other hand, I know that their position itself is at stake if the congress does not take place. *Que faire!* Mr *Vésinier* has *challenged* our Parisians. They are to go to Belgium to shoot it out with him. *L'imbécile*. As to Orsini, I knew that there was nothing you could do. But I could not refuse him the introduction to you.^b

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 HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 6 April 1866

Dear Hermann,

Best thanks for your statement of account for 27 March, which appears to be in order by and large. The only thing is, it is hard to

^a What is to be done? - ^b See this volume, p. 255.

check the interest if it is not given in detail as in other statements, and one just has to take the 'interest-account' at its word. But then, on 31 December 1865, you credit me with the transfer of 2,112,21.8 talers from Ermen & Engels, Barmen, whilst according to E. & E., Barmen's statement, the same transfer amounts to £316.18.2 and à $\frac{6}{20}$ makes 2,169.1.8 talers. I can make no sense of that.

It is rather awkward that you make up your accounts on 31 December, whereas we do so on 30 June. I shall therefore only send you a statement once, on 31 December, which will thus never coincide with yours, but in the end it will make no odds.

To keep our entries clear, I would be glad if you would enter all *business items* from E. & E. under E. & E., Barmen, and all *private items* under F. Engels & Co.

I passed the information on the agent Brown straight on to Fr. Boelling; Karth wrote to us about a different matter.

I do *not* advise you to obtain your SEWINGS through us as a rule, G. Ermen will always try to palm off his yarn from Pendlebury on you, and that would surely not always be in your interest. Besides, he would at once claim payment of 2% commission from you as the business expands. But if you can make use of his yarn (and why not, since we can use it?), you had best apply to us. I am today posting you a sample of No. 16, of which he has 120 BALES [at] 10 pounds, 7 LEAS in stock, and would take 2[s.] $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per No. 16, perhaps even less. You can also obtain the same yarn from the broker F. A. Schmits. Fine Nos. and COBS, on the other hand, in which G. Ermen has no interest we can always supply you with.

How much does the hock cost? That is what really matters. And how much of it is there? You should have sent 3 dozen bottles straightaway, instead of 3.

I shall ask around about the PONIES. Good, strong COBS, however, are at the moment much sought after here, and expensive, and bargains—a good pair in one lot—not easily come by.

You don't think there'll be war either? It would be a terrible business if it came to that, and there is no telling where it would end. Recently, when the affair first started, I dreamed that I had got mixed up with an enormously large army somewhere on the Mosel. They were volunteers of some description, all manner of fellows dashing about full of self-importance, and now and again someone would shout, 'We're surrounded!'—at which they all took to their heels. At length, I found my way into the headquarters and encountered Peter and Gottfried Ermen there AS GENERALS *en*

chef, and Anton^a as chief-of-staff. Now I asked him a few questions, but received such bizarre replies that I finally asked him whether he did actually have maps of the area where he was? At which he looked down at me from a great height and said, 'Maps? We do everything here much better without maps.' When I tried to explain to him that he really could not manage without maps, nor even find quarters for his men, etc., he answered, 'If absolutely necessary, we do have some maps', and, with a look of triumph, he pulled a map of a quite different area, the other side of Aachen and Maastricht, out of his pocket. Don't imagine I have just made this up as a bad joke, that is literally how it happened.

Kindest regards to Mother^b—I'll write to her one of these days—and to all our brothers and sisters.

Your
Friedrich

First published abridged in the *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46, Bd. II, 1921 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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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Margate, 6 April 1866
5 Lansell's Place

My dear Miller,^c

You see from the address that I have been banished to the seaside by my medical adviser.³⁰⁷

After having received your last letter, and some letters on the part of our Berlin friends,^d my sickness assumed a really dangerous character. For some time it was very doubtful whether or not that decomposition of the blood, under which I labour, should get the better of me. It was only towards the middle of March that I was bodily enabled to remove myself to this place. I

^a Anton Ermen - ^b Elisabeth Engels - ^c Liebknecht's conspiratorial pseudonym - ^d August Vogt, Sigfrid Meyer and Theodor Metzner

am now restored, and shall very soon return to London. But again a quarter of a year has been lost!

Write me immediately under my London address.

After my return, I shall regularly send you *The Commonwealth* (under which altered title *The Workman's Advocate* is now published).²⁹⁰ It is only since a few weeks that it has been registered for Transmission for abroad. Eccarius is no longer the editor, but only a contributor. It was to be foreseen, that so soon as the paper should get some sort of standing, a Foreigner would not be allowed to retain the nominal leadership.^a

Write me

- 1) about the state of 'our' movement in Germany,
- 2) about the state of German politics.

Yours truly
K. M.

My best compliments to Madame.^b

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946 and in the language of the original, English, in: *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1963

Reproduced from the original

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

Margate, 6 April 1866
5 Lansell's Place

Dear Friend,

I shall return to London from here the day after tomorrow. My doctor banished me to this seaside place, where I am indeed *much recovered*. But another two months and more—February, March and half of April have thus been entirely lost to me again, and the completion of my book^c put back once more! It is enough to drive one out of one's mind.

^a See this volume, pp. 252-53. - ^b Ernestine Liebknecht - ^c *Capital*

I was suffering from CARBUNCLES, not furuncles. It was a dangerous business this time. You are, of course, right that 'dietetic' sins lay behind it. I am too accustomed to working at night, studying by day and writing by night. That, together with all manner of worries, private and public, and—whenever I am immersed in work—neglect of regular diet, exercise, etc., is quite enough to upset the blood.

I received Mr Menke's contribution of 10 talers for the 'International' with your letter.^a I have not got the addresses of my French friends in Paris here. However, if Mr Menke approaches my friend *K. Kaub* (33, Rue des trois Couronnes du Temple), the latter can introduce him to V. Schily (German) and Tolain, Fribourg, etc., the people on the Paris Committee.

The news from Germany is rather depressing.³¹⁶ Prussia is being egged on by Russia (and Bonaparte), Austria by the latter (following on rather reluctantly, in self-defence). Will our philistines at last realise that, unless there is a revolution to remove the Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns (it being superfluous to mention the lesser dung-beetles), another 'Thirty Years' War³²⁰ and another partition of Germany are ultimately inevitable!

A movement on the part of the Italians might help Prussia. But just considering Austria and Prussia on their own, the latter would almost certainly be at a disadvantage, for all their bragging about Düppel.²⁷ At all events, Benedek is a better General than Prince Frederick Charles. Austria might well impose a peace on Prussia SINGLE-HANDED, but Prussia cannot do so on Austria. Any Prussian success would be an encouragement to Bonaparte to interfere.

Bismarck may perhaps have already drawn in his horns again as I write these lines to you. But that, too, would only delay the conflict. Such a delay is probable in my opinion.

This turmoil in Germany is an extraordinary piece of luck for Bonaparte. His position is completely undermined. But war would give him a new lease of life.

Write to me soon, and in particular about the situation in Germany.

Yours

K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 2, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

^a of 30 March 1866

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN MARGATE

Manchester, 10 April 1866

Dear Moor,

To all appearances, the Russians *want* war, their purpose seeming to be restoration of Poland under Russian rule and possibly annexation of Moldavia. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, which is, of course, in mortal fear of war, has sent J. von Wickede, its military man, to Bohemia, to inspect what is claimed to be Austria's state of armament. The fellow arrives—on 3 April, that is 14 days after Bismarck's note³¹⁶—and everywhere finds things on a profoundly pacific footing, except that some *Bohemian* regiments have been transferred to their western districts, so that they can put themselves on a war footing more quickly. No soldiers recalled from leave, no fortress armed. Nothing.^a The whole disgraceful affair thus *deliberately provoked by Bismarck*.

Furthermore: the Russians are concentrating troops on the Austrian and on the *Prussian* frontier with Poland, and the soldiers are saying quite openly that those who are positioned on the Prussian frontier will shortly occupy *Posen* as soon as the Prussian troops take the field against the Austrians. Apart from the fact that the Russians would thereby secure the rest of Prussian Poland for themselves immediately, their mission will also be to suppress any revolutionary movements in Berlin. However, that would in all probability be a miscalculation and, at any rate, disqualify the Hohenzollerns for the future.

Finally, today's LEADER in *The Times* which comes down stupidly, mendaciously, woodenly but decisively on Prussia's side and represents Austria as the attacking party. That was written to order.^b

In view of all this, war seems to me certain; the situation within Germany also makes it inevitable, following the new Austrian note appealing to the Confederation, as well as Monsieur Bismarck's proposal regarding a German parliament³²¹—what a dunderhead the fellow must be to believe that that would assist him even in the

^a Engels refers to the report 'Die Lage, Köln, 7. April', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 8 April 1866. - ^b *The Times*, No. 25468, 10 April 1866, leader.

very slightest! The Austrian note seems to be based on the assumption that the storm will break after all. Otherwise they would at least have left the back-door open to facilitate the Prussians' retreat through Bismarck's resignation. But the moment that they appeal to the Confederation, that's an end to it; another ministry in Prussia would not submit to a Confederation majority either.

Bonaparte will probably keep quiet, at least for the time being; Bismarck has already offered him Saarbrücken, etc., and, if need be, he would also make him a present of the Bavarian Palatinate. If he sees the Russians committed on the Prussian side, he won't risk anything rash.

If the storm really does break, for the first time in history the course of events will depend on the attitude taken by Berlin. If the Berliners hit out at the right time, things may turn out well—but who can rely on *them*?

As regards the congress of the International, I don't properly see how you can hope to avoid it.^a Nor do I see how a further postponement would improve things much. *Après tout*,^b any demonstration of that kind would in a certain sense—at least as far as we ourselves are concerned—always be a fiasco. But in full view of Europe? I believe that could still be avoided even now. After all, the Germans with their polyglot capacities would have the whole thing under their control, and it is precisely the Germans who are on our side. Whether the congress *decides* anything useful is a secondary matter, as long as all scandal can be avoided; and that surely will now be the case. General resolutions of a theoretical kind or referring to international support for strikes, etc., can surely be passed without any danger. Nevertheless, you must know that better than I, I cannot really judge of it from here. Meanwhile, I would definitely not go to Paris about it. You have no one to protect you, and the police will have no qualms about striking—emissary from a public workers' association with distinctly revolutionary tendencies, which can easily be used to conceal other clandestine matters—*cela suffit*.^c The whole business is just not worth the risk.

You would do much better to stay in Margate until the last scar is no longer in the slightest degree susceptible, and do plenty of walking in the fresh air. Who knows how soon you will once more have need of a stout constitution. The atmosphere is highly electric, and we shall perhaps soon be in the midst of the storm

^a See this volume, pp. 258-59. - ^b After all - ^c that will suffice

again; that will no doubt also help resolve the difficulty with the congress.

I shall be letting you have a bit of money as soon as I can. I shall also try and see Gumpert and ask him about terminating the sea-cure and what you should do afterwards about the arsenic.

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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ENGELS TO MARX¹⁰¹

IN MARGATE

[Manchester,] 13 April 1866

Dear Moor,

As I do not exactly know whether you are in Margate at the moment, I am today sending your wife

E/R 13430, Manchester, 21 January 1865 £10

E/P 43331, Manchester, 20 January 1865 £10-£20
and am telling her that I have informed you of it.

So, Bismarck has executed his *suffrage universel coup*,³²¹ even though without his Lassalle. It would appear that, after some show of reluctance, the German bourgeois will go along with it, for Bonapartism really is the true religion of the modern bourgeoisie. It is becoming increasingly clear to me that the bourgeoisie does not possess the qualities required to rule directly itself, and that therefore, unless there is an oligarchy as here in England capable of taking over, for good pay, the management of state and society in the interest of the bourgeoisie, a Bonapartist semi-dictatorship is the normal form; it promotes the great material interests of the bourgeoisie even against the bourgeoisie, but allows it no share in the government itself. Conversely, this dictatorship itself is in turn compelled unwillingly to adopt these material interests of the bourgeoisie. So, now we have Monsieur Bismarck adopting the programme of the National Association.¹⁵² Its execution is admittedly quite another matter, but Bismarck will scarcely be

balked by the German bourgeois. A German, who has just returned from there, reports that he has already encountered many who have nibbled at this bait; according to Reuter (*vide*^a below), the people in Karlsruhe have approved of the matter, and the *Kölnische Zeitung*'s unbounded embarrassment over the affair is a clear indication of a forthcoming change of course.

That Bismarck has direct agreements with the Russians, however, is once more proved firstly by the fact that not only *The Times* but *Reuter*, too, is beginning to lie on Prussia's behalf, in complete contrast to their usual custom. There is a method in the mistranslations with which the telegrams are now infested more than ever. Until a short while ago, *against* Prussia. Now *against* Austria. Reuter telegraphs: Austria would only go along with the plan if *all* the Austrian provinces (that is, including the *non-German* ones) were represented.^b In the German original it merely says: conditional upon the regions of Austria being represented, too.—Further: according to the *Bromberger Zeitung* and the *Ostsee-Zeitung* (the latter is a Russian organ), the Russians are continuing to gather more troops in the south-western provinces, from the Kingdom of Poland³²² to the Prut, doing so very slowly and unobtrusively; the soldiers are *all* expecting to move with Prussia against Austria, and those on the Warta repeat that their role is to occupy Posen so that the Prussians there can march away.

The Russians can, incidentally, leave Schleswig-Holstein to the Prussians for the time being, as the Peace of Vienna and the annexation have, after all, saved the main issue for them: the Treaty of London and thereby the succession in *Denmark*.³²³ If they have the Sound,^c what does Kiel signify to them?

At all events, your best course is to stay in Margate until you no longer feel *anything at all* in the affected part, and you are in general convinced of a marked turn for the better.

Write soon.

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

^a see - ^b 'Austria and Prussia. Berlin, April 10', *The Times*, No. 25469, 11 April 1866 (Reuter's telegram reporting on Austria's reaction to Bismarck's proposition for the assembly of a German parliament for the reorganisation of the German Confederation). - ^c Danish name: Øresund

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MARX TO ENGELS³²⁴

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 April 1866

Dear FRED,

You will have had little difficulty in explaining my long silence as arising from the mental condition that is generated by more than 2 weeks of incessant toothache and rheumatism. However, a turning-point appears to have been reached today.

As the pain of the rheumatism, which was particularly acute at night, greatly interfered with my sleep and my whole domestic routine—as a consequence of which I was several times attacked by vomiting—I thought it wise to stop, or suspend, the arsenic. But I shall continue with it again now (if a turning-point has really been reached). Nor is there the slightest sign of any furuncular or carbuncular bother, and I have not the slightest doubt that once I am over these INCIDENTS, which are connected more with the weather, I shall be fully restored. But indeed it is high time as I have already lost so much time.

With the 'INTERNATIONAL' the situation is as follows: since my return³⁰⁷ discipline has by and large been re-established. The successful intervention of the 'INTERNATIONAL' in the tailors' strike (by means of letters from the secretaries for France, Belgium, etc.) has also created a sensation among the TRADES UNIONS here.³²⁵ With respect to the Geneva Congress, I have resolved to do all that I can here to promote its success, but not to attend it in person. I thereby evade all personal responsibility for its conduct.^a

As far as *The Commonwealth* is concerned, the ENCROACHMENTS of Miall *et Co.* would be more tolerable if they were at least founded on the pretext of financial assistance really worthy of mention. But the fellows are exceedingly liberal with good advice and petty criticisms, and exceedingly parsimonious with CASH, so that the existence of the paper is assured only from one week to the next. Its readership is spreading week by week, but a PENNY PAPER, be it ever so successful, needs to be funded for at least a year ahead. To make it SELF-SUPPORTING in a shorter space of time is QUITE OUT OF THE QUESTION. If the paper is for the moment no worse than it is,

^a See this volume, pp. 325-27.

then that is thanks to Fox alone, who has to fight a continuing battle.

For the present, they do not seem to be coming to blows in the Fatherland after all. Prussian braggadocio is slow indeed to draw the sword! Whatever the outcome, we shall have the pleasure of a Prussian disgrace before both a domestic and foreign audience. For all that, it still seems uncertain whether war might not break out one fine morning. The Russians want war (although they have indeed already gained and are continuing to gain much merely from the bickering and bellicose threats in Germany), and for Bonaparte it would be a *GODSEND*. At all events, Mr Bismarck has set 'the movement' going again in Germany.

The phase of the Civil War¹¹ over, only now have the UNITED STATES really entered the revolutionary phase, and the European WISEACRES who believe in the omnipotence of Mr Johnson will soon be disappointed.

In England, the Tories and Palmerstonian Whigs really deserve thanks for frustrating Russell's quiet SETTLEMENT.³²⁶ At one of the latest sittings, Mr Gladstone himself, expressed his 'melancholy' conviction that now, quite contrary to his benevolent expectations, a 'long series of struggles' was imminent.

What do you say to the '8th' sage of the world—*Mill*?^a

Best regards to Mrs Lizzy.^b

Tout à vous^c

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 MARX²⁶

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 May 1866

Dear Moor,

I hope you are happily over your rheumatism and faceache and are once more sitting diligently over the *book*.^d How is it coming

^a Marx presumably refers to J. S. Mill's speech in Parliament of 17 April 1866 in which he urged the duty of paying off the national debt before Britain's coal supplies exhausted. See *The Times*, No. 25475, 18 April 1866. - ^b Lizzy Burns - ^c Entirely yours - ^d *Capital*

on, and when will the first volume be ready? By the by, you must go on with the arsenic, it should be taken for at least 3 months and is quite unconnected with the rheumatism, etc. The liver troubles may have been a factor contributing to the carbuncles, by disturbing the digestion or blood-formation, and, for that very reason, you will also have to go on taking several hours continuous exercise regularly each day and keep off working at night, so that everything can return to normal. Where the tendency to hyperaemia of the liver has established itself in such a classic and systematic form as in your case, it does not, of course, just vanish again all at once.

It's good that you have no more worries about the congress and the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION. Apropos, a shipload of 57 *German tailors* has been imported to Edinburgh TO PUT DOWN A STRIKE and 2 more loads are expected. Probably from Hamburg. Can you not discover the details in Edinburgh and put a stop to this, too?³²⁷

Bismarck *wants* war à tout prix,^a and after he failed in Bohemia, he seems likely to succeed in Italy.³²⁸ I hope that, if he pulls it off, the Berliners will hit out. If they proclaim a republic there, the whole of Europe can be overturned in 14 days. But, but, will they? How do our connections there stand?

Have you seen how little Louis Blanc, as a good *démocrate impérial*, is now declaring in the *Temps* that, if Prussia absorbs the smaller German states, France must have *at least* the left bank of the Rhine.^b There's a real revolutionary for you.

In order to incite my ancient rage somewhat, in the last few days I have been reading the book by Röckel, the 49er imprisoned in Dresden, about his treatment in gaol.^c These infamies perpetrated by the Saxons exceed everything that I have ever come across. There will be a harsh reckoning to be had with a large number of villains. Such brutality was quite unknown in the old days *before* '48, and the Prussian fortresses of that time seem like paradise in comparison.

These Adullamites really are tremendous jackasses to put up such resistance to this *pauvre*^d REFORM BILL, the most conservative thing that has ever been done here.³²⁶ However, *quem deus vult perdere*,^e etc.

I already sent my third article on Poland^f to *The Commonwealth* 3 weeks ago and asked for it to be returned if it should be too late

^a at any price - ^b L. Blanc, 'Lettres de Londres', *Le Temps*, No. 1815, 23 April 1866. - ^c A. Röckel, *Sachsens Erhebung und das Zuchthaus zu Waldheim*. - ^d poor - ^e *quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat*: whom God wishes to destroy, he first makes mad - ^f F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?'

for *that* week. I then received a reply from Fox a week later that it could not appear until the *forthcoming* issue, returning the article at the same time. Sent it off again on Wednesday, but too late. You were still in Margate at that time. I will send the following Nos. to you again if time does not make immediate, direct submission necessary.

Kind regards 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 in full for the first time

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG^a

[London,] 4 May 1866

My dear Friend,

As I am at this moment, after so long an interruption of work,^b very busily engaged in making up for lost time, you will excuse me for writing this time only a few lines.

I shall send you to-day the last number of *The Commonwealth*. The financial position of the paper is such that it struggles from week to week and is altogether disabled from paying one farthing for Foreign Correspondence. Its circulation is increasing, but you know that a penny paper wants at least 20,000 subscribers, and cannot even then make the two ends meet without a goodly number of advertisements. *The Commonwealth* is of too recent an origin to come up to those requisites.

The Congress at Geneva has been postponed for the 3d of September next.²⁸⁶ The society is rapidly spreading, particularly in France. Italian societies have also recently joined.^c The propagan-

^a The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London. - ^b on *Capital* - ^c See this volume, p. 47.

da in London has taken a new start, principally due to the circumstance that the successful strikes of the London tailors and wireworkers were due to our intervention which prevented the import of workingmen from France, Switzerland, Belgium, which had been contemplated by the masters. This proof of its immediate practical importance has struck the practical English mind.³²⁹

For the same purpose you find, on the last page of this letter, an 'avis'^a to the German tailors which I call upon you to have inserted in such German papers as you have access to.³²⁷ At the same time you will oblige me by sending me a copy or two of some papers in which the 'avis' will have been inserted, telling me at the same time the names of all other papers that should have reprinted it. Kugelman might also be useful for this purpose.

My best compliments to Mrs. Liebknecht.^b I feel exceedingly thankful for her friendly interest in my welfare.

Yours fraternally

A. Williams^c

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946 and in the language of the original, English, in: *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1963

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 May 1866

Dear Moor,

I am becoming concerned at your silence, I almost fear your health is not what it should be. You have not got carbuncles again?

What is this strange business of Cohen the blind,^d who cannot hit the tall Bismarck with five shots and gets himself arrested by

^a 'warning'. Marx means his article 'A Warning'. - ^b Ernestine Liebknecht - ^c Marx's conspiratorial pseudonym - ^d Engels makes a pun here: the German word *blind* means without sight, blind; *Blind*—the name of Cohen's stepfather.

him into the bargain. He could have done Bismarck no greater favour.³³⁰

IT STRIKES ME that the Prussians are 14 days behind the Austrians with their mobilisation and cannot attack before the end of this inst. If the Austrians take advantage of this, they may win a big battle and be in Berlin before the Prussians have concentrated.

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 ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 May 1866

Dear FRED,

NO CARBUNCLES WHATEVER! But the accursed rheumatism and toothache have tormented me cruelly, until the former at last seems to be yielding to embrocation with pure alcohol. I must tell you candidly as well that my mind still feels somewhat *weak* and my capacity for work is only returning *very gradually*. Perhaps that can be attributed to the interruption in the arsenic treatment, which I started again after your last letter.

Cohen³³⁰ was a very good lad (although not particularly gifted) for whom I have a special regard as he was an old friend of my Musch.^a Freiligrath naturally dashed straight to Blind yesterday and came to us from him. I was not at home. Freiligrath's chief lament was the bad name Blind was giving him and others (nominal contributors to the *Eidgenosse*,^b whose symbol is a hand holding a dagger with the motto '*haec manus tyrannis*',^c etc.). He

^a Marx's deceased son Edgar - ^b *Der deutsche Eidgenosse* - ^c '*manus haec inimica tyrannis*'—'this hand is hostile to tyrants' (an expression from *The Life and Memoirs of Algernon Sidney*)

said he had not visited him for 9 months and that the affair was not even 'excusable'. In short, he was in fact only upset about the possible impression the affair might make on the London philistines. By the by, our trickster from Baden duped him nicely again. He played the broken man and gave his friend Freiligrath no inkling that in the first throes of grief he had the presence of mind to exploit the tragic incident for some good advertising for himself and family in the various London papers. ALWAYS AN EYE TO BUSINESS. His wife^a is naturally inconsolable, and the funny thing about the affair is that Blind has by his idiotic regicidal blether sacrificed not his own son, but old Cohen's Isaac,^b on the altar of freedom.

In consequence of their sad experiences in 1859³³¹ the Austrians are in the accursed situation of being scarcely capable of grasping the favourable moment, and although they have been forcibly presented with the *initiative*, they cannot seize it, or at least they will hesitate greatly before doing so. OF COURSE, European 'PUBLIC OPINION' benefits them not a tittle and requires something silly of them. These same liberal jackasses, who are now generally admitting that Austria is the challenged party and that there is a systematic CONSPIRACY against her, would tomorrow (the ENGLISH LORDS included) scream with one voice if Austria were to strike the first blow and did not wait quietly for her enemies to give the signal.

Repugnant though Bonaparte is to me, his coup in Auxerre did uncommonly amuse me.³³² That old jackass Thiers and the *chiens savants*^c of the Corps législatif,⁴ who applauded him, fancied they would be allowed to play with Louis-Philippism unpunished! *Les imbéciles!*

The Russians as always are playing their part to a T. Having encouraged their worthy Prussians, they enter on the scene as men of peace and arbiters of Europe, but were, at the same time, canny enough to inform Mr Bonaparte that Poland could not, of course, be on the agenda at any congress, in short, that Russia was entitled to meddle in European, but not Europe in Russian affairs.

Following upon the importation of German and Danish tailors to Edinburgh, we have 1. sent a German and a Dane^d (both tailors themselves) to Edinburgh, and they have already put an end to the understanding between IMPORTERS and IMPORTED; 2. I have put out a warning in the name of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION to the

^a Friederike Blind - ^b An allusion to the Biblical legend about Abraham who sacrificed his son Isaac (Genesis 22:9). - ^c scholarly dogs - ^d Albert F. Haufe and N. P. Hansen

German tailors in Germany.^a The affair has been extraordinarily useful to us in London.³²⁷

A very disagreeable matter for me was the necessity of paying a lump sum of £25 for school fees. This money, for 3 quarters, could no longer be put off as Jenny and Laura are leaving the school, the latter taking no lessons at all, and the former only one music lesson a week now *outside* school. (Baumer has resigned from the school, you know.)

The Commonwealth is rapidly going from strength to strength and would certainly be PAYING within the space of a year. But it is probable that we shall soon have to suspend it for lack of money.

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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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 May 1866

Dear Moor,

The Freiligrath affair is very amusing and very gratifying. That's what comes of him attaching himself to the respectable people among the émigrés and renouncing the 'party'. As regards Blind, the fitting cry in respect of his: *manus haec inimica tyrannis*^b should be that children ought not to play with guns. It is incidentally quite clear from the affair that Bismarck wears an armoured shirt.³³⁰ The shots must all have hit him, the last 3 are admitted to have been direct hits, and as the revolver was so designed that it could not be fired in contact with the target, there is just no other possibility. They make these things very fine and

^a K. Marx, 'A Warning' - ^b this hand is hostile to tyrants (see this volume, p. 273)

yet strong nowadays. His friend Bonaparte will no doubt have supplied him with one and recommended it to him.

Monsieur Bismarck has obviously been gravely disappointed in the smaller states, *hinc*^a the threat of an imperial constitution and Bennisgen. There must also have been some financial mishaps. But can one conceive of anything more comical than that the same William, who as top general in the year 1849 bore the imperial constitution to its grave, now wants to resuscitate it, or rather has to. Bismarck as restorer of the 'German fundamental rights',³³³ it's too funny. Things are not looking quite as they should in the militia and in the reserves, who have been recalled, either; in Görlitz there was a serious fracas amongst them, soldiers of the line had to be called out and then withdraw because the fellows were not willing to tolerate intervention of that kind. If these people are kept hanging around under arms for another 3-4 weeks, there is no knowing what they might do. And since neither Prussia nor Italy is ready to attack, they will presumably have to stick there until the end of May at least.

This much is certain: Monsieur Bismarck has ridden into a morass with which neither he nor any of the present regime can cope. If things are settled peaceably, he will have burnt up the available funds and therefore he will no longer be able to help himself, and if there is war, he will have to *Acheronta movere*,^b who will certainly consume him. In these circumstances, even a direct victory of the Chamber-burgers will be revolutionary in character and is bound to lead to other things.

For all that, I still cannot think that in the middle of the 19th century North and South Germany will come to blows with each other, just because Bismarck would have it so in the interests of the Russians and Bonaparte. However, if the storm does break, it may go ill with the Prussians. This time, the Austrians seem to be intent on going to the limit of their strength, and, even if their big talk of 900,000 men is nonsense, it is still possible that they may take the field in Saxony with substantial numerical superiority. Against Austria, Prussia cannot draw on the Rhenish and Westphalian corps at all, and only on part of the Saxon. There remain the other six army corps, which will scarcely be able to muster 240,000 men to face the enemy. If, as is suggested, the Austrians initially remain on the defensive in Italy, they will only need 150,000 men there, and can perfectly well send 300-350,000 men against Prussia—unless the Russians compel them to keep a

^a hence - ^b call the powers of the underworld to his aid (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 312).

strong force in Galicia. The deciding battle could then be fought by 180,000 Prussians against 240-280,000 Austrians and would almost infallibly be another Jena²⁰³ and lead directly to Berlin. But it is difficult to speculate about this, as the Austrians' troops are always much stronger on paper, and they tell a lot of lies, at present in particular.

Unfortunately, Monsieur Charles^a is behind with the ledger, which has my account in it, so that at the moment I cannot even properly ascertain how I stand, and as the financial year ends in 6 weeks and I then must have a certain amount of capital in the business, I shall have to make my dispositions accordingly. As soon as I can, I shall add up my worldly assets and send you some money, if it is at all possible. But, at all events, you can count on my letting you have a £50 early in July immediately after the accounts for the financial year have been made up.

The *Kreuz-Zeitung*^b makes delightful reading, advocating as it does universal suffrage, Bonapartism, Victor Emmanuel, etc. The dirt *those* fellows are now being obliged to eat is abundant.

Kindest regards 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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 May 1866

DEAR FRED,

How are the *articles on Poland*^c progressing? The paper^d may or may not hold out, you must give as much as you can. The Poles

^a Charles Roesgen - ^b *Neue Preussische Zeitung* - ^c F. Engels, 'What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?' - ^d *The Commonwealth*

here are waiting for the next article and BOTHER ME with enquiries.³³⁴ The articles have created a stir in other respects, too. Having earlier praised them, *Foxikins* launched a DIATRIBE the day before yesterday in the Central Council against the passage in which you ascribe the partitioning to the corruption of the Polish aristocracy. Amongst other things, he singled out the Germans for attack, for having ruined the Poles in particular through the Saxon dynasty, etc. I replied to him in brief.³³⁵

It is true that for all their big talk the Prussians are inclined to draw in their horns, and Bismarck is meeting strong opposition from Burp,^a too. But a retreat is scarcely possible in Italy, and that may have repercussions on Prussia again. What Izzy^b is missing by being so dead! Bismarck would have had him playing a part now. Bismarck is surely cursing us (and thinking us Austrian agents) for spoiling his easy game with the workers.

From the beginning of this week my work^c has at last been advancing again. If you can send me some *vinò*, please do so, as the sudden abstinence may do harm.

Mr Mazzini gave himself no rest until he had founded an 'INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE' in opposition to us. On it are jackass Holtorp, Langiewicz, Ledru, Kinkel, Blind, I believe also—Bolleter! Our Association is gaining ground daily. Only in Germany nothing can be done, on account of jackass Liebknecht (GOOD FELLOW AS HE IS!).

The present crisis appears to me to be merely a premature, specifically financial crisis. It could only become important if the business in the UNITED STATES goes rotten, and there would scarcely be time for that now. What effect is it having on you COTTONLORDS? And what effect has the fall in cotton prices had?

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

^a William I - ^b Ferdinand Lassalle - ^c on *Capital*

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 25 May 1866
Mornington Street

Dear Moor,

The PANIC has, at all events, come much too soon and may possibly spoil a good solid crisis for us which would otherwise have occurred in 1867 or 1868. If we had not simultaneously chanced to have the big fall in cotton, we would barely have been affected by it here. The collapse of the LIMITED LIABILITY and FINANCING swindles had after all been long foreseen and hardly affected our TRADE at all. But the colossal losses on cotton which occurred simultaneously threaten to make it a grave matter here, so many houses here and in Liverpool are entangled in it through their branches in Bombay, etc., and as it occurred at the same time as the MONEY PANIC and the 10% bank-rate, it may be very grave for those who are holding much cotton. Here at least the business is far from over yet.

If the Austrians are canny enough not to attack, that will surely put the cat among the pigeons in the Prussian army. The fellows have never been as rebellious as they are in the present mobilisation. Unfortunately, one only learns the tiniest part of what is happening, but even that is enough to prove that a war of attack is impossible with this army. Once these lads are concentrated in large numbers, and begin to count themselves and discover that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the army is of one mind, and if they then have to hang around under arms for 3-4 weeks during the congress, things will inevitably lead to a crisis, and one fine morning obedience will be refused. Something is bound to spark it off; and with an army like that, once *one* battalion starts, it will spread like wildfire. But even if an open outbreak were to be avoided, it is certain that *this* army, with its MORALE as it is, and commanded by the old William, with Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince^a under him commanding the wings, would at once be beaten beyond salvation by the furious Austrians under Benedek, who will have none of the Archdukes, nor any interference in the

^a Frederick William

appointment of his staff, and has 300-360,000 men under him. The old jackass^a knows that, too, and I am convinced that he will withdraw as soon as ever he can, precisely because of the mood in his armies. What I said in my pamphlet^b last year about the character of the *mobilised* Prussian army, has been fully confirmed.

Delightful is the embarrassment of the National Associationites¹⁵² since Bismarck has plagiarised their programme; those fellows will now have to oppose their own Great-Prussia phrases, exactly as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*^c did with its own feudal phrases.

The London correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* reports that in this solemn performance of state³³⁶ Louis Bonaparte has made the following conditions the price for his approval: Sardinia from Italy, Luxemburg, Saarlouis and Saarbrücken from Prussia (Landau is the only thing he has forgotten)—and that is the minimum.^d

I shall see if I can complete my article on Poland³³⁴ tomorrow. To be quite frank, it is a sacrifice for me to provide that jackass Miall with contributions when one is for ever being explicitly reminded that the editors do not accept responsibility for the section from contributors, whilst they obviously do so for the asinities printed elsewhere in the paper.³³⁷ If I had known beforehand how our pieces were going to be treated in a paper^e which is after all supposed to be our own—or at least to belong to the workers' party, and that we were merely going to be thus tolerated in it, and we are supposed to be grateful, as it were, into the bargain,—I would not have written a single line. But you were sick at the time, and I didn't want to do anything that might disturb your convalescence. But I was vexed by it nonetheless. All the same, one has said 'A' and must see that one also says 'B'.

Kindest 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 for the first time

^a William I - ^b F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* - ^c *Neue Preussische Zeitung* - ^d 'From our London correspondent', *The Manchester Guardian*, No. 6165, 22 May 1866. - ^e *The Commonwealth*

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MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 JUNE 1866

DEAR FRED,

I am in a most awkward situation: pawning has now reached its Thule^a and I am being most furiously dunned as well. Regarding my physical condition, there has fortunately been no recurrence of anything carbuncular. However, I was obliged to go to Allen about my liver trouble, since Gumpert is not here and this thing cannot be treated from a distance. I have still nearly a whole BOTTLE of arsenic left, but have not taken it for several weeks now, as it is incompatible with my present style of life.

Were you among the victims of the CONSOLIDATED BANK? Dr Rode was here the day before yesterday and maliciously reported that Dronke has suffered serious losses owing to the Barnett CRASH.³³⁸

So, there will be war after all, unless a miracle occurs. The Prussians will pay dearly for their bragging, and, whatever happens, the idyll in Germany is over. The Proudhonist clique among the students in Paris (*Courrier français*) is preaching peace, declaring war out of date and nationalities nonsense, and attacking Bismarck and Garibaldi, etc.³³⁹ As polemic against chauvinism, their activities are useful and understandable. But as faithful followers of Proudhon (my very good friends here, Lafargue and Longuet, are also among that number) who believe that the whole of Europe must and will sit quietly on its arse until the French monsieurs have abolished '*la misère et l'ignorance*',^b under which latter they themselves are labouring in inverse proportion to their squawking about '*science sociale*', they are grotesque. In their articles about the PRESENT AGRICULTURAL CRISIS in France, their 'knowledge' quite takes one's breath away.^c

The Russians, who are for ever playing at the old game of playing off the jackasses of Europe against each other, and being PARTNER at one moment of A, and at the next of B, have of late indisputably PUSHED ON the Austrians, I. because Prussia has not yet

^a limit; usually *ultima Thule*—extreme limit (Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 30) - ^b poverty and ignorance - ^c Ch. Longuet, 'La question agricole, et le libre échange', *La Rive gauche*, No. 15, 15 April 1866.

made the appropriate concession over Oldenburg, 2. in order to tie the Austrians' hands in Galicia, and 3. no doubt also because Mr Alexander II, like Alexander I (in his last years), is in such a conservatively morose mood on account of the attempt on his life³⁴⁰ that his diplomatic gentlemen at least require some 'conservative' excuses, and an alliance with Austria is conservative. Come the OPPORTUNE MOMENT, and they will show the BACKSIDE of the coin.

The official tone adopted by the 'BLOOD AND IRON'-Prussians³⁴¹ shows how very anxious they are. They are now even doing obeisance to the French Revolution of 1789! They are complaining about Austrian tetchiness!

The best thing in the lousy debate here in Parliament was the register of sins that Disraeli laid at the unfortunate Clarendon's door.³⁴²

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Italian enthusiasm will no doubt get its bucket of cold water. Even its melodrama, in keeping with the national character, by the way, would be tolerable, if right underneath it all³²⁸ they were not setting their hopes on Badinguet.^a I cannot forget my Izzy.^b If he were still alive now, what a scandal he would create!

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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

DEAR FRED,

[London,] 9 June 1866

Many thanks for the £10.

Whatever the pressure from events, my work^c has been progressing poorly owing to purely physical factors ever since my

^a nickname of Napoleon III (the name of a bricklayer in whose clothes Napoleon fled from prison in 1846) - ^b Ferdinand Lassalle - ^c on *Capital*

return from Margate.³⁰⁷ I have been so low over the last few weeks that I have not been able even to attend the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION any more. I had Gumpert's prescription (for my liver) made up for me yesterday, as Allen's stuff was of no use at all to me. Furthermore, I have had a tooth pulled, to put an end to the toothache, and probably a second one will have to go, too.

If your wine-cellar permits (that is, if you are not thereby obliged to buy in more), I should appreciate it if you would send me some, as I am now forbidden beer altogether.

The verses await your 'commentary'. They are nothing in my hands.

This evening I am compelled to go to the meeting of the 'DIRECTORS AND FRIENDS' of *The Commonwealth*.²⁹⁰ The thing is on its last legs. Apart from the acute financial difficulties, there are internal political ones as well. Since that jackass of a BRADFORD MANUFACTURER, Mr Kell (who has given £50, his brother ditto, and hints of more to come), has Miall entirely under his thumb, Dr Bridges, Professor Beesly, Harrison (the COMTEISTS) have threatened not merely to resign but also to make a public statement about their resignation.

I am tired of the business and shall propose to the people this evening that they should *sell* their bankrupt institution to Kell *et* Co. and put an end to the farce of a BRADFORD MANUFACTURER directing a London 'workers' organ'. If they do not agree, I shall, at all events, announce my withdrawal. The paper cannot survive for much longer on its own resources, is therefore dependent on advances of bourgeois money, and thereby loses its own character. I have shown great patience in this matter, because I always hoped that the workers themselves would make sufficient efforts to continue the undertaking on their own; and, for another thing, I did not want to be a wet blanket.

Mr Gottfried Kinkel has been appointed to a chair in Zurich.

Since the sounds of war started up, the 'Saxon' workers have been flocking to join the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION'.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY.^a

Apropos. Lafargue tells me that the whole new French school of microscopical physiologists, with Robin at their head, is pronounc-

^a Lizzy Burns

ing against Pasteur, Huxley, etc., and in favour of *generatio aequivoca*.^a He is going to inform me of some new writings on the subject.

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, 11 June 1866

Dear Moor,

The crate of Bordeaux will be sent off to you this evening. It is very good wine from Borkheim. I should have sent it to you before, but the lads here have dilly-dallied over it, partly from overwork. I had written out the address for them long since. I hope that it and regular exercise will do you good. What do you say to coming up here for a week, say, end of this inst. would suit me, and then you could take the money straight back with you early in July? At the same time, you could for once have a thorough consultation with Gumpert.

We have so far just escaped the spate of bank-failures unscathed. Dronke told me himself that he was in for a bit with Barnett, but more because he had had to change his banker; he had £3,000 credit there—however, he was also a shareholder, and that's where he will lose. Eichhoff also has had the honour of seeing his banker fail, and has come a cropper to the tune of £16. He is not losing any sleep over it; if he cannot pay a bill that's due, he just lets it be.

Mr G. Kinkel has been putting it around every year that he has been offered the chair in Zurich—so, does that mean the people of Zurich are in fact really going to have to believe it at last?

In Germany it looks more like revolution every day. In Berlin and Barmen menacing crowds of laid-off workers are roaming the

^a spontaneous generation

streets. G. Ermen, who came back on Friday, told me that he happened to engage in discussion about the war with some Prussian lieutenant on the Rhine Bridge at Coblenz, and the man had been very doubtful about the issue of the affair, admitted that both the men and the leadership of the Austrians were better than the Prussians', and when G. Ermen asked, 'What would happen if the Prussians were whacked?' he answered, 'Then we'll have a revolution.' Another philistine told me that he had heard from a reliable source in Cologne that the militia companies are being dispersed among the line, and that the militia regiments are being topped up with line; the order has apparently been given out. In any case, the army must be in such a state that a victory can only be expected if the Austrians move across the frontier *first*, and this time they seem to be flatly refusing to do so. But, for that same reason, the Prussians don't want to move either. This state of affairs may drag on for another week, until the situation is so tense that it breaks.

There is a delightful historical irony being enacted through Bismarck's person. At the same moment that he utters liberal phrases he is forced to perform absolutist actions. In one and the same breath he will proclaim the German imperial constitution and suspend the Prussian constitution (the ordinances are already prepared).³²¹ Good idea to try and play the Bonaparte against the bourgeoisie with the Junkers behind one instead of the peasants!

The militia will be just as much of a danger to the Prussians in this war as the Poles were in 1806,³⁴⁵ who also comprised over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the army and threw the whole show into disorder before the battle. Only instead of disbanding, the militia will rebel after the defeat.

The whole left bank of the Rhine has been denuded of troops, there are only 2 militia regiments stationed in Luxemburg, and they say the fortress is already being secretly evacuated; in Saarlouis there is merely a militia battalion that is not yet up to strength. Von der Heydt is to arrange the Saarbrücken coal-mine and State Railway deal via Oppenheim to raise money, and the Westphalian State Railway is to be sold to the Bergisch-Märkische Railway. The bonds for its *Cologne-Minden shares*²³⁷ have been advanced to the state by the Bank of Prussia, which was the sole purpose of the affair. In all this the Berlin bankers are all working hand in glove with the government.

I think that in a fortnight the storm will break in Prussia. If this opportunity passes without being used, and if the people allow

that to happen, we can then calmly pack up our revolutionary paraphernalia and devote ourselves to pure theory.

Stieber is chief of police in the field, is organising the 'Blind conspiracy' and has, to this end, sent our friend Greif to London again. Can we not arrange for him to be given a good hiding?

Kindest 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 for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS³⁴⁴

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 JUNE 1866

DEAR FRED,

This damned weather is having a particularly evil effect *sur mon physique*^a; and this is the reason why I did not acknowledge the 'wine' earlier, nor write to you otherwise. There is no chance of coming to Manchester, as I cannot leave the house in my PRESENT STATE; besides, I have to be here for the 'INTERNATIONAL', where my FRENCH FRIENDS have already used my absence once in these TRYING CIRCUMSTANCES to execute some tomfoolery in the name of the Association.³¹³

As regards newspapers here, in my view the best thing to do, if nothing comes of the Manchester business, is to send a proper MILITARY ARTICLE to *The Times*, to which you can present yourself as the English correspondent of the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung*.^b No need for any political considerations, as one London paper is just as bad as any other, and what matters is to obtain the widest publicity.³⁴⁵

^a on my constitution - ^b *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*

You must now keep me 'critically' *au courant des affaires* in ITALY and GERMANY.

There was a debate at yesterday's meeting of the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL about the present war. It was announced beforehand and our ROOM was very full. Even the Italian gentlemen had honoured us with their presence again. The discussion WAS WOUND UP, as could have been foreseen, with the 'QUESTION OF NATIONALITY' in general and the attitude we should adopt to it. This *sujet* adjourned until next Tuesday.³⁴⁶

The French, very strongly represented, GAVE VENT to their cordial dislike for the Italians.

The representatives of '*jeune France*'^a (*non-workers*), by the way, trotted out their view that any nationality and even nations are '*des préjugés surannés*'.^b Proudhonised Stirnerianism. Everything to be broken down into small '*groupes*' or '*communes*', which in turn form an 'association', but not a state. Furthermore, this 'individualisation' of mankind and the '*mutualisme*'³⁴⁷ it entails are to proceed by bringing history to a halt in every other country and the whole world waits until the French are ready to carry out a social revolution. Then they will demonstrate the experiment to us, and the rest of the world, being bowled over by the force of their example, will do the same. Just what Fourier expected from his *phalanstère modèle*. *D'ailleurs*,^c everyone who clutters up the 'social' question with the 'superstitions' of the Old World is a 'reactionary'.

The English laughed heartily when I began my SPEECH with the observation that our friend Lafargue, and others, who had abolished nationalities, had addressed us in '*French*', i.e., in a language which ⁹/₁₀ of the audience did not understand. I went on to suggest that by his denial of nationalities he seemed quite unconsciously to imply their absorption by the model French nation.

For the rest, the position is difficult now because one must equally oppose the silly Italianism of the English, on the one hand, and the mistaken polemic against it of the French, on the other, and above all prevent any demonstration which would involve our Association in a one-sided course.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

^a young France - ^b outdated prejudices - ^c Besides

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 4 July 1866

Dear Moor,

The other half of the note enclosed. Unfortunately, your telegram reached me *after 12 o'clock*,⁴⁶ so that I could not make use of the first post.

What do you say to the Prussians? Their initial successes were exploited with enormous vigour, and, if it had not been for this intensity, Benedek would probably have quietly withdrawn to Olmütz,^a but he was obviously forced to come to battle yesterday, and there could be no doubt about the issue after what had befallen. To determine the outcome of such a decisive battle in 8 hours is quite unprecedented; in other circumstances, it would have lasted 2 days.³⁴⁸ But the needle-gun is a merciless weapon, and then these fellows really do fight with a verve that I have never before observed in such peace-time troops. For the defender, the attacker's need to take positions by storm compensates for his superiority in weapons, and here too the Prussians appear to have accomplished a great deal. Benedek, with his deep 'plan', turns out to have been not merely a jackass but a dullard as well. How splendidly he could, with sufficient men, have caught those fellows in the mountains!

At all events, Bismarck will now try to set up his Imperial Germany, and that should include Bohemia, which he hopes to take from the Austrians and thereby establish a link between Silesia and Bavaria. In the treaty with Italy, he did after all stipulate '*un territoire autrichien équivalent à la Vénétie*'.^{b 328}

Berlin is again acting with the vileness for which it is famed and yesterday even went so far as to elect a whole load of ministers. What will those camels of men of Progress⁹⁹ say now?

The farce up in the North-West is delightful and will probably soon be no less so in the South, too.

The only safeguard against the betrayal that Bismarck has plotted with Bonaparte is the quite unexpected magnitude of the

^a Czech name: Olomouc - ^b 'Austrian territory equivalent to Venetia'

victories. He will now find it difficult to cede much, and the Belgians will probably have to pay part of the price.³⁴⁹

Kindest 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

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 July 1866

DEAR FRED,

D'abord^a my heartfelt thanks for the Californian consignment. Yet, I was unable to pay the LANDLORD, who is again owed for two quarters. I had to allow priority to part-payments to the fellows who are dunning me every hour of the day.

As regards my state of health, first of all, I have *had my nose properly to the grindstone* again over the past two weeks, and hope that by the end of August, if I preserve this degree of health, I shall have finished the first volume,^b which I am having published by itself. It is true that I am obliged to continue with Gumpert's liver-medicine every day, as I would otherwise be laid low at once. Question: is the *arsenic* (*put aside* for many weeks now) compatible with it? I am asking because for 4 days now another carbuncle has been appearing above my right collar-bone. I owe more to the Bordeaux than to any medicine. I am incidentally only working in the day-time, as a sporadic attempt to work at night (once or twice) immediately had very unfortunate consequences.

Before passing to general matters, can you translate '*PUT STRETCHES UPON THE MULE*' into German for me, and tell me what '*PICKS*' in weaving are called in German? What is a '*FLYER*' on the mule?

The workers' demonstrations in London are fabulous compared with anything seen in England since 1849, and they are solely the

^a First of all - ^b of *Capital*

work of the 'INTERNATIONAL'. Mr Lucraft, F.I., the captain in Trafalgar Square, is ONE OF OUR COUNCIL.³⁵⁰ This shows the difference between *acting* behind the scenes whilst retiring in public, and the democrats' habit of puffing themselves up in public and *doing nothing*.

The Commonwealth is about to expire.²⁹⁰ Fox is leaving it next week. Apropos. Stumpf has written to me from Mainz that among the workers the demand for your book '*The Condition, etc.*'^a is growing daily and that you must certainly bring out the second edition, if only for party reasons. At the same time, his personal experiences lead him to believe that immediately after the war³⁴⁵ 'the labour question' in Germany will come noticeably to the fore.

Freiligrath has put out a melancholy-lyrical little turd on the fratricidal war, which his daughter Kate has englished in today's *Athenaeum*.^b

Beside a great Prussian defeat, which perhaps (oh but those Berliners!) might have led to a revolution, there could have been no better outcome than their stupendous victory. Thiers had been so successful in denouncing Bonaparte's policy of helping to 'make' Prussia (for beside the English, your Frenchman in fact really *hates* only the Prussians), that Boustrapa⁷⁶ had to amend the constitution he had imposed on the French and '*abolish*' discussion of the address *par ordre du*^c *Moniteur*. (I am enclosing J. Favre's speech on Mexico and Glais-Bizoin's bad witticisms for you, so that you can see what Boustrapa's position was before the outbreak of war.)³⁵¹ Mr Bonaparte was counting on victory and defeat swinging back and forth between Prussians and Austrians, so that eventually he would be able to step in between the exhausted combatants like Jupiter Scapin.^d The Prussians' success really puts his regime in France in dire peril (it is his second great miscalculation since the American Civil War) if he does not manage to dictate the terms of peace. On the other hand, the same success (we are not back in 1815 now) makes it impossible, almost impossible, for the Prussian dynasty to accept terms other than those which Austria *must* reject, not to mention the fact that handsome William,^e alias Alexander the Great, cannot possibly cede German territory to France. The Prussians' decision will depend on the 'nephew' in St Petersburg.^f It is impossible to say

^a F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^b F. Freiligrath, 'Westphalian Summer Song', *The Athenaeum*, No. 2019, 7 July 1866. - ^c by order of the - ^d Scapin—a character from Molière's *Les fourberies de Scapin*. - ^e William I - ^f Alexander II

what he will do, as that would require one to be in possession of the material in the Russian State Chancellory. But I, for my part, cannot understand how the Russians, who are furthermore offended that the Austrians refused their help, can permit Austria to get her breath back and miss this favourable moment for their Turco-Danubian manoeuvres. Mr Victor Emmanuel is also in a pretty pickle. Venice now belongs to Bonaparte. If he accepts it from him as a present, that will be the end for his dynasty. On the other hand, *what* can he do against France, and *where* can he now attack Austria?³⁵²

But what do you say to our *Foxikins*, who dashed breathlessly into our house the day before yesterday, exclaiming: 'Bonaparte has *saved* Germany!' This view is shared by Beesly, Harrison, etc., and the whole COMTEIST clique. Write to me soon, as pen and ink have to serve in place of oral communication in this EVENTFUL PERIOD.

My best compliments to MRS Lizzy.^a

Little Jenny would like to know how your 'Africans' are doing?³⁵³

Salut

Your
K.M.

Naturally, Bonaparte does not want war now, until he has introduced the NEEDLE-GUN or an equivalent. A YANKEE^b has offered the war ministry here a rifle which, so I am assured by a REFUGEE Prussian officer (Wilke), is as superior to the needle-gun as the latter is to 'OLD BESS',³⁵⁴ by virtue of its extreme simplicity of design, non-susceptibility to heating, reduced need for cleaning, and cheapness. Is there any sphere in which our theory that the *organisation* of labour is determined by the means of production is more dazzlingly vindicated than in the industry for human slaughter? It really would be worth your while to write something on the subject (I have not the necessary knowledge for it) which I would include as an appendix to my book^c under your name. Give the matter some thought. If you do it, however, it must be done *pour le premier volume*,^d in which I am dealing *ex professo*^e with this topic. You will appreciate what great pleasure it would give me if you were also to appear in my principal work (previously I have only produced trifles) as a direct collaborator, and not just in quotation!

^a Lizzy Burns - ^b Jacob Snider - ^c *Capital* - ^d for the first volume - ^e in particular

I am studying Comte on the side just now, as the English and French are making such a fuss of the fellow. What seduces them about him is his encyclopaedic quality, *la synthèse*. But that is pitiful when compared with Hegel (although Comte is superior to him as a mathematician and physicist by profession, i.e., superior in the detail, though even here Hegel is infinitely greater as a whole). And this shitty positivism came out in 1832!

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, 9 July^a 1866

Dear Moor,

History, i.e., world history, is becoming ever more ironical. What could be more splendid than that Bonaparte should be thus mocked in practice by his pupil Bismarck, who, backwoods junker as he is, has suddenly outgrown his master and all at once gives the whole world a tangible demonstration of how very much this *arbitre de l'Europe* exists ON SUFFERANCE. And then this Bismarck himself, who, in order to be able to govern to all appearances feudally and absolutely for a few months at home, is pursuing the policy of the bourgeoisie WITH A VENGEANCE abroad, preparing the ground for the bourgeoisie to rule and striking along paths where progress is only possible by liberal, even revolutionary means, and, in so doing, making his own backwoods junkers be daily at variance with their own principles. The presenters of the ceremonial shield to Francis Bomba^b are in alliance with Garibaldi, and the advocates of Thrones by the grace of God go swallowing up whole countries in spite of Victor Emmanuel!³⁵⁵ Never has there been anything quite so splendid as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*^c in

^a The original has: June. - ^b Francis II of Naples and Sicily, son of Ferdinand II nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in September 1848. - ^c *Neue Preussische Zeitung*

these last 4 weeks, and the historico-feudal party, which cost the genius of Frederick William IV of blessed memory so much toil and trouble to found, is now choking on the filth which it is being forced to gobble up at its own leader's command.

The simple fact is: Prussia has 500,000 needle-guns and the rest of the world not even 500. It is not possible to equip an army with breech-loaders in under 2, 3 or perhaps 5 years. Until then Prussia will be dux. Do you think Bismarck will not make use of such a moment? Certainly he will. Bonaparte will take very good care not to pick a quarrel, and as for the Russians, it is true they are setting up a most furious howl in the *Journal de St.-Petersbourg*,^a but militarily they are now less to be feared than ever. I have no doubt at all that this sudden enormous growth of Prussia's might will drive Bonaparte and the Russians together, and that their first endeavour will be to prevent each and every increase in Prussia's might. But they will take care to hold back from war; as for France, if she were to intervene actively, that would assuredly be the best way to drive the South Germans properly into the arms of the Prussians and consign the civil war to oblivion.³⁵⁶ And as for the Russians, Monsieur Bismarck is the man to threaten them with a new Polish insurrection, and they know that the fellow is unscrupulous enough for that. In general, Bismarck is only too well aware of his power and also knows that it can only maintain its present magnitude for a few years, and I believe he will exploit it to the very last drop. Moreover, Bonaparte can always be bought off with Belgium in the end, and only just before the war Goltz, Bonaparte and the Crown Prince of Holland^b 'considered the possibility' of dividing Belgium between France and Holland, which would then cede Luxemburg to France.³⁴⁹ I believe the war is not over yet by a long chalk, and there is much that can still happen.

The Russians really do seem to have realigned themselves towards Austria some time ago now, and this tremendous success of the Prussians will make it impossible for them to go back on it in any way. The more so since Austria will now be ready to receive Bosnia or Walachia in exchange for Venice, with Russia then taking Moldavia.

You see, by the by, how right I was in my appraisal of the Prussian army when I repeatedly said there was far more to it than people were wont to admit. After these successes and after

^a 'Nouvelles de L'Extérieur', *Journal de Saint-Petersbourg*, No. 140, 23 June (5 July) 1866. - ^b William, Prince of Orange

the absolutely brilliant performance of the troops, they will be so much more self-confident and, at the same time, more experienced at war that they could take the field against the French tomorrow, even if the latter had breech-loaders, and the French bayonet, at all events, has had its day, like the Spanish pike in its time. When breech-loading becomes general, the cavalry will come into its own again.

I must make a proper report to Jenny about the Africans,³⁵³ as I have been meaning to for a long time now.

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 for the first
time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 July 1866

Dear Moor,

I have written about your history to Gumpert, who is in Wales; as I do not know his address, the letter will first have to go to his home here, hence certainly some delay. As soon as I have a reply, I'll write to you, but meanwhile I should advise you to take arsenic *at once* and put off everything else, so as to stop the damned carbuncle. Put an end to *this* abomination at any cost.

Bonaparte's little plan and his intervention are in part probably a consequence of an earlier agreement with Bismarck, but certainly also—the new Confederation of the Rhine, etc.—are threats in his direction. But how the fellow can be so stupid as to make *this* plan public is beyond my comprehension³⁵⁷: as with Schapper—that he could be *so* stupid, etc.—It will assuredly drive the whole of South Germany into the arms of the Prussians and even the old philistines at the Exchange here are quite beside

themselves about it. One old man from Frankfurt told me: it's worth more to the Prussians than a reinforcement of 100,000 men.

You see how the stupid South Germans are letting themselves be picked off one by one without even taking the trouble to close ranks.³⁵⁶ It'll soon be the old, old story, we've been betrayed, we'll be led like lambs to the slaughter!^a 1849 all over again. I feel sorry for the fellows, they're good soldiers. Only now does one understand how the French were able to score such successes against the 'Empire', but *not* how the Empire was able to hold out for so long against a concentrated monarchy like France.³⁵⁸

I will try and produce the stuff about the mass-murder-industry for you.^b

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 for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 July^c 1866

DEAR FRED,

The carbuncle has fortunately departed again of its own accord. But in the present heat my LIVER has been and still is scourging me sorely. For all that, my work^d is progressing well and will continue to do so if my present condition lasts. It is, of course, embarrassing for me to have to pester you again already, but as you will gather from the enclosed note (which you must return to me) there is *periculum in mora*.^e I have with difficulty obtained an

^a Engels uses the South-German dialect here: 'Man will uns uf die Schlachtbank fihre!' - ^b See this volume, p. 291. - ^c The original has: January. - ^d on the first volume of *Capital* - ^e danger in delay (Livy, *The History of Rome*, Vol. XXXVIII, Chap. 25)

extension until next Tuesday. From your last communication I am in doubt as to whether you are in Manchester. Nor have I received any more copies of *The Manchester Guardian*. Or has nothing else of yours appeared in it?³⁴⁵

One must refrain from passing any judgment on the present circumstances, pending news either of a ceasefire or of a decisive battle at Vienna. At any rate, the course of events has demonstrated the extraordinary decay of the Austrian system.

For the moment, these English of ours are, as always, paying homage to success. The great Arnold Ruge, too, has made his *pronunciamento* for Prussia 14 days ago, as the great Kinkel did earlier still. If the Prussians continue victorious to the end, what a throng of place-seekers and fatherland-rescuers will surge towards Frankfurt!

At all events, the 'homme prestige',^a 'Jupiter Scapin',^b GROTESQUE PROVIDENCE OF EUROPE is shaken and even overshadowed by Bismarck. That is some consolation.

THE VTH REPORT OF THE CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION appeared here a few days ago. It concludes the *enquête*^c into the manufactories, and only a supplement has yet to appear concerning the 'ORGANISED GANGS' of women and children, who are sporadically used in agriculture. There could have been no more dreadful blow to the optimism of the bourgeoisie since 1850 than from these 5 BLUE BOOKS. Furthermore, the VIIITH REPORT OF THE BOARD OF HEALTH^d was brought out a few days ago, which contains in particular a very detailed *enquête* of the living conditions of the proletariat.³⁵⁹

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 'man of prestige' - ^b Scapin—a character from Molière's *Les fourberies de Scapin* (here Napoleon III is meant) - ^c enquiry - ^d *Eighth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council*.

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ENGELS TO MARX¹⁰¹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 July 1866

Dear Moor,

I think you will now have received the notes all right; in a moment of distraction I must have put in, in their stead, the piece of paper on which I had noted the Nos. The notes themselves I had slipped inside the cover of my writing-case, which is where I found them when I had recovered from the initial shock of your telegram.⁴⁶ I hope they still arrived in time.

The business in Germany now seems fairly straightforward to me. From the moment of Bismarck's so colossal success in using the Prussian army to put the bourgeois plan for Little Germany into effect,³⁶⁰ developments in Germany have moved so decisively in that direction that we shall have to accept the *fait accompli* just like everybody else, WE MAY LIKE IT OR NOT. As regards the *national* aspect of the question, at all events, Bismarck will set up a Little German Empire of the dimensions envisaged by the bourgeoisie, i. e., including South-West Germany, the phrases about the Main boundary and the OPTIONAL SOUTH GERMAN SEPARATE CONFEDERACY, at any rate, only being intended for the French³⁵⁷; meanwhile the Prussians are marching on Stuttgart. Incidentally, before very long, the German provinces of Austria will join this Empire too, since Austria is certain to go Hungarian now,²⁹³ and the Germans will become the 3rd nation in the Empire—lower even than the Slavs.

Politice^a Bismarck will be forced to rely on the bourgeoisie, whom he needs against the Imperial Princes. Perhaps not at this moment, as his prestige and the army are still sufficient. But simply to ensure that parliament will grant the necessary conditions for central power, he will have to give something to the bourgeoisie, and the natural course of events will constantly compel him or his successors to appeal to the bourgeoisie again; so that, even if Bismarck perhaps gives the bourgeoisie no more than he absolutely *has to* now, he will, nevertheless, be driven increasingly in a bourgeois direction.

^a Politically

The good aspect to the affair is that it simplifies the situation and makes revolution easier by putting an end to the brawling among the smaller capitals and, at all events, hastens developments. A German parliament is after all quite a different thing from a Prussian Chamber. All the little states will be drawn into the movement, there will be an end to the worst localised tendencies, and the parties will at last become truly national instead of merely local.

The chief disadvantage—and it is a very substantial one—is the inevitable swamping of Germany by Prussianism. Also the temporary exclusion of German Austria, a consequence of which will be an immediate advance of the Slav cause in Bohemia, Moravia and Carinthia. Unfortunately, *nothing* can be done to prevent *either*.

In my view, therefore, we can do nothing whatsoever but simply accept the fact, without approving of it, and use, as far as we can, the increased opportunities which are, at all events, bound to arise now, to organise and unite the German proletariat *nationally*.

I did not need Stumpf's letter to tell me that BROTHER Lieb knecht would launch himself into fanatical support of the Austrian cause, it was absolutely inevitable.³⁶¹ Incidentally, there was no mistaking his furious despatches from Leipzig in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*. This *N. F. Zeitung*, with its Blind-ish regicidal tendencies, went so far as to reproach the Prussians for their disgraceful treatment of 'His Highness the Elector of Hesse'^a and was beside itself with enthusiasm for the poor blind Guelph.^b

Nothing more of mine in the *Guardian*.³⁴⁵

Your
F. E.

Best wishes to the LADIES.

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 Ludwig III - ^b George V of Hanover

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MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 July^a 1866

Dear FRED,

Best thanks for the £10. They came in the nick of time.

I have not written to Stumpf, precisely because he asked for a line of 'conduct', and my view was that he would do best not to 'conduct' himself at all until events took a decisive turn.³⁶¹ That was a view which I RATHER thought advisable not to put to him in writing. Mainz is at present still encircled, so far as I know, so postal communication is also presumably interrupted. Did you write to Stumpf?

The comedy in Frankfurt makes up somewhat for the exhalation of the victors. Lord, lord, they howled, 25 million! And his worship the mayor^b goes and hangs himself!³⁶² And the Prussians, for their part, officially declare that Frankfurt will have to fork out because its papers have 'insulted' His Majesty William the Conqueror.^c Since his government post in Brunn is only temporary, Stieber will eventually become mayor of the Frankfurter-on-Mainers, whom by the way I have always thought the most insufferable scoundrels. And Edgar Bauer will be imposed on them as Censor-in-Chief. But as regards the Eschenheimer Gasse,³⁶³ Privy Counsellor Duncker would—except that he is, of course, ruling in Kassel.

I am entirely at one with you that we must take the mess as it is. It is, nevertheless, pleasant to be far off at this youthful time of love's first dawning.^d The arrogance of the Prussians and the foolishness of handsome William,^e who believes that nothing has changed since his dream of victory, except that he is now a great potentate, etc., will have their effect soon enough. The Austrians now find themselves where the Slav fanatics from Prague wanted them in 1848.³⁶⁴ However, for the moment their loss of Venice, their enforced concentration of strength is in no way to the Russians' advantage. Being a Pan-Slavic empire themselves, they

^a The original has: August. - ^b Karl Fellner - ^c William I of Prussia (an ironical comparison with the Norman William who conquered England in 1066) -

^d F. Schiller, *Das Lied von der Glocke*. - ^e William I

will be all the more antagonistic to the Muscovites. In view of the extraordinary decline of the Habsburgs, it is certainly to be feared that BY and BY they will allow the Russians to tempt them into a combined attack on Turkey.

For the workers, of course, everything that centralises the bourgeoisie is to their advantage. At all events, even if peace is concluded tomorrow, it will be even more provisional than that of Villafranca and Zurich was.³⁶⁵ As soon as the 'arms reform' has been completed by the various parties, it will be back to 'bashing', as Schapper calls it. At all events, Bonaparte has suffered a setback, too, although the setting up of military kingdoms on all sides right and left fits the Plon-Plonist⁹³ scheme '*de la démocratie générale*'.^a

The government has almost caused a mutiny here. Your Englishman first needs a revolutionary education, of course, for which two weeks would suffice if Sir Richard Mayne had absolute powers of command. In actual fact, it all hung on one point. If the RAILINGS had been used—and it almost came to that—for offence and defence against the police, and some score of the latter killed, the military would have had to 'step in', instead of merely parading. And then things would have got quite jolly. This much is certain: that these stiff-necked John Bulls, whose sconces appear made to measure for the constables' BLUDGEONS, will accomplish nothing without a really bloody clash with those in power.

A touching scene, that, between that old jackass Beales and the equally asinine old Walpole, and then the intervention of the thin-voiced, INTRUSIVE, self-important Holyoake, who through 'love of the truth' is constantly finding his way into *The Times*—nothing but peace and dissoluteness.³⁶⁶ Meanwhile, whilst these riff-raff are patting each other on the back and belick-spitting each other, that cur Knox, the police magistrate of Marylebone, is sending people down in a summary fashion, which shows what would happen if London were Jamaica.²⁵²

Disraeli has made a fine fool of himself, firstly by his pathetic remark in the Lower House,^b 'he did not know whether he still had a house', and then by the strong military occupation of that same house, although, thirdly, the MOB (instructed beforehand by the REFORM LEAGUE people) deliberately left the house of Mr 'Vivian Grey'^c UNTOUCHED. The house lost not a hair from its head. For which 'Elcho's window-panes had to suffer the more. I had

^a 'of universal democracy' - ^b on 24 July 1866 - ^c an ironic reference to Disraeli, the author of a novel under the same title

dropped the HINT to Gremer and other MANAGERS that it might be appropriate to pay a visit to the 'Times' NEWSPAPER. AS they did not immediately 'take' the HINT, or did not want to, I did not press it.

The cholera is paying us (I mean the Londoners) its respects with the utmost gravity, and Dr Hunter's report, in the VIIIth REPORT of the HEALTH BOARD^a on the 'HOUSING of the POOR', which appeared last week,³⁵⁹ is presumably intended to serve Madam Cholera as a DIRECTORY of addresses calling for preferential visitation.

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Lizzy.^b

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 MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 August 1866

Dear Moor,

The humour in your last letter leads me to conclude that your liver must be much better, although you do not say anything about it yourself. As regards the Frankfurters,³⁶² you should have just heard the wailing and gnashing of teeth by the ones here, of whom we have a whole legion here and who got the most frightful letters from their brothers, etc. On this occasion the Prussian lieutenant did, of course, conduct himself with all the charm for which he is renowned, but it was to be expected from the beginning that these gentlemen would be MORE FRIGHTENED THAN HURT. In the rest of South Germany, where the Frankfurters are not especially popular either and where they are reproached for running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, there was

^a Eighth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council. - ^b Lizzy Burns

positive pleasure that it was they who were treated so roughly. I have seen such letters myself.

So, Bismarck won in the end, and Wilhelmchen^a has issued a form of words to conciliate his Highnesses, Noble Lords and Faithful Followers, simultaneously affirming, however, that if they refuse him money again, the spending of money without approval will unfortunately be 'unavoidable' again. I still do not see how the conflict can thereby be resolved, even with this Chamber. Then there is a German, OR RATHER North German parliament as well, about whose possible position or at least powers Mr Eulenburg has resolutely refused to give any information whatsoever—there are splendid prospects for a dust-up before long. Bismarck himself will surely seek to avoid a dispute, he is not that stupid, but that old brute of a Hohenzollern is bound to embroil himself, and then he will be amazed at the intelligence of his bayonets.³⁶⁷

That we shall soon be back to bashing is clear enough. I believe things will come to a head with the French. Bonaparte is shrewd enough to want to avoid this as long as at all possible, but the mass of Frenchmen, in particular the bourgeoisie, with their distaste for any strengthening of Germany, really is too short-sighted and fanatical to be denied the *expansion de la France qui ne peut avoir lieu que du côté de l'Allemagne*,^b and war against Prussia is also popular with the peasants and more stupid workers; therefore there is no telling how soon the storm will break.

Wehner, who has just returned from Hanover, tells me that the Prussian officers have already made themselves thoroughly hated there, too, likewise the bureaucrats and police.

I shall probably not spend long in Germany this year either. What with the exhalation of the victors in the North and the Republicans bawling out their enthusiasm for the Elector of Hesse^c in the South, where ought one to go? I shall attempt to go into the Harz by a roundabout route, there are fortunately no garrisons there.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* is now screaming with much frothing at the mouth for the exclusion of South Germany. This is the catchword put out by Bismarck to facilitate Bonaparte's retreat, and the *Kölnische* is storming in this direction with such insane fervour that one sees through the whole nonsense immediately. No paper has yet behaved quite so vilely as this one. Having been most vociferously shouting for peace, it leapt into the contrary

^a William I - ^b Expansion of France which can only occur in the direction of Germany - ^c Ludwig III

stance as soon as it saw that Bismarck with his cry of 'Austria wants war! Up and at 'em!' was not to be put off the scent, and ever since it has been Bismarck's best friend, at least in good will if not in finesse. It is his lap-dog in the press.

If the new breech-loading gun the American showed to the government here is the Snider-Enfield, it is not up to much. It was most probably another one you were referring to.^a Incidentally, a more rapid rate of fire than that already achieved by the needle-gun is of little consequence, as in practice the difference is virtually reduced to zero; on the other hand, greater precision and accuracy of aim are now becoming increasingly important. I am just re-reading Griesheim's tactics^b—how outdated almost all of it already is now!

kindest 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
Published in English for the first
time

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MARX TO ENGELS³⁶⁸

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 August 1866

Dear FRED,

You inferred correctly from my last letter that my state of health has improved, although it fluctuates from one day to the next. Meanwhile, the feeling of being fit to work again DOES MUCH FOR A MAN. Unfortunately, I am constantly interrupted by SOCIAL TROUBLES and lose a lot of time. Thus, for example, the butcher has suspended meat supplies today, and by Saturday even my stock of paper will be used up.

Since yesterday Laura is half promised to Monsieur Lafargue, my medical Creole. She treats him like the others, but the

^a See this volume, p. 291. - ^b G. von Griesheim, *Vorlesungen über die Taktik*.

outbursts of feeling these Creoles are subject to, a slight fear that the *jeune homme*^a (he is 25) might do away with himself, etc., some fondness for him, undemonstrative as always with Laura (he is a good-looking, intelligent, energetic lad of athletic build), have more or less led to a semi-compromise. The boy attached himself to me first of all, but soon transferred the ATTRACTION from the old man to his daughter. His economic circumstances are middling, as he is the only child of a former planter-family.^b He is *rayé de l'université de Paris pour deux ans*,^c on account of the *congrès à Liège*,²⁶⁹ but intends to sit his examination at Strasbourg. In my judgment, he has an outstanding gift for medicine, in which he is, however, infinitely more sceptical than our friend Gumpert. Scepticism in medical matters appears to be the order of the day with both professors and students in Paris. E. g., Magendie, who declares all therapeutics, in their present STATE, to be fraudulent. As always, this scepticism not only does not exclude CROTCHETS, but embraces them. E. g., Lafargue believes in alcohol and electricity as the chief cures. Fortunately, he is having a good adviser in Professor Carrère, a refugee (*hautes mathématiques*,^d physics and chemistry), and will be able to acquire much practical experience in the London hospitals. I have managed to get him admitted there through the good offices of a third party.

A very important work which I shall send on to you (but on condition that you send it back, as it is not my property) as soon as I have made the necessary notes, is: '*P. Trémaux, Origine et Transformations de l'Homme et des autres Êtres, Paris 1865.*' In spite of all the shortcomings that I have noted, it represents a *very significant* advance over Darwin. The two chief theses are: *croisements*^e do not produce, as is commonly thought, variety, but, on the contrary, a unity typical of the *espèces*.^f The physical features of the earth, on the other hand, *differentiate* (they are the chief, though not the only basis). Progress, which Darwin regards as purely accidental, is essential here on the basis of the stages of the earth's development, *dégénérescence*,^g which Darwin cannot explain, is straightforward here; ditto the rapid extinction of merely transitional forms, compared with the slow development of the type of the *espèce*, so that the gaps in palaeontology, which Darwin finds disturbing, are necessary here. Ditto the fixity of the *espèce*, once established, which is explained as a necessary law

^a a young man - ^b the family of François Lafargue - ^c sent down from the University of Paris for two years - ^d higher mathematics - ^e crossings - ^f species - ^g degeneration

(apart from individual, etc., variations). Here hybridisation, which raises problems for Darwin, on the contrary supports the system, as it is shown that an *espèce* is in fact first established as soon as *croisement* with others ceases to produce offspring or to be possible, etc.

In its historical and political applications far more significant and pregnant than Darwin. For certain questions, such as nationality, etc., only here has a basis in nature been found. E.g., he corrects the Pole Duchiniński, whose version of the geological differences between Russia and the Western Slav lands he does incidentally confirm, by saying not that the Russians are Tartars rather than Slavs, etc.,^a as the latter believes, but that on the surface-formation predominant in Russia the Slav has been tartarised and mongolised; likewise (he spent a long time in Africa) he shows that the common negro type is only a degeneration of a far higher one.

'Hors des grandes lois de la nature, les projets des hommes ne sont que calamités, témoins les efforts des czars pour faire du peuple polonais des Moscovites. [...] Même nature, mêmes facultés, renaîtront sur un même sol. L'œuvre de destruction ne saurait toujours durer, l'œuvre de reconstitution est éternelle... Les races slaves et lithuaniennes ont avec les Moscovites, leur véritable limite dans la grande ligne géologique qui existe au nord des bassins du Niémen et du Dnièper... Au sud de cette grande ligne: les aptitudes et les types propres à cette région sont et demeureront toujours différents de ceux de la Russie.'^b [P. Trémaux, *Origine et transformations de l'homme...*, pp. 402, 420, 421.]

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart, 1913

Printed according to the original

^a See this volume, pp. 163-64. - ^b 'If not comprehended by the great laws of nature, man's undertakings are but calamities, witness the efforts of the Czars to make Muscovites of the Polish people. [...] The same soil will give rise to the same character and the same qualities. A work of destruction cannot last forever, but a work of reconstitution is everlasting... The true frontier of the Slav and Lithuanian races with the Muscovites is represented by the great geological line which lies to the north of the basins of the Niemen and the Dnieper... To the south of that great line, the talents and the types fitted to that region are and will always remain different from those of Russia.'

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 August 1866

Dear Moor,

I don't know whether I should offer full, semi- or no congratulations at all on Laura's semi-engagement. But whatever quantity of congratulations may be admissible, it affects their quality not a wit, and I therefore congratulate with all my heart.

About how much does the Trémaux book^a cost? If it is not excessively dear on account of illustrations or anything, I'll get it myself, and then you won't need to send it to me.

To allay your butcher's wrath and replenish your stock of paper, I am enclosing J/F 65865 and 66, 2 £5 notes totalling £10, dated Manchester, 30 January 1865. I wish that I could set aside more than £200 a year for you, but unfortunately I cannot. If all goes well, it is true that I shall probably be able to provide another £50, but cotton is falling again now, and Bonaparte's note concerning the 1814 frontiers³⁶⁹ is alarming the philistine, and that affects the accounts.

That note of Bonaparte's seems to indicate that a HITCH has cropped up between him and Bismarck. Otherwise, his demand would surely not have been so discourteous and unexpected, nor would it have been made at such a very inopportune moment for Bismarck. Bismarck undoubtedly stands to lose nothing by complying with it, but how can he do so now? What will his victorious army say to it? And the German parliament, and the Chambers, and the South Germans? And the old jackass,^b who will now look as idiotically beatific as my black and white dog Dido when he's eaten his belly full, and who has said, not an inch of German soil, etc.?

The note was a great folly on Bonaparte's part, but the howling of the opposition and probably of the army, too, will presumably have forced him to precipitate the matter. It may turn out to be exceedingly dangerous for him. Either Bismarck enables a concession to be made, and then he will be forced to start a war with Bonaparte at the earliest opportunity in order to take his

^a P. Trémaux, *Origine et transformations de l'homme et des autres êtres*. - ^b William I

revenge; or else he may not give way, and then there will be war even sooner. In either case, Bonaparte runs the risk of fighting a war he does not want and without the appropriate diplomatic preparation, without any sure allies, for the publicly avowed purpose of conquest. Incidentally, Bismarck told the Hanoverian minister Platen several years ago that he would put Germany under the Prussian helmet and then lead it against the French in order to 'forge it into one'.³⁷⁰

Circulars are circulating here for a 'Kinkel-fête', put round by Leppoc, 'a great poet and a great man', on the occasion of Gottfried-the-Pious' departure for Zurich. I have said I am willing to take part in it for the sum of one farthing.

With kindest regards to your wife and the girls.

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 PAUL LAFARGUE³⁷¹

IN LONDON

London, 13 August 1866

My dear Lafargue,

Allow me to make the following observations:

1. If you wish to continue your relations with my daughter,^a you will have to give up your present manner of 'courting'. You know full well that no engagement has been entered into, that as yet everything is undecided. And even if she were formally betrothed to you, you should not forget that this is a matter of long duration. The practice of excessive intimacy is especially inappropriate since the two lovers will be living at the same place for a necessarily prolonged period of severe testing and purgatory. I

^a Laura Marx

have observed with alarm how your conduct has altered from one day to the next within the geological period of one single week. To my mind, true love expresses itself in reticence, modesty and even the shyness of the lover towards the object of his veneration, and certainly not in giving free rein to one's passion and in premature demonstrations of familiarity. If you should urge your Creole temperament in your defence, it is my duty to interpose my sound reason between your temperament and my daughter. If in her presence you are incapable of loving in a manner in keeping with the London latitude, you will have to resign yourself to loving her from a distance. I am sure you will take the hint.

2. Before your relationship with Laura is finally settled, I must have proper clarification of your financial position. My daughter believes that I am conversant with your affairs. She is mistaken. I did not raise this question because I believed it was incumbent upon you to take the initiative. You know that I have sacrificed my whole fortune to the revolutionary struggle. I do not regret it. Quite the contrary. If I had to begin my life over again, I would do the same. I would not marry, however. As far as it lies within my power, I wish to save my daughter from the reefs on which her mother's life was wrecked. Had it not been for my direct intervention (a weakness on my part) and the influence that my friendship for you exerted on my daughter's conduct, this affair would never have progressed to its present point; for this reason I bear a heavy personal responsibility. As far as your immediate situation is concerned, the information which has come my way, although I did not seek it, is by no means reassuring. But let's not deal with that now. Regarding your position in general, I know that you are still a student, that your career in France has been half ruined by the events at Liège,²⁶⁹ that you still lack an indispensable tool for your acclimatisation in England, the language, and that your prospects are at best entirely problematic. Observation has persuaded me that you are not very industrious by nature, despite spasmodic feverish activity and good intentions. In these circumstances, you will need external support if you are to set out in life with my daughter. I know nothing of your family. Although they may enjoy a comfortable living, that does not in itself mean that they would be disposed to make sacrifices for you. I do not even know with what favour they regard your proposed alliance. I repeat that I must have positive clarification on all these matters. Moreover, as an avowed realist, you cannot, of course, expect that I should behave as an idealist in respect of my daughter's future. Such a positive person as yourself, who would

abolish poetry, will not wish to make poetry to the detriment of my child.

3. To preclude any misinterpretation of this letter, I would like to state that—were you in a position to enter into matrimony today—it would not come about. My daughter would refuse. I myself should object. You must have achieved something in life before thinking of marriage, and a long period of testing is required of you and of Laura.

4. I would like this letter to remain confidential between ourselves. I await your reply.

Yours very truly

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English in full for the first time

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁶

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 août^a 1866

DEAR FRED,

Lenchen^b reached the post-office too late on Saturday to send off my note gratefully acknowledging receipt of the £10.

You must forgive me if I do *not* write a letter today. I have the most pressing business on my back. I wrote a long letter in French to Lafargue today, telling him that I must have *des renseignements positifs*^c from his family concerning his economic circumstances before the affair can proceed or an ARRANGEMENT can be arrived at.^d A letter that he passed to me yesterday from a famous French doctor^e in Paris speaks well of him.

The title of the book: '*P. Trémaux: Origine et Transformations de l'Homme et des autres Êtres. Première Partie. Paris (Librairie de*

^a August - ^b Helene Demuth - ^c positive information - ^d See this volume, pp. 307-09. - ^e Jules Antoine Mollin

L. Hachette) 1865.' Part Two has not yet appeared. No *planches*.^a
The man's geological MAPS are in his other works.

Snippet from Liebknecht enclosed. I shall be sending you his newspapers,^b too, but they are not worth a pinch of snuff.³⁷²

Salut.

Your
K. M.

I shall also be getting the chief work by the above-mentioned Parisian *médecin*^c and will let you have it as soon as I have read it myself.

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 ENGELS³⁷³

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 August 1866

DEAR FRED,

Just a few lines today. The Lafargue affair has been arranged inasmuch as his old man^d has written to me from Bordeaux, requesting the title of *promesso sposo*^e for his son and offering a very favourable economic settlement. Furthermore, it is accepted that Lafargue *jeune*^f first has to qualify as a doctor in London and then in Paris before thinking of marriage. SO FAR THE THING IS SETTLED. But I also informed our Creole yesterday that if he cannot calm himself DOWN to English manners, Laura will show him the door without more ado. He must be absolutely clear about this or nothing will come of the affair. He has a heart of gold but is an *enfant gâté*^g and too much a child of nature.

^a plates - ^b *Mitteldeutsche Volkszeitung* - ^c doctor. J. A. Moilin (le docteur Tony), *Leçons de médecine physiologique*. - ^d François Lafargue - ^e fiancé - ^f junior - ^g spoiled child

Laura declares that before she will formally let herself become betrothed, she must have your CONSENT.

I am threatened with new carbuncles here and there, but they keep disappearing again; they do, however, oblige me to keep my hours of work very much WITHIN LIMITS.

Kindest regards to Lizzy.^a

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 LUDWIG KIGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, 23 August 1866

My dear Friend,

You must justifiably be angered by my prolonged silence, despite your sundry friendly communications.

However, you will have to excuse me, on account of the extraordinary circumstances in which I find myself.

In consequence of my long illness, my economic situation has reached a point of crisis. I have accumulated debts, which are a crushing mental burden and make me incapable of any activity other than the work in which I am immersed. If I do not succeed in taking out a loan of at least 1,000 talers at an interest of say 5%, I can really see no way out. And despite the numerous letters of acknowledgement I receive from Germany, I do not know where to turn. I can only accept aid from personal friends, nothing public. You will understand that in such conditions letter-writing becomes difficult.

I have not yet succeeded in re-establishing my former lucrative links with America.³⁷⁴ They are so taken up with their own

^a Lizzy Burns

movement there that they regard any expenditure on European reports as *faux frais de production*.^a I could help them by emigrating myself. But I consider it my duty to remain in Europe and complete the work on which I have been engaged for so many years.^b

As regards that work itself, I do not think I shall be able to deliver the manuscript of the first volume (it has now grown to 3 volumes²²⁷) to Hamburg before October. I can only work productively for a very few hours per day without immediately feeling the effects physically, and for my family's sake I suppose I must, however unwillingly, resolve to observe the hygienic limits until I am fully recovered. My work is furthermore often interrupted by the impingement of adverse external circumstances.

Although I am devoting much time to the preparations for the congress in Geneva,³⁷⁵ I cannot go myself, nor do I wish to, because my work cannot be subjected to prolonged interruption. I consider that what I am doing through this work is far more important for the working class than anything I might be able to do personally at any *congrès quelconque*.^c

I regard the international situation in Europe as only temporary. As regards Germany in particular, we must take things as we find them,³⁷⁶ i.e., promote the interests of revolution in a manner appropriate to the changed conditions. AS TO PRUSSIA, it is now more important than ever TO WATCH AND TO DENOUNCE her RELATIONS TO RUSSIA.

Your very sincere friend

K. Marx

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2,
Nr. 2, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO EMIL ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Dear Emil,

Manchester, 23 August 1866

In great haste, just to ask you to send the Funke document not to me but to

^a unnecessary costs - ^b *Capital* - ^c congress whatsoever

Hall & Janison, SOLICITORS,
Manchester,

as soon as it is signed.

I am leaving for Germany tomorrow,³⁷⁷ you see.

Kind regards to everyone. I am thinking of coming to Engelskirchen after Marie Blank's wedding.

Your
Friedrich

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 LAURA MARX

IN HASTINGS

[London,] 28 August 1866

My dear Cacadou,^a

I have received your letter, but not unopened, since it had to pass through the fingered hands of the Emperor.^b

It was always my opinion that to give the last finishing stroke to your 'heducation' some sort of boarding school training was still wanted. It will do you a great deal of good.

Il hidalgo della figura trista^c left me at the corner of his house. His heart having been considerably shaken before, he seemed to bear his separation *from me* with a rather heroic indifference.

My best wishes to ±∞∓.^d

I enclose 5 l., the remainder to be sent in the second week.

Yours humbly
Old One

^a Laura's jocular nickname - ^b Marx's daughter, Jenny, who acted as his secretary - ^c the knight of the woeful character (Don Quixote); here Marx means Paul Lafargue - ^d Eleanor Marx

Mama will start upon her own expedition to-morrow or after-to-morrow.³⁷⁸ A great push was wanted to set her amoving.

First published in the language of the original, English, in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

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MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER¹

IN GENEVA^a

[London,] 31 August 1866

Dear Becker,

It is absolutely imperative that *Jung* be made President of the congress,³⁷⁵

1. because he speaks the 3 languages, English, French, and German.

2. *Jung truly represents* the CENTRAL COUNCIL, Odger (who furthermore only knows his mother-tongue) was *not* elected by the CENTRAL COUNCIL; we elected 4 delegates, with Jung at the head; Odger was only to go if he could raise the money himself (guaranteed by us, of course). He has done *nothing* for the Association.

3. Cremer and Odger have hatched a very mean plot to prevent Jung and Eccarius leaving on the very last day.

4. *Odger* wishes to be elected *President of the congress* as a means of impressing the English and imposing himself as President of the CENTRAL COUNCIL for next year, against the *wish of the great majority of the COUNCIL*.

5. Cremer and Odger have both *betrayed* us in the Reform League, where they came to a *compromise with the bourgeoisie* against our wishes.³¹⁵

6. Mr Cremer has *morally debased* himself completely. All his efforts are now aimed at securing a '*paid*' post for himself, so that he need not work. *In no circumstances must* he therefore be elected as *General Secretary* by the congress. (The only paid post.) They

^a The letter bears the stamp: International Working Men's Association / Central Council / London.

must elect *Fox*, on the pretext, which is incidentally true, that the General Secretary must know *more than one language*.

9.^a The *President of the CENTRAL COUNCIL* must **not** be elected by the congress but here *in London*, as a figure of *merely local importance*.

10. At the election of the *President for the congress*, you must say at the outset that an *international congress* can only be presided over by a man who can speak the various languages, simply to save time, etc.

11. Convey this to Dupleix.

12. I should be glad if you would get Eccarius to translate the instructions^b which I wrote in the name of the CENTRAL COMMITTEE for the London delegates into German beforehand.

Regards and handshake.

Your
Karl Marx

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

Printed according to the original

186

MARX TO ELEANOR MARX

IN HASTINGS

[London,] 5 September 1866

My beloved master ±∞∓.

I bow to the earth before your immensity, whatever part you may condescend to act, that of the infinitely small or the infinitely grand.

Your letters have enchanted us, and we were really bursting out with laughter on reading that fine passage in which you describe the spontaneous explosion produced by the exhibition spinster.

I am belaboured by a gorilla offspring^c who can hardly spend the separation from a velvet mouse he has put his mind upon.^d If he knew her, as well as I do, he would, of course, be still more

^a Marx omitted points 7 and 8 here. - ^b K. Marx, 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions'. - ^c Paul Lafargue -

^d Laura Marx

Calypso, *qui ne pouvait se consoler du départ d'Ulysse*.^a She may be a Calypso, but he is not an Ulysses, with all that. A spoonzy fellow rather. However, he deserves some praise at my hands. He has worked hard (from 1 o'clock p.m. to 9) in translating the instructions^b I had to draw up for the Geneva Congress delegates.³⁷⁵ He has worked not less hard as a tailor at certain gymnastic apparatus you are to use. Last, not least, he affects great attention to the scientific gabble I affect to treat him with, although he and myself are far away from the scene of the mental entertainment.

The day before yesterday the Lormiers were here and the Negrillo,^c too. Old Lormier, on the pretext of having to communicate him some gymnastic trick, told him '*secretly*' and discreetly, of course, he must stop that fountain of saliva which, while smoking, he is in the habit of inundating the chimney with. When both returned from the kitchen, where the secret communication was taking place, our poor Negrillo looked rather downcast, and behaved like a 'good boy'.

In fact, I liked the boy, at the same time, I think, rather jealous of his encroachments upon my old 'geheimsecretar'.^d

Don't forget to write me *immediately* what you have to pay *per week*.

The damned weather! I hope it will still mend.

Address of Memeliten': 'Mrs Goodbun, Rose and Crown, Dover.'

Adio, my dear child. Many kisses to you and to the immortal Cadadou,

Yours $\frac{0}{\infty}$

You don't want to write to Mama, as she probably leaves Dover on Friday for another watering-place.

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925 and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September 1929

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^a who could not be consoled after Ulysses' departure - ^b K. Marx, 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions'. - ^c Paul Lafargue - ^d 'secret secretary', i.e., Laura Marx - ^e Marx's wife

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MARX TO LAURA MARX

IN HASTINGS

[London, about 8 September 1866]

My dearest Cacadou,^a

You must excuse if I write those few lines only. We want the inclosed Post Office Order for £3 to leave with the first Post, that is before 11 o'clock a.m. You will oblige me by writing us with what train you will leave Hastings next week, and *when* you will arrive here?

Poor child, your toothache would have been spared to you, if my advice had been followed and my own 'dentist' resorted to.

Your last letter has given much pleasure (the toothache news excepted) because we saw from it with what calm energy our Cacadou knows how to act.

Tell Quoquo^b that mischief is brewing. The Emperor^c fancies to be neglected by *his* subjects and feels rather sore.

Yours truly
Old One

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31,
Moscow, 1963

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Published in English for the first
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188

MARX TO ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 September 1866

DEAR FRED,

Receipt enclosed for Moore (I only got the receipt from Dell yesterday).³⁷⁹

Mr *Sawyer*, the LANDLORD, has also written me letter that the 3 quarters (£46) are due on 2 October. I have not received a FARTHING from Holland yet and so cannot count on that.

^a Laura's jocular nickname - ^b Eleanor Marx - ^c Jenny, Marx's daughter

By way of demonstration against the French monsieurs—who wanted to exclude everyone except '*travailleurs manuels*',^a in the first instance from membership of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, or at least from eligibility for election as delegate to the congress—the English yesterday proposed *me* as *President of the CENTRAL COUNCIL*. I declared that under *no* circumstances could I accept such a thing, and proposed *Odger* in my turn, who was then in fact re-elected, although some people voted for me despite my declaration. Dupont, incidentally, has given me the key to the Tolain and Fribourg operation. They want to stand as *workers'* candidates for the Corps législatif⁴ in 1869, on the 'principle' that *only workers* can represent the workers. That is why it was exceedingly important for these gentlemen to get this principle proclaimed through the Congress.³⁸⁰

At yesterday's meeting of the CENTRAL COUNCIL there were all manner of dramatic scenes. E.g., Mr Cremer fell to earth with a bump when Fox was appointed General Secretary in his stead. He controlled his fury only with great difficulty. Another scene when Mr Le Lubez had to be officially informed of his expulsion from the CENTRAL COUNCIL *par décret*^b of the congress. He gave vent to the turmoil in his breast in an hour-long speech, in which he spat fire and brimstone at the Parisians, represented himself in terms of astonishing self-esteem and mumbled all manner of dubious things about intrigues whereby the nationalities who were well-disposed towards him (Belgium and Italy) were prevented from attending the congress. Finally, he demanded a vote of confidence from the Central Council³⁸¹—and this will be discussed next Tuesday.

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

^a manual workers - ^b by decree

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 October 1866

Dear Engels,

I do not know whether I told you last time I wrote that there is a *bill of exchange* (no longer in the LANDLORD's hands) outstanding against me for the rent. Sawyer had written that the bill was due on the 2nd inst., i.e., tomorrow. I called on him yesterday, as by my reckoning the thing could not be due until 3 October, as I had drawn the bill on 1 July for 3 MONTHS, so that 3 days sight must be added. And it turned out I was right. The amount is £46 (3 QUARTERS), and I have been *sans sou*^a for many weeks, since the SMALL SUMS, which were still obtainable via pawnbrokers, dried up.

As I am furthermore NOW HARD PRESSED from the daily 'supplies' which have once more accumulated in recent months and in present circumstances (Lafargue) must avoid any *éclat*^b more than ever, I would leave for the Continent at once to see what I can arrange there 'personally'. However, I must defer that until my manuscript^c is completed, so that I can take it with me and am not subjected to fresh interruption.

You must forgive me for constantly BOTHERING and plaguing you with my private morass. I had put too much reliance on having the money from Holland.

Your
K. Marx

What do you think of Moilin?^d

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 penniless - ^b scandal - ^c of the first volume of *Capital* - ^d See this volume, p. 310.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 October 1866

Dear Moor,

You did not tell me that you had signed a bill for £46, which was why I sent you half notes for only £40 yesterday; the missing halves follow today, as well as a further five-pound-note I/F 98815, Manchester, 30 January 1865.

Our cashier has not got a second five-pound-note, and it's too late for a POST OFFICE order, so I cannot include the remaining SOVEREIGN; but you will no doubt surmount *that* difficulty.

Regarding Moilin^a and Trémaux,^b I will write at greater length in the next few days; I have not quite finished reading the latter yet, but I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing to his whole theory because he knows nothing of geology, and is incapable of even the most common-or-garden literary-historical critique. That stuff about the NIGGER Santa Maria and the whites turning into Negroes is enough to make one die of laughing.³⁸² Especially the idea that the traditions of the Senegal NIGGERS necessarily deserve credence, *just because these fellows cannot write!* In addition, it is another pretty notion of his to ascribe the differences between a Basque, a Frenchman, a Breton, and an Alsatian to the surface-structure, which is, of course, also to blame for the people speaking four different languages.

Perhaps the man will demonstrate in the 2nd volume how he explains that we Rhinelanders on our Devonian transitional massif (which has not been covered again by the sea since long before the coal was formed) did not become idiots and NIGGERS ages ago, or else he will assert that we are really NIGGERS.

The book is utterly worthless, pure theorising in defiance of all the facts, and for each piece of evidence it cites it should itself first provide evidence in turn.

^a J. A. Moilin (le docteur Tony), *Leçons de médecine physiologique* (see this volume, pp. 309-10, 319). - ^b P. Trémaux, *Origine et transformations de l'homme...* (ibid., pp. 304-05, 309-10).

Kindest 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
Published in English for the first
time

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁴³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 October 1866

Dear Engels,

The enclosed bill will give you some idea of what adventures I have had today and yesterday. It was not yesterday that it became due, as Sawyer had said. This delay of one day would have been welcome in other circumstances, but in present circumstances it was exceedingly unfortunate. When your letter arrived yesterday, I went straight to our baker, Whithers, as there was nothing left to pawn, and borrowed £1 from him. But when the bill arrived this morning, it was for £48-1-5d. and not, as I had thought, £46. It was my own fault, of course, for not noting the amount. I had thought Sawyer would have deducted the PROPRIETOR TAX which I had paid and which was not deducted from the previous bill (by law it falls on him). That was not the case. (He will therefore have to deduct the whole lot for next quarter.) Hence my mistake over the £46. The bill was presented this morning at 9 o'clock sharp, and I discovered to my horror that I was £2-1-5d. short. *Que faire?*^a I asked the presenter of the bill to wait (at our house), as I had to go and change some money. I had no alternative but to return to the good baker, who pulled a very long face, as I am deep in the red on account of his supplying of provisions. However, he performed.

^a What was to be done?

Ad vocem^a Trémaux^b: your verdict 'that there is nothing to his whole theory because he knows nothing of geology, and is incapable of even the most common-or-garden literary-historical critique'^c recurs almost word for word in Cuvier's 'Discours sur les Révolutions du Globe' in his attack on the doctrine of the *variabilité des espèces*,^d in which he makes fun of German nature-worshippers, among others, who formulated Darwin's basic idea in its entirety, however far they were from being able to prove it. However, that did not prevent Cuvier, who was a great geologist and for a naturalist also an exceptional literary-historical critic, from being wrong, and the people who formulated the new idea, from being right. Trémaux's basic idea about the influence of the soil (although he does not, of course, attach any value to historical modifications of this influence, and I myself would include amongst these historical modifications the chemical alteration in the surface soil brought about by agriculture, etc., as well as the varying influence which, with varying modes of production, such things as coalfields, etc., have) is, in my opinion, an idea which needs only to be formulated to acquire permanent scientific status, and that quite independently of the way Trémaux presents it.

Salut.

Your
K. Marx

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, 5 October 1866

Dear Moor,

I am tickled by your naivety in having bills outstanding against you without knowing the amount; however, it's lucky the

^a As regards - ^b P. Trémaux, *Origine et transformations de l'homme...* - ^c See this volume, pp. 320-21. - ^d mutability of species

difference was no bigger and the good baker was at hand. So that you can repay the sum in question to that excellent man at once and thus preserve your credit, I am enclosing £5 I/F 59667, Manchester, 30 January 1865, for you, and am also returning the bill now settled.

Ad vocem^a Trémaux. When I wrote to you, I had admittedly only read a third of the book, and that was certainly the worst part (at the beginning). The second third, the critique of the schools, is far better; the third, the conclusions, very bad again. The man deserves credit for having emphasised the effect of the 'soil' on the evolution of races and logically of species as well more than had previously been done, and secondly for having worked out more accurate (though, in my view, still very one-sided) views on the effects of crossing than his predecessors. In *one* respect, Darwin is also right in his views on the effect crossing has *in producing change*, as Trémaux incidentally tacitly acknowledges, in that, when it suits him to do so, he also treats crossing as a means of change, even if ultimately as one that cancels itself out. Similarly, Darwin and others have never failed to appreciate the effect of the soil, and if they did not especially emphasise it, this was because they had no notion of *how* the soil exerts an influence—other than that fertility has a favourable and infertility an unfavourable effect. And Trémaux is little the wiser about that either. The hypothesis that, as a general rule, the soil favours the development of higher species to the extent that it belongs to more recent formations, sounds exceedingly plausible and may or may not be correct; however, when I see the ridiculous evidence with which Trémaux seeks to substantiate it, of which $\frac{9}{10}$ is based on erroneous or distorted facts and the remaining $\frac{1}{10}$ proves nothing, I cannot but extend the profound suspicions I have of the author of the hypothesis to the hypothesis itself. But when he then goes on to declare that the effect of the soil's greater or lesser age, modified by crossing, is the *sole* cause of change in organic species or races, I see absolutely no reason to go along with the man thus far, on the contrary, I see numerous objections to so doing.

You say that Cuvier also criticised the German natural philosophers for their ignorance of geology when they proclaimed the mutability of species, and yet they were proved right.^b At that time, however, the question had nothing to do with geology; but if someone puts forward a theory of the mutability of species based on *geology alone* and makes such geological howlers in it,

^a As regards - ^b See previous letter (p. 322).

falsifies the geology of whole countries (e.g., Italy and even France) and takes the rest of his examples from countries of whose geology we are as good as totally ignorant (Africa, Central Asia, etc.), then that is altogether a different matter. With regard to the ethnological examples in particular, the ones that concern countries and peoples which are generally known are almost without exception erroneous, either in their geological premisses or in the conclusions drawn from them—and he completely ignores the many contrary examples, e.g., the alluvial plains in Central Siberia, the enormous alluvial basin of the River Amazon, all the alluvial land southward from La Plata almost to the southern tip of America (east of the Cordilleras).

That the geological structure of the soil is closely related to the 'soil' in which everything grows is an old idea, likewise that this soil which is able to support vegetation influences the flora and fauna that subsist on it. It is also true that this influence has as yet been scarcely examined at all. But it is a colossal leap from there to Trémaux's theory. At all events, he deserves credit for having emphasised this previously neglected aspect, and, as I said, the hypothesis that the soil *encourages* evolution in proportion to its greater or lesser geological age, may be correct *within certain limits* (or again it may not), but all the further conclusions he draws I consider to be either totally mistaken or incredibly one-sided and exaggerated.

I was very interested by Moilin's book,^a particularly for the results the French have obtained by vivisection; it is the only way to ascertain the functions of certain nerves and the effects of interfering with them; these fellows appear to have taken the art of animal-torture to a very high level of perfection; and I can very well understand the hypocritical fury of the English against vivisection; these experiments no doubt came as a most unpleasant surprise to many of the comatose gentlemen here and overturned many of their speculations. Whether there is anything new in the theory of inflammations, I am in no position to judge (I intend giving the book to Gumpert); this whole new French school does, however, appear to have a certain free-and-easy character, making big claims and being rather less scrupulous with evidence. As regards medicines, it contains nothing that any competent German doctor does not also know and accept; Moilin just forgets that 1. one is often obliged to choose the lesser evil, medicine, in order to get rid of the greater, namely, a symptom which in itself

^a J. A. Moilin (le docteur Tony), *Leçons de médecine physiologique*.

represents a direct danger, in exactly the same way that by surgery one destroys tissues where there is no alternative, and 2. that one does have to stick to the medicines for as long as one has nothing better. As soon as Moilin can cure syphilis with his electricity, mercury will soon vanish, but scarcely until then. Incidentally, no one can go on telling me that only the Germans can 'construct' systems, THE FRENCH BEAT THEM HOLLOW AT THAT.

Kindest 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 for the first
time

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, 9 October^a 1866
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Friend,

I hope I must not conclude from your lengthy silence that my last letter^b has in any way offended you. The case should be quite the reverse. Any person, who is in desperate straits, sometimes feels the need to ventilate his feelings. But he only does so to people in whom he has a special and exceptional confidence. I do assure you that my domestic troubles disquiet me far more for being an obstacle to the completion of my work^c than for any personal or family reasons. I could dispose of the whole problem tomorrow if I were prepared to take up a practical trade tomorrow, instead of working for the cause. And I equally hope that you are not embarrassed by the fact that *you* can do nothing to alleviate my plight. That would indeed be the most unreasonable of reasons.

^a The original has: November. - ^b See this volume, pp. 311-12. - ^c *Capital*

And now to some more general matters.

I was profoundly apprehensive about the first congress in Geneva.³⁷⁵ By and large, however, it went off better than I expected. We had not in the least anticipated the effect it would have in France, England and America. I was unable to attend, nor did I wish to, but I did write the programme for the London delegates.^a I deliberately confined it to points which allow direct agreement and combination of efforts by the workers and give direct sustenance and impetus to the requirements of the class struggle and the organisation of the workers into a class. The Parisian gentlemen had their heads stuffed full of the most vacuous Proudhonist clichés. They prattle incessantly about science and know nothing. They spurn all *revolutionary* action, i.e. arising from the class struggle itself, every concentrated social movement, and therefore also that which can be achieved by *political means* (e.g., such as limitation of the working day *by law*). Beneath the *cloak of freedom* and anti-governmentalism or anti-authoritarian individualism these gentlemen, who for 16 years now have so quietly endured the most wretched despotism, and are still enduring it, are in actuality preaching vulgar bourgeois economics, only in the guise of Proudhonist idealism! Proudhon has done enormous harm. His pseudo-critique and his pseudo-confrontation with the Utopians (he himself is no more than a philistine Utopian, whereas the Utopias of such as Fourier, Owen, etc., contain the presentiment and visionary expression of a new world) seized hold of and corrupted first the '*jeunesse brillante*',^b the students, then the workers, especially those in Paris, who as workers in luxury trades are, without realising it, themselves deeply implicated in the garbage of the past. Ignorantly vain, arrogant, compulsively talkative, rhetorically inflated, they were on the verge of spoiling everything, as they flocked to the congress in numbers quite out of proportion to the number of their members. In my REPORT I shall give them a discreet rap over the knuckles.

I was exceedingly pleased at the American workers' congress, which took place at the same time in Baltimore. The watchword there was organisation for the struggle against capital, and, remarkably enough, most of the demands I had put up for Geneva were put up there, too, by the correct instinct of the workers.³⁸³

^a K. Marx, 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions'. - ^b brilliant youth

The reform movement here, which was called into being by our Central Council (*quorum magna pars fui*^a), has now assumed enormous and irresistible dimensions.¹⁵⁵ I have always kept behind the scenes and have not further concerned myself with the matter since it has been under way.

Your
K. Marx

Apropos. The *Workman*^b is a philistine paper, and has nothing to do with us. *The Commonwealth* belongs to our people, but has for the moment transformed itself purely into a mouthpiece for Reform (partly for economic and partly for political reasons).

I have recently read Dr *T. Moilin*: '*Leçons de Médecine Physiologique*', which came out in Paris in 1865. A lot of fanciful ideas in it and too much 'construing'. But a lot of criticism of traditional therapeutics, too. I would be glad if you would read the book and let me have your opinion in detail. I would also recommend to you *Trémaux*: '*De l'origine de tous les êtres*, etc.' Although written in a slovenly way, full of geological howlers and seriously deficient in literary-historical criticism, it represents—WITH ALL THAT AND ALL THAT—an advance over Darwin.^c

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2,
Nr. 2, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, Saturday, 13 October 1866

Dear Friend,

Since I wish to reply to you at once and your letter has arrived just before the Post closes (and no post goes from here tomorrow, Sunday), I shall summarise the quintessence of my INTERCEPTED LETTER³⁸⁴ in a few words. (This confiscation of letters is certainly

^a in which I played an important part (Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 6) - ^b *The Working Man* - ^c See this volume, pp. 304-05.

not at all pleasant, as I have not the slightest desire to make Mr Bismarck a confidant to my *private affairs*. If, on the other hand, he wishes to know my views on *his* policies, he can approach me direct, and I am sure I shall not mince my words.)

My economic situation has deteriorated so much following my prolonged illness and the many expenses it entailed that I am faced with a financial crisis in the *immediate* future, something which, quite apart from its direct effects on myself and family, would also be ruinous for me politically, especially here in London, where one must keep up *appearances*. What I wanted to find out from you was this: do you know anyone, or a few people (under *no circumstances* must the affair become *public*), who could advance me about 1,000 talers at an interest rate of 5 or 6% for at least 2 years? I am now paying 20-50% interest for the small sums I am borrowing, but for all that I can no longer keep the creditors at bay, with the result that the old firm is about to come crashing down about my ears.

Since my penultimate letter to you^a I have suffered another series of relapses and have consequently only been able to pursue my theoretical work very intermittently. (The practical work for the International Association goes on as ever, and there is a lot of it, as I am in fact having to run the whole Association myself.) I shall be sending the first sheets^b to Meissner next month, and will continue to do so until I go to Hamburg with the remainder myself. At all events, I shall take that opportunity to call on you.

My circumstances (endless interruptions, both physical and social) oblige me to publish *Volume One* first, not both volumes together, as I had originally intended. And there will now probably be 3 volumes.

The whole work is thus divided into the following parts:

Book I. The Process of Production of Capital.

Book II. The Process of Circulation of Capital.

Book III. Structure of the Process as a Whole.

Book IV. On the History of the Theory.

The first volume will include the first 2 books.

The 3rd book will, I believe, fill the second volume, the 4th the 3rd.²²⁷

It was, in my opinion, necessary to begin again *ab ovo*^c in the first book, i. e., to summarise the book of mine published by Duncker^d in *one* chapter on commodities and money.³⁸⁵ I judged

^a See this volume, pp. 311-12. - ^b of the first volume of *Capital* - ^c from the beginning - ^d K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

this to be necessary, not merely for the sake of completeness, but because even intelligent people did not properly understand the question, in other words, there must have been defects in the first presentation, especially in the *analysis of commodities*. Lassalle, e. g., in his *Kapital und Arbeit*,^a in which he claims to give the 'Intellectual quintessence' of my argument, makes serious blunders, which is incidentally something to which he is always prone with his very carefree manner of appropriating my works. It is comical how he even copies my literary-historical 'errors', because, you see, I sometimes quote from memory, without checking things. I have not yet finally made up my mind whether to pass a few remarks in the foreword about Lassalle's plagiarising. The impudence of his disciples towards me would at all events justify it.¹⁰⁵

The LONDON COUNCIL OF THE ENGLISH TRADE-UNIONS (its secretary is our President, Odger) is deliberating at the present moment as to whether it should declare itself to be the BRITISH SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION. If it does so, the control of the working class here will IN A CERTAIN SENSE pass into our hands, and we shall be able to give the movement a good 'PUSH ON'.¹⁸

Salut.

Your
K. Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 2, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

Dear Friend,

[London,] 25 October 1866

These few lines *immediately*,

1. to *thank* you for your efforts;
2. to acknowledge receipt of your last letter and of the preceding ones;

^a F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*, Ch. 3.

3. you misunderstand how things stand between myself and *Engels*. He is my closest friend. I keep no *secrets* from him. If it had not been for him, I would long ago have been obliged to start a 'trade'. In *no* circumstances, therefore, would I wish any third person to intercede with him on my account. There are also, of course, certain limits to what he *can* do.³⁸⁶

4. Dr Jacobi,^a so I am informed by workers, has become quite a good citizen and should not therefore be importuned in any way with my private affairs.

I shall have to see what I can do, but I do see that you have tried everything that was within your power, and therefore entreat you to consider *this* matter as settled.

I am *not* writing for *The Commonwealth*.

Your
K. M.

Miquel *et* Co. will have a long time to wait before they become Prussian ministers.^b

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2,
Nr. 3, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO ENGELS⁶

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 November 1866

Dear Engels,

It will not have escaped you that I have not written. I thought you had been informed of the receipt of the £5, as Laura had taken charge of the matter, but, as emerged later, she forgot to do so. I have, furthermore, been in such desperate straits that I was prevented from writing. You know that the £10 which you sent me before your departure³⁷⁷ were only for payment of taxes and the subsequent £50 for rent. I have thus been completely broke for months. The so-called legacy^c proved to be divided between at

^a Abraham Jacobi - ^b See also Marx's letter to Engels of 7 May 1867 (this volume, p. 373). - ^c See this volume, p. 194.

least 20 people, so that the share that fell to me at the beginning of the summer was—80 talers! My attempts to drum up money in Germany or Holland have all come to nothing. The only thing that still makes us think of the pawnshop (and my wife has pawned so many possessions that she herself can scarcely go out) is the interest it asks for. I thus had to go round London begging small loans left and right, as in our worst refugee days—and that from a limited number of people who are themselves impecunious—to make even the most essential cash purchases. On the other hand, I am being threatened by tradesmen, some of whom have withdrawn their credit and threatened to take me to court. This state of affairs was all the more critical in that Lafargue (until his departure for Bordeaux a few days ago) was constantly in the house and the REAL STATE OF THINGS had to be anxiously concealed from him. Not merely has my work^a been frequently interrupted by all this, but by trying to make up at night for the time lost during the day, I have acquired a fine carbuncle near my PENIS. I know you have done everything in your power, and more. But recourse of some kind must be found. Would it not be possible to take up a LOAN or some such transaction?

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

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 November 1866

Dear Engels,

My best thanks for coming to my aid so quickly and ditto for the port wine. I know your own circumstances exactly, and that makes it doubly painful for me thus to put PRESSURE on you. You know, we

^a on *Capital*

really must put an end to this business once and for all, but that will not be possible until I can go to the Continent and act there in person.

Next week the first BATCH of the manuscript^a will go off to Meissner at last. This summer and autumn it was really not the theory which caused the delay, but my physical and civil condition. It is just 3 years ago now that the first carbuncle was lanced. Since then I have had only short periods of respite from it, and as Gumpert will confirm, of *all* types of work, theory is the most unsuitable if one has this devil's brew in one's blood.

As regards the present fellow, it will be cured in the space of ABOUT 14 days. I now know exactly how it has to be treated and I have therefore started taking the arsenic again.

In great haste.

Your
K. Marx

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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ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 November 1866
86 Mornington St.

Dear Moor,

Many thanks for *The Free Press*. Can you send me the *August* and *September* issues? I have not received them.

Encl. the 2nd halves of the £30. I would have liked to send you more, but I really cannot. I'll see what I can do next month, and on 31 December we shall be doing our accounts again; if they turn out well, no doubt we shall be able to manage a bit more.

The news that the manuscript^a has gone off is a load off my mind. So, a *commencement d'exécution*^b at last, as the *Code pénal* has

^a of the first volume of *Capital* - ^b commencement of proceedings

it.³⁸⁷ To that end I shall drink a special glass to your particular health. The book has greatly contributed to wrecking your health; once you have got it off your back, you'll be quite a different fellow again.

I hope that Birch despatched the port yesterday, but I am none too sure of it; at all events, however, it is sure to arrive by Monday evening or Tuesday morning.

Prussians will be Prussians. As a reward for voting for the indemnity, Twesten and Frenzel are arraigned for speeches made in the Chamber.³⁸⁸ Such stupidity is quite incomprehensible, but it is a point of principle. The burghers^a of Frankfurt are still furious, they are now playing the part of Poles, going about in mourning and wearing cravats with the city colours of Frankfurt.³⁶² A Prussian lieutenant entered a Sachsenhausen tavern and found all the seats taken. Someone got up in one corner and left, at which his neighbour drew the lieutenant's attention to the empty chair, but he said thank you very much, he did not like to sit on a warm chair. Oh, said the other, you have no need to worry about that, our bums are all freezing since the Prussians have been here.

I have heard the most marvellous stories here from eyewitnesses about the Imperial warfare.^b Such things are unprecedented. E.g., the Nassauers were ordered to bridge the Main at Höchst. Having failed once on account of a *storm* (a storm on the Main!), they found upon their 2nd attempt that they had *too few pontoons* and could only bridge the Main *half-way*. They therefore wrote to Darmstadt, asking for the loan of a few pontoons, which did eventually arrive then, and thus the bridge over the horrendous stream was completed. Then the Nassauers immediately received orders to march south. They left the bridge standing, without a guard, merely leaving it to the care of an old boatman to see that it did not drift away down the Main. A few days later, the Prussians arrived, took possession of the completed bridge, fortified it and marched across!

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

^a Engels uses the South-German dialect here: 'Borjer'. - ^b Engels refers to the Austrian Empire and its allies in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.

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MARX TO FRANÇOIS LAFARGUE³⁸⁹

IN BORDEAUX

London, 12 November 1866

My dear Mr Lafargue,

I hope our friend *il amoroso*^a has apologised to you on my behalf for my inexcusable silence. On the one hand, I have been plagued by constantly recurring illness, on the other, I have been so taken up by a very lengthy work^b that I have neglected my correspondence with my closest friends. If I did not count you among that category, I should never have dared so to offend against propriety.

My sincere thanks for the wine. Being myself from a wine-growing region, and former owner of a vineyard,³⁹⁰ I know a good wine when I come across one. I even incline somewhat to old Luther's view that a man who does not love wine will never be good for anything. (There are exceptions to every rule.) But one cannot, for example, deny that the political movement in England has been spurred on by the commercial treaty with France and the import of French wines.³⁹¹ That is one of the good things that Louis Bonaparte was capable of doing, whereas poor Louis Philippe was so intimidated by the manufacturers in the North that he did not dare enter into commercial treaties with England. It is only to be regretted that regimes such as the Napoleonic one, which are founded on the weariness and impotence of the two antagonistic classes of society, buy some material progress at the expense of general demoralisation. Fortunately, the mass of working men cannot be demoralised. Manual labour is the great antidote for all the ills of society.

You will have been just as delighted by the defeat of President Johnson in the latest elections as I was.³⁹² The workers in the North have at last fully understood that white labour will never be emancipated so long as black labour is still stigmatised.

On Saturday evening Citizen Dupont brought me a letter addressed to Paul^c by the secretary of the College of Surgeons. He required some papers which were neither in the possession of my daughter^d (except for his *baccalauréat* diploma) nor of the person

^a the lovelorn gentleman (Paul Lafargue) - ^b *Capital* - ^c Paul Lafargue - ^d Laura Marx

who has charge of your son's effects. You will therefore have to send us these documents *at once*.

Please be so good as to tell your son that he will greatly oblige me by desisting from propaganda in Paris. This is a *dangerous* time. The best thing he can do in Paris is to use his time to profit by his association with Dr Moilin. It will do him no harm to spare his polemical strength. The more he holds himself in check, the better he will be as a fighter when the right moment comes.

My daughter asks me to request you to be so kind as to send with Paul some photograms of Madame Lafargue and of yourself.

All my family joins me in greetings to the Lafargue family.

Yours ever

Karl Marx

First published in the language of the original, French, in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

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MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN LONDON

[London,] 7 December 1866

My dear Lafargue,

I am so taken up by a piece of work^a which must be completed by Monday that I am unable to reply to you at once. Meanwhile, if I have offended you by my brusque monologue, I beg your pardon. One should not lose one's temper even when one is in the right.

Greetings.

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1963

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a on the first volume of *Capital*

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 December 1866

Dear FRED,

Meissner has not begun printing yet,^a as he wanted to finish off some other things first. I am expecting a letter from him next Monday. All in all, I found the delay by no means disagreeable, as I have only been rid of that vile carbuncle for a few days, and, moreover, my creditors are badgering me in a truly edifying manner. I only regret that private persons CAN NOT FILE THEIR BILLS FOR THE BANKRUPTCY COURT with the same propriety as men of business.

A while ago, *Kladderadatsch* printed a swipe at the *Brimstone Gang* in large type, in a bad lampoon on Collins' *The Woman in White*. The author of this garbage is that miserable Bettziech, and I should not be surprised if the order had emanated from Kinkel or Hatzfeldt. Nor have I any doubt that the old bag was the cause of Liebknecht's arrest.³⁹³

The Prussian swine are acting precisely as we should wish them to. There will be no progress until heads roll.

*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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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 December 1866

Dear Moor,

You just would not believe how overrun I am at present by all manner of folk. Young men recommended by customers, seeking

^a the first volume of *Capital*

positions here; agents, or such as would like to be so; then this week my most likeable nephew Blank^a as well, who has established himself in London—and so it goes on continuously, and you will realise how difficult it is thereby to find the time to write. Then, from time to time, I also get someone arriving on the doorstep like the writer of the enclosed letter³⁹⁴ and putting a pistol to my breast. When I read the letter, I knew at once who had sent this sterling fellow to plague me—it was good old Dr Rode, as the said sterling fellow indeed confirmed when he came up to my office. This shameless Rode is taking some weird liberties in my regard. First, he makes the silliest kind of trouble between myself and Klings after the latter called here,^b and then he even goes so far as to send people like that to plague me, referring them to me as cashier for the whole émigré community. If the fellow attempts anything else of that kind with me, he may be sure of a warm response. Why cannot he leave me be, I do not know him at all?

The Prussian swine are certainly behaving quite splendidly. I would indeed not have imagined them to be quite so stupid, but it is really impossible to imagine them stupid enough. That is all to the good. Things are on the move again now, and the revolution will come all the sooner for it, and this time heads are bound to roll, as you yourself say.

They are locking up the office, and I must close, too. Enclosed two five-pound-notes:

I/S 38969 and I/S 62239, Manchester, 26 January 1866.

That is as much as I can risk sending until I know how I stand, and I cannot check on it until the books are made up.

Kindest regards to your wife and children.

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

^a Emil Blank - ^b See this volume, p. 152.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 December 1866

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR THE £10.

As far as Rode is concerned, he is obsessed with political connections and his own self-importance. As you are finding this obsession a nuisance—and JUSTLY so—you should write to him at the first opportunity saying that you have not the honour of his acquaintance and requesting him to desist from SUCH LIBERTIES.

The *Revue des deux Mondes* and the *Revue Contemporaine* had two detailed articles on the 'INTERNATIONAL', which treat it and its congress as one of the most significant events of the century.^a The like also in *The Fortnightly Review*, in consequence.^b Meanwhile, we are in practice paralysed BY WANT OF FUNDS and EVEN OF MEN, with all the English being totally absorbed by the REFORM MOVEMENT. The French government is (*heureusement*^c) beginning to treat us as enemies.³⁹⁵ One of our more dubious ACQUISITIONS was the joining (AT New York) of HEAD CENTRE³⁹⁶ Stephens.

Was not the Pope's^d address to the French OFFICERS capital? Only an Italian priest could thus, before the whole of Europe, deliver Bonaparte a kick in the form of a BLESSING.³⁹⁷

It is highly characteristic of the *status rerum*^e that neither Bonaparte nor William the Conqueror^f are quite right in the top DEPARTMENT. The latter believes that God Almighty has entrusted him with a special mission, and the former has been TURNED SO TOPSY-TURVY by Mexico²⁷⁰ and Bismarck that he sometimes appears positively demented.

And do you not think that there will be peace for another year yet at least (apart from ACCIDENTS, of course, such as the death of Bonaparte, etc.)? The fellows all need time for the CONVERSION and PRODUCTION OF ARMS, do they not?

Not a word from Mr *Meissner* yet. I presume that now, at the

^a L. Reybaud, 'L'économie politique des ouvriers', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 66, 1 November 1866; J. E. Alaux, 'Une forme nouvelle du socialisme. Le Congrès ouvrier de Genève', *Revue contemporaine*, Vol. 53, 15 October 1866. - ^b Marx refers to an editorial published in *The Fortnightly Review*, No. 37, December 1866. - ^c fortunately - ^d Pius IX - ^e state of affairs - ^f An ironic reference to William I of Prussia

year's end, he finds the pressure of business very great. The contract does give me surety in the event of any evasive manoeuvres. In the second, emended and *definitive* version, the contract contains NO STIPULATION WHATEVER AS TO THE TERM FOR WHICH THE MANUSCRIPT ^a IS TO BE READY. But if there is no answer by tomorrow, I shall write again.

As you enjoy credit with *quelconque*^b bookseller and I CAN NOT SPEND A FARTHING on books at the moment, you would be doing me a great favour if you could *get as quickly as possible* for me: 'J. E. Th. Rogers: *A History of Agriculture*'. I must have a look at the book and have left a gap in one chapter for the purpose.³⁹⁸ Although it has already been out for a long time, it is not yet in the library. Nor at Mudie's, so I am assured by Eccarius, for whom *The Commonwealth* took out a subscription there.

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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ENGELS TO MARX³⁹⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 December 1866

Dear Moor,

I also think that the leaders in Western Europe will do their utmost to preserve the peace next year and until everyone is equipped with breech-loaders. However, whether the Russians will not consider this very time opportune for cutting Austria down to size with Bismarck's help, for annexing Galicia and dividing Turkey up into a multitude of small Slav states, is another question. Moreover, it could happen that in France, too, war will become a necessity—for the sake of this military reorganisation, because without a war good old Boustrapa⁷⁶ will

^a of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, pp. 174-75) - ^b some

not be able to get it accepted. The last war^a has placed the fellow in a curious dilemma: either he lets everything stand as it is, in which case he will no longer be a MATCH for Prussia, or else he carries the matter out, which will be disastrous for him, first because of his tremendous unpopularity, and second because he is completely *debonapartising* the army. From the moment that some kind of military service for all is introduced in France, the praetorian system⁴⁰⁰ will cease of its own accord and the 25-30% of RE-ENLISTED FELLOWS, who now serve in the French army, will disappear for the most part. However, as there will still be substitution,⁴⁰¹ this time Mr Bonaparte will find himself in the comical predicament of needing the support of the *bourgeoisie* to oppose the *peasantry*. But the course of history really is quite impudently ruthless in dealing with this noble fellow, and he must be forgiven if he loses faith in the ways of God and the World. I hope he, like me, reads his Horace for recreation: *justum ac tenacem propositi virum*,^b etc. Old Horace reminds me in places of Heine, who learnt a great deal from him and was *au fond*^c *politice*^d no less common a cur. Remember how the sterling fellow challenged the *vultus instantis tyranni*^e and licked Augustus' boots. And the old goat is quite charming in other respects, too.

I will get the book^f for you next week if I can.

It is very pleasing about the articles in the *Revue des deux Mondes* and *Fortnightly*, although I have not yet been able to read them.^g *Revue contemporaine*^h does not exist here.

Wehner, who was recently in Germany, tells the following anecdote, which was told by Bennigsen (of the National Association¹⁵²) himself: when Bennigsen had his meeting with Bismarck before the war, the latter expounded his whole National-Associationist German policy to him, whereupon Bennigsen enquired how it was that Bismarck was choosing the difficult path of war in order to carry it out, instead of simply 'relying on the support of the people', as the liberal cry has it. Bismarck stared at him for a few moments and then said: Could you jump a ditch with a rheumatic nag? He also brought back the news that the unhappy Crown Prince,ⁱ who used to put on such liberal airs, has

^a the Austro-Prussian war - ^b a just man, firm of purpose (Horace, *Odes*, III, iii, 1) - ^c basically - ^d in respect of politics - ^e the tyrant's threatening countenance (Horace, *Odes*, III, iii, 3) - ^f J. E. Th. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture* (see previous letter) - ^g L. Reybaud, 'L'économie politique des ouvriers', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 66, 1 November 1866; the leading article in *The Fortnightly Review*, No. 37, December 1866. - ^h See this volume, p. 338. - ⁱ Frederick William

become even more crazed than the old man^a since the war, which is one good thing at least.

I enclose another two five-pound-notes, so that you shall not be quite without money over the holidays:

M/W 34768, London, 12 October 1866,

I/S 49080, Manchester, 26 January 1866, in the not entirely unfounded expectation that the accounts will indemnify me for it at the end of the year.

Many regards to the LADIES.

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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 31 December 1866

DEAR FRED,

Happy New Year! Ditto for Madame Lizzy^b! May the devil take Russians, Prussians, Bonaparte and the BRITISH JURYMAN in the coming year!

Apropos. The French government had confiscated papers and documents intended for us which were being brought across the frontier by French MEMBERS after the Geneva Congress, and attached them for the police archives. We claimed the things back through Lord Stanley, FOREIGN MINISTER, as 'BRITISH PROPERTY'. And in fact POOR Bonaparte had to surrender everything to us via the FOREIGN OFFICE.⁴⁰² Is that not priceless! He has been outwitted but himself does not know how.

I received some very sad news today—my uncle^c has died, he was an excellent man. However, he made a good death, quick,

^a William I - ^b Lizzy Burns - ^c Lion Philips

surrounded by all his children, fully conscious and dispensing subtle Voltairean irony over the priest.

The whole family sends you New Year greetings.

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

1867

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁶

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 19 January 1867

Dear Engels,

After a long silence, for which he pleaded overwork, Meissner has written that my plan 'is unacceptable to him'.

1. He wants to have the 2 volumes^a ready at the same time²³³;
2. not to print piecemeal, as he wants to have one proof-sheet done per day and only to leave the final correction (revision) to me.

I replied *ad 2* that it is a matter of indifference to me, as he can shortly have the whole manuscript of Volume I. If he commences printing later but prints by so much faster, it will be all the same in the end. However, in the case of a book with so much annotation in various languages, he should reflect whether the manner of correcting he is wanting is feasible without the text being gravely marred by printing errors. *Ad 1*, it is an impossibility without the whole job being greatly delayed, nor is anything of the kind agreed in our contract. I explicated the various reasons to him, but have as yet had no reply.¹¹¹

Aside from the delay, a yet greater obstacle to my committing myself to the 2nd volume is the fact that, when the first one has appeared, I shall have to make a pause for my health's sake; and I shall in any case have to travel to the Continent to ascertain whether I can in any way sort out my financial circumstances. These are becoming worse day by day, and there is a danger of everything coming crashing about our heads. The baker alone is owed £20, and there is the very devil with butcher, GROCER, TAXES, etc. To crown it all, I recently received a letter from a Mr Burton in Torquay, informing me he has bought the house from Sawyer, and he is dunning me 1. for the outstanding rent for the last

^a of *Capital*

QUARTER, 2. as my lease expires in March, requesting me to state if I wish to take the house subsequently, either for a longer LEASE or annually. I did not reply immediately. Whereupon I received a second letter yesterday, saying I must explain myself, as otherwise his 'AGENT' would have to take steps to find another tenant. SO IN A FIX.

As for my physical condition, it has been better for some weeks, a few small carbuncles on my left loin, but not significant. Only dreadful insomnia, which makes me very RESTLESS, although the chief cause is probably mental.

THANKS for the Rogers.^a A lot of material in it. Regarding the STRIKE question, or at least the Manchester WEAVERS' DISPUTE, I should be obliged to you if you would write me an exact account of the STATE OF AFFAIRS, as I can still include it.^b

Politics frozen up, too cold even for the Russian bear. I am tickled by the Prussians' black, white and red flag!⁴⁰³

Best wishes to MRS Lizzy.^c

What does Gumpert have to say about Moilin^d?

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 MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 January 1867

Dear Moor,

I have been so overrun by philistines this morning that I did not manage to despatch the second half of the note by first post, but am doing so herewith.

I expect Meissner will accept your opinion. At all events it is obvious that after the first volume^e you must have a 6 week rest,

^a See this volume, pp. 339 and 340. - ^b in the first volume of *Capital* - ^c Lizzy Burns - ^d J. A. Moilin (le docteur Tony), *Leçons de médecine physiologique* (see this volume, pp. 324-25). - ^e of *Capital* (see this volume, p. 343).

and also see how you can put money in your purse on the Continent. I think it will be all right if you take him the rest of the manuscript yourself.

The position regarding WORKINGMEN AND MANUFACTURERS is as follows: India, China, Levant, etc., grossly oversupplied, in consequence of which CALICOS have been almost unsaleable for the last 6 months. In some districts feeble attempts by the MANUFACTURERS to organise SHORT TIME ensued. Being only sporadic, all of these collapsed. Meanwhile, the manufacturers go and send *consignments* of their goods, unsaleable here, to India and China, etc., thereby aggravating the GLUT. They then discover that this does not agree with them either, and they finally propose the HANDS should take a 5% REDUCTION OF WAGES. Whereupon counterproposal from the HANDS to work just 4 days a week. *Refus*^a of the MASTERS—AGITATION. In the last fortnight, finally, a situation has gradually been reached, and most recently become general, where SHORT TIME at 4 days a week has been introduced everywhere in the weaving mills and in the spinning mills that spin for them, in some cases *with* and in some cases *without* the 5% reduction in wages. The workers therefore were right in theory and were proved right in practice, too.⁴⁰⁴

The scoundrel Bismarck has splendidly gulled the scoundrel Bonaparte over the Peace of Prague, exactly as Bonaparte gulled the Austrians at Villafranca about the expelled Italian princes *qui rentreront dans leurs états*^b—but without recourse to foreign troops.³⁶⁵ Bismarck is thus saying: the South German states *auront une existence internationale indépendante*,^c but only for so long as they *themselves wish*; from the moment that they *wish* to join with us, they shall be entirely free to do so, otherwise after all they *would be not indépendants!*⁴⁰⁵ POOR Bonaparte has never been a member of a student fraternity at a German university, nor has he ever practised the art of interpretation at one of their beer-conventions, and is consequently no match for the Hon. Bismarck. In Hanover they are most frightfully vexed at the Prussians,³⁵⁵ and not just the city itself but even more so amongst the peasantry—they are flocking to the queen^d and putting all their assets at her disposal.

There is much ludicrous sentimentality therein, mixed with hatred for the military and the police; the very same people, e. g., are themselves saying that the administration is much improved, etc., but the Prussians' talent for inspiring hatred for themselves

^a Rejection - ^b who *will return* to their states - ^c will have an *independent* international existence - ^d Marie of Hanover

has once again proved itself here, too. I have this from 2 people who were there a short while ago and are themselves annexationists and Hanoverians.

If I can manage it, I'll come down and see you for a few days at the end of this week or next, i. e., from Friday to Sunday evening. Providing it does not freeze again.

Kindest 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
Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

[London,] 18 February 1867

Dear Kugelmann,

Will you see to it that the following reply^a is placed in the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*, and, if they refuse it, in another Hanoverian paper? It is a matter of some importance to me as I really am intending to travel to Germany in a few weeks' time. The whole notice reeks of Stieber.⁴⁰⁶

In the next few days I shall send you the official report of the congress in Geneva, which is now appearing *in instalments* in English and French in a paper here.⁴⁰⁷ *The Commonwealth* is entirely given over to the REFORM MOVEMENT. Its editorship is in very bad hands. For the present we have reasons for letting it go as it is, although as shareholders we are entitled to intervene.

Our Association has recently had all manner of bother with Mr Bonaparte.⁴⁰² More next time. Kindly inform me what Liebknecht is doing and where he is hiding.

Yours
K. M.

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 3, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

Printed according to the original

^a K. Marx, 'A Correction'.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 February 1867

Dear Engels,

I have been putting off writing from one day to the next, but I am hard pressed now. A GROCER is sending the bailiffs in on Saturday (the day after tomorrow) if I do not pay him at least £5.

I have had some additional expenses, firstly £2 for champagne (a small bottle), it having been prescribed for Laura's health, and secondly ditto for gymnastics lessons I had to send her to again on doctor's advice, with payment in advance.

The work^a will soon be complete, and would have been so today if I had been subject to less harassment of late.

You will detect Stieber's hand in the enclosed cutting sent me by Dr Kugelmann (and which comes most amiss in view of my intended journey).⁴⁰⁶

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 ENGELS³⁹⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 25 February 1867

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £20.

Letter from Dr Kugelmann enclosed.⁴⁰⁶

At this moment, I can only write you these few lines as the LANDLORD'S AGENT is here and I have to act the part of Mercadet in

^a the first volume of *Capital*

Balzac's comedy^a for his benefit. Apropos Balzac, I advise you to read *Le Chef-d'Œuvre Inconnu* and *Melmoth réconcilié*. They are two little *chefs d'œuvres*, full of the most delightful irony.

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 MARX²⁶

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 March 1867

Dear Moor,

The reason I have not written to you is in part that all manner of things have prevented me, but in part also it was deliberate, as I wanted to let the date pass when 'the book'^b was due to be completed, and now I hope that it is ready. So, when will you be going to see Mr Meissner? When you do, I will give you an authorisation to collect the fee for my last pamphlet.^c

Apropos the latter, by now the Lassallean gentlemen will have had time enough to convince themselves how right I was about the effect of universal suffrage and the power it would give the aristocracy in the countryside.^d The Lassallean gentlemen *failed* to get 2 *men* through; the two Saxon workers' candidates^e who did get through are very dubious and appear to be rather of Wuttke's ilk. As a whole, incidentally, the elections did show that in Germany they are not remotely susceptible to the kinds of pressure that can be applied to them in France, and that is already to the good.⁴⁰⁸ I am also convinced that the more bureaucratic meddling there is, the worse each fresh election in Germany will

^a *Le faiseur* - ^b the first volume of *Capital* - ^c F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* - ^d See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 74-75. - ^e A. Bebel and R. Schrapf

turn out for the government, and that 15 years of government-controlled elections such as we have had in France are impossible in our country.

But what a fine lot we have in the noble House,⁴⁰⁹ to be sure! They may pull a wry face but they won't offer much protest as they are bartering away the few lousy safeguards still contained in the Prussian constitution for the indirect annexation of the 6 million people in the little states, who have *de facto* already been annexed and mediatised without any constitution at all.³⁷⁶ *Au fond*,^a it is quite immaterial what nonsense the fellows contrive; with the philistines in their present mood of Bismarckolatry, they represent bourgeois public opinion and will only do what the latter wants. The worthy burgher seems determined to avoid any further 'conflict'. The movement—both at home, where it is now bestirring itself once more, and in Europe—will soon enough leave all this ordure behind and turn to the real issues of the day.

Scoundrel Schweitzer offered himself for election here, there and everywhere, but got nowhere. I have been sent 2 pamphlets about him from Barmen, of which one enclosed and the other, shorter one, to follow; I do not have it with me. The enclosed obviously bears the mark of the Hatzfeldt lot.

Stieber is again creating in the *Volks-Zeitung* over Eichhoff's pieces in the *Hermann*, Koller is also mentioned. See *Hermann*.⁴¹⁰

The moderate result of universal suffrage in Germany has, in any case, contributed to the sudden popularity of HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE in official circles here. It would be splendid if HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE got through as a result, there would soon be a good many changes here and the movement would get going.

TRADE HERE is still stagnant to an exceeding degree. India and China have been swamped by the consignments from the manufacturers, 20,000 people are on STRIKE in Stockport, SHORT TIME is spreading and, if this does not change soon, in May we shall have a superb crisis of overproduction. That can only benefit the *radical* reform movement.

The Diplomatic Review is excellent this time.^b Provided old D. Urquhart gets hold of FACTS, he is ALL RIGHT; but Beust's curious manoeuvres had already aroused my suspicions. Notwithstanding the fact that the Saxons (*vide*^c Mr von Seebach in the Crimean War⁴¹¹) have always been in cahoots with the Russians, notwithstanding the fact that Beust sent that ostentatiously rude despatch

^a At bottom - ^b D. Urquhart, 'Fall of Austria, and Its Consequences to the World', *The Diplomatic Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 6 March 1867. - ^c see

to the Russians during the Danish war,⁹ I do, nevertheless, find it difficult to decide whether the Russians have *actually bought* the fellow or whether they have got him gratis and without being aware of it. It almost seems to me that the boundless vanity of that little Saxon shit suffices to explain the whole affair—the Russians naturally KNOW HOW TO IMPROVE THE OCCASION.

As an exercise in vulgar democracy, I have recently...^a

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 ENGELS³³

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 April^b 1867

Dear Engels,

I had resolved not to write to you until I could announce completion of the book,^c which is now the case. Nor did I wish to bore you by explaining the further delay, viz., carbuncles on my posterior and near the PENIS, the final traces of which are now fading but which made it extremely painful for me to adopt a sitting (hence writing) posture. I am *not* taking *arsenic* because it dulls my mind too much and I needed to keep my wits about me at least at those times when writing was possible.

Next week I shall have to take the manuscript to Hamburg myself.⁴¹² I did not like the tone of Mr Meissner's last letter. Added to which, I received the enclosed scrawl from Borkheim yesterday. I have every reason to believe that the 'continental friend' is Mr Privy Councillor Bucher.⁴¹³ Borkheim had written him a letter, you know, which he read out to me, about his arrangements for travelling to Silesia, which he wishes to visit on family business. Bucher replied directly. I therefore scent a plot behind these *canards* and will have to put the knife to Meissner's

^a The end of this letter is missing. - ^b The original has: 27 March. - ^c the first volume of *Capital*

breast myself. Otherwise, the fellow would be in a position to hold back my manuscript (some 25 closely printed proof-sheets by my reckoning) and, at the same time, *not* have it *printed* on the pretext that he was 'awaiting' the second volume.²³³

I must now *d'abord*^a reclaim my clothes and timepiece from their abode at the pawnbroker's. I can also hardly leave my family in their present situation, they being *sans sou*^b and the creditors becoming more brazen each day. Finally, before I forget, all the money that I could afford to spend on Laura's champagne-treatment has gone the way of all flesh. She now needs red wine, of better quality than I can command. *Voilà la situation.*^c

Our 'INTERNATIONAL' has just celebrated a great victory. We were providing financial support from the LONDON TRADE-UNIONS for the Paris bronze WORKERS, who were out on STRIKE. AS SOON as the masters learnt of that, they gave in.⁴¹⁴ The affair has created a deal of commotion in the French papers, and we are now an established force in France.

It appears to me there must have been collusion between Bismarck and Bonaparte over the Luxemburg affair. It is possible, though improbable, that the former either cannot or will not keep his word.⁴¹⁵ That the *Russians* have been meddling in German affairs is crystal clear from:

1. the treaty between *Württemberg* and Prussia, which was already concluded on 13 August before all the others;
2. Bismarck's demeanour in respect of the Poles.⁴¹⁶

The Russians are more active than ever. They are setting the stage for trouble between France and Germany. Austria is pretty well paralysed in herself. Our English gentlemen are about to be led a fine song and dance in the UNITED STATES.

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 first of all - ^b penniless - ^c That is the situation.

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ENGELS TO MARX²⁶

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 April 1867

Dear Moor,

Hurrah! There was no holding back that exclamation when at last I read in black and white that the 1st volume^a is complete and that you intend taking it to Hamburg at once. So that you shall not be short of the *nervus rerum*,^b I am sending you enclosed the halves of seven five-pound-notes, £35 in toto, and will despatch the other halves immediately I receive the usual telegram. Do not let the scrawl from Bucher⁴¹³—it is *undoubtedly* from him—worry you, it is just Prussian police gossip and the scandal-mongering of men of letters, of the same ilk as that recent stuff about the Polish trip.⁴⁰⁶ I enclose a note for you to give to Meissner, so that you can also collect my fee.^c

There is no longer even a shadow of doubt about the alliance between Bismarck and the Russians. However, the Russians have never yet had to pay so high a price for their Prussian alliance, they have had to sacrifice their whole traditional policy in Germany and, if this time they were to imagine, as is their wont, that it is only 'for the moment', they may well be making the very deuce of a blunder. For all the shouting about the Empire, etc., German unity already seems on the point of outgrowing Bismarck and all those Prussians. They will have to press on all the harder in the Orient—the Russians, that is—, the present favourable conjuncture will surely not endure long. But how great does the financial need have to be and how sluggish must the industrial progress be, *s'il y'en a*,^d in Russia, if those fellows are still without a railway to Odessa and Bessarabia, 11 years after the Crimean War, when it would now be worth two armies to them! And so I also believe that the storm will break this year, if everything goes well for the Russians.

The Luxemburg affair⁴¹⁵ appears to be taking the same course as with Saarlouis and Landau.³⁶⁹ Bismarck undoubtedly offered to sell it in 1866, but Louis^e really does seem to have held back at

^a of *Capital* - ^b sinew of things - ^c for *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see this volume, p. 348) - ^d if there is any - ^e Napoleon III

München 4 April 1847

Lieber Max

Genug! diese Art der Veranschaulichung
ist nichtig. Ich weiß sehr wohl, daß der I. Band
schon seit 2. B. gedruckt und auf den Markt
gebracht. Damit der Correspondent keine Irrthümer
haben ist die resp. Probe schon längst
gelesen. — Ich habe die ganze Geschichte
schon auf dem Papier der geistlichen Abtheilung
auf. Ich bin vollkommen — von diesem ist es
klar — daß die resp. Gründe, weshalb die
Veröffentlichung nicht stattfinden kann, die
einstweilen geltend gemacht werden. Ich habe die
Sache bei der Regierung, damit die resp.
Angelegenheiten laufen.

Da der Herr Prof. Schmidt über diese Art der
Veranschaulichung sehr unglücklich ist, so
habe ich die Sache schon längst auf dem
Papier der geistlichen Abtheilung auf
gebracht, so ganz natürlich ist die Sache in
dieser Hinsicht. Ich habe schon sehr
vielen Mal darüber nachgedacht, so daß
ich mich nicht mehr um die Sache kümmern
müßte, so würde ich die Sache selbst
überlassen. Die Sache selbst ist schon
auf dem Papier der geistlichen Abtheilung
aufgebracht, so daß ich mich nicht
mehr um die Sache kümmern müßte.
Die Sache selbst ist schon auf dem
Papier der geistlichen Abtheilung
aufgebracht, so daß ich mich nicht
mehr um die Sache kümmern müßte.
Die Sache selbst ist schon auf dem
Papier der geistlichen Abtheilung
aufgebracht, so daß ich mich nicht
mehr um die Sache kümmern müßte.

that time in the hope that he would later get far more *as a present*. I have *positive knowledge* that the Prussian Ambassador Bernstorff told the Hanseatic ditto (Geffcken) in London a few days ago that he had received a despatch to the effect that Prussia was not going to give way over the Luxemburg question under any circumstances. This is the same despatch that *The Owl* refers to as requesting Britain to make representations at The Hague, which are then said to have succeeded in making Holland withdraw from the deal. The point is that in the present situation Bismarck cannot remotely allow the French to annex German territory without making all his achievements appear ridiculous. What is more, that old jackass William^a has gone and pronounced the words 'not a *single* German village' and is personally committed. It is, however, as yet by no means certain that the deal may not still come to fruition after all; the *Kölnische Zeitung* is screaming quite hysterically that we really cannot start a war over Luxemburg and that we *have* no right to it at all; Luxemburg, they say, should no longer be counted part of Germany, etc., so they have never behaved quite so despicably.

Bismarck may not be Faust, but he does have his *Wagener*.^b The way in which the poor devil translates his Lord and Master into Wagnerese makes you die of laughing. Bismarck recently employed another of his horse-metaphors, and not wanting to be outdone in this either, Wagener ended a speech by trumpeting: Gentlemen, it is time for us to stop riding our hobby-horses and to *mount that noble thoroughbred mare Germania!*^c *Montez Mademoiselle*,^d the Parisians used to say during the Terror.⁴¹⁷

I hope that your carbuncles are more or less mended now and that the journey will help get rid of them entirely. You *must* put an end to this nonsense this summer.

Many regards to the LADIES and Lafargue.

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

^a William I - ^b Hermann Wagener. Here and below Engels makes a pun on Wagner, a character from Goethe's *Faust* (a young scholar imitating Faust in every respect). - ^c *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 38, 27 March 1867. - ^d Mount the guillotine (during the French Revolution the people nicknamed the guillotine 'Mademoiselle').

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MARX TO ENGELS⁶

IN MANCHESTER

Hamburg, 13 April 1867

Dear FRED,

I arrived here at 12 o'clock noon yesterday. The boat left London on Wednesday^a at 8 o'clock in the morning.⁴¹² In which fact you see the whole history of the voyage. The most fearful weather and gales. Having been confined for so long, I felt as voraciously fit as 500 hogs.^b However, with ALL that riff-raff being sea-sick and falling about to left and right of us, it would all have become *ennuyant*^c in time, if a certain NUCLEUS had not held firm. It was a very 'mixed' nucleus, viz., a German ship's captain, who bore a marked resemblance to yourself in his face, but a small fellow, he also had a good deal of your humour and the same good-natured frivolous twinkling of the eyes; a London cattle-dealer, a true John Bull, BOVINE IN EVERY RESPECT; a German clockmaker from London, a nice fellow; a German from Texas; and, the real protagonist, a German who had been roaming around Eastern Peru for 15 years, an area that has only recently been geographically charted, where, amongst other things, human flesh is still consumed in no mean quantity. An eccentric, energetic and high-spirited fellow. He had a most valuable collection of stone axes with him, etc., which merited being discovered in the 'caves'. One female personage as hanger-on (the other ladies were all SEASICK and vomiting in the ladies CABIN), a toothless old hag with a refined Hanoverian accent, daughter of some primeval Hanoverian minister, von Baer or suchlike, she has now long been an improver of men, pietistic, concerned to raise the condition of the working class, acquainted with Jules Simon, full of spiritual radiance, with which she bored OUR BOVINE FRIEND to death. WELL! On Thursday evening, when the storm was at its worst, with all the tables and chairs adance, we were boozing *en petit comité*,^d with that old hag of a woman lying on a couch, from which the movement of the ship—to divert her a trifle—occasionally tipped her onto the floor in the middle of the cabin. What was keeping this beautiful creature so spellbound in these inimical circumstances?

^a 10 April - ^b Cf. J. W. Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 5. - ^c boring - ^d in a small group

Why did she not withdraw to the ladies' chamber? Our savage German was regaling us with an enthusiastic account of the sexual depravities of savages. *Voilà le charme*^a for this delicate, pure, refined lady. One example: he was received in an Indian hut where the woman was giving birth that very day. The afterbirth is roasted and—supreme expression of hospitality—he is obliged to partake of the SWEETBREAD!

I called on Meissner immediately upon our arrival. Clerk tells me he won't be back before 3 o'clock (afternoon). I left my card and invited Mr Meissner to dine with me. He came but he had someone with him and wanted me to accompany him as his wife was expecting him. I declined but agreed that he should call on me at 7 o'clock in the evening. He mentioned *en passant* that Strohn was probably still in Hamburg. I therefore called on Strohn's brother.^b Our man had left for Paris THE VERY SAME MORNING. So, Meissner came round in the evening. A pleasant fellow, despite something Saxon about him, as his name suggests. After a brief parley, everything ALL RIGHT. Manuscript taken straight to his publishing house, where it was put in a SAFE. Printing will start IN A FEW DAYS and proceed apace. We then drank together, and he expressed his great 'delight' at making my esteemed acquaintance. He now wants that the book should appear *in 3 volumes*. In particular he is opposed to my compressing the final book (*the historico-literary part*) as I had intended. He said that from the publishing point of view and with the 'dull' mass of readers in mind, this was the part by which he was setting most store. I told him that, as far as that was concerned, I was his to command.⁴¹⁸

AT ALL EVENTS, in Meissner *we* have someone entirely at our disposal; he has great contempt for the whole pack of vulgar scribblers. I thought it prudent to delay presenting your LITTLE BILL.^c Always keep the pleasantest surprises till last.

And now *adieu*, OLD BOY.

Your
K. Marx

BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS!

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

^a That was the attraction - ^b Eugen Strohn - ^c Marx refers to the fee for Engels' pamphlet *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see this volume, p. 352).

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

[Telegram]

[Hamburg, 16 April 1867]

Dr L. Kugelmann
Hanover

I arrive this evening about nine.

Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 31,
Moscow, 1963

Printed according to the photocopy
of the telegram

Published in English for the first
time

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MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER⁴¹⁹

IN GENEVA

Hanover, 17 April 1867

Dear Friend,

I left London by STEAMER last Wednesday^a and after a tempestuous crossing reached Hamburg on Friday afternoon to deliver the manuscript of the first volume to Mr Meissner there. Printing has already started at the beginning of this week, so that the first volume will appear at the end of May. The whole work will appear in 3 volumes.⁴¹⁸ The title is *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*. The first volume comprises the *First Book: 'The Process of Production of Capital'*. It is without question the most terrible MISSILE that has yet been hurled at the heads of the bourgeoisie (landowners included). It is important now that you draw attention to the forthcoming publication in the press, i.e., in the papers to which you have access.

^a 10 April

If you send the next issue of the *Vorbote* as a sample to *Otto Meissner, Hamburg*, he may be of assistance in the distribution of your paper, too.

I must finish now (*more later*) as Dr Kugelmann, who sends his best compliments, intends to acquaint me with the splendours of Hanover.

Tout à toi^a

K. Marx

First published in: *Marx Festnummer zum 40. Todestage*, Wien, 1923

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

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MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

Hanover, 24 April 1867

DEAR FRED,

I have been here as Dr Kugelmann's guest for a week now. I was obliged to stay in Hamburg or right near Hamburg on account of the printing.^b Things stand as follows. Meissner wants to have the whole undertaking complete in 4-5 weeks, but cannot get the printing done in Hamburg, both because there are not enough printers, and because the proof-readers are insufficiently learned. He is therefore having the printing done at Otto Wigand's (OR RATHER his son's,^c as that puffed-up old cur only has a nominal share in the business now). He sent the manuscript to Leipzig a week ago. He now wants to *have me to hand* to check the first 2 proof-sheets and *at the same time to decide* whether it is '**possible**' to print quickly *with a single proof-reading on my part*. In this case, the whole undertaking would be complete in 4-5 weeks. However, Easter week is now holding it up. Wigand Jr wrote to Meissner that he cannot start until the end of *this* week. At Kugelmann's pressing invitation, I therefore came here (which also

^a Entirely yours - ^b of the first volume of *Capital* - ^c Hugo Wigand

has economic advantages) for the interim. Before I say anything about 'local' affairs, I must not forget to tell you: Meissner would appreciate it, and asks me to pass on the request to you, if you would write a *warning concerning Russia*, for the benefit of the Germans and the French simultaneously. If you do undertake it, he wishes it done quickly. He would, however, prefer you to write *at some length* rather than more briefly, as small pamphlets do not sell well. You could discuss conditions when you send him the manuscript, as he says the two of you would not fall out over the matter. You could write with 'no holds barred', as Meissner considers that there is no need whatever to be concerned about considerations.

Regarding Hanover, then.

Kugelmann is a doctor of great eminence in his special field, which is gynaecology. He is in correspondence with Virchow and the other authorities (including one Meyer in Berlin) and formerly with von Siebold in Göttingen and with Semmelweis in Vienna, before he went mad. Whenever there is a difficult case in this field over here, he is always brought in as consultant. As an instance of the professional jealousy and stupidity of the locals, he told me he had initially been blackballed, i.e., not admitted to the doctors' association here, because 'gynaecology' is a 'cesspit of immorality'. Kugelmann is very talented technically, too. He has invented a mass of new instruments in this field.

Kugelmann is secondly a fanatical supporter (and for my taste excessively Westphalian in his admiration) of our ideas and the two of us personally. He sometimes bores me with his enthusiasm, which is at odds with the detachment he displays as a doctor. But he *understands*, and he is a really *excellent man*, unaffected by qualms, capable of making sacrifices, and, most important of all, *convinced*. He has a charming little wife and an 8-year old daughter who is positively sweet.^a He has in his possession a far better collection of our works than the two of us together. I even came across *The Holy Family* again here, which he presented to me and of which he will be sending you a copy. I was pleasantly surprised to find that we have no need to feel ashamed of the piece, although the Feuerbach cult now makes a most comical impression upon one. The ordinary people, and in the capital, Hanover, even the bourgeoisie, are extremely *hostile to the Prussians* (ditto in *Electoral Hesse*) and miss no opportunity of expressing their sentiments. They openly proclaim their longing—

^a Gertruda and Franziska Kugelmann

for the French. If one remarks to them that this is unpatriotic, they say, 'The Prussians did just the same thing. When they marched through here, they were boasting, the officers first and foremost among them, that the French would come to their aid—if need be.' Wehner's father is much respected here and is considered a Guelph.⁴²⁰ Bismarck sent one of his satraps, the advocate Warnebold, to see me yesterday (keep this *under your hat*). He wishes to 'make use of me and my great talents in the interests of the German people'. Von Benningsen will be paying 'meah'^a his respects tomorrow.

The standing the two of us enjoy in Germany, particularly among the 'educated' officials, is of an altogether different order from what we imagined. Thus, e.g., the director of the statistical bureau here, Merkel, visited me and told me, he had been studying questions of money for years to no avail, and I had immediately clarified the matter once and for all. 'Your Dioscurus Engels,' he told me, 'was recently acknowledged by my colleague Engel before the royal family in Berlin.' These are trifling things, but they are important for us. We have more influence on these officials than on the louts.

I was also invited to attend the society of 'Europeans', as they call the anti-Prussian, North-Germanic members of the National Association¹⁵² here. What jackasses!

I also received an invitation from the head (head-in-chief, as Stieber calls it⁴²¹) of the railway here. I went along, he provided some good herb wine, his wife was 'delaighted', and as I was leaving, he thanked me 'for doing him such an honour'.

I have a debt of honour—£10—to settle with Mr Wheeler, a member of our COUNCIL^b and MANAGER of the EMPIRE INSURANCE CORPORATION. You would oblige me greatly if you would send him the money on my behalf: 'G. Wheeler, Esq., 27 Gresham Street, E.C. PRIVATE' (London). I am also very much afraid that my family in London may be 'in profundis'.^c This grieves me the more particularly because poor good little Jenny's birthday is May 1st. I have cast out nets with a view to making a monetary haul. With what success remains to be seen.

My health is extraordinarily improved. No trace of the old complaint. What is more, in good spirits, despite all adversity, and no liver trouble.

^a In the original the South-German dialect here: 'mür'. - ^b General Council of the International Working Men's Association - ^c in dire straits

Do please write me a few lines *by return* (address: Dr Kugelmann, Hanover). *Salut* to Mrs Burns.

Your
Moor

Freiligrath is making a fool of himself by his public beggary in Germany.⁴²² Meissner tells me he has disappeared without trace in North Germany.

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 MARX¹⁰¹

IN HANOVER

Manchester, 27 April 1867

Dear Moor,

I have received both your letters, the second yesterday afternoon, and would have replied to your first long before, if I had known where to. Firstly, BUSINESS. I am sending £10 to your wife, who wrote to me this morning, and likewise the other £10 to Wheeler at the beginning of next month. This will give you some peace of mind in that regard, and, from what you write, the future also looks rosier at last. I always had the feeling that that damn book,^a which you have been carrying for so long, was at the bottom of all your misfortune, and you would and could never extricate yourself until you had got it off your back. Forever resisting completion, it was driving you physically, mentally and financially into the ground, and I can very well understand that, having shaken off that nightmare, you now feel quite a new man, especially as, once you have got back into it again, the world doesn't seem so gloomy a place as it did before. Especially when you have such a capital publisher as Meissner appears to be. Incidentally, a quick printing will only be possible, I fear, if you can remain in the vicinity throughout, i.e., on the continent;

^a *Capital*

Holland would also be near enough for the purpose. I do not believe the Leipzig proof-readers will have enough learning for your approach. Meissner also got Wigand to print my pamphlet,^a and the things those wretches corrected into it! I am convinced that the book will create a real stir from the moment it appears, but it will be very necessary to help the enthusiasm of the scientifically-inclined burghers and officials on to its feet and not to despise petty stratagems. There is much that can be done to that end from Hanover *after publication*, and you could also enlist to advantage the support of *amicus*^b Siebel, who is at the moment *en route* back from Madeira via England, in the best of spirits, as he says. This will be necessary vis-à-vis the vulgar scribbling fraternity, of whose deep-seated hatred for us we have proof enough. Furthermore, thick, scholarly works are always slow to make their mark without such assistance, but with it they act like 'wildfire'—*confer*^c Heraclitus the Dark,^d etc.¹²³ On this occasion, however, we must be all the more assiduous in ensuring this is done, as *money* is also at stake. Meissner will then be happy to take the collected essays, which would mean more money and further literary success. The pieces from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the '18th Brumaire',^e etc., will make an enormous impression on the philistines just now, and once we have gained a little more ground on that basis, all manner of other lucrative possibilities will soon present themselves, too. I am exceedingly gratified by this whole turn of events, firstly, for its own sake, secondly, for your sake in particular and your wife's, and, thirdly, because it really is time things looked up. In 2 years my *CONTRACT* with that swine Gottfried^f expires, and the way things are going here, neither of us will really be wishing to extend it; it is even not impossible that our ways may part even earlier. If that should be so, I shall have to *leave* *COMMERCE* *entirely*, for to start up a business of my own at this late stage would mean 5-6 years of the most fearful drudgery with nothing worth speaking of to show for it, and then another 5-6 years of drudgery to reap the benefits of the first 5 years. But that would be the end of me. There is nothing I long for so much as for release from this vile *COMMERCE*, which is completely demoralising me with all the time it is wasting. For as long as I am in it, I am good for nothing else, especially since I have become principal it has been much aggravated on account of the greater

^a F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. -

^b friend - ^c compare - ^d F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos*. - ^e K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - ^f Gottfried Ermen

responsibility. If it were not for the increased remuneration, I really would rather be a clerk again. At all events, in a few years my life as a businessman will come to an end, and then my income will be very, very much reduced, and the question of what we can do then has always been in my mind. However, if things go as they are now beginning to, we shall be able to make provision for that all right, too, even if no revolution intervenes and puts an end to all financial schemes. If that does not happen, I have a plan up my sleeve to have a fling for my deliverance and write a light-hearted book entitled: *Woes and Joys of the English Bourgeoisie*.

I cannot go along with Meissner's suggestion.^a *A few sheets* could be quickly knocked together, but something longer, 6 à 10 sheets, would require more work and be *too late* for the war now brewing.⁴¹⁵ One really cannot just knock together rubbish in the manner of Vogt's *Studien*.^b Furthermore, the stuff would be looked upon more or less as a party manifesto, and for that we would have to discuss the matter first. However, I have had an anti-Russian piece in mind for some time, and, if events provide me with an excuse, I shall start on it without more ado and write to Meissner. The only thing I am still in two minds about is whether I should make the 'nationality principle'⁴²⁴ or the 'Eastern Question' the chief theme.

I had expected that Bismarck would come knocking at your door, although not his haste.^c It is characteristic of the fellow's mentality and outlook that he judges everybody by his own standards. The bourgeoisie may well admire the great men of today, it sees itself reflected in them. All the qualities to which Bonaparte and Bismarck owe their successes are the qualities of businessman: the pursuit of a specific purpose by a policy of wait-and-see and experimentation, until they hit the right moment, the diplomacy of always leaving the back door open, negotiating and haggling, swallowing insults if it is in one's interest, the attitude of '*ne soyons pas larrons*,'^d in short, the businessman in all things. In his own way, Gottfried Ermen is as great a statesman as Bismarck, and, if one follows the tricks of these great men, one is constantly reminded of the Manchester Exchange. Bismarck thinks, if I only continue knocking at Marx's door, I am bound to hit upon the right moment eventually, and then we shall do a deal together after all. Gottfried Ermen to a tee.

^a See this volume, pp. 359-60. - ^b C. Vogt, *Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas* (for Marx's criticism of this work see present edition, Vol. 17). - ^c See this volume, p. 361. - ^d let us not be robbers

I would not have expected the Prussians to be so hated there. But how do you reconcile that with the election results? Those jackasses from the National Association¹⁵² did get half their men through, and in Electoral Hesse all but one.

Vogt has got a life-size portrait of himself in the *Gartenlaube*.³ He has become a proper porker in the last few years, and looks fine.

In the *Demokratische Studien*, which recently came my way, Simon of Trier has quite naively copied out whole pages from *Po and Rhine*,^b without suspecting from what poisoned source he was drawing!^c Similarly, in 'Preussen in Waffen', the lieutenant who writes the military articles in *Unsere Zeit* has borrowed at length from my pamphlet,^d likewise without giving his sources, of course.

Rüstow will stop at nothing to become a Prussian general, as though that could be as easily done as with Garibaldi. In his abysmal and slipshod book on the war,^e he *grovels in optima forma*^f before William the Conqueror and the Prince.^g *That's why* he is moving to Berlin.

I saw Ernest Jones the other day, he has had enquiries from 4 places about standing for election under the new BILL⁴²⁵—from Manchester as well. Has not a good word to say for the workers here AND BACKS THE PRUSSIAN AT ANY ODDS AGAINST THE FRENCH. I hope this wretched war passes over, I cannot see that any good can come of it. A French revolution saddled in advance with the obligation to go a-conquering would be very nasty; it almost seems as though Bonaparte would be satisfied with the tiniest tit-bit, but whether the Lord of Hosts will permit handsome William to grant him even that tit-bit, time alone will show.

My kindest regards to Dr Kugelmann, although we are not acquainted, and my thanks to him for *The Holy Family*.^h

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

^a *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 10, 1867. - ^b F. Engels, *Po and Rhine*. - ^c L. Simon, 'Deutschland und seine beiden Grossmächte', *Demokratische Studien*, 1860. - ^d F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - ^e W. Rüstow, *Der Krieg von 1866 in Deutschland und Italien*. - ^f in top form - ^g William I of Prussia (an ironical comparison with the Norman William, who conquered England in 1066) and Frederick Charles - ^h by K. Marx and F. Engels; see this volume, p. 360.

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MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER⁴²⁶

IN NEW YORK

Hanover, 30 April 1867

Dear Friend,

You must think very badly of me, and all the more so when I tell you that your letters did not merely give me *great pleasure* but were a **real comfort** to me since they reached me at a time of great affliction. The knowledge that a capable man, *à la hauteur des principes*,^a has been won for our party, is some compensation to me for the worst. Your letters were furthermore full of such warm friendship for me personally, and you will appreciate that I who am engaged in a most bitter struggle with the (official) world can least afford to underestimate such things.

Why then did I not answer you? Because I was the whole time at death's door. I thus had to make use of **every** moment when I was capable of work to complete my book,^b to which I have sacrificed my health, happiness, and family. I hope this explanation suffices. I laugh at the so-called 'practical' men and their wisdom. If one wanted to be an ox, one could, of course, turn one's back on the sufferings of humanity and look after one's own hide. But I should really have thought myself *unpractical* if I had pegged out without finally completing my book, at least in manuscript.

The first volume of the book will be published by *Otto Meissner* in Hamburg in a few weeks. The title of the work is: '*Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*'. I travelled to Germany to bring over the manuscript, and I am spending a few days with a friend in Hanover^c on my way back to London.⁴¹²

Volume I comprises the '*Process of Production of Capital*'. As well as setting out the general theory, I examine in great detail the conditions of the English—agricultural and industrial—proletariat *over the last 20 years*, ditto the condition of *Ireland*, basing myself on *official* sources that have never previously been used. You will immediately realise that all this serves me solely as an *argumentum ad hominem*.^d

^a of high principles - ^b the first volume of *Capital* - ^c Ludwig Kugelmann - ^d evidence against the adversary

I hope that a year from now the whole work will have appeared. *Volume II* contains the continuation and conclusion of the theory, *Volume III* the history of political economy from the middle of the 17th century.⁴¹⁸

As to the 'International Working Men's Association', it has become a power to be reckoned with in England, France, Switzerland, and Belgium. You should form as many branches as possible in America. CONTRIBUTION PER MEMBER 1 PENNY (ABOUT 1 silver groschen) per year. However, every branch gives what it can. Congress in Lausanne this year, 3 September. Every branch can send one representative. Do write to me about this matter, about how you are faring in America and about conditions in general. If you do not write, I shall take it as showing that you have not yet absolved me.

With warmest greetings

Your
Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 33, 1906-1907 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO LUDWIG BÜCHNER⁴²⁷

IN DARMSTADT

Hanover, 1 May 1867
(c/o Dr Kugelmann)

Dear Sir,

Although we are entirely unacquainted, I am taking the liberty of addressing a personal letter to you, on a personal, although at the same time scientific, matter; and I hope you will excuse my so doing on account of the confidence you inspire in me as a man of science and of the party.

I have come to Germany to deliver the first volume of my work '*Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*' to my publisher, Mr Otto Meissner in Hamburg. I have to stay here a few days longer to see

if it will be possible for the printing to be done as quickly as Mr Meissner intends, viz., whether the proof-readers are sufficiently learned for such a mode of operation.

The reason I am writing to you personally is this: I should like to have the thing published in French as well, in Paris, after its publication in Germany. I cannot go there myself, at least not without risk, as I have been expelled from France, first under Louis Philippe and a second time under Louis Bonaparte (*Président*),⁴²⁸ and finally I have been ceaselessly attacking Mr Louis during my exile in London. I cannot therefore go personally to seek out a translator. I know that your work on 'Stoff und Kraft'^a has appeared in French, and therefore suppose that you can put me in touch, directly or indirectly, with a suitable person. As I have to prepare the second volume for printing this summer and the concluding third volume⁴¹⁸ next winter, I do not have the time to attend to the French version of the book⁴²⁹ myself.

I consider it to be of the greatest importance to emancipate the French from the erroneous views under which Proudhon with his idealised petty bourgeoisie has buried them. At the recent congress in Geneva,³⁷⁵ ditto in the links that I have with the Paris branch as a member of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, I am constantly confronted with Proudhonism's most repugnant consequences.

As I do not know for how long I shall be staying here, I should be obliged to you for an early answer. If I, for my part, can be of any service to you in London, I shall do so with the greatest pleasure.

Yours most respectfully

Karl Marx

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

Printed according to the original

^a L. Büchner, *Kraft und Stoff. Empirisch-naturphilosophische Studien* (the French edition, *Force et matière*, appeared in 1863).

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MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

IN LONDON

Hanover, 5 May 1867

My dear Child,

Your letter gave me the greatest pleasure. It is written in the true Imperial style.^a I hope to find you plump and fresh like a May rose.

The enclosed photograph was to be sent to you for your birthday, but was not ready. It is backed by the photograph of Mme Tenge (by-the-by, the aunt of the Baer's girl, of whom Edgar^b told us so much), who, however, is not so beautiful in reality as her shadow indicates. But she is a really noble nature, of a peculiar suavity, frankness and simplicity of character. Nothing of 'falsche Bildung'.^c She speaks English, French and Italian (she is of Italian descent) perfectly. Although a great musician, she does not kill one with *Kunstgeschwäts*,^d which, on the contrary, she abhors. She is an atheist and inclines to Socialism, although rather little informed on that point. What distinguishes her above all is a spontaneous kindness and the absence of all pretensions. I feel sure you would in no time become very intimate friends. Mrs Kugelmann is also a nice little woman.

To-day, on my birthday, I receive the first 'Bogen'^e for revision. I fear the book will become rather a little too big. In consequence of the Easter week business, the printing did not commence before 29th April, Meissner growing very wild at this suspense. Meanwhile, time has not been lost. Preliminary notices have been published almost in all German papers. Kugelmann has very many connections, which were all put into motion.

Your birthday^f was solemnly celebrated here.

Except part of the bourgeoisie, lawyers and such ones, there reigns here at Hanover a fanatical hatred of the Prussians, which much amuses me.

I was very glad to hear of your Polish surprise. If the things have no mercantile value, they have a historical one.⁴³⁰

The delay of war is exclusively due to the Derby Cabinet. As

^a An allusion to Jenny's jocular nickname: 'the Emperor'. - ^b Edgar von Westphalen - ^c sham education - ^d chatter about art - ^e sheet (of the first volume of *Capital*) - ^f 1 May

long as it remains at the head of England, Russia will not sound the war signal—a phrase, by-the-by, which is conceived in the true colletian style.

I cannot exactly state the day of my return. I have still to receive letters from different sides. I shall return directly from here via Hamburg (there to have another interview with my publisher^a) to London.

I had, very soon after my arrival here, written to Liebknecht.¹¹¹ He has answered. His wife^b cannot be saved. She is approaching the catastrophe. She sends her compliments to you all and was cheered up by your letters.

Hegel's photograph will be looked after. It is not to be had at Hanover. As to his 'Philos. of Hist.', I shall try to find it at London.

I consider that Cacadou^c might have written some lines long since, but excuse her with her equestrian studies.

And now, with my best wishes to all, *adio*, my dear 'Joe'.^d

Your
Old One

I add a few lines for Tussy.^e

First published, in Russian, in *Voinstvoyushchy materialist*, Book 4, 1925 and in the language of the original, English, in *The Socialist Review* (London), No. 44, September 1929

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁶

IN MANCHESTER

Hanover, 7 May 1867

Dear FRED,

D'abord,^f best thanks for your intervention in the most pressing *casus delicti*,^g as well as for your very detailed letter.

^a Otto Meissner - ^b Ernestine Liebknecht - ^c Laura's jocular nickname - ^d a character from Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* - ^e Eleanor Marx (these lines have not been found) - ^f First of all - ^g difficult case

First, BUSINESS. That damned Wigand did not start printing^a until 29 April, so that I received the first sheet for correction the day before yesterday, on my birthday. *Post tot pericula!*^b The misprints were relatively insignificant. It's impossible to wait here until the printing is completed. In the first instance, I fear that the book will prove much fatter than I had originally calculated. Second, I am not getting the manuscript back, so that for many quotations, especially those involving figures or Greek, I need to have my home manuscript to hand, nor can I impose on Dr Kugelmann's hospitality for too long. Finally, Meissner is demanding the 2nd volume by the end of the autumn at the latest. I shall therefore have to get my nose to the grindstone as soon as possible, as a lot of new material relating especially to the chapters on credit and landed property has become available since the manuscript was composed. The third volume must be completed during the winter, so that I shall have shaken off the whole *opus* by next spring.⁴¹⁸ The business of writing, of course, is quite different once the proofs for what has already been done start coming in *à fur et mesure*,^c and under PRESSURE from the publisher.

Meanwhile, my time here has not been wasted. Letters have been written to all and sundry, and preliminary notices have appeared in most German papers.

I hope and confidently believe that in the space of a year I shall be made, in the sense that I shall be able to fundamentally rectify my financial affairs and at last stand on my own feet again. Without you, I would never have been able to bring the work to a conclusion, and I can assure you it always weighed like a nightmare on my conscience that you were allowing your fine energies to be squandered and to rust in commerce, chiefly for my sake, and, INTO THE BARGAIN, that you had to share all my *petites misères*^d as well. On the other hand, I cannot conceal from myself that I still have a year OF TRIAL ahead of me. I have taken a step on which a great deal depends, viz., on which it depends whether several £100 will be made available to me from the only quarter where that is possible. There is a tolerable prospect of a positive outcome, but I shall remain uncertain for ABOUT 6 weeks. I shall not have definite confirmation until then. What I am most afraid of—apart from the uncertainty—is my return to London, which will be necessary in 6-8 days. My debts there are considerable, and

^a the first volume of *Capital* - ^b After so many perils! (Paraphrase of an expression from Virgil's *Aeneid*, I, 204: *post tot discrimina rerum*—after so many setbacks.) - ^c gradually - ^d little miseries

the Manichaeans⁴³¹ are 'urgently' awaiting my return. And then the torments of family life, the domestic conflicts, the constant harassment, instead of settling down to work refreshed and free of care.

Dr Kugelmann and his wife^a are being exceptionally kind to me and anticipate my every need. They are splendid people. They really leave me no time to explore 'the gloomy paths of my inner self'. Apropos, the Bismarck affair must be kept absolutely secret.^b I promised to tell no one, not even Kugelmann, about it. Nor have I done so. I did, however, of course make the *reservatio mentalis* to except yourself.

You express surprise that the National-Liberals⁴³² (or, as Kugelmann calls them, *the Europeans*) did so well in the elections,^c when the Prussians are so hated here. The matter is very simple. They did badly in all the larger towns, in smaller places they owed their victories to their organisation, which has existed ever since Gotha.⁴³³ These fellows do, on the whole, show how important party organisation is. That is the position in Hanover. In Electoral Hesse, there is no limit to the influence of Prussian intimidation, backed up by the shouting of the members of the National Association.¹⁵² The Prussians meanwhile are operating quite in the Persian manner here. It is true that they cannot transplant the population to their Eastern provinces, but they are doing so with their officials, right down to the RAILWAY conductors, and for the officers. Even those poor devils of postmen are having to move to Pomerania. In the meantime, trains full of Hessians, Hanoverians, etc., are to be seen on the railway every day *en route* to Bremen, emigrating to the United States. Not since dear old Germany came into existence has it sent such a motley crowd of people from all parts across the Atlantic. One is trying to avoid his taxes, another, his military service, a third the political situation, and all of them the hegemony of the sword and the gathering storm of war.

I am greatly diverted by the (pro-Prussian) bourgeoisie here. They want war, but *immédiatement*.^d Business, they say, can stand the uncertainty no longer, and where the devil are the taxes to come from if business stagnates for much longer? Incidentally, you would scarcely conceive the burden that the last war and taxation have imposed upon the rural populace in Prussia. Here in the vicinity of Prussian Westphalia, e.g., truly Irish conditions prevail.

BY THE BY a few days ago the director of the joint-stock foundry

^a Gertruda Kugelmann - ^b See this volume, p. 361. - ^c to the North German Parliament (see this volume, p. 365) - ^d immediately

here (manufacturing chiefly water and gas pipes) conducted me round the works. On the whole, it is very well organised and utilises much quite modern equipment. But, on the other hand, there is still a good deal of turning by hand (detail work), where the English and Scots are using automatic machinery. The same director took me into the Hermann's-column workshop. The thing is as long in the making as Germany itself. Hermann's head is so colossal that you'd seem like a child beside it, and it has a fine look of honest stupidity, and Mr Arminius was above all a diplomat. His air of worthy Westphalian simplicity served but as a mask for a most subtle mind. As chance would have it, I had renewed my acquaintance with Mr Arminius, shortly before my departure from London, in the Grimm edition of historical sources^a with which you are familiar.

I am sure you will recall J. Meyer (at Bielefeld), who refused to print our manuscript on Stirner, etc.,^b and sent the youth Kriege to annoy us?⁴³⁴ A few months ago he threw himself out of the window in Warsaw, whither his business affairs had taken him, and broke his neck, if you please.

Our friend Miquel, who declared himself prepared to sacrifice freedom so readily for the sake of unity, is believed to be job-hunting. In my view, *le brave homme*^c has miscalculated. Had he not hurled himself so fanatically and unconditionally at Bismarck's feet, he would have been able to pick up a generous gratuity. But now! What need is there for that? He has made himself so hated by his performance in the North German Parliament⁴³⁵ that he is chained to the Prussians like one convict to the next. And the Prussians, as you know, do not like to make 'useless' and superfluous *dépenses*.^d Recently, the Bismarckite newspaper, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*, produced by that scoundrel Brass published a very witty article^e about the National-Associationites, pleading inability to emulate even the *de mortuis nil nisi bene*.^f It sent Bismarck's North-German-Confederationite, National-Associationite minions packing with some artistic kicks delivered *con amore*.^g

As far as the war is concerned, I am entirely of your opinion. *At the present moment*, it can only do harm. If it could be delayed, even

^a *Die geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, Vol. 1, *Die Urzeit* (Jacob Grimm took part in publishing this series of historical documents). - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*. - ^c the good man - ^d expenditure - ^e 'Politischer Tagesbericht. 25. April 1867', *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 97, 26 April 1867. - ^f motto, [speak] only good of the dead (Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum*, I, 3, 70) - ^g with love

just for a year, that would be worth its weight in gold to us. In the first place, Bonaparte and William the Conqueror^a would necessarily be made to look foolish. The opposition is reviving in Prussia (its only press organ just now is *Die Zukunft* in Berlin, founded by Jacobi^b), and events may occur in France. Business is becoming more and more stagnant, and it will then be impossible to cover up the suffering there on the Continent with empty phrases, whether they be of teutonic or gallic provenance.

In my view, we owe the postponement of war *exclusively* to the Derby ministry. It is anti-Russian, and Russia dares not give the signal until she is sure of Britain. Gladstone, THE PHRASEMONGER (entirely under the influence of Lady Palmerston, Shaftesbury, and Lord Cowper), and Bright, not forgetting Russell, would gladly provide her with the guarantees that Britain was disposed as required. Derby had to be removed in 1859, too, in order to stage the Great Drama in Italy.^c In the North German Parliament Bismarck was obliged to throw down the gauntlet to the Poles in the most brutal manner^d and thus declare his total subservience to the Tsar^d.

In the Prussian army there prevails deep distrust of the Russians amongst the better officers, as I learnt personally from Captain von Bölzig here (Guards Regiment, raised in the Cadet Corps, loyal to the Prussian monarchy, but a nice fellow). 'Bismarck's conduct in North Schleswig is incomprehensible to me. Only the Russians,' this he said quite unprompted, 'have any interest in maintaining tension between ourselves and Denmark.' He went on to call Frederick William IV a 'shady cavalier', who had turned Germany into Russia's lackey for 1/2 century. The Russian officers were 'shitty fellows', the army good for nothing, except for the Guards Regiments, Austria alone was capable of matching the Russian army, etc. I also put a good many more ideas into his head about the Muscovites.

And now *adieu*. Kindest regards to Mrs Lizzy.^e

Tout à vous.^f

Your
Moor

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

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^a An ironic reference to William I of Prussia. - ^b Johann Jacobi - ^c the war of France and Piedmont against Austria - ^d Alexander II - ^e Lizzy Burns - ^f Entirely yours.

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MARX TO LAURA MARX

IN LONDON

Hanover, 13 May 1867

My pretty little Cacadou,^a

My best thanks for your letter, and that of the worthy Quoquo.^b

You complain that I had given no signs of life, but on reviewing the question you will find that, on the whole, I have given weekly signals. Moreover, you know that I am not of a very 'demonstrative' character, of rather retiring habitudes, a slow writer, a clumsy sort of man or, as Quoquo has it, an anxious man.

I shall leave Hanover the day after to-morrow, and probably leave Hamburg by first steamer for London. Yet, you must not expect me to settle the day and the hour. I have still some business to transact with my publisher.^c At all events, this is the last week of my continental stay.⁴¹²

I am very glad that my photogramm has met with such good reception. The shadow is at all events less troublesome than the original.

As to Mrs Tenge, I wonder that you ask me how she looks, whether she is pretty? I have sent Jenny her photogramm, hidden behind my own. How could it have been lost? Now, to answer your questions, she is 33 years of age, mother of 5 children, rather interesting than pretty, and certainly no professional wit. But she is a superior woman. As to 'flirting', he would be rather a bold man who were to try it. As to 'admiration', I owe it, and there may, perhaps, have been on her side, some overestimation of your most humble and 'modest' master. You know, if no one is a prophet on his own dunghill (speaking symbolically), people are easily overvalued by strangers who, *legen sie nicht aus, so legen sie doch unter*,^d and find what they were resolved upon to find in a fellow. She has left Hanover Thursday last.

Eight days since, the weather was still frosty and rainy. Now summer has at once burst into full bloom. On the whole, the weather, since my departure, was here as bad and changeable as it used to be in London. Only, and this is a great thing, the air is thinner.

^a Laura's jocular nickname - ^b Eleanor Marx - ^c Otto Meissner - ^d if they do not interpret something in their own way, so they attribute it (a play on the German verbs *auslegen* and *unterlegen*).

These continentals have an easier life of it than we on the other side of the Northern sea. With 2,000 Thalers (300£) you can live here most comfortably. For inst., there exist here different gardens (*à la Cremourn*,⁴³⁶ but 'respectable', and where all sort of people meet), much more artistically arranged than any in London, good music being played every evening, etc., where you can subscribe for self and family—for the whole year—at the price of 2 Thalers, 6 sh.! This is only a specimen of the cheap life the Philister indulge in at this place. Young people amuse themselves more freely and at almost no expense, comparatively speaking. There is of course one great drawback—the atmosphere is pregnant with dullness. The standard of existence is too small. It is a lot of *pygmées* amongst whom you want no very high frame to feel like Gulliver amidst the Lilliputians.

There arrive this morning rather 'excited' letters from Berlin. It seems that a collision between the workmen and the *Pickelhauben*^a is apprehended. I do not expect much for the present, but there is something brewing. The working class, in the greater centres of Germany, are commencing to assume a more decided and threatening attitude. One fine morning there will be a nice dance!

And now my dear little birdseye, Cacadou, secretary, cook, equestrian, poet, *auf Wiedersehn*.^b *Viele Grüsse, an*^c Möhmchen, Quoquo and Queque, Helen,^d and, last not least, our 'mutual friend'.^e

Adio.

Your master

Old Nick^f

Enclosed Hegel,^g presented by Kugelmann to Mons. Lafargue.

First published, in German, in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, Nr. 2, 1907-1908 and in the language of the original, English, in *Annali*, an. 1, Milano, 1958

Reproduced from the original

^a policemen - ^b good-bye - ^c Many greetings to - ^d Marx's wife—Jenny, his daughters Eleanor and Jenny, and Helene Demuth - ^e Paul Lafargue - ^f Marx's family nickname - ^g See this volume, p. 370.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

Manchester [about 22 May 1867]
86 Mornington St.

Dear FRED,

Arrived in London Sunday.^a Got here today.⁴³⁷ But:

Notice: with me one H. Meyer from St Louis, whom I am about to collect from the railway REFRESHMENT ROOM, where I deposited him, and I am going to deposit him here in the NEIGHBOURHOOD, *Star*.

He was Weydemeyer's last *compagnon* at his death and took his wife (Weydemeyer's wife), who was also *mourante*,^b away from St Louis to friends and gave her support. Came to me with a recommendation from Jacobi^c (New York).

This Meyer, who is travelling to Germany, *came to England solely to visit us both*. He arrived yesterday. I was not at home. My wife told him that I would be travelling to Manchester today to visit you.

These HINTS will be sufficient to explain to you how it comes about that he accompanied me on the journey here. He will only be staying here 2 days. AT FIRST I was vexed. But for Weydemeyer's sake! This Meyer is a fine, active fellow. However, COOKS slowly and somewhat boring.

*Salut.*Your
Moor

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
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^a 19 May - ^b dying (Louise Weydemeyer) - ^c Abraham Jacobi

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 JUNE 1867

DEAR FRED,

The reason why sheets 10 and 11 are not being sent to you, indeed why no more proofs^a at all, you will discover from the enclosed note from Wigand. On the other hand, you will receive the first 5 pulls that have been sent to me. You can keep them ABOUT 8-10 days, but then you must let me know exactly *which points* in the exposition of the *form of value* you think should be specially popularised for the philistines in the supplement.⁴³⁸

Fenians ordered.⁴³⁹ Other commissions will be executed BY AND BY.

See the *Hermann* of last week. It is now the private herald of Mr Freiligrath, who is reporting on the PROGRESS OF THE SUBSCRIPTION here each week via Juch.⁴²² Little Jenny says that if her father ever did such a thing, she would publicly proclaim him her non-father. Whereupon Lafargue asked her: *Mais qu'est-ce que votre mère dirait là-dessus?*^b The noble poet^c is incidentally sly enough to declare already that he will *have* to remain in London on account of his resp. part in the Shakespeare translation. Ferdinand and Ida,^d Ida and Ferdinand, A WELL-ASSORTED COUPLE, THOSE TWO!

Apropos. When Gumpert asked me which hospital Lafargue was at, I said St Thomas's. I was, however, mistaken. He is at *Bartholomew's* Hospital and asks for the ERROR to be corrected.

Please do not forget to supply a photogramm of yourself and Lupus.

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS Lizzy,^e Moore and Chlormayer.^f
Salut.

Your
K. M.

I was exceedingly pleased to read in the Paris correspondence of *The Times* that the Parisians chanted their support for the Poles to

^a of the first volume of *Capital* - ^b But what would your mother say to that? - ^c Ferdinand Freiligrath - ^d Ferdinand Freiligrath's wife - ^e Lizzy Burns - ^f The name given by Marx in joke to Carl Schorlemmer, a chemist by profession.

Alexander's *face*, etc.⁴⁴⁰ Mr Proudhon and his little doctrinaire clique are not the FRENCH PEOPLE.

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 LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, 10 June 1867

Dear Friend,

The delay attending this letter will expose me to the more or less 'well-founded suspicion' of being a 'bad fellow'. The sole extenuating circumstance I can plead is that I have only been 'resident' in London for the last few days. In the interval I was visiting Engels in Manchester.⁴³⁷ But I am sure you and your dear wife^a now know me sufficiently to realise that epistolary negligence is the rule with me. Nevertheless, my thoughts were with you every day. I count my stay in Hanover among the most splendid and refreshing oases in life's desert.⁴¹²

My stay in Hamburg was uneventful, except that, despite all precautions, I made the acquaintance of Mr Wilhelm Marr. In respect of his personal manner, he is Lassalle translated to Christianity, but there is naturally far less to him. Mr Niemann was also performing in the few days I spent there. However, I had been too spoiled by the society in Hanover to wish to attend a theatrical performance in less good company. Mr Niemann thus escaped me.

Apropos. Meissner is willing to print the medical pamphlet you are planning. You need only send him the manuscript and mention my name. Regarding the precise conditions, you will have to negotiate the rest with him yourself.

The crossing from Hamburg to London was by and large fair, if one discounts somewhat raw weather on the first day. A few hours

^a Gertruda Kugelmann

before we reached London, a young German lady, who had already caught my attention by her military bearing, announced that she intended travelling from London to Weston supra Mare the same evening^a and did not know how she should set about it with all her considerable luggage. The casus was all the more problematical as helping hands are hard to come by in England on the Sabbath. I got her to show me the name of the railway station to which she was to proceed in London. Friends had written it down on a card. It was the NORTH WESTERN STATION, which was on my way as well. I therefore chivalrously offered to set the young lady down there. Agreed. On further reflection, however, it occurred to me that Weston supra Mare lay to the south-west, whereas the STATION which I was to pass and which had been written down for the young lady was north-west. I consulted the SEA-CAPTAIN. Correct: it appeared she should be deposited in a quite different part of London from my own. However, I was now committed and had to assume *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.^b We arrived at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. I took *la donna errante*^c to her STATION, where I learned that her train did not leave until 8 o'clock in the evening. So, I WAS IN FOR IT, and had 6 hours to kill with Mademoiselle, walking in Hyde Park, sitting in ICE-SHOPS, etc. It emerged that her name was Elisabeth von Puttkamer, a *niece of Bismarck's*, as whose guest she had just spent several weeks in Berlin. She had the whole army list by heart, this family providing our 'gallant regiments' with stout hearts and true in super-abundance. She was a cheerful, educated girl, but aristocratic and black and white^d to her finger-tips. She was not a little astonished when she learned that she had fallen into 'red' hands. I reassured her, however, that our encounter would pass 'without bloodshed' and saw her depart *saine et sauve*^e for her destination. Just think what fodder that would provide for Blind or other vulgar democrats—my CONSPIRACY WITH Bismarck!

Today I despatched the 14th corrected proof-sheet.^f I received the majority of them while staying with Engels, who is exceedingly pleased with them and, except for sheets 2 and 3, finds them written in a manner *very* easy to understand. I was reassured by his verdict, as I am always very dissatisfied with my things when I see them printed, especially at first sight.

Please convey my special thanks to your dear wife once more for her warm and friendly welcome to me; I am sending her the photogramm of my 2nd daughter Laura, as the other photo-

^a 19 May - ^b put a brave face on it - ^c the wandering lady - ^d the Prussian colours - ^e safe and sound - ^f of the first volume of *Capital*

gramms have all gone and new ones will have to be made. Engels is ditto having fresh copies made of his own and Wolff's^a photogramms. He was greatly amused by your missives.

My best compliments to 'little madam'^b Eleanor is at school, otherwise she would write to her.

AND NOW, *Adio!*

Your
Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 3, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO MARX¹⁰¹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 June 1867

Dear Moor,

I have been so distracted by all manner of bother with Monsieur Gottfried^c and other suchlike affairs and disturbances for the past week that I seldom had the leisure to study the form of value. Otherwise, I would have sent the sheets^d back to you long ago. Sheet 2 in particular has the marks of your carbuncles rather firmly stamped upon it, but there is not much that can be done about it now and I think you should not deal with it any further in the supplement, as your philistine really is not accustomed to this kind of abstract thinking and will certainly not torment himself for the sake of the form of value. At most, you could provide rather more extensive historical evidence for the conclusions you have here reached dialectically, you could, so to speak, apply the test of history, although you have already made the most essential points in that respect; but you have so much material that you can surely still write quite a good excursus on it, which will by historical

^a Wilhelm Wolff - ^b Franziska Kugelmann - ^c Gottfried Ermen - ^d of the first volume of *Capital*

means demonstrate to the philistine the need for the development of money and the process by which this takes place.

It was a serious mistake not to have made the development of these rather abstract arguments clearer by means of a larger number of short sections with their own headings. You ought to have treated this part in the manner of Hegel's *Encyclopaedia*,^a with short paragraphs, each dialectical transition emphasised by means of a special heading and, as far as possible, all the excurses or merely illustrative material printed in special type. The thing would have looked somewhat like a school text-book, but a very large class of readers would have found it considerably easier to understand. The *populus*, even the scholars, just are no longer at all accustomed to this way of thinking, and one has to make it as easy for them as one possibly can.

Compared with your earlier presentation (Duncker),^b the dialectic of the argument has been greatly sharpened, but with regard to the actual exposition there are a number of things I like better in the first version. It is a great pity that the carbuncles have left their mark on the important second sheet in particular. However, there is nothing to be done about it now, and those who are capable of thinking dialectically will understand it, nevertheless. The other sheets are very good, and I was delighted by them. I hope you will soon be able to send me another five or six sheets (and could you please enclose sheet 5 again so that I can pick up the thread properly); the sheets I have been reading one by one here will make a much better impression when read together.

I've discovered a few more misprints. I would only list as errata those which really distort the sense.

I called on Gumpert yesterday. *Pauvre garçon!*^c He is deteriorating with each day that passes. It was impossible to arouse his interest in anything scientific or even political. Town gossip and nothing more than town gossip. And yet he cannot understand why people don't call on him more often.

Have read Hofmann.^d For all its faults, the latest chemical theory does represent a great advance on the old atomistic theory. The molecule as the smallest part of matter *capable of independent existence* is a perfectly rational category, a 'nodal point',⁴⁴¹ as Hegel calls it, in the infinite progression of subdivisions, which does not terminate it, but marks a qualitative change. The atom—formerly

^a G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*. -

^b K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - ^c Poor fellow! -

^d A. W. Hofmann, *Einleitung in die moderne Chemie*.

represented as the limit of divisibility—is now but a *state*, although Monsieur Hofmann himself is forever relapsing into the old idea that indivisible atoms really exist. For the rest, the advances in chemistry that this book records are truly enormous, and Schorlemmer says that this revolution is still going on day by day, so that new upheavals can be expected daily.

Best regards to your wife, the girls and the electrician.^a

Your

F. E.

Am sending back 5 sheets today.

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 ENGELS¹⁰¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 June 1867

Dear FRED,

Herewith 4 more sheets^b enclosed for you which reached me yesterday. The fellows have left a number of misprints that I corrected perfectly legibly. One error we corrected in ourselves was 'CHILDRENS' EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION', CHILDRENS'. FOR CHILDREN is nominative *pluralis*, genitive mark is'. I saw it at once when I had another look at the BLUE BOOKS³⁵⁹ myself.

King has written to say that the *Fenians*⁴³⁹ are *not yet out*. They are postponing it for as long as possible and as near to the close of the SESSION as possible.

I hope you are satisfied with the 4 sheets. That you have been satisfied with it so far is more important to me than ANYTHING the rest of the world MAY SAY OF IT. At all events, I hope the bourgeoisie will remember my carbuncles until their dying day. Here is a fresh

^a Paul Lafargue (an allusion to his inclination to use electricity in medicine) - ^b of the first volume of *Capital*

sample of what swine they are! You know that the CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION has been at work for 5 years now. When its first report appeared in 1863, the industries it exposed were at once 'called to order'. At the beginning of this session the Tory ministry introduced a BILL *per* Walpole, THE WEEPING WILLOW, accepting all the Commission's proposals, though on a very reduced scale. The fellows who were to be called to order, among them the big metal manufacturers, and especially the vampires of 'domestic industry', maintained a cowardly silence. Now they are presenting a petition to Parliament and demanding—a *New Enquiry!* The old one, they say, was biased! They are counting on the Reform Bill⁴²⁵ taking up the public's entire attention, so that the thing would be COSILY and PRIVATELY smuggled through, at the very time that the TRADE UNIONS are having a rough passage.⁴⁴² The worst things about the REPORTS are *the fellows' own statements*. They are well aware that a new enquiry means *one thing* only, and that is precisely 'what we bourgeois want'—a new 5-year lease for exploitation. Fortunately, my position in the 'INTERNATIONAL' enables me to frustrate those curs' little game. It is a matter of the utmost importance. What is at stake is the *abolition of torture* for 1½ million people, not including the ADULT MALE WORKINGMEN!⁴⁴³

With regard to the development of the *form of value*, I have both followed and *not* followed your advice, thus striking a dialectical attitude in this matter, too. That is to say, 1. I have written an *appendix* in which I set out *the same subject* again as simply and as much in the manner of a school text-book as possible, and 2. I have divided each successive proposition into paras. etc., *each with its own heading*, as you advised. In the *Preface* I then tell the '*non-dialectical*' reader to skip page x-y and instead read the appendix.⁴³⁸ It is not only the philistines that I have in mind here, but young people, etc., who are thirsting for knowledge. Anyway, the issue is crucial for the whole book. The economists have hitherto overlooked the very simple fact that the equation *20 yards of linen = 1 coat* is but the primitive form of *20 yards of linen = £2*, and thus that the *simplest form of a commodity*, in which its value is not yet expressed in its relation to all other commodities but only as something *differentiated* from its own natural form, embodies the *whole secret of the money form* and thereby, *in nuce*,^a *of all bourgeois forms of the product of labour*. In my first presentation (Duncker),^b I avoided the difficulty of the development by not actually analysing

^a in embryo - ^b K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

the way value is expressed until it appears as its developed form, as expressed in money.

You are quite right about Hofmann.^a Incidentally, you will see from the conclusion to my Chapter III, where I outline the transformation of the master of a trade into a capitalist—as a result of purely quantitative changes—that in the text there I quote Hegel's discovery of the law of the transformation of a merely quantitative change into a qualitative one as being attested by history and natural science alike. In the note to the text (I was as it happened attending Hofmann's lectures at that time) I mention the molecular theory, but not Hofmann, who has discovered nothing in the matter except contributing general direction; instead I do mention Laurent, Gerhardt and Wurtz, the latter being the real man.⁴⁴⁴ Your letter struck a faint chord in my memory, and I therefore looked up my manuscript.

Printing has proceeded slowly in the last two weeks (only 4 sheets), probably on account of Whitsun. But Mr O. Wigand will have to make up for this lost time. Apropos. Your book^b is still available. The Workers' Association^c has ordered and been sent 2 NEW COPIES from O. Wigand. (2nd impression 1848.⁴⁴⁵)

Now for private matters.

My children are obliged to invite some other girls for dancing on 2 July, as they have been unable to invite anyone for the whole of this year, to respond to invitations, and are therefore about TO LOSE CASTE. So, hard-pressed though I am at the moment, I had to agree to it and am counting on you for the wine (claret and Rhenish), i.e. on your supplying me with it in the course of next week.

Secondly, as 'misfortunes' never come singly, Lina^d has announced her arrival for next week. My wife will then have to return to her the £5 which she owes her, and you will understand that after fending off the first wave of creditors, I cannot AFFORD that.

I am in fact exceedingly vexed with the people who have promised me money but have not sent word (so far, at least). They have a personal interest in me. That I do know. They also know that I cannot continue my work unless I have a modicum of peace and quiet. And yet they have sent no word!

Our 'noble' poet Freiligrath really is going to collect a tidy sum.⁴²² For they say that going begging to the rich Germans in

^a A. W. Hofmann, *Einleitung in die moderne Chemie* (see this volume, pp. 382-83). -
^b F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^c the German Workers' Educational Society in London - ^d Caroline Schöler

South America and—China! and the West Indies! is most lucrative, as these fellows regard it as *national duty*! Meanwhile, the Freiligraths are continuing to live in *relatively* grand style, constantly entertaining and constantly visiting. That is one reason why the German merchants in London are so unforthcoming. Fat as he is, he is said (so I am told by my wife, who called on them) to look very nerve-wracked and unwell and depressed. But Ida^a is positively blooming and has never been in better spirits in her life.

kindest regards to Mrs Lizzy.^b

Your
K. M.

Honoris causa^c you must procure *Madame Gumpert's* photograph for me.

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 MARX⁴¹⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 June 1867

Dear Moor,

Sheets^d up to and incl. 12 received with thanks, though have not yet read beyond No. 8. Thus far, the chapters on the transformation of money into capital and the production of surplus-value⁴⁴⁶ are the best, as far as presentation and content are concerned. Yesterday I did a rough translation of them for Moore, who understood them correctly and was most astonished that conclusions could be arrived at so simply. At the same time, I have solved the question of *who* should translate your book into English: Moore himself. He has enough German now to read Heine fairly fluently and will soon work his way into your style (except for the form of value

^a Ida Freiligrath - ^b Lizzy Burns - ^c Honour requires that - ^d of the first volume of *Capital*

and the terminology, where I shall have to give him considerable assistance). It is, of course, understood that the whole task will be performed under my immediate supervision. As soon as you have a publisher, who *nota bene* will *pay* him something for his work, he is quite ready to do it. The fellow is diligent and reliable, and, at the same time, has as much prior understanding of the theory as one can expect of an Englishman. I have told him that you would rewrite the analysis of commodities and the section on money in English yourself. For the rest, however, we also need a *terminology* (English) now to translate the Hegelian expressions, and you might be giving some thought to the matter in the meantime, as it is not easy, but there is no way round it.

I have quite lost track of how many sheets have now in fact been type-set—it must surely be half the book by now, mustn't it? I am looking forward to the embarrassment of the economists when they reach the two above-mentioned passages. The development of the form of value is, of course, the quintessence of all the bourgeois trash, but the revolutionary consequences are not yet fully evident, and people can more easily get round these abstractions and confine themselves to clichés. But an end is put to that here, the issue is so crystal clear that I do not see what they can say to it.

I hope you will succeed in tripping up our bourgeois gentlemen with their new Enquiry.⁴⁴² Just a few days ago, I heard one of the iron-founders and engineering manufacturers bemoaning the impending danger. Meanwhile, it is very good that the Commission has permanently frustrated the Sheffield star-chamber organisation.⁴⁴⁷ It was precisely this local terrorism and its great success that deterred the fellows from joining the great national movement, and confirmed them in their parochialism. The cries of horror emanating from the bourgeoisie are comical. As though our bourgeois gentlemen had not had their own star-chambers, their VIGILANCE COMMITTEES in Australia and California, etc., which acted in exactly the same fashion, but claimed far more victims.

I shall be sending you the wine, and another £10 before the end of this month. I would have preferred it if you had set a later date than 2 July for your PARTY. You will understand that I cannot draw £100 on the very *first* day of the financial year without exciting considerable comment, and I shall have to prevent the people in the office wondering too much about what I may be up to with such a sum all at once.

Regarding the molecular theory, Schorlemmer tells me that Gerhardt and Kekulé are the chief figures involved, and that

Wurtz has only popularised and elaborated it.^a He is going to send you a book setting out the historical development of the subject.

Are there not old pre-Baconian, pre-Lockean philosophical writings in English, in which we might be able to find material for the terminology? I have a feeling that something of that kind exists. And how about English attempts at reproducing Hegel?

Kindest regards 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 in full for the first time

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ENGELS TO MARX⁴⁴⁸

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 June 1867

Dear Moor,

'Pursuant to mine faithfully of yesterday', two half five-pound-notes enclosed, whose 2nd halves will follow by 1st post early tomorrow morning and thus be in your possession tomorrow evening.

With regard to the production of surplus-value, another point: the manufacturer, and with him the vulgar economist, will immediately interject: if the capitalist only pays the worker the price of 6 hours for his 12 hours' labour, no surplus-value can be produced, since in that case each hour of the factory worker's labour counts only = $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour's labour, = the amount which has been paid for, and only that value can be embodied in the value of the labour product. Whereupon there will follow the usual formula by way of example: so much for raw materials, so much for wear and tear, so much for wages (wages *actually paid* per hour's actual product), etc. Atrociously superficial though this argument may be, however much it may equate exchange-value

^a See this volume, pp. 382-83 and 385.

with price, and value of labour with labour-wage, and absurd though its premiss may be that if for one hour's labour only half an hour is paid, then only $\frac{1}{2}$ hour's worth goes into the value, I do, nevertheless, find it surprising that you have not already taken it into account, for you will **most certainly** be immediately confronted with this objection, and it is better to anticipate it. Perhaps you return to it in the following sheets.

You must supply me with an address in London to which I can have the £100 sent next week. I am thinking of taking Lizzie^a via Grimsby to Hamburg, Schleswig, Copenhagen, etc., one week from now, and will probably be away for 4 weeks.⁴⁴⁹ I shall therefore have to get our cashier to send the money there on Thursday or Friday, for which purpose I need a *neutral* address, if possible *commercial*. You must therefore consider whom you would prefer for this purpose, and let me know at once.

When I have sent Lizzie back to Grimsby from Hamburg, I shall also go on to visit Meissner and Kugelmann, and then travel to the Rhine.

Kindest 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 ENGELS⁴⁴⁸

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 June^b 1867

Dear FRED,

The 2 half £5-notes received with kindest thanks. With respect to the address, use *Borkheim*. He knows my situation, though with as much concealment as I consider necessary in his regard. I would even like him to know that you are lending me money. But

^a Lizzie Burns - ^b The original has: July.

you must write and tell me *when* the money is to be sent to him. I do not see why I should involve yet a 3rd philistine.

The *Fenians* should be delivered to you today.⁴³⁹

I was so very pleased by your lines of yesterday, and that requires no further elaboration from me.

Sheet 20^a was the latest to reach me. It will probably run to 40 or 42 sheets in all. I've *not* as yet received *any corrected proofs* after the ones already sent you. On your departure send me back those which are in your possession.

Regarding the objection that you mentioned the philistines and vulgar economists will infallibly raise (they forget, of course, that, if they reckon *paid labour* as *wages*, they are reckoning *unpaid labour* as *profit*, etc.), it amounts, in scientific terms, to the following question:

How is the value of the commodity transformed into its price of production, in which

1. the *whole of the labour appears paid for* in the form of *wages*;
2. the surplus-labour, however, or the surplus-value, assumes the form of an *addition to the price*, and goes by the name of interest, profit, etc., *over and above* the *cost-price* (=price of the constant part of capital+wages).

Answering this question presupposes:

I. That the *transformation* of, for example, the *value of a day's labour-power* into *wages* or the *price of a day's labour* has been explained. This is done in *Chapter V* of this volume.⁴⁵⁰

II. That the *transformation of surplus-value* into *profit*, and of *profit into average profit*, etc., has been explained. This presupposes that the *process of the circulation of capital* has been previously explained, since the turnover of capital, etc., plays a part here. This matter cannot therefore be treated prior to the 3rd book (*Volume II* is to contain books 2 and 3).⁴¹⁸ Here it will be shown how the philistines' and vulgar economists' *manner of conceiving things* arises, namely, because the only thing that is ever reflected in their minds is the *immediate form of appearance* of relations, and not their *inner connection*. Incidentally, if the latter were the case, we would surely have no need of *science* at all.

Now if I wished to *refute* all such objections *in advance*, I should spoil the whole dialectical method of exposition. On the contrary, the good thing about this method is that it is constantly *setting traps* for those fellows which will provoke them into an untimely display of their idiocy.

^a of the first volume of *Capital*

By the by, Para. 3: '*The Rate of Surplus Value*', which was the last one you had in your possession, is immediately followed by the Para.: '*The Working Day*' (struggle for the reduction of working time), whose argument demonstrates *ad oculos*^a to what extent those bourgeois gentlemen comprehend the source and nature of their profit *in practice*. This is also shown in the *Senior CASE*, where your bourgeois assures us that his whole profit and interest derive from the *last unpaid hour of labour*.⁴⁵¹

kindest regards to Mrs Lizzy.^b

Your

K. M.

You must stop over for a few days here on your journey home.⁴⁴⁹

Apropos. I judged it in every way imprudent to take Mr *Meissner* into my confidence regarding my private circumstances.

First published 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 ENGELS⁴¹⁹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 June 1867

DEAR FRED,

The children send you their best thanks.

I have written to Meissner today that the 'Leipzig' method cannot continue in this fashion.¹¹¹ I've had *nothing* since Monday. The proofs^c have been reaching me most irregularly throughout, so that I am for ever being interrupted in other work and am for ever kept quite pointlessly on tenterhooks. Having perhaps received 1 sheet in a whole week, *on Saturday evening* I at last get a successor which is too late for me to send off. I have written to

^a vividly - ^b Lizzy Burns - ^c of the first volume of *Capital*

Meissner that Wigand must send a *minimum* of 3 sheets *on certain agreed days*, but that he is always welcome to send *more* at ANY TIME.

If I get 13th and 14th sheets of the corrected copy in time, you shall have them on Sunday. I would have liked you to see my dressing-down of Senior and my introduction to the analysis of the *working day*⁴⁵¹ before your departure.⁴⁴⁹ Incidentally, the section on the 'Working Day' occupies 5 printed sheets, which do, of course, contain predominantly factual material. To show you how closely I have followed your advice in my treatment of the appendix,^a I'll now copy out for you the divisions, sections, headings, etc., of same appendix.⁴³⁸

Appendix to Chapter I, 1

The Form of Value

I. Simple Form of Value

§ 1. *The two poles of the expression of value: relative form and equivalent form of value.*

- a. *Inseparability of the two forms.*
- b. *Polarity of the two forms.*
- c. *Relative value and equivalent, both being but forms of value.*

§ 2. *The relative form of value.*

- a. *The relation of equality.*
- b. *Value-relations.*
- c. *Qualitative content of the relative form of value implied in value-relations.*
- d. *Quantitative determination of the relative form of value implied in value-relations.*
- e. *The relative form of value considered as a whole.*

§ 3. *The equivalent form.*

- a. *The form of direct exchangeability.*
- b. *Quantitative determination not contained in the equivalent form.*
- c. *The peculiarities of the equivalent form.*
 - α. *First peculiarity: use-value becomes the form of appearance of its opposite, value.*
 - β. *Second peculiarity: concrete labour becomes the form of appearance of its opposite, abstract human labour.*

^a See this volume, p. 381.

γ. *Third peculiarity: private labour takes the form of its opposite, namely, labour in its directly social form.*

δ. *Fourth peculiarity: the fetishism of the commodity-form more striking in the equivalent form than in the relative value-form.*

§ 4. *The form of value or independent manifestation of value = exchange value.*

§ 5. *Simple form of value of the commodity = simple manifestation of the contradictions it contains within itself between use-value and value.*

§ 6. *Simple form of value of the commodity = simple form of an object as commodity.*

§ 7. *Relationship between commodity-form and money-form.*

§ 8. *Simple relative form of value and individual equivalent form.*

§ 9. *Transition of the simple into the expanded form of value.*

II. Total or Expanded Form of Value

§ 1. *The endless series of relative expressions of value.*

§ 2. *Sequential determination implied in the expanded relative form of value.*

§ 3. *Defects of the expanded relative form of value.*

§ 4. *Expanded relative form of value and specific equivalent form.*

§ 5. *Transition to the general form of value.*

III. The General Form of Value

§ 1. *Altered character of the relative form of value.*

§ 2. *Altered character of the equivalent form.*

§ 3. *Concurrent development of relative form of value and equivalent form.*

§ 4. *Development of the polarity between relative form of value and equivalent form.*

§ 5. *Transition from the general form of value to the money-form.*

IV. The Money-Form

(The following on the money-form is simply for the sake of continuity—perhaps barely half a page.)

§ 1. *How the transition from the general form of value to the money-form differs from the previous transitions in the development.*

§ 2. *Transformation of the relative form of value into the price form.*

§ 3. *The simple form of commodity is the secret of the money-form.*

You may sprinkle sand on this!

Your
K. Moro

Don't forget to drop a line to Borkheim before you depart, so that no 'misunderstanding' is possible.^a

Regarding the *English translation*,^b I am trying to track down a fellow in London who will *pay decently*, so that both Moro^c as translator and I as author get our due. If I am successful, Mrs Lizzy^d shall also receive *her share* (you must IN THAT CASE allow me that pleasure—but the bird is not yet in the hand) in the form of a London DRESS. I have some expectations, as Mssrs Harrison *et Co.* are most desirous to study the book *in English*.²²⁹ Eccarius has, of course, told them that he is A HUMBLE PUPIL OF MINE—(*his critique of Mill has impressed them hugely, they having previously been believers in Mill*^e)—and that the Prophet Himself is JUST NOW having the quintessence of all wisdom published, that is printed, in Germany.

I am quite sickened by the REPORT ON THE FENIANS.⁴³⁹ These swine boast of their *English* humanity in *not* treating political prisoners *worse* than murderers, street-thieves, forgers and pederasts! And this O'Donovan Rossa, what 'A QUEER FELLOW', because as a FELONY-CONVICT he refused to grovel before his worst enemies! A QUEER FELLOW INDEED! Incidentally, would even the Prussians have been capable of acting in a more bureaucratic fashion than these emissaries of the WEeping Willow,^f that Knox (read ox) and Pollock (BULL-DOG), who naturally accept the evidence given by the SUBORDINATE 'WARDER' as unimpeachable. But if you don't believe the WARDERS, you have the word of—Wermuth, the chief of police!

Mrs O'Donovan Rossa has written the 'INTERNATIONAL' A VERY FLATTERING AND VERY GRACEFUL LETTER^g on her departure for America.

The fury of that Bismarck-oracle, the *Norddeutsche*,^h at Stanley's and Derby's statements about the LUXemburg TREATY has quite cured my nausea.⁴⁵² That jackass Brass calls it an innovation! Palmerston has LAI D DOWN once and for all the principle that COMMON TREATIES impose only the *right* and not by any means *the duty* of intervention FOR ANY STATE. And if that were not so, whatever BECAME of the OBLIGATIONS which *England* assumed at the Congress of

^a See this volume, pp. 386-87 and 389-90. - ^b of the first volume of *Capital* (see this volume, pp. 386-87) - ^c Samuel Moore - ^d Lizzy Burns - ^e J. G. Eccarius, 'A Working Man's Refutation of some Points of Political Economy endorsed and advocated by John Stuart Mill', *The Commonwealth*, Nos. 192-195, 198, 200, 203, 204, 206-211, November 1866-March 1867. - ^f Walpole - ^g See this volume, p. 228. - ^h *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 139 and 146, 18 and 26 June 1867: 'Poliüscher Tagesbericht'.

Vienna with regard to *Poland*, in respect of both Prussia and Russia, and France ditto?

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 LUDWIG KUGELMANN⁶⁵

IN HANOVER

London, 13 July 1867

Dear Friend,

THANKS FOR HEGEL AND the young madam!^a

I shall now briefly answer all the points you raised.

Engels is in Denmark at present and will be paying you a visit one day in the course of this month.⁴⁹ *Ad vocem*^b the same: you recall you told me that Menke (or whatever the man in your *statistical* office in Hanover is called) made some very appreciative remarks about the work of mine^c that was published by Duncker. For Engels' ears I have *twisted* this, to the effect that Menke expressed his great appreciation to me of Engels' 'Condition of the Working Class'.^d *The reason for this pia fraus*^e (and I have perpetrated various *fraudes*^f with the same object in view): to spur Engels on to write and publish the second volume, concerning the period from 1845 to the present. I have at last *succeeded* in this to the extent that he has promised to get down to it. So, if *by chance* conversation should turn to the statistician, *do not let the cat out of the bag*.

Nothing is fixed for *my wife's journey*, nor can it be, it having been overtaken by another event, the proposed departure of my 3 daughters for Bordeaux, to visit Lafargue senior.^g

I do *not* advise you to go to *Paris*. It is impossible to study anything in the midst of that Babylon of things and among that

^a for the portrait of Hegel and the photograph of Kugelmann's daughter, Franziska - ^b Concerning - ^c K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. - ^d F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - ^e white lie - ^f deceits - ^g François Lafargue

throng of people, unless one stays there for at least 6 weeks, which is *very expensive*.

My book^a comprises ABOUT 50 sheets. You see how I had miscalculated AS TO ITS EXTENT. A few days ago I sent the *Appendix*, entitled *The Form of Value, Appendix to Chapter I, I*, to Leipzig. You know who was the *author of this plan*, and I herewith offer him my thanks for his SUGGESTION.⁴³⁸

You will excuse me if I terminate these lines here. Another proof-sheet has just come.

With my best compliments to your wife and the young madam.^b

Yours

K. Marx

With my next letter I shall send *membership cards*^c for Mrs Kugelmann and Mrs Tenge. One lady, Mrs Law, has been promoted to membership of our Central Council.

Best thanks from Eleanor for the STAMPS. The photograms will follow.

First published slightly abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, Nr. 3, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN HANOVER⁴⁴⁹

[London,] 20 July 1867

Dear Engels,

I am writing these lines in haste, in the hope that they may still find you in Hanover. *C'est une chose brûlante*.^d Old Lafargue^e has invited my 3 daughters to Bordeaux (they depart tomorrow with the *secrétaire*^f), whence they will go with him and his wife to a

^a the first volume of *Capital* - ^b Gertruda and Franziska Kugelmann - ^c of the International Working Men's Association - ^d It is a matter of urgency. - ^e François Lafargue - ^f Paul Lafargue (he was Corresponding Secretary for Spain on the General Council)

seaside resort. It was all the harder for me to refuse as the state of health of all 3 girls made this invitation a real blessing. But propriety required that the *secrétaire de l'Espagne* should not be allowed to pay the expenses of the journey. The latter (return) approximately £30, which I thus had to disburse to him. Furthermore, their watches, dresses, etc., had to be reclaimed from the pawnshop. In this way, the £45 which I had in reserve for the rent on 3 August (*bill drawn on myself*) melted into thin air.

I can now think of no other recourse than writing to you. If the letter catches you, please write to me at once *with enclosure to Borkheim* asking him to advance me the money.

While you are in Germany you must read: 'Zwölf Streiter der Revolution von Gustav Struve und Gustav Rasch'. Under the heading of the 'fighting revolutionary' Freiligrath, you will find a fresh instance of this fine fellow's treachery towards us.^a

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 FREILIGRATH⁶

IN LONDON

[Copy]

[London,] 20 July 1867

Dear Freiligrath,

I am not a regular reader of German literary trash, but I cannot prevent friends in Germany from occasionally sending me excerpts containing personal references to me. Thus, yesterday I received all the passages referring to myself in a publication by a certain Rasch entitled 'Zwölf Streiter der Revolution'. I should be obliged to you for an explanation of the following^b:

^a See next letter. - ^b G. Struve and G. Rasch, *Zwölf Streiter der Revolution*, p. 61.

'Freiligrath had, etc., broken off relations with Marx entirely; a quite unpardonable action on Marx's part, about which I wish to say no more here, had been the last straw. It can only be explained as due to the obnoxious character of a man like Marx. I was so indignant about it that one day I asked Freiligrath for details, but he tactfully passed over it.'⁴⁵³

Your
K. M.

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

Printed according to Marx's
notebook

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 August 1867

Dear FRED,

Enclosed charming letter from Dronke in Manchester, received today. He has taken about a fortnight to give me the good advice to 'sell' wine and coffee to cover the cost of transport!

By the by, the little Frenchman was here again today and threatened to write to OLD Lafargue.^a All I could do was to appease him with the promise that he would have his money on Tuesday morning.

Parcel of *Courrier français* along with 2 *Diplomatic Reviews* now due will be despatched on Monday.

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 François Lafargue

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 11 August 1867

Dear Moor,

Enclosed a five-pound-note which I fortunately obtained yesterday and which will now satisfy your FRENCHMAN. Also Dronke's letter. So, the little man has got himself properly into the mire with his petty speculations. I fear that, if he is to shake off his obligations in respect of the Barnedi shares, he will have to go through the BANKRUPTCY COURT. It is very hard for the little fellow, firstly the court-case over the insurance business, and now these blows. However, I assume he will still have his agency, and with its help and with speculation a little less heated, he may soon restore his fortunes.

I have cursorily read through as far as sheet 32^a and will give you my comments on it in due course; the numerous examples in this section, on cursory first reading, somewhat obscure its coherence. But there are some very fine things in it, and both capital and its sycophants will be eternally grateful to you.

On my journey back here⁴⁴⁹ I had the added pleasure of a rifle-bullet shattering the window and flying through the carriage not 12 inches from my chest: some VOLUNTEER probably wished to demonstrate yet again that he ought not to be entrusted with a firearm. It is the strangest RAILWAY ACCIDENT I have ever encountered.

Lizzie^b also had a rather bad return journey, she says she will never go by sea again.

Kindest regards to your wife.

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

^a of the first volume of *Capital* - ^b Lizzie Burns

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 August 1867

Dear FREDERICK,

As you will see from the enclosed, I am threatened with distraint if I do not pay the taxes (amounting to £11-9s.) next Friday. I have an additional £1-15s. interest to pay to the pawnshop at the end of this week, or the things will lapse. I did not tell you of all these abominations before, as I had previously been attempting—vainly, I'm afraid—to rustle up the money in London.

With the huge sums that you have sent me this year, there would be no such PRESSURE, if it had not been for over £200 in previous debts. If I am to straighten out my affairs and not to PRESSURE you so dreadfully, it is imperative that I raise a loan somewhere else, even if another journey to the Continent is required for the purpose. But I cannot lift a finger until the printing is complete.^a I received the 48th sheet today. So this week the whole vile business will be over.

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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^a of the first volume of *Capital*