

**KARL  
MARX  
FREDERICK  
ENGELS**

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**Collected  
Works**



Volume 43  
Marx and Engels  
1868-1870

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## Preface

Volume 43 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains their correspondence from April 1868 to July 1870. Chronologically it completes the period from 1864 to 1870, an important one in the history of Marxism and the international working-class movement, which laid the basis for Marxism's great influence on the mass working-class movement. The years 1868-1870 witnessed the formation of the first workers' parties in a number of countries and the establishment of socialist principles in the programme documents of the International Working Men's Association (the First International). The Association's activity during these years took place against the background of the growing class struggle, the aggravation of economic and social contradictions in Europe, the upsurge in the national liberation struggle of the Irish people, the crisis of the Second Empire and the imminent military conflict between Bonapartist France and Bismarck's Prussia. The international situation was also made more tense as a result of the bourgeois revolution which began in Spain in 1868.

The material in this volume, like that of the preceding one, reflects the remarkably varied activity of Marx and the General Council of the International led by him, activity aimed at strengthening the unity of the working class and educating it in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The letters illustrate Marx's active participation in all the theoretical discussions which took place in the Council, in drafting the resolutions of the General Council and in preparing the congresses of the International Working Men's Association. They also throw light on Marx's

and Engels's work on the drafting and writing of documents for the International in 1868-1870 (published in vols 20 and 21 of the present edition). The correspondence makes clear the great extent to which Engels assisted Marx in leading the International. Marx systematically discussed all important questions with him, kept him informed of the course of discussions in the Council, and of its draft resolutions, and made use of his recommendations. Engels took an active part in working out the International's tactics, explaining it in letters to eminent members of the working-class movement, in particular the Germans (Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Bracke) and frequently defended the position of the International Working Men's Association on various questions in the press.

In the history of the International, the 1868-1870 period was a time of ideological and organisational strengthening. The Association's federations and sections were active in many European countries and the USA. In Britain it was the trade unions which provided its mass base. Trade unions as class organisations of the workers also began to take shape in other countries. 'The International Association..., as a result of conditions on the continent, ... is beginning to become a serious power,' Marx wrote in a letter to Engels of 7 July 1868 (see this volume, p. 63). After the adoption, in November 1864, of the 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' and the 'Provisional Rules of the Association', Marx was faced with the task of drawing up a united theoretical programme for the international working-class movement and substantiating and openly proclaiming the principles of scientific socialism in the International's programme. At the same time he saw clearly that before these principles could be assimilated by the various working-class national organisations a great deal of preparatory work in the press, at congresses and in the local sections would have to be done. 'As the stage of development reached by different sections of the workers in the same country and by the working class in different countries necessarily varies considerably, the actual movement also necessarily expresses itself in very diverse theoretical forms,' Marx wrote to Engels on 5 March 1869. 'The community of action the International Working Men's Association is calling into being, the exchange of ideas by means of the different organs of the sections in all countries and, finally, the direct discussions at the general congresses would also gradually create a common theoretical programme for the general workers' movement' (pp. 235-36). Marx was guided by the fact that the ideological and organisational unity of action of the working class should be formed on the basis of the real class struggle. He saw this as the way to

overcome reformism and sectarianism in the working-class movement.

The correspondence shows that the Association's success in this direction was due largely to Marx's organisational talent, his ability in the course of everyday struggle to stimulate the class consciousness of the workers and lead them to an understanding of common theoretical and practical tasks. These tactics of Marx's were a sure pledge of the victory of scientific communism over the sectarian trends in the working-class movement.

As the correspondence in this volume shows, in 1868-1870 the General Council of the Association continued as before to give material assistance and moral support to those taking part in the strike movement, which embraced broad sections of the working class in Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland (pp. 82, 203-04, and 209-10). During these years international solidarity became a most important factor in the economic struggle of the working class. The organisation of help to strikers promoted the growth of the authority and popularity of the International Working Men's Association among the masses (pp. 8, 350).

As before, Marx participated directly in the preparation of the congresses of the International and had a decisive influence on their work. He wrote the reports of the General Council to the Brussels (September 1868) and Basle (September 1869) congresses. Particularly noteworthy is Marx's letter of 10 September 1868 to Johann Georg Eccarius and Friedrich Lessner, in which he outlined the tactics to be adopted by the General Council's delegates to the Brussels Congress. Here Marx also explains the position of the working class on the question of war in the concrete historical situation at the end of the 1860s in connection with the imminent war between France and Prussia. Noting the insufficient organisation of the workers, Marx nevertheless considered it necessary to state clearly in the resolution to be adopted that 'the congress protests in the name of the working class, and denounces those who instigate war' (p. 94). The campaign for peace was becoming one of the programme aims of the international working-class movement, and its success depended largely on the international unity of the workers.

As the letters show, Marx and Engels expressed their complete satisfaction with the success of the struggle against Proudhonism at the Brussels Congress (p. 102). The adoption by the Congress of resolutions on the need to turn the land, mines, etc., into common property was a convincing victory for socialist principles over the



petty-bourgeois views of the Proudhonists. Thus, the inclusion of the demand for the socialist reorganisation of society in the programme of the International became possible only as a result of progressive workers overcoming the petty-bourgeois world outlook. It is no accident that the bourgeois press began panic-stricken talk about the communist nature of the Congress's decisions on property (pp. 101, 107).

As can be seen from the correspondence, Marx and Engels linked the demand to abolish private ownership of land very closely with the question of the workers' ally in the countryside, the question of the attitude to small peasant property. It was precisely from this angle that the question was considered at the Basle Congress. On 30 October 1869 Marx wrote to Engels about the need for a differentiated approach by the working class to big and small land ownership (p. 364). In his reply to Marx of 1 November 1869 Engels agreed with his point of view and paid special attention to the heterogeneity of the peasantry, the existence, alongside the big peasant proprietors who exploit day labourers and peasant tenants, of middle and small peasant proprietors. Engels pointed out that the working class should adopt a flexible policy in relation to the poor sections of the peasantry, taking their interests into account (p. 365). These ideas of Engels' were elaborated by him in greater detail in his preface to the second edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* at the beginning of February 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 21).

A number of letters published in this volume reflect the struggle waged by Marx, Engels and the General Council of the International against the disorganising activity of Bakunin and his supporters in the International, against Bakunin's anarchist views on major questions of the theory and tactics of the workers' movement. Bakuninism, a form of anarchism, expressed the protest of the petty bourgeoisie against capitalist exploitation and ruin. It reflected the mood of petty proprietors unable to find a real way of freeing themselves from capitalist oppression. In their works and letters Marx and Engels roundly criticised the theory and practice of Bakuninism, pointing out the harm which sectarianism caused to the working-class movement.

The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy set up in the autumn of 1868 in Geneva by Bakunin claimed ideological leadership of the International and at the same time an autonomous existence within it. The leaders of the Alliance hoped to use the International to propagate anarchist ideas and establish their influence throughout the working-class movement.

Bakunin's plans encountered strong opposition from the General Council. After receiving the documents of the Alliance and its request for membership of the International Working Men's Association, Marx deemed it necessary to refuse this request. In a letter to Marx of 18 December 1868 Engels also expressed his strong opposition to allowing the Alliance to join the Association. 'This would be a state within the state,' he wrote to Marx (p. 192). Engels' proposals contained in this letter were included by Marx in the reply compiled by him on behalf of the General Council and entitled *The International Working Men's Association and the Alliance of Socialist Democracy* in which he defended the principles of setting up workers' organisations which ensured their unity and solidarity. In this 'elaborate document the General Council declared the 'Alliance' to be an instrument of disorganisation, and rejected every connexion with it' (p. 491).

In reply to the Alliance's repeated request, Marx drew up a circular letter, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*. This document was actually based on Marx's letter to Engels of 5 March 1869. It contains criticism of the basic precept of the Bakuninist programme—the demand for 'the political, economic and social equalisation of *the classes*'. Marx showed convincingly that the demand for the 'equalisation of the classes' was equivalent to the bourgeois socialists' slogan about 'harmony of capital and labour' and fundamentally opposed to 'the general tendency of the International Working Men's Association—the complete emancipation of the working classes' (p. 236).

The history of the General Council's struggle against subsequent attempts by Bakunin and his supporters to disorganise the International Working Men's Association and also lengthy criticism of the main points of Bakunin's programme are to be found in Marx's letter to Lafargue of 19 April 1870. Describing Bakuninism as a sectarian tendency alien to the working-class movement, Marx focuses his criticism mainly on two of Bakunin's demands: the demand to abolish the right of inheritance, which was declared to be the point of departure of social revolution and the only way to abolish private property, and the renunciation of the political activity of the working class.

The theoretical weakness of Bakunin's recipe, Marx pointed out, lay in the fact that he did not understand the objective link between the basis and the superstructure of capitalist society. 'The whole thing rests on a superannuated idealism, which considers

the actual jurisprudence as the basis of our economical state, instead of seeing that our economical state is the basis and source of our jurisprudence!' (p. 490). Marx also stressed the political and tactical harm of Bakunin's thesis. Proclaiming the abolition of the right of inheritance, Marx believed, would inevitably alienate the working class from its ally, the peasantry. This demand would be 'not a serious act, but a foolish menace, rallying the whole peasantry and the whole small middle-class round the reaction' (ibid.).

Marx also showed how mistaken was Bakunin's demand that the working class should be restrained from taking any part in the political struggle. It misled the workers and prevented the adoption of an independent working-class policy, the growth of class consciousness and the formation of political parties of the working class (pp. 490-91).

As their correspondence shows, Marx and Engels focused their attention on the destiny of the international working-class movement.

With the creation of the North German Confederation in 1867 the German working class was faced with the task of closing its ranks and setting up an independent proletarian party. Its ties with the International were of great importance for the ideological and organisational development of the German working-class movement in the latter half of the 1860s. Marx, who performed the duties of the Corresponding Secretary for Germany from the moment of the founding of the International Working Men's Association, was very closely linked with the German workers. Certain aspects of the activity of one of the German sections, that of Solingen, are revealed by Engels' letter of 8 February 1870 to Karl Klein and Friedrich Moll.

A serious obstacle to educating the German workers in the spirit of scientific communism and proletarian internationalism was Lassalleanism. The correspondence published in this volume enables us to trace the way in which Marx, Engels and their supporters Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, who led the revolutionary wing of the German working-class movement, opposed the Lassallean programme and tactics. In his letter of 13 October 1868 to the President of the General Association of German Workers, J. B. Schweitzer, Marx gave an objective appraisal of Lassalle's role in the German working-class movement. It was to Lassalle's credit, Marx wrote, that he had revived 'after fifteen years of slumber' an independent working-class movement in Germany free from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie

(p. 132). But Lassalle's essentially reformist programme was an eclectic one. His overestimation of setting up workers' co-operatives with state assistance as a means to the social transformation of society (he viewed universal suffrage as the chief way of attaining this aim), his political orientation towards an alliance with Bismarck's government in the matter of German unification, and the sectarian nature of the organisation created by him, were at variance with the aims of the German working-class movement and laid the foundations for the opportunist trend within it (pp. 132-34).

Marx noted that the leaders of the General Association of German Workers, afraid of losing their influence with the masses, had been forced to make important additions to Lassalle's agitational demands. In particular, the programme adopted at the Hamburg Congress (August 1868) included the following points: 'agitation for complete political freedom, regulation of the working day and international co-operation of the working class', i.e. 'the starting points of any "serious" workers' movement' (see Marx's letter to Engels of 26 August 1868). The questions concerning the economic struggle, which Lassalle ignored (the staging of strikes, organisation of trade unions), were considered at the general German workers' congress in Berlin, called by the leaders of the General Association of German Workers in September 1868. However, only representatives of the Lassallean trade unions were admitted to the Berlin Congress, which testified to a continuation of the former sectarian course. In the above-mentioned letter to Schweitzer of 13 October 1868, and many other letters, Marx criticised him strongly for these tactics which led to a split in the trade-union movement and for anti-democratic methods of leadership, as well as criticising the anti-democratic way he set up trade associations. Marx told Schweitzer that the organisation created by him, 'suitable as it is for secret societies and sect movements, contradicts the nature of the trade unions' (p. 134).

From the letters it is clear how carefully Marx and Engels followed the activity of Bebel and Liebknecht at this time, giving them constant advice and supporting their struggle against the Lassalleans to unite the proletarian masses. While he fully understood the need for co-operation with the petty-bourgeois German People's Party against Prussian reaction, Liebknecht on a number of occasions conceded too much to this party; it was precisely this that provoked the strong criticism of Liebknecht's actions by Marx and Engels (pp. 15-16, 38, 141).

Thanks to tireless agitation by Liebknecht and Bebel there was a shift to the left in the Union of German Workers' Associations, which

gradually freed itself from bourgeois influence and drew increasingly close to the International. In a letter to Engels of 29 July 1868 Marx noted with satisfaction that at the forthcoming Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations in Nuremberg in September 1868 it was certain to join the International Working Men's Association and adopt its programme (p. 75). Marx and Engels believed that this success should be consolidated and the prerequisites created for the formation of a proletarian party in Germany by a further break with Lassalleanism and the complete overcoming by the German workers of their ideological dependence on non-proletarian elements alien to them. 'The dissolution of the Lassallean sect and, on the other hand, the severance of the Saxon and South German workers from the leading-strings of the 'People's Party' are the two fundamental conditions for the new formation of a genuine German workers' party,' Marx wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann on 10 July 1869 (p. 313).

In their correspondence Marx and Engels recorded the rapid 'process of the disintegration of specific Lassalleanism', which speeded up the withdrawal of progressive workers from the General Association of German Workers (pp. 255, 304). A number of former Lassalle's supporters (Wilhelm Bracke, Theodor York and others) agreed to the proposal made by Bebel and Liebknecht to call a general congress of German Social-Democrats. At this Congress, which took place in Eisenach from 7 to 9 August 1869, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party was founded. The creation of an independent workers' party in Germany was a great victory for Marxism and for the ideas of the International in the German working-class movement (see Engels' letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 28 April 1870, pp. 498-99). As Lenin pointed out later, in Eisenach a firm foundation was laid for 'a genuinely Social-Democratic workers' party. And in those days the essential thing was the *basis* of the party'. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 298.)

A number of letters published in this volume reflect the desire of Marx and Engels to raise the level of the theoretical awareness of members of the German working-class movement by means of propagating in the press the ideas of scientific communism and their criticism of Lassalleanism.

This volume also contains material concerning the preparation for publication of a short biography of Marx written by Engels (p. 76) and a new edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *The Peasant War in Germany*, which Marx and Engels supplied with new prefaces. Marx had a very high opinion of Engels' Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany*, which was published in *Der Volksstaat*:

'Your introduction is very good. I know of nothing that should be altered or added...' (p. 428).

The letters in this volume show how closely Marx and Engels followed the development of the working-class movement in France on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune. The deepening crisis of the Second Empire and the growth of revolutionary activity among the masses helped to extend the influence of the International in France. Within the French working class the characteristic Proudhonist renunciation of active forms of organising workers (economic and political) was gradually being overcome. There was a growing trend towards the emergence of a workers' party. Alarmed by the growing influence of the International in the country, the French government tried to check the revolutionary movement with mass reprisals, and also to provoke premature action by the masses in order to strike a blow at the working class. Marx wrote to Engels on 18 November 1868: 'In France things look very serious... The government wants to force the lads on to the streets so that *chassepot* and rifled cannon may then *laisser "faire merveille"*' (p. 162).

In March and May of 1868 and June-July of 1870 the Bonapartist government organised three trials against the French sections of the International Working Men's Association. Leaders of sections of the Association were arrested and accused of plotting against the Emperor. Noting the provocative character of the victimisation of French members of the International, Marx wrote to his daughter Jenny on 31 May 1870 in connection with the third trial, that the Bonapartist officials were busying themselves in Paris 'to hatch a new complot, in which the "Intern. W. Ass." is to play the principal part and where I, as ... "*wirklicher geheimer Oberhauptchef*" must of course put in my appearance' (p. 525). He stressed that all the repressive acts of the Bonapartist government were merely leading to a growth in the International's influence in France. 'Our French members are demonstrating *ad oculos* the French Government the difference between a political secret society and a genuine workers' association. No sooner had the government jailed all the members of the Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles etc., committees ... than committees *twice as numerous* announced themselves in the newspapers as their successors with the most daring and defiant declarations (and, as an added touch, with their *private addresses* as well). The French Government has finally done what we so long wanted it to do: transform the political question—Empire or Republic—into a question *de vie ou de mort* for the working class!' (pp. 522-23).

As leader of the International Marx attached great importance to the consolidation of the truly proletarian elements in France, to their ideological and organisational strengthening. With his direct help and support the official founding of the Paris Federation of the International took place in Paris on 18 April 1870. In his letters to Paul Lafargue of 18 and 19 April 1870 Marx advised the leaders of the Federation to adopt firm class positions, not to allow sectarian tendencies and not to give way to the influence of the various petty-bourgeois Proudhonist and Bakuninist doctrines. '*Il faut éviter les "étiquettes" sectaires dans l'Association Internationale*, he wrote. 'Those who interpret best the hidden sense of the class struggle going on before our eyes—the Communists are the last to commit the blunder of affecting or fostering sectarianism' (p. 485).

Marx's and Engels' letters about France included in this volume are full of hopes for a new outburst of the emancipation struggle of the working class, full of revolutionary optimism based on their belief in the inevitability of a crisis of the Bonapartist regime and major social changes, and full of the awareness that 'the whole historic witches' brew is simmering' (p. 233).

The correspondence shows the deep and constant interest which Marx and Engels took in the problems of the British working-class movement. In this period, as before, Marx made use of the experience of the mass organisations of the British working class—the trade unions. Under his leadership the General Council of the International maintained constant connections with a number of the largest trade unions in Manchester, Birmingham and Salford, particularly during their struggle for the full legalisation of trade unions and their national unification. Marx linked the successful solution of these questions first and foremost with active struggle by rank-and-file trade-union members. 'The squabble among the authorities of the trades unions, which in fact paralysed them for years, has at last been settled...', Marx wrote to Engels on 26 September 1868 in connection with the formation of the British Trades Union Congress, when the trade unions 'have finally agreed on *joint action*' (p. 114).

Some of the letters also contain criticism of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions who sought to solve social problems by means of reforms and compromises with the ruling classes (pp. 3-4, 253 and 394-95). However, the very course of the class struggle (strikes and the mass movement for electoral reform, etc.), and also the influence of the International, sometimes encouraged British trade unionists in practice to go beyond their socially pacifist and reformist ideas. This gave Marx a basis for collaborating with the

trade-union leaders in the International Working Men's Association up to the time of the Paris Commune. Simultaneously Marx fought uncompromisingly against their reformist views, urging them to rely on the masses.

However, the revolutionary tendencies which continued to exist in the British mass working-class movement were challenged as before by the strong reformist influence of the trade-union leaders. Explaining the failure of the first working-class candidates at the parliamentary elections in 1868, Marx and Engels pointed above all to the ideological and political dependence of the working class on liberal bourgeois leaders, to the fact that the working class did not have its own political party and its own programme. 'Everywhere the proletariat are the rag, tag and bobtail of the official parties...,' Engels wrote on 18 November 1868 (p. 163). Marx's letters clearly show that the electoral defeat forced some of the London trade-union leaders who were members of the General Council to admit the soundness of his criticism and, to a certain extent, to agree with his view of the need for workers to act independently, to fight against them being turned into an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie. '...the English too late but unanimously acknowledged that I had forecast *literally* for them, the ... highly amusing upshot of the elections,' he wrote to Engels on 18 November 1868 (p. 161).

The letters tell the story of the International Working Men's Association's break with the trade-unionist newspaper *The Bee-Hive*, which had been the official organ of the General Council since 22 November 1864. Under the leadership of bourgeois liberals the newspaper adopted a conciliatory position, ignoring and distorting the documents of the International. On Marx's initiative the General Council discussed the situation with *The Bee-Hive* in April 1870 and the newspaper ceased to be the International's organ. 'I denounced the paper as being sold to the bourgeois (S. Morley, etc.), mentioned particularly its treatment of our Irish resolutions and debates, etc.,' Marx wrote to Engels on 28 April 1870 (pp. 497-98).

After the Basle Congress of the International the question of the abolition of large-scale land-ownership as an effective means of fighting poverty, a very topical question for Britain, was actively discussed in democratic circles and among the workers. Marx saw this as an opportunity to create in Britain an independent political workers' organisation of a non-trade-union nature, an organisation whose programme would be originally based on the resolutions of the International's congresses. Thus, the *Land and Labour*



*League* was founded on 27 October 1869. Marx became an active member. Concerning the actual fact of the founding of the League Marx wrote to Engels on 30 October 1869: 'The creation of the *Land and Labour League* (incidentally, directly inspired by the General Council) should be regarded as an outcome of the Basle Congress; here, the workers' party makes a clean break with the bourgeoisie, nationalisation of land [being] the starting point' (p. 364).

In the second half of the 1860s the growing national liberation movement in Ireland began to have a great influence on British social and political life.

Some of the letters in this volume give a detailed account of the course of the discussion on the Irish question which took place in autumn 1869 in the General Council on Marx's initiative (pp. 371-72, 375-76, 386-87, 392-93) and was connected with the widespread campaign launched at that time in Britain for an amnesty for imprisoned Fenians. Marx was hoping in the course of this discussion to state in a resolution of the General Council the British working class's internationalist attitude to its ally, the fighters for the national liberation of Ireland. Illness prevented him from realising this intention, however. Nevertheless, his point of view was reflected in other General Council documents, in particular, the 'Confidential Communication' (see present edition, Vol. 21) and in letters to active members of the working-class movement in Germany, France and the USA (see this volume, pp. 390-91, 449, 472-76). In these letters Marx elaborated the thesis that the abolition of the Irish people's colonial enslavement and the granting to the Irish themselves of the right to decide their own fate was the most important condition for the emancipation of the working class in Britain. Thus he used the example of Anglo-Irish relations to illustrate a most important thesis in the national colonial question, namely, the community of interests between the participants in the national liberation struggle in the colonies and the workers' movement in the metropolis, and their interaction as a major prerequisite for the emancipation of the working people both in the metropolis and in the colonies.

Ireland, a British colony, Marx explained in his correspondence, was the citadel of British landlordism. The landed aristocracy mercilessly exploited the Irish peasants. The colonial enslavement of Ireland was also an important source of the strength of the British bourgeoisie. Irish workers in Britain were forced to agree to any wage, thereby lowering the standard of living of British workers. This brought about a split in the working class of Great

Britain and strengthened the position of the capitalists (pp. 473-75). To destroy the foundations of the rule of the British landed magnates and the financial and industrial bourgeoisie in Ireland would be to weaken the power of these classes in England itself. Consequently the liberation of Ireland would help the English working class considerably to attain its class aims (pp. 473-75). In this connection Marx wrote: 'For a long time I believed it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working class ascendancy... Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* before it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland. This is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general' (p. 398).

Marx emphasised that the English working class 'will' never be able to do anything decisive here in England before they separate their attitude towards Ireland quite definitely from that of the ruling classes, and not only make common cause with the Irish, but even take the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801, and substituting a free federal relationship for it' (p. 390). 'Only by putting forward this demand was Marx really educating the English workers in the spirit of internationalism,' stressed Lenin (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 149-50).

The internationalist ideas of Marx and Engels on the Irish question were the result of their deep study of the historical past and present condition of this country and the long history of Anglo-Irish relations. Engels wrote: 'Irish history shows what a misfortune it is for one nation to subjugate another' (p. 363).

The correspondence throws light on Engels' work on his book on Irish history. The Franco-Prussian war which began in the summer of 1870 and the revolution which followed in Paris did not, however, allow him to complete this work.

A number of letters in this volume show Marx's constant and profound interest in the development of the American working-class movement. As the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for the German language sections in the USA, Marx corresponded with representatives of the German workers in America. He urged them to struggle to overcome sectarianism and strive for the international unity of the American working-class movement and to draw it into the sphere of activity of the International. '*A coalition of the German workers with the Irish workers* (naturally, also, with the English and American workers who wish to join in) is the greatest thing you could undertake now. This must be done in the name of the "International"', he wrote to Sigfrid

Meyer and August Vogt on 9 April 1870 (p. 476). Marx wrote with profound regret of the sudden death of William Sylvis, the President of the National Labor Union of the USA, of whose achievements he thought highly, particularly of his struggle to overcome national and local separatism in the American working-class movement (p. 351).

Some of the letters in this volume also indicate the constant interest with which Marx and Engels followed the growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Marx's letter to N. F. Danielson of 7 October, 1868 marked the beginning of regular correspondence between the founders of Marxism and the leaders of the Russian revolutionary democratic movement. During this period Marx was strongly aware of the need for more detailed knowledge of life inside Russia after the abolition of serfdom in 1861. A study of the socio-economic relations of this huge peasant country which had embarked on the path of capitalist development led Marx to feel 'deeply convinced that a ... social revolution ... is irrepressible in Russia and near at hand' (see Marx's letter to Laura and Paul Lafargue of 5 March 1870). Marx was convinced that the victory of a popular revolution and the overthrow of tsarism in Russia would provide a powerful impetus for the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world. In the concrete historical conditions of the late 1860s Marx regarded the victory of the revolutionary forces in Britain and Russia as one of the main and decisive conditions for the overthrow of capitalist society and the social reorganisation of Europe.

During this period Marx and Engels also established contact with the Russian revolutionary youth educated on the ideals of the great Russian revolutionary democrats N. G. Chernyshevsky and N. A. Dobrolyubov. Early in 1870 a Russian section of the International was set up in Geneva. Concerning this Marx informed Engels on 12 February 1870: 'In Geneva, by the by, a new colony of exiled Russian students has grown up with a programme proclaiming opposition to pan-Slavism, which should be replaced by the "International"' (p. 430). On 12 March 1870 the members of the Russian section, one of the organisers of which was N. Utin, sent a letter to London announcing its constitution. Inviting Marx to represent their section on the General Council, they declared themselves to be in full agreement with the principles of the International (pp. 480, 493). He readily agreed to their request. 'Enclosed, a letter from the *Russian colony* in Geneva,' he wrote to Engels on 24 March 1870. 'We have admitted

them; I have *accepted* their commission to be their representative on the General Council, and have also sent them a short reply...' (p. 462).

The propagation and dissemination of Marxism and the overcoming of petty-bourgeois utopias in the working class were greatly assisted by the publication in September 1867 of Volume I of Marx's *Capital*. After it came out Marx continued to work on its second and third books, which he intended should form Volume II. In spite of his bad health and constant financial difficulties, Marx nevertheless believed that for him 'there could never, from the outset, have been any question of ... taking over a business before ...' the 'book was finished' (p. 185).

In the summer of 1868 Marx embarked upon further intensive study in the British Museum library. Resuming his work on Volume II of *Capital*, he decided first and foremost to rewrite and expand the preliminary draft of the second book (Manuscript I). From the end of 1868 to the middle of 1870 he wrote a new version of the whole of second book of *Capital*, which he later called Manuscript II. In the Preface to Volume II Engels subsequently evaluated it as 'the only somewhat complete elaboration of Book II...' (see present edition, Vol. 36). It was at this time that Marx made use of *The Position of the Working Class in Russia* by V. V. Bervi (Flerovsky), published in 1869, for his work on Volume II of *Capital*. Marx considered Flerovsky's work to be the most important socio-economic study of the condition of the workers after Engels' book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (pp. 423-24). In this connection Marx began 'to study Russian hammer and tongs' (p. 551) and by the beginning of February 1870 had made considerable progress in the language.

Alongside his work on Book II of *Capital*, Marx paid considerable attention during this period to the study of problems relating to Book III. In his letter to Engels of 30 April 1868 Marx outlined his plan for the structure and main contents of the whole of Book III (pp. 21-25).

To be well-equipped with facts Marx continued to study world economic literature. Thus, in his letter of 7 October 1868 to N. F. Danielson he wrote that he could not prepare Volume II of *Capital* for the press 'until certain official *enquêtes*, instituted during last year (and 1866) in France, the United States and England, have been completed or published' (p. 123).

Marx made an intensive study of new material on agricultural development and agrarian relations in a number of countries. He sent various requests for the necessary literature to his comrades

and his daughter Laura, who had moved to Paris after her marriage (pp. 9 and 97). Thus, Marx requested De Paepe to let him have the titles of the main works on the structure of land holding in Belgium and Belgian agriculture (p. 412). He wrote to Sigfrid Meyer, one of the leaders of the German and American working-class movement, on 4 July 1868 asking him to send him American newspapers from time to time. 'In particular, it would be of great value to me,' Marx wrote, 'if you could dig up some anti-bourgeois material about land-ownership and agrarian relations in the United States.' Marx needed this material, inter alia, for his polemic with the American economist H. Ch. Carey on the question of land rent. Engels' letters of 9 and 19 November to Marx and Marx's letter to Engels of 26 November 1869 contain a critical examination of Carey's mistaken ideas, and also point out errors in Ricardo's theory of land rent. Marx and Engels substantiate their views on the emergence of land rent, quoting convincing examples and facts in support of their theory.

As can be seen from Marx's letters, the agrarian system in Russia was of considerable interest to him in his treatment of the genesis of capitalist land rent in Book III of *Capital*. In the middle of 1868 Marx embarked upon a careful study of Russian sources, in the belief that in 'dealing with the land question, it has become essential to study Russian land-owning relationships from primary sources' (Marx to Kugelmann, 27 June 1870).

Describing Marx's studies of a large number of Russian sources in the 1870s, Engels noted later in the Preface to Volume III of *Capital* that according to Marx's plan Russia 'was to play the same role in the part dealing with rent in land that England played in Book I in connection with industrial wage-labour' (see present edition, Vol. 37).

As well as continuing to elaborate economic theory Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention in this period to circulating Volume I of *Capital* and propagating its ideas. Some of the letters in this volume refer to the steps taken by Marx and Engels to popularise the work. Engels rendered great service in this respect. Thus, besides some reviews of the volume for German newspapers, in 1868 Engels also wrote a review for the English bourgeois journal *The Fortnightly Review* (see present edition, Vol. 20).

In a number of letters Marx and Engels touch upon reviews and comments by bourgeois economists on Volume I of *Capital*. Here, alongside a critical appraisal of the views expressed by the authors of these reviews ('specialist mandarins', as Marx so aptly puts it) (p. 213), they set out in clear and concise form the most important

theses of Marx's economic theory (see, for example, Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of 11 July 1868).

The main aim behind the efforts by Marx and Engels to disseminate the ideas of *Capital* was to equip the working class with a scientific revolutionary economic theory in its struggle to free itself from capitalist exploitation. Linking the elaboration of an economic theory very closely with practical aims, Marx attached great importance to the propagation of his views to a working-class audience. He delivered a lecture on wages for German workers in London, about which he wrote to Engels on 23 May 1868 (see p. 40). Engels constantly showed genuine concern for the fate of the working-class movement and the practical application of the conclusions of Marx's political economy. He intended to write a popular brochure on the contents of Volume I of *Capital* for the workers (see Engels' letter to Marx of 16 September 1868, this volume, p. 100).

The correspondence of Marx and Engels in this period also illustrates the great importance they attached to the publication of *Capital* in different languages (French, Russian and English). In October 1869 Charles Keller, a member of the Paris section of the First International, began work on a translation of *Capital* (pp. 399, 546), greatly assisted by Marx (p. 359). The work was not completed, however. One of the leaders of revolutionary Chartism, George Harney, a companion-in-arms and friend of Marx and Engels, offered his services for the publication of Volume I of *Capital* in English in New York (p. 276).

Marx was delighted to hear that his book was being translated into Russian (p. 130), and wrote on 7 October 1868 to one of the translators, N. F. Danielson. It was the first translation of *Capital*, and appeared in 1872.

The letters indicate the truly encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by Marx and Engels, the breadth and variety of their scholarly interests. During this period they devoted considerable attention to philosophical problems. In a number of letters Marx criticises Eugen Dühring and F. A. Lange for their deprecatory attitude to Hegelian dialectics.

In October-November 1868 Marx and Engels read and discussed in detail the manuscript of the book entitled *Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit* by the German leather-worker Joseph Dietzgen. They stressed Dietzgen's considerable learning and his independent discovery of the laws of the materialist theory of knowledge. On 28 October 1868, in direct response to the impression which the manuscript had made upon him, Marx wrote:

'He is one of the most gifted workers I know' (p. 149).

The correspondence also bears witness to the constant interest which Marx and Engels took in the development of the natural sciences, physics, chemistry and biology, and their study of the most important discoveries in these areas (pp. 33 and 246). As can be seen from Marx's letter to Engels of 18 November 1868, Marx was interested in the problem of the origin of life on earth in connection with research by the Viennese Professor Gustav Jäger and the German scientist Ernst Haeckel, followers of Darwin's theory of evolution (p. 162).

In his letter to Kugelmann of 27 June 1870, Marx sharply criticised the book *On the Workers' Question* by one of the so-called social Darwinists, F. A. Lange, who automatically transferred the law of the struggle for existence discovered by Darwin in the animal and plant world to the history of mankind. There is also sharp criticism of 'social Darwinism' in Marx's letter to Paul and Laura Lafargue of 15 February 1869.

As before, linguistics remained the special sphere of Engels' scientific interests. In spring 1869 he resumed his studies of the Friesian and Old Irish languages (pp. 247, 257, 410, 501, 514, 517-18).

The correspondence published in this volume contains extensive biographical material on Marx and Engels and gives a clear picture of their everyday life and struggle, their process of creation and their practical activity during this period, when they were in effect leading the mass international working-class movement. The letters fully reflect the growing friendship between the two men over the years, their constant collaboration both in the elaboration of theory and in leading the workers' revolutionary struggle, and their touching affection for each other. For Marx Engels was the person with whom he shared his most intimate thoughts and new scientific ideas. Engels' attachment to Marx extended to the members of his family, especially his daughters for whom he showed a truly paternal concern.

As the correspondence shows, Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention to the training and ideological education of progressive fighters from the working class. In the General Council and the administrative bodies of the International in the various countries Marx sought to create a firm backbone of proletarian revolutionaries. Under the direct influence of Marx, with the assistance of veterans of the working-class movement who had been members of the Communist League and taken part in the Revolution of 1848-49, such as Johann Becker, Johann Georg

Eccarius, Friedrich Lessner, Karl Pfänder, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Victor Schily, young members of the working-class movement, such as César de Paepe, Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt, were introduced to scientific socialism. The letters published show how patiently and determinedly Marx and Engels sought to educate their comrades-in-arms, helping them with advice, responding to their requests and criticising their errors and shortcomings.

An example of the considerate and comradely attitude of Marx and Engels to their friends and comrades-in-arms is the help which they gave to Eugene Dupont, a General Council member, when he was in great need after his wife died and he lost his job (p. 481). Marx also gave financial assistance to the German worker Eccarius (pp. 284-85).

The correspondence presents us with vivid portraits of Marx's and Engels' comrades-in-arms and friends, active members of the working-class movement, such as Friedrich Lessner, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Ernest Jones.

It also shows us the new generation of revolutionaries—Paul Lafargue; the French ethnographer Gustave Flourens, a man of unusual bravery and courage; the Russian naturalist and revolutionary Hermann Lopatin, whom Marx considered as 'a very wide-awake *critical* brain' (p. 530), and the young August Bebel. Marx and Engels spoke with affection and respect of the German chemist and Social-Democrat Carl Schorlemmer; of the English lawyer, member of the International and future translator of Volume I of *Capital*, Samuel Moore; the English geologist Dakyns, who joined the socialist movement under the influence of Marx and Engels; the German doctor Ludwig Kugelmann and others.

In addition to the correspondence there is Engels' 'Confession' (answers to questions on a semi-humorous questionnaire) which reveals his personal merits, his warm sense of humour and his well-balanced personality.

\* \* \*

Volume 43 contains 347 letters by Marx and Engels. The majority were written in German, 21 in English, 6 in French and several in a combination of two or three languages. Most of the letters are published in English for the first time; 125 letters have been published in English before, 87 of these in part only. All previous publications are indicated in the notes. Engels' letter of 26 November 1868 to W. Holzenhauer is published here for the



first time. The Appendices contain 11 letters and documents, which are published in English for the first time.

During work on the text and other sections of this volume the dating of certain letters was established more accurately as a result of additional research.

The text of earlier English publications has been checked and verified against the originals. Obvious errors have been silently corrected. Abbreviated proper names, geographical names and individual words are given in full, except when these abbreviations were made for conspiratorial reasons or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes, and passages where the text is lost or illegible are indicated by dots. If the context makes it possible to provide a hypothetical reconstruction of the lost or illegible passages, this is given in square brackets. Passages deleted by the authors are reproduced at the bottom of the page in cases where there is a significant discrepancy. The special nature of certain letters which were drafts or fragments reproduced in other documents is indicated either in the text itself or in the notes.

Foreign words and expressions in the text of the letters are retained in the form in which they were used by the authors, with a translation where necessary in the footnotes and italicised (if they were underlined by the authors they are italicised and spaced out).

English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels in texts originally written in German, French or other languages are printed in small caps. Whole passages originally written in English are marked by 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.

The numbering of the notes relating to one and the same fact or event in the texts of different letters is duplicated.

The volume was compiled, the texts of the letters and notes prepared by Irina Shikanyan (letters from April 1868 to April 1869 inclusive) and Alexander Vatutin (letters from May 1869 to July 1870). The Preface was written by Irina Shikanyan and Alexander Vatutin. The volume was edited by Velta Pospelova. The name index and the index of periodicals were prepared by Alexander Vatutin, the index of quoted and mentioned literature jointly by Irina Shikanyan and Alexander Vatutin (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were done by John Peet (Lawrence & Wishart),

Michael Slattery and Sergei Syrovatkin (Progress Publishers) and edited by Eric Hobsbawm, Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart) and Glenys Ann Kozlov, Jane Sayer, Svetlana Gerasimenko, Yelena Kalinina, Natalia Karmanova, Mzia Pitskhelauri, Viktor Schnittke (Progress Publishers), and Norire Ter-Akopyan, scientific editor (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by Yelena Vorotnikova and Nadezhda Rudenko (Progress Publishers).



**KARL MARX  
and  
FREDERICK ENGELS**

**LETTERS**

**April 1868-July 1870**



1868

1

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>1</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 6 April 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

The young pair<sup>a</sup> were registered at a civil ceremony last Thursday<sup>b</sup> (since a *church* wedding is not legally necessary here), and have left for France to celebrate their HONEYMOON. They send their best greetings to you and Mrs Gertrud.

Coppel paid a call on me here. Unfortunately, I could not receive him, since I was wrapped in cataplasms. Engels was here during the wedding, and left again yesterday.<sup>2</sup> In response to his urgings, I have decided to take the arsenic cure, since an end must at last be put to this state of affairs. One of his friends in Manchester<sup>c</sup> was completely cured by this method in a relatively short time. I had certain prejudices against arsenic after reading in the *Gazette médicale* about a discussion among French doctors.<sup>d</sup>

The Irish question predominates here just now. It has naturally only been exploited by Gladstone and consorts to take over the helm again, and particularly to have an *ELECTORAL CRY*<sup>e</sup> at the next elections, which will be based on HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE.<sup>3</sup> *At the moment*, this turn of affairs is detrimental to the workers' party, because the intriguers among the workers, such as Odger, Potter, etc., who want to get into the next Parliament, have now found a new *excuse* for attaching themselves to the bourgeois liberals.<sup>4</sup>

This is, however, only a *penalty* that England—and thus, also, the English working class—is paying for the great centuries-old

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<sup>a</sup> Paul and Laura Lafargue - <sup>b</sup> 2 April - <sup>c</sup> Presumably Schorlemmer (see this volume, p. 12). - <sup>d</sup> 'Traitement arsénial de la phthisie pulmonaire', *Gazette médicale de Paris*, 11 January 1868. - <sup>e</sup> This English phrase is given in brackets after its German equivalent.

crime against Ireland. IN THE LONG RUN it will benefit the English working class itself. You see, the *ENGLISH ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN IRELAND*—OR WHAT THEY USE TO CALL HERE THE *IRISH CHURCH*—is the religious bulwark of *English LANDLORDISM IN IRELAND* and, at the same time, the outpost of the Established Church in England itself (I am speaking here of the Established Church as a *landowner*). The overthrow of the Established Church in Ireland would mean its fall in England, and the two will be followed (in their downfall) by *LANDLORDISM*, first in Ireland and then in England. And I have always been convinced that the social revolution must begin *seriously* from the ground, i.e. from landed property.

In addition, the whole thing will have the very useful result that, once the *IRISH CHURCH* is dead, the *PROTESTANT IRISH TENANTS* in the province of Ulster will make common cause with the Catholic *TENANTS* and their movement in the 3 other provinces of Ireland, whereas so far *LANDLORDISM* has been able to exploit this *religious* antagonism.

The day before yesterday I received a letter from Freiligrath (wedding cards were, of course, sent to him), containing the following curious sentence.<sup>5</sup>—It will perhaps amuse you more, however, if *I enclose the letter itself*, which I now do. But you must *return* it to me. So that you understand the letter properly, the following: In Berlin, shortly before my book<sup>a</sup> came out, there appeared *Zwölf Streiter der Revolution von G. Struve und Gustav Rasch*. In this publication, Freiligrath is acclaimed as 'one' of the 12 apostles and, at the same time, it is proved in great detail that he *never* was a communist, in fact that it was only through *TOO GREAT A CONDESCENSION* that he became associated with such monsters as Marx, Engels, Wolff, etc.<sup>b</sup> Since Wolff was slandered here too, I wrote to Freiligrath for an explanation, particularly since I knew that G. Rasch (a scoundrel) headed his begging committee in Berlin.<sup>6</sup> He replied very dryly, and with evasive philistine cunning. Later I sent him my book without, however, as was formerly our mutual custom, signing it. He appears to have taken the *HINT*.

My best regards to your dear wife and Fränzchen. If at all feasible, I shall come *UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES* and pay you a visit.

Yours

K. Marx

<sup>a</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> G. Struve and G. Rasch, *Zwölf Streiter der Revolution*, Berlin, 1867, pp. 59-61.

*Apropos.* Borkheim will visit you IN A FEW DAYS. Don't forget that, despite all comradeship with him, I always *observe reserve!*

Liebknrecht's paper<sup>a</sup> is much too narrow-mindedly 'southern'.<sup>b</sup> (He has not enough dialectic to strike out on two sides at once.)

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## 2

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 April 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed letters from Wilhelmchen<sup>7</sup> and Siebel, please return the former to me. Poor Siebel seems to be having a bad time indeed. I shall see him in about 10 days.

Further, the draft of an advertisement for Meissner<sup>8</sup>; what do you think of it? So far it has not been pressing, since he could not advertise because of the Easter Fair anyway.

Yesterday I sent you Nos. 4 to 14 of Wilhelmchen's rag.<sup>c</sup> It is dreadfully stupid. One who was in England for such a long time and who has your book and mine<sup>d</sup> should really know how to put the material supplied to him by the workers to other use than simply reproducing it at full length. Some anti-federalist passages with us in mind are rather comical in connection with the whole federalist-Struveist nature of the sheet.<sup>e,9</sup>

When I got back here<sup>2</sup> I found such a pile of work waiting that I could only see Gumpert yesterday. Enclosed the prescription: on the

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<sup>a</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>b</sup> See next letter and Engels' letter to Marx of 2 February 1868 (present edition, Vol. 42). - <sup>c</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>d</sup> Presumably the first volume of *Capital* and *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. - <sup>e</sup> See previous letter.



first 4-5 days you should take it only twice daily, then 3 times, always 1 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>-2 hours after a meal. And also live well and get plenty of exercise. Gumpert laughs at your assertion that arsenic makes you stupid.

The vote on parliamentary freedom of speech is explained by the fact that Bismarck had stated previously that for Prussia, for the sake of peace, he would concede this point. So it was not even, as we thought, proof of the courage of the philistines.

What Wilhelm says about the American treaty is of course nonsense from beginning to end.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, I have a death to announce to Tussy. The poor hedgehog ate a round hole in his blanket, put his head through it, and got so stuck in it that he was found strangled yesterday morning. Peace to his ashes, and BETTER LUCK TO THE NEXT ONE.

During the 3 days of my absence, the fellows in Liverpool swindled cotton up by no less than 3d., from 10d. to 13d. Hence so much work. Luckily the holidays intervene, which I am using to complete the extracts for the Beesly article.<sup>11</sup> I am starting right away, and thus close for today. Best greetings to your wife and the girls.

Your  
F. E.

The wedding was celebrated here with great festivity: the dogs had green collars, a TEA PARTY for 6 children, Lafargue's glass basin served as a punch-bowl, and the poor hedgehog was made drunk for the last time.

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## 3

## MARX TO ENGELS

## IN MANCHESTER

London, 11 April 1868

DEAR FRED,

*D'abord*<sup>a</sup> the GENERAL CONDOLOCATIONS, and especially from Tussychen, about the departed RIGHT HONOURABLE HEDGEHOG.

It is a good thing that the opium prescription arrived today.<sup>b</sup> The affairs under my arm have become very vexatious since your departure.<sup>2</sup>

From the young couple,<sup>c</sup> who are now in Paris, the most satisfying news.<sup>12</sup> They are obviously very happy. Lafargue has sent me Horn's pamphlet<sup>d</sup> and another one on French finance. The second is twaddle, the first I shall send you soon. I wrote to Lafargue<sup>e</sup> that the fact that he finds time 'AT SUCH A CRITICAL JUNCTURE' to think of me and send me printed matter goes a long way to prove 'THAT HE MUST BELONG TO A BETTER THAN THE EUROPEAN RACE'.<sup>f</sup> WE ARE ALWAYS 'CHAFFING' AT EACH OTHER.

I have read the *Histoire du Crédit mobilier*.<sup>8</sup> As far as the real essence of the matter is concerned, I really wrote better stuff on it years ago in the *Tribune*.<sup>13</sup> The author knows the business. He is himself a Paris banker. But he has in fact nothing to draw on except the *official* material, provided by the Crédit itself in its reports, and the facts noted in the stock market quotations. The secret material could only be obtained *by legal steps*. What astonishes me particularly is this: the actual TRICKS all reduce themselves to stock-jobbing on the exchange,<sup>h</sup> and in this department *au fond*<sup>i</sup> there has been *nothing new since Law*,<sup>14</sup> whatever the disguise. Neither on this side of the Channel, nor on the other. The interesting aspect of these things is the practice, not the theory.

I enclose a letter from Kugelmann (*à renvoyer*<sup>j</sup>). After you had left, I wrote to him.<sup>k</sup> But since writing is a nuisance for me at the moment because of my left arm, I enclosed Freiligrath's letter to

<sup>a</sup> First of all - <sup>b</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>c</sup> Paul and Laura Lafargue - <sup>d</sup> I. E. Horn, *Frankreichs Finanzlage*. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 9. - <sup>f</sup> An allusion to J. G. Seume's poem 'Der Wilde'. - <sup>g</sup> M. Aycard, *Histoire du Crédit Mobilier. 1852-1867*. - <sup>h</sup> See this volume, p. 11. - <sup>i</sup> basically - <sup>j</sup> to be returned - <sup>k</sup> See this volume, pp. 3-5.

me,<sup>5</sup> so that Kugelmann should receive the SUFFICIENT quantum of written matter. I told him also, in reply to a previous enquiry, that I would visit him in any case for A FEW DAYS. However, he 'erred' about the date. It is not so close.

*Do not forget* to send me the *Schweitzer*<sup>15</sup> BY NEXT POST.

From *The Times* of today (telegraphic dispatch)<sup>a</sup> you will see that we have won a complete victory in Geneva, working day reduced from 12 to 11 hours, wages increased by 10%.<sup>16</sup> The matter went like this. Scarcely had you left when a deputy arrived from Geneva.<sup>17</sup> This FACT, that the workers sent an *envoy* to London, to the fearsome secret tribunal, *was decisive*, as earlier in the STRIKE of the bronze workers of Paris.<sup>18</sup> The MASTERS believe in the power and the fighting fund in London. This should show the workers in England and on the continent the power they would possess in us if they really put at our disposal the appropriate means, etc.

Enclosed returned Wilhelm,<sup>7</sup> Siebel. Your draft<sup>b</sup> is not written in your EASYGOING style. Today I have particular pain in my left arm. As soon as this has passed, I shall return your draft with my probable emendations.

The children send their best greetings. In fact, if only for their sake, I wish you lived in London instead of Manchester.

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> 'Switzerland, Geneva, April 10', *The Times*, No. 26096, 11 April 1868. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 5, and Note 8.

## 4

MARX TO LAURA AND PAUL LAFARGUE<sup>19</sup>

## IN PARIS

London, 11 April 1868

My dear Cacadou,

You know I am a slow hand at writing, but this time the shortcomings of my left arm are responsible for the sins of my right hand. Under those circumstances I missed the more my secretary who might have addressed to himself, on my behalf, the most charming letters.<sup>20</sup>

I am happy to see from your scribblings (you excuse the 'term', Borkheim with his 'scribaille' is still dinning my ears<sup>21</sup>) and those of your helpmate<sup>12</sup> that you are thoroughly enjoying your *Brautfahrt*,<sup>a</sup> and that all the outer circumstances, spring and sun and air and Paris jollities, conjure in your favour. As to that said helpmate, his sending books to me, at such a critical juncture, speaks volumes for the innate kindness of the 'young man'. This simple fact would go far to prove that he must belong to a better than the European race.<sup>b</sup> By the by, as we have just touched the chapter of books, you might pay a visit to Guillaumin (14, rue Richelieu)<sup>22</sup> and get his (economical) *bulletins de librairie* for 1866-1868. You might also wend your steps to the *Librairie Internationale* (15, Boulevard Montmartre) and ask for their catalogues (1865-68). Of course, if you get these *desiderata*, you will not *send* them, but bring them on your return to this dreary place.

I am expecting, from Meissner, 3 copies of my book.<sup>c</sup> On their arrival, I shall send two to Caesar de Paepe, one for himself, the other for Altmayer.<sup>d</sup> Meanwhile, if you should find the time to see Schily (that is to say if you write to him 4, rue St. Quentin to come and see you) be so kind to ask him what has become of the 3 copies, 1 I sent for Jacquelard,<sup>e</sup> 1 for Taine, 1 for Réclus. If Jacquelard was not to be found, you might give his copy to Altmayer, since Meissner is *very slow* in forwarding the copies. In that case, however, I ought to be informed. You'll certainly fancy, my dear child, that I am very fond of books, because I trouble you with them at so unseasonable a time. But you would

<sup>a</sup> honeymoon trip - <sup>b</sup> An allusion to J. G. Seume's poem 'Der Wilde'. - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> Altmeyer - <sup>e</sup> Jaclard

be quite mistaken. I am a machine, condemned to devour them and, then, throw them, in a changed form, on the dunghill of history. A rather dreary task, too, but still better than that of Gladstone's, who is obliged, at a day's notice, to work himself into 'states of mind', yclept 'earnestness'.

We feel here rather somewhat lonely. First you disappeared together with the meridional 'silent man', and then Engels left us.<sup>2</sup> In lieu of an 'excitement' we had the Lormiers yesterday evening. I played with Louis two parties of chess and allowed him to win one. What do you think the strange Caliban boy told me, in the most solemn manner of the world, on taking leave? '*Sans rancune, j'espère!*'<sup>a</sup>

And now, my dear Cacadou, *Adio*.

Old Nick

Dear Lafargue,<sup>23</sup>

Do you not find that staying in Paris WITH A YOUNG LOVABLE WIFE is much pleasanter than with politics? When your father<sup>b</sup> arrives in Paris, give him my best regards, and, in particular, you and Laura should not forget to make his stay SO PLEASANT as possible. Given the state of his eyes, he needs diversion, and nothing will divert him more than that the young pair should devote to him completely the short time they have with the old gentleman. I am writing to you in German so that you may, or may not, as you wish, inform the private secretary<sup>c</sup> of the contents of these lines. And now, with heartiest greetings.

Yours faithfully,

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> 'No offence taken, I hope!' - <sup>b</sup> François Lafargue - <sup>c</sup> Laura

## 5

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 17 April 1868

Dear Moor,

Horn<sup>a</sup> 'awaits receipt', as commercial style puts it.

It is certain that there is theoretically nothing of interest and nothing new to be said about agiotage. It all comes down to fraud under false pretences and nothing can change here except the manner. The secret material about the history of the *Crédit mobilier*<sup>13</sup> can, by the way, and probably will, reach the light of day by itself on the fall of the Empire, even if there is no intervention by the courts.

I had already seen about the glorious victory in Geneva<sup>16</sup> in the newspapers on Saturday<sup>b</sup> morning. The business is all the better since the stupid philistines had made out the International Association to be the real motive force of the affair, and it now receives all the glory. You will have seen that the intermediaries in the business were Police Prefect Camperio and the noble and serrrious *Amand Goegg*. This will have instilled new respect for our power in Mr Amand. Incidentally, I should like to know how long—following this business—they will leave the International Association unmolested in *Germany*.

BY THE BY, the workers' affairs are proceeding famously. First Belgium, then Geneva, now Bologna<sup>24</sup>—I am only surprised that the International has not yet been blamed for this—it keeps going everywhere.

You will have received the Schweitzer.<sup>15</sup>

Tomorrow I shall send you—I have forgotten it at the office—1. a new copy of Wilhelmchen's rag,<sup>c</sup> 2. Eichhoff's further jeremiad,<sup>25</sup> 3. a section of an editorial declaration from the *Zukunft* about the curious article *ad vocem*<sup>d</sup> Vogt, from which you will see what shits they are.

Making extracts from your book is, with my limited time, giving me more work than I expected, *car enfin*<sup>e</sup> if this job is to be done, it must be done properly and not just for this special purpose.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I. E. Horn, *Frankreichs Finanzlage*. See this volume, p. 7. - <sup>b</sup> 11 April - <sup>c</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>d</sup> concerning - <sup>e</sup> because after all

Next week I expect to have more time, there is a pause in business, and if I can get away between 4 and 5 in the evening, this gives the whole evening a different character for working.

Kugelmann returned enclosed.<sup>27</sup> I was very interested in his uterine polyp removed by splitting and compressed sponge; he will have to tell me about it personally in more detail in good time. But the attempt to turn Virchow into a communist with the aid of this polyp looks very much like an extra-uterine pregnancy. Even if Virchow had knowledge and theoretical interest in politics or political economy, this upright citizen is after all much too deeply engaged.<sup>28</sup>

Incidentally, you will come here before you leave for the continent, *cela est entendu*,<sup>a</sup> and bring Tussy with you as promised.

Your arm must surely have settled down by now? The fact that Kugelmann recommends arsenic will certainly have allayed some of your anxieties. Schorlemmer took a lot of it in his time, and never noted the slightest ill effects.

Heartiest greetings to the ladies.

Your  
F. E.

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6

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 17 April 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

You must regard me as a great criminal for taking so long to reply to the friendly letter from your dear wife<sup>b</sup> and yourself.<sup>27</sup> The situation is simply this. The old sanguinary herpes (to express myself poetically) attacked me with such tactical dexterity that I

<sup>a</sup> that is understood - <sup>b</sup> Gertrud Kugelmann

could not adopt the posture necessary for writing. I could, of course, have dictated, but you know that in such cases one always hopes to be ALL RIGHT next morning. Thus the delay, and thus, also, the brevity of these lines.

It is still *quite uncertain* when I shall be travelling to Germany for a few days; in any case, it won't be soon. At all events, I shall come at a time when I know that you will not be away.

You have done me a great service with your lines to Virchow, though I doubt whether he will have the patience and the time to immerse himself in a subject out of his line.<sup>a</sup> I know it cost me a great effort to read his *Cellularpathologie* in Manchester, particularly because of the way it was written.

The issues of *Social-Demokrat* hitherto concerned with my book are: No. 10 (22 Jan. 1868), No. 11 (24 Jan.), No. 12 (26 Jan.), No. 14 (31 Jan.), No. 15 (2 Feb.), No. 24 (23 Feb.), No. 25 (26 Feb.), No. 30 (8 March),<sup>15</sup> and another number, which I don't have at the moment, but which contains only extracts.<sup>b</sup>

With heartiest greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen

Yours

K. Marx

Meyer<sup>c</sup> paid me a visit here.

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7

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 April 1868

DEAR FRED,

I have been lying fallow until today and could not leave the house. My arm was so inflamed, and there was so much suppuration, that I could wear nothing on that arm and

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 12. - <sup>b</sup> *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 39, 29 March 1868. - <sup>c</sup> Gustav Meyer



movement was upsetting, too. The suppuration has stopped completely this morning. The wounds themselves heal rapidly. I shall go out again today. With the help of arsenic I now hope that this disgusting muck is finished.

The Viennese affairs enclosed were sent by Fox, who is also responsible for the pencil marks.

On *Tuesday*<sup>a</sup> I have to pay £5 for school and £1 5s. for gymnastic classes for Tussy. If it is possible for you to send this *by return*, I would appreciate it very much, for the sake of the child.

The departure is still a good way off. Kugelmann jumps to conclusions too rapidly. I only wrote to him that I would be coming SOME TIME OR OTHER.<sup>b</sup>

Becker's appeal,<sup>30</sup> which is enclosed, demonstrates again the great lack of discipline. We stopped the collections in the London UNIONS, and the Parisians did the same, because it is *only now* that we are informed that further money is needed. If they had telegraphed from Geneva on the same day, it would have been ALL RIGHT.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 April 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed two fivers to satisfy the schoolmasters.

Just like the Geneva people to dawdle. It is a naïve presumption too that, now that the STRIKE<sup>16</sup> is over, the world should help the Genevans to pay the debts contracted during the STRIKE. I have never seen anything like that in this country. Here they only ask

<sup>a</sup> 21 April - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 13.

for support as long as the STRIKE lasts.

The Vienna paper<sup>a</sup> appears to contribute to a deliberate confusion created by the industrial interests, which is obviously grafted on to the spontaneous naive-helpless confusion. In the end, you always encounter a distinctly bourgeois tendency—accordingly, the paper no longer *reports* the workers' meetings, but *instructs* them.

With best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 April 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £10.

Yesterday I went out for a walk again, and now here comes Jennychen to drive me out again on the pretext that you entrusted her with supervision over me.

My arm is in order again, there is just the healing itch. For some years now I have made the curious observation that my urine, which in my normal state deposits chalk or whatever it is, becomes quite clear when I have carbuncles. And in fact the mineral deposit is now appearing again. Perhaps Gumpert knows something about it.

Propos. Wilhelm is now sending me his rag, too.<sup>b</sup> How loyal it is of the man to call my *Herr Vogt* a '*deserving* book' instead of saying that there are many bad jokes in it.<sup>31</sup> And then: the Prussians persecute Hanoverians who were 'loyal to their king'! Then: regarding Edgar Bauer on the paying of the South German

<sup>a</sup> Presumably *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* - <sup>b</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

press, that, if things go on like that, 'all' men of honour (country squires, priests, democrats, the Elector of Hesse,<sup>a</sup> etc.) will combine against Prussia.<sup>32</sup> POOR Wilhelm!

Blind has again made one of his great coups. With the aid of a servile message he has squeezed a reply from Juárez, which is in the *Courrier français* today.<sup>b</sup> It is time this clown got a bang on the head for his buffoonery.

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

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10

MARX TO ENGELS<sup>33</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 April 1868

Dear FRED,

I have resumed work, and it's going well. Only I have to limit the working *time*, for after ABOUT 3 hours my head starts to buzz and prickle. I shall now tell you briefly a 'morsel' which *occurred* to me when I was just glancing at the part of my manuscript about the rate of profit.<sup>c</sup> It provides a simple solution to one of the most difficult questions. The question is how it can happen that as the value of money, or gold, falls, *the rate of profit* rises; and that it falls with the rise in the value of money.

Let us assume the value of money falls by  $\frac{1}{10}$ . Then, other things remaining equal, the price of commodities rises by  $\frac{1}{10}$ .

If, on the other hand, the value of money rises by  $\frac{1}{10}$ , then the price of commodities falls by  $\frac{1}{10}$ , other things remaining equal.

Given a fall in the value of money, the price of labour, unless it rises in the same proportion, *falls*, the rate of surplus value rises,

<sup>a</sup> Ludwig III - <sup>b</sup> B. P. Juárez, 'Mexico, 9 mars 1868', *Le Courrier français*, 21 April 1868. - <sup>c</sup> Marx has in mind the beginning of the manuscript of Book III of *Capital*, written in 1864-65 (for a discussion of this see Engels' Preface to Volume III of *Capital*, present edition, Vol. 37).

and therefore, ALL OTHER THINGS REMAINING THE SAME, the rate of profit rises too. This rise of the latter—as long as the DESCENDANT OSCILLATION in the value of money continues—is due solely to the fall in wages, and this fall is due to the fact that the change in wages is slow to match the change in the value of money. (As was the case at the end of the 16th and in the 17th century.) Conversely, if, with the value of money rising, wages do not fall in the same proportion, the rate of surplus value falls, and therefore, *caeteris paribus*,<sup>a</sup> the rate of profit.

These two movements, the rise in the rate of profit when money falls in value, and its fall when the value of money rises, are, *under these circumstances*, both due solely to the FACT that the price of labour has not yet been adjusted to the new value of money. These phenomena (and how they are explained has long been known) cease after the adjustment of the price of labour to the value of money.

This is where the difficulty begins. The so-called theorists say: As soon as the price of labour corresponds to the new value of money, e.g. has risen with the falling value of money, both profit and wages are expressed in so much more money. Their *relation thus remains the same*. Therefore there can be no change in the rate of profit. The specialists who concern themselves with the history of prices reply to this with FACTS. Their explanations are mere phrases.

The whole difficulty arises from confusing the *rate of surplus value* with the *rate of profit*. Let us assume that the rate of surplus value remains *the same*, e.g. 100%. Then, if the value of money falls by  $\frac{1}{10}$ , wages of £100 (say for 100 men) rise to 110 and surplus value likewise to 110. The same total quantity of labour, formerly expressed in 200, is now expressed in £220. If the price of labour is adjusted to the value of money, the *rate of surplus value* can neither rise nor fall as the result of any change in the value of money. Assume, however, that the elements, or some elements, of the *constant* part of capital were to fall in value owing to the growing productivity of labour, whose products they are. If the fall in their value is greater than the fall in the value of money, their price will fall, despite the drop in the value of money. If the fall in their value only corresponded to the fall in the value of money, then their price would remain unchanged. Let us assume the latter case.

For instance, in a certain branch of industry the capital of 500 is composed of  $400c + 100v$ , so *with a rate of surplus value of 100%* we

<sup>a</sup> other things remaining equal

have:  $400c + 100v \mid + 100m = \frac{100}{500} = 20\%$  rate of profit<sup>a</sup> (in Volume II I intend to use  $400c$ , etc., instead of  $\frac{c}{400}$ , etc., as it is less complicated. *Qu'en penses tu?*<sup>b</sup>). If the value of money falls by  $\frac{1}{10}$ , then wages rise to 110 and ditto surplus value. If the money price of the constant capital remains the same because the value of its component parts has fallen by  $\frac{1}{10}$  as a result of the increased productivity of labour, then now:  $400c + 100v \mid + 110m$  or  $\frac{110}{510} = 21\frac{29}{50}\%$  rate of profit, which would therefore have risen by ABOUT  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ , while the rate of surplus value,  $\frac{110m}{110v}$ , remains as before 100%.

The rise in the rate of profit would be greater if the value of the constant capital sank faster than the value of money, and less if it sank more slowly. It will continue as long as any fall in the value of the constant capital is taking place, i.e. as long as the same quantity of means of production does not cost £440 where it formerly cost £400.

And it is an historical fact, and can be specially demonstrated from the years 1850-1860, that the productivity of labour, especially in industry proper, receives an impetus from the falling value of money, the mere inflation of money prices, and the general international rush for the increased quantity of money.

The opposite case can be developed in an analogous manner.

The extent to which, in one case, the rise of the rate of profit with the sinking value of money, and, in the other, the sinking of the rate of profit with the rising value of money, affect the general rate of profit will depend partly upon the relative size of the particular branch of production in which the change takes place, and partly upon the length of the change, for the rise and fall of the rate of profit in particular branches of industry takes time to infect the other branches. If the oscillation lasts a relatively short time, it remains local.

I am sending you the *Courrier*<sup>c</sup> and *Nain jaune* which Lafargue sent me.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup>  $c$  stands for constant capital,  $v$  for variable capital,  $m$  for surplus value. - <sup>b</sup> What do you think about this? - <sup>c</sup> Probably *Le Courrier français* of 21 April 1868 (see this volume, p. 16).

11

ENGELS TO MARX<sup>34</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 April 1868

Dear Moor,

The business with the rate of profit and the value of money is very neat and very clear. The only thing that is unclear to me is how you can assume  $\frac{m}{c+v}$  as *rate of profit*, for  $m$  does not flow solely into the pockets of the industrialist who produces it, but has to be shared with the merchant, etc.; unless you are taking the whole branch of business together here, therefore disregarding how  $m$  is divided up between manufacturer, wholesaler, retailer, etc. In general, I am very keen to see your exposition of this point.

Wilhelmchen, as you will have seen, is now also singing the praises of the *honourable Jakobus Venedey!* And they resemble one another just like one jackass resembles another. I have had enough of it now, I shall not write to him any more. Let him make a fool of himself on his own account.

To write  $400c+100v+100m$  is quite acceptable, just as is £400 3s. 4d.

You have seen that the comfortable relationship between the honest Bismarck and his Reichstagers is beginning to come to an end; the latter want to make the officials of the debt administration legally answerable, and Otto the Great<sup>a</sup> cannot stand that, naturally. He'll not build them no fleet for that.<sup>35</sup>

To give full expression to the hangover affecting handsome William<sup>b</sup> because he confiscated the lands and property of his cousin Georg,<sup>c36</sup> the Prussian commission to administer King Georg's property is composed of General von *Kotze* and Regierungsrat *Sauerhering* (literally).<sup>d</sup>

It is very nice of Jenny that she dutifully drags you out to go for walks. I hope that she does not allow herself to be scared off by your physical indolence disguised as your need to work; in the present fine weather it would be shameful if you stayed at home. I hope that no traces of new carbuncles have shown themselves.

<sup>a</sup> Otto von Bismarck - <sup>b</sup> William I - <sup>c</sup> Georg V - <sup>d</sup> *Kotze* means 'vomit', *Sauerhering* means 'pickled herring'.

In the Customs Parliament<sup>37</sup> old Rothschild sits right near to Wilhelmchen, and behind them the bunch of jackasses called the 'People's Party'.<sup>38</sup>

Could you not collect some of the mineral stuff and send it here for analysis?<sup>a</sup> I have not yet seen Gumpert.

The recent WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MEETING here<sup>39</sup> was of course attended by the whole Borchardt family, male and female (only Mama Borchardt absent). Gumpert has a nice row with Borchardt. Borchardt had accused him of an infringement NOT ONLY OF MEDICAL PROFESSIONAL ETIQUETTE, BUT OF ALL ETHICS (because in the house of friends, where Borchardt is the doctor and a child had died of scarlet fever, Gumpert had expressed his surprise and astonishment that Borchardt should have allowed the other children and their friends to view the body—Borchardt has 'grounds' for declaring scarlet fever non-contagious)—and Gumpert has brought the case before the medical society here, whereby he has little to gain, however, since the committee consists of nothing but jackasses, a fact which he should, of course, have considered earlier.

When will the young married couple<sup>b</sup> return, and have you found an apartment?<sup>40</sup>

Best greetings to all.

Your  
F. E.

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12

MARX TO ENGELS<sup>33</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 April 1868

DEAR FRED,

For the CASE under discussion it is immaterial whether *m* (the surplus value) is *quantitatively* > or < than the surplus value created in the given branch of production itself. E.g., if

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 15. - <sup>b</sup> Paul and Laura Lafargue

$\frac{100m}{400c+100v} = 20\%$ , and this becomes, owing to a fall in the value of money by  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $= \frac{110m}{400c+110v}$  (assuming that the value of the constant capital sinks), it is immaterial if the capitalist producer pockets only half of the surplus value which he himself produces. For the rate of profit for him then  $= \frac{55m}{400c+110v} >$  than the former  $\frac{50m}{400c+100v}$ . I retain  $m$  here in order to show *qualitatively* in the expression itself where the profit comes from.

But it is proper that you should know the method by which the rate of profit is developed. I shall therefore give you the process in the *most general* outline. In *Book II*,<sup>41</sup> as you know, the *process of circulation* of capital is presented on the basis of the premisses developed in Book I. I.e. the new determinations of form which arise from the process of circulation, such as fixed and circulating capital, turnover of capital, etc. Finally, in Book I we content ourselves with the assumption that when, in the valorisation process,<sup>a</sup> £100 becomes £110, it *finds* the elements into which it is converted anew *already in existence* in the market. But now we investigate the conditions under which these elements are to be found in existence, that is to say, the social intertwining of the different capitals, of parts of capital and of REVENUE (=  $m$ ).

In Book III<sup>41</sup> we then come to the conversion of surplus value into its different forms and separate component parts.

I. *Profit* is for us, for the time being, only *another name* for or another category of *surplus value*. As, owing to the form of wages, the whole of labour appears to be paid for, the unpaid part of it seems necessarily to come not from labour but from capital, and not from the variable part of capital but from the total capital. As a result, *surplus value* assumes the form of *profit*, without there being any *quantitative* difference between the one and the other. It is only an illusory manifestation of surplus value.

Further, the part of capital consumed in the production of a commodity (the capital, constant and variable, advanced for its production, *minus* the utilised but not consumed part of *fixed* capital) now appears as the *cost price* of the commodity, since for the capitalist that part of the value of the commodity that it costs *him* is *its* cost price, while the unpaid labour contained in the commodity does not enter into *its* cost price, from his point of view. The surplus value=*profit* now appears as the *excess of the*

<sup>a</sup> In the original: Verwertungsprozeß. See also this volume, p. 360.



*selling price of the commodity over its cost price.* Let us call the value of the commodity  $W$  and its cost price  $K$ ; then  $W = K + m$ , therefore  $W - m = K$ , therefore  $W > K$ . This new category, cost price, is very necessary for the details of the later analysis. It is evident from the outset that the capitalist can sell a commodity at a profit *below its value* (as long as he sells it *above* its cost price), and this is the *fundamental law* for comprehending the equalisations effected by competition.

Therefore, while profit is at first *only formally* different from surplus value, the *rate of profit* is, by contrast, at once really different from the *rate of surplus value*, for in one case we have  $\frac{m}{v}$  and in the other  $\frac{m}{c+v}$ , from which it follows from the outset, since  $\frac{m}{v} > \frac{m}{c+v}$ , that the rate of profit  $<$  than the rate of surplus value, unless  $c=0$ .

In view of what has been developed in Book II, it follows, however, that we cannot compute the rate of profit on the commodity product of any period we select, e.g. that of a week, but that  $\frac{m}{c+v}$  denotes here the surplus value produced *during the year* in relation to the capital *advanced* during the year (as distinct from the capital *turned over*). Therefore,  $\frac{m}{c+v}$  stands here for the *annual rate of profit*.

Then we shall first examine how variations in the *turnover* of capital (partly depending on the relation of the circulating to the fixed portions of capital, partly on the number of times the circulating capital turns over in a year, etc., etc.) modify the *rate of profit* while the *rate of surplus value remains the same*.

Now, taking the turnover as given, and  $\frac{m}{c+v}$  as the annual rate of profit, we examine how the latter can change, independently of changes in the rate of surplus value, and even of its total amount.

Since  $m$ , the total amount of surplus value, = *the rate of surplus value multiplied by the variable capital*, then, if we call the rate of surplus value  $r^a$  and the rate of profit  $p'$ ,  $p' = \frac{r \cdot v}{c+v}$ . Here we have the 4 quantities  $p'$ ,  $r$ ,  $v$ ,  $c$ , with any 3 of which we can work, always seeking the 4th as unknown. This covers all possible cases of movements in the rate of profit, in so far as they are distinct from

<sup>a</sup> Otherwise Marx designates the rate of surplus value as  $r$  only in his economic manuscript of 1861-63. In Volume I of *Capital* he designates it as the ratio  $\frac{m}{v}$ , and in Volumes II and III as  $m'$ .

the movements in the rate of surplus value and, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, even in its total amount. This has, of course, hitherto been *inexplicable* to everybody.

The laws thus found—very important, e.g., for understanding how the price of the raw material influences the rate of profit—hold good *no matter how* the surplus value is later divided among the producer, etc. This can only change the *form of appearance*. Moreover, they remain *directly* applicable if  $\frac{m}{c+v}$  is treated as the relation of the socially produced surplus value to the social capital.

II. What were treated in I as *movements*, whether of capital in a particular branch of production or of social capital—movements changing its composition, etc.—are now conceived as *differences* of the *various masses of capital invested in the different branches of production*.

Then it turns out that, assuming *the rate of surplus value*, i.e. the exploitation of labour, as *equal*, the production of value and therefore the production of surplus value and therefore the *rate of profit* are *different* in different branches of production. But from these varying rates of profit a mean or general rate of profit is formed by competition. This rate of profit, expressed absolutely, can be nothing but the *surplus value* produced (annually) by the *capitalist class* in relation to the total of *social capital* advanced. E.g., if the social capital= $400c+100v$ , and the surplus value annually produced by it= $100m$ , the composition of the social capital= $80c+20v$ , and that of the product (in percentages)= $80c+20v \mid +20m=20\%$  rate of profit. This is the *general rate of profit*.

What the competition among the various masses of capital—invested in different spheres of production and differently composed—is striving for is *capitalist communism*, namely that the *mass of capital employed in each sphere of production* should get a fractional part of the total surplus value proportionate to the part of the total social capital that it forms.

This can only be achieved if in each sphere of production (assuming as above that the total capital= $80c+20v$  and the social rate of profit= $\frac{20m}{80c+20v}$ ) the annual commodity product is sold at *cost price + 20% profit on the value of the capital advanced* (it is immaterial how much of the advanced fixed capital enters into the annual cost price or not). But this means that the *price determination* of the commodities must *deviate* from their *values*.

Only in those branches of production where the percentual composition of capital is  $80c+20v$  will the price  $K$  (*cost price*) + 20% on the capital advanced coincide with the value of the commodities. Where the composition is higher (e.g.  $90c+10v$ ), the price is *above* their value; where the composition is lower (e.g.  $70c+30v$ ), the price is *below* their value.

The price thus equalised, which divides up the social surplus value equally among the various masses of capital in proportion to their sizes, is the *price of production* of commodities, the centre around which the oscillation of the market prices moves.

Those branches of production which constitute a natural *monopoly* are exempted from this *equalisation process*, even if their rate of profit is higher than the social rate. This is important later for the development of *rent*.<sup>a</sup>

In this chapter,<sup>42</sup> there must be further developed the various *causes of equalisation* of the various capital investments, which appear to the vulgar conception as so many *sources* of profit.

Also to be developed: the *changed form of manifestation* that the previously developed and still valid laws of value and surplus value assume now, *after the transformation of values into prices of production*.

III. *The tendency of the rate of profit to fall as society progresses*. This already follows from what was developed in Book I on the *change in the composition of capital with the development of the social productive power*.<sup>43</sup> This is one of the greatest triumphs over the *pons asini*<sup>b</sup> of all previous political economy.

IV. Until now we have only dealt with *productive capital*.<sup>44</sup> Now there enters modification through *merchant capital*.

According to our previous assumption the *productive capital* of society = 500 (millions or billions, *n'importe*<sup>c</sup>). And the formula was  $400c + 100v \mid + 100m$ . The general rate of profit,  $p'$ , = 20%. Now let the merchant capital = 100.

So, the  $100m$  has now to be calculated on 600 instead of 500. The general rate of profit is thus reduced from 20% to  $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ . The *price of production* (for the sake of simplicity we will assume here that all of the  $400c$ , i.e. the whole fixed capital, enters into the *cost price* of the annual output of commodities) now =  $583\frac{1}{3}$ . The merchant sells at 600 and therefore realises, if we ignore the fixed portion of his capital,  $16\frac{2}{3}\%$  on his 100, as much as the productive capitalists; or, in other words, he appropriates  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the social surplus value. The commodities—*en masse* and on a social

<sup>a</sup> Marx means the theory of absolute rent (see present edition, Vol. 37). - <sup>b</sup> asses' bridge - <sup>c</sup> it doesn't matter

scale—are sold at *their value*. His £100 (apart from the fixed portion) only serve him as circulating money capital. Whatever the merchant swallows over and above that, he gets either simply by trickery, or by speculation on the oscillation of commodity prices, or, in the case of the actual retailer, as wages for labour—wretched unproductive labour that it is—in the form of profit.

V. We have now reduced profit to the form in which it appears in practice, according to our assumptions  $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ . *Next comes the division of this profit into entrepreneur's gain and interest. Interest-bearing capital. The credit system.*

VI. *Transformation of surplus profit into rent.*

VII. At last we have arrived at the *forms of manifestation* which serve as the *starting point* in the vulgar conception: rent, coming from the land; profit (interest), from capital; wages, from labour. But from our standpoint things now look different. The apparent movement is explained. Furthermore, A. Smith's nonsense, which has become the *main pillar* of all political economy hitherto, the contention that the price of the commodity consists of those three revenues, i.e. only of variable capital (wages) and surplus value (rent, profit (interest)), is overthrown.<sup>45</sup> The entire movement in this apparent form. Finally, since those 3 items (wages, rent, profit (interest)) constitute the sources of income of the 3 classes of landowners, capitalists and wage labourers, we have the *class struggle*, as the conclusion in which the movement and disintegration of the whole shit resolves itself.

---

Our young couple<sup>a</sup> back again since last week, very love-sick. Apartment for them near Primrose Hill, where they moved in this evening.

Enclosed letters from Kugelmann, etc. I have sent Schily what he wanted,<sup>46</sup> but not in the childish way he requested. In a few days I shall be 50. As that Prussian lieutenant said to you: '20 years of service and still lieutenant', I can say: half a century on my shoulders, and still a pauper. How right my mother was: 'If only Karell had made capital instead of etc.'

*Salut.*

Your  
K. Marx

Of carbuncles only a very small trace on the right thigh, but will probably vanish without trace.

---

<sup>a</sup> Paul and Laura Lafargue

Ernest Jones has made a fool of himself by his lukewarm and *nisi prius*<sup>a</sup> way of defending Burke.<sup>47</sup> Burke has at least won a victory in forcing the old jackass Bramwell to abandon the hypocrisy of TEMPER, and allowing his mean dog's soul to rampage free of *carrière*.<sup>b</sup>

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## 13

MARX TO ENGELS<sup>48</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 4 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

This morning I received enclosed letter and cutting from Schweitzer. Since he addresses himself to me as workers' representative of one of the most industrial districts, I must naturally reply.<sup>49</sup>

My view is that the Germans can stand a reduction of the protective tariff on pig iron and that the manufacturers of other articles are also exaggerating their howls. This view is based upon a comparison of the English and German exports to neutral markets. Enclosed, by way of example, a note on exports to Belgium.<sup>c</sup>

At the same time, in my opinion, the point is to exploit this question in the interests of the party, without, however, procuring any new reliefs to the English.

My proposal would therefore be:

1. *No reduction of tariffs* before a parliamentary *enquête*<sup>d</sup> into the state of the German iron-mining production and iron manufacture. This *enquête* should not, however, be confined, as the bourgeois gentlemen desire, simply to chambers of commerce and 'experts' but should, at the same time, include the *workers*'

<sup>a</sup> half-hearted - <sup>b</sup> reins - <sup>c</sup> See the table on p. 27. - <sup>d</sup> enquiry

Imports into Belgium for the years 1865, 1866, 1867 (year ended 31 December)<sup>a</sup>

Kilogs	Kilogs	1865	1866	1867	
Iron, ore and filings	From Customs Union	161,496,808	155,584,195	213,049,319	
	France	138,370,214	130,382,679	96,761,074	
Pig and old iron	Total	24,864,110	32,508,242	56,233,219	
	From United Kingdom	23,421,806	28,450,976	50,722,330	
Iron rails, sheet, etc.	Total	1,555,576	1,579,999	2,136,652	
	United Kingdom	668,140	698,984	1,008,674	
	Holland	312,984	237,241	403,468	
Iron wire	Total	501,380	710,335	1,108,038	
	From Customs Union	32,631	226,993	1,472,714	+
	United Kingdom	442,107	445,265	350,064	-
	France	26,979	36,075	284,348	
Steel, Bars, Sheets, Wire	Total		4,320,429	2,484,240	
	From United Kingdom		3,468,280	1,453,007	-
	Customs Union		697,295	905,108	+
Steel wrought	Total		1,257,973	914,633	
	From United Kingdom		761,234	548,396	
Metal wares of wrought iron	Total	940,763	993,581	1,307,407	
	Customs Union	256,138	305,909	385,148	+
	United Kingdom	283,164	285,001	331,732	-
Metal wares of cast iron	Total	290,715	274,784	385,325	
	Customs Union	18,931	13,901	26,145	
	* United Kingdom	37,853	45,239	59,946	
Machines and machinery	Total	4,908,078	5,437,599	5,114,905	
	United Kingdom	3,081,942	3,888,891	2,859,729	-
	France	1,322,155	1,052,857	1,699,102	+

\* To the heading *Metal wares of cast iron* should be added *France*: 1865—238,905; 1866—205,264; 1867—247,527.

<sup>a</sup> Marx gives the table in English.

*conditions* in these branches; all the more so since Messrs manufacturers are 'demanding' the protective tariffs solely 'for the protection' of the workers, and have in addition discovered that '*the value of iron*' consists only 'of *wages* and freight'.

2. *No reduction of tariffs* before an *enquête* into how the *railways* misuse their monopoly, and before their freight (and passenger) tariffs are controlled by legal regulations.

I would like your view *immediately*, and also immediate return of the enclosures.

Very nice that your home-town chamber of commerce should bemoan the growing power and menace of the International Working Men's Association.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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14

ENGELS TO MARX<sup>48</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 May 1868

Dear Moor,

I congratulate ANYHOW on the half *saeculum*,<sup>a</sup> from which, incidentally, I am also only a short span away. Indeed, what juvenile enthusiasts we were 25 years ago when we boasted that by this time we would long have been beheaded.

Enclosed returning Kugelmann, Büchner, Schily, Reclus,<sup>46</sup> Schweitzer<sup>49</sup> and the *Elberfelder Zeitung*, and additionally something on your book which Siebel's wife sent me<sup>50</sup>; he appears to be

<sup>a</sup> century

no longer capable of writing, is in Barmen and going to Godesberg.

The profit story is very nice,<sup>a</sup> but I shall have to think it over further in order to grasp the *portée*<sup>b</sup> in all its aspects.

*Ad vocem*<sup>c</sup> Schweitzer. The rascal is utilising this business simply as an inducement to make us take the bait again. Of course, it does not matter that you give him information this time, but *principiis obsta*<sup>d</sup>! Don't let the fellow catch your little finger lest he make an attempt on your whole hand. On the subject itself, I have no doubt at all that the German iron industry could dispense with the protective tariff, a *majore*,<sup>e</sup> therefore, could also stand the reduction of the tariff on pig iron from 7½ groschen to 5 groschen per hundredweight (from 15s. to 10s. per ton), and the other reductions likewise. The export of iron is increasing every year, and not only to Belgium. This would bring ruin to a few ironworks established during the wave of speculation in the 50s, situated a long way from the coal and otherwise based on insufficient, poor pits. But these are for the most part already *kaputt*, and the vicinity of a railway would be more use to them than any protective tariff if they should ever become viable again. (There is one like this in Engelskirchen, 500 paces from my brothers' factory—the coal has to be brought from Siegburg, 2½ German miles,<sup>f</sup> by wagon—no wonder it lies idle. *This* sort of works cries out for protective tariff, and is cited as proof that it is necessary.)

The Elberfeld-Barmen Chamber of Commerce is the nastiest protective tariff institution there is, and *notorious* for it. Even though the main industry of the district is aimed at *export*. However, there are always a lot of trades in decline there, hence the lamentations.

For the rest, your plan about the *enquête*<sup>g</sup> is rather good, and I like it very much. As far as railways go, the freight charges in Germany are *lower* than elsewhere, and, since goods traffic is the *main thing* in Germany, this could not be otherwise. They could be pushed still lower, and the governments have the power to do it, but what is most necessary is greater centralisation and equalisation in administration and freight charges, and constitutionally this is a matter for the Reichstag. By and large, the iron-chaps have no cause to yell about high freights.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 21-25. - <sup>b</sup> meaning - <sup>c</sup> As regards - <sup>d</sup> guard against the first step (Ovid, *Remedia amoris*) - <sup>e</sup> even more - <sup>f</sup> The German mile (*Meile*) was a linear measure of different length in different German states, but it can be regarded as roughly 4½ miles. - <sup>g</sup> enquiry



Liebknecht has sent me the trades regulations, on which I have promised him some critical comments.<sup>51</sup> Progress compared to the regression under Frederick William IV, but what bureaucratic confusion. I am sending you the stuff for the fun of it.

Yesterday the inevitable Leibel Choras arrived and prevented me writing. I asked him about the persecution of Jews in Moldavia; he wailed a bit, but it does not appear to be all that bad: we have to bear it, we Jews do not have the power; he would like to be Russian or Austrian, but it does not occur to him to leave. The Hohenzollern is a stupid boy, and the government in the hands of the 'clerks' (boyars in reduced circumstances playing at bureaucracy) and they squeeze the Jews so.

Many greetings to your wife, the girls and Monsieur and Madame Lafargue.

Your  
F. E.

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15

MARX TO ENGELS<sup>48</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR your marginal notes. I have included them in the letter to Schweitzer as far as necessary. My letter is so coolly phrased that it will not be 'shown around'.<sup>49</sup>

Now I would like to ask you for information on another subject. However, you can postpone this if it should interrupt the work for the *Fortnightly*, which is urgent.<sup>11</sup>

The point is that I would like to link up with Volume I in the examples given in Volume II.<sup>41</sup>

In order to use the data on your factory given on p. 186<sup>52</sup>—completely sufficient to illustrate the rate of surplus value—for the *rate of profit*, the following would be necessary:

1. The missing data on the capital advanced for the *factory building* and the percentage of the SINKING FUND for this. Ditto WAREHOUSE. In both cases, the RENT should be given, if paid. Also the office costs and costs of staff for the WAREHOUSE.

With regard to the *steam engine*, no data is given on the *percentage* at which the weekly wear and tear is calculated, and therefore the capital advanced for the steam engine is not visible either.

2. *Now the real question.* How do you calculate the *turnover* of the *circulating part of capital* (i.e. raw material, auxiliary materials, wages)? How great then is the *circulating capital advanced*? I would like to receive this answered *in detail*, even illustrated, particularly the turnover calculation of the circulating capital advanced.

Tomorrow I shall send you the crazy Urquhart for your amusement.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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16

MARX TO JOSEPH DIETZGEN<sup>53</sup>

IN PETERSBURG

[London, 9 May 1868]

...When I have cast off the burden of political economy, I shall write a 'Dialectic'. The true laws of dialectics are already contained in Hegel, though in a mystical form. What is needed is to strip away this form...

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17

ENGELS TO MARX<sup>48</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 May 1868

Dear Moor,

You received the information about the factory at that time direct from Henry Ermen—it is G. Ermen's spinning mill, with which I have nothing to do, and about which the young Ermens have been specifically forbidden to tell me anything. If you write to Henry Ermen, Bridgewater Mill, Pendlebury (*private*), he will probably tell you what you want to know. But you will have to tell him that he should give you the data as they were in 1860, since much has been built since then. I would say, approximately, that a factory building for 10,000 spindles, including cost of land, will come to £4,000 à £5,000 (in the given case a bit less is probably to be assumed, since it was only a one-storey SHED, and land up there, unless containing coal, costs almost nothing). Rate of wear and tear on the building (£500-600 to be subtracted as ground price) 7½% *including interest*. At £3,600 therefore £18 ground rent (à 3%) + (7½% on 3,000=) 225=£243 rent for the building.

WAREHOUSE does not exist for this factory, since G. Ermen only sells through or to us or through an agent to other people, and pays 2% commission on the turnover for this. Assuming the turnover à £13,000, we get £260 as substitute for WAREHOUSE costs.

As far as calculating the turnover of the circulating capital is concerned, I do not really know what you mean by this. We calculate only the *total turnover*, that is the total of annual sales. If I understand rightly, you want to know how many times a year the circulating part of capital is turned over, or, in other words, how much circulating capital is *in business*. This, however, differs in almost all cases. A prosperous owner of a spinning mill has almost always (that is except when he is expanding, or immediately afterwards) some spare capital that he invests in some other way, but uses, when the chance offers itself, to buy cotton cheaply, etc. Or he uses credit, if he can and it is worthwhile. It may be assumed that a mill-owner who invests £10,000 in machines (apart from the *building*, which he can and mostly will rent) can get along with 1/5 à 1/4 of the fixed capital in circulating capital; that is for

£10,000 fixed capital put into machines, £2,000 à £2,500 circulating capital will do. This is the *average* assumption here.

Here I leave out of account the steam engines. On this score H. Ermen has obviously provided you, from memory, a completely absurd story. Weekly wear and tear of the steam engine £20, that is £1,040 a year! At a 12½% rate the steam engine will cost £8,320, *ce qui est absurde*.<sup>a</sup> The entire machine cannot have cost more than £1,500 à £2,000, and that G. Ermen wanted to write off his whole machine in 2 years is just like him, but not businesslike. You can ask him about this, too. But I fear that Monsieur Gottfried<sup>b</sup> has long taken these old account books into his own custody, and then Henry Ermen will not be able to help you either.

Schorlemmer will probably visit you on Wednesday or Thursday.<sup>c</sup> The Royal Society<sup>54</sup> has invited him to read his PAPER on the boiling points of  $C_nH_{2n+2}$  on Thursday and to take part in the debate.<sup>d</sup> Since the main chemist there is Frankland, whom Schorlemmer has attacked in all his works, this is a great triumph, and a few more invitations like this WILL BE THE MAKING OF HIM. I am very happy for the fellow, who has only stayed at his rather pitiful position here because it places at his disposal the laboratory and thus the means of doing theoretical work. He is really one of the best fellows I have got to know for a long time; he is so totally free of prejudices this freedom appears to be almost spontaneous, but must in fact be based upon much thought. At the same time, the notable modesty. Incidentally, he has again made a handsome discovery. On pages 264 and 297 of his book you will find that propyl alcohol and isopropyl alcohol are two isomeric combinations.<sup>e</sup> It had hitherto been impossible to obtain pure propyl alcohol, so the Russians had already claimed that it did not exist, there was only isopropyl alcohol. Last autumn at the meeting of natural scientists Schorlemmer replied to them: by next autumn he would have obtained it, and he has really done it.

This week I do at last have no more meetings and similar calls upon my time, and will be able to get down to the *Fortnightly*.<sup>11</sup> But I still do not know *how* to start. It is clear to me that I will

<sup>a</sup> which is absurd - <sup>b</sup> Ermen - <sup>c</sup> 13 or 14 May - <sup>d</sup> C. Schorlemmer, 'Researches on the Hydrocarbons of the Series  $C_nH_{2n+2}$ ', *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 94, 1867 and No. 102, 1868. - <sup>e</sup> This refers to H. E. Roscoe's chemistry textbook, the German edition of which, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie nach den neuesten Ansichten der Wissenschaft* (Brunswick, 1867), was prepared by Carl Schorlemmer in conjunction with the author. The isomerism of the alcohols named is stated on pp. 296-98.

begin with the conversion of money into capital, but *how* is still quite unclear. What do you think about this?

With best greetings,

Your  
F. E.

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18

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 15 May 1868

Dear Moor,

You will probably have heard that Siebel died on the 9th inst. My mother wrote me that shortly before he had told his wife she should go to bed, which she did; suddenly she could no longer hear his breath, jumped up and found him dead. I am sending you 2 notices from his wife, one of which I ask you to send to Freiligrath.

Enclosed 6 prints of Lupus'<sup>a</sup> photograph.

Further something about Kobes'<sup>b</sup> present activities.

Have you read about the Ebergenyi trial?<sup>55</sup> Chorinsky's letters are in fact unparalleled. One can see that the Austrians are still awaiting their 1789. I shall send you the relevant *Zukunft* this evening. The Ebergenyi woman is said to receive masses of visitors in her 'convict prison' with a cigarette in her mouth and as merry as a cricket.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

Apropos. The articles in the *Fortnightly* are *all signed*. If this is the *rule*, it would be most unfortunate, since then it would be easy to see through the business. In any case, I would have to know if

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Wolff's - <sup>b</sup> Jakob Venedey's

the article *must* be signed, for this would change the formulation a lot, and know right away for I have reached the stage where I can start.<sup>a</sup> What is your answer to these questions?

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## 19

MARX TO ENGELS<sup>56</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

My silence for a week has perhaps already been explained to you by Schorlemmer.<sup>b</sup> Two carbuncles on the scrotum would perhaps have made even Sulla peevish. How greatly that man, despite his more-than-Palmerstonian TEMPER, was affected by his mythical but anyway lousy sickness, is shown by the fact that just 10 days before his death he had the decurion seized in a neighbouring city, and 1 day before he himself croaked had him strangled in his own house.<sup>57</sup>

In addition, I have all sorts of trouble. For example, on the 28th of this month a bill for £15 due at the butcher's, etc. To my urgent petitions to Holland no answer.<sup>58</sup>

Finally I had cajoled myself with the illusion that by this time I would have a 2nd edition,<sup>c</sup> and thus see money for the first. But I had added up the bill without the host—I do not mean the Volkswirt,<sup>d</sup> but the Germans in general.

POOR Siebel! In a way he had himself prepared his premature death. But WITH ALL THAT he was a good fellow. We are unlucky—Daniels, Wolff, Schramm, Weydemeyer, Siebel, Weerth! Not to speak of the living dead.

As regards *The Fortnightly Review*,<sup>11</sup> I had long considered this point, and had long arranged with Lafargue (the actual negotiator with Beesly) that you should appear under any old *nom de guerre*,

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 35-36 and 37, and Note 11. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 33. - <sup>c</sup> of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> Marx plays on the words *Wirt* (host) and *Volkswirt* (political economist).

which you must let us know. Beesly himself will not be informed who the man is. And it is all the same to him. Apart from other considerations, the impact in Germany would be greatly lessened if the stuff appeared under your name.

In your last letter<sup>a</sup> you made a mistake on one point. The notes used on p. 186<sup>52</sup> you yourself wrote late one evening in my notebook, which still exists.<sup>59</sup> The notes of the Russian Ermen,<sup>b</sup> on the other hand, referred mainly to technical things.

Incidentally, the main thing for me was to ascertain the magnitude of the *advanced* circulating capital, i.e. advanced in raw material, etc., and wages, as against the circulating capital *turned over*. I have enough STATEMENTS, part of them from manufacturers, handed in either to the COMMISSIONERS<sup>c</sup> or to private economists. But everywhere only the annual accounts. The devil of the thing is that there is a wide divergence in political economy between what is of practical interest and what is theoretically necessary, so that one cannot even find the necessary material, as in other sciences.

I have received cuttings from Berlin newspapers from Eichhoff and sent him cuttings from here in RETURN. We have also exchanged two letters.<sup>60</sup> But now the enclosed shows, what Borkheim half guessed on his last visit to Berlin, that Eichhoff has let himself into concessions *quoad*<sup>d</sup> Stieber. Probably from sheer stupidity. For this reason he has taken up political economy as a neutral field.<sup>61</sup> For the rest, it appears that he feels uneasy, and he told Borkheim that, after swotting up properly on economy, he will exchange Berlin for Vienna, IN ABOUT 6 MONTHS.

In the *Essener Zeitung* a pompous denunciation of the International Working Men's Association.

Did you read the warlike SPEECH by Faily when taking over the command of Châlons? I have once again worked through the finances of the Empire. And only one thing appears clear to me, that Badinguet<sup>e</sup> *must* make war.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 32-34. - <sup>b</sup> Anton Ermen - <sup>c</sup> members of Parliamentary investigating commissions - <sup>d</sup> with regard to - <sup>e</sup> nickname of Napoleon III (after the name of a mason in whose clothes he escaped from prison in 1846)

20

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 May 1868

Dear Moor,

Schorlemmer had told me about *one* carbuncle, but two *a tempo*,<sup>a</sup> and in addition in that place where, it is true, everything exists in pairs, *c'est vraiment trop*.<sup>b</sup> I hope they have gone, and that the arsenic will hold back further ones.

I shall send you the money for the bill.

Have you heard anything from Meissner? If not, the time would have come to ask how sales have been going; on this point he owes you an accounting after the Easter Fair as *associé* in the business. Then you could also refer to the *advertisement* asked for by Meissner,<sup>8</sup> the man is still waiting for a reply from me.

The *Fortnightly* article<sup>11</sup> will thus be written as though by an *Englishman*—that is how I understand you. Incidentally, I still cannot get past the beginning. It is damned difficult to make clear the dialectical method to the English who read the reviews, and I surely cannot approach the crowd with the equations *C—M—C*, etc.

Did my last letter give you the data you need?<sup>c</sup> If not, formulate your questions and I shall see what can be done.

Schorlemmer says that you spoke of coming here soon, which would be very desirable. The change of air will do you more good than anything else. This week and the beginning of next our house is in a revolution because of CLEANING AND WHITEWASHING, but if you can come at the end of next week, that would be very nice; you know that in the Whit week I always have plenty of time to spare. Don't forget that you promised to bring Tussy with you.

Eichhoff has finally terminated his lectures on crises.<sup>25</sup> As was to be expected, the mortgage crisis in Berlin was the core and finale of the whole thing. But the poor devil appears finally to have bored even the reporter of the *Zukunft* so much that he only reported on it quite briefly and incomprehensibly.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> at a time - <sup>b</sup> that is really too much - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 32-34. - <sup>d</sup> *Die Zukunft*, No. 174, 15 May 1868 (morning edition). Engels refers to the report on the last of Eichhoff's series of lectures, 'Die Ursachen der Handelsstockungen der Gegenwart', delivered in Alt-Kölln, Berlin.



Liebknecht has this time committed great folly. First he has completely identified himself with the South German federalists, ultramontanes, etc., by signing their protest,<sup>62</sup> and always votes with them, and in addition has so lost all fruitfulness in his speechifying that the impertinent Lasker could tell him—and rightly so—that he was making the same speech once again which he had delivered for weeks past in all popular meetings.<sup>63</sup> The cunning Schweitzer, who confines himself simply to workers' representation, has quite overshadowed him.

The rag,<sup>a</sup> too, as you will have seen, is achieving the impossible: it is getting even more stupid.

Enclosed Borkheim returned.

Your  
F. E.

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## 21

MARX TO ENGELS<sup>48</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

It appears to me that you are on the wrong track with your fear of presenting such simple formulas as  $M-C-M$ , etc.<sup>11</sup> to the English review philistines. On the contrary. If you were forced, as I am, to read the economic articles of Messrs Lalor, Herbert Spencer, Macleod, etc., in *The Westminster Review*, etc., you would see that all of them are fed up with the economic trivialities—and know their readers are fed up, too—so they try to give their scribblings some flavour through PSEUDOPHILOSOPHICAL OR PSEUDOSCIENTIFIC SLANG. The pseudocharacter in no way makes the writing (content=0) easy to understand. On the contrary. The trick lies in so mystifying the reader and causing him to rack his brain, that he may finally be relieved to discover that these HARD WORDS are only

<sup>a</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

fancy dress for *loci communes*.<sup>a</sup> Add to this that the readers of the *Fortnightly* and *The Westminster Review* flatter themselves that they are the LONGEST HEADS OF ENGLAND (let alone the rest of the world, naturally). Even apart from that, if you had seen what Mr James Hutchinson Stirling dares to present to the public as *The Secret of Hegel*,<sup>b</sup> not only in books but also in REVIEWS,—Hegel himself would not understand it—you would realise—Mr J. H. Stirling is regarded as a great thinker—that you are really being too timid. People demand something *new*, new in form and content.

Since you want to start with Chapter II<sup>64</sup> (you must not, however, forget to draw the reader's attention somewhere to the fact that in Chapter I he will find a *new* treatment of that value and money stuff<sup>65</sup>) the following should, in my opinion, be used for the beginning, naturally in the form agreeable to you.

In his investigations into CURRENCY Th. Tooke<sup>c</sup> underlines that money in its function as capital flows back to its starting point (REFLUX OF MONEY TO ITS POINT OF ISSUE), but in its function simply as CURRENCY does not flow back. This distinction, noted by Sir James Steuart,<sup>d</sup> among others, long before Tooke, serves the latter simply for a polemic against what the preachers of the CURRENCY PRINCIPLE<sup>66</sup> claim to be the influence the issue of credit money (BANKNOTES, etc.) exercises upon commodity prices. Our author, however, makes this peculiar form of circulation of money which functions as capital ('SERVE IN THE FUNCTION OF CAPITAL', A. Smith<sup>e</sup>) the starting point for his investigation into the nature of capital itself, and in the first place for an answer to the question: How is money, this independent form of value, converted into capital? ('CONVERSION INTO CAPITAL' the official expression.)

All sorts of businessmen, says Turgot, '*ont cela de commun qu'ils achètent pour vendre... leurs achats sont une avance qui leur rentre*'.<sup>f</sup> *Buying to sell*, this is in fact the transaction in which money functions as capital, and which conditions its reflux to ITS POINT OF ISSUE, in distinction to *selling to buy*, where it need only function as CURRENCY. The differing sequence of the acts of SELLING and BUYING imposes upon money two different circulation movements. What is hidden behind this is the different behaviour of

<sup>a</sup> platitudes - <sup>b</sup> An allusion to J. H. Stirling's work *The Secret of Hegel: Being the Hegelian System in Origin, Principle, Form, and Matter*. - <sup>c</sup> Th. Tooke, *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*... - <sup>d</sup> J. Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*. - <sup>e</sup> A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1814, p. 441. - <sup>f</sup> 'have in common that they buy to sell... their purchases are an advance which returns to them' (Turgot, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*. In: *Oeuvres de Turgot*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1844, p. 43).

the *value* itself expressed in money form. To illustrate this, the author gives the following formulas, etc., etc., for the two different circulation movements.

I believe that you will make the matter easier for yourself and the reader by quoting the formulas.

I shall reply later to the other points of your letter. Of the carbuncles there remains only one, also soon finished. Last Wednesday I gave a lecture (ABOUT  $\frac{5}{4}$  of an hour) on wages (especially the *form* of the same) to about 100 German PICKED workers.<sup>67</sup> I was very unwell that day, and I was advised to telegraph that I could not come. However, this was impossible, since some of the people had come from very distant parts of London. So I went there. The business went off very well, and after the lecture I felt better than before.

I have made concessions to my family doctor Lafargue in that I have *not yet* visited the Museum<sup>a</sup> again. But I have perhaps, during the past weeks, meditated too much AT HOME.

I shall, IF POSSIBLE, come to Manchester with Tussychen at the end of *next week* (SAY SATURDAY<sup>b</sup>). But you will have to send me the money for the fares and SOME SHILLINGS which I shall leave for my wife.

Tussychen, OF COURSE, has reminded me of the trip ABOUT every day.

Enclosed new Liebknecht stuff.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> Marx means the British Museum Library. - <sup>b</sup> 30 May

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 May 1868

Dear Moor,

You must come on *Friday*<sup>a</sup> because I have the afternoon free on Saturday and by then we shall be finished with everything in the house.

Enclosed  $\frac{1}{2}$  £20 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  £5 notes, the two other halves follow in another envelope. Till Friday then, let me know which train you are taking. You can travel from King's Cross by the new (Midland) line, which passes through the most beautiful part of Derbyshire.

9.10	from London	2.15	in Manchester		
11.30	"	"	5.45	"	"
3.	"	"	8.5	"	"

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> 29 May

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 27 May 1868

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR £25.

Departure: Friday<sup>a</sup> from King's Cross 11.30.*Salut.*Your  
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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 JUNE 1868

DEAR FRED,

Immediately after my return to London<sup>68</sup>—our trip was marvelous—I found whole bundles of dunning and threatening letters. The people had been turned away with the excuse that I was 'travelling'. But one might think the electric telegraph had announced my return to these fellows. *Si licet parva componere magnis*,<sup>b</sup> OLD Niebuhr (the father of the HISTORIAN) relates with what speed the FACTS of the SILESIAN WAR<sup>69</sup> travelled from Europe to Asia IN NO TIME simply through the telegraphy of people's tongues. And among creditors this form of natural telegraphy appears to work even more efficiently. Among the bills there are various ones that can *scarcely* be delayed for one week; the worst, however, is the

<sup>a</sup> 29 May - <sup>b</sup> If one may compare the small with the great

enclosed scrawl payable *on Tuesday*,<sup>a</sup> for, if the GAS SUPPLY is publicly cut off, things will get quite out of control.

Last Tuesday<sup>b</sup> there was a meeting of the International. In the meantime, papers have come into my hands which have made unavoidable a RESCINDING of the RESOLUTIONS AS TO THE CONGRESS.<sup>70</sup> *D'abord*,<sup>c</sup> the declaration by Minister of Justice Bara that the Congress *is not permitted* to take place *in Brussels*.<sup>d</sup> Secondly, a printed manifesto of the COMMITTEES of Brussels and Verviers in which they throw down the gauntlet to the Minister.<sup>e</sup> *Thirdly*, letters from De Paepe and Vandenhouten that we would ruin the Association in Belgium by transferring the Congress. This would be interpreted as a concession to the government, etc.

I do not even mention the lousy intrigues of Vésinier, who is now here, and also Pyat, etc. Naturally they have been spreading the rumour that we are working at the dictation of Bonaparte.

They believed that a big scandal was to be expected at this last meeting and therefore sent guests to us. They were very *désappointés* when I withdrew my RESOLUTIONS after reading and referring to the documents, etc. I put the matter thus: The law against the FOREIGNERS was in no way a special threat against the International. It was *general*. The International would, however, have made a *concession* to the Belgian government if, under such legislation, it had selected Brussels as its MEETING PLACE. NOW the matter was the other way round. Now that the Belgian government had directly threatened and provoked us we would be making a concession to it if we moved the Congress away from Brussels, etc. At the same time, I made a few very contemptuous jokes about the heroic tone adopted by those who attacked my RESOLUTIONS (Odger, etc.) before they knew the CHANGED STATE OF CIRCUMSTANCES. THE ONLY DANGER THAT COULD HAVE BEEN INCURRED, WAS THAT OF CHEAP MARTYRDOM AND RIDICULE. MRS LAW shouted 'HEAR, HEAR' for me several times, and showed her support by drumming on the table. Anyhow I managed things so that the laughter turned against Odger, etc., and that the RESCINDING of the RESOLUTIONS did not appear as a victory on their part.

The heat is very nasty for me. I shall have Gumpert's medicine made up for me, since I have 'puked' (as Mrs Blind would say) for

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<sup>a</sup> 23 June - <sup>b</sup> 9 June - <sup>c</sup> First of all - <sup>d</sup> J. Bara's speech in the Chamber of Deputies of 16 May 1868, reported in *La Voix de l'avenir*, No. 23, 7 June 1868 and *La Liberté*, No. 47, 17 May 1868. - <sup>e</sup> 'À Monsieur Bara, ministre de la justice', *La Tribune du peuple*, No. 5, 24 May 1868.

several consecutive days, despite exemplary abstention from food and drink.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

Apropos. Tussychen generated something approaching bad blood here in the house with her dithyrambic praise of the Manchester HOME and her openly declared wish to return there as soon as possible.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 June 1868

Dear Moor,

In great haste enclosed £10 in one note. Tomorrow I shall send you a further £10, which should help to meet the most urgent and most pressing needs.

The article<sup>11</sup> is coming along well and will certainly be finished this week; I am, however, much more satisfied with the quantitative aspect than the qualitative.<sup>a</sup> A 2nd article<sup>71</sup> will then, I think, complete the whole thing. What do you think of the idea that Lafargue should put his name to it?

More tomorrow.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> In the original: quantitative.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>48</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 JUNE 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE £10.

Tussychen and Jennychen are both unfortunately very unwell—sore throats and vomiting. If things do not get better TODAY, I shall have to call a doctor. Our Allen suddenly became paralysed a week ago, so he cannot leave his house.

Vésinier is wrangling here in the FRENCH BRANCH<sup>72</sup> against Dupont and Jung, both of whom he brands 'as Bonapartists'. During my absence<sup>68</sup> he attended a meeting of the CENTRAL COUNCIL<sup>73</sup> (which he has no right to do) and has written a fantastic report in the *Cigale* (Brussels paper).<sup>74</sup> The venue of the Congress was just being discussed.<sup>70</sup>

Lafargue cannot possibly sign,<sup>a</sup> since he is a FRENCHMAN, and in addition, my SON-IN-LAW. Sign it A. Williams OF SOMETHING OF THE SORT. It would be best if Sam Moore signed.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

Yesterday BY ACCIDENT I came across a fine passage in A. Smith. After he had explained that LABOUR the PRIME COST, etc., and *nearly* said the right things though with constant contradictions; after he had ditto declared:

'THE PROFITS OF STOCK, IT MAY PERHAPS BE THOUGHT, ARE ONLY A DIFFERENT NAME FOR THE WAGES OF A PARTICULAR SORT OF LABOUR, THE LABOUR OF INSPECTION AND DIRECTION. THEY ARE, HOWEVER, ALTOGETHER DIFFERENT, ARE REGULATED BY QUITE DIFFERENT PRINCIPLES, AND BEAR NO PROPORTION TO THE QUANTITY, THE HARDSHIP, OR THE INGENUITY OF THIS SUPPOSED LABOUR OF INSPECTION AND DIRECTION',<sup>b</sup>

after that he suddenly does an about turn and wants to develop WAGES, PROFIT, RENT, as the 'COMPONENT PARTS OF NATURAL PRICE' (with him = VALUE). Among other things, there is the following fine passage:

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 44. - <sup>b</sup> A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1814, p. 78.



'WHEN THE PRICE OF ANY COMMODITY IS NEITHER MORE NOR LESS THAN WHAT IS SUFFICIENT TO PAY THE RENT OF THE LAND, THE WAGES OF THE LABOUR, AND THE PROFITS OF THE STOCK EMPLOYED IN RAISING, PREPARING AND BRINGING IT TO MARKET, ACCORDING TO THEIR NATURAL RATES, THE COMMODITY IS THEN SOLD FOR WHAT MAY BE CALLED ITS NATURAL PRICE. THE COMMODITY IS THEN SOLD *PRECISELY FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH, OR FOR WHAT IT REALLY COSTS THE PERSON WHO BRINGS IT TO MARKET; FOR* THOUGH IN COMMON LANGUAGE *THE PRIME COST OF ANY COMMODITY DOES NOT COMPREHEND THE PROFIT OF THE PERSON WHO IS TO SELL IT AGAIN, YET, IF HE SELLS IT AT A PRICE WHICH DOES NOT ALLOW HIM THE ORDINARY RATE OF PROFIT IN HIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, HE IS EVIDENTLY A LOSER BY THE TRADE; SINCE, BY EMPLOYING HIS STOCK IN SOME OTHER WAY, HE MIGHT HAVE MADE THAT PROFIT.'* (The existence of profit in the 'neighbourhood' as an explanation for the same!) 'HIS PROFIT, *BESIDES, IS HIS REVENUE, THE PROPER FUND OF HIS SUBSISTENCE. AS, WHILE HE IS PREPARING AND BRINGING THE GOODS TO MARKET, HE ADVANCES TO HIS WORKMEN THEIR WAGES, OR THEIR SUBSISTENCE; SO HE ADVANCES TO HIMSELF, IN THE SAME MANNER, HIS OWN SUBSISTENCE; WHICH IS GENERALLY SUITABLE TO THE PROFIT WHICH HE MAY REASONABLY EXPECT FROM THE SALE OF HIS GOODS. UNLESS THEY YIELD HIM THIS PROFIT, THEREFORE, THEY DO NOT REPAY HIM WHAT THEY MAY VERY PROPERLY BE SAID TO HAVE COST HIM.'*<sup>a</sup>

This second manner of pressing the profit into the PRIME COST—because already consumed—is really fine.

The same man, in whom the organs of pissing and generation also coincide mentally,<sup>75</sup> stated previously:

'AS SOON AS STOCK HAS ACCUMULATED IN THE HANDS OF PARTICULAR PERSONS ... THE VALUE WHICH THE WORKMEN ADD TO THE MATERIALS ... RESOLVES ITSELF INTO TWO PARTS, OF WHICH THE ONE PAYS THEIR WAGES, THE OTHER THE PROFITS OF THEIR EMPLOYER UPON THE WHOLE STOCK OF MATERIALS AND WAGES WHICH HE ADVANCED.'<sup>b</sup>

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 June 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed S/K 60 115 and 60 116—two fivers. Yesterday I had such a fuss because of the building work in the Schiller Institute<sup>76</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ibid., pp. 88-89. - <sup>b</sup> Ibid., pp. 77-78.

that I left the WAREHOUSE without sending them to you and had not a moment until it was too late. Today again all sorts of things are preventing me from writing to you more fully, if I am not to sacrifice the time which should be devoted to the article<sup>11</sup> this evening; in any case yesterday nothing was done on it.

Regarding the sore throats, be careful.<sup>a</sup> Of course, they are now epidemic and mostly innocent, but since the time when diphtheria became epidemic here it has always been better to consult a doctor quickly so that you know where you are.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 JUNE 1868

Dear FRED,

Unfortunately, the sickness of both girls turns out to be SCARLATINA and Tussychen has it in a very malignant form.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 45.

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 24 June 1868

Dear Friend,

All sorts of incidents have prevented me from writing to you.  
Now, too, only a few lines.

My eldest and youngest daughters<sup>a</sup> both have SCARLATINA. I now recall that you spoke to me in Hanover<sup>77</sup> about a method of treatment as soon as the crisis has passed and the scaling process commences. Please be so kind as to explain this to me by return.

With best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen,

Yours

K. Marx

Liebknecht is growing increasingly dull under the impact of the South German stupidity. He is not enough of a dialectician to criticise both sides at once.<sup>b</sup>

First published in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 June 1868

Dear Moor,

We were never so shocked here as this morning when your news arrived that your girls have scarlet fever. The thing has been on my mind all day; I hope everything goes well, and *here*, as I see from a medical report, all cases of that sort this year have passed

<sup>a</sup> Jenny and Eleanor Marx - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 5.

off remarkably benignly. What sort of a doctor have you got, for you cannot take risks in such cases; *my means are at your disposal*, write or telegraph if you need anything, and you will have it immediately if it is at all possible.

Yesterday I sent you two five-pound notes S/K 60 115 and 60 116 *unregistered*.

Let me know very frequently how things are going. Lizzie was terribly upset when I read this out to her; she has a tremendous affection for Tussy and talks about her all day long.<sup>68</sup> And now good little Jenny has to get the sickness, too. You have really been terribly unlucky.

Under these circumstances, I do not wish to write about other things, and they would not interest you as long as the present state of affairs continues. I enclose a few lines to Tussy to entertain her, and on the orders of Lizzie.<sup>78</sup> On no account leave us without news.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 June 1868<sup>a</sup>

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £10.

The business with the children is going relatively *well*. (Tussy was very pleased with your letter.<sup>78</sup>) Our doctor is our neighbour, the Irishman Dr Korklow, who is known in the neighbourhood particularly as a scarlet-fever doctor (also in the school which my children attended). In case of need, i.e. as soon as there is the slightest disquieting change, Lafargue will bring a doctor from his hospital. So far this has not been necessary.

<sup>a</sup> 1868 is not in Marx's handwriting.

I would appreciate it if you could send me a bit more money, since the major part of the £20 had to be spent to partly pay off the most urgent small debts.

Lafargue has told Beesly that 1 article is pending.<sup>11</sup> Beesly says it must come in good time to find a place in the *August* number.<sup>a</sup>

My head is naturally IN TURMOIL. Since I can do nothing serious, I am writing up the stuff for Eichhoff.<sup>79</sup> It will go off tomorrow.  
*Salut.*

Your  
Moor (*verte*<sup>b</sup>)

Jennychen told Tussy that she had turned from her former higher Chinese character into a LOCALISED (IRISH) BEING and was therefore no longer showing due respect to the EMPEROR.<sup>c</sup> Tussy replied: FORMERLY I CLUNG TO A MAN, NOW I CLING TO A NATION.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 June 1868

Dear Moor,

Yesterday evening, after I had written to you, I went to Gumpert to ask him about SCARLATINA, but found his house so full of patients and Solomonian persons that I couldn't really approach him. I therefore saw him again today and asked him whether he could recommend a doctor, since Allen was sick. He said the main thing was to have a man who, even if not excessively CLEVER, should really live nearby, should come 3-4 times a day at critical times, and always be on call. In his opinion, Lafargue is quite capable of handling this case properly, and if you want further assistance,

<sup>a</sup> of *The Fortnightly Review* - <sup>b</sup> turn (the postscript is on the back of the sheet) - <sup>c</sup> pet name for Marx's daughter Jenny

Allen would be the best man to recommend one of the doctors in the vicinity. Apart from this, *fresh air* and PLENTY OF IT is the main thing; he himself usually prescribes washing with vinegar and water and disinfection of the house with chloride of lime; all this cannot, however, be decreed from a distance. In such acute sicknesses medicines are not really much use.

You will have received the second ten pounds in 2 fivers which I sent you the day before yesterday. Enclosed a further five pounds S/K 46 795, and next week I shall send you some more.

Incidentally, Gumpert did comfort me greatly and he confirmed that this year this sickness occurs in an exceptionally mild form.

Lizzie is afraid that you might think that Tussy could have caught the germ of the sickness here and she has urged me to write that everybody here is healthy.

Sincere greetings to your wife, the two patients,<sup>a</sup> Laura and Lafargue.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>80</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 27 June 1868

DEAR FRED,

£5 received with THANKS.

The children are getting along *very well*. The suppuration and swelling of the throat has improved so much that today the doctor prescribed a hearty DINNER for them (hitherto they had only port and Liebig<sup>b</sup>). They consumed the DINNER with ZEST. From the beginning Korklow prescribed *air*. Instead of the CHLORIDE OF LIME

<sup>a</sup> Jenny and Eleanor Marx - <sup>b</sup> beef tea

another (newer) disinfectant, since he regards the former as injurious to the lungs. Luckily our house is built in such a way, and in particular the children's rooms are so situated, that they are plentifully provided with ventilation coming from every side.

Tell MRS LIZZY (TO WHOM TUSSY SENDS HER LOVE) that Manchester was not for a moment held responsible here. SCARLATINA and MEASLES are now epidemic in London. Tussy probably CAUGHT THE INFECTION FROM THE DAUGHTER OF PROFESSOR FRANKLAND.

Best greetings to Lizzy from me.

Your  
Moor

Today I received a curious document. I have been summoned to appear next Wednesday<sup>a</sup> before the VESTRY of St. Pancras TO SHOW CAUSE WHY MY GOODS AND CHATTELS SHOULD NOT BE DISTRAINED. For the accursed VESTRY elected me *bon gré mal gré*<sup>b</sup> as 'CONSTABLE OF THE VESTRY OF ST. PANCRAS', and I went to Manchester<sup>68</sup> instead of taking over the office and swearing the appropriate oath of office. Dr Korklow, to whom I showed the SUMMONS today, said that it WAS AN HONOUR MUCH VALUED BY THE PHILISTINES OF ST. PANCRAS. I SHOULD TELL THEM THAT I WAS A FOREIGNER AND THAT THEY SHOULD KISS ME ON THE ARSE.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>56</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 June 1868

Dear Moor,

You lifted a heavy stone from all our hearts with your letter of yesterday. The day before yesterday and even yesterday everybody here in the house was very depressed, but today everybody is merry as a cricket again, and I myself feel quite different.

The article is finished.<sup>11</sup> You are quite right, Sam<sup>c</sup> is the man to

<sup>a</sup> 1 July - <sup>b</sup> whether I would or not - <sup>c</sup> Samuel Moore

sign it. I shall tell him today and at the same time give him the article to look through and to note possible Germanisms. But let me know by return whether I can keep it for a few days more, say, till Wednesday<sup>a</sup> evening; if not, I can send it off on Monday. The second and final article<sup>71</sup> (the first goes up to the conclusion of *absolute* surplus value) can then be finished by the end of this inst., since I am unlikely to leave here before then, so the two articles can directly follow one another. First I shall send the *Zukunft* the article about Prussian military nomenclature.<sup>81</sup>

*Salut, ô connétable de Saint Pancrace!*<sup>b</sup> Now you should get yourself a worthy outfit: a red nightshirt, white nightcap, down-at-the-heel slippers, white pants, a long clay pipe and a POT OF PORTER. Lafargue, as your squire, can invent his uniform himself. As you see, the Pancrastian philistines insist that you should sacrifice yourself for the common good. And this year-long, touching attachment which nothing could shake—this you intend to reciprocate with the cold negation of KISS MY—? But ‘that’s just like the communists’.

Give Jennychen my heartiest greetings and tell her that since she has now finally had a fever, I would like to have heard her speaking in delirium; there would have been more sense and poetry in it than fat Freiligrath will ever develop. Ditto best greetings to your wife and the two Lafargues.

Your

F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 JUNE 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST COMPLIMENTS FROM Tussy and Jennychen. The doctor<sup>c</sup> is very satisfied although POOR Jenny is suffering from SLEEPLESSNESS and also

<sup>a</sup> 1 July - <sup>b</sup> Greetings, constable of St. Pancras! (See previous letter.) - <sup>c</sup> Korklow



from coughing. He said today: as soon as the children are over their illness, they should leave London immediately and be sent to the seaside. (Perhaps they could go together with Lizzie?)

Enclosed copies of *Elberfelder Zeitung* which reached me today from Germany. *Dr. Fr. Schnacke* is named on the ENVELOPE as the author<sup>a</sup> and sender; I remember his name from 1848, but do not know him personally. THERE IS MUCH MUDDLING IN HIS ARTICLES.

There is time enough if you send me the ARTICLE by the end of this week.<sup>11</sup>

I am very TIRED as the anxiety of the recent period completely prevented me from sleeping.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

Today a letter from Kugelmann. 4 pages about the treatment of SCARLATINA.<sup>b</sup> Dietzgen from Petersburg visited him at Whitsun on his way to the Rhine.

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time

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

*D'abord*<sup>c</sup> best thanks for the article.<sup>11</sup>

And secondly for the 2 5-pound halves. At the same time, I received a dunning letter from the LANDLORD, whom tomorrow (on arrival of the second halves) I shall first pay the remainder for the quarter which ended on March 25th.

<sup>a</sup> This refers to Schnacke's review, signed E. F. S., of Volume I of *Capital* by Karl Marx in *Elberfelder Zeitung* of 17, 20, 23, 25 and 27 June 1868. The concluding part of the review appeared on 2 and 3 July. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 48. - <sup>c</sup> First of all

Enclosed a letter from Eichhoff.<sup>82</sup> Meissner should have sent me the scrawl from Faucher.<sup>83</sup> It is a good thing that the fellows are beginning to give vent to their annoyance.

The children are progressing well. Naturally very weak. Tussychen also still has a little suppuration in the throat. The doctor is on the whole very satisfied. He will only know in a few days when they will be well enough to go out.

Yesterday, when buying a pencil, I found upon it Russian letters in golden script. Русскій Графитъ.<sup>a</sup> But behind the Russian there appears to be a German named Theodor Stal (Schtal), namely Теодоръ Шталъ. This is the first time that I found something like that in a small local shop here. Borkheim would smell treason behind this.

Best greetings to Lizzy and the little one.<sup>b</sup>

Your  
K.M.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>48</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 2 July 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the two second halves of the two fivers, S/K 11 185 Manchester, 14 January 1867, S/K 79 542 Manchester, 12 January 1867.

I have written to Borkheim<sup>84</sup> to get himself a new Russian book: *Zemlya i volya*, Land and Freedom, in which a German Russian, a landowner,<sup>c</sup> shows that since the emancipation of the peasants<sup>85</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Russian graphite. Marx gives these words and, further on, the name Theodor Schtal in Russian letters. - <sup>b</sup> Mary Ellen Burns - <sup>c</sup> [Lilienfeld, Pawel] Л. П., *Земля и воля*, St. Petersburg, 1868.

the Russian peasant is being *ruined through communal property*, and ditto Russian agriculture—small and large. The book is said to contain much statistical proof. Exchange value has already penetrated too deeply into these primitive communities, so that after the abolition of serfdom the situation no longer appears to be viable.

Tomorrow I hope to receive good news from you again. In the meantime, best greetings for the patients,<sup>a</sup> your wife and the Lafargues.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 2 July 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

Many thanks for your letter.<sup>b</sup> The children are getting along well, though (today is the 9th day) they are not yet fit to go out.

With regard to my book,<sup>c</sup> the day before yesterday I received 5 issues of the *Elberfelder Zeitung* containing a very well-disposed review by Dr Schnacke.<sup>d</sup> (I recall the name from 1848, but do not know him personally.) There is a lot of confusion in his presentation of the matter. On the other hand, I have received information from Berlin that that clown Faucher made fun of my book in the June issue of his magazine.<sup>83</sup> It's a good thing these gentry are at last blurting out their annoyance.

<sup>a</sup> Jenny and Eleanor Marx - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 54. - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> *Elberfelder Zeitung* of 17, 20, 23, 25 and 27 June 1868. The review was signed E. F. S. The concluding part appeared on 2 and 3 July.

When and if I shall come to Germany, I do not yet know. I am finally rid of my carbuncles.

Engels will certainly come here in August or September.

*Salut!* and MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS KUGELMANN AND THE LITTLE ONE.<sup>a</sup>

Yours

K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 7, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

I am acknowledging the receipt (yesterday) of both second halves.

THANKS, ditto, FOR THE TWO little books of Schorlemmer.<sup>b</sup>

The children are getting along well. Yesterday they were up for part of the day, and Jennychen was even downstairs in the PARLOUR. The doctor<sup>c</sup> is now coming only every second day. Therefore he was not here yesterday, and I still await him today.

In today's *Hermann* the reception for Freiligrath in Cologne. Cups, etc. Nothing better than the *quid pro quo* to the effect that Freiligrath changed his seat 9 times, with the hint that this change was politically motivated!

Orsini's brother<sup>d</sup> is here again. He is accused of having betrayed the Fenians,<sup>86</sup> whose agent he was. His accuser is COLONEL Nagle and the French landlady in whose house he lived here at that time (at the time of the Fenian unrest and before he left for the UNITED

<sup>a</sup> Franziska Kugelmann - <sup>b</sup> C. Schorlemmer, 'Researches on the Hydrocarbons of the Series  $C_nH_{2n+2}$ ', *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 94, 1867 and No. 102, 1868. - <sup>c</sup> Korklow - <sup>d</sup> Cesare Orsini

STATES). His methods of exonerating himself are reminiscent of Bangya and he will clear out of London as soon as possible.

Beust's action with the Czechs does not appear clear.<sup>a</sup>

Salut.

Your  
Moor

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### MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER<sup>87</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 4 July 1868  
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,  
Haverstock Hill

Dear Friend,

Your letter of 20 May arrived while I was away from London, a fairly long absence.<sup>68</sup> Hence the delay in replying.

Concerning Liebknecht's connections with New York, I know nothing, but will write to him on the subject.

For Sorge I enclose the following credentials.<sup>b</sup> Our direct connection is with Whaley, Sylvis and Jessup.

*The Commonwealth* has long ceased to exist. The weekly reports on the proceedings of the CENTRAL COUNCIL appear in *The Bee-Hive*. This far from means, however, that this paper, a narrow-minded TRADES-UNION-ORGAN, represents our views.

In the German press, my book<sup>c</sup> has hitherto been reviewed—and mostly very favourably—in the *Zukunft*, the Stuttgart *Beobachter*,<sup>d</sup> the Württemberg *Staatszeitung*,<sup>e</sup> the Frankfurt *Börsenzeitung*,<sup>f</sup> ditto the *Hamburger Börsenzeitung*,<sup>g</sup> the Hamburg *Anzeiger*, etc., in various papers in Hanover and Rhine Province-Westphalia, particularly extensively in a series of articles in Schweitzer's

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 64. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 59. - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> The reviews for the *Zukunft* and the *Beobachter* were written by Engels. - <sup>e</sup> Marx means Engels' review for the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*. - <sup>f</sup> Marx evidently means the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*. The review has not been found. - <sup>g</sup> *Die Börsen-Halle. Hamburgische Abendzeitung*, 14 February 1868.

London. 4<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1868.

We received Mr. Sorge to all the friends of  
the International Workingmen's Association, and, at  
the same time, expressed his best wishes in the name, and  
on behalf, of that Association.

By order of the General Council of  
the Intern. W. Assoc.

Karl Marx,  
Secretary for Germany.

Credentials of the General Council of the International written in Friedrich Sorge's  
name (in Marx' hand)



*Social-Demokrat* (Berlin)<sup>15</sup> and the *Elberfelder Zeitung*.<sup>a</sup> The last two papers, although the latter is liberal bourgeois, are openly partisan.

The big bourgeois and reactionary papers like the *Kölnische*, the *Augsburger*, the *Neue Preussische*, the *Vossische*, etc., are carefully keeping their mouths shut.

From the ranks of the official economists, to date only in the Hildburghausen *Ergänzungsblätter* at the beginning of this year the review by *Dr Dühring*<sup>b</sup> (privatdozent at the University of Berlin, supporter of Carey) (this review was timid but, on the whole, appreciative)—and in the June issue of the economic magazine published by Faucher and Michaelis.<sup>c</sup> Mr Faucher naturally provides nothing except such remarks as one might expect from the comedian and hired jester of the German Bastiatites.

I would be grateful if you would send me a few newspapers from time to time. In particular, it would be of great value to me if you could dig up some anti-bourgeois material about land-ownership and agrarian relations in the United States. Since I shall be dealing with *rent* in my 2nd volume,<sup>41</sup> material against *H. Carey's* 'harmonies'<sup>d</sup> would be especially welcome.

Salut.

Yours

K. Marx

[Appendix]

London, 4 JULY 1868

WE RECOMMEND MR SORGE TO ALL THE FRIENDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AND, AT THE SAME TIME, EMPOWER HIM TO ACT IN THE NAME, AND ON BEHALF, OF THAT ASSOCIATION.

BY ORDER OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERN. W. ASSOC.

Karl Marx,

SECRETARY FOR GERMANY

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<sup>a</sup> The review by F. Schnacke (signed: E. F. S.) in the issues of 17, 20, 23, 25 and 27 June and 2 and 3 July 1868. - <sup>b</sup> E. Dühring, 'Marx. *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, I. Band, Hamburg, 1867', *Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntniss der Gegenwart*, Bd. 3, Heft 3, Hildburghausen, 1867, pp. 182-86. - <sup>c</sup> 'Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie von Karl Marx. Erster Band. Buch I. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Hamburg. Otto Meissner, 1867', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Kulturgeschichte*, Bd. XX, 5. Jg., Berlin, 1868, pp. 206-19. - <sup>d</sup> H. Ch. Carey, *The Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial*.



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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

The children are progressing well. Yesterday for the first time they were outside for half an hour. The peeling is still very pronounced. Only when this is finished will they be MOVABLE.

During the past few days I have been pressed very hard by the baker, CHEESEMONGER, ASSESSED TAXES, God and the Devil.

You will recall that the German Workers' Educational Society here has celebrated the June Insurrection<sup>88</sup> for ABOUT 18 years now. Only in the last few years have the French (their society here NOW EXISTS AS THE FRENCH BRANCH of the International<sup>72</sup>) taken part. And the old *meneurs*<sup>a</sup> always stayed away. I mean the *petits grands hommes*.<sup>b</sup>

But this year, IN PUBLIC MEETING, along came Mr Pyat and read out an alleged address of the Paris Commune (this is a *euphemism* for the IDENTICAL Pyat, who is in no way inferior to Blind in this LINE) in which the *assassinat* of Bonaparte was preached, as it was years ago in his *Lettre aux étudiants*.<sup>c</sup> The FRENCH BRANCH, reinforced by other bawlers, acclaimed this. Vésinier had it printed in *Cigale*<sup>d</sup> and *Espiègle*,<sup>e</sup> Belgian PAPERS, and presents Pyat as giving his direction to the 'International'.<sup>89</sup>

As a result, we get a letter from the Brussels committee,<sup>90</sup> which just at the moment is making great propaganda, under difficult circumstances (Charleroi affair<sup>24</sup>). Contents: This demonstration threatens to wreck the entire Association on the continent. Will the FRENCH BRANCH never move forward from the old demagogic phrases, etc.? etc., etc. It should be remembered that, at this very time, our people are behind bars in Paris.<sup>91</sup> We yesterday issued a declaration (to be printed in Brussels), disavowing any connection between the above-mentioned Pyat and the International.<sup>f</sup>

Indeed I regard the whole affair (naturally based upon the

<sup>a</sup> leaders - <sup>b</sup> little great men - <sup>c</sup> F. Pyat, *Lettre aux étudiants*, London, 1866. - <sup>d</sup> F. Pyat's speech at a meeting in Cleveland Hall on 29 June 1868. In: *La Cigale*, No. 29, 19 July 1868. - <sup>e</sup> Address to the Parisians by the Paris Central Committee of Action, 24 June 1868. In: *L'Espiègle*, No. 27, 5 July 1868. - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on Félix Pyat's Provocative Behaviour'.

background of the enormous stupidity of the FRENCH BRANCH) as an intrigue of the old parties, the republican jackasses of 1848, especially the *petits grands hommes* who represent them in London. Our Association is a thorn in their flesh. After trying in vain to work against the Association, THE NEXT BEST THING, of course, is to compromise it. Pyat is just the man to do this *de bonne foi*.<sup>a</sup> The cleverer ones therefore push him forward.

What could be funnier than this squint-eyed melodrama-writer and *Charivari* man before 1848, this TOASTMASTER of 1848 who now plays Brutus, but from a safe distance!

The FRENCH BRANCH here will have to be thrown out of the International if it does not put a stop to its asininity. One cannot allow 50 unprincipled louts, round whom loudmouths of all nationalities gather at such public opportunities, to endanger the International Association at a moment when, as a result of conditions on the continent, it is beginning to become a serious power.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 July 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed 2 fivers, S/K 93 518 and 19, Manchester, 14 January 1867, to pacify the CHEESEMONGER and other Manicheans.

Everybody here was overjoyed by your good news about the patients.<sup>b</sup>

Hopefully you will really be able to calm down the FRENCH BRANCH.<sup>72</sup> Once again there appears to be sufficient confusion in that nation to guarantee the mess-up of any revolution that may break out. Wherever you look among these fellows, nothing but stupidity.

<sup>a</sup> in good faith - <sup>b</sup> Marx's daughters Eleanor and Jenny

*Ad vocem*<sup>a</sup> Pyat, Blind must not be forgotten. I believe I told you that the Bradford Schiller Society (*id est* Dr Bronner) approached the Schiller Institute<sup>76</sup> here, in order to organise there, here, and in Liverpool 'Readings by famous Germans living in England'. I told the people right away that the whole thing revolved round Karl Blind; all the same they should, as far as I was concerned, agree to the plan *sous réserve*<sup>b</sup> in order to see for themselves. So, last week a letter arrived from Bradford with further information. It said approaches had been made to Prof. Goldstücker, Max Müller, K. Blind and A. Ruge! The *first* two had accepted, yet only *sous réserve* with regard to their time and health, but the latter two had accepted immediately and unconditionally, and Ruge had immediately asked whether an historical or philosophical theme would be preferred. In short, the bomb had burst, and the gentlemen received the reply that Goldstücker and Max Müller would be quite acceptable here, but there could be no question of Blind and Ruge. And this puts paid to the attempt.

Beust<sup>c</sup> has once again made himself suspicious in my eyes. The serious attempt of the Russians to have the Eastern business explode this spring, in spite of the fact that their railway was not yet finished, only appears explicable in that they wished to exploit the presence of a Palmerston as Austrian Prime Minister as long as it lasted. According to one version, he told the Czechs, incidentally, that he was in possession of plans which had been agreed between Prussia and Russia for the eventuality of the dissolution of Austria, and that under these plans Bohemia would not become Russian, but would be sacrificed by the Russians.

I have read the conclusion of the Prussian war of 1866 (Main campaign).<sup>d</sup> According to it, the South Germans were even more stupid than one had thought and known; the blame is, incidentally, distributed more evenly, so that Charlemagne of Bavaria<sup>e</sup> appears as at least as great an ass as Alexander the Great of Hesse.<sup>f</sup>

Best greetings to your wife, the girls and the Lafargues.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Regarding - <sup>b</sup> with reservations - <sup>c</sup> Friedrich Ferdinand Count von Beust, then Chancellor of Austria - <sup>d</sup> *Der Feldzug der preussischen Main-Armee im Sommer 1866*. - <sup>e</sup> Karl Theodor Maximilian August - <sup>f</sup> Alexander Ludwig Georg, Prince of Hesse

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>92</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 11 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

The £10 received with BEST THANKS. I immediately paid £3 5s. for taxes, £3 to the CHEESEMONGER (whom, by the way, I have been paying cash for weeks, since he, just like the TEA-GROCER, no longer puts it on the slate), £1 10s. to the chemist. I owe the baker about £17 and the man, who was always very friendly with us, is in great difficulties. It is awful for me that I have to press you like this. If I only knew how to find any *direct* way out!

The children<sup>a</sup> are doing fairly well, though Jennychen is still very weak. The ruling TEMPER here in the house is not exactly made for convalescents. My wife is not in the best of shape either, and therefore unnecessarily IRRITABLE.

Enclosed:

1. *Kugelmann*: I answered him right away<sup>b</sup> saying he should *be sure not* to loose the intended letter upon Faucher, the Mannequin Pisse.<sup>93</sup>

2. The review by the worthy Faucher<sup>83</sup>; another in the *Literarisches Zentralblatt*.<sup>c</sup> Both to be returned to me.

3. Letter from Dietzgen, who has also written an article on my book for me.<sup>94</sup>

You cannot fully appreciate the farce Mannequin Pisse Faucher is putting on in making me a pupil of Bastiat. Bastiat states in his *Harmonies*<sup>d</sup>:

'If anybody were to explain to him, on the basis of the determination of value by labour time, why air has *no* value and a *diamond* a *high* value, he would throw his book into the fire.'

Since I have now accomplished this terrible trick, Faucher must prove that I, in fact, accept Bastiat, who declares that there exists 'no measure' of value.

The manner in which Mr Bastiat derives the value of the

<sup>a</sup> Jenny and Eleanor Marx - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 67-70. - <sup>c</sup> *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, No. 28, 4 July 1868, pp. 754-56: 'Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* (in 3 Bdn.). Erster Bd. Buch I. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Hamburg, 1867. O. Meissner' (signed 'h'). - <sup>d</sup> Marx quotes from F. Bastiat's *Harmonies économiques*, Paris, 1850, pp. 181-82.

diamond is given in the following truly commercial-traveller-type conversation:

'Monsieur, cédez-moi votre diamant.—Monsieur, je veux bien; cédez-moi en échange votre travail de toute une année.'<sup>a</sup>

Instead of the business friend answering: '*Mon cher, si j'étais condamné à travailler, vous comprenez bien que j'aurai autre chose à acheter que des diamants*'<sup>b</sup> he says:

'Mais, monsieur, vous n'avez pas sacrifié à votre acquisition une minute.—Eh bien, monsieur, tâchez de rencontrer une minute semblable.—Mais, en bonne justice, nous devrions échanger à *travail égal*.—Non, en bonne justice, vous appréciez vos services et moi les miens. Je ne vous force pas; pourquoi me forceriez-vous? Donnez-moi un an tout entier, ou cherchez vous même un diamant.—Mais cela m'en entraînerait à dix ans de pénibles recherches, sans compter une déception probable au bout. Je trouve plus sage, plus profitable d'employer ces dix ans d'une autre manière.—C'est justement pour cela que je crois vous rendre encore *service* en ne vous demandant qu'un an. Je vous en épargne neuf, et voilà pourquoi j'attache beaucoup de *valeur* à ce *service*.'<sup>c</sup>

Is it not a wine salesman to the very life?

Incidentally—and the German Bastiatites do not know this—that unhappy assertion that the value of commodities is determined, not by the labour they cost, but by the labour which they *spare* the buyer (the babbling about the connection between exchange and the division of labour is childish talk) is just as little Bastiat's discovery as any of the other of his wine-salesman categories.

The old jackass Schmalz, the Prussian demagogue-catcher,<sup>95</sup> says (German edition 1818, *French* 1826):

'Le travail d'autrui en général ne produit jamais pour nous qu'une *économie de temps*, et cette économie de temps est tout ce qui constitue sa *valeur* et son *prix*. Le menuisier, par exemple, qui me fait une table, et le domestique qui porte mes lettres à la poste, qui bat mes habits, ou qui cherche pour moi les choses qui me sont nécessaires, me rendent l'un et l'autre un *service* absolument de même nature: l'un et l'autre *m'épargne* et le temps que je serais obligé d'employer moi-même à mes [ces] occupations, et celui qu'il m'aurait fallu consacrer à m'acquérir l'aptitude et les talents qu'elles exigent.'<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> 'Monsieur, give me your diamond.—Gladly, monsieur; give me in exchange your work for a whole year.' - <sup>b</sup> 'My dear Sir, if I were condemned to work, you will understand that I would have something other to buy than diamonds.' - <sup>c</sup> 'But monsieur, you did not sacrifice a minute for your acquisition.—All right, monsieur, try to find a similar minute.—But, in fairness, we should exchange *equal labour*.—No, in fairness, you should put a value on your services, and I on mine. I am not forcing you; why would you force me? Give me a whole year or look for a diamond yourself.—But that would involve me in ten years exhausting search, quite apart from the probable disappointment at the end. I find it wiser and more profitable to employ these ten years in a different manner.—That is exactly why I believe I am indeed doing you a *service* when I only demand one year from you. I save you nine, and that is why I attach a high *value* to this *service*' - <sup>d</sup> 'In general, the work of others only

Old Schmalz was an epigone of the physiocrats.<sup>96</sup> He says this in a polemic directed against A. Smith's *travail productif* and *improductif*,<sup>a</sup> and proceeds from their thesis that only agriculture produces real value. He found that in *Garnier*.<sup>b</sup> Similar stuff, on the other hand, in *Ganilh*,<sup>c</sup> epigone of the mercantilists. Ditto in polemics against the same differentiation made by A. Smith. Thus, polemics by epigones representing two standpoints, with neither having the slightest conception of value,—and Bastiat copies them! And this is the latest discovery in Germany! A pity that no paper exists in which one can expose this plagiarism by Bastiat.<sup>97</sup>

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 11 July 1868

Dear Friend,

The children are getting on well, though still weak.

Thank you very much for the things you sent. *Definitely do not* write to Faucher,<sup>98</sup> otherwise this *mannequin pisse* will feel too

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produces a *saving of time* for us, and this saving of time is the only thing which constitutes its *value* and its *price*. For example, the carpenter who makes me a table, and the servant who takes my letters to the post, cleans my clothes, and procures for me the things I need—the one and the other render me *services* of absolutely the same nature. The one and the other *save* me both the time that I myself would be obliged to use for my [these] occupations, and the time that I would have had to devote to acquiring the skills they require' ([Th.] Schmalz, *Économie politique, ouvrage traduit de l'allemand...*, Vol. I, Paris, 1826, p. 304). - <sup>a</sup> productive and unproductive labour - <sup>b</sup> [G. Garnier,] *Abrégé élémentaire des principes de l'économie politique*. - <sup>c</sup> Ch. Ganilh, *Des systèmes d'économie politique, de la valeur comparative de leurs doctrines, et de celle qui paraît la plus favorable aux progrès de la richesse*.

important.<sup>93</sup> All he has achieved is that, if a second edition appears, I shall aim a few necessary blows at Bastiat where I speak about the *magnitude of value*.<sup>99</sup> This wasn't done before, since the 3rd volume<sup>41</sup> will contain a separate and extensive chapter about the 'vulgar economy' gentry.<sup>100</sup> Incidentally, you will find it quite natural that Faucher and consorts derive the 'exchange value' of their own scribblings not from the *amount of labour power expended*, but from the *absence of such expenditure*, that is from 'saved labour'. Moreover, the worthy Bastiat did not even himself make this 'discovery', so welcome to these gentry, but just 'cribbed' it, in his usual manner, from much earlier authors. His sources are of course unknown to Faucher and consorts.

As for the *Centralblatt*, the man is making the greatest concession possible by admitting that, if value means anything at all, then my conclusions must be conceded.<sup>a</sup> The unfortunate fellow does not see that, even if there were no chapter on 'value' at all in my book,<sup>65</sup> the analysis I give of the real relations would contain the proof and demonstration of the real value relation. The chatter about the need to prove the concept of value arises only from complete ignorance both of the subject under discussion and of the method of science. Every child knows that any nation that stopped working, not for a year, but let us say, just for a few weeks, would perish. And every child knows, too, that the amounts of products corresponding to the differing amounts of needs demand differing and quantitatively determined amounts of society's aggregate labour. It is SELF-EVIDENT that this *necessity* of the *distribution* of social labour in specific proportions is certainly not abolished by the *specific form* of social production; it can only change *its form of manifestation*. Natural laws cannot be abolished at all. The only thing that can change, under historically differing conditions, is the *form* in which those laws assert themselves. And the form in which this proportional distribution of labour asserts itself in a state of society in which the interconnection of social labour expresses itself as the *private exchange* of the individual products of labour, is precisely the *exchange value* of these products.

Where science comes in is to show *how* the law of value asserts itself. So, if one wanted to 'explain' from the outset all phenomena

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<sup>a</sup> This refers to the review, in *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, No. 28, 4 July 1868, 'Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* (in 3 Bdn.). Erster Bd. Buch I. Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals. Hamburg, 1867. O. Meissner' (signed 'h').

that apparently contradict the law, one would have to provide the science *before* the science. It is precisely Ricardo's mistake that in his first chapter, on value,<sup>a</sup> all sorts of categories that still have to be arrived at are assumed *as given*, in order to prove their harmony with the law of value.

On the other hand, as you correctly believe, *the history of the theory* of course demonstrates that the understanding of the value relation has *always been the same*, clearer or less clear, hedged with illusions or scientifically more precise. Since the reasoning process itself arises from the existing conditions and is itself a *natural process*, really comprehending thinking can always only be the same, and can vary only gradually, in accordance with the maturity of development, hence also the maturity of the organ that does the thinking. Anything else is drivel.

The vulgar economist has not the slightest idea that the actual, everyday exchange relations and the value magnitudes *cannot be directly identical*. The point of bourgeois society is precisely that, *a priori*, no conscious social regulation of production takes place. What is reasonable and necessary by nature asserts itself only as a blindly operating average. The vulgar economist thinks he has made a great discovery when, faced with the disclosure of the intrinsic interconnection, he insists that things look different in appearance. In fact, he prides himself in his clinging to appearances and believing them to be the ultimate. Why then have science at all?

But there is also something else behind it. Once interconnection has been revealed, all theoretical belief in the perpetual necessity of the existing conditions collapses, even before the collapse takes place in practice. Here, therefore, it is completely in the interests of the ruling classes to perpetuate the unthinking confusion. And for what other reason are the sycophantic babblers paid who have no other scientific trump to play except that, in political economy, one may not think at all!

But *satis superque*.<sup>b</sup> In any case, it shows the depth of degradation reached by these priests of the bourgeoisie: while workers and even manufacturers and merchants have understood my book and made sense of it, these '*learned scribes*' (!) complain that I make excessive demands on their comprehension.

I would *not* advise reprinting Schweitzer's articles, though Schweitzer has made a good job of them for his paper.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>a</sup> D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, Ch. I: On Value. - <sup>b</sup> enough and more than enough



You would oblige me if you sent me a few issues of the *Staats-Anzeiger*.

You should be able to get Schnacke's address by enquiring at the *Elberfelder*.

Best greetings to your wife and Fränzchen.

Yours

K. M.

Apropos. I have received an article by Dietzgen about my book<sup>94</sup>; I am sending it to Liebknecht.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 7, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 July<sup>a</sup> 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed another two fivers, S/K 92 566 and 93 517. Manchester, 14 January [18]67.

I do not know whether I shall manage to finish the article. On Sunday during a meal a small blood-vessel burst in the conjunctiva of my left eye and since then this eye has been very sensitive, so that it is at present quite impossible for me to write with a light; I think, however, it will soon pass.

Do not forget to order 40-50 *separate reprints* of the article in the *Fortnightly*<sup>11</sup> so that we can distribute them.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> In the original: 14 January.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 July 1868

Dear Moor,

I concluded from Tussy's letter the receipt of the £10, and also that both patients<sup>a</sup> must have reached the point at which they should be sent to the SEASIDE, the sooner the better. So that there shall be no delay I enclose £25 (1 of 20 and 1 of 5). It is still uncertain when I shall get away from here, and it will therefore be better for the time being to drop the attempt at a COMBINED SEASIDE operation, so that the girls' health may not suffer.

I believe you said recently that Borkheim himself would be inclined to advance the £150 if he was not at the moment short of money. Is he now perhaps in a position to provide the sum, or at least £100? It would be absolute folly to toss into the maw of this miserable society 20% interest per annum against the finest security. Even if Borkheim can get us only £100, of which £50 might be repaid in case of need in January or February and the rest on 10/20 July 1869 (though it would be best if *the whole sum* need not be repaid until next July), everything could be fixed up easily. He really only needs to commit himself to pay £100 on the loan in September, so that I would then only need to send him the *remainder*. This would free £100 for me, which I could send you right now. If nothing of this sort happens, you will understand that I am very tied, as long as the heavy load of £175 is hanging over my head, and especially as long as I do not know how the balance has come out, and I probably won't know for another 3-4 weeks.

Think over the business with Borkheim. Maybe something can be done; if so we would be, at least for the time being, out of all our troubles, and would once again have gained time.

The pamphlets and journals I sent back to you yesterday. Who is this sultry Dr Boruttau, who displays such a sensitive organ for sexual love?<sup>b</sup>

Jones is hard put to it whether to stand for Manchester or for Dewsbury.<sup>102</sup> The Dewsburyans have sent him a requisition signed

<sup>a</sup> Marx's daughters Eleanor and Jenny - <sup>b</sup> This refers to C. Boruttau's book *Gedanken über Gewissens-Freiheit*. See also this volume, p. 72.

by 2,000 voters; he wants 1,000 more since there will be 6,000 voters. Now they are pressing *here* in Manchester whether he will accept or not.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS for the £25. The children will probably go to the sea next week together with Mr and Mrs Lafargue. Since yesterday Lafargue has been 'MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS' and has received his patent for the KILLING OF MEN AND BEASTS. Then, in 4-5 weeks, he will go to Paris. As a result, we are in a very embarrassing position, since my wife still has to buy linen for Laura for at least £20.

I do not think we can do any business with Borkheim. Yesterday he told me that 'money was very tight' in his case, etc. The Dutchmen, of whom I can, in fact, only use August Philips, are travelling. But I shall use my head to see how and where to get a loan, since it is *absolutely necessary*. The practice of borrowing at 20% can in fact only happen with institutions like those utilised by Borkheim, where people lose the capital advanced if one kicks the bucket before the date of maturity.

About Dr Boruttau, the man with the sultry prick, I know nothing except that he also 'runs with' the Lassalleans (Schweitzer FRACTION). The funniest thing is the 'French' of his dedication to a sympathetic soul in Moscow.<sup>103</sup>

You will have seen that my book<sup>a</sup> forms a point of discussion in

<sup>a</sup> the first volume of *Capital*

the programme of the General Association of German Workers.<sup>a104</sup>

I have sent you a scrawl by Dühring which despite the heat you might read. You could also tell me your impressions of it, since it is certainly not overtaxing. But all the more boring, to be sure.

I saw Prof. Beesly last week at Lafargue's. Beesly was absent when your article<sup>11</sup> arrived. Immediately after his return he received it and sent it to Henry Morley<sup>b</sup> (CHIEF EDITOR of *The Fortnightly Review*) in Scotland, from whence we have received no further NEWS as yet.

How do you live in this heat? I lose all capacity for thought, and without Gumpert's medicine I COULD NOT STAND IT AT ALL.

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 July 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed Liebknecht returned.<sup>105</sup> What a feeble business with Schweitzer. He should *recognise* 1. you and 2. the International Working Men's Association! Wilhelmchen appears to me to have once again failed to control his tendency to stupidities. Incidentally, you see that Schweitzer did, after all, show off with your letters.<sup>c</sup>

As regards Liebknecht's promises about Nuremberg and the Swiss workers, I SHALL WAIT FOR PERFORMANCE BEFORE GIVING AN OPINION.

Now enclosed a letter from Kugelmann.<sup>106</sup> The business with Keil is splendid—if Kertbény is not in fact inventing a bit. Just in

<sup>a</sup> This refers to the programme of the Hamburg Congress of the General Association of German Workers then forthcoming. See J. B. Schweitzer, 'An die Mitglieder des Allgemeinen deutsch. Arbeiter-Vereins', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 80, 10 July 1868. - <sup>b</sup> John Morley is meant. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 26 and 28-30.

case, I sat down and scribbled in great haste the enclosed scrawl, trying to make it as Beta-like as possible<sup>107</sup>—as is suitable for that miserable rag<sup>a</sup>; kindly let me have your comments on it by return so that we may send the stuff off without delay and strike while the iron is hot. We may not despise this bit of humbug, any more than we despise the stratagems through Siebel's mediation.<sup>50</sup> And the Kinkels, Freiligraths and Blinds, etc., will be badly annoyed; the philistine, however, as you know, trusts his *Gartenlaube*, and it will greatly impress Meissner. Your wife will also enjoy it very much—I think it would be best if you keep it secret for the time being, because of possible disappointment, and then you will surprise her when the paper comes out.

It is a good thing that owing to the delay of the article<sup>11</sup> caused by Beesly's absence I get some time for the second one.<sup>71</sup> Working at night still affects my eye slightly, and it then hurts all the next day.

Best greetings to your wife, the girls and Lafargue and his spouse. In haste.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 July 1868

DEAR FRED,

I hope that the business with your eye is nothing serious. Small blood vessels will burst now and then, without any particular consequence. Have you consulted Gumpert about it?

Unfortunately, the household will only go to the sea next week. And that is because of the *Lafargue family*, who wanted to join in and rent a LODGING, etc., together. Because of Lafargue's ties with

<sup>a</sup> *Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt*

his hospital (where he has been operating for weeks as house SURGEON) the departure has been delayed from day to day, despite my curses, threats and shouts, so that now it is to take place at the beginning of next week, when my wife will go OFF with the rest, and Laura of course arguing that she will soon part completely from the FAMILY, etc. Tussy (highly delighted by your letter, I believe, she knows *par coeur*<sup>a</sup> your 6 letters to her<sup>78</sup>) is hale and hearty again. Not so Jennychen, who is also worrying about all sorts of things, etc. If I HAD MADE UP MY MIND where on the continent I could just now depend with certainty upon a LOAN (especially since I would, if necessary, have your guarantee), I would cross over and take Jennychen with me. But this is perhaps the best time of the year to find nobody at home.

There have been all sorts of scandals here RELATING TO Pyat, FRENCH BRANCH<sup>72</sup> and GENERAL COUNCIL. On this tomorrow,<sup>b</sup> Today only this. Schweitzer in his 2nd programme for the congress of the *General Association of German Workers* in Hamburg has an item about the *International Working Men's Association* and another about *my book*.<sup>c</sup> The programme was printed in the *Zukunft*<sup>d 104</sup> and elsewhere. On the other hand, A. Bebel, as president of the Workers' Union meeting in Nuremberg, has sent an invitation to the General Council.<sup>108</sup> We should send a delegate (Eccarius will go). That they will join the International Working Men's Association and adopt our programme is already *certain*, he says. Finally, we have received an invitation from Vienna where the Austrian workers' fraternal festival will be held, also at the beginning of September.<sup>109</sup> We have sent to Fox, who is in Vienna, the authorisation to represent us there.

About the private negotiations between Wilhelmchen and Schweitzer<sup>e</sup> I know no more than the former writes. Yet I know from another source that the influence of that cunning fox Schweitzer has grown to the same extent as Wilhelmchen has discredited himself among the workers by his over-close alliance with the South German provincial pettifoggers. It was evidently *for this reason* that Wilhelm found it necessary to set up a sort of cartel with Schweitzer, who is at present inside and who, moreover, was clever enough to have his title of nobility revoked by the Prussian court 'for *lèse-majesté*'.<sup>110</sup> As far as I am concerned—I mean as MEMBER of the GENERAL COUNCIL—I MUST

<sup>a</sup> by heart - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 78-79. - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> 'Programm der Generalversammlung des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins, stattfindend in Hamburg, vom 22. bis 25. August 1868', *Die Zukunft*, No. 266, 10 July 1868. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 73.

conduct myself impartially between the various *organised* groups of workers. It is their business and not mine whom they have as leader. AS SECRETARY FOR GERMANY I must answer all those who apply to me in their official capacity as presidents, etc., of workers' groups. In this sense, I have also written to Schweitzer (always WITH AN EYE to the possible publication of the entire correspondence).<sup>111</sup> Faced with the intrigues of the old '48 democrats here, it was, however, high time to be able to display influence among the German workers in Germany.

That you, poor devil, with your sore eye, should also have to water the *Gartenlaube*—and in this weather, too—really cries to the heavens.<sup>a</sup>

My comments are confined to:

Page 2 where I have put 1 x).<sup>112</sup> The FACT was actually this! For us the government sent, instead of the city censor, a special fellow from Berlin (Mr von St. Paul, etc.). When even this did not help, yet another tier of censorship, that of the *Regierungspräsident* of Cologne,<sup>b</sup> was added. Finally, the Berlin cabinet, driven wild, issued a sort of manifesto against us, apprising the world of all our offences, and concluding with the announcement that at the end of the quarter they would shut up our shop. I resigned because the shareholders—even if in vain, as it later turned out—tried to negotiate with the Prussian government.

Page 3 (2x). It would perhaps be good to add here for the benefit of the philistines that the provisional government had invited me in writing to return to France.<sup>c</sup>

*Ditto page 3 (x3)*. You might add for the benefit of the democratic philistines that the Prussians expelled me *par ordre du Muphti*,<sup>d</sup> after they had failed in the law courts.<sup>113</sup>

Finally, would it not be better, instead of the title: 'A German Political Economist', to have: 'A German Socialist'? Both are 'hideous', but the former probably more so.

More tomorrow about affairs here.

*Salut.*

Your  
Moor

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<sup>a</sup> Marx plays on the name of the magazine: 'Gartenlaube' means 'arbour'. See also this volume, p. 74. - <sup>b</sup> Karl Heinrich von Gerlach - <sup>c</sup> See 'Ferdinand Flocon to Marx in Brussels. March 1, 1848' (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 649). - <sup>d</sup> on orders from the mufti (i.e. by Royal order)

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

York, 31 July 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

This scrawl must be excused by the fact that I am on my way for a few days to bring my dear spouse<sup>a</sup> to the seaside resort at Bridlington (I bet you couldn't guess how this name is pronounced), and by the haste in which I send you the enclosed composition.<sup>106</sup> The business is splendid, that is, if it can be done and Kertbény is not bragging.<sup>b</sup> The enclosed scribble has been composed, as far as possible, in the spirit of the rag,<sup>c</sup> but it should possibly be made milder here and there. Marx thinks the title 'A German *Socialist*'<sup>d</sup> would be better, which would be very nice, if Monsieur Kertbény did not object; but this must be prevented *above all*, so I find your suggestion, being the 'milder' one, is better.<sup>114</sup>

Marx has, for the time being, kept your letter with him, and since it is already late today anyway, and everybody in the hotel is hurrying to bed, I shall have to answer it next week. I put Lupus' photogram aside for you some time ago; luckily it is still one of the old good prints; recently I had another 24 prints made, but in the meantime the negative had faded so much that they turned out very badly. As for me, a blood vessel burst in the conjunctiva of my left eye a fortnight ago, and left behind a red patch on the apple (south-west side) which has not yet vanished, and with which I would not like to be eternised. So you will just have to wait for a while.

N.B. There are two corrections, marked A and B, written here later; please insert them in the right place.<sup>e</sup> It would be desirable for Kertbény neither to know the author of the article, nor see the original handwriting.

So until next week.

Yours

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Lydia Burns - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 73. - <sup>c</sup> *Die Gartenlaube. Illustriertes Familienblatt* -  
<sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 76. - <sup>e</sup> Ibid.



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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

How is your eye?

You will probably have received the Eichhoff stuff.<sup>a</sup> In the *Zukunft* there are 'Economic Letters'<sup>b</sup> singing the praises of my book.<sup>c</sup> In fact these letters are largely cribbed from the book. In the *Social-Demokrat* the Executive of the General Association of German Workers is urged by the presidium to invite me as a guest of honour to the congress at Hamburg at the end of August.<sup>d</sup>

A few days ago I wrote to Meissner<sup>84</sup> to find out at last where and how.

Kugelmann has written me a few lines saying that the chamber of commerce and the polytechnical school in Hanover have ordered a number of copies of my book.

In the meantime, I am really more BOTHERED by PRIVATE ECONOMY OF, as the English say, DOMESTIC ECONOMY, than by political economy. My LANDLORD has dunned me and, unfortunately for me, is staying FOR SOME TIME AT London. I have also been forced to sign diverse smaller bills of exchange, etc.

The filthy French branch<sup>72</sup> has created a fine scandal for us. The Pyatists have published a *blâme*<sup>e</sup> of the *conseil général* in the *Cigale*. Their channel was the infamous Vésinier. We ignored this VOTE OF CENSURE and simply passed *à l'ordre du jour*.<sup>f</sup> There followed a MEETING of the FRENCH BRANCH where there were fisticuffs. Dupont, Jung, Lafargue, Johannard, Lassassie and various others have quit this gang of scoundrels. This rabble now amounts to a total of perhaps 15 persons, although they confront us as the '*souveraineté du peuple*'.<sup>g</sup> We are '*des endormeurs*', '*des ambitieux*',<sup>h</sup> etc. Apart from

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<sup>a</sup> W. Eichhoff, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-soziale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung*. See also Note 79. - <sup>b</sup> 'Oekonomische Briefe', *Die Zukunft*, Nos 292 and 298, 25 and 29 July 1868. - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital*. - <sup>d</sup> 'An die Vorstands-Mitglieder des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins' (signed: W. Real), *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 90, 2 August 1868. See also Note 130. - <sup>e</sup> censure - <sup>f</sup> to next business - <sup>g</sup> 'sovereignty of the people' - <sup>h</sup> 'humbugs', 'the ambitious'

the little bit of scandal which these Spiegelbergs are making in that obscure Belgian paper, they are naturally NOWHERE. Nothing is more grotesque than the way in which this mob play Jacobin Club.<sup>115</sup>

Apropos. Moses' article<sup>116</sup> has, after all, turned up. It is in the hands of Massol, who will print it shortly in his *Morale indépendante*, now that this has changed its skin to become a political journal. Reclus will ditto wade in with his *Coopération*, now that this ditto has be-butterflied itself into a political paper.

My wife went to Ramsgate in advance on Monday<sup>a</sup> to prepare the quarters. The gang will follow tomorrow.

Lafargue is only free from tomorrow. In the meantime, he has been operating like mad as assistant to the HOME SURGEON of St. Bartholomew's. Yesterday, e.g., from 9 in the morning until 11 in the evening. Woe to the *corpus vile*<sup>b</sup> of male or female kind on which he gets his practice.

Best greetings from Tussy to you and Lizzy. The child declares to all and sundry that she is READY to emigrate to Manchester. MEANWHILE she is teased here with the NICKNAME 'THE POOR NEGLECTED NATION'.<sup>c</sup>

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

How do you translate GRAVEL as distinct from SAND and FLINT? And how PEAT as distinct from BOG? Incidentally, there are perhaps 6 further different names for what are, more or less, nuances of peat-ground in the 'POOR NEGLECTED COUNTRY'.

Finally, how do you manage to live in this heat? I would like best to hang on a tree in the air.

P. S. Now, when the Germans will join the 'INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION' *en masse*, with the Association, for the time being, filling out at least the boundaries of its main territory—though it is still thin on the ground—my plan is that the GENERAL COUNCIL should move to Geneva for the next year<sup>117</sup> and that we should function here only as the BRITANNIC COUNCIL. It appears a shrewd move to me if the proposal comes from us. At the same

<sup>a</sup> 3 August - <sup>b</sup> living body - <sup>c</sup> An allusion to Tussy's Irish sympathies.

time, it will show the jackasses in Paris, etc., that we are in no way anxious for this pleasant dictatorship. *Qu'en penses tu?*<sup>a</sup>

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 6 August 1868

Dear Moor,

What do I do in this heat? Languish and drink. Today it is raining, the air is muggy and saturated with humidity, it is therefore doubly horrible, the sweat does not evaporate and you are damp all over.

Last Friday<sup>b</sup> I took Lizzie and M. Ellen<sup>c</sup> to Bridlington Quay and returned on Monday; tomorrow I shall return there with Moore, and I would take my HOLIDAY and stay the week, but Charles<sup>d</sup> has gout and is all in, so I must do his work as well as my own, and there can be no question of going away.

Eichhoff's pamphlet<sup>e</sup> proves something which I had scarcely credited him with—that he is capable of reporting facts objectively. Of course, you had also made it easy for him.<sup>79</sup> The thing will have a very good effect. Now as regards the transfer to Geneva, it reminds me of the Central Authority's move to Cologne.<sup>118</sup> I would think this coup over *very thoroughly*. First, are the few jackasses worth it that you should take this step for their sake and hand over responsibility for the whole thing to people who, for all their good will, and also probably instinct, just do not have the stuff to lead a movement like this? Second, once we start moving house, and the holy respect for London, which is still the Medina of the emigration, has been replaced by a very doubtful respect for Geneva—what is the guarantee that the Proudhonists will not succeed in one fine day having the Council transferred, if only as

<sup>a</sup> What do you think about this? - <sup>b</sup> 31 July - <sup>c</sup> Lydia (Lizzie) and Mary Ellen Burns - <sup>d</sup> Charles Roesgen - <sup>e</sup> W. Eichhoff, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassocation...*

a matter of international *courtoisie*,<sup>a</sup> to Brussels or Paris? Finally: such centres should never be put in places where *deportation* is possible, as long as we have a spot free from this risk.

The more splendidly things go, the more important it is that you should keep them in *your* hands, and now that the business is also beginning to get under way in Germany, I do not believe that Becker<sup>b</sup> has the stuff to manage it.

I sent Kugelmann the biographical stuff on Friday from York.<sup>106</sup> It is a very good thing that something about your book<sup>c</sup> should now simultaneously appear in French papers, too. *Nota bene*, have at least 20-30 reprints made of my article in the *Fortnightly*<sup>11</sup> (for which we will naturally pay, *s'il le faut*<sup>d</sup>), they can be used very well. ANYHOW, the conspiracy of silence is now over, and if the thing is only blazing a path slowly, it is now doing it surely.

GRAVEL is *Kiez*. For the various stages of the Irish peat-ground I have no expressions, you will have to ask an East Frisian.

Borkheim has already reminded me of the 'date of maturity'.  
Best greetings to the entire sea-bathing company.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed letter from J. Morley, the CHIEF EDITOR of the *Fortnightly*. Beesly did everything he could, but Mr Morley found the matter not to his taste.<sup>119</sup> NEVER MIND!

The family is fortunately at the SEASIDE, which they all needed very much.

<sup>a</sup> politeness - <sup>b</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital*; see also Note 116 - <sup>d</sup> if necessary

What you say about the transfer of the CENTRAL COUNCIL<sup>73</sup> to Geneva is very correct. It remains possible that in Brussels, *malgré nous et contre nous*,<sup>a</sup> they will propose a CHANGE in order to document their heroic resistance to the *principe autoritaire*.<sup>b</sup> At least in this case our delegates will have to vote for Geneva as *pis aller*.<sup>c</sup>

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 10 August 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

On receipt of your letter, I asked around, but in vain. At the moment it is impossible to get money from the UNIONS here for foreign STRIKES.<sup>120</sup> The various data about the Linden factory contained in the latest Hanoverian papers sent me are of great interest to me.

My family is, at present, at the seaside, which was all the more necessary since both GIRLS<sup>d</sup> seemed very delicate after their illness. Lafargue, after passing his SURGEON examinations here in London, will operate as assistant at his hospital for a few weeks, and then move to Paris where, however, he will still have to pass the French medical examinations.<sup>121</sup>

At the moment I am more occupied with PRIVATE than with PUBLIC ECONOMY. Engels has offered to be my guarantor for a loan of £100-150 at 5% interest, the first half payable in January, the second in July. So far, however, I have not been able to find a creditor.

I hope 'verry' much that the *state of my work* will allow me to abandon London for good and all and move to the continent next year, at the end of September. I shall strike my tents as soon as I

<sup>a</sup> despite us and against us - <sup>b</sup> authoritarian principle - <sup>c</sup> the lesser evil - <sup>d</sup> Jenny and Eleanor Marx

can dispense with the Museum<sup>a</sup> here. The high cost of living here is becoming increasingly burdensome as time goes on. It is true that the pettiness of conditions over there is not much to my taste, but 'tranquillity is the first duty of citizens',<sup>122</sup> and this is the only way to achieve tranquillity. There have been all sorts of rows here, in and with the so-called FRENCH BRANCH<sup>72</sup> of the INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, about which I shall report in my next letter.<sup>b</sup>

I am at present *solus*,<sup>c</sup> and I feel strange, missing all the children's noise.

*Salut.*

Yours

K. Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 7, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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## MARX TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER<sup>123</sup>

IN LONDON

London, 11 August 1868

Dear Lessner,

Because of the orthographic mistakes, I have re-written the whole appeal, enclosed herewith. Now you should copy it in *your own handwriting*.

*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

<sup>a</sup> the British Museum Library - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 173-75. - <sup>c</sup> alone

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>48</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 12 August 1868

Dear Moor,

It would be worth the trouble to find out more about Mr Morley's motives,<sup>a</sup> even if this only leads to the conclusion that the petty, lousy cliquishness, which we used to assume only existed in Germany, also flourishes here. If Morley refuses the piece<sup>119</sup> despite Beesly's influence, then he has his *reasons*. These men are, *au fond*,<sup>b</sup> bourgeois, and Mr Morley has all the reasons in the world to prevent giving publicity to things like those you have presented in your analysis. These are no *isms*; THAT KNOCKS HIM ON THE HEAD, and hence the lack of space. Still, I have no fear that we shall therefore be unable to present the book<sup>c</sup> to the English public, but the easiest and simplest way is cut off, and we shall have to search until we find a new one. In the meantime, the French articles will produce their effect,<sup>116</sup> and it would be a good thing if they could be shown to the gentlemen of the *Fortnightly*; it would be very nice if Mr Morley could still be forced to accept the piece.

The day after tomorrow I shall probably go for 10 days to Bridlington Quay (address: Mr Burns, 3 Burlington Place, Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire), since Charles<sup>d</sup> is recovering; but, of course, something may still crop up, in which case I shall write to you. I was there with Moore from Friday till Monday<sup>e</sup>; we made quite interesting geological studies.

Best greetings from Lizzie.

Your

F. E.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 81.-<sup>b</sup> basically.-<sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital*.-<sup>d</sup> Charles Roegen; see this volume, p. 80.-<sup>e</sup> from 7 to 10 August

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>124</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

I hope that these lines will reach you before your departure, for there is *periculum in mora*.<sup>a</sup>

*Firstly*, I must send money to Ramsgate, so they can stay there another week. As their departure was delayed for weeks after your last remittance, smaller domestic debts were paid; on the other hand, my wife had to retrieve watches and other things from the pawnshop so that they could appear RESPECTABLE at the watering place.

*Secondly*, one of the *épiciers*,<sup>b</sup> who is owed £6 and a few shillings, must be paid this week, since the man is shutting up shop.

*Thirdly*, I have already received 2 SUMMONS for QUEEN'S TAXES (about £8). The LOCAL TAXES are paid, as you know. I absolutely cannot put off these sums.

For two further pressing items—the LANDLORD, who is unfortunately in London now, and a bill of exchange for £12 payable on the 25th of this month—I shall still perhaps receive money in time from Germany.

I have written to my cousins August and Karl Philips in Amsterdam and Aachen in order to find out whether they are back.<sup>125</sup> It would be a sheer waste of money to go to the continent in order to borrow, before one is sure that the people are there.

For the past week I have not had a wink of sleep and *l'illustre* Gaudissart<sup>c</sup> Borkheim, who visited me the day before yesterday to take leave, said I really should get rid of my jaundice. He entertained me with the story of the £1,000 he is trying to blackmail out of Oppenheim.

In great haste.

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> danger in delay (Titus Livius, *Rerum Romanorum ab Urbe condita libri*, Book XXXVIII, Ch. 25) - <sup>b</sup> grocers - <sup>c</sup> *L'illustre Gaudissart* was Borkheim's nickname (after the title character of a novel by Balzac).



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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>124</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester, about 14 August 1868]

Dear Moor,

I shall send you money tomorrow, our cashier had no more notes this afternoon. Do not feel awkward about 'pressing', I only wish there were more there to be pressed out; but bear in mind as well that in 6 weeks we shall have to pay the £150 with interest, and Borkheim says that the interest will bring the total up to 165! I think you will have to make up your mind to go to Holland; we cannot 'afford' to borrow at *such* interest.

Faucher made me laugh very much.<sup>83</sup> Absolutely the noble arrogance of this fellow. The patronising introduction and then criticism (and what criticism!) of a very elementary thing in which you present the views of the *economists*, thus only make a resumé; he wisely keeps his fingers off your own things. Also very good is his admission that the present generation, including Faucher, knows nothing of either Jacob or Joseph, thus confirming your opinion that they 'really have learned nothing'. Incidentally, the impudence of the fellow is comic. He really assumes that his public knows nothing, will learn nothing, and even wishes to read nothing except such Faucherist piss. And the man is right about it.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN BRIDLINGTON QUAY

London, 21 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

My wife returned from Ramsgate yesterday, but the children are still there. Since I have been puking gall for about 1 week, and, in addition, cholera is developing here, my wife insists that I should also go to the sea at Ramsgate for at least 2-3 days. So I shall be leaving today.<sup>126</sup>

The £25 received with many thanks: the bill of exchange for £12, as I assured myself today, falls due on 28 August. So far I have not yet received anything from the continental side.

It would be best if you send the money for the LIFE INSURANCE to me myself, on the date due, when I can pay the people. For they must, after all, hand over to me the promissory note that I signed. Dealing with this via Schyler would in fact compromise me.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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60

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Bridlington Quay, 22 August 1868

Dear Moor,

Best thanks for the *Lanterne* and the B. Becker.<sup>a</sup> The closer one comes to see the details of the Lassalle tragicomedy, the more the

<sup>a</sup> B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*.

comical side emerges. This man was ruined by his IRREPRESSIBLE reflection upon himself, his permanent self-contemplation. 'How do I appear to myself?' was the eternal refrain. Poor Baron Izzy! Comic at that exalted moment when he commissioned his *alter ego*, Rüstow, to bed the beautiful Helen<sup>a</sup> *per procura*<sup>b</sup> if necessary—he well knew how little danger this involved—as at that other moment when the Wallachian<sup>c</sup> shot away his genitals. Poor Izzy! To be gelded by a shot from a Wallachian.<sup>d</sup> You always found it so comical that his *gob* had been stopped, but now *this* as well.

Seiler! That is the impression of the whole story. Sebastian Seiler, the only worthy historiographer of this tragicomedy—he will hang himself that he missed this putrid scene. *En attendant*<sup>e</sup> it is quite amusing that the 'testamentary successor of Lassalle'<sup>127</sup> declares him an aristocrat, traitor and cad, and is forced to appropriate all those things that we formerly had published *against him himself* and against Schweitzer.<sup>128</sup> Bastards!

On Wednesday or Thursday<sup>f</sup> I shall go back to Manchester from here and shall then visit my mother for a week—probably in Ostend. I am still waiting for a letter from her, and have no idea where I stand in the meantime.<sup>129</sup>

Naturally I would have sent the money for the loan from the insurance company *only to you*, if you had not from the start shoved the whole affair away from you and onto Borkheim, so that I had to turn to him simply to find out how much had to be paid. *That* I could, of course, only do with the simultaneous remark that I would send the sum to him, since he was indeed standing surety for the money. As I already wrote to you, it would never have occurred to me to send the money to that jackass Schyler.<sup>g</sup> But I expect to see you before then, in London at the end of next week.

Your  
F. E.

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time

<sup>a</sup> Helene von Dönniges - <sup>b</sup> by proxy - <sup>c</sup> Janko von Racowitza - <sup>d</sup> In the original, a play on the word *Wallach* (Wallachian), also German for a gelding. - <sup>e</sup> Meanwhile - <sup>f</sup> 26 or 27 August - <sup>g</sup> See this volume, p. 87.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>33</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

Still no 'SUPPLIES' from Germany. It is, of course, idiotic to depend completely upon half-promises. But if you are drowning you clutch at every straw. On Friday<sup>a</sup> the bill of exchange for £12, about which I wrote to you,<sup>b</sup> is due. Since nothing had arrived by today, and to have no protest in the house, I just visited my baker, who told me he could '*perhaps*' get the money by tomorrow evening, but only for a few days. At the same time, I have received the enclosed scrawl from my LANDLORD. That everything should happen to one just at this time. It is enough to drive one mad.

Bring me back or send me the screed by Becker.<sup>c</sup> His theoretical-political-economic criticisms of Lassalle have been copied from your pamphlet on the military question.<sup>d</sup>

This Becker has done us a great service with his Seileriana. He deserves to be Lassalle's 'testamentary successor'.<sup>127</sup>

The invitation which I received to the congress of the General Association of German Workers (Hamburg, 22-25 August)<sup>130</sup> is signed by Schweitzer as President and by more than 20 workers from different districts of Germany (members of the *Executive Committee*). I had to take the latter into consideration in my reply.<sup>e</sup> I explained that I could not come because of the work of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association, and said I was glad to see that the starting points of any 'serious' workers' movement—agitation for complete political freedom, regulation of the working day and international co-operation of the working class—were emphasised in their *programme* for the congress.<sup>f</sup> That is to say, in other words, I congratulated them on

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<sup>a</sup> 28 August - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 87. - <sup>c</sup> B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - <sup>e</sup> 'To the President and Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers'. - <sup>f</sup> 'Programm der Generalversammlung des Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins, stattfindend in Hamburg, vom 22. bis 25. August 1868', *Die Zukunft*, No. 266, 10 July 1868, and *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 98, 21 August 1868.

having abandoned *Lassalle's programme*.<sup>a</sup> Whether they will notice the point remains to be seen. Schweitzer, the only man with brains in the whole Lassalle gang, will certainly detect it. But whether he will think it advisable to show this or to pretend to be dense, *nous verrons*.<sup>b</sup>

Your

K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 August 1868

Dear Moor,

I found your letter of the 25th<sup>c</sup> waiting for me here, and as promised yesterday,<sup>131</sup> I enclose 2 fivers and 1 tenner, with which his lordship the LANDLORD will have to content himself for the time being.

I expect a letter from my mother any day that she has arrived in Ostend, and I will immediately dash there<sup>129</sup>; I shall see you in London in any case, but it is doubtful whether I shall be able to stay there for a day on my outward journey.

In haste.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Lassalle, 'Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig vom 1. März'. - <sup>b</sup> we shall see - <sup>c</sup> Engels apparently means Marx's letter of 26 August 1868.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 August 1868

DEAR FRED,

The £20 received with BEST THANKS.

Tussy had a great shock today. She found Dicky dead in his cage although he was still singing merrily yesterday. He has been buried with full honours.

Dupont has received the mandate from Naples to represent the Neapolitan branch.<sup>132</sup> Since the Mentana business, as we see from Italian reports, there has been a general reactionary trend in domestic affairs, and in particular the workers' right to meet and form societies has almost been done away with.<sup>133</sup>

In Paris, happily, we still have our old people, *behind bars*. The committee there will send a *délégué* to Brussels, but against that the various *corps de métier*<sup>a</sup> will send 8-9.<sup>134</sup> Our people have written to us from prison suggesting that these *corps de métier* MEN should be 'compromised politically' so that there should be no way back for them. Just to show the sort of methods to which the Paris police have recourse: A gentleman calling himself 'Eugène Dupont' from London visited the wives of several of the prisoners to pump them. He was a police agent, but his play-acting did not work anywhere.

Eccarius left for Nuremberg as our *délégué* today.<sup>135</sup> From there he will go to Brussels. He is correspondent of *The Times* in both cases.<sup>136</sup>

The so-called *branche française*,<sup>72</sup> under the leadership of Messrs Pyat and Vésinier, is sending a delegate to Brussels in order—*horribile dictu*<sup>b</sup>—to put us in the dock!

Apropos. If Moore is still there, tell him it would be good if he could pay to me his USUAL CONTRIBUTION to the INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION by Tuesday.<sup>c</sup> We are weakly represented in Brussels, and every shilling that we can raise now will be used to

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<sup>a</sup> trade societies - <sup>b</sup> horrible to say - <sup>c</sup> 1 September

send one MEMBER MORE there. TUESDAY NEXT IS OUR LAST SITTING this year before the congress.<sup>137</sup>

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 September 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the £5 for MOORE'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL. So get me the receipt for him.

I am waiting on tenterhooks for a letter from my mother informing me of her arrival in Ostend and of her address. I am to go there for a few days,<sup>129</sup> and hear and see nothing. If there is no news by the day after tomorrow, hardly anything will come of it, since good old Gottfried<sup>a</sup> wishes to go away next week. As soon as I have news, I shall notify you by telegraph of my forthcoming arrival<sup>b</sup> in London.

I shall bring the Lassalle swindle<sup>c</sup> with me, or Schorlemmer, who has it, will send it to you as soon as he's read it.

Jones is holding OPEN AIR MEETINGS here for the workers,<sup>102</sup> but acts so tamely that he is already being attacked for it by his rival Henry. On Saturday<sup>d</sup> evening he called Gladstone 'THAT GREAT LEADER OF THE WORKING CLASSES!' I heard this myself. He is being *too* clever once again.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Gottfried Ermen - <sup>b</sup> In the original: reply. - <sup>c</sup> B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - <sup>d</sup> 29 August

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 9 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

The £167 paid on 8 September, RECEIPT received and BOND received back.

I am sending you enclosed *The Times* and 2 issues of *The Daily News* about the *INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMENS CONGRESS*.<sup>a 138</sup> You must send back the 2 '*Daily News*' by return.

You see from the FIRST LEADER of *The Times*<sup>b</sup> what a good policy it was to send our report<sup>c</sup> to it alone, with a few words TO THAT EFFECT.

In great haste.

Salut.

Your

K. Marx

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MARX TO GEORG ECCARIUS  
AND FRIEDRICH LESSNER<sup>139</sup>

IN BRUSSELS

London, 10 September 1868

Dear Eccarius and Lessner,

FIRST MY THANKS TO LESSNER FOR HIS LONG AND INTERESTING LETTER.<sup>140</sup>

You must not allow the congress<sup>138</sup> to last beyond this week.

<sup>a</sup> 'The Congress of the International Association of Workmen. From Our Special Correspondent. Brussels, Sept. 6, 7', *The Daily News*, 8 and 9 September 1868. - <sup>b</sup> *The Times*, No. 26225, 9 September 1868. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association', contained in Eccarius' first dispatch on the congress (see Note 136). 'International Working Men's Congress (From a Correspondent)', *The Times*, No. 26225, 9 September 1868.



Until now—AS FAR AS ENGLAND IS CONCERNED—there has been nothing to discredit it.

If the Belgians and French should once again place masses of new stuff on the agenda, let them know it will not do,<sup>141</sup> since

1. the Germans are very poorly represented, as their congresses are being held almost simultaneously in Germany<sup>142</sup>;

2. England is almost not represented because of the suffrage movement;

3. the German Swiss are not yet represented at all, since they have only just affiliated, and those branches long in existence have exhausted their funds in the Geneva strike<sup>16</sup>;

4. the discussions are being conducted one-sidedly, in French;

5. therefore, *decisions on general theoretical questions* must be avoided, since this can only lead to protests later from the non-Belgians and non-French.

The public is naturally interested mainly in the question of war. Pompous declamations and high-faluting phrases do NO HARM here. The decision to be taken in this connection would seem to be simply that the working class is not yet sufficiently organised to throw any decisive weight onto the scales; that, however, the congress protests in the name of the working class, and denounces those who instigate war; that a war between France and Germany is a civil war, ruinous for both countries and for Europe as a whole. A statement that war could only benefit the Russian government can hardly be made acceptable to the French and Belgian gentlemen.<sup>a</sup>

Greetings to friend Becker.<sup>b</sup>

K. Marx

If the question of *crédit mutuel* is raised, Eccarius should simply declare that the workers in England, Germany and the United States have nothing to do with Proudhonist dogmas and consider the credit question to be of secondary importance.

The resolutions of the congress should be telegraphed to the London newspapers. So don't do anything discreditable.

K. M.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 101. - <sup>b</sup> Johann Philipp Becker

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 12 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

Luckily the congress<sup>138</sup> ends today and up to Thursday<sup>a</sup>—that is as far as the news goes—it had only compromised itself tolerably. But one must always fear some public disgrace, since the Belgians form the enormous majority. Mr Tolain and other Parisians want to have the GENERAL COUNCIL moved to Brussels. They are very JEALOUS OF LONDON. It is a great step forward that the Proudhonist ‘*braves Belges*’<sup>b</sup> and French, who dogmatically declaimed against TRADES UNIONS, etc., in Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867),<sup>143</sup> are now most fanatically in favour. In spite of all their boasting, the ‘*braves Belges*’ had made no preparations. For example, the correspondent of *The Daily News* hunted in vain for 3 days for the possible meeting place until he accidentally ran into Jung and Stepney. In fact, the premises had not been booked in advance, and the ‘*braves Belges*’ wanted to charge the expenses (among others, those for their 250 participants) to the London GENERAL COUNCIL, to which they and the French owe about 3,000 frs. The sum is now being raised by private collections among the delegates.

I am in a bad scrape. Laura has fallen sick since you were here,<sup>129</sup> and my wife was forced to borrow £10 from her simply to meet the extra expenses, as we are absolutely broke.

I have heard nothing at all from Holland<sup>c</sup> and must therefore regard the silence as intentional. I really do not know what to do.

Apropos. It was a good thing that we changed the word CONVICTS into VICTIMS.<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> 10 September - <sup>b</sup> plucky Belgians - <sup>c</sup> from the Philips family - <sup>d</sup> This evidently refers to changes in ‘The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association’ written by Marx (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 13).

On the return of Shaw—who was sent at Moore's expense<sup>a</sup>—the latter will receive his RECEIPT.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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## MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER

IN NEW YORK

London, 14 September 1868  
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,  
Haverstock Hill

Dear Meyer,

Enclosed the issue of *The Times* containing the 4th ANNUAL REPORT of the GENERAL COUNCIL (written by *me*), and the very interesting *Times* FIRST LEADER on this document.<sup>b</sup> This is the first time that it has abandoned its tone of *moquerie* about the working class, and taken it 'verry' *au sérieux*. Spread this around. Inform Jessup of this.

I must reply to both your letters, the first to me and the 2nd to Eccarius, which was handed me in his absence (he has not yet returned from Brussels).

As far as the first letter is concerned, it is your fault if *Sorge* (who is *completely unknown* to me) has received credentials.<sup>144</sup> If you wanted simply to give him a recommendation for a particular purpose, you should have written so clearly. The way you put it in your letter, I believed that *Sorge* was *your and A. Vogt's man*. So be more careful in future. Then you made the second mistake of *giving* the credentials to *Sorge*, instead of writing to me first about the misunderstanding!

The mistake has been made, but it is not irreparable.

The Brussels Congress<sup>138</sup> has once again allotted the General

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 91 and 92. - <sup>b</sup> *The Times*, No. 26225, 9 September 1868.

Council to London. But it is now to be regarded as a *new* COUNCIL, which *revises* all *old* credentials. So write to me whether you and A. Vogt want credentials. Write, too, *in which manner* we should withdraw Sorge's credentials or, alternatively, inform him that the new General Council has changed the credentials.<sup>145</sup>

Drury was here for a while. Recently, shortly before the Brussels Congress, he was *proposed* as authorised agent of the *INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION* to the *AMERICAN LABOR UNION*<sup>146</sup> and its congress. We *did not agree to this at the time*, since the source of the suggestion<sup>a</sup> appeared *suspicious* to us. Please observe the man more closely first, either yourself or through friends.

No COPIES remain of the *Commonwealth* PAPER. For the past few years there have *not* been any *agitational* writings in our sense in England. *My book<sup>b</sup> has not yet been translated into English.*<sup>147</sup> Eccarius, otherwise very capable, but at the same time very *AMBITIOUS*, has *intentionally not mentioned it* in *The Commonwealth* or at other opportunities. He likes to appropriate my propositions *for himself*. At the congress in Brussels, Lessner mentioned *my book* in his speech about machinery. The correspondent of *The Daily News* reported this.<sup>c</sup> Eccarius, who reported the congress sessions for *The Times*, *suppressed it.*<sup>136</sup> His conduct is all the more absurd since he owes me not only his knowledge, but also his post as general secretary on the *GENERAL COUNCIL*. I alone supported him (at *The Commonwealth* too) against attacks by the English and French.<sup>148</sup> He relies upon the experience he already has with me, that I am only concerned with the cause, and ignore personal stupidities!

I shall *not* give him your letter.

The more English excerpts from my book you can get into the American press the better.<sup>149</sup>

Send them to me!

I attach the enclosed card. It was sent to us, with a letter, to establish contact with us. Address: G. W. Randall, SECRETARY, WORKINGMEN'S INSTITUTE, 3 Tremont Row, ROOM 52, Boston N. E.

I lost contact years ago with all my acquaintances in America. I am still in touch only with Meyer<sup>d</sup> in St. Louis, the friend of our J. Weydemeyer (deceased last year).

Write me all you can find out about the relationship between the railways and real estate.

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<sup>a</sup> W. R. Cremer and Huleck (see this volume, pp. 177-78). - <sup>b</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> 'The International Working Men's Congress. From Our Special Correspondent. Brussels, Sept. 9', *The Daily News*, 11 September 1868. - <sup>d</sup> Hermann Meyer

You may have seen that, at its congress in Hamburg, the General Association of German Workers passed a special resolution giving recognition to my book.<sup>104</sup>

Write to Randall on my behalf as GERMAN SECRETARY of the GENERAL COUNCIL.

Best greetings to A. Vogt and yourself.

Yours  
K. Marx

I am sending 2 copies of *The Times*, one for you, the other for Jessup.<sup>a</sup>

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## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

London, 14 September 1868

Dear Jung,

*The Times* today carries Eccarius' reports of the 9th and 10th.<sup>b</sup>

In the debate on machinery, he makes Lessner's SPEECH worse; it was much better in *The Daily News*. Lessner quoted my book,<sup>c</sup> as you have seen in *The Daily News*.<sup>d</sup> Eccarius suppresses the quotation.

Yet even better. In *The Daily News* the resolution about machines, etc., was noted as a *proposal from the GENERAL COUNCIL*.<sup>e</sup> In *The Times*, Mr Eccarius converts this into his *personal proposal*.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This sentence was inserted by Marx immediately under the address.-

<sup>b</sup> [J. G. Eccarius,] 'The International Working Men's Congress. (From a Correspondent)', *The Times*, No. 26229, 14 September 1868 (see also Note 136). - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital*.<sup>d</sup> 'The International Working Men's Congress. From Our Special Correspondent. Brussels, Sept. 9', *The Daily News*, 11 September 1868. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, 'Draft Resolution on the Consequences of Using Machinery under Capitalism Proposed by the General Council to the Brussels Congress'. - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, p. 101.

This is a point on which you must collar him. His egotism needs a cuff TO SET HIM RIGHT AGAIN.

Yours  
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>34</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 September 1868

Dear Moor,

I can only write briefly and badly, I have rheumatism in my right hand and have been writing all the afternoon.

Enclosed a ten-pound note. When Borkheim returns, you absolutely must force him to undertake some sort of coup, if nothing else can be done. You will understand that I myself find things rather tight at the moment. Did you ever write to *Meissner* asking for a settling of accounts? With the workers bombarding from all sides now, the burking will soon come to an end, and the second edition<sup>a</sup> will not have to be awaited for long. *Now is the time* to insert a new advertisement for the book. Think one out, I shall send it to *Meissner*, whom I owe an answer anyway. But don't put it off. Furthermore, *Meissner* should be sent *The Times* with the resolution of the Germans in Brussels, the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* of yesterday,<sup>150</sup> etc., the man must be kept happy. If you have not done it, do it (I can no longer get that No. of *The Times* here). And then the exchange value, too, will gradually come into effect for you.

The things in *The Times* in *Eccarius'* report<sup>b</sup> will be a big help to you here, and Mr *Morley* will be amazed.<sup>c</sup> The papers here also carry fairly full extracts from the report (but most in *The Daily News*).

<sup>a</sup> the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*-<sup>b</sup> [J. G. *Eccarius*,] 'The International Working Men's Congress. (From a Correspondent)', *The Times*, No. 26230, 15 September 1868.-<sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 81.

The congress went well after all. The method of conducting the babble in public and the BUSINESS on the quiet has worked splendidly. So, the COUNCIL will remain in London, and once again the Proudhonists have only the satisfaction of having resolved that *they* are Proudhonists, and nobody else is.

One might also send Meissner the No. of the *Zukunft* about Lloyd, etc., in which you are mentioned twice. I can do all this, if you want.

Moses Hess amused me greatly.<sup>151</sup>

But the question now arises: Has not a popular short presentation of the content of your book *for workers* become an urgent necessity? If it is not written, some Moses or other will come along and do it and botch it up. What do you think of it?

Enclosed also Eichhoff back.<sup>a</sup>

It is impossible to leave without stupidities being committed. While I was away,<sup>129</sup> the fellows on the *comité* of the Schiller Institute,<sup>76</sup> acting on the suggestion of the Bradfordians, invited that swine Vogt to give a lecture here. I naturally announced my resignation at once, 'in order not to give an indirect vote of confidence to a man who, I considered it proved, was a paid Bonapartist agent in 1859'.<sup>b</sup> The swine is coming tomorrow.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 September 1868

Dear Engels,

THANKS FOR THE £10. At the end of the letter I shall say more about money matters. First about 'general items'.

<sup>a</sup> W. Eichhoff, *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung, Organisation, politisch-soziale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung.* - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'To the Directorate of the Schiller Institute'.

The policy of sending the report solely to *The Times* has proved itself.<sup>136</sup> It has forced all London newspapers to speak, with the exception of the deeply-indignant Levy.<sup>a</sup> *The Times* did not accept Eccarius' reports from Nuremberg. It only took the bait after it had received the report from me.<sup>b</sup> *The Morning Advertiser* of yesterday carried (upsetting Blind) A FIRST LEADER in favour of the *International* against *The Times*.<sup>c</sup> The *Star* declares the congress to have been a 'SUCCESS'.<sup>d</sup> *The Standard*, which first attacked us, SNEAKS before the WORKING CLASS in a leading article yesterday.<sup>e</sup> It knocks the capitalists and will now even pull grimaces about the LAND QUESTION. The *Journal des Débats* regrets that the English and the Germans and the Belgians, as shown by the resolution on the land,<sup>152</sup> belong to the 'secte communiste' and that the French, on the other hand, keep on reproducing 'les déclamations ridicules de Proudhon'.<sup>f</sup>

People are very dissatisfied with Eccarius and next Tuesday<sup>g</sup> a storm will break that will do him good.<sup>153</sup> The points of the indictment are as follows:

He took almost *no part at all* in the congress and afterwards posed in *The Times* as the LEADING MIND. Also in *The Times*, he took over the *proposals of the GENERAL COUNCIL* as his private property, and ditto the applause for them as due to him. He suppressed as far as possible the speeches of the others and, to flatter *The Times*, falsified Dupont's concluding speech. Apart from this, Lessner has the GRIEVANCE that when he (Lessner) read from my book, Eccarius suppressed this in *The Times*,<sup>154</sup> ditto that he only included the resolution on the book<sup>150</sup> in his correspondence under HIGH PRESSURE, and finally that he falsified the German resolution on war.<sup>155</sup> He said that a European war would be a civil war, instead of saying, as the German resolution stated, THAT 'A WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY WAS A CIVIL WAR FOR THE PROFIT OF RUSSIA'. He completely omits the latter point. On the other hand, he attributes to the Germans and the English the Belgian nonsense that it was necessary TO STRIKE AGAINST WAR.

On the other hand, as a reporter he has done us some service. The long and the short of it is that he will be told that he should figure only as *reporter* in future, with the COUNCIL paying his

<sup>a</sup> of *The Daily Telegraph* - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association'. See also this volume, p. 93. - <sup>c</sup> 'London, Wednesday, September 16', *The Morning Advertiser*, 16 September 1868. - <sup>d</sup> 'The International Congress of Workmen', *The Evening Star*, 15 September 1868. - <sup>e</sup> *The Standard*, 16 September 1868. - <sup>f</sup> 'Proudhon's ridiculous declamations' - <sup>g</sup> 22 September



travelling expenses and *The Times* paying for the articles. But he will *never again* be named as *DELEGATE*. Thus preserved from the CONFLICT OF FRACTIONS.

Lessner says that we accomplished so much despite being so little represented at the congress, which was almost entirely Belgian (with the addition of FRENCHMEN), because on all decisive points the Belgian workers, notwithstanding their Brussels LEADERS, voted with London. Moses is said to have made the best SPEECH against the Proudhonists.<sup>151</sup> Tolain was so furious that he did not appear at the banquet. Not only has the Central Council<sup>73</sup> here been appointed once again, but the list of members, *purified* by us, was accepted. Within four weeks Vésinier is to submit to a commission in Brussels proof of his suspicions regarding Tolain.<sup>156</sup> In case these are *baseless* (and they are), the congress has already conditionally *expelled* him from the Association as a slanderer. The delegate of the FRENCH BRANCH tabled a bill of indictment against the GENERAL COUNCIL which, among other things, contained the *modeste* demand that the French member of the GENERAL COUNCIL should be named by the FRENCH BRANCH. In response, the congress simply proceeded with the agenda (exactly as we have treated the GRIEVANCES of these fellows in the GENERAL COUNCIL).

At Nuremberg,<sup>135</sup> *Liebknrecht* committed a completely useless stupidity (even one *contrary to the Rules*) by forcing upon the people Becker's confused wishy-washy stuff as the *Programme of the International Working Men's Association*.<sup>157</sup> Sonnemann remarked correctly that this was a *quid pro quo*.<sup>a</sup> But Mr Wilhelm wanted to have *democratic babble* for the 'People's Party'!<sup>38</sup>

Meissner wrote a few lines some weeks ago. He would only be able to render an account in some weeks. It appeared to him that up to the present *no profit* had been made. I am sending him *The Times* and *Liebknrecht*<sup>b</sup> and the *Zukunft*<sup>c</sup> today. The *advertisement* will have to be done by you. I cannot advertise my own book.<sup>d</sup> And it would be a very good thing if you yourself wrote a small popular explanatory pamphlet. Let us hope that things will now get going.

As regards money matters, I simply cannot go on in this way. It makes all work impossible. I believe it would be best if you would write to Borkheim and ask him whether it was not possible to raise money for me somehow since, *after paying off the LOAN SOCIETY* and other accumulated debts, I was now in great difficulties because of

<sup>a</sup> confusion - <sup>b</sup> Liebknrecht's paper, the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 100. - <sup>d</sup> the first volume of *Capital*

extra expenses, including trousseau for Laura, who was soon going to Paris. (And this is in fact an *aggravating* circumstance!) I have studied Borkheim enough to know that he must believe that I have, WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS, A SETTLED INCOME, but that I am in particular difficulties because there is as yet no income from the book, etc. He should think that you are writing to him behind my back. Of course, you must give him your guarantee, or rather promise it.

It is a very good thing that *Vogt* is in England<sup>a</sup> just when the INTERNATIONAL is arousing such interest. *He* can put two and two together.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 September 1868

Dear Moor,

I think you will not be able to enforce the intended exclusion of Eccarius from the congress; he will be indispensable, as a delegate too. Apart from this, it is very good, however, that he does not get away with this, and that there are various people WHO WILL WASH HIS HEAD, as Lafargue says.

As regards the advertisement (*annonce*) about your book,<sup>b</sup> it is absurd to claim that you could not write it yourself. You even wanted to write it yourself when I sent you one that you did not like.<sup>c</sup> Be so kind as to return to this matter, and send me the advertisement you promised me then. I shall then pass it on to

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 100. - <sup>b</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 8.

Meissner. But we shall have to support him somewhat so that his good will does not weaken.

*In puncto*<sup>a</sup> money I shall write to Borkheim willingly as soon as you inform me that he is back. Apropos this matter, you must, however, let me know what happened when you drew the loan. For how much did you insure your life, at what premium, and is the policy still valid? Because it might still be possible to get a new loan or an advance on the policy itself from the same society. But how am I to raise money for you if you leave me quite in the dark about all these matters? If I can reach agreement with Gottfried Ermen, who will scarcely return before the end of October, I shall immediately be able to raise some funds once again, but everything depends on this. If I can *not* reach agreement with him, my own position will become very uncertain. It can, however, take until the end of this year before the matter is settled, and this means another 3 1/2 months.<sup>158</sup>

William the Handsome<sup>b</sup> is getting exuberant now that his Bismarck has left him.<sup>159</sup> The drive towards war is becoming ever clearer. For all that, I believe it is now too late for this year. Purchasing horses and the actual mobilisation still require more time in France than in Prussia, and despite all the preparations and bragging I do not believe that the French need less than 6 weeks for this. As the domestic supply of horses is insufficient, the beginning of the actual mobilisation, that is to say, now, the firm decision to strike, will inevitably be marked by large purchases of horses abroad, which immediately becomes public knowledge. Even now it will be a long time before they can have the *entire* number of horses necessary for war. Little Louis<sup>c</sup> will have to give 5-6 weeks NOTICE, and this brings us to the end of October; and especially with the enormous masses now involved, a winter campaign would certainly only be waged in an extreme emergency. If there are not quite special reasons, we are pretty safe until March-April, and all sorts of things can happen before then.

In addition, Louis still does not *have* anything like the number of men he needs. He will hardly be able to raise more than 650,000 troops of the line (*gendarmarie*, *garde municipale* and all sorts of other police troops figure in the army budget), and much of the *garde mobile* does not even exist on paper. It takes at least 6/7 years to fully implement a changed military system, and his is only one year old. I do not believe that Louis wants a war precisely at this moment, if he can avoid it, since every month of delay

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<sup>a</sup> As regards - <sup>b</sup> William I - <sup>c</sup> Napoleon III

brings stronger reinforcement to *his* forces than to those of Prussia.

I hope Laura is well again? Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed a letter from Schweitzer,<sup>160</sup> ditto one from Essen and also 6 numbers of the *Social-Demokrat*. I must have all this stuff back by *Tuesday*.<sup>a</sup> What answer should I give the cunning Schweitzer? You will see from the debates of the *General Association of German Workers congress*<sup>104</sup> (in the *Social-Demokrat*) that the 'true-blue' Lassalleans smelt that their president was leaving Lassalle's course in proposing a congress for the establishment of TRADES UNIONS and settlement of STRIKES.<sup>161</sup> He only received permission to launch this agitation independently of the Association of German Workers by threatening to resign. His purpose, of course, is to get in ahead of Liebknecht, etc. He was also aware that, with the development of a *real* workers' organisation in Germany based on TRADES UNIONS, his artificial sectarian Association WOULD SOON BE NOWHERE. What he now describes in a LEADER (No. 104)<sup>b</sup> as the summa of Lassalle's discoveries: 'state credit for the foundation of productive associations', is literally copied from the programme of French *Catholic* socialism, *duce*<sup>c</sup> Buchez, in the *Atelier* at the time of Louis Philippe.<sup>162</sup> I must answer diplomatically and would like to know your view.

<sup>a</sup> 22 September - <sup>b</sup> 'Der allgemeine deutsche Arbeiter-Congress. II', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 104, 6 September 1868. - <sup>c</sup> led by

Vogt is no longer available here.<sup>a</sup> But yesterday I wrote to Liebknecht and categorically requested information about the copies (perhaps 150) sent to him.<sup>163</sup>

Next Tuesday<sup>b</sup> at the first session of the GENERAL COUNCIL there will be stormy weather. Dupont is also furious about Eccarius because he took as good as no part in the congress.<sup>153</sup> I shall try to protect Eccarius against 'positive' measures,<sup>c</sup> but this time I shall not be able to take sides for him so strongly as I did last year against Fox, Carter, etc.<sup>148</sup>

A *Bordelais*,<sup>d</sup> merchant, friend of Lafargue, English-speaking, passed through here after a journey through Sweden and Denmark. He told Lafargue that in higher circles there they speak much about my book,<sup>e</sup> which does not sound very likely to me.

Laurachen is somewhat better. Her SUFFERINGS are connected with certain natural processes of development. They want to leave at the beginning of October, and this is awkward because the linen part of the trousseau is still incomplete.

*L'illustre* Gaudissart<sup>f</sup> returned today.

The loan was like this: You borrow money FOR A CERTAIN TERM. If you die before maturity, the sum need *not* be paid back. On the other hand, in the contrary case repayment must be made on the date of maturity with the STIPULATED interest. The transaction is then *at an end*. It is thus no life insurance. You do not receive a policy, but the money, for which you make out a BOND. This was naturally returned to me. It is the peculiar form that makes the whole business so expensive—certainly the worst and the dearest way to borrow money.

The sole circumstance which would, in my opinion, favour Bonaparte in a belated campaign is that Russia would then be more paralysed, at least for military action. One thing is certain. The whole of France believes that war is IMMINENT.

As for the advertisement, I shall *d'abord*<sup>g</sup> see what Meissner answers. I have asked him about it.<sup>h</sup>

How did things go with fat Vogt?<sup>i</sup>

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

The report on the Brussels Congress in the *Opinion nationale* states, inter alia:

<sup>a</sup> Marx means his book *Herr Vogt*. - <sup>b</sup> 22 September - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 101-02. - <sup>d</sup> man from Bordeaux - <sup>e</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>f</sup> Sigismund Borkheim - <sup>g</sup> first - <sup>h</sup> See this volume, p. 102. - <sup>i</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

'Je dois mentionner ici le rapport général de l'Association, rédigé par le conseil de Londres. *Mentionner*, c'est bien le seul mot que je puisse employer, car, je ne suis point assez fort légiste pour trier et élaguer les phrases incriminables par les lois de France, et il s'en pourrait trouver quelques-unes de ce genre.'<sup>a</sup>

Speaks then of the PASSAGES dealing with '*le gouvernement français*'.

'La critique y est verte parfois, et souvent ironique. Je le répète, je ne puis m'en faire juge; mais je dois avouer que le public a été moins timide que votre correspondant; il a couvert d'applaudissements frénétiques tous les passages que je m'abstiens de citer.'<sup>b</sup>

There were 12 REPORTERS from France there.

The *Émancipation*<sup>c</sup> and the *Journal de Bruxelles*<sup>d</sup> attacked the congress in exactly the same way as they attacked us 20 years ago.

One Russian was there as a journalist. He said he would send the General Council the Russian papers that wrote about the congress.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 September 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed returned the Schweitzer stuff.<sup>160</sup> The man is an idiot to believe that he can bribe you with such a letter. In making you chief of 'Europe' in general, he hints delicately that your kingdom

<sup>a</sup> 'I must mention here the general report of the Association, drafted by the Council in London. *Mention* is in fact the only word which I can use since I am not sufficiently qualified in law to identify and weed out the phrases punishable under French law, and there could well be some of this sort in it' (from J. I. Blanc's report on the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association in *L'Opinion nationale*, 10 September 1868). - <sup>b</sup> 'The criticism here is sometimes sharp and often ironical. I repeat I cannot make a judgment; but I must admit that the audience was less timid than your correspondent; it received with frantic applause all those passages which I refrain from quoting' (ibid). - <sup>c</sup> *L'Émancipation belge*, No. 254, 10 September 1868, leading article. - <sup>d</sup> *Journal de Bruxelles*, Nos 252, 254-260; 8, 10-16 September 1868.

is, for this very reason, not in any country in particular, i.e., strictly speaking, not of this world. He appoints you Pope so that you may anoint him Kaiser of Germany, and thus give a kick to Wilhelm.<sup>a</sup> In any case, it is worth much that you have *this* letter in your hands.

I think you should, above all, point out to the philistine that his workers' congress<sup>164</sup> only makes sense if it is a *genuine* workers' congress, not merely a feeble imitation of his Hamburg congress; i.e. if Schweitzer sees to it that non-Lassallean elements are also represented. So far, there is no sign of this, and Schweitzer does not appear to have taken any steps in this direction. Whether he 'can make friends' with Wilhelm and others or not, is completely immaterial; in a matter like this he must go along with them. Then, regarding the statutes, you could write to him that what counts is less what is in them than how they are handled.

The fellow obviously wishes to push out Wilhelmchen, Bebel and consorts, and be able to appeal to something in writing from you for this purpose. That must be very important to him, otherwise he would never have written you this letter, which delivers him absolutely into your hands for ever. You are quite right that he sees that a few Lassallean phrases will no longer do and that he must expand.

If I am not mistaken you also gave Wilhelmchen copies of the *18th Brumaire*.<sup>b</sup> Some of them should be brought here, I no longer have a copy.

I shall write to Gaudissart.<sup>c</sup>

The Spanish business<sup>165</sup> could end all the war clamour. *La innocente Isabel*<sup>d</sup> was the only reliable ally that Louis<sup>e</sup> had, and if a revolution should be victorious in Spain, the whole constellation will assume a different character. The affair will probably be decided very quickly; I believe the Innocent Lady is *foutue*.<sup>f</sup>

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. -  
<sup>c</sup> Sigismund Borkheim - <sup>d</sup> Isabella II - <sup>e</sup> Napoleon III - <sup>f</sup> finished

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

From the enclosed you will see that Liebknecht wants to get rid of Schweitzer through me, just as Schweitzer wants to get rid of Liebknecht.<sup>166</sup> I have replied to Wilhelm<sup>84</sup>: No overhastiness! If he acts with tact, Schweitzer will himself SETTLE DOWN TO MORE MODERATE 'PROPORTIONS' or ruin himself. The dissolution of the General Association of German Workers<sup>167</sup> brings Lassalleanism *qua*<sup>a</sup> such to a forcible end, although it still may carry on for SOME TIME A LINGERING SECT LIFE.

I enclose Schweitzer's report in the *Social-Demokrat* on the catastrophe.<sup>b</sup>

I completely share your view that the Spanish revolution (it has the same significance as the Neapolitan revolution of 1848<sup>168</sup>) gives a new turn to European history and, in particular, like a *deus ex machina*, cuts the Gordian knot of the repulsive German-French war.

Strohn has just arrived from the continent. So, more next time.

Your  
Moor

*The Times* paid Eccarius 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> GUINEAS per column, sang hymns of praise to him, and made him advantageous proposals. Send Wilhelm<sup>c</sup> back to me.

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<sup>a</sup> as - <sup>b</sup> [J. B.] Schweitzer, 'An die Mitglieder des Allg. deutsch. Arb.-Vereins', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 110, 20 September 1868.- <sup>c</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx of 16 September 1868.



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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 24 September 1868

Dear Moor,

So *that* is the reason for the sycophantic letter from Schweitzer!<sup>a</sup> The fellow obviously knew what was in store for him when he wrote to you. On the one hand, it may not be altogether unwelcome to him that he can drop the strict Lassallean religion, but fundamentally the loss of the 'tight' organisation and of the possibility to play at dictator is certainly fatal to him. Of course, this is the end of the Lassallean sect's self-important pretence that *it* is 'the party' in Germany, and the sect will gradually expire; it will continue to twitch the longest in the Bergisches Land, the real home of sects.

Incidentally, as Wilhelm<sup>b</sup> rightly guesses, his associations will also come under attack.<sup>169</sup> So much the better. The petty-bourgeois-people's-party-federalist fad of these fellows is not worth a penny. And it is a good thing that the government really stirs up the workers, once it sees that the workers won't let themselves be used by it against the bourgeoisie. Some form or another will surely be found.

But what a comrade Wilhelm is! Less than 4 months since he entered into a 'sort of alliance' with Schweitzer,<sup>105</sup> and today they are again at loggerheads, and he is TOO SLIPPERY for him. He knew that before, didn't he—but what about the fine lads he had 'assigned to watch him'!

What is this proclamation that you are supposed to issue by all means?<sup>166</sup> And these fine phrases in it about 'persons' which Wilhelm might construe against Baptist<sup>c</sup> and Baptist against Wilhelm! The South German democrat is impossible to get rid of, once you have him in your system. One might think Wilhelm was writing to Struve.

Schlöffel (the elder) has turned up again *in Silesia*. I am folding into the returned *Social-Demokrat* some *curiosa* from the *Zukunft*.

If you had only gone to Nuremberg! You would have been

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 105 and 107-08. - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht; see this volume, p. 109. - <sup>c</sup> Baptist Schweitzer

compensated and afterwards been able to start again from the beginning with the SUFFERINGS. I tell you the fellow still can't distinguish you from Struve.

Apropos the dissolution of the General Association of German Workers<sup>167</sup> Wilhelm could now reprint the pertinent passages from my pamphlet,<sup>a</sup> in which all this was predicted for the Lassallean gentlemen. What do you think about it? I could prepare the muck for him, as I still have a few copies here.<sup>170</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>80</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 25 September 1868

Dear FRED,

Can you send me £5 by Saturday<sup>b</sup> morning? One of the TRADESMEN just called and told me he was on the verge of bankruptcy and would have great expenses if he had not raised A CERTAIN SUM from HIS CREDITORS by Saturday.

Your  
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

Printed according to the original

<sup>a</sup> *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*. - <sup>b</sup> 26 September

78

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 25 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

BY ALL MEANS do the stuff for Liebknecht<sup>170</sup> as quickly as feasible. Otherwise, the fellow will do it himself and, you may depend upon it, do it *badly*. It appears to me it would be a good thing if you were also to draw attention to what Bernhard Becker stole from your pamphlet<sup>a</sup> and endorsed, after bitter experience, in his shitty pamphlet.<sup>b</sup> (He cursed us so horribly when he was still 'President of Humanity'.<sup>171</sup>) You can have the pamphlet right away if you write immediately to Strohn, who took it with him to Bradford.

The time has now come to KICK this 'Lassalleanism' 'just for a start'. And there is no need at all to allow B. Becker's shitty pamphlet to be buried in silence.<sup>172</sup>

The 'appeal' the fiery Wilhelmchen speaks of<sup>166</sup> is this: I (i. e. in the name of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, as its SECRETARY FOR GERMANY) must naturally address SOME GENERAL LINES to the German workers, now that their relationship to us has changed as a result of their various congress decisions. But no undue haste is necessary in so doing. In all these things 'more haste, less speed', and, as we know, our Wilhelmchen has shown no 'haste' with the matter for 6-7 years.

Quant à<sup>c</sup> Schweitzer, I had a sort of presentiment that some turning point WAS LOOMING SOMEWHERE. Although my reply to him had therefore been ready for some days<sup>d</sup>—(in which I with school-masterly reserve point out to him, in particular, the difference in conditions between a sectarian movement and a real class movement)—I have, nevertheless, held the stuff back. And I will now only answer him after the results are available of his fresh attempt to call a congress in Berlin for forming TRADES UNIONS.<sup>164</sup> In any case, Schweitzer has learned one thing about me, that the promptness with which I answer his letters is always in inverse proportion to their 'warmth of feeling'.

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.* -

<sup>b</sup> B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's.* - <sup>c</sup> As for - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 132-35.

Wilhelm has only ONE COPY left of *The 18th Brumaire*.  
How did things go with Vogt's LECTURES in the Schiller Institute?<sup>76?</sup>

Your  
K. M.

Blanqui was in constant attendance during the Brussels Congress.

In a BLUE BOOK<sup>173</sup> about the crisis of 1857,<sup>a</sup> Cardwell, CHAIRMAN of the COMMITTEE of INQUIRY and the most disgusting washerwoman in the Peelite clique of old women, asks Dixon (MANAGING DIRECTOR of a bank which had failed in Liverpool) whether the SHAREHOLDERS of the bank had consisted largely of women, parsons and other persons with no knowledge of banking. BY NO MEANS, Dixon replied, they were mainly 'MERCANTILE MEN' but, he added very KNOWINGLY:

'THE MAJORITY OF THEM ARE PEOPLE IN BUSINESS, MERCANTILE MEN; BUT HOW FAR MERCANTILE MEN CAN BE CONSIDERED COMPETENT TO FORM AN OPINION ON ANY OTHER BUSINESS THAN THEIR OWN, IS RATHER A QUESTION.' Is that not nice?

Apropos!

Moore should send me Foster's *On Exchange* from his lending library, since it is not in the library here. I shall send it back immediately.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 September 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the desired five pounds in one bank note.

The business in Spain<sup>165</sup> must be going well, since the government has so little good news to announce. Still, it is surprising that the telegraphs to the frontiers have not yet been

<sup>a</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on the Bank Acts; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 1 July 1858.*

cut. This proves that the Innocent Lady<sup>a</sup> *could* very well go to Madrid if she really wanted to.

Your  
F. E.

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time

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## MARX TO ENGELS<sup>174</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 26 September 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £5. These lousy little SHOPKEEPERS are a wretched class. My wife immediately took the money to the house of the dun. The man himself had 'made himself scarce' for the time being (and he is in his way quite a decent fellow); his wife, dripping with tears, accepted the money for him. Many, in fact most, of these SHOPKEEPERS experience all the misery of the proletariat, plus the 'fear' and 'serfdom of respectability', and without the COMPENSATING self-esteem of the better workers.

Apropos. The squabble among the authorities of the TRADES UNIONS, which in fact paralysed them for years, has at last been settled. THE LONDON TRADES' COUNCIL (Odger et Co.), LONDON WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION (Potter et Co.) and the AMALGAMATED TRADES UNIONS (I believe the main office is at present Sheffield, it changes annually) have finally agreed on *joint action*.<sup>175</sup> This is the outcome of the bourgeois CAMPAIGN against the TRADES UNIONS.

I return the last numbers of Schweitzer,<sup>b</sup> since you may need them in the article for Wilhelm.<sup>170</sup> Keep them in Manchester, but in such a way that they can be found again if needed. I do not believe that Schweitzer had an idea of the impending blow. Had this been the case he would scarcely have clucked so triumphantly about the 'tight organisation'.<sup>c</sup> I believe it was the 'INTERNATIONAL

<sup>a</sup> Isabella II - <sup>b</sup> *Der Social-Demokrat* - <sup>c</sup> [J. B.] Schweitzer, 'An die Mitglieder des Allg. deutsch. Arb.-Vereins', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 110, 20 September 1868.

WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION' that moved the Prussian government to this decisive blow. As for the 'warm fraternal' letter from Schweitzer to me,<sup>160</sup> this is explained simply by his fear that following the Nuremberg decision<sup>135</sup> I might now publicly speak up for Wilhelm<sup>a</sup> and against him. Such a polemic would certainly be awkward after the Hamburg affair<sup>104</sup> (*le bonhomme*<sup>b</sup> had written to me requesting me kindly to come to Hamburg in person, 'to have the well-earned laurels placed upon my brow!').

The most essential thing for the German working class is that it should cease to agitate by permission of the high government authorities. Such a bureaucratically schooled RACE must undergo a complete course of 'self help'. On the other hand, they undoubtedly have the advantage that they are starting the movement at a period when conditions are much further developed than they were for the English and that, as Germans, they have heads on their shoulders capable of generalising. Eccarius is full of praise for the parliamentary propriety and tact that reigned at the Nuremberg congress, particularly compared with the French at Brussels.<sup>138</sup>

In Spain things still look doubtful; but it appears to me that the movement can be suppressed only for a short time at the most.<sup>165</sup> One thing I do not understand is that the LEADERS did not wait until the 'Innocent Lady'<sup>c</sup> had left Spain and was visiting Bonaparte. Could it be that the latter himself had a hand in the game?

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

One of Schweitzer's most ridiculous operations—to which, however, he is absolutely forced by the prejudices of his army and as the president of the General Association of German Workers—is that he regularly pledges himself *in verba magistri*,<sup>d</sup> and each time he makes a new concession to the needs of the real workers' movement he argues timidly that this does *not* contradict the dogmas of the Lassallean faith, the only guarantee of eternal salvation. The Hamburg Congress instinctively and quite correctly recognised that the General Association of German Workers, as the specific organisation of the Lassallean sect, was endangered by the real workers' movement operating through TRADES UNIONS, etc.,

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<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> the good man - <sup>c</sup> Isabella II - <sup>d</sup> on the words of the master (Horace, *Epistles*, Book I, Epistle I)

and that by participating in these officially it would forfeit the distinctiveness that constitutes its *point d'honneur* and *raison d'être*.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 29 September 1868

Dear FRED,

Enclosed and attached letter from Eichhoff<sup>176</sup> together with 2 issues of the *Social-Demokrat*<sup>a</sup> and the *Staatsbürger-Zeitung*.

You will see from them that 'boozy' Schulze-Delitzsch has succeeded in giving momentary importance to Schweitzer's stage-trick; that Schweitzer's whole congress consists *only* (minus 12 men) of Lassalleans<sup>177</sup>; and that Schweitzer believes that he can in a very simple way replace his dictatorship over the General Association of German Workers by the dictatorship over the German working class. That is very naive.

The sole practical question for us is: Should I or should I not issue an appeal *at this moment*? In view of its position, the General Council must maintain an impartial stand. Would it not therefore be better to wait until 1. the nullity of the results of Schweitzer's game has become more apparent and, 2. Liebknecht and Co. have really organised something?

It appears to me that the power of the General Council greatly depends upon its not tying itself down prematurely and never doing so without certainty of success; it should, rather, practise Russian diplomacy in its operations.

If you share this view (and you must declare yourself in 2-3 days), I can simply write to Wilhelm and Eichhoff that the majority of the General Council has declared itself against any public proclamation until the elements that have joined the

<sup>a</sup> *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos 112 and 113, 25 and 27 September 1868.

International Working Men's Association are sufficiently organised to provide the necessary backing.

Your  
K. M.

In the meantime Lassalleanism, which is already crumbling, can be further subverted UNDERHAND as, e.g., by your article.<sup>a</sup>

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 September 1868

Dear Moor,

Once you have entered into contact with Schweitzer in your capacity as Secretary FOR GERMANY,<sup>b</sup> I do not see how you could do anything except observe complete neutrality between him and Wilhelmchen—at least in official conduct. As far as I know, the Lassalleans accepted your programme in Hamburg,<sup>104</sup> so more cannot be expected. One must simply leave it to Schweitzer to destroy himself; if we ourselves were in Germany, things would be different.

Even from the previous *Social-Demokrat* I saw that he wanted to transfer his 'tight organisation' to the TRADES UNIONS<sup>c</sup>; now we have to wait and see whether he succeeds, which I do not believe. TRADES BUSINESS is money business, and there dictatorship ends of itself. And the substitution won't work as easily as the *bonhomme*<sup>d</sup> believes.

The COUNCIL can and may only take sides when it is itself attacked directly or indirectly, or when the principles of the

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association'. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 76. - <sup>c</sup> Engels presumably means the article 'Zum Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiter-Congress. Berlin, 24. September' in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 112, 25 September 1868. - <sup>d</sup> good man



Association are infringed. This is precisely how it acted at the time with regard to the Parisians.<sup>178</sup>

Moreover, what is Wilhelmchen's organisation<sup>169</sup> so far, what has been the effect of the Nuremberg decision?<sup>135</sup> Have societies really affiliated, paid subscriptions, etc.? I know nothing about it. And what does Wilhelm want to do in relation to Schweitzer's STRIKE organisation?<sup>164</sup> What else does he want to organise? All this is still very unclear to me.

Furthermore: What practical effect would it have if you and the General Council issued a declaration against the Lassalleans? I believe very little, at most the sect as such would stick together the more firmly. And what can they be reproached with? That they do not follow W. Liebknecht? As long as the fellows have trust in Schweitzer, and as long as Liebknecht and Schweitzer squabble, all sermonising about unity is sheer folly.

To attack the Lassalle stuff in *literary* form is quite another matter. But to proscribe him, so to speak, would only consolidate a sect which is otherwise in disintegration.

I suggest you also find occasion to give Schweitzer a piece of your mind concerning his dictatorial ambitions, if you write to him at all. After all, he wanted to send you the drafts first.<sup>160</sup>

Apropos. The letter from *Eichhoff*<sup>176</sup> was not enclosed.

*Vogt*.<sup>179</sup> I could not write to you about this since Schorlemmer was in the LAKES, and I myself naturally asked no questions. So far, I only heard yesterday that the lecture did not cover the expenses, that Vogt, though he has always given the same lecture for the past year, nevertheless spoke very stumblingly and sloppily, often repeated himself, etc. After the lecture some people sat with him in the dining room, where the good Vogt was, however, so pressed with questions about the monkey trial by the Unitarian preacher Steinthal (brother of Weerth's<sup>a</sup>), by Kalisch, an old boring language teacher, and by yet another fellow, that he was absolutely overwhelmed and sneaked off at the first opportunity. He is said to have felt altogether very uneasy and uncomfortable here, while in Bradford he was very fêted and buoyant. He made a few remarks to Davisson which caused the latter to note afterwards that he must be quite a nasty fellow, capable of anything. I shall be hearing more. In any case, *he* will not come here again.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> The brother of Weerth's principal is meant.

You will probably be hearing from Borkheim shortly, otherwise from me *in re nervi rerum*.<sup>a</sup>

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>180</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 October 1868

Dear Moor,

Borkheim has done his business excellently. At the end of last month the sum of £72 was due for wine which Charles,<sup>b</sup> Gumpert and I had received from him. It was only at the beginning of this month, however, that I could lay my hands on the cash. So I sent it to him yesterday and asked whether he knew how to raise £100 for you or whether he could leave the wine unpaid until February. He agreed to the latter and advanced the other £28 himself. So we have, I think, peace and quiet at least for the immediate future.

But now you must get on with the 2nd volume,<sup>41</sup> and give your liver some exercise.

The Spanish business<sup>165</sup> has gone brilliantly so far. The 'dynasty' had already been wrecked in the vagina of the Innocent Lady.<sup>c</sup> So the minimum consequence: a change in dynasty and an elected king, plus a constituent assembly. All very nice things, even in themselves, on Mr Bonaparte's frontier. It may get better yet.

Schweitzeriana<sup>d</sup> back this evening, forgotten yesterday by mistake. His manner of establishing a few nice little posts for life for himself and Fritzsche is priceless. But the whole story is impracticable. In the 'Union' 3 independent powers of different origin! 1. The committee, elected by the *trades*. 2. The presidium, elected by a general vote. 3. The congress, elected by the *local organisations*. This means collisions everywhere, and that is

<sup>a</sup> with regard to vital (here: money) matters - <sup>b</sup> Charles Roesgen - <sup>c</sup> Isabella II - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 116.

supposed to make for 'rapid action'. To be sure, the *elú du suffrage universel*,<sup>a</sup> as everybody's trusted agent, is in the best position. Childish of Lassalle to have taken over these idiocies from the French Constitution,<sup>181</sup> and of Schweitzer to treat them as eternal models to be used everywhere.<sup>b</sup> However it may be, the whole business will get nowhere so long as only the Lassalleans are in it, and as soon as others participate, too, the stuff will come to an end.

Have to catch the last post.

Your  
F. E.

Enclosed the ceremonial RECEIPT which the illustrious Gaudissart<sup>c</sup> has accepted from you to prove that he is a serious businessman.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 4 October 1868

DEAR FRED,

In the package which you will receive simultaneously there are:

1. Two letters from *Eichhoff*, the *forgotten one* and one which arrived today<sup>182</sup>;
2. Letter from *Liebknecht*<sup>183</sup>;
3. Letter from *Borkheim*<sup>184</sup>;
4. Manuscript and letter from *J. Dietzgen*<sup>185</sup>;
5. Letter from the Russian *Danielson* in *Petersburg*<sup>186</sup>;
6. Letter from *Lessner*.

Since most of these letters (which you must return with the exception of the manuscript) have only just arrived, in all haste the following:

---

<sup>a</sup> man elected by universal suffrage - <sup>b</sup> See also this volume, p. 135. - <sup>c</sup> Sigismund Borkheim

*Ad No. 5.* I am naturally extraordinarily pleased to hear that my book will appear in Petersburg in *Russian* translation. I shall immediately send the people what they requested<sup>a</sup> (as far as I can) as soon as you have returned the letter.

*Ad 4.* Read through the manuscript. My view is that J. Dietzgen would do best if he condensed all his ideas into 2 printed sheets and had them printed in his name as a tanner. If he publishes them at the intended length, he will make a fool of himself because of the lack of dialectical development and the running in circles. Read it through and write your opinion.

*Ad 3.* To understand Gaudissart's<sup>b</sup> letter, briefly the following: He wanted to write about the Pan-Slav democratic movement; for this I gave him your articles about Bakunin in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.<sup>c</sup> His plan to appear with you before the public is excellent, but there is no hurry because he has not turned out his 25 printed sheets by a long way yet.

Secondly, he maintained a certain correspondence, despite my warning, with Dr Crapper, alias Elard Biscamp. Now that the latter has directly attacked me and the International in the *Weser-Zeitung* and the *Augsburgerin*,<sup>d</sup> he proposes, as you see, to publish in Liebknecht's paper his latest exchange of letters with Biscamp. *Ce brave*<sup>e</sup> Gaudissart! In these letters he presents himself as my patron, and lets Biscamp flatter him. I wrote to him by return that I would have to protest tooth and nail against this sort of thing.<sup>84</sup> For greater security I immediately wrote to Liebknecht that he *must not print* the Borkheim-Biscamp correspondence *under any circumstances*.<sup>84</sup>

*Ad 1 and 2.* I have sent to Liebknecht for his political review an *entrefilet*<sup>f</sup> about M. Hirsch (because of the 'International'), and, at the same time, a few blows at Biscamp as correspondent of the *Weser-Zeitung* and the *Augsburger*.<sup>8</sup>

*Ad 6.* The £100 (of which ABOUT £35 for Laura) I have used to pay off the most urgent things and only kept as much on hand as is necessary in order not to be absolutely penniless. I still have about £100 of debts and will soon send you a list of the ITEMS so that you can see that there are no useless expenditures on my part. Now I received the enclosed note from Lessner today. His

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 123-25. - <sup>b</sup> Sigismund Borkheim's - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *Democratic Pan-Slavism*. - <sup>d</sup> [E. Biscamp,] 'London, 25. Sept.', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 273, 29 September 1868 (published in the column *Grossbritannien*, signed Δ). - <sup>e</sup> Good old - <sup>f</sup> a short article - 8 K. Marx, 'Connections Between the International Working Men's Association and English Working Men's Organisations'.

wife is mortally ill, and it would be very kind of you to enable me to pay him off something.

IN ALL HASTE.

Your  
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 October 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed Lessner's letter and bill and five pounds. I shall see to it that at least *this* bill will be paid off bit by bit.

I have scarcely been able to have a look at the other things, for I was so horribly busy today. Tomorrow I shall send you back the letters.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls, including Lafargue.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON<sup>34</sup>

IN PETERSBURG

London, 7 October 1868

1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park, N. W.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your esteemed letter,<sup>186</sup> the following:

1. You must not wait for the second volume, the publication of which will be delayed by perhaps another 6 months.<sup>187</sup> I cannot finish it, until certain official *enquêtes*,<sup>a</sup> instituted during last year (and 1866) in France, the UNITED STATES and England, have been completed or published. In any case, Volume I constitutes a whole, complete in itself.

2. Enclosed is my photogram.

3. Socialist literature does not exist in the UNITED STATES. There are only workers' papers.

4. I myself possess no collection of my works, which were written in various languages and published in various places. Most of them are out of print.

Since I am unable to meet your request in this respect—*la plus belle fille de France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a*<sup>b</sup>—I shall have to confine myself to giving you some brief notes on my literary-political activity, which you might be able to use in the preface to your translation.<sup>188</sup>

*Dr K. Marx*, born 1818 in Trier (Rhenish Prussia).

1842-43: *Redacteur en chef*<sup>c</sup> of the *Rheinische Zeitung (Cologne)*. This newspaper is forcibly suppressed by the Prussian government. Marx goes to Paris; publishes there, together with Arnold Ruge, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher (Paris, 1844)*. At the end of 1844, Marx is expelled from France by Guizot; proceeds to Brussels. Together with *Friedrich Engels* publishes *Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Consorten (Frankfort on the Main, 1845)*. (This work, like the essays by Marx in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*,<sup>d</sup> are directed against the ideological mysticism of Hegelian and, in general, speculative philosophy.) Also published during the stay in Brussels: *Misère de*

<sup>a</sup> enquiries - <sup>b</sup> the most beautiful girl in France can only give what she has - <sup>c</sup> Editor-in-Chief - <sup>d</sup> *On the Jewish Question* and *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction.*

*la philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon (Brussels and Paris, 1847).*

*Discours sur le libre Échange (Brussels, 1848<sup>189</sup>).* Finally, at the beginning of 1848, together with *Friedrich Engels: Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei (London).*

Shortly after the outbreak of the February revolution, Marx is expelled from Belgium; receives at the same time from the French provisional government an invitation to return to France<sup>a</sup>; proceeds to Paris and, in April 1848, to *Cologne (Germany)*, publishing there:

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung (from June 1848 to May 1849).* Also there:

*Zwei Politische Prozesse (Cologne, 1849).* (Containing the trial proceedings and Marx's defence speeches at the Assizes.<sup>b</sup> Marx charged on one occasion with insulting the *procureur du roi*,<sup>c</sup> and on the other, after the Prussian coup d'état (Manteuffel), with inciting rebellion. In both cases Marx acquitted by the jury.)

In the course of *May 1849*, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is suppressed by the Prussian government and Marx expelled from Prussia.<sup>d</sup> Proceeds once more to Paris. Again expelled from France<sup>e</sup>; proceeds at the end of October 1849 to *London*, where he still resides. During his stay there, publishes:

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue (1850, Hamburg and New York).*

*Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte (New York, 1852).*

*Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln (1853, two editions, one in Basle, one in Boston, UNITED STATES).*

*FLY-SHEETS AGAINST LORD PALMERSTON<sup>f</sup> (London, Birmingham, Glasgow, 1853-1854).*

*Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie (Berlin, 1859).*

*Herr Vogt (London, 1860).*

1851-1861, continuous contributions in *English* to the *New-York Tribune*, *Putnam's Revue*<sup>g</sup> and *The New American Cyclopaedia*.<sup>g</sup>

1864: The foundation programme of the 'INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION', that is: *ADDRESS TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF EUROPE<sup>h</sup>* and

<sup>a</sup> See 'Ferdinand Flocon to Marx in Brussels. Paris, March 1, 1848' (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 649). - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The First Trial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*' and 'The Trial of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats'. - <sup>c</sup> Royal Prosecutor (Zweiffel) - <sup>d</sup> See present edition, Vol. 9, p. 496. - <sup>e</sup> Ibid., pp. 526-27. - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston*. - <sup>g</sup> See present edition, Vols. 11-18. - <sup>h</sup> K. Marx, *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association*. In: *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association...*

the *Rules of the Association*,<sup>a</sup> later (1866) definitively sanctioned at the congress of the International Working Men's Association at Geneva. Marx continuously, up to the present, MEMBER OF THE *GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AND ITS SECRETARY FOR GERMANY.*

*1867: Das Kapital etc.*

Yours faithfully,

Karl Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 October 1868

Dear Moor,

I have been terribly plagued with COMMERCE these days, so I can only return the letters today.<sup>b</sup>

Schweitzer is a special case. The fellow is more cunning and more active than all his opponents together, although this time he has certainly been *too* cunning—according to the *Kölnische Zeitung* the real workers' assemblies which are now appearing are everywhere repudiating the presidents imposed upon them by the 'Congress',<sup>164</sup> and these SELF-ELECTED fellows, up to and including Schweitzer, will realise that, as soon as there is real BUSINESS, these tricks and attempts to impose their sect upon the real movement as a leadership are no longer effective.

As Secretary for Germany you will of course have to correspond with the UNIONS that might be formed, as long as counter-UNIONS are not formed within the individual trades, when a choice would have to be made between the two—or could they both affiliate? In this respect, you will have English PRECEDENTS.<sup>191</sup> Of importance is only

<sup>a</sup> *Rules.* In: *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 120.



the point that Schweitzer and his people should always be reminded that they are corresponding with the *Secretary for Germany*, not with *Karl Marx*, and you will see to this.

The Russian translation<sup>a</sup> is very gratifying; as soon as the matter has gone a little further, this should be got into the press.

I have not yet been able to look at the manuscript by Dietzgen.<sup>185</sup>

Gaudissart<sup>b</sup> becomes increasingly amusing. The 30 printed sheets are not dangerous for the time being; since they are supposed to appear simultaneously in 4 languages it will probably still take an eternity. As a Jew he simply cannot stop cheating, and it serves him right that he has burnt his fingers on Biscamp.

Wilhelmchen<sup>c</sup> is not bad either. Regarding the Swabians, it thus appears to be *money* matters that bind him and his people to the federalists. This should be investigated more closely, afterwards all this will fall on our shoulders. I had drawn his attention to the fact that at a moment when revolutionary action came nearer, it was absolutely *against* the interests of our Party that our people should be too closely committed to one party in the basically rotten antagonism between Greater Prussia and Austrian-Federalist Greater Germany. The unfortunate fool still cannot see that the entire antithesis with its two sides is a case of narrow-mindedness pure and simple. I thought the Spanish revolution<sup>165</sup> would have made him see some light, but NO GO.

I have seen no details yet about the course of the Schweitzer congress and its effects, since I only receive the *Zukunft* late.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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<sup>a</sup> of the first volume of *Capital*; see this volume, p. 123. - <sup>b</sup> Sigismund Borkheim; see this volume, p. 121. - <sup>c</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>174</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 10 October 1868

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR THE £5. I have given Lessner £8.<sup>a</sup> There is, incidentally, a fairly important mistake in his bill which he had, however, corrected before the intervention of my wife.

Enclosed letter from Schweitzer<sup>192</sup> together with a number of the *Social-Demokrat* which he sent me in the letter. You must return the letter to me by Tuesday,<sup>b</sup> together with your ADVICE. We cannot TEMPORISE any longer. So that you knew exactly how matters stand, the following:

For the time being, I have written to Liebknecht<sup>84</sup> that I COULD TAKE NO ACTION, that Schweitzer had hitherto given no official occasion, that an intervention on my part could only consolidate Lassalleanism, etc.

AS TO Schweitzer, I have not yet answered his previous letter,<sup>160</sup> the dispatch of which he is probably now cursing. Since his TRADES UNIONS CONGRESS<sup>164</sup> was so near, I thought it better to await 'the course of events', and TO WATCH HIS OPERATIONS. NOW I must, of course, break my silence.

As regards the letter from Schweitzer, it is clear that he does not feel quite happy in his boots. His threat of 'open war' is silly, though the phrase is 'OSTENSIBLY' only aimed against Liebknecht et Co. His claim that Mr Nobody started it, is in no way correct. His alleged identification with the International Working Men's Association stands in a certain contradiction to his HINTS in the *Social-Demokrat* after the Nuremberg affair that his association had 'not' joined the IWA. Above all it emerges from the whole letter that Schweitzer still cannot drop his fixed idea that he has 'his own workers' movement'. On the other hand, he is unquestionably the most intelligent and most energetic of all the present workers' leaders in Germany, while Liebknecht IN POINT OF FACT WAS only forced by Schweitzer to recall that there existed a workers' movement independent of the petty-bourgeois democratic movement.

My plan is not to use diplomacy but to tell Schweitzer the unvarnished truth about my view of his dealings, and make it clear

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 122. - <sup>b</sup> 13 October

to him that he must choose between the 'sect' and the 'class'. If he wishes to come to a *rational* understanding with the 'Nuremberg majority',<sup>135</sup> I am ready as 'Secretary for Germany' to be of aid on TERMS which appear reasonable to me. If he does not desire this, I can only promise to maintain the necessary objective impartiality vis-à-vis his agitation. What I cannot promise, however, is that I will not, in my private capacity, publicly attack the Lassallean superstition as soon as I regard this as useful.<sup>a</sup>

Pretty and truly Lassallean is Schweitzer's notion that 'two organisations can only be harmful' and hence, since he preceded the others, they are, if not legally, then in a way morally, obliged to 'dissolve' themselves in him.

As you know, Mr Odger is standing for Chelsea, but I believe he has no chance of success. Odger has shown us the COLD SHOULDER for the whole of last year since, on my proposal, 'the *president* of the IWA' and thus also 'President' Odger were abolished once and for all.<sup>193</sup> Now he gives thanks for his re-election by the Brussels Congress and wishes us to support his election with a letter to his ELECTIONEERING COMMITTEE. We are only meeting his request because it is a step that is useful to the International and that recommends it in the eyes of the London WORKMEN.<sup>194</sup>

When you were here last,<sup>129</sup> you saw the Blue Book<sup>173</sup> on the Irish land question 1844-1845. BY ACCIDENT I found the REPORT AND EVIDENCE ON IRISH TENANT RIGHT 1867 (HOUSE OF LORDS) in a small second-hand bookshop. This was a real find. The economist gentlemen regard it purely as a question of conflicting dogmas whether rent is payment for natural differences in land, or on the other hand merely interest on the capital invested in the land; but here we have a real life and death struggle between FARMER AND LANDLORD as to how far rent should include, *apart from* the payment for land differences, *also* the interest on the capital invested in the land not by the LANDLORD but by the tenant. Political economy can only be turned into a positive science by replacing the CONFLICTING DOGMAS by the CONFLICTING FACTS, and by the real antagonisms which form their concealed background.

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 135.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 October 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the Schweitzeriana returned with thanks.<sup>a</sup> I completely share your view on the therapy in this case. But he will scarcely be ready to part with 'his own workers' movement'. His ambitions exceed his strength, or, as the Italians put it, *vuol petare più alto del culo*,<sup>b</sup> and on this inner contradiction he will work himself to death.

In my view, the statutes<sup>c</sup> are *absurd* for this purpose, but it is immaterial in the end.

And please do not omit the final sentence about the attack on the Lassallean superstition; this will be effective with the fellow, who is well aware that the whole stuff is HUMBUG.

I was unable to write to you while I was in town, and now it is nearly 8 o'clock, when the post closes out here, so I cannot add anything.

The picture of Lizzie is horrible, but still the least bad after five sittings.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 127. - <sup>b</sup> he wants to fart higher up than his backside - <sup>c</sup> 'Mustersatzung für die einzelnen Arbeiterschaften' and 'Satzung für den Arbeiterschaftsverband', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 118, 9 October 1868 (supplement).

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 12 October 1868

1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

My dear Friend,

Your obstinate silence is quite incomprehensible to me. Did I perhaps give cause for it in my last letter?<sup>a</sup> I hope not. In any case—unintentional. I need not explain to you explicitly, you *know* that you are my most intimate friend in Germany, and I really cannot understand how, *inter amicos*,<sup>b</sup> people can keep such a sharp lookout, all because of some trifle. Least of all have you *such a right* with regard to me, for you know how much I owe you. Apart from everything personal, you have done more for my book<sup>c</sup> than all Germany put together.<sup>195</sup>

Yet perhaps you are so energetically silent in order to prove to me that you are not like that set of so-called friends, who are silent when things go badly, and speak when they go well. But there is no need for such a demonstration on your part.

By speaking about the 'good state of affairs' I mean, first, the propaganda made by my book and the recognition it has received from the German workers SINCE YOU WROTE ME LAST. Second, however, the wonderful progress made by the International Working Men's Association, particularly in England, too.

A few days ago a Petersburg publisher<sup>d</sup> surprised me with the news that a Russian translation of *Capital* is now at the printers.<sup>196</sup> He asked for my photogram as a vignette for the title page, and I could not deny this trifle to 'my good friends' the Russians. It is an irony of fate that the Russians, against whom I have been fighting incessantly for 25 years, not only in German, but also in French and English, have always been my 'patrons'. In 1843-1844 in Paris, the Russian aristocrats there waited on me hand and foot.<sup>197</sup> My book against Proudhon (1847), ditto that published by Duncker (1859),<sup>e</sup> have nowhere had such good sales as in Russia. And the first foreign nation to translate *Capital* is Russia. Yet not too much should be made of all this. The Russian aristocracy are educated, in their youth, at German universities and in Paris.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 82-83. - <sup>b</sup> among friends - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> N. P. Polyakov - <sup>e</sup> Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy...* and *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

They always yearn for the most extreme the West has to offer. It is pure *gourmandise*, like that practised by part of the French aristocracy during the 18th century. *Ce n'est pas pour les tailleurs et les bottiers*,<sup>a</sup> as Voltaire said at the time about his own Enlightenment. It does not hinder the very same Russians from becoming scoundrels as soon as they enter government service.

I am having plenty of 'BOTHER' JUST NOW in Germany with the leaders' squabbles, as you will see from the enclosed letters, which you will please return. On one side Schweitzer, who is appointing me Pope *in partibus infidelium*,<sup>b</sup> so that I can proclaim him the workers' emperor in Germany. On the other side Liebknecht, who forgets that it was, IN POINT OF FACT, Schweitzer who forced him to recall that there is a movement of the proletariat that is different from the petty-bourgeois democratic movement.

I hope you and your family are well. I hope I have not fallen into disfavour with your dear *wife*.<sup>c</sup> Apropos. The International Ladies' Association, *duce*<sup>d</sup> Mrs Goegg (READ Geck<sup>e</sup>), has sent an epistle to the Brussels Congress,<sup>138</sup> asking whether the ladies might join us.<sup>198</sup> The answer, of course, was a courteous affirmative. Should you, therefore, continue in your silence, I shall send your wife credentials as correspondent of the General Council.

I have been suffering rather a lot from the heat, on account of my liver, but am, at the moment, well.

*Salut.*

Yours

Karl Marx

P.S. I. The Spanish revolution<sup>165</sup> came like a *deus ex machina* to prevent the otherwise unavoidable and DISASTROUS Prussian-French war.

P.S. II. You once wrote to me that I would be receiving a book by Büchner.<sup>f</sup> When and how?

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<sup>a</sup> It is not for tailors or cobblers - <sup>b</sup> in parts inhabited by unbelievers—formula added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops holding purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries. - <sup>c</sup> Gertrud Kugelmann - <sup>d</sup> leader - <sup>e</sup> 'Geck' (German) means 'fop' - <sup>f</sup> L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten...*

MARX TO JOHANN BAPTIST VON SCHWEITZER<sup>199</sup>

IN BERLIN

[Draft]

*To von Schweitzer*

London, 13 October 1868

Dear Sir,

A misunderstanding on my part accounts for your having received no reply to your letter of 15 September. I interpreted the letter as meaning that you would submit your 'proposals' to me for examination.<sup>160</sup> So I waited for them. Then came your congress,<sup>164</sup> and (BEING MUCH OVERWORKED) I regarded a reply as no longer urgent. Before the arrival of your letter dated 8 October, I had already *repeatedly* appealed for *peace*, in my capacity as secretary of the International for Germany. I received the answer (and with it relevant quotations from the *Social-Demokrat*) that you yourself were provoking *war*. I declared that my role must necessarily be confined to that of 'impartial referee' at a duel.<sup>a</sup>

In your letters you express great trust in me, and I believe I cannot respond better than to give you my opinion of the present state of affairs quite openly, without any diplomatic circumlocution. In doing so, I assume that, for you, as for myself, the cause is all that matters.

I recognise, without reserve, the intelligence and energy with which you are active in the workers' movement. I have concealed this view from none of my friends. Wherever I have to express my views in public—in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association and in the German Communist Association here<sup>b</sup>—I have always treated you as a man of our party, and *never* let drop *a word about points of difference*.

However, such points of difference do exist.

*D'abord*,<sup>c</sup> as regards the Lassallean Association,<sup>104</sup> it was formed in a period of reaction. After fifteen years of slumber, Lassalle—and this remains his immortal service—re-awakened the workers' movement in Germany. But he made great mistakes. He allowed himself to be influenced too much by the immediate circumstances

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 127. - <sup>b</sup> the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 67) - <sup>c</sup> First

of the time. He made the minor starting point, his opposition to the dwarf-like Schulze-Delitzsch, the central point of his agitation—state aid versus self-help.<sup>200</sup> In this, he merely re-adopted the slogan circulated in 1843 sqq. by *Buche*, the leader of *Catholic* socialism, against the genuine workers' movement in France.<sup>162</sup> Being far too intelligent to regard this slogan as anything but a transitory *pis-aller*,<sup>a</sup> Lassalle was only able to justify its use on the grounds of its immediate (alleged!) PRACTICABILITY. To this end, he had to claim that it was feasible in the *immediate* future. The 'state' was, therefore, transformed into the Prussian state. He was thus forced to make concessions to the Prussian monarchy, to Prussian reaction (the feudal party) and even to the clericals. He linked *Buche*'s state aid for associations with the Chartist call for universal suffrage.<sup>201</sup> He overlooked the difference between conditions in Germany and England. He overlooked the lessons of the *bas-empire*,<sup>b</sup> with regard to universal suffrage in France. In addition, like everyone who claims to have in his pocket a panacea for the sufferings of the masses, he gave his agitation, from the very start, a religious, sectarian character. In fact, every sect is religious. And just because he was the founder of a sect, he denied all natural connection with the earlier movement, both in Germany and abroad. He fell into Proudhon's mistake of not seeking the real basis of his agitation in the actual elements of the class movement, but of wishing, instead, to prescribe for that movement a course determined by a certain doctrinaire recipe.

Most of what I am stating here *post factum* I predicted to Lassalle when he came to London in 1862 and called upon me to place myself, with him, at the head of the new movement.

You yourself know the difference between a sect movement and a class movement from personal experience. The sect seeks its *raison d'être* and its *point d'honneur* not in what it has *in common* with the class movement, but in the *particular shibboleth distinguishing* it from that movement. Thus when, in Hamburg, you proposed convening a congress to found TRADES UNIONS,<sup>164</sup> you could only suppress the opposition of the sectarians by threatening to resign as president. You were also forced to assume a dual personality, to state that, in one case, you were acting as the leader of the sect and, in the other, as the representative of the class movement.

The dissolution of the General Association of German Work-

<sup>a</sup> expedient - <sup>b</sup> Lower Empire (designation of the late Roman, or Byzantine Empire, and also of any empire on the decline); here, the Second Empire in France.



ers<sup>167</sup> provided you with an opportunity to take a big step forward and to declare, to prove *s'il le fallait*,<sup>a</sup> that a new stage of development had been reached and the sect movement was now ripe to merge into the class movement and end all 'eanisms'. With regard to the true content of the sect, it would, like all former workers' sects, carry this as an enriching element into the general movement. Yet instead you, in fact, demanded that the class movement subordinate itself to a particular sect movement. Your non-friends concluded from this that you wished to conserve your 'own workers' movement' under all circumstances.

Regarding the Berlin Congress,<sup>164</sup> the time was *d'abord* not pressing, since the Combination Law has not yet been voted.<sup>202</sup> You ought, therefore, to have reached an agreement with the leaders *outside* the Lassallean circle, worked out the plan together with them, and convoked the congress. Instead of this, you left them only the alternative of either publicly joining *you*, or lining up *against you*. The congress itself appeared to be only an extended edition of the Hamburg Congress.<sup>104</sup>

As for the draft statutes,<sup>b</sup> I regard them as unsuitable in principle, and I believe I have as much experience as any of my contemporaries in the field of TRADE UNIONS. Without going further into detail here, I shall merely remark that a *centralist* organisation, suitable as it is for secret societies and sect movements, contradicts the nature of the TRADE UNIONS. Were it possible—I declare it *tout bonnement*<sup>c</sup> to be impossible—it would not be desirable, least of all in Germany. Here, where the worker is regulated bureaucratically from childhood onwards, where he believes in authority, in those set over him, the main thing is to *teach him to walk by himself*.

Your plan is also impracticable in other ways. In the 'Union' there are to be three independent authorities of differing origin: 1. The *Committee*, elected by the *trades*; 2. the *President* (here a completely superfluous personage) {In the Rules of the International Working Men's Association there also figures a President of the Association.<sup>d</sup> In reality his only function was to preside at the sessions of the General Council. On my proposal, this office—which I had refused in 1866—was completely abolished in 1867, and was replaced by that of a CHAIRMAN, who is elected at each

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<sup>a</sup> if necessary - <sup>b</sup> 'Satzung für den Arbeiterschaftsverband', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 118, 9 October 1868 (supplement). - <sup>c</sup> in all good faith - <sup>d</sup> Article III of the Rules. See *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*, London, 1866.

weekly session of the General Council.<sup>193</sup> The *LONDON TRADES' COUNCIL*<sup>175</sup> also has simply a CHAIRMAN. Its sole permanent official is the *Secretary*, as he has a continuous business function to exercise.) {NB. This passage follows in the copy of the letter to Schweitzer after the end of this sentence}, elected by a *general vote*; 3. the Congress, elected by the *local branches*. Thus—collisions everywhere, and this is supposed to promote 'rapid action'! (At this point the inserted sentence.) Lassalle committed a bad mistake in borrowing the '*président élu du suffrage universel*'<sup>a</sup> from the French Constitution of 1852. And now this in a TRADES UNIONS movement! The latter is mostly concerned with financial issues, and you will soon discover that all dictatorialism finds its end here.

Yet whatever the shortcomings of the organisation, they can perhaps be cancelled out, to a greater or lesser degree, by rational application. As secretary of the International I am ready to act—naturally on a rational basis—as mediator between you and the Nuremberg majority,<sup>b</sup> which has adhered to the International directly.<sup>135</sup> I have written in the same vein to Leipzig.<sup>c</sup> I understand the difficulties of your position, and never forget that each of us depends more upon circumstances than upon his own will.

I promise you, under all circumstances, the impartiality that is my duty. On the other hand, I cannot promise that I shall not, some day, acting as a *private author*,—as soon as I feel it to be absolutely dictated by the interests of the labour movement—publicly criticise the Lassallean superstition, in the same way as I dealt, in its time, with the Proudhonist superstition.<sup>d</sup>

With the assurance of my best wishes to you personally,

I remain  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> 'president elected by universal suffrage' - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 128. - <sup>c</sup> to Wilhelm Liebknecht (see Note 84) - <sup>d</sup> See Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy...* and *On Proudhon*.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 October 1868

Dear Moor,

Today the *Kölnische Zeitung* states that the workers (COLLIERS) in Essen, who have just ended the STRIKE successfully,<sup>203</sup> have revolted against Schweitzerism and its supporters, the local bigwigs, and are demanding *strict accounting of the STRIKE funds*.<sup>a</sup> The source is suspect, but the symptom is significant. This whole agitation breaks down on money matters; the Lassallean leaders are too scoundrelly in this respect.

Further, it reports that in Gladbach the cotton *manufacturers* have recognised that the working day is too long, and are forming an association among themselves to reduce the day from 13 hours to 12 for the time being (issue of 12 October). You see that your book<sup>b</sup> is also having a practical effect on the bourgeoisie.

Yet another stupid issue of Wilhelm's sheet<sup>c</sup> this week! He interrupts your stuff about Hirsch<sup>d</sup> in order to publish a rubbishy article which amounts to saying that bourgeois society, or 'the social', as he puts it, is determined by 'the political' and not vice versa.<sup>e</sup> *Naturam si furca expellas*,<sup>f</sup> etc. Nearly every article is crawling with nonsense.

Ernest the Fox now seems to be a certainty here if you can trust the cheers with which he, in particular, is honoured everywhere among the 3 liberal candidates.<sup>102</sup> If things go well, this will be due neither to his cunning, nor to his STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS, but only to the instinct of the masses. The Tories can find no candidate, it is said they wish to put up here one of the Hoares (London bankers); but the man will have to have a lot of money to throw away for nothing if he lets himself in for it.

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<sup>a</sup> The reports, datelined 'Essen, 8. Okt.' and 'Gladbach, 10. Okt.', appeared in the column *Vermischte Nachrichten* (Miscellaneous Reports), *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 284, 12 October 1868. - <sup>b</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, 'Connections Between the International Working Men's Association and English Working Men's Organisations'. - <sup>e</sup> 'Der Staat und die soziale Frage', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 41, 10 October 1868. - <sup>f</sup> *naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*—You may drive nature out with a pitchfork, still it will return (Horace, *Epistles*, I, 10, 24).

In Berlin, as a result of the great heat last summer, afternoon lessons were completely abandoned in a number of high schools and morning lessons extended by one period. The results were quite unexpected, the boys made enormously rapid progress, and the business is now going to be tried out on a larger scale.

In Spain the rule of the generals appears to be wearing out rapidly.<sup>165</sup> The abolition of the Jesuits and the partial abolition of the monasteries had been long in coming and only seem to have been forced, at least in part, by financial difficulties; on the other hand, the reward for the officers and NCOs for joining the insurrectionary side came quickly enough. The disarmament of the people also appears to be only a question of time. All the same, in a movement like this the little tricks are not enough with which, after a coup, a general could edge his way through as Isabella's minister.

With best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>34</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 15 October 1868

Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow the Lafargue FAMILY is leaving for Paris. This will greatly reduce OUR HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES.

I have written to A. Frank et Co. in Paris. Since I know that he has sold COPIES OF MY *Anti-Proudhon*<sup>204</sup> as recently as *in the past few weeks*, I asked in my letter for accounts of the whole affair, REMINDING Mr Frank that he and Vogler were only my *agents de vente*<sup>a</sup> and that I had paid all the printing costs. Thereupon I received, a few days ago, the following reply:

<sup>a</sup> selling agents

'J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous informer que j'ai racheté la Maison A. Frank le 21 Oct. 1865, *sans actifs et passifs*.—Il y avait à cette époque 92 exemplaires de votre brochure *Misère de la philosophie* en magasin que je tiens à votre disposition.—Quant à ce qui pourrait vous revenir de solde, il faudra vous adresser soit à M<sup>r</sup> Vogler soit au curateur de la succession de mon prédécesseur, M<sup>r</sup> Bassot, 58 rue de Bondy, Paris, etc. per *F. Vieweg*, propriétaire actuel de la maison A. Frank.'<sup>a</sup>

I shall now grant Lafargue power of attorney to collect the 92 *exemplaires*, which he will sell amongst his friends. For the remainder (there were 1,500 *exemplaires*), I am granting Schily power of attorney to start legal proceedings. I do not know Vogler's whereabouts, but his former *associé* Shee still has a *librairie*<sup>b</sup> in Brussels, where I can mobilise a handful of young lawyers belonging to our Association. It would be nice if I could still squeeze out some cash.

Attached packet of the *Social-Demokrat*, upon which you should please write me a few marginal notes (regarding the TRADES UNIONS stories) since I did not have the time to read the stuff. The letter to Schweitzer has gone off.<sup>c</sup> Enclosed also the latest number of *Lanterne* and a pamphlet about Plon-Plon, said to be written by Charras.<sup>d</sup>

Apropos. I had a meeting with Beesly. The SUB-EDITOR of *MORLEY* (the EDITOR for the SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT) declared that the argument was irrefutable. However, the article<sup>11</sup> was too 'DRY' for a MAGAZINE. Beesly asked me to put it in a more popular form, without sacrificing the SCIENTIFIC POINTS. This is RATHER DIFFICULT. However, I'll try. In particular, he wants a longer introduction, including personalia about MY PAST and the book's impact in Germany. This, OF COURSE, you must write. But there is time for this until I send you the BULK of the article. The whole shit is then to go into *The Westminster Review*.

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

<sup>a</sup> 'I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I repurchased the Maison A. Frank on 21 Oct. 1865, *without assets and liabilities*.—At that time, 92 copies of your pamphlet *The Poverty of Philosophy* were in stock, and I hold them at your disposal.—With regard to any possible balance due to you, you should address yourself to Mr Vogler or to my predecessor's executor, Mr Bassot, 58 rue de Bondy, Paris, etc. *F. Vieweg*, current owner of the Maison A. Frank.' Marx quotes Vieweg's letter of 12 October 1868. - <sup>b</sup> bookshop - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 132-35. - <sup>d</sup> [J. B. A. Charras,] *Monsieur Napoléon Bonaparte (Jérôme)*.

Have you read *A. Slade: 'Turkey and the Crimean War'*? It appears that 'Bosh' is a Turkish word, since Slade says: 'bosh lakerdeh' (empty words).<sup>a</sup>

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG  
IN LONDON

[London,] 19 October 1868

Dear Jung,

As long as there is no scandal that could implicate the International. You can be insulting if your heart demands so. But no fisticuffs.

The best thing would be to give the appearance of bringing a suit against the fellows (Besson and Le Lubez) for LIBEL because of the letter.<sup>205</sup> This joke could be fixed up with Merriman. You would see how the COWARDS would grovel, besides they would face the danger of being examined publicly in court about their fine gang.

Yours  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> A. Slade, *Turkey and the Crimean War: A Narrative of Historical Events*, London, 1867, Glossary, p. 449.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 October 1868

Dear Moor,

The little Russian Ermen,<sup>a</sup> whose fate you can see from the enclosed paper, has, on the pretext that he must now settle down, been living in our office for a week now, and has only emerged rather drunk to visit his betrothed. Since the whole office was turned into a pub, no sort of work could be done, and that is why I have only now got around to writing to you.

I have not yet been able to read the Congress<sup>164</sup> reports in the *Social-Demokrat*, which are also very boring.<sup>b</sup> Apart from this, Schweitzer shows that he is very serious about his sect. Not only has the General Association of German Workers been reformed, with its headquarters in Berlin<sup>167</sup> and with new statutes,<sup>c</sup> the only alterations having been made, compared to the old statutes, with an eye to the Law on Association,<sup>206</sup> but every detail shows that in the new TRADES UNIONS GAGW aims to play (but openly) the same role as our old secret league<sup>118</sup> did in the legal associations. The TRADES UNIONS are only to form an exoteric party of the Lassallean church of sole salvation, but only the latter remains the one of sole salvation. If Eichhoff forms a separate association in Berlin,<sup>207</sup> he is promised gracious toleration on the condition that his association takes a 'friendly' attitude towards GAGW. But Schweitzer and his Association remain "the party", and the others may come and join it; or else remain heretics and DISSENTERS.

Apart from this, the fellow has a much clearer grasp than all the others of the general political situation and a much clearer attitude to the other parties; and he is cleverer in his presentation than all the others. He calls 'all old parties facing us, one single reactionary mass, and their differences are scarcely of any significance for us'. He recognises that 1866 and its results are ruining the system of petty principalities, undermining the principle of legitimacy, shaking reaction, and have set the people in motion, but he has—now—also come out against the other results, the burden of

<sup>a</sup> Anton Ermen - <sup>b</sup> *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 114, 115, 116 and 117 (with supplements); 30 September, 2, 4, 7 October 1868, *Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiter-Congress*. - <sup>c</sup> 'Statut. Geschäfts-Reglement', *Social-Demokrat*, No. 119, 11 October 1868.

taxes, etc., and his attitude to Bismarck is more 'correct', as the Berliners say, than e.g. Liebknecht's is, with regard to the ex-princes. You will have seen that he cites the Elector of Hesse<sup>a</sup> as a historical authority—on the all-too-familiar subjects—and in his last number he allows a true Hanoverian to strike up a Guelphic whimpering.<sup>b</sup> On this last point, couldn't you for once tell Wilhelm what is what? It is really asking a lot to expect us to support a paper in which he allows such dirty tricks.

Have at least a part of the anti-Proudhons<sup>c</sup> sent to London; these few remaining copies *cannot be replaced*. I myself have none. Vieweg should be asked to account for the copies sold since 1865. It is, in addition, certainly a good thing that you are following the matter up, even though only now. There is always the possibility that something may still come out of it.

The business with the *Westminster*<sup>d</sup> is very good. Do not allow time to slip by; the article should appear in the January issue; so send me the stuff as soon as possible, so I may do my part. It is very good that these fellows would not use a simple presentation of a new scientific development without the phraseology of their 'ESSAYS', which make the matter not only less clear, but also *drier*. I would, however, also ask Mr Beesly how many printed sheets would be available. The stuff I sent you would have made 1 sheet in the *Fortnightly*, but about 1½ in the *Westminster*. According to space—and since only one article is possible here—we should consider whether and which parts of the book should be left out completely—for instance I do not believe it will be possible to include the chapter on accumulation<sup>208</sup> without cutting down the space for the main subject too much.

I've read Darwin's first volume on DOMESTICATION.<sup>e</sup> Only details are new, and then not much of importance.

With best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Ludwig III. See *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 40, 3 October 1868, *Politische Uebersicht*. - <sup>b</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 42, 17 October 1868 (supplement), 'Ein Hannoveraner...' - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*... See this volume, p. 138. - <sup>d</sup> *The Westminster Review*; see this volume, p. 138. - <sup>e</sup> Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*. In 2 vols. London, 1868.



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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 October 1868

Dear Fred,

Enclosed:

1. *Letter from Kugelmann*. Some interesting things in it.<sup>209</sup> In any case, I shall write to tell him that I *forbid pour l'avenir*<sup>a</sup> all his eccentric respectful outbreaks OF ESTEEM.

2. *Letter from Liebknecht*. The brute seems quite mad. Weeks ago he wrote to me saying he would let me have COPIES OF *Vogt*. And, as always with Liebknecht, there the matter rests. Not another word about it. A mass of stupid suggestions instead. I, he says, should reply to Faucher,<sup>b</sup> since Liebknecht *cannot* answer him, and Faucher has ADMIRERS in several Leipzig tap-rooms. He will refrain 'for the present', and against his will, from attacks on Schweitzer. As if he had not, on the other hand, asked me, in his honour, kindly to attack Schweitzer 'for the present'. I am to place at his disposal a 'selection of choice passages' from Miquel's *private correspondence* with me, since he fancies that Miquel is 'dangerous'. I am to send him Freiligrath's poem against Kinkel,<sup>c</sup> so he can rehabilitate Freiligrath at Kinkel's expense. Finally, I am to make a certain Stromeyer—(he means Strohn)—in Bradford the agent for Ernst Stehfest et Co., Crimmitschau (spinning and weaving partnership). WHAT ELSE? Luckily this time he has not done me the honour of asking me to *purchase* here, in the City, ENGLISH MUSTARD SPECIMENS for an alleged consumer society in Leipzig, and to *establish* a 'connection' with the firm. The UPSHOT of the whole business was—IN RETURN FOR the MUSTARD and the business information—the sentence: *The MUSTARD is excellent!* This is in fact what the English economists call 'CONSUMPTIVE DEMAND' *par excellence*.

Borkheim's Russophobia (with which I inoculated him as the mildest sickness for the diversion of his superfluous vital spirits) is assuming dangerous dimensions; he now has a row with OLD Philipp Becker, since the latter is on good terms with Bakunin and has written to Borkheim that he should not attack Bakunin in his letters. Borkheim regards this as a dangerous Muscovite conspiracy. He believes that his 'masterly invectives' in Wilhelm's *Wochenblatt*<sup>d</sup> are causing Byzantium—and therefore also Bakunin—to

<sup>a</sup> for the future - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 65, 86. - <sup>c</sup> F. Freiligrath, 'An Joseph Weydemeyer, I-II', *Die Revolution*, No. 2, 1852. - <sup>d</sup> [S. Borkheim,] 'Russische politische Flüchtlinge in West-Europa', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 5, 6, 17, 20;

shake. In a stern letter to Becker, he has declared with his usual delicacy that he will maintain his friendship for him and his (BY THE BY negligible) pecuniary support, but—politics should now be excluded from their correspondence!

The 12 RAGAMUFFINS of the SO-CALLED FRENCH BRANCH held a PUBLIC MEETING in London last Tuesday, again under Pyat's chairmanship<sup>210</sup> and with the reading of one of his melodramatic PUFFS for the revolution. There were big placards on the walls AS FOLLOWS:

*République Française*

*La Branche française de l'Association Internationale*, etc., etc. Then *Félix Pyat* in huge letters. The points for discussion, listed in *French*, included: 3. Vote d'adhésion au manifeste<sup>a</sup> (the manifesto of the Commune de Paris, which exists only on the moon, which was to be read by Pyat and had been fabricated by him) et protestation, contre l'indifférence en matière politique professée à Bruxelles au *dernier Congrès de l'Association Internationale*.<sup>b 138</sup>

Under this, however, was the English notice (also distributed as a *HANDBILL*): *DEMOCRATS OF ALL NATIONS ARE INVITED*, etc. 'FOR THE PURPOSE OF *DECIDING* WHETHER THE *WORKINGMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION* IS TO BE A *POLITICAL ASSOCIATION*.'

Last Tuesday<sup>c</sup> I was empowered to disavow the fellows immediately and publicly if the London daily newspapers should treat or mention this as a demonstration of ours. Luckily, NO NOTICE WAS TAKEN OF THEM.

This evening there is, however, to be a *SUBCOMMITTEE* at which witnesses are to be heard that one of this dozen was formerly a *marchand d'hommes*<sup>d</sup> and a brothel keeper,<sup>e</sup> another a gambler, a third a *SPY* for the *MASTERS* in the *TAILORS' STRIKE* here,<sup>211</sup> etc., etc. On the basis of the 'morals paragraph' of the Rules, these gentlemen will probably be kicked out. They are naturally doubly annoyed that all politics are left out in dealing with fellows like them.

*Salut* to Mrs Burns, Jollymayer<sup>f</sup> and King Cole.<sup>g</sup>

Your

K. M.

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I, 8 February, 25 April and 16 May 1868 (the first two articles are signed with the initials S. B.).

<sup>a</sup> Vote of adhesion to the manifesto - <sup>b</sup> and protest against the indifference in political matters displayed in Brussels during the *latest congress of the International Association*. - <sup>c</sup> 20 October - <sup>d</sup> white slave-trader - <sup>e</sup> Eugène Thiou - <sup>f</sup> Carl Schorlemmer - <sup>g</sup> Samuel Moore

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 26 October 1868

My dear Friend,

Only these few lines in reply to your letter,<sup>212</sup> which arrived at a moment when I am burdened with a visitor.

Kertbény's address: No. 11/III (what the III means I don't know, perhaps the floor) Behrenstrasse.

Now, permit me a word. Since you and Engels were of the opinion that it would be useful, I gave in on the question of the advertisement in the *Gartenlaube*.<sup>a</sup> My conviction was *decisively against* it. And now I request you *urgently finally to abandon* this joke. The only result is that fellows like Keil and the *Daheim* sort believe one to belong to the tribe of great men, literary or other, and to need or seek their protection.

I believe this sort of thing is harmful rather than helpful and *beneath* the dignity of a man of science. For instance, *Meyer's Konversationslexikon* wrote a long time ago asking me for a biography. Not only did I not send one; I did not even reply to the letter. Everybody must work out his own salvation.

As for Kertbény, he is a pompous, confused, importunate literary idler, and the less one has to do with him the better.

Salut.

Yours  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

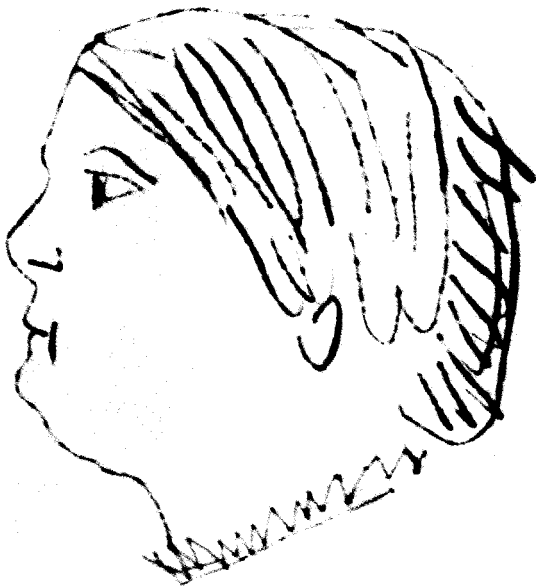
IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 October 1868

Dear Moor,

In all haste, I return the enclosures from Kugelmann<sup>209</sup> and Wilhelm.<sup>b</sup> Congratulations on the professorship. The letter from

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 74. - <sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.



A sketch of Lizzie Burns by Frederick Engels (after 4 May 1869)



Wilhelm is indeed amusing. This omnium-gatherum of instructions to you, so that you might do something too. I also congratulate Strohn on the agency for the Stehfest firm of whose commercial stability I am far from convinced.<sup>a</sup>

Lizzy has rushed off with her friend Mrs Chorlton (the fatty) to her relations in Lincolnshire and will return only on Friday or Saturday.<sup>b</sup> Naturally the maid had to pick this precise moment to fall ill, but Ellen<sup>c</sup> is helping us out.

Best greetings to all.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO WILLIAM JESSUP<sup>213</sup>

IN NEW YORK

London, 28 October 1868  
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,  
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sir,

Your letter to Mr Eccarius, d.d. 3 curt. has been duly communicated by him to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. He has been reappointed as our corresponding Secretary for America, but is at present too ill to fulfil his functions.

The General Council has appointed Mr S. Meyer and Mr August Vogt as its German-American correspondents and Mr Pelletier as its French-American correspondent. I beg to recommend you these citizens.

The General Council being itself yearly elected by the General Congress, it is self-understood that all its nominations can only be valid for the current year, if they be not renewed.

Yours fraternally

Karl Marx

---

<sup>a</sup> Engels puns on the name *Stehfest* and the word *Stehfestigkeit* (stability). - <sup>b</sup> 30 or 31 October - <sup>c</sup> Mary Ellen Burns

Wm. J. Jessup, Corresponding Representative for State of New  
York, National Labour Union,  
11 Norfolk Street, New York City

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MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER AND AUGUST VOGT

IN NEW YORK

London, 28 October 1868

Dear Meyer and Vogt,

The enclosed credentials for Meyer (I have added the same for you<sup>214</sup>) will show you that your wish had already been met by 13 October. Meyer's appointment was printed in *The Bee-Hive*<sup>a</sup> on 3 October.<sup>b</sup> The GENERAL COUNCIL has resolved that the German correspondents shall correspond with me, Pelletier (for the French) with Dupont, and Eccarius with Jessup. I myself suggested the latter, as I have no time for more correspondence. You can hand the enclosed lines to Jessup<sup>c</sup> and, at the same time, show him your credentials.

With regard to Eccarius there is some misunderstanding. *I* have never quarrelled with him; on the contrary I have supported him *to this day* against the ATTACKS by the English, etc.<sup>148</sup> But *he*—his preponderant and often narrow-minded egoism perhaps developed as a result of his circumstances—commits unpleasant tomfooleries from time to time. I generally take no notice of this. Now and then my patience is exhausted. I give him a brain washing, and ALL IS RIGHT AGAIN for the time being. The poor devil is, at present, very ill, and he always utilises such moments to say his *pater peccavi*.<sup>d</sup> To what Liebknecht is referring, according to Vogt's letter, I have absolutely no idea. *I, at least*, have never written a word to anybody *against* Eccarius EXCEPT in my letter to Meyer, at a moment

<sup>a</sup> *The Bee-Hive*, No. 364, 3 October 1868, 'The International Working Men's Association'. - <sup>b</sup> in the original erroneously 10 October - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 147. - <sup>d</sup> Father, I have sinned (Luke 15 : 21).

when I was upset by letters from our other delegates to the Brussels Congress in which they denounced Eccarius.<sup>a</sup> But it is quite possible that Eccarius wrote to Liebknecht without my knowledge in such a way that moved the latter to make his remarks to Vogt. This would be peculiar, since just at that time I had a big dispute with the English about and *for* Eccarius.

As far as *Sorge*<sup>b</sup> is concerned, no further action. My lines to Jessup explain the TEMPORARY character of the credentials.

*Cards for members* are no longer available, must be reprinted. Liebknecht is dabbling too much in south German patriotism, and he should not print such nonsense about 'state and society'<sup>c</sup> containing the exact opposite of our opinions. *Salut*. In all haste.

Yours  
K. Marx

Apropos. Do you know Dietzgen? He has now returned from Petersburg to the Rhine to establish himself as a small tanner. He is one of the most gifted workers I know, I mean by correspondence. I don't know him personally.

A translation of my book is now appearing in Russian in St. Petersburg.<sup>186</sup> Or did I already inform you of this?

[Enclosure]

[London,] 256 High Holborn, W. C.

Citizen A. Vogt is appointed on 13 October 1868 by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association as corresponding Secretary for the year 1868-69 for the International Working Men's Association (German section in America).

13 October 1868

On behalf of the General Council

*Karl Marx*  
SECRETARY FOR GERMANY

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 97. - <sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 96. - <sup>c</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 41, 10 October 1868, 'Der Staat und die soziale Frage'.



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## MARX TO BASSOT

IN PARIS

London, 30 October 1868  
 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park  
 Haverstock Hill

Monsieur,

I have written to the Maison A. Frank for my royalties. The new proprietor, M. Vieweg, directed me to you as the successor of M. Frank.<sup>a</sup> Will you please hand over to M. *Paul Lafargue*, bearer of this letter, my share of the proceeds from the sale of my brochure *Philosophie de la misère etc. contre M. Proudhon* due to me at the moment when M. Frank or the House of M. Frank were disposed of.

I have the honour to salute you,  
 Karl Marx

M. Bassot  
 58, rue de Bondy, Paris

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 time

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 November 1868

DEAR FRED,

On Friday<sup>b</sup> I have to pay the water rates and, further, Tussy's re-subscriptions with Winterbottom (gymnastics), etc. I would be

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 137. - <sup>b</sup> 6 November.

grateful if you could send me SOME £ by the day after tomorrow.

How are things with the Russian's manuscript?<sup>185</sup> Have a look at it and then let me have your opinion. The poor fellow is certainly waiting anxiously for my reply.

Pyat has had a stroke of good luck. He has now got hold of *his own* German—Herr Weber<sup>a</sup> from the Palatinate.

In all haste.

Your  
K. M.

Enclosed letters from Eichhoff.<sup>215</sup> He believes Schweitzer has denounced him here. NOTHING OF THE SORT. His denouncer (which he should not know) is *Borkheim*. In order to get rid of him ON THIS POINT and, at the same time, to elucidate the suspicion that could, in fact, be aroused by Eichhoff's reference to Bismarck (in his speech reported in Wilhelm's *Wochenblatt*), I have written to Eichhoff<sup>84</sup> that he has been denounced to the General Council here and should send me his DEFENCE.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 November 1868

Dear Moor,

You must excuse me if I do not write much now. For some time I have had nasty rheumatism not only in my right arm, but also in the 3 first fingers of my right hand; as a result, after a certain time writing becomes very burdensome for me, and in the evening almost impossible. I hope the trouble disappears; I use alcohol against it—externally that is.

If the Spaniards even now do not know where they stand, following Wilhelmchen's address, they are beyond hope.<sup>216</sup> Unity

<sup>a</sup> J. V. Weber

between bourgeois and worker—the bourgeois *must*, however, realise that he has to concede this and that to the worker—anything to avoid a June battle, for this is followed by 2 December.<sup>217</sup> It is really the crowning point of all confusion. If now the bourgeois will not ‘understand’, the worker will have to realise that *he* will have to make concessions to the bourgeois. This is the sole possible sense which the thing can have. Hence, the ridiculousness of measuring Spanish conditions, with the enormous beggar-proletariat, both clerical and lay, against the yardstick of conditions in *Saxony*. There is naturally not a single mention of the peasants.

Many greetings.

Your

F. E.

Moore tells me that nearly all factory workers in Vienna are Moravians and Bohemians, mainly *Czechs*. This explains much about the movement there. The real Viennese do not go into factories, they become coachmen, domestics or something like that.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>33</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 November 1868

Dear Moor,

Herewith return back Eichhoff's letters<sup>215</sup> and Dietzgen's manuscript.<sup>185</sup> The latter I had placed in a *safe* place, away from the tidying females, and there it was completely forgotten.

It is difficult to pass absolutely definite judgement on the thing; the man is not a born philosopher and, in addition, half self-taught. Some of his sources (e. g., Feuerbach, your book<sup>a</sup> and various trashy publications on the natural sciences) can be

<sup>a</sup> the first volume of *Capital*

immediately traced partly from his terminology, but one cannot tell what else he has read. The terminology is, of course, still very confused, hence the lack of precision and frequent reiterations in new TERMS. There is also dialectics in it, but appearing more in the form of flashes than in any connected way. The presentation of the thing-in-itself as a conceivable thing [Gedankending] would be very nice and even brilliant if one could be *certain* that *he himself* had discovered *it*. There is plenty of wit in it and, despite the poor grammar, a marked talent for style. All in all, however, a remarkable instinct to think out so much that is correct on the basis of such inadequate studies.

The repetitions are, as I said, partly a result of the shortcomings in terminology, partly due to his lack of logical schooling. It will be a hard job to get rid of them all. If the man definitely wants to print his stuff, I do not know if the reduction to 2 printed sheets would be the best for him; in any case, it would be a frightful job for him, since he is not aware of his repetitions. In addition, I do not know whether 2 sheets would get any attention at all. 6-8 sheets would be more likely to do this. But he will never get it into a magazine.

Borkheim has written to ask whether I would agree that *he* should reprint my Bakunin article from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*<sup>a</sup> in Liebknecht's paper<sup>b</sup> and says, in this connection, that this article 'fits, for *him*, most excellently in *his* framework'. I replied<sup>84</sup> that we planned to publish our earlier articles, etc., jointly, that we were already negotiating with a book-dealer, but that I did not know how things stood at the moment and had therefore written to you. I don't know though which article he means; there are several and he speaks of one. Besides, he repeats his nonsense about Bakunin, Eichhoff, etc.

Eichhoff's thorough defence<sup>c</sup> made me laugh.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 222 and 223, 15 and 16 February 1849. - <sup>b</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 151.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>33</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 7 November 1868<sup>a</sup>

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR THE £5.

I (and the whole household here) are very worried because of the typhus raging in your parts. It is so contagious. Please report again soon on the *status rerum*.<sup>b</sup>

It will be impossible to stop that damned Borkheim, whom I shall be seeing today, printing your 2 articles<sup>c</sup> (those about Bakunin's manifesto to the Slavs<sup>d</sup>). However, I shall only tell him that you are an old personal friend of Bakunin, so that the business may under no circumstances appear in a context insulting to the latter. Borkheim takes himself completely *au sérieux*<sup>e</sup> and really believes he has a political mission to fulfil. He is translating for me the main passages from a Russian book about agrarian disintegration,<sup>f</sup> and has also given me a French book on the subject by the Russian Schédo-Ferroti.<sup>g</sup> The latter is very much mistaken—he is altogether a very superficial fellow—in saying that the Russian communal system came into existence only as a result of the ban on peasants leaving the land. The whole business, *down to the smallest detail*, is absolutely identical with the *primaeval Germanic* communal system. Add to this, in the Russian case (and this may be found also *amongst a part of the Indian communal systems*, not in the Punjab, but in the South), (1) the *non-democratic*, but *patriarchal* character of the commune leadership and (2) the *collective responsibility* for taxes to the state, etc. It follows from the second point that the more industrious a Russian peasant is, the more he is exploited by the state, not only in terms of taxes, but also for supplying provisions and horses, etc. for the constant passage of troops, for government couriers, etc. The whole shit is breaking down.

I regard Dietzgen's exposition,<sup>185</sup> in so far as Feuerbach, etc., in

<sup>a</sup> in the original erroneously 1867 - <sup>b</sup> state of things - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nos. 222 and 223, 15 and 16 February 1849. - <sup>d</sup> M. Bakunin, *Aufruf an die Slaven...*, Koethen, 1848. - <sup>e</sup> seriously - <sup>f</sup> П. А[иленфельд], *Земля и воля*. СПб., 1868. - <sup>g</sup> D. K. Schédo-Ferroti, *Études sur l'avenir de la Russie. Dixième étude: Le patrimoine du peuple*. Berlin, 1868.

short his sources, do not peep through, as entirely his own independent achievement. For the rest, I agree with everything you say. I shall have something to say to him about the repetitions; it is his bad luck that it was precisely Hegel that he did *not* study.

The great Weber<sup>a</sup> on behalf of 'German Association for Revolutionary Agitation, etc.' has held a meeting together with the French Mayers under Pyat's chairmanship and with other vagabonds, at which they instructed the Yankees in an address<sup>218</sup> to intervene *in favour of* the Spanish Republic.

Our Negro, Paul Lafargue, had the misfortune that the French would not recognise his English diploma; they want to make him run the gauntlet of five new examinations, instead of the maximum 1 or 2 as he expected.<sup>121</sup> MRS LAURA SENDS YOU HER COMPLIMENTS.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 November 1868

SECOND LETTER.

*Postscriptum.*

I have just come from Borkheim's. To my surprise I have managed to get him *not* to print your 2 articles<sup>b</sup> under his patronage.

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> J. V. Weber - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', see also this volume, pp. 153, 154.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 November 1868

Dear Moor,

Many thanks for settling things with Borkheim. From the enclosed letter, which he wrote me, you can see what a 'nincompoop' the man is.<sup>219</sup>

Sarah's<sup>a</sup> sickness is taking a very favourable course; it is a simple typhoid fever, *vulgo* gastric fever; Gumpert expects no more relapses and, by the end of this week, she should be cured. Against the contagion, which Gumpert also does not regard as dangerous, disinfection is a help.

Lizzie was in Lincolnshire, visiting a patriarchal variety of AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS who do well—they have gardens and potato land, the right of gleaning, which brings in a lot and, in addition, PASSABLE WAGES. Parallel to this, however, the GANG SYSTEM is on the increase; she described it *literally* as you depicted it in your book.<sup>220</sup> These patriarchal FARM LABOURERS with land are naturally a declining remnant, and are already sending their children into the GANG, while they, for their part, provide the nurseries for the babies of the women working on neighbouring GANGS.

In Jacob Grimm's Spanish romances there is one in which Conde Claros de Montalban, son of Reinolt (Rinaldo) of the Haimon family, has a love affair with the Infanta, Charlemagne's daughter; the count takes her into a thicket in the garden, where they lie down<sup>b</sup>:

*de la cintura en arriba* (upwards) *muchos abrazos se dan,*  
*de la cintura en abajo como hombre y mujer se han.*<sup>c</sup>

Old Jacob selected a lot of naïve passages like that.

With many greetings.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Sarah Parker - <sup>b</sup> 'Romance del conde Claros, hijo de Reynaldos de Montalvan', *Silva de romances viejos*. Publicada por Jacobo Grimm, Vienna, 1831. - <sup>c</sup> from the girdle upwards they gave many kisses, from the girdle downwards they behave themselves as husband and wife.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 November 1868

Dear Moor,

I was really ashamed recently to send you a mere trifle of £5, but at that time I was really unable to squeeze out more; today a further five pounds follow enclosed; it was clear to me that just £5 would not help you out.

*Amicus*<sup>a</sup> Ernest Jones is now really catching it for becoming the obedient servant of Bright and Gladstone and identifying himself completely here with Bazley and Jacob Bright. This afternoon, two large posters blazed on all the walls, one black and one red, presenting a passage from *The People's Paper*, recently reprinted in the *Democrat* (WHAT IS THAT?), in which he rejects the cursing and baiting of aristocrats as a bourgeois dodge, proclaims LABOUR AGAINST CAPITAL, and slates the Manchester Liberals as the workers' worst enemies, but all in his *old* style, you know. This affair, so shortly before the election, can overthrow him.<sup>b</sup>

Have you got the book: Ténot, *Paris en Décembre 1851*, and can you send me it? If not, I shall order it. Everything is well at home.

Many greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> friend - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 166.



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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 November 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £5.

For the past few days I have had once again the beginning of *carbunclosem*. Since this muck always starts at this time, I immediately began again with the *arsenic*. This should cut off further EVOLUTION.

I am sending you subsequently (RATHER *simultaneously*) amusing cuttings from the Paris press, supplied by Lafargue. You must send them back, since Jennychen collects the stuff.

Enclosed also a jolly cutting from *Figaro* on the people's economic conferences<sup>221</sup> under the LEADERSHIP of Rabbi A. Einhorn, GENERALLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF *I. E. Horn*. This idiot (who is, incidentally, skilled in the practice of *agiotage*) published SOME TIME SINCE a book on the *banks*,<sup>a</sup> of which even the *Economist* said it was obviously written only for children (although the *Times* reviewed it ceremoniously).

Apropos the *Economist*, you would be surprised to hear that, following the example of *Thornton* in the *Fortnightly Review*,<sup>b</sup> the *Economist* declared<sup>c</sup> verbatim: 'No "LAW" OF DEMAND AND SUPPLY, IN ANY SENSE WHICH HAS YET BEEN ASSIGNED TO THESE WORDS, EXISTS; NEITHER IN FACT, NOR IN TENDENCY, DO MARKET PRICES CONFORM TO THE RULE COMMONLY SUPPOSED TO GOVERN THEM.'

The great *Büchner* has sent me his '*Sechs Vorlesungen etc. über die Darwin'sche Theorie*, etc.' The book was not yet out when I was visiting Kugelman.<sup>77</sup> And he (*Büchner*) has now already sent me the *second edition*! The way such books are made is NICE. *Büchner*, for instance (as everybody who has read Lange's balderdash<sup>d</sup> knows anyway), states that his CHAPTER on *materialist philosophy* has been copied mainly from this very Lange. And this same *Büchner* looks down pityingly on *Aristotle*, whom he obviously only knows by

<sup>a</sup> I. E. Horn, *La Liberté des banques*, Paris, [1866]. A German edition was published in 1867 in Stuttgart and Leipzig. - <sup>b</sup> W. Th. Thornton, 'A New Theory of Supply and Demand', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XXXIV, 1 October 1866. - <sup>c</sup> J. E. C., 'The "Law" of Demand and Supply', *The Economist*, No. 1210, 3 November 1866, p. 1280. - <sup>d</sup> F. A. Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart*, Bde. I-II, Iserlohn, 1866.

hearsay! What really amused me, however, was the following passage with regard to the works of *Cabanis*<sup>a</sup> (1798):

'You might almost be listening to Karl Vogt when you read (in Cabanis) expressions like these: "The brain is intended for thinking, as the stomach is meant for digestion or the liver for secreting the bile from the blood", etc.'<sup>b</sup>

Büchner obviously believes that Cabanis has copied from K. Vogt. Even to imagine the opposite exceeds the critical faculties of the worthy Büchner. He appears to have first learned of Cabanis from Lange! *Ce sont des savants sérieux!*<sup>c</sup>

Paris is haunted. The Baudin affair is really reminiscent of the banquet movement under Louis Philippe.<sup>222</sup> Only today there is no National Guard, and Bugeaud (as far as brutality comes into play) is READY from the first day, while in February he was the last to be called upon and at a moment when there existed *no* ministry, that is to say, under the conditions at that time, *no government*. Moreover, barricade-building is useless. Leaving aside the Weber<sup>d</sup>-Pyat bulls of excommunication, I cannot see how a revolution in Paris could be SUCCESSFUL, apart from treason and defection or division in the army.

I have put a new bee into the bonnets of the Urquhartites (since Collet invited me and my family to visit him last Sunday week<sup>e</sup>: I had not seen him personally for years), a bee that is now being very *seriously* debated between Collet and Urquhart, namely that *Peel's Bank Act of 1844*<sup>223</sup> makes it possible for the Russian Government, under CERTAIN CONJUNCTURES OF THE MONEY-MARKET, to force the Bank of England into bankruptcy.<sup>f</sup> Despite my diplomacy with Collet, I could not keep silent as he drived on about *Ireland*, and told him MOST DECIDEDLY, to his face, my VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION.

Tussy is attending private gymnastic classes. HER COMPLIMENTS TO MRS BURNS.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> P.-J.-G.] Cabanis, *Considérations générales sur l'étude de l'homme...* - <sup>b</sup> L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie...*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1868, S. 374-75. - <sup>c</sup> Such are profound scholars! (an allusion to a personage in Paul de Kock's novel *L'amant de la lune*. - <sup>d</sup> J. V. Weber - <sup>e</sup> 8 November - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, p. 166.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>48</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 November 1868

SECOND LETTER. P. S.

DEAR FRED,

Since practice is better than all theory, I would ask you to describe to me *very precisely* (with examples) how you run your BUSINESS *quant à banquier, etc.*<sup>a</sup>

So. 1. The *method in purchasing* (cotton, etc.). With regard ONLY TO THE MONETARY WAY OF DOING THE THINGS; THE BILLS; TIME FOR DRAWING THEM ETC.

2. In *sales*. Bill settlement with your customers and your London CORRESPONDENT.

3. *Settlements* and OPERATIONS (CURRENT ACCOUNT etc.) with regard to YOUR BANKER in Manchester.

Your  
K. M.

Since the 2ND VOLUME<sup>187</sup> is largely too theoretical, I shall use the CHAPTER ON CREDIT<sup>224</sup> for an ACTUAL DENUNCIATION of this swindle and of COMMERCIAL morals.

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## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

London, 14 November 1868

Dear Jung,

Before you went to Brussels I gave you the *secret circular* (that of Stepney) of the '*États-Unis de l'Europe*', which speaks of the

<sup>a</sup> with regard to the banker, etc.

need to make common cause with the *INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION*.<sup>225</sup> Since Gustav Vogt—i.e., that sheet—is now taking great liberties with respect to us, please send me *the thing back*. I shall use it in *Liebnecht's paper*<sup>a</sup> against G. Vogt.

How did it happen that, in the 2 last issues of *The Bee-Hive*, there is no word of the resolutions of the GENEVA AND BRUSSELS CONGRESS?<sup>226</sup>  
*Salut* to you and FAMILY.

Yours  
 K. Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS  
 IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 November<sup>b</sup> 1868

DEAR FRED,

The LANDLORD (unfortunately he is living *pro tempore*<sup>c</sup> in London), wrote me the enclosed letter some time ago. Yesterday he called, but was not, of course, admitted, since I was allegedly absent. The devil of it is that, because of the OVEREND AFFAIR,<sup>227</sup> this fellow lives on his house rents; in addition, he will not accept bills of exchange. At other times the PRESSURE for the house has never been SO IMMEDIATE, since I only owe him for 1 QUARTER. LESSNER, TOO, is kicking me for THE REMAINDER OF MY DEBT, his wife is DESPERATELY SICK. GENERALLY the SITUATION is bad.

Yesterday evening, on the CENTRAL COUNCIL<sup>73</sup> the ENGLISH TOO LATE BUT UNANIMOUSLY acknowledged that I had forecast *literally* for them, the, for me, HIGHLY AMUSING UPSHOT of the elections, with a criticism of the incorrect policy of the REFORM-LEAGUE.<sup>228</sup> The present HOUSE is the worst since the election under Pam's<sup>d</sup> command. The LONG PURSES have never had such an exclusive preponderance. E. Jones

<sup>a</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>b</sup> In the original erroneously 18 October. - <sup>c</sup> for the time being - <sup>d</sup> Palmerston's

deserved his tumble OVER AND OVER.<sup>102</sup> With regard to Bradlaugh, he had boasted in too Lassallean a manner. At the last Sunday meeting of his congregation in CLEVELAND HALL, there was displayed a placard TO THIS EFFECT: FAREWELL TO THE GREAT *ICONOCLAST*, THE PEOPLE'S REDEEMER. LONG LIVE TO MR BRADLAUGH, THE DREAD NAUGHT OF ST STEPHEN'S!<sup>229</sup>

In France things look very serious, according to Lafargue's last letters too. The government wants to force the lads on to the streets so that *chassepot*<sup>230</sup> and RIFLED CANNON may then *laisser 'faire merveille'*<sup>a</sup>! Can you see any CHANCE of successful street conflicts? Defection of the army without a previous thrashing appears to me scarcely credible.

Büchner's clumsy work<sup>b</sup> is of interest to me in as much as it quotes most of the German research in the field of Darwinism—Prof. Jäger (Vienna) and Prof. Haeckel. According to them, the cell has been abandoned as the primaeval form; instead a formless but contractile particle of albumen is taken AS STARTING POINT. This hypothesis was later confirmed by the discoveries in Canada (later also in Bavaria and SOME OTHER PLACES). The primaeval form must naturally be traced down to the point at which it may be produced chemically. And it appears that the way to this point has been found.

The conscientiousness with which Büchner has acquainted himself with the English stuff is also shown by the fact that he classifies Owen as one of Darwin's supporters.

Borkheim's letter to you,<sup>c</sup> which you sent me, I had the pleasure to have read to me for A SECOND TIME by him in person. This nincompoop now accuses Eichhoff of being a 'BUSYBODY'(!) and of 'writing long letters'. What self-knowledge!

Apropos the Irish elections, the only interesting POINT is *Dungarvan*, where *Burry* is presenting himself under the protection of the defector O'Donovan. (Ditto under the protection of the priest.) There is a GENERAL CRY against him amongst the Irish Nationalists since this blackguard, as government prosecutor during the first trial of the Fenians in Dublin, hurled such slanders (à la *Constitutionnel* against the June insurgents)<sup>231</sup> that even the London papers gave him a wiggling.

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

<sup>a</sup> work miracles - <sup>b</sup> L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten ...* - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 156.

I believe Nincompoop<sup>a</sup> has gone to Bordeaux! Such a business trip is certainly necessary to cool his brain fever.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>33</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 November 1868

Dear Moor,

What do you say about the elections in the factory districts? The proletariat has once again made an awful fool of itself. Manchester and Salford return 3 Tories<sup>b</sup> against 2 Liberals,<sup>c</sup> including the MILK-AND-WATER Bazley, Bolton, Preston, Blackburn, etc., almost all Tories. In Ashton it looks as if Milner Gibson has gone TO THE WALL. Ernest Jones NOWHERE, despite the CHEERING. Everywhere the proletariat are the RAG, TAG AND BOBTAIL of the official parties, and if any party has gained strength from the new VOTERS, it is the Tories. The small towns, the HALF ROTTEN BOROUGHS<sup>32</sup> are the salvation of bourgeois Liberalism, and roles will be reversed: the Tories will favour more members for the big towns and the Liberals will favour unequal representation.

Here the electors have increased from 24,000 to not quite 48,000, and the Tories have increased their VOTERS from 6,000 to 14-15,000. The Liberals have let slip a lot, and M. Henry did a lot of harm, but it cannot be denied that the increase in working-class VOTES has brought the Tories more than their simple percentage, and has improved their relative position. On the whole this is a good thing. As things look now, Gladstone should have a *narrow* majority and will be compelled to change the Reform Bill to stop the rolling stone; with a large majority, he would have let things take their course, as usual.

But it remains an appalling display of weakness by the English proletariat. *The parson* has shown unexpected power, and also the

<sup>a</sup> Borkheim - <sup>b</sup> Birley, Cawley, Chorley - <sup>c</sup> Bazley, J. Bright

cringing before RESPECTABILITY. Not a single working-class candidate had A GHOST OF A CHANCE, but MYLORD TOM NODDY or any parvenu snob could have the workers' votes with pleasure.

The howls of the Liberal bourgeois would amuse me very much were it not for this accompanying experience. To cheer myself up properly, yesterday I made Borchardt's son-in-law, who had dutifully drudged for the Liberals, as drunk as a lord.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 20 November 1868

Dear Moor,

I shall send you some money on Sunday so that you will receive it Monday morning. The stupidity of our cashier is responsible for the fact that it did not already come today. I am sending you £20.

*Militairement parlant*,<sup>a</sup> the fellows in Paris have NOT THE GHOST OF A CHANCE, if they launch their attack at present. It is not so easy to get out of this Bonapartism. Without a military revolt, nothing can be done. In my opinion, a coup can only be attempted when at least the *garde mobile*<sup>233</sup> once again stands between the people and the army. It is certain and obvious that Bonaparte *wants* an attempt, and the revolutionaries would be jackasses if they gave him the satisfaction. In addition, the new rifles (1) can very easily be rendered useless (by extracting the pin) and (2) even if they fall into the hands of the insurgents in a usable state, they are valueless if you do not have the specific ammunition, which you cannot *make* like the old cartridges. And why, in fact, should they launch their attack just at this moment? The continuation of *this*

<sup>a</sup> militarily speaking

state of affairs injures Bonaparte more every day; in addition, there is no special reason for attacking. Bonaparte will also take care not to give *the sort* of reason that only the revolutionaries need.

The secret of the elections in Lancashire is the English workers' hatred of the *Irish*. The damned Murphy cleared the way for the Tories. In the meantime, the Irish state church is finished no matter what. Otherwise things have happened as I said.<sup>a</sup> *The Morning Herald* has already explained that, though the Tories *seemed* to be in the minority, they were really in the majority, since they represent the majority of the people.<sup>b</sup>

If you have not received the £20 by Monday morning, telegraph me immediately. On Sunday I cannot register and would not consider even a registered letter safe in the hands of the post from Saturday evening to Monday morning.

Many greetings.

Your  
F. E.

Send me back the letter from Nincompoop.<sup>c</sup> As you know I have to show him what grammatical blunders he makes.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 November 1868

DEAR FRED,

The FIRST HALF arrived this morning.

Enclosed 2 letters, ONE from Collet and the other from Jones.

As regards *Collet*, I have burnt my fingers with these blasted *Urquhartites*<sup>d</sup>. You know—at least I think I wrote to you about

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 163. - <sup>b</sup> Engels refers to the leading article 'London, Wednesday, November 18' in *The Morning Herald* of 18 November 1868. -

<sup>c</sup> Borkheim; see also this volume pp. 156, 162. - <sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.



it—that, purely for the joy of MISCHIEF-MONGERING, I set new bees in their bonnets about the Peel Act of 1844<sup>223</sup> and its useful effect for Russia. (Incidentally the matter is CORRECT WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS.) Now Urquhart wants to print one of these letters *over my name* in his NEXT *Diplomatic Review*.<sup>234</sup> If I refused ‘my name’, I would make them mistrustful. So I am IN FOR IT. It is a consolation that not a soul reads the *Diplomatic Review* (EXCEPT A SMALL CLIQUE). The Urquhartites, however, are burning their fingers too. In order to give the affair more weight, they obviously intend to cite me as the author of *Capital*, which would be AN ABOMINATION in their eyes if they knew it.

As regards Ernest Jones, I find him EXCEEDINGLY COOL. I should act for him AS ELECTIONEERING AGENT (FOR GREENWICH)! I have replied<sup>84</sup> that I see NOT A GHOST OF A CHANCE for him:

1. Baxter Langley is the local candidate, and neither Mill nor Beales COULD STAND *without* his PERMISSION.

2. The GENERAL COUNCIL of the ‘International’ does not get mixed up in ELECTIONEERING. In no case could we act *against* B. Langley because—and this is a fact—since the Brussels Congress<sup>138</sup> B. Langley and his SUNDAY LEAGUE<sup>235</sup> have concluded an amicable agreement with us. (In fact, our sessions take place in *their* hall.)

3. He (Jones) is at present *unpopular* in London (and this is true). *Reynolds*’s ARTICLES: ‘TRAITORS IN THE CAMP’, etc., had damaged him.<sup>236</sup>

I have just received the enclosed letter from the secretary<sup>a</sup> of the Workers’ Educational Society here.<sup>67</sup> This shows that the Lassalleans imported from Paris and Germany, who maintain secret contacts with Schweitzer, have made use of Lessner’s absence due to his wife’s sickness in order fraudulently to obtain from here a vote of confidence for *Schweitzer* against the Nurembergers.<sup>135</sup> As a well-known member of the Society, I would be made responsible for this—and this appears to me to be the aim of the whole operation. Thus I am writing to Speyer without delay explaining the reasons that, under these circumstances, I must announce my *resignation* from the Society.<sup>b</sup>

Your  
K. M.

<sup>a</sup> Carl Speyer - <sup>b</sup> See present edition, Vol. 21, ‘Statement to the German Workers’ Educational Society in London’.

That damned Schweitzer is still too young to pull the wool over my eyes.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

V/J 71 968—Manchester, 7 January 1868 £10.

T/N 14 065—London, 26 February 1868 £10.

Second halves.

First sent with preceding post.

[Manchester,] 23 November 1868

Dear Moor,

I can send you the above only today, but give you the good news that, after a conversation today with Calico Gottfried,<sup>a</sup> it will *probably* be possible to prolong the contract with him for a few years.<sup>158</sup> I intend, if all goes well, to take 3 years, the last of which would be without any obligation on my part to work. If all this is successful, which must be more or less decided by the end of February at the latest, we are over the hill, and I shall be able without difficulty to pay off the £100 debt you still have, and in general to establish the affair properly and on a solid basis, so that this load of debts will not return, at least for the period of the contract.

Lizzie suddenly became very unwell yesterday; I thought at first it was serious, but she has slept a lot, so is now much better. She had congestions to the head. Tussy's letter gave her much pleasure, and as soon as she is better again she will answer it.

The wonderful primeval mass of the respected Büchner is still a great mystery to me. Couldn't you send us the book<sup>b</sup> here some time?

<sup>a</sup> Ermen. See this volume, p. 170. - <sup>b</sup> L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten ...*

HOW ABOUT Ténot, *Paris, le 2 décembre?*  
Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 November 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed returned the letters.<sup>a</sup> Jones is COOL INDEED, and in every sense he has counted his chickens before they are hatched. He will scarcely find another place to elect him. LIBERALS OF HIS CALIBRE there are enough, and more than enough, ever since he identified himself with this variety. Even the great Dr Borchardt asked him (if one can believe Dr Borchardt) how he could identify himself in such a way with Bright and Gladstone, since he would certainly have to attack them in 5 years time.

Nothing else new here. I have finally prevailed on Lizzie to let Gumpert treat her; so far she resisted, and said there was nothing wrong with her. He will probably have been there today. Incidentally, she was better today.

Your  
F. E.

Büchner<sup>b</sup> received with thanks.

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<sup>a</sup> By C. D. Collet and E. Jones (see this volume, pp. 165-66). - <sup>b</sup> L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten...*

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ENGELS TO W. HOLZENHAUER<sup>237</sup>

IN COLOGNE

[Draft]

[Manchester,] 26 November 1868

Following receipt of your letter dated 18 August I inquired at home<sup>84</sup> about the circumstances in which you had left my brothers'<sup>238</sup> business and also sought to find out whether there was any prospect of your obtaining employment there again.

Now I have received the relevant information, and unfortunately it is such that I can offer you no hope whatsoever of obtaining employment there again. I am therefore returning to you enclosed the *false*, as you say, testimony of my brother-in-law.<sup>a</sup> In view of the information received, I must, it is true, assume this testimony does not wholly correspond to reality, a fact on which you may congratulate yourself, to be sure.

Respectfully yours,  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>239</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 November 1868

Dear Moor,

Consider *very precisely* the answers to the enclosed questions, and answer them for me by return, so that I may have your reply on Tuesday morning.

1. How much money do you need to pay *all* your debts, SO AS TO HAVE A CLEAR START?

2. Can you manage with £350 for your *usual* regular needs for a year (from this I exclude extra expenses caused by sickness and unforeseen events), i.e., so that you do not need to get into debt. If not, tell me the sum required for it. All on the assumption that

<sup>a</sup> Adolf von Griesheim

all the old debts have previously been paid off. This question is naturally the main one.

My negotiations with Gottfried Ermen<sup>a</sup> are taking the turn that, on the termination of my contract,—June 30—he wishes to *buy me out*, i.e., he offers me a sum of money if I undertake not to enter into any competing business for 5 years, and allow him to continue to manage the firm. This is exactly where I wanted to get the man. However, since in the past few years the balances have been poor, it is questionable whether this offer will place us in a position to live for a number of years without money troubles, even if we assume the probable case that all sorts of events will cause us to move again to the continent, and hence get us involved in extra expenses. The sum offered me by Gottfried Ermen (which, long before he offered it to me, I was determined to devote, if need be exclusively, to covering the necessary support for you) would put me in a position to provide you *certainly* with £350 annually for 5-6 years, and in special cases even with some more. You will, however, understand that all my arrangements would be upset if, from time to time, a sum of debts accumulated that would have to be covered out of further capital. My calculations have to be based upon the fact that our living expenses must be met not solely from *revenue*, but also—from the beginning—partly from *capital*, and for this very reason they are rather complicated and must be adhered to strictly, or we shall come to grief.

I would ask you to tell me quite frankly how these matters *really stand*, and your reply will determine how I conduct myself in the future vis-à-vis Gottfried Ermen. So, name yourself the sum you need regularly per annum, and we shall see what can be done.

What will happen after the 5-6 years mentioned above is not clear to me either. If everything remains as at present, I would no longer be in a position to send you £350 a year or even more, but still at least £150. Yet much may change by then, and your literary work will be capable of bringing something in for you.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls. Send one of the enclosed photograms to Laura.

Your

F. E.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 167.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>80</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 30 November 1868

DEAR FRED,

I am quite KNOCKED DOWN by your too great kindness.

I had my wife show me all the BILLS, and the amount of the debts is much greater than I thought, £210 (of which ABOUT £75 for the pawnshop and interest). This does not include the doctor's BILL for attendance during the SCARLATINA, which he has not yet submitted.

During the past few years we have used more than £350, but the sum is absolutely sufficient, since 1. during the past few years Lafargue was living with us, and expenses were much increased by his presence in the house; and 2., owing to the debt system, everything cost much too much. With a COMPLETE CLEARANCE of the debts, I would be able for the first time to enforce a STRICT ADMINISTRATION.

You can imagine how unpleasant conditions have been here at home over the past few months from the fact that Jennychen—behind my back—got an engagement for herself as *private governess* with an English family. The business is not due to begin until January 1869. I gave permission, after the event, on the proviso (the lady of the house, her husband is Dr Monroe, visited my wife in this connection) that the engagement should *only be binding for 1 month*, and both sides, after the month had passed, would have the *right to cancel*. Though the matter was extremely embarrassing to me (the child would have to teach small children almost all day long)—I do not need to emphasise this—I consented on this condition, since I found it favourable that Jennychen would be diverted by some sort of occupation and, in particular, get outside these 4 walls. For years now my wife has quite lost her TEMPER—understandable under the circumstances, but not thereby made pleasanter—and tortures the children mortally with her complaints and irritability and BAD HUMOUR, though no children could bear it all IN A MORE JOLLY WAY. But *sunt certi denique fines*.<sup>3</sup> It is naturally UNPLEASANT to write to you about this. It

<sup>3</sup> there are, after all, certain limits (Horace, *Satires*, I, 1, 106).

is easier to speak of such things. But it is necessary in order to explain to you why I did not absolutely reverse Jennychen's step.

Your  
K. M.

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## 121

## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed:

1. Letter from Schweitzer,
2. Mineworkers of Lugau,
3. Russe Serno-Solovyevich (author of the pamphlet against Goegg<sup>a</sup>).

So Schweitzer is determined to become king of the tailors in Germany! Good luck to him. On *one* point he is right—Wilhelm's<sup>b</sup> incapability! His claim that the Nurembergers<sup>135</sup>—on pain of high treason—should enroll under his leadership IS VERY COOL INDEED.<sup>240</sup>

Wilhelm becomes stupider every day. What a lousy paper!<sup>c</sup> From the letter from Lugau<sup>241</sup> it emerges that he has so far done *nothing* with reference to the International. At the same time, he plays fine tricks on us. In his 'cosy' way, he announces that the '*International Working Men's Association*' costs *nothing*, so that all and sundry may join *without paying*. From Switzerland Becker complains about this absurdity.<sup>242</sup>

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> [A. Serno-Solovyevich] *À propos de la grève. Réponse à M. Goegg* (signed by the pen-name A. Ébéniste). See also this volume, p. 186. - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht's - <sup>c</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 5 December 1868

Dear Kugelmann,

Have you got Dietzgen's address? Quite a while ago he sent me a fragment of a manuscript on 'intellectual capacity',<sup>185</sup> which, despite a certain confusion and too frequent repetitions, contained much that was excellent, and—as the independent product of a worker—even admirable. I did not reply immediately after reading it through, since I wanted to hear Engels' opinion.<sup>a</sup> So I sent him the manuscript. A long time passed before I got it back. And now I *cannot find* Dietzgen's *letter* with his new address. He wrote me, to wit, in his last letter from Petersburg, that he would return to the Rhine and settle there. Have you perhaps received his address from him? If so, be so kind as to send it to me by return. My conscience—one never becomes completely free of this sort of thing—is pricking me for leaving Dietzgen so long without a reply. You also promised to tell me something about his personality.

I have received *Büchner's* lectures on Darwinism. He is obviously a 'book-maker' and probably for this reason is called 'Büchner'.<sup>b</sup> His superficial babble about the history of materialism is obviously copied from Lange.<sup>c</sup> The way such a whipper-snapper disposes of, e.g., *Aristotle*—quite a different sort of natural philosopher from Büchner—is really astonishing. It is also very naïve of him to say, referring to Cabanis, 'you might almost be listening to Karl Vogt'.<sup>d</sup> As if Cabanis copied Vogt!

Some time ago I promised to write you a few words about the FRENCH BRANCH.<sup>72</sup> These RAGAMUFFINS are, a half or 2/3 of them, *maquereaux*<sup>e</sup> and such-like rabble, and all of them—after our people had withdrawn—heroes of the revolutionary phrase, who, FROM A SAFE DISTANCE, OF COURSE, kill kings and emperors, in particular Louis Napoleon. In their eyes we are, naturally, reactionaries, and

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 119-21 and 152-55. - <sup>b</sup> A play on the German word *Buchmacher* (book-maker) and the name *Büchner*, derived from the word *Buch* (book). - <sup>c</sup> F. A. Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart*, Vols. 1-2. - <sup>d</sup> L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen über die Darwin'sche Theorie von der Verwandlung der Arten ...* - <sup>e</sup> pimps



they drew up, in all due form, an indictment against us, which was, in fact, submitted to the Brussels Congress—in the closed sessions. The fury of these BLACKLEGS was heightened by the fact that they had been taken over by Felix Pyat, a failed French fourth-class author of melodramas, who, in the revolution of '48, was only used as a TOASTMASTER—the name given by the English to the men *paid* to announce the TOASTS at public banquets, or to supervise the order of the TOASTS—a man who has a perfect monomania 'TO SHOUT IN A WHISPER' and to play the dangerous conspirator. Pyat wanted to use this gang to convert the 'International Working Men's Association' into his following. In particular, the aim was to compromise us. Thus, at a public MEETING which the FRENCH BRANCH announced and trumpeted by poster as a meeting of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Louis Napoleon, alias Badinguet,<sup>a</sup> was *in all due form sentenced to death*, the execution naturally being left to the nameless Brutuses of Paris.<sup>b</sup> Since the English press paid no attention to this farce, we also would have passed it over in silence. But one of the gang—a certain Vésinier, a circulator of *chantage*<sup>c</sup> literature—spread the whole muck in the Belgian paper *La Cigale*, which claims to be an organ of the 'International', a sort of 'comic' paper, the like of which certainly cannot be found anywhere else in Europe. There is, you see, nothing comic about it except its seriousness. From the *Cigale* the stuff found its way into the *Pays, Journal de l'Empire*. It was naturally grist to the mill of Paul de Cassagnac. Thereupon we—i.e. THE GENERAL COUNCIL—officially announced, in 6 lines in the *Cigale*, that *F. Pyat* had absolutely *no* connection with the 'International', of which he was not even a member.<sup>d</sup> *Hinc illae irae!*<sup>e</sup> This frog-and-mouse war<sup>f</sup> ended when the FRENCH BRANCH rancorously withdrew from us, and it now goes about its business on its own, under Pyat's auspices. They have established here, in London, as a *succursale*,<sup>g</sup> a so-called *German Agitational Association*, consisting of a dozen and a half, headed by an old refugee from the Palatinate, the half-crazy watchmaker *Weber*.<sup>h</sup> Now you know all there is to know about this solemn, highfalutin and important event. Just one thing more. We had the satisfaction that Blanqui,

<sup>a</sup> The name of a stone-mason in whose clothes Napoleon III escaped from prison in 1846. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 62. - <sup>c</sup> blackmail - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on Félix Pyat's Provocative Behaviour' - <sup>e</sup> Hence this rage! (paraphrase of the expression *Hinc illae lacrimae*—Hence these tears—from Terence's *Andria*, I, 1, 99). - <sup>f</sup> An allusion to the *Batrachomyomachia* (The Battle of the Frogs and Mice), an ancient Greek mock-heroic poem (attributed to Pigret) which parodies Homer's *Iliad*. - <sup>g</sup> annex - <sup>h</sup> See this volume, pp. 151, 155.

through one of his friends, writing ditto in the *Cigale*, made Pyat absolutely ridiculous, leaving him only the alternative of being either a MONOMANIAC or a police agent.<sup>a</sup>

Yesterday evening I received a letter from Schweitzer<sup>240</sup> announcing that he was off to the *cachot*<sup>b</sup> again, and that the outbreak of civil war—that is war between him and W. Liebknecht—is unavoidable. I must say that Schweitzer is right on one point, that is, Liebknecht's incompetence. His sheet<sup>c</sup> is really wretched. How can a man whom I crammed orally for 15 years (he was always too lazy to read) have such things published as, for instance, *Society and State*, in which 'the social' (and that's a fine category too!) is treated as the secondary, and 'the political' as the essential?<sup>d</sup> This would be incomprehensible were it not that Liebknecht is a South German, and seems always to have confused me with his old superior, the 'noble' *Gustav Struve*.

Lafargue and wife have been in Paris for 2 months. There, however, they don't want to recognise the medical qualifications he achieved in London, and demand that he take 5 new 'Paris' exams!

As the result of a SETTLEMENT, my 'economic' (not politico-economic) circumstances will take a *satisfactory* form from next year.<sup>e</sup>

With best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen.

Yours

Karl Marx

Is your wife also active in the German ladies' great emancipation campaign? I think that German women should begin by driving their husbands to self-emancipation.

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<sup>a</sup> G. Tridon, 'La Commune révolutionnaire de Paris, *La Cigale*, No. 29, 19 July 1868. - <sup>b</sup> gaol - <sup>c</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>d</sup> 'Der Staat und die soziale Frage', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 41, 10 October 1868 (see this volume, pp. 136 and 149). - <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

Please send me £3 by this Wednesday<sup>a</sup> (the day after tomorrow), since the gas bill, etc., are due, and I have promised to pay by then.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

So it is Lowe and Bright Co.!<sup>243</sup>

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 December 1868

Dear Moor,

Enclosed five pounds and the letters from Lugau<sup>241</sup> and Schweitzer<sup>240</sup> returned. That things would come to this pass with Schweitzer was fairly clear to me from previous practical experience. This honourable gentleman was not inclined to hand over his 'strict' organisation, headed by the nominal king of the tailors; for him the only question was whether good old Wilhelm<sup>b</sup> would subordinate himself to him or not. I don't exactly mind his assessing Wilhelm correctly, but he forgets that he himself, with much more brain, is, in his LINE, just such a twopenny-halfpenny

<sup>a</sup> 9 December - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht

character as Wilhelm. His confidence that he can regularly be given ticket of leave from the *cachot*<sup>a</sup> also has an unpleasant ring; he should not have written this to *you* after using this method so often, and precisely during his Bismarck era, with such success.

The Lugau lads' letter does them great honour. That jackass Liebknecht has described the conditions of these workers in his sheet<sup>b</sup> in more than 20 articles, *yet only here* does one see clearly where the infamy lies. Incidentally, Moore says that similar conditions—though not so bureaucratically intricate ones—obtain in English coalmines.

The letter from Serno-Solovyevich<sup>c</sup> was *not* enclosed.

In haste.

Your  
F. E.

Today in the office I was overrun, without a break, from twelve-thirty until five.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER<sup>244</sup>

London, 9 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR £5.

I forgot to enclose the Russian.<sup>d</sup> Follows herewith. In addition *Sigfrid Meyer*.<sup>245</sup> (The *Drury* of whom he speaks is a fishy customer who was formerly in London and who wished to push himself onto the CENTRAL COUNCIL. He impressed S. Meyer by his public appearances in New York. Meyer wrote to us that we should really appoint Drury as our agent. I replied to him<sup>e</sup> that Mr Drury had

<sup>a</sup> gaol - <sup>b</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 172. - <sup>d</sup> Marx means the letter of A. A. Serno-Solovyevich. - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 97.

already had himself 'recommended' to us in this capacity by Cremer, Huleck, etc. We did *not* want him.)

Finally a reappearance CARD from Nincompoop.<sup>a</sup> This letter is very characteristic of him. Schily took him to Lafargue et Co. You know that in Paris you can only move in on the *terme*.<sup>b</sup> Lafargue and Laura thus lived in a *chambre garnie*,<sup>c</sup> high up, until about a fortnight ago (when they found lodgings, and we sent them their chests and boxes). The first thing Borkheim said when he came to visit them with Schily: 'This has put me quite out of breath. I would not like often to climb so high!' And now his marginal notes, which he sends to *me*! Incidentally, he has kept his promise about 'not-climbing'. Lafargue had bought the Ténot,<sup>d</sup> but since the postage to London is dear, Borkheim was supposed to bring the book here on his return journey to Bordeaux. But he was not seen again.

And this reminds me of another anecdote concerning Borkheim. Shortly before Lafargue left, Borkheim invited him and my family to dinner (Laura did not go). After the 'gentlemen' had retired to Borkheim's STUDY—the gentlemen were *Lafargue, Borkheim and myself*—Borkheim related all sorts of gossip told or published by one person or another about me. I let him have his head for a time, while Lafargue rocked crossly backwards and forwards in his chair. Finally I interrupted him and said: It was altogether extraordinary what gossip went round in the world. Engels and I could tell the best stories about this, because we possessed proper archives about the refugees. For instance, when he—Borkheim—came from Switzerland to England, we received a report that he was an agent of the Prussian Count X<sup>e</sup> (I cannot JUST NOW recall the name), who was himself a Prussian spy, and that it had been this count that had sent him to Switzerland, etc. Borkheim exploded like a bomb. 'He had never thought that anybody at all in London knew anything about this story, etc.' He then started to tell the story at great length and in great detail and, in his excitement, pumped too much HOT WATER and even more BRANDY into himself. In this OVERWORKED CONDITION we then returned to the ladies for tea, and Borkheim at once burst out with the announcement that I had given him THE MOST STRANGE SURPRISE of his life. He then told the same story three times in succession, to the great annoyance of his wife, since all sorts of females play a role in

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<sup>a</sup> S. Borkheim - <sup>b</sup> beginning of the quarter - <sup>c</sup> furnished room - <sup>d</sup> E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851...*, Paris, 1868. E. Ténot, *La Province en décembre 1851 ...* Paris, 1868, See also this volume, p. 188. - <sup>e</sup> Heinemann

it. Later he wrote to me twice: I had obviously been joking, he had probably himself told me the gossip about him, etc. I, however, remained serious. (We had learned about the business from Schily, in one of his letters from Paris, at the time of the Vogt affair.) There must be punishment!

Apropos. Something that remained a mystery to me for a long time was this: during the 3 years of the cotton FAMINE, where did the English get all that cotton, even for the DIMINISHED SCALE OF PRODUCTION?<sup>246</sup> It was impossible to explain this from the official statistics. Despite all the imports from India, etc., there was seen to be quite an enormous deficit if you calculated the exports to the Continent (and even the occasional ones to New England). Nothing, or almost nothing, remained for HOME CONSUMPTION. The business was easily solved. It has now been proved (a fact perhaps known to you, but new to me) that, at the outbreak of the Civil War, the English had *verbotenus*<sup>a</sup> approximately 3 years' stock (naturally for a DIMINISHED SCALE OF PRODUCTION). What a fine crash that would have produced if the Civil War had *not* broken out!

The EXPORTS OF YARN and MANUFACTURED GOODS in 1862, 1863 and 1864 were=1,208,920,000 lbs (REDUCED TO YARN) and the SUPPLIES (IMPORTS) (REDUCED TO EQUIVALENT WEIGHT IN YARN)=1,187,369,000 lbs.<sup>b</sup> In the first figure, the surplus of baryta hidden in the MANUFACTURED GOODS has probably been overlooked. Even so, the result roughly emerges that the entire HOME SUPPLY was met from existing stocks.

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> literally - <sup>b</sup> Marx quotes the figures from the article 'A Phase of the Cotton Trade during the Civil War', published in *The Economist*, No. 1181, 14 April 1866, p. 447 (signed J. E.).

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

You must return the enclosed letter to me immediately after reading it, since I must send it back to Kugelmann.<sup>247</sup>

Kugelmann (there is nothing else worthy of notice in his letter, which I am not sending, as I wish to reply to him) has this to say about Dr Freund, the 'author' of the letter:

'Recently, in Dresden, I recruited a promising pupil for you in the shape of a very intelligent colleague, a university teacher in Breslau. He told me he had written a small study on the worker question. I recommended him to read your book<sup>a</sup> before publishing his study. His own reflections had led him to Malthusian ideas.—I would like to have the enclosed letter returned *quite soon*, since I still have to reply to it.—Freund is now engaged in an *epoch-making work* dealing with the development of the normal and pathological pelvis, in particular, and of the skeleton, in general. In Dresden he gave a lecture on this that created a sensation. The professors and privy councillors received his brilliant discoveries with a dignified air of superiority, which vexed me. At the close of our section meeting I said a few words in order to emphasise Freund's achievements in a complimentary manner and I asked those who agreed with me to rise. The entire section rose, but—they were perfidious enough to omit this ovation from the minutes of the meeting. When I wanted to insist on its inclusion, Freund intervened himself and said he did not wish it. I believe he now regrets this. This is to make his letter understandable. When his work appears, Engels will, in any case, have to plough through it'.

(It appears you have to plough through everything.)

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> the first volume of *Capital*

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 11 December 1868

Dear Moor,

I return you 2 letters, the most the ENVELOPE can hold, in all haste; I wanted to write to you from the office, but was held up, and the last post will be leaving soon out here.

Nincompoop<sup>a</sup> is extremely charming and tactful. This honourable gentleman appears to need to apply the SNOB-standard everywhere. When you see him, just ask him sometime if he is related to Mr *Hersch Kriminand*, and where the man lives. (This gentleman *exists* and signs himself exactly thus; he lives in Lemberg.) Then you can ask him what Lemberg is called. Polish Lwow, Little Russian and Great Russian ЛЬВОВЪ, that is to say Lvov or Löwenstadt from lev<sup>b</sup>=lion. The Jews translate that as Löwenberg, abbreviated *Lemberg*.

Here we have the finest crisis, and this time *pure* (though only relative) overproduction. The spinners and manufacturers have, for nearly 2 years now, on their own account, been consigning goods unsaleable here to India and China, thus doubly overloading the overloaded markets. This is no longer possible, and they are failing right and left. One of the first victims was *Knowles*, our fatty, who failed not so much because of consignments, but through general corporeal weakness—the 4 brothers had simply *gobbled up* the money.

I call this overproduction *relative* because it only becomes overproduction as a result of the cotton prices, which are still high. Two pence difference would and will suffice to absorb the whole lot lying around. Cotton Middling Orleans today 11d., before the war 6½ d., 7d., 8d., according to season. Thus still 60 to 80% above the old price.

What you say about cotton 1860-61 is not quite so bad.<sup>c</sup> The harvest of 1860 was the largest ever, and the stock at the outbreak

<sup>a</sup> Sigismund Borkheim - <sup>b</sup> Engels gives the Russian word *лев* in Latin letters. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 179.



of the war greater than ever before. We lived on this in 1861 and even 1862, and the highest prices came only in 1863. But this also depended on other things—the effective blockade of the Southern harbours, etc., etc. But there was never any question of 3 years' reserve, that is enormously exaggerated. If you like, I can compile the things for you from the official report (i. e., the LIVERPOOL BROKER ASSOCIATION'S report), and I shall do it in any case before I abandon COMMERCE. Incidentally, you will find a lot in *Watts*.<sup>a</sup>

I expect any day to receive the draft contract with Gottfried Ermen.<sup>b</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 12 December 1868<sup>c</sup>

DEAR FRED,

You will have seen that the ESTIMATE about COTTON relies on a comparison between exports and imports for 1862, 1863, and 1864. The *conclusion* regarding the *stocks of RAW COTTON + COTTON MANUFACTURES* (I believe I forgot the latter addition in the letter to you<sup>d</sup>) available in the UNITED KINGDOM ON 1 JANUARY 1862 thus depends entirely on the correctness of the premisses. The data are based on the report by MESSRS ELLISON AND HAYWOOD. The bare figures are as follows:

<sup>a</sup> J. Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 167 and 170. - <sup>c</sup> In the original mistakenly: 1866. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 179.

*Statistics of Cotton in the United Kingdom 1862, 1863, 1864<sup>a</sup>*

	1862	1863	1864	For 3 years
<i>Import</i>				
thousand of lbs				
Cotton Imported	533,176	691,847	896,770	
Ditto Exported	216,963	260,934	247,194	
Available to Consumption	316,213	430,913	649,576	
Waste in Spinning	53,756	64,637	90,940	
Equal to Production in Yarn	262,457	366,276	558,636	
Total				1,187,369
<i>Export</i>				
[thousand of lbs]				
Yarn	88,554	70,678	71,951 <sup>b</sup>	
Piece goods etc.	324,128	321,561	332,048	
Total	412,682	392,239	403,999 <sup>c</sup>	1,208,320 <sup>d</sup>

The arsenic works excellently. You know that, ABOUT 6 weeks ago, I felt something carbuncular and then re-started imbibing arsenic, and I am still at it. In fact, nothing has appeared except constant small preliminaries, which just as constantly disappear again. For years the business always began in October, and by January was in full bloom. Now it looks as though I shall escape it this year, and that only enough *traces* of the sickness reappeared and are reappearing as were necessary to induce me to take arsenic.

In his latest speech in Edinburgh, in which Huxley again took a more materialist stand than in recent years, he opened up another loophole for himself.<sup>248</sup> As long as we really observe and think, we can never escape materialism. But all this is reduced to the relationship between cause and effect, and 'your great compatriot Hume' has already proved that these categories have nothing in

<sup>a</sup> The table, which Marx gives in English, is from the article 'A Phase of the Cotton Trade during the Civil War', published in *The Economist*, No. 1181, 14 April 1866, p. 447 (signed: J. E.). - <sup>b</sup> Marx mistakenly wrote: 171,951. - <sup>c</sup> Marx mistakenly wrote: 403,399. - <sup>d</sup> In Marx's letter and in *The Economist* mistakenly: 1,208,920.

common with the things in themselves. *Ergo*, it is up to you to believe what you will. *Q.E.D.*

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 12 December 1868

Dear Friend,

I wanted to write to you at greater length, but am prevented from doing so by unforeseen external 'business'. But do not let this keep you from taking up your pen again soon.

The letter from Freund (returned enclosed, with thanks) interested me greatly.<sup>a</sup> It is high time for other people to come forward in Germany than the present 'pillars' of science.

I also return the portrait of Dietzgen.<sup>249</sup> His biography is not quite what I had thought. But I always had a feeling he was 'not a worker like Eccarius'. In fact, the sort of philosophical outlook he has worked out for himself demands a certain calmness and disposable time that the EVERYDAY WORKMAN does not enjoy. I have two very good workers living in New York, A. Vogt, a shoemaker, and Sigfrid Meyer, a mining engineer, both formerly from Berlin. A third worker who could give lectures on my book<sup>b</sup> is *Lochner*, a joiner (COMMON WORKING MAN), who has been here in London ABOUT 15 years.

Tell your dear wife that I never 'suspected' her of serving under Madame General Geck.<sup>c</sup> I queried only in jest.<sup>d</sup> Incidentally, the ladies cannot complain about the '*International*', since it has appointed a lady, Madame Law, as a member of the *General Council*. Joking aside, very great progress was demonstrated at the last congress of the American '*LABOR UNION*',<sup>146</sup> inter alia, by the fact that it treated the women workers with full parity; by contrast, the English, and to an even greater extent the gallant French, are

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 180. - <sup>b</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> Marx refers to Marie Goegg. *Geck* means *dandy*. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 175.

displaying a marked narrowness of spirit in this respect. Everyone who knows anything of history also knows that great social revolutions are impossible without the feminine ferment. Social progress may be measured precisely by the social position of the fair sex (plain ones included).

As far as the 'SETTLEMENT' is concerned, there could never, from the outset, have been any question of my taking over a business before my book was finished. Otherwise I could long have extricated myself from any embarrassing situation. The fact is simply this—but strictly *between us*—that, on the one hand, I made an arrangement with my family; on the other, Engels, without my knowledge, through agreement with his PARTNER about his own income (he is leaving the business in June), has made a SETTLEMENT for me, as a result of which, from next year, I shall be able to work in peace.<sup>a</sup>

With best greetings.

Yours  
K. M.

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2,  
Nr. 11, Stuttgart, 1901-1902

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MARX TO ASHER & CO.<sup>250</sup>

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, not before 12 December 1868]

The only place where a few copies of *Herr Vogt* are still obtainable, is Berlin. At least, there were some to be had a few weeks ago. I shall write there and if a copy can be got, it will be forwarded to 11, Unter den Linden.

Yours truly  
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 32,  
Moscow, 1964

Reproduced from the original

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 169-71.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 13 December 1868

Dear Moor,

If the envelope holds them, I shall send back Meyer and Serno,<sup>251</sup> otherwise tomorrow from the office, where I have larger envelopes.

In Meyer's letter, the juxtaposition of Bohemians and Chinese amused me. Otherwise, his false Jacob-Grimm style is a bit much for me, the art of saying as little as possible with secretive circumlocutions, and putting that little unclearly.

For a Russian, Serno writes remarkably poor French; for his pamphlet<sup>a</sup> he must have had a lot of help. If Nincompoop<sup>b</sup> knew you were corresponding with a Russian! You can then tell him 1. that the name Serno, as a masculine, is impossible in Great Russian since o is a neuter ending, whereas in Little Russian male names ending in o are very frequent, thus the man is no Muscovite but a Ruthenian, a *Maloross*<sup>c</sup>; 2. that he is a born member of the *Brimstone Gang*<sup>252</sup>; *serny*—сѣрный—means sulphurous, from *sera*, sulphur; Solovyevich means son of the nightingale. I am eager to see the sheet published by these people,<sup>d</sup> particularly what sort of a science *he*, Serno, will propound, since he so curses the ignorance of the French. However, such a French journal is always very good, much better than the Belgian Proudhonist sheets.

The story about Nincompoop is very neat.<sup>e</sup>

Only now do I understand what you meant with the cotton business<sup>f</sup>, however, you had omitted that this also included the stocks of yarn and fabrics. But then it must be noted that, to explain things rationally, you must include 1861, when the colossal 4 million crop of 1860 gradually arrived here. How ELLISON & HAYWOOD could omit this<sup>g</sup> is incomprehensible to me, unless the people had a particular business purpose in their statistics. The big

<sup>a</sup> [A. Serno-Solovyevich,] *À propos de la grève. Réponse à M. Goegg* (signed with the pen-name A. Ébéviste). - <sup>b</sup> Sigismund Borkheim - <sup>c</sup> *Maloross* is the Latin transliteration of the Russian *малоросъ* which means Little Russian (i.e. Ukrainian). - <sup>d</sup> *L'Égalité* - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, p. 178. - <sup>f</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179 and 182. - <sup>g</sup> This refers to the item 'A Phase of the Cotton Trade during the Civil War' in *The Economist*, No. 1181, 14 April 1866 (signed: J. E.).

American crop of 1860, which came to England in [18]61, at the time of the PAPER BLOCKADE<sup>253</sup> is the basis of all the later production. I shall see to it that I send you the necessary data on the subject, at least regarding raw cotton. Of course, this in no way changes the fact that, without the American War, there would certainly have been, in 1861-62, an absolutely colossal collapse, this time as the result of pure, unalloyed and unconcealed overproduction.

Weighting with CHINA CLAY (this CHINA lies in Derbyshire and Staffordshire; it is fine potter's earth, and CHINA here means porcelain) has only gained ground *since* 1863-64. For some years it was the secret of a comparative few. Recently, somebody was sentenced to £1,060 DAMAGES because of this, and I hope that, as soon as I am out of the firm, they will also tackle Gottfried on account of the talc-stone he sells as cotton yarn. Tussy may well curse about the yarn when 25 to 30% of it consists of sour meal sweetened with talc-stone.

I am very glad the arsenic was and continues to be so effective.

I wish I were through with the murky business with Gottfried Ermen.<sup>a</sup> I cannot trust the rogue further than I can see him, and have to take all possible precautions. I still haven't even received the draft agreement; he puts the blame on the lawyer, but I blame it on the fact that he himself is still mulling over what additional chicanery for me he can get included in it. Luckily, I possess an epistle from him in which *he himself* makes the relevant proposal to me, and I myself drafted the memorandum given to the lawyer as a basis. But I already note that he is keen for me to take money out of the firm *before* I am quite in the clear with him—then he would have me in his hand and could squeeze me. But as soon as I have the draft, and find it to be FAIRLY DRAWN UP, I shall send you enough for you to pay off your debts and have some CASH IN HAND, and from the New Year the new arrangement will begin. I may come to visit you for a few days myself, but Nincompoop and his consorts must not know of this.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 170.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>174</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

On Saturday evening<sup>a</sup> Ténot (*Paris* and *Provinces*)<sup>b</sup> and the proceedings of the Baudin trial<sup>222</sup> arrived. I am sending you Ténot (*Paris*) and Baudin today. The Ténot (*Provinces*) you will receive in a few days. You can bring the whole lot back yourself, for nobody in the house except me has yet read the things.

In the Ténot (*Paris*) I find little new, except a few details—I have not yet read the *Provinces*. The enormous sensation created by the book in Paris, and in France as a whole, proves a very interesting FACT, namely that the generation that has grown up under Badinguet<sup>c</sup> knew nothing at all about the history of the regime under which it is living. Now the fellows are rubbing their eyes and are quite thunderstruck. If one may *parva componere magnis*,<sup>d</sup> have we not had precisely the same experience in our own way? In Germany the story is spreading, as a remarkable novelty, that Lassalle was only one of our satellites, and that he *did not discover* the 'class struggle'.

I can discover nothing special in the speech by Gambetta,<sup>e</sup> who is now being lionised in France. His manner reminds me strikingly of Michel de Bourges. This Michel also made his name through a political trial. A few months before the February revolution he declared that he had abandoned his belief in 'democracy', since it always turned into 'demagogy'. Of course, this did not prevent him from shining as a *républicain de la veille*<sup>f</sup> after February, and rendering excellent service to Bonaparte, *nolens* or *volens*,<sup>g</sup> particularly in the question of quaestors.<sup>254</sup> He was also MORE OR LESS in contact with the republican 'Plon-Plon'.

I was really delighted to read again IN FULL the deliberations of the '*républicains modérés*', i. e., those seated in the *législative*, in the 10th Arrondissement-Mairie.<sup>255</sup> I believe no similar tragicomedy

<sup>a</sup> 12 December - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 178. - <sup>c</sup> Napoleon III (Badinguet is the name of the stone-mason in whose clothes he escaped from prison in 1846). - <sup>d</sup> compare small and great - <sup>e</sup> L. Gambetta, 'Plaidorie de M. Gambetta, avocat de M. Delescluze. Audience du 14 novembre 1868'. In: *Affaire de la souscription Baudin*, 3 ed., Paris, 1868. - <sup>f</sup> time-honoured republican - <sup>g</sup> willy-nilly

can be found anywhere in world history, at least not carried out in this pure form. The Frankfurt-Stuttgart Parliament<sup>256</sup> is nothing in comparison. The French alone understand how to put on a show, whether it be a convention or a rump parliament of thorough scoundrels.

As for the cotton, I have the import and export lists for 1861, etc., in the RETURNS of the BOARD OF TRADE.<sup>a</sup> The only FACT of importance to me was—and this is certainly unprecedented—that for 3 years nothing was manufactured for the home market (I mean from the *freshly-imported* raw materials during those 3 years, or those only intended to *make up stock*).

Asher, the booksellers here (a BRANCH of the Berlin one, Unter den Linden) have written to me that they need a few COPIES of *Herr Vogt* in Berlin.<sup>b</sup> That infernal Wilhelm,<sup>c</sup> as you know, never answered a very pressing letter I sent him months ago,<sup>84</sup> except to say that he had frittered away the 300 copies turned over to him, but that a few still existed in Berlin. I shall give him another kick today.<sup>84</sup>

Tussychen is enraptured at the prospect of having you here with us, and so is the WHOLE FAMILY. TUSSY IS A FANATICAL PARTISAN OF YOURS, MRS LIZZIE, AND THE 'CONVICTED' NATION.<sup>d</sup> But you must write when.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

In *Balzac's Le Curé de Village* there is this passage:

'Si le produit industriel n'était pas le double en valeur de son prix de revient en argent, le commerce n'existerait pas.'

Qu'en dis-tu?<sup>e</sup>

Since Nincompoop<sup>f</sup> discovered Serno, he does not treat him so severely. He is only astonished that Serno turned to me instead of to him.

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<sup>a</sup> 'Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation for the Year Ended December 31, 1861'. In: *The Economist*, No. 966, 1 March 1862 (supplement). As a separate edition the accounts appeared under the title *Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions in the Year 1861*, London, 1862. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 185 - <sup>c</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 79. - <sup>e</sup> 'If the industrial product did not have twice the value of its production cost in money, commerce would not exist.' What do you say to that? - <sup>f</sup> Sigismund Borkheim



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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 15 December 1868  
Evening, after midnight

DEAR FRED,

Would you please study the enclosed document<sup>257</sup> *seriously*, despite its *fadaise*.<sup>a</sup> *Your marginal notes* should be written for me in *French*, and the stuff itself **returned to me at the latest by SATURDAY NEXT**<sup>b</sup>!

*Mr Bakunin*—in the background of this business—is condescending enough to wish to take the workers' movement under *Russian* leadership.

This shit has been in existence for 2 months. Only this evening did OLD Becker inform the General Council about it in writing. This time Nincompoop<sup>c</sup> is right. As OLD Becker writes, this association should make up for the deficient 'idealism' of our Association. *L'idéalisme Russe!*

There was great anger about the document this evening at the meeting of our *Conseil Général*, particularly among the French. I had known about the shit for a long time. I regarded it as stillborn, and out of consideration for OLD Becker, wanted to let it die a quiet death.

But the business has become more serious than I expected. And consideration for OLD Becker is no longer admissible. This evening the COUNCIL decided to repudiate this INTERLOPING SOCIETY *publicly*—in Paris, New York, Germany and Switzerland. I have been commissioned with drafting the decree of repudiation<sup>d</sup> (for next Tuesday<sup>e</sup>). I regret the whole thing, because of OLD Becker. *Mais*<sup>f</sup> our Association cannot commit SUICIDE because of OLD Becker.

Your  
K. M.

Strohn writes to me from Düsseldorf that his brother Eugen has died suddenly in Hamburg.

<sup>a</sup> absurdity - <sup>b</sup> 19 December - <sup>c</sup> Sigismund Borkheim - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 202. -  
<sup>e</sup> 22 December - <sup>f</sup> But

About the COTTON BANKRUPTCIES in Manchester, etc., can you send me *The Guardian*?

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>174</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 December 1868

Dear Moor,

Best thanks for the Ténot<sup>a</sup> and the Baudin trial.<sup>222</sup> As soon as I have read the latter I shall send them both back. You can keep *Province* there; I have ordered them both at the bookshop; one really must have things of this sort. The complete oblivion of revolutionary-counterrevolutionary causality is a necessary result of every victorious reaction; in Germany the younger generation knows absolutely nothing about '48, except the wretched howls of the *Kreuzzeitung*, which echoed in '49-52 in all the papers; history comes to an abrupt stop there at the end of '47.—The deliberations of the 10th *Mairie* are really exquisite; I had never read such a complete version.<sup>255</sup>

By chance I read E. Strohn's obituary in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. He died of articular rheumatism.

The Geneva document<sup>257</sup> is very naïve. Old man Becker has never been able to refrain from cliquish agitation; wherever 2 or 3 get together, he must be amongst them; yet if you had warned him in good time, he would probably have steered clear of it. Now he will be astonished by the bad effects of his well-meant efforts. It is as clear as daylight that the International cannot get involved in this fraud. Il y aurait deux conseils généraux et même deux congrès; c'est l'Etat dans l'Etat, et dès le premier moment le conflit éclaterait entre le conseil pratique à Londres et le conseil théorique, 'idéaliste', à Genève. Il ne peut y avoir deux corps internationaux (par profession) dans l'Internationale, pas plus que

<sup>a</sup> E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851...* (see this volume, p. 188).

deux conseils généraux. Du reste, qui vous donne le droit de reconnaître un soi-disant bureau central sans mandataires dont les membres appartenants à la même nationalité se constituent (§ 3 du règlement on omet le 'se' et pour cause!) en bureau national de leur pays! Ces messieurs, n'ayant pas de constituants, eux-mêmes exceptés, veulent que l'Internationale se constituât en mandataire pour eux. Si l'Internationale refuse de le faire, qui reconnaîtrait 'le groupe initiateur' autrement dit le 'bureau central' pour ses représentants? Le conseil central de l'Internationale au moins a passé par trois élections successives et tout le monde sait qu'il représente des myriades d'ouvriers; mais ces 'initiateurs'?

Et puis si nous voulons bien faire abstraction de la formalité d'élection, que représentent les noms qui forment ce groupe initiateur? ce groupe qui prétend de se donner 'pour mission spéciale d'étudier les questions politiques et philosophiques etc.'? Ce sera sans doute la science qu'ils représenteront. Nous trouverons parmi eux des hommes dont il est notoire qu'ils ont passé leur vie entière à l'étude de ces questions? Au contraire. Pas un nom dont le porteur ait, jusqu'ici, même osé prétendre à passer pour un homme de science. S'ils sont sans mandats comme représentants de la démocratie sociale, ils le sont encore mille fois plus comme représentants de la science.<sup>a</sup>

The rest you remarked upon in your notes. Like you, I regard

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<sup>a</sup> There would be two General Councils and even two Congresses: this would be a state within the state and, right from the start, conflict would break out between the practical Council in London, and the theoretical, 'idealist', Council in Geneva. In the International there cannot be two (professional) international bodies, any more than two General Councils. Incidentally, who gives you the right to recognise a so-called Central Bureau without mandators, whose members will be of the same nationality and who constitute themselves (in paragraph 3 of the Rules this 'themselves' is omitted, and with good reason!) the national bureau of their country! Since these gentlemen have no mandators except themselves, they wish the International to constitute itself their mandator. If the International refuses to do so, who would recognise the 'initiating group' or, in other words, the 'Central Bureau' as its representatives? The Central Council of the International has passed through at least three successive elections, and the whole world knows that it represents countless workers; but these 'initiators'?

And even if we wished to ignore the formalities of an election, what is represented by the names that make up this initiating group, this group that pretends to have been given 'the special mission to study political and philosophical questions, etc.'? No doubt it is science they will represent. Will we find among them men known to have devoted their whole lives to the study of these questions? On the contrary. There is not a name whose bearer has so far dared as much as to claim to be a man of science. If they are without mandate as representatives of social democracy, they are a thousand times more without mandate as representatives of science.

the business as a stillborn, purely Genevan local growth. It would only be viable if you were to oppose it too violently, and thus gave it importance. I think it would be best calmly but firmly to rebuff these people with their pretensions to sneaking into the International. Apart from this, we should say that they had selected a special field and one would have to wait to see what they make of it and, we should also say that, for the present, there was nothing to stop members of one association from being members of the other. Since the fellows, to put it bluntly, have no other field of activity than *chatter*, they will soon enough bore one another to death, and since it may be expected that they will have no new adherents from outside (given *such* conditions), the whole concern will certainly soon collapse. But if you violently oppose this Russian intrigue, you will unnecessarily arouse the very numerous—particularly in Switzerland—political philistines among the journeymen, and harm the International. With a Russian (and in this case there are 4,<sup>a</sup> not counting the females), with a Russian one must never lose one's TEMPER.

I have never read anything more wretched than the theoretical programme. Siberia, his stomach, and the young Polish woman<sup>b</sup> have made Bakunin a perfect blockhead.

My trip will probably not come to anything before the New Year, the damned draft contract<sup>c</sup> is still not ready.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> M. A. Bakunin, N. I. Zhukovsky, M. K. Elpidin and V. I. Bartenev -

<sup>b</sup> A. K. Bakunina - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 167 and 170.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN BARMEN

Manchester, 18 December 1868<sup>a</sup>

Dear Hermann,

F. Ris in Mittlöden set himself up as N. Dürst Söhne (sons of the Cologner), and moved from there to Zurich. I believe he was formerly with Dürst, and young Dürst, who was here at the time, spoke quite well of him. According to bank information from Glarus, Ris is good for credit of 10,000 frs.

E. Burghardt is the nephew and son-in-law of the Burghardt of Burghardt, Krenels & Co. (former *associé* of Burghardt, Aders & Co.), whom you will know. He set himself up here and went bankrupt certainly once, if not twice, and virtually nothing came of it. Many years ago I sometimes met him at an inn in the evening; since he married I have scarcely seen him at all, and I know absolutely nothing of what he has been doing since then. But what do you want an agent in Munich for?

Tell Mother I still haven't received the draft contract from G. Ermen; he blames the lawyers.<sup>b</sup> The point is that he would like to have me withdraw large sums of money from the business at this moment; then he would have me at his mercy, but we are not as green in the eye as that.

Be so kind as to send me my current account in the course of January, since I would like to pay off the sum owed as soon as I am clear with G. Ermen. You could also say whether I should remit to Funke or there.

If I had wished to drive things with G. Ermen to extremes, that is, risk a breach, and had then had to start something else, I think I *could* have squeezed out about £750 more. But I had absolutely no interest in being tied to jolly old commerce for about another 10 years—and it wouldn't have been worth starting a new business again for a shorter period.

Enclosed—a pile of photographs, of which you could send 2 to Engelskirchen and distribute the remainder there. One of each sort is intended for Mother.

<sup>a</sup> In the original: '1866', a slip of the pen. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 187 and 193.

Heartiest greetings to Mother, your wife and all my brothers and sisters, and have a good time over the holidays.

With best greetings

Your  
Friedrich

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>174</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 19 December 1868<sup>244</sup>

DEAR FRED,

THANKS for your marginal notes!<sup>a</sup> When I wrote to you that evening I was excited. But the next morning there was already a reaction and the decision to treat the matter diplomatically, quite as you advise.

*Ténot's Province* is much better. It contains many new details for us. Had the Parisians held out a couple of days longer, the *Empire* would have been *foutu*.<sup>b</sup> The movement (republican) among the rural population was much bigger than we knew.

Enclosed *Réveil*, the organ of Ledru-Rollin. Delescluze his *âme damnée, républicain de vieille roche, asinus*.<sup>c</sup> He is the provisional government's commissioner who led the Belgians into the *guet-âpens*<sup>d</sup> of Risquons Tout.<sup>258</sup> Thus traitor or arch-ass. Probably the latter.

The stupid idea of the workers who wanted to give a banquet for R. Johnson has been blocked *by us*.<sup>259</sup> Coningsby, whose initiative it was, is a blackguard. This character was on a PLEASURE TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES and was paid by Seward for this London reception for R. Johnson. He is the same WORKMAN who wrote to *The Times* years ago, stating that the workers were politically satisfied and DID NOT WANT THE SUFFRAGE.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 190 and 191-92. - <sup>b</sup> finished - <sup>c</sup> evil spirit, republican of the old guard, jackass - <sup>d</sup> ambush

If you could send me a few £ for the Christmas week now beginning, it would be very welcome.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>260</sup>

IN PARIS

London, 22 December 1868

My dear child,

I wanted to send you together with Rückert<sup>261</sup> a truly delicious book—*Blüthen Morgenländischer Mystik* by Tholuck.<sup>a</sup> *Mais la plus belle fille de France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a.*<sup>b</sup> The book was not to be had in all London. I have ordered it from Germany. You will get it in about 3 weeks.

Tell Lafargue that he must excuse my silence. I was really overworked during the last months, as I wanted to have done with certain studies before the beginning of the New Year. However, *aufgeschoben ist nicht aufgehoben.*<sup>c</sup> Meanwhile tell him that Dr Hunter, excellent as his report<sup>d</sup> is, knows as little as most Englishmen do of the past (social) history of his own country. The degradation of the rural labourers has nothing whatever to do with the Corn Laws of 1815.<sup>262</sup> If he wants to know the real causes which have brought them down to the zero of their present

<sup>a</sup> F. A. Tholuck, *Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik* - <sup>b</sup> But the most beautiful girl of France can only give what she has. - <sup>c</sup> postponed does not mean abandoned - <sup>d</sup> *Public Health, Seventh Report. With Appendix. 1864.* London, 1865. *Public Health. Eighth Report. With Appendix. 1865.* London, 1866. Marx repeatedly quotes these reports in Volume I of *Capital* (see present edition, Vol. 35).

position, you must translate him Ch. VI, Section II (Ursprüngliche Accumulation<sup>a</sup>) of my book.<sup>263</sup>

Happy New Year.

Your most devoted 'Old One'

K. Marx

First published abridged in *Sotheby Parke Bernet und Co.*, 19 April 1977 and in full, in Russian, in *Kommunist*, No. 17, Moscow, 1980

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 23 December 1868

DEAR FRED,

I simply acknowledge—since I must go to the City right away—the receipt of your brilliant CHRISTMAS present. You can imagine what jubilation there was in the house.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> Primitive Accumulation



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## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 28 December 1868

Dear Jung,

Scarcely had you gone when I received a letter from Bakunin<sup>264</sup> assuring me of his special friendship.

From his letter I see that he has once again written at length to De Paepe, in order to lure him into the *Alliance Internationale*.<sup>265</sup> To prevent later MISCHIEF or later complaints about the lack of timely information, you must *dispatch* to De Paepe as soon as possible a COPY of our resolution on the Alliance.<sup>3</sup> Of course, you must tell him, at the same time, that, because of the present state of affairs in Switzerland<sup>266</sup> and in order to avoid any appearance of SCISSION, we do *not* wish to have the resolution *published*, but are confining ourselves to communicating it confidentially to the respective central councils in the various countries.

Do not forget to invite *Applegarth* to the Saturday session in good time.<sup>267</sup> It would probably be good to do the same with *Odger*.

Yours  
K. M.

First published in: G. Jaeckh, *Die Internationale*, Leipzig, 1904

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<sup>3</sup> Karl Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*. See also this volume, pp. 190 and 191-92.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 January 1869

DEAR FRED,

HAPPY NEW YEAR!

From the enclosed letter from Lafargue you will see that I have received a special NEW YEAR'S GIFT—THE DIGNITY OF GRANDFATHER.<sup>a</sup>

From the attached 2 numbers printed *in Paris—Cloche* and *Diable à quatre*—you can see what an arrogant tone prevails there. It should be compared to the language used by the opposition in Prussia! This *petite presse*<sup>b</sup>—and its men included even Rochefort—was the Bonaparte regime's very own product. Now it is the most dangerous weapon against it.

From the enclosed issues of the *Vorbote*<sup>c</sup> you can learn about the scandal in Basle.<sup>266</sup> These bloody fellows—I mean our spokesmen over there—have a talent all their own for making the *International Working Men's Association* responsible for every local QUARREL between MASTER and MEN. At the same time, they neglect to take *any measures* for the event of war, i.e., establishing TRADES UNIONS. Instead they shout the more loudly. The petty cantonal government intervenes. The smallest incident thus becomes important. Then comes an appeal to the International Working Men's Association in general and the London General Council in particular to pay, ON THE SHORTEST NOTICE, the Swiss war costs. And then 'old man' Becker writes<sup>d</sup> that we should not 'compromise' ourselves again, as in the Geneva affair,<sup>16</sup> etc. Soon more about this and the Russian-International intermezzo.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Marx refers to the birth of Charles Étienne Lafargue - <sup>b</sup> little press - <sup>c</sup> *Der Vorbote*, No. 11, November 1868 'Zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation', and No. 12, December 1868, 'Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel'. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 203. - <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-02.

The whole FAMILY sends the COMPLIMENTS OF THE SEASON. Tussy says POOR FRED, HE MUST FEEL RATHER SEEDY BY THIS TIME OF THE YEAR.

*Addio.*

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 3 January 1869

Caro Moro,<sup>a</sup>

Happy New Year! and my best wishes on the occasion of the Paris New Year gift. I expect you and your wife cannot look at each other without laughing about the new dignity.

The Basle business is not quite clear to me from the *Vorbote*,<sup>b</sup> so I am waiting anxiously for the promised additions, and also the further course of the Bakuniad. Bakunin's speeches in the *Kolokol* are very stupid.<sup>c</sup> The fellow does not appear to have learned anything for donkey's years. I was interested to learn from the above that he and Herzen are still in collusion with each other. Hence Herzen must be completely done for, otherwise he would not give up КОЛОКОЛЬ.<sup>d 268</sup> Incidentally, the fellow now writes *un français à lui*,<sup>e</sup> which is quite appalling—and this although the chap lives in a French-speaking country! Bakunin's French is much better.

Thanks for *Cloche* and *Diable à 4*; the arrogance is indeed very

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<sup>a</sup> Dear Moor - <sup>b</sup> See the previous letter. - <sup>c</sup> [M.] Bakounine, 'Discours de Bakounine au deuxième congrès de la paix, à Berne', *Kolokol*, No. 14-15, 1 December 1868. - <sup>d</sup> Engels gives the name in Cyrillic letters. - <sup>e</sup> a French of his own

great. A few Orleanist millions scattered among the generals would now be very desirable.

Best greetings and congratulations to the whole FAMILY.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

London, 13 January 1869

DEAR FRED,

THANKS for the numbers of *Zukunft*. (Thesmar and Georgios Jung!)

I put off writing to you from day to day because of a frightful cold which, for ABOUT 2 WEEKS, has been absolutely besieging my eyes, ears, nose and entire head. Since, however, this damned foggy weather still gives no hope of an early delivery from the evil, I shall wait no longer. Is it so pleasant at your place in Manchester too? Little wonder that SUICIDES are in full blossom here now. Only an Irishman, even in Seven Dials,<sup>269</sup> says THAT 'HE WOULD RATHER COMMIT SUICIDE ON ANY ONE THAN HIMSELF'.

Did the young Th. von Gimborn from Emmerich, manufacturer *in nuce*,<sup>3</sup> present himself to you? It is not quite clear to me what he wants. First, he told me he wanted to go into a factory as a technician for a certain period, SAY half a year, or as a simple worker, in order to study the organisation, etc., of English factory work. Now it is only a question of a 14-day stay in a factory supplying agricultural machinery. Does Gimborn, AFTER ALL, simply wish to discover English factory secrets? He won't find it easy.

Now a short report about the 'international incidents'.

a) '*Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*'<sup>257</sup>: On

<sup>3</sup> budding manufacturer

22 December 1868, a unanimous decision of the General Council which stated: 1. Tous les articles du Règlement de l'Alliance, etc. statuant sur les relations avec l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, sont déclarés nuls et de nul effet; 2. l'Alliance etc. n'est pas admise comme branche de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.<sup>a</sup> The reasoning behind this decision (which I edited), is stated completely in legal form, and shows the conflict between the statutes of the planned Alliance and our Rules,<sup>270</sup> etc. A final *considérant*,<sup>b</sup> which must show old Becker,<sup>c</sup> in particular, his asininity, is that the Brussels Congress<sup>138</sup> already set a precedent with respect to the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté*.<sup>271</sup> With regard to this organisation, which wanted to be recognised by the International Association, the Congress declared: Since the League claims to follow the same principles and to pursue the same aims as the International Association, it has no '*raison d'être*' and, *considérant* this, stated finally, '*plusieurs membres du groupe initiateur de Genève*'<sup>d</sup> also voted in this sense in Brussels.

In the meantime, we have received letters from Brussels, Rouen, Lyon, etc., declaring unconditional support for the General Council decision. Not one voice has been raised in support of *le groupe initiateur de Genève*. That this group did not act quite honestly is clear from the fact they only informed us of their establishment and their activities *after* they had already tried to win over the Brussels people, etc. I regard the matter as closed, though we have not yet received an answer to our 'judgement' from Geneva. The attempt has, in any case, failed.

b) *Ad vocem*<sup>e</sup> Bakunin:

To understand his enclosed letter,<sup>264</sup> you must know the following: *D'abord*,<sup>f</sup> this letter crossed our 'MESSAGE' regarding the 'Alliance'. Bakunin is thus still under the pleasant misapprehension that he will be allowed to go his own way. Further: The Russian Serno was, in his earlier correspondence with Borkheim, decidedly *against* Bakunin. In *my* reply to Serno<sup>84</sup> I wished to use this young man as an informant about Bakunin. Since I trust no Russian, I did it in this form: 'What is my old friend (*I don't know if he still is*) Bakunin doing, etc., etc.' The Russian Serno

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<sup>a</sup> 1. All the articles of the Rules of the Alliance, etc., laying down its relations with the International Working Men's Association, are declared null and void. 2. The Alliance, etc., is not admitted as a branch of the International Working Men's Association. (Cf. K. Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*; see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 36.) - <sup>b</sup> consideration - <sup>c</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>d</sup> 'a number of members of the Geneva initiating group' - <sup>e</sup> regarding - <sup>f</sup> first of all

immediately informed Bakunin of this letter, and Bakunin used it for a sentimental *entréé!*

c) *Ad vocem* OLD Becker:

He has got himself badly stuck. *D'abord* he sends us, dated Geneva, 21 December, a 4-page letter about the Basle business,<sup>a</sup> but without a single *fait précis*.<sup>b</sup> We should, however, act *immediately*. At the same time, he writes to Lessner that we (the General Council) had already 'compromised' ourselves in the Geneva affair, and this should not happen again. Or, he says in these precise words (in his letter to Lessner),

'does the General Council, like God, exist only in the faith of fools?' In Geneva, people only speak of us with a shrug of the shoulders, etc.

Thereupon Becker received the reply from Jung that his 4-page epistle contained *nothing*. How can he expect to receive money in London on the basis of such a vacuum?

In his letter of 21 December, Becker announced a further ELABORATE REPORT. Instead of this we receive the *Vorbote*. You saw for yourself that the *Vorbote* in fact only reported<sup>c</sup> on the 'concluded' LOCKOUT of the RIBBON WEAVERS,<sup>266</sup> and certainly did not make clear how the conflict has developed since. In short, TO THIS VERY MOMENT we know no more than is reported in *Vorbote*. Not only can no step be taken with the TRADES UNIONS on this basis, but it is impossible to publish anything about the affair on behalf of the General Council. We cannot expose ourselves to a reply from the usurers of Basle that we are shouting to the world without knowing the facts.

*Summa summarum*, a week ago the General Council decided to reprimand both Becker and Perret (the *French* correspondent for Geneva) for not providing us to date with the necessary information on the Basle affair. The matter will rest there for the time being. I'm sorry for OLD Becker. But he must realise that we hold the reins, although we refrain from direct intervention as long as possible.

d) STRIKES IN ROUEN, VIENNE, ETC. (COTTONSPINNING<sup>272</sup>):

Are ABOUT 6-7 WEEKS OLD. The interesting thing about the case is that, some time ago, the MASTER-MANUFACTURERS (and SPINNERS) in Amiens held a GENERAL CONGRESS under the chairmanship of the *maire*<sup>d</sup> of Amiens. Here it was decided—on the suggestion of a certain *faiseur*<sup>e</sup> named Vidal, who had hung out in England for a considerable time—that competition should be offered to the English in England, etc. Namely, by establishing *dépôts* for French

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 199-200. - <sup>b</sup> precise fact - <sup>c</sup> 'Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Basel', *Der Vorbote*, No. 12, December 1868 - <sup>d</sup> mayor - <sup>e</sup> intriguer

yarn, etc., in England, both for sale there and to overseas merchants who trade directly with England. And this should be brought about by a *further reduction of WAGES*, after it had already been admitted that, in France itself, assuming the present tariffs, English competition was only being withstood through the low WAGES (relative to the English ones). In fact, *after* this Amiens congress, they began with wage reductions in Rouen, Vienne, etc. HENCE the STRIKES. We have let the people know, through Dupont, about the bad state of business here (especially also the COTTON TRADE), and thus the difficulty of raising money at *this time*. MEANWHILE, as you will see from the enclosed letter (Vienne), the STRIKE in Vienne has come to an end. For the present we have sent to those in Rouen, where the conflict is still going on, a draft for £20 on the Paris bronze-workers, who still owe us this money from their LOCKOUT.<sup>18</sup> Incidentally, these French workers act much more rationally than the Swiss and are, at the same time, much more modest in their demands.

Hoping that your head is not so sneezily and villainously idiotised as mine,

Your  
K. Moro<sup>a</sup>

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 January 1869

Dear Moor,

You must excuse me for replying so late and so briefly, but recently we have had nothing but misfortune at home. Scarcely is Sarah<sup>b</sup> better, than Lizzie gets violent gastric catarrh, which I treated for a long while, and scarcely is this over, and she gets, as

<sup>a</sup> Moor - <sup>b</sup> Sarah Parker

the result of an injury to her toe, an inflammation of the lymph ducts in her foot and leg, which could have become very unpleasant, but is now nearly over—and before she could get up, Mary Ellen<sup>a</sup> returns sick from her parents, where she had spent a few days. What it is I shall only find out tomorrow, since Gumpert will be coming only then: he fears scarlet fever; but, up till now, there has been no sign of a rash. In addition, there have been all sorts of stupid invitations that could not be refused—a lot of work at the office, and you will grasp that I have enough going on.

With best greetings to the ladies.

Your  
F. E.

Did you get the wine that time, and also the *Social-Demokrat* and Ténot,<sup>b</sup> etc.?

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 23 January 1869

DEAR FRED,

We all hope that things are better at 86 MORNINGTON STREET. Scarlet fever is apparently raging throughout England. But perhaps Gumpert has made a mistake with Mary Ellen.<sup>a</sup> TUSSY SENDS HER BEST COMPLIMENTS TO HER AND MRS BURNS.

Here there is a preponderance of coughs and colds. In my case, things were so bad that, for nearly 2 weeks, I was 'puking' regularly, to use the elegant language of Frau Blind. I went out again yesterday for the first time, and today I am smoking A CIGAR as a test.

<sup>a</sup> Mary Ellen Burns - <sup>b</sup> E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851...* (see this volume, pp. 188 and 191).



The enclosed photogram is sent to you by Jennychen, who is also coughing nastily. She asks for the return of Büchner,<sup>a</sup> since she has studied Darwin<sup>b</sup> and now wishes to get acquainted with the great Büchner. The cross (on the photogram of Jenny) is the Polish 1864 Insurrection Cross.<sup>273</sup>

Tussy has taken over sending receipts for the wine, and believes that to date she has done so.

Enclosed are 2 Borkheimiana. So that he can deposit his 'super intellect' somewhere, and not buzz my ears full, I have recommended that he write 'Russian Letters' for *Zukunft*.<sup>274</sup> *Nous verrons*.<sup>c</sup>

I have seen from *The Money Market Review* that Knowles is paying 7s.6d. in the £.<sup>d</sup> How is the old boy doing?

With best greetings to the whole household.

Your  
Moor

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>275</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 January 1869  
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

In all haste, just an announcement that we are all on our feet again, and that, luckily, Gumpert raised a false alarm about scarlet fever. Today I must look carefully through the draft contract with G. Ermen, which I am now getting, so that things may be settled as soon as possible<sup>e</sup>; for this reason, only these few lines today. As soon as I see the way clear and everything has gone so far that no miscarriage may be feared, I shall come to London for a few days.

Best greetings to you all.

Your  
F. E.

<sup>a</sup> L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen*... - <sup>b</sup> Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* - <sup>c</sup> we shall see - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 181. - <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 170.

Since Jenny has been coughing, you must have cancelled immediately the arrangement about giving lessons?<sup>a</sup>

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>275</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 26 January 1869  
7 Southgate

Dear Moor,

Today, at 2 o'clock midday, Ernest Jones died of pneumonia. He had been sick since Thursday<sup>b</sup> and given up by the doctors since Friday.

Another of the old gang!

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 January 1869

DEAR FRED,

The news about E. Jones naturally caused deep dismay in our household, since he was one of our few old friends.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 171. - <sup>b</sup> 21 January

I am sending you 1 *Vorbote* and a small pamphlet I received today from Berlin. The author, who sent it, describes himself on the envelope as a university lecturer in agricultural management.

Jennychen's cough has nearly disappeared. In the past few days I have had another bad attack, but today the business appears to me to have changed into a running cold, and thus be coming to an end.

Liebknecht writes to me that, in Switzerland and Germany, revolts are pending against Becker (OUR OLD ONE<sup>a</sup>) and that a public scandal can *only* be avoided if Becker breaks with Bakunin and abandons his dictatorial behaviour. People are very dissatisfied with his financial management, and his reports on it. Liebknecht wishes me to write *privatim* to Becker, since he is very STUBBORN. But the business is tricky. Wilhelm will go to Vienna in May. The last fifty copies of *Herr Vogt* have been deposited with Kugelmann, on my instructions.

The Gurney affair<sup>227</sup> AMUSES me immensely. I have studied this damned CASE in all the DETAILS, so I found nothing new in the PROCEEDINGS in Mansion House,<sup>b</sup> EXCEPT GREAT Edwards.<sup>c</sup>

You must notify me several days in advance when you are coming here, so I can invite Prof. Beesly for *one* evening.

*Salut.*

Your  
Karlo Moro<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>b</sup> the official residence of the Lord Mayor of London - <sup>c</sup> E. W. Edwards [Speech on 23 January 1869 as a witness at the Overend, Gurney and Co. trial], *The Times*, No. 26343, 25 January 1869 - <sup>d</sup> Moor

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 29 January 1869

Dear Moor,

I at last have a chance to write to you at greater length.

Herr, etc. Gimborn<sup>a</sup> has not presented himself. According to your description, the fellow obviously wants nothing but to indulge in spying industrially.

The Bakunin group of both male and female sex (which difference Bakunin also wants to abolish, i.e., that of the sexes) has probably quietly passed away. The business was of Russian cunning, but still started stupidly; the fox tail showed too clearly and workers, in particular, cannot be caught in this way. Old Becker<sup>b</sup> simply cannot keep his fingers off 'organising', and was just the man to walk into the trap. I am quite ready to believe that he commits other idiocies, but I wish we had a better source than Wilhelm,<sup>c</sup> who simply cannot see facts as they really are. Apropos, Wilhelm has not sent me his sheet<sup>d</sup> any more since New Year; if he thinks I'm going to pay for it, he is making a big mistake. I am really glad not to be instructed every week that we may not make a revolution until the Federal Diet, the blind Guelph<sup>e</sup> and the honorable Elector of Hesse<sup>f</sup> are restored, and terrible and legitimate revenge wreaked upon Bismarck the godless.

The Basle story is very nice.<sup>266</sup> Altogether things are marching ahead well in Switzerland. Of course, the affair is significant only because everything which is more or less suppressed on the rest of the Continent appears there in the light of day. But that is in itself very good. And direct legislation by the people makes sense there, because the direct or indirect domination of the bourgeoisie should be countered on the legislative councils.<sup>276</sup> Since the Swiss workers virtually did not exist as a political party of their own until the Geneva STRIKE,<sup>16</sup> but were simply the tail of the radical bourgeoisie, they elected only radical bourgeois to the councils. On the other hand, the elected peasants could also be managed easily

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 201. - <sup>b</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>c</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>d</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>e</sup> George V - <sup>f</sup> Ludwig III

by the educated bourgeois. For small cantons, this may be quite satisfactory, but it naturally immediately becomes superfluous and a hindrance as soon as the proletariat enters the movement en masse and begins to dominate it.

A nice feature of the Basle strike is the contributions from Austria as far as Temesvár. It is inexcusable how old Becker has squandered this business with his wild declarations.<sup>a</sup>

Have only glanced at the Vogt pamphlet,<sup>b</sup> seen that he has the horse descended from the flea. If this is so, from whom is the jackass who wrote this pamphlet descended?

Today I am sending you back the copies of *Social-Demokrat*, etc., together with some copies of *Zukunft*.

It is very good that there are still 50 copies of *Herr Vogt* with Kugelmann. When Vogt lectures again in Berlin, Kugelmann must send some there, and *advertise it in the newspapers*. I bet that will drive him away.

Sam Moore is now busily studying the first part of your Duncker,<sup>c</sup> and he understands it quite well. He has completely grasped the dialectical stuff on money theory, etc., and declares it the best thing in the whole book, THEORETICALLY SPEAKING.

The business with good old Gottfried<sup>d</sup> is dragging on and on.<sup>e</sup> If I can manage it somehow, I shall come to London next Thursday<sup>f</sup> evening and stay until Sunday evening.

The photograph gave great pleasure.<sup>g</sup>

Gumpert has the Büchner<sup>h</sup>; I shall pick it up in the next few days; I fight shy of his wife, who is becoming increasingly philistine.

You must give it to the Lassalleans that they understand agitation in quite a different way from our good old Wilhelm and his boors of the People's Party.<sup>277</sup> This is very disagreeable, since they appear to outflank Wilhelm and Bebel completely, and the masses are so enormously stupid, and the leaders a bunch of blackguards.

Tomorrow Jones will be buried with an enormous procession in the same churchyard where Lupus lies. It is a real pity about the man. After all, his bourgeois phrases were simply hypocrisy, and here in Manchester there is nobody who can replace him with the workers. The people here will break up completely and trail more

<sup>a</sup> Engels is referring to the information on contributions for Basle workers, published in *Der Vorbote*, No. 1, January 1869, pp. 12-13. - <sup>b</sup> Ch. Vogt, *Mémoire sur les microcéphales ou hommes-singes*.. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - <sup>d</sup> Gottfried Ermen - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 167, 170, 206. - <sup>f</sup> 4 February - <sup>g</sup> See this volume, p. 206. - <sup>h</sup> L. Büchner, *Sechs Vorlesungen*...

than ever behind the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, amongst the politicians, he was the only *educated* Englishman who was, *au fond*,<sup>a</sup> completely on our side.

Apropos Beesly: How are things regarding the article for the *Westminster*?<sup>b</sup> Strike while the iron is hot.

I still have something of a cold. With weather like this, there is no end to it. I hope you are better now, too.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls. HOW IS MRS LAFARGUE AND BABY?<sup>c</sup>

Your  
F. E.

That the Russian<sup>d</sup> from the start announces 'Marx, K., *Works*, Volume I',<sup>e</sup> is also good.

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MARX TO ENGELS  
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 January 1869

DEAR FRED,

Eichhoff's brother<sup>f</sup> wanted to reprint *my* '18th Brumaire' (and pay for it).

Accordingly, I thought it necessary to write to Meissner,<sup>g</sup> to ask, as it were, for his authorisation for this (he does not like pamphlets). He writes that nobody but he may print the pamphlet, since he is my publisher *ex officio*,<sup>g</sup> and wishes to remain such. The stuff should be sent to him direct, after minor alterations.<sup>278</sup>

QUESTION: can you get me a COPY of *Louis Bonaparte*? Wasn't there a copy amongst Lupus' estate?<sup>279</sup>

Your  
K. M.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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

<sup>a</sup> basically - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 138, 141. - <sup>c</sup> Charles Étienne - <sup>d</sup> N. F. Danielson - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 121, 123-25. - <sup>f</sup> Albert Eichhoff - <sup>g</sup> by virtue of office

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## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 4 February 1869

Dear Emil,

I have just received from Mother the sad news that our dear Marie Bartels died of scarlet fever on Monday<sup>a</sup> evening. The news moved and shocked me deeply. I had watched her, and all your children, growing up from the start more than the children of my other brothers and sisters, accordingly my attachment to her was livelier and warmer; I saw her last at her wedding, when she was so extremely happy and could look forward to a long succession of happy years; and now all this has come to an end. What must be the feelings of you and Marien,<sup>b</sup> of poor Robert<sup>c</sup> with his two small children! For twenty years you and Marie have been so blessed by happiness, have had so little opportunity to taste the tragic face of life, that such a stroke out of a clear sky must hit you doubly hard. In such cases words of consolation are no help; one must weep oneself dry like a child, till time heals the wounds. I am not writing to console you, but only because I know that it is a comfort to receive expressions of sympathy from those from whom one may expect them. And this sympathy and this compassion I send you, please believe me, with all my heart.

Greet Marie, poor Robert, and all your children most heartily from me.

From my heart

Your  
Friedrich

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<sup>a</sup> 1 February - <sup>b</sup> Marie Blank - <sup>c</sup> Robert Bartels

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 11 February 1869

Dear Friend,

The delay in this letter may be ascribed to two circumstances. First, the damned foggy weather here—*NOTHING BUT MIST*—has loaded me with a nearly four-week quite extraordinarily vicious influenza. Second, I had the enclosed photograms<sup>a</sup> taken at least 7 weeks ago but, as a result of this very weather and atmospheric darkness, the things could only be printed from the plate very recently.

The enclosed letter from A. Ruge<sup>b</sup> has been received by my friend Strohn in Bradford, from one of his business friends. Ruge obviously could not resist the 'negation of the negation'. You must return the letter to me immediately, since Strohn must return it to the addressee.

THE TREASURER OF OUR GENERAL COUNCIL here—Cowell Stepney, a very rich and distinguished man, but completely devoted to the workers' cause, though in a somewhat eccentric way—enquired of a friend in Bonn about literature (German) on the labour question and socialism. He sent him, *en réponse*,<sup>c</sup> a summary (written) made by Dr Held, Professor of Political Economy at Bonn. His comments show the tremendous narrow-mindedness of these learned mandarins. Writing about me and Engels, he (Held) states:

'Engels. "*The Condition of the Working Class*" etc., the best product of German socialist-communist literature.' 'Closely connected with Engels is Karl Marx. He is the author of the most scientific and learned work which socialism as a whole has to show, *Capital* etc. Although only recently published, this book is still an echo (!) of the movement before 1848. That is why I mention it here in connection with Engels. The work is, at the same time, (!) of great interest for the present since (!!) one may study here the source from which Lassalle drew his basic ideas.'

A nice place to find oneself!

A lecturer of political economy at a German university writes to me that I have thoroughly convinced him, but—but his position enjoins him, 'like other colleagues', *not to express* his conviction.

This cowardice on the part of the specialist mandarins, on the

<sup>a</sup> The reference is to the photograph of Marx and his eldest daughter Jenny (1869). See also this volume, p. 206. - <sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 542. - <sup>c</sup> in reply



one hand, and the conspiracy of silence of the bourgeois and reactionary press, on the other, is doing me great damage. Meissner writes that the accounts at the autumn fair are unfavourable. He is still 200 thalers *below* his costs. He adds: If only half that which Kugelman has done for Hanover had been done in a few larger places like Berlin, we should already have a second edition.

I became a grandfather on 1 January; A LITTLE BOY<sup>a</sup> was the New Year gift. Lafargue has finally managed it to have himself excused 3 examinations and only has to take another two in France.

With best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen,

Yours  
K. M.

The cross my eldest daughter Jenny is wearing in the photogram is a Polish Insurrection Cross of 1864.<sup>273</sup>

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 12, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters of Marx to Kugelman), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 13 February 1869

DEAR FRED,

THANKS for the copies of *Zukunft*.

Enclosed is a letter from Lugau,<sup>280</sup> together with the fellows' statutes, etc.<sup>b</sup> Since I am, at the moment, very occupied with my book,<sup>c</sup> and have actually started work again after a feverish-cold interruption of several weeks, it would be very good—supposing your time is not completely taken up either—if you could make me a short report on the enclosed documents<sup>281</sup> (if possible in English, for communication to the GENERAL COUNCIL). These good

<sup>a</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 172. - <sup>c</sup> *Capital*

mineworkers in Lugau are the first in Germany to communicate with us directly, and we must take a public stand on their behalf.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

Send me the stuff back as soon you no longer need it.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 15 February 1869

DEAR FRED,

Herewith the story about the LOANS under Westbury, etc. You can keep the booklet, but you must send me back the enclosed English letter. I told Borkheim I needed the information for an *acquaintance in Holland*.

Don't forget to let me have Foster's *FOREIGN EXCHANGES*<sup>a</sup> AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. I shall return it immediately after reading it. The book cannot be obtained here.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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<sup>a</sup> J. L. Foster, *An Essay on the Principle of Commercial Exchanges...*

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## MARX TO PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

London, 15 February 1869

Dear Paul and beloved Cacadou,

You know Falstaff's opinion of old men. They are all of them cynics.<sup>a</sup> So you will not be astonished at my passing over that stubborn fact—my prolonged silence. I jump at once into *medias res*,<sup>b</sup> turning the back to the sins of the past.

In the first instance, I must frankly tell you that I feel much anxiety as to Laura's health. Her prolonged sequestration I know not how to account for.<sup>c</sup> Her invisibility to my friends, such as Dupont, stimulates my misgivings. So soon as certain arrangements permit, I shall come over for the single purpose of having a look at my child. After the publication of *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*,<sup>d</sup> I might not be quite safe at Paris. Do not, in your letters, drop any hint as to my secret plan.

I feel much obliged to little Fouchtra<sup>e</sup> who tries his best at keeping his Grandfather up in the literature of the day. Vermorel's book<sup>f</sup> has much amused me. I generally concur in his appreciation of the persons that played in 1848 a part natural selection had not meant them for. Some men he treats too seriously, f.i. Odilon Barrot, *la nullité grave*.<sup>g</sup> What he lacks, is the knowledge of the finer *nuances de classe* represented, more or less unconsciously, as in the case of Ledru-Rollin, by those provisional,<sup>h</sup> but not providential men. *Il y a quelque chose qui cloche*<sup>i</sup>—his continuous attempt at revindicating, and in a very clever way too, that strange mixture of the *chevalier d'industrie*,<sup>j</sup> the utopian, and the critic. I have named *E. Girardin*. As to his criticism, not of men, but of measures, *l'ignorance et l'arrogance Proudhoniennes* peep out at every instant.

As to the *ouvrier artiste*, he is not my man. The only thing I like,

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<sup>a</sup> Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part II, Act III, Scene 2 - <sup>b</sup> the crux of the matter (Horace, *De Arte Poetica*) - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 243. - <sup>d</sup> The reference is to the second edition of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>e</sup> Marx is referring to Charles Étienne Lafargue - <sup>f</sup> A. Vermorel, *Les Hommes de 1848* - <sup>g</sup> absolute nonentity - <sup>h</sup> The reference is to Ledru-Rollin and other members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic of 1848. - <sup>i</sup> There are some things that don't go well. - <sup>j</sup> adventurer

is the portrait of Blanqui which I have sent to Beesly, to cure him of the strange prejudices he has imbibed in the book of that *vieille cocotte*, Daniel Stern.<sup>a</sup> When we had him at dinner, he naively asked me whether Blanqui was not one of those *irrespectable* men, like Bradlaugh. I could not but chuckle in my sleeves at this truly John Bullian appreciation of revolutionary characters. I asked him, whether his hero, Catiline,<sup>b</sup> had been a 'respectable' man?

The thing that amuses me most in *Le Peuple* is the circumstance—a good sample of historical irony—that these learned Proudhonians are forced to come out as *gens de lettre*,<sup>c</sup> a part which they despise so much, and which, nevertheless, is their only true rôle, the only thing they are fit for.

As to Paul's lively narration of his adventure with Mlle Royer,<sup>282</sup> it has tickled Engels and my humble self. I was not at all astonished at his failure. He will remember that, having read her preface to Darwin,<sup>d</sup> I told him at once she was a bourgeois. Darwin was led by the struggle for life in English society—the competition of all with all, *bellum omnium contra omnes*<sup>e</sup>—to discover competition to [...] as the ruling law of 'bestial' and vegetative life. The Darwinism,<sup>f</sup> conversely, considers this a conclusive reason for human society never to emancipate itself from its bestiality.

As to *La Misère de la Philosophie*, I do really not see what I can further do in this affair. The mass has been spoilt from the beginning. The books ought to have been thankfully received at once, but it is now too late to mend. I have written to Meissner<sup>84</sup> to look after Vogler, but we will hardly gain anything by finding out that vagabond. The worst is that Vieweg not only keeps, but sequestrates the book. If he advertises it anew, at 2 fcs per piece, he might sell it—perhaps. Lafargue ought to speak with him in that sense.<sup>204</sup>

I fear I cannot do much for the new paper contemplated.<sup>283</sup> At all events, I shall try my best. Cowell Stepney will never advance £12,000. He is a well-meaning fool who fritters away his means in a most grotesque way. The *Social Economist*, a most stupid publication by old Holyoake, who is his own Cromwell—lives upon Stepney's pocket. There is no sham philanthropical pie he has not his hand, or rather his pocket, in. So, if you want him to

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<sup>a</sup> D. Stern, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* - <sup>b</sup> Marx is referring to Beesly's article 'Catiline as a Party Leader', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. I, 15 May-1 August 1865. - <sup>c</sup> men of letters - <sup>d</sup> Ch. Darwin, *De l'origine des espèces ou des lois du progrès chez les êtres organisés...* - <sup>e</sup> the war of all against all (Th. Hobbes, *Leviathan...*, Ch. 13) - <sup>f</sup> Marx is referring to social Darwinism.

come out on a larger scale, he has neither the will nor the power to do so.

Our International makes great strides in Germany. Our new plan, proposed by myself, to allow only individual membership, and sell at 1d the cards, on whose back our principles are printed in German, French and English—works well. Jung becomes every day more and more a little master. The unctious, affectation, and self-importance with which he drops his golden words and spins his long narrative yarn, grow really insupportable. So Dupont told him, adding that he (Jung) was even given, while speaking, to the habitude of putting his hands in his pockets and making jingle his purse. But he is really not so bad as that.

The old acquaintance of mine—the Russian Bakunin—had started a little nice conspiracy against the International. Having fallen out with and seceded from, the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté*, on their last Berne Congress,<sup>284</sup> he entered the *Romande* Section of our Association at Geneva. He very soon inveigled brave old Becker,<sup>a</sup> always anxious for action, for something stirring, but of no very critical cast of mind, an enthusiast like Garibaldi, easily led away. Well, Bakunin hatched the plan of *L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, which was to form at the same time a branch of our International, and a new independent International Association 'with the special mission to elaborate the higher philosophical etc. principles'<sup>b</sup> of the proletarian movement, and, in point of fact, would, by a clever trick, have placed our society under the guidance and supreme initiative of the Russian Bakunin. The way in which they set to business, was quite characteristic. They sent their new programme,<sup>257</sup> with old Becker's name at the head of the signatures—and they sent emissaries too—behind our back, to Paris, Brussels, etc. Only in the last moment, they communicated the documents to the London General Council. By a formal judgment<sup>c</sup> we annulled and stifled the Muscovite nursling. All our branches approved the decision. Of course, old Becker bears me now a grudge (and so does Schily on his account), but with all my personal friendship for Becker I could not allow this first attempt at disorganising our society to succeed.

Has Dupont told you that gallant Vésinier has been expelled from the illustrious French Branch as a calumniator vile and

<sup>a</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>b</sup> Marx is quoting *Programme et Règlement de l'Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste* (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 207). - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* (see also this volume, pp. 190-93, 202).

base?<sup>a</sup> *En revanche*,<sup>b</sup> he has become the acknowledged hero of *La Cigale*, which has openly turned against 'l'équivoque Conseil Général à Londres et ses acolytes à Bruxelles'.<sup>c</sup>

And now, my dear children, farewell, kiss little Fouchtra<sup>d</sup> in my name, and remember

Old Nick

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 17 February 1869

Dear Moor,

I shall have the report<sup>281</sup> READY for you by next Tuesday,<sup>c</sup> though I don't know what interests you mainly. Enclosed is a letter from Lugau.<sup>280</sup>

Best thanks for the Westbury story.<sup>f</sup> I return, enclosed, the letter to Borkheim. I shall ask my SHAREBROKER about it.

Enclosed is the extract made by the illustrious Gaudissart<sup>g</sup> about Bakunin,<sup>285</sup> together with annotations. You see that the main strong passages, which he quoted to us in Russian, only exist in his imagination. Still, the Pan-Slavism is really spread rather too thickly, in particular the threats against the Poles are significant. And the dissolution of the Russian Empire is qualified by the fact that Great Russia should still become the centre of the Slav confederation.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 102. - <sup>b</sup> in return - <sup>c</sup> 'the ambiguity of the London General Council and its accomplices in Brussels' - <sup>d</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue - <sup>e</sup> 23 February - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, p. 215. - <sup>g</sup> Sigismund Borkheim

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## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 17 February 1869

Dear Jung,

Enclosed—the German.<sup>a</sup>

The letter from Lafargue to you, and letter to Stepney. I think it would be better not to deliver the latter, but do send Stepney enclosed Programme.<sup>b</sup> He will probably contribute something.<sup>283</sup>

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 February 1869

Dear Moor,

Thanks very much for the pipe, which will be tried out right away this evening.

Here is the report.<sup>281</sup> The things themselves I shall return to you tomorrow. Such miners' guilds, taken over from mediaeval times—the humbug of the Middle Ages still clings to them in their 'accoutrements and parade rules, mining festivals and church parades'—still operate in all German mines.

Since Liebknecht's sheet<sup>c</sup> is, after all, the gazette for these Lugaunans, you might send the report on to Wilhelm for

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 214-15. - <sup>b</sup> *Pour paraître le 24 février [18]69. La Renaissance. Journal politique hebdomadaire* - <sup>c</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

translation, once you have read it, but on the explicit condition that it is *not* spread *over more than 2 nos.* Otherwise it is no use. He can send the original back to you if you need it again.

I hear from Wehner that the bad behaviour of the Prussian police in Hanover is becoming steadily worse; letters opened every day, particularly those of Hanoverian officers who have entered the service of Saxony. But, of course, what does one expect Stieber to do with the 400,000 thalers of secret funds that the Prussian Chamber voted him from the ex-princes' income!<sup>36</sup>

Your

F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 February 1869

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE REPORT.<sup>281</sup> It is transparently clear. I have changed nothing, except to strike out the final sentence (or rather some words of it). Yesterday read out in the Central Council.<sup>73</sup> Adopted. Will be sent first to *The Times* (or rather taken there by Eccarius). If they don't take it, then to *The Daily News*. Then the English press cutting will be sent to *Zukunft*, *Social-Demokrat* and *Wilhelm*.<sup>a</sup> The POOR DEVILS of Lugau will have the great satisfaction of being mentioned in the English press.

Enclosed RESOLUTIONS,<sup>b</sup> etc., 6 in all. The circumstances are as follows. The resolution of the Congress (Brussels)<sup>138</sup> obliged us to have the Brussels resolutions printed.<sup>226</sup> Using the excuse that the Geneva resolutions form part of the PLATFORM, we have printed, at the same time, *part* of what was tabled at the Geneva congress<sup>143</sup> by the London Central Council and adopted by the Geneva

<sup>a</sup> i.e., to *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>b</sup> *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868*



congress, omitting the amendments, etc., proposed by the French in Geneva and *also* adopted—rubbishy stuff. Thus, this portion is written by me. On the other hand, I had no part in drafting the 1868 RESOLUTIONS. The only phrase from me verbatim is the FIRST CONSIDERING 'ON THE EFFECTS OF MACHINERY'.<sup>a</sup>

That Bakunin should lay claim to the 'Slav' brothers in Courland and Livonia is great. Neither are his CLAIMS ON Silesia bad.<sup>b</sup>

What about Foster, EXCHANGES?<sup>c</sup>

Meissner is a fine fellow; I sent him, a few days *before* your visit to London,<sup>286</sup> a copy of *Louis Bonaparte*.<sup>d</sup> Asked for *immediate* notification.<sup>84</sup> No word yet.

Wilhelm remains unchangeably the same. He wrote to me that he had sent 50 or 60 copies<sup>e</sup> to Kugelmann, but Kugelmann in fact has received only 6 copies!

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 February 1869

Dear Moor,

I have just sent Borkheim a CHEQUE for £162.10, of which £100 is to pay off his advance and £62.10 is for you, which makes, together with the £25 brought to you, the sum of £87.10=1/4 of £350. At the beginning of March, or as soon as I possibly can in

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *Draft Resolution on the Consequences of Using Machinery under Capitalism Proposed by the General Council to the Brussels Congress* (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 9). - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 219. - <sup>c</sup> J. L. Foster, *An Essay on the Principle of Commercial Exchanges...* (see also this volume, p. 215). - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*

March, you will get a further £87.10, then again at the beginning of July, etc.

I *hope* the English press will take the report,<sup>281</sup> but I am firmly convinced that it will not, and that, in the last resort, only *The Bee-Hive* will remain. At best the fellows will make huge cuts.

I have not yet read the resolutions.<sup>226</sup> But at first glance one is surprised that the 1867 Lausanne resolutions are not reprinted also.

NB. about the money: I only had the choice of sending it *through Borkheim* or else in some other way, which would cause gossip here in the office; I preferred the lesser evil. In future this will naturally not happen again.

The final sentence in the report<sup>a</sup> was, of course, aimed only at Liebknecht's sheet<sup>b</sup> and the public.

Foster ON EXCHANGES is being sent to you today by GLOBE PARCEL EXPRESS, since the BOOKPOST is not certain enough for an irreplaceable book. If you have *not* received it by Saturday<sup>c</sup> morning, you must immediately complain to GLOBE PARCEL EXPRESS, 150 Cheapside or 150 Leadenhall STREET. Best you should return it the same way. Even by MAIL TRAIN, the GLOBE is much the cheapest way to send *larger* consignments of books.

Regarding the copies, I would immediately haul Wilhelm over the coals, and categorically demand information. The same with Meissner. The fellow has obviously had second thoughts, but since Eichhoff is ready to print, he must decide *oui ou non*.<sup>d</sup>

Nothing but rain here.

Apropos, I have written to Borkheim about Bakunin<sup>84</sup> that *he* should raise the question as to whether it is in any way possible for us Westerners to cooperate with this Pan-Slav pack while the fellows preach their Slav supremacy; he will probably read this to you tomorrow<sup>285</sup> when you collect the money—but, in addition, I told him he should discuss the matter with you.

Best greetings to the household.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Report on the Miners' Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony* (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 39; see also this volume, Note 281). - <sup>b</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>c</sup> 27 February - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 211 and 222.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>34</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 1 March 1869

Enclosed 2 *Lanternes* and 1 *Réveil*

DEAR FRED,

THANKS for the MONEY. Paid out by Borkheim on Saturday.<sup>a</sup> He read me your letter<sup>84</sup> and then his answer. He is very proud supposedly to have been able to prove that you muddle up genders (which apparently often happens with you).

Ditto received Foster on Saturday evening. The book is indeed important for its time. First, because Ricardo's theory is fully developed in it, and better than in Ricardo—on money, rate of exchange, etc.<sup>b</sup> Second, because you can see here how those jackasses, BANK OF ENGLAND, COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY,<sup>287</sup> the theoreticians racked their brains over the problem: ENGLAND DEBTOR TO IRELAND. Despite the fact that the rate of exchange is always against Ireland, and money is exported from Ireland to England. Foster solves the puzzle for them: it is the depreciation of Irish paper money. In fact, two years earlier than him (1802), Blake had fully explained this difference between the *nominal* and the *real* rate of exchange, about which, incidentally, Petty<sup>288</sup> had said everything necessary—but after him this business was forgotten once again.

The Irish amnesty<sup>289</sup> is the paltriest of its kind ever seen. *D'abord*,<sup>c</sup> most of those amnestied had almost served the term after which all PENAL SERVITUDE MEN are released on TICKETS OF LEAVE. And second, the chief ringleaders have been kept inside 'because' Fenianism<sup>86</sup> is of 'American' origin, and thus all the more criminal. It is precisely for this reason that YANKEE-IRISHMEN like Costello are released and the ANGLO-IRISH are kept under lock and key.

If ever a mountain gave birth to a mouse, it was this ministry of ALL TALENTS,<sup>290</sup> indeed in every respect.

I sent you earlier the report of Pollock and Knox<sup>d</sup> (the same lousy London police magistrate, a former *Times* man, who so

<sup>a</sup> 27 February - <sup>b</sup> Marx is referring to Ricardo's book *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation...* - <sup>c</sup> firstly - <sup>d</sup> [A. Knox, G. D. Pollock] *Report of the Commissioners on the Treatment of the Treason-Felony Convicts in the English Convict Prisons*

distinguished himself in the Hyde Park affair) on the treatment of Irish 'CONVICTS' in England. One of the 'CONVICTS' has exposed, in *The Irishman*, John Bull's unprecedented infamies and the lies of that blockhead Knox.

Since Laura's health is not quite as good as we thought, I had intended to go to Paris for a few days next week. I had written to Lafargue about it.<sup>a</sup> As a result, an unknown man, i.e., a police agent, asked him whether Monsieur Marx had arrived yet. He had for him '*une communication à faire*'.<sup>b</sup> How well the inviolability of the post is preserved in Paris—still! Now I am not going.

Lafargue has been excused 3 of the 5 examinations (French), and received permission, or rather instructions, to take the 2 remaining ones in Strasbourg. Meanwhile, he appears to me to be too absorbed in POLITICS, which can become nasty, since his friends are a lot of Blanquists. I shall warn him. He should pass his examinations first.

The *coterie*<sup>c</sup> he keeps you can see from the enclosed prospectus.<sup>283</sup> What they lack is £250 security. This has a good side to it. It has emancipated Lafargue from Moilin, AS FOLLOWS:

'J'avais parlé à Moilin pour le cautionnement; il avait promis de le donner, mais au dernier moment il a refusé, si on ne voulait le nommer rédacteur en chef. Il n'a pas dit la chose, mais il l'a laissé entrevoir. Tridon m'a dit: Moilin est un diplomate, et il d'ailleurs la tête de Fouché; ainsi il [ne] faut jamais se fâcher avec lui: il faut le sonder, savoir ce qu'il veut, pour se tenir toujours en garde envers lui.'<sup>d</sup>

With regard to my book against Proudhon,<sup>e</sup> Lafargue writes:

'Blanqui en a un exemplaire et le prête à tous ses amis. Ainsi Tridon, l'a lu et a été heureux de voir de quelle façon il Moro a roulé Proudhon. Blanqui a la plus grande estime pour vous... Il a trouvé pour Proudhon le mot le plus joli que je connaisse, il l'appelle un hygromètre.'<sup>f</sup>

After John Bull had compromised himself so nicely with the concessions he made in the Alabama Treaty,<sup>291</sup> Uncle Sam has now kicked him in the behind. This is entirely the *work of the Irish in America*, as I have convinced myself from the Yankee papers.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 216. - <sup>b</sup> 'a communication to make' - <sup>c</sup> company - <sup>d</sup> 'I spoke to Moilin about the security; he promised to give it but, at the last moment, refused unless he were named editor. He did not say this, but allowed it to be understood. Tridon told me: Moilin is a diplomat and, incidentally, has the head of Fouché; so one should never quarrel with him: one has to sound him out, know what he wants, in order always to be on guard against him.' - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* - <sup>f</sup> 'Blanqui has a copy of it and lends it to all his friends. So Tridon read it, and was happy to see how il Moro had disposed of Proudhon. Blanqui has the greatest respect for you... He has found the best name I know for Proudhon; he calls him a hygrometer.'

Perhaps Prof. Beesly will realise that the Irish in the United States are not=0.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

As a comparative philologist, you may find forms of interest to you in the following extract from an early 16th<sup>a</sup>-century Scottish chronicle<sup>292</sup> about the death of the DUKE OF ROTHESAY (SON OF KING Robert III):

'Be quhais deith, succedit gret displeisir to hir son, David Duk of Rothesay: for, during hir life, he wes haldin in virtews and honest occupatioun: eftir hir deith' (namely Queen Annabella) 'he began to rage in all maner of insolence: and fulyeit virginis, matronis, and nunnis, be his unbridillit lust. At last, King Robert, informit of his young and insolent maneris, send letteris to his brothir, the Duk of Albany, to intertene his said son, the Duk of Rothesay, and to leir him honest and civill maneris. The Duk of Albany, glaid of thir writtingis, tuk the Duk of Rothesay betwix Dundee and Sanct Androis, and brocht him to Falkland, and inclusit him in the tour theirof, but ony meit or drink. It is said, ane woman, havand commiseratioun on this Duk, leit meill fall daun throw the loftis of the toure: be quhilkis, his life wes certane dayis savit. This woman, fra it wes knawin, wes put to deith. On the same maner, ane othir woman gaif him milk of hir paup, throw ane lang reid; and wes slane with gret cruelte, fra it wes knawin. Than wes the Duk destitute of all mortall supplee; and brocht, finalie, to sa miserable and hungry appetite, that he eit, nocht allanerlie the filth of the toure quhare he wes, bot his awin fingeris: to his gret marterdome. His body wes beryit in Lndonis, and kithit miraklis mony yeris eftir; quhil, at last, King James the First began to punis his slayaris: and fra that time furth, the miraklis ceissit.'

*The Times* does not seem to be publishing the REPORT.<sup>281</sup> But as *dernière instance*<sup>b</sup> there is *The Morning Advertiser*, which publishes everything out of stupidity.

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<sup>a</sup> The original mistakenly has '15th'. - <sup>b</sup> last resort

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

You must either send me the booklet from Lugau—or, better still, send me *in German* the paragraphs of the rules that you quote.<sup>281</sup>

I shall translate the stuff myself, since I do not regard Wilhelm<sup>a</sup> as competent and also because I do not wish to hand over the affair to him alone.<sup>b</sup>

Your  
K. M.

Apropos. A PAMPHLET, WRITTEN BY A PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT, ADDRESSED TO MR Gladstone<sup>c</sup> states that at least 1/10 of the LIFE ASSURANCE CO'S (the whole BUSINESS IN LIFE ASSURANCE has a nominal capital of £100 million) is *bankrupt* and IS NOT WORTH THE PAPER UPON WHICH THEY PRINT THEIR ADVERTISEMENTS.

What will the bourgeois gentlemen say to this, those gentlemen who were so very very delighted about the PROSPECTIVE BANKRUPTCY (in 20 years or so) of the TRADES UNIONS?

They will keep their mouths shut.

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<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 220-21. - <sup>c</sup> *An Actuary. Life Assurance Companies: their Financial Condition. Discussed, with Reference to Impending Legislation, in a Letter Addressed to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P., First Lord of the Treasury*, p. 6.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 3 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

*Iterum Crispinus!*<sup>a</sup>Our valued Wilhelm<sup>b</sup> has his OWN PROCEEDINGS.

First, he reprints from the *Revue der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung* Eccarius' article about 'Tailoring in London',<sup>c</sup> without asking Eccarius and without quoting the *Revue* as his source. Then he writes to Eccarius that he would like to print the article as a pamphlet. Therewith Eccarius replies that, in this case, a 2nd CHAPTER is necessary, since the conditions have changed completely over the last 19 years, something that Wilhelm had absolutely overlooked in his copying craze.

Then a second move by Wilhelm:

He writes to Eccarius: he should send him the issue of the *Revue* containing your article on the 'German Peasant War'.

So Wilhelm wanted to reprint your article *without your prior knowledge* and once again *without citing the Revue*.

Luckily, Eccarius informed me yesterday evening at the Central Council.<sup>73</sup> I told him I would write to you about the case and, in the meantime, Eccarius should send him nothing.

With regards to the stuff itself, I have a SPARE COPY I could send to Wilhelm. And I believe—even supposing we should later publish our assorted articles together—that publication in Wilhelm's sheet would do us no harm and the immediate effect of the publication would be very good.

But, UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, Wilhelm should not be allowed to publish the article as an original contribution for him, instead of as a reprint from the *Revue*.

Write me without delay your *arbitrium*.<sup>d</sup>

Another curiosity. You may have seen in the Augsburg

<sup>a</sup> *Ecce iterum Crispinus*—again Crispinus (Juvenal, *Satires*, IV, 1); fig. 'again the same'. - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>c</sup> J. G. Eccarius, 'Die Schneiderei in London oder der Kampf des großen und des kleinen Capitals', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 2-5, 7; 9, 16, 23, 30 January and 13 February 1869 (reprinted from *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, No. 5/6, May-October 1850). - <sup>d</sup> decision

*Allgemeine Zeitung* that both of us figure as contributors to a workers' paper to be published by Oberwinder in Vienna.<sup>a</sup>

The facts are as follows:

About 4 weeks before New Year's Day, Oberwinder had Wilhelm write to me that he wanted to publish an almanac and needed my biography for it. I should send what was necessary to Oberwinder. I sent *simplement*<sup>b</sup> the FACTS and a few DOCUMENTS (Cologne Trial,<sup>c</sup> etc.).<sup>84</sup> Heard nothing further of the matter.

NOW, SOME WEEKS SINCE, Oberwinder writes to me that nothing has come of the almanac, but he will place the stuff in a paper he is going to publish. About 6-7,000 subscribers are already assured. Requested me as contributor. *I forgot to answer him*; shall do it today.<sup>d</sup>

Incidentally I would regard it as a good thing if we had a footing in Vienna.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

Apropos. What do the German commercial oxen understand by:

1. PRIMAGE?
2. *Courtage* for the *rembours*?<sup>e</sup>

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 March 1869

Dear Moor,

You see how right I was to dissuade you from taking a trip to Paris under any circumstances. It would be madness to put oneself in the hands of those scoundrels, particularly since nobody

<sup>a</sup> *Die Volksstimme* - <sup>b</sup> simply - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 233-34. - <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.



enquires about you and the *lois de sûreté*<sup>293</sup> are still in force. Let Lafargue go to Strasbourg as soon as possible and take his examinations; once that is over, he will be able to take some liberties. The fact that he has emancipated himself from Moilin is of enormous value; this Jesuit would certainly have got him into trouble. What Lafargue writes about Blanqui is very nice.<sup>a</sup>

Moore tells me that Beesly has written an article on the social question in the new *Fortnightly* which reaches the maximum confusion.<sup>b</sup>

The only thing linguistically new for me in the old Scottish passage<sup>292</sup> was the *participium praesentis* havand, having,—showing that this form still existed in Scotland at the beginning of the 16th<sup>c</sup> century, when it had long disappeared in England.

I really did make the blunder in Russian. I have pretty well forgotten the Russian declensions.<sup>d</sup>

The Lugau material<sup>281</sup> will be returned today by BOOK POST. Since I no longer know which passages I quoted, I cannot indicate them for you; however, I made a sort of index to the pamphlets, which is attached, and you may be able to see from this where the passages might be.

What is the pamphlet against the LIFE ASSURANCE CO., called?<sup>e</sup> We really must get hold of it.

So Wilhelmchen appealed to you against Schweitzer.<sup>294</sup> This will make a fine story, since Schweitzer cannot be caught so easily. The row is going to be fun; don't you get the *Social-Demokrat* any more? Just now, Eichhoff should keep us properly *au courant*.<sup>f</sup> In the next few days I shall send you some articles that he (certainly nobody else) wrote in the *Zukunft*.<sup>g</sup>

In the meantime, in Essen the Social-Democrat Hasenclever, also supported by Liebknecht, has been elected with a majority of 960 votes over what the *Landrat*<sup>h</sup> and the National-Liberal candidate<sup>i</sup> received together, and in Hanover (I believe Celle) there are also prospects for getting someone in.<sup>295</sup>

Incidentally, Wilhelm appears to be bestirring himself more and to be having some success in Saxony. If the jackass would only abandon his stupid South-German-federalist and his Guelphic concerns,<sup>j</sup> he could accomplish something despite his thick-

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 225. - <sup>b</sup> E. S. Beesly, 'The Social Future of the Working Class', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXVII, 1 March 1869 - <sup>c</sup> The original mistakenly has '15th'. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 224. - <sup>e</sup> Ibid., p. 227. - <sup>f</sup> informed - <sup>g</sup> 'Die Gewerksgenossenschaften', *Die Zukunft*, Nos. 32, 35, 37, 40 and 47; 7, 11, 13, 17 and 25 February 1869 (see also this volume, p. 239). - <sup>h</sup> Kefler - <sup>i</sup> Dr Hammacker - <sup>j</sup> See this volume, p. 141.

headedness, in view of the mistrust of Schweitzer that rules amongst the leaders of the Lassalleans; for Schweitzer's bad conscience disarms him too, when things come to a climax. But with his People's Party<sup>38</sup> and his mania for restoring thrones, he'll have no success in dangling carrots before north German workers.

The odd thing is that he suddenly wants to go to Berlin, that is to say, admits that he *can*, without danger.

Incidentally, I cannot see how you, as the GENERAL COUNCIL, could declare yourselves competent on this question—even if both parties agreed—unless they both also declared themselves willing to subject themselves to the arbitration verdict against the organisation and management of the TRADES UNIONS, etc.

Your

F. E.

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## MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 3 March 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

The damned photographer<sup>a</sup> has once again been leading me by the nose for weeks, and has still not supplied additional COPIES. But I shall not delay this reply longer because of this.

With regard to *Herr Vogt*, I wished to make sure of those copies which could still be saved from Liebknecht's hands (I had sent him 300 from London to Berlin, i.e., all those still left) in case they were needed. I therefore took the liberty of ordering them to be stored at your place. But Örindur, solve for me this mystery of nature!<sup>b</sup>

Liebknecht sent you just 6 COPIES, but announced to me that he had sent 50 COPIES. Will you please ask him for the answer to this riddle!<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Fehrenbach - <sup>b</sup> paraphrase of the well-known words from Müllner's drama *Die Schuld*, Act II, Scene V - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 106, 142, 189, 208.

Quételet is now *too old* for one still to make any sort of experiment with him.<sup>296</sup> He rendered great services in the past by demonstrating that even the apparently casual incidents of social life possess an inner necessity through their periodic recurrence and their periodic average incidence. But he was *never* successful in interpreting this necessity.<sup>297</sup> And he made no progress, but simply extended the material for his observations and calculations. He is today no further on than he was *before* 1830.

It will probably take until the summer before I am finished with Vol. II.<sup>41</sup> Then—with the manuscript—I shall come to Germany with my daughter<sup>a</sup> and see you then. Or, to be more precise, shall descend on you.

In France—a very interesting movement in progress.

The Parisians are once again really studying their recent revolutionary past, to prepare themselves for the pending new revolutionary business. First, the *origin of the Empire*—then the *coup d'état of December*. This had been entirely forgotten, just as the reaction in Germany has been able to wipe out memories of 1848/49 completely.

That is why *Ténot's* books about the coup d'état in Paris and the provinces<sup>b</sup> aroused such enormous interest that they rapidly went through 10 editions. They were followed by dozens of other books on the same period. *C'était la rage*,<sup>c</sup> and this soon became a speculative business for the publishers.

These writings came from the *opposition*—*Ténot* is an *homme du Siècle* (I mean the liberal bourgeois paper, not our century). All the liberal and illiberal rogues belonging to the official opposition promoted this *mouvement*. Also the republican democrats, people like *Delescluze*, for example, who was formerly *Ledru-Rollin's* adjutant and now, as republican patriarch, edits *Réveil* in Paris.

Until now everybody has been indulging in these posthumous revelations, or rather reminiscences—everybody who was not Bonapartist.

But then came *le revers de la médaille*.<sup>d</sup>

First, the French Government itself got the renegade Hippolyte Castille to publish *Les Massacres de Juin 1848*. This was a blow in the face for Thiers, Falloux, Marie, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Pelletan, etc., in short, the chiefs of what is called in France '*l'Union Libérale*',<sup>298</sup> who wish to perform a sleight of hand with the next elections, the infamous old rogues.

<sup>a</sup> Jenny Marx - <sup>b</sup> E. Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851...* and *La province en décembre 1859...* - <sup>c</sup> This was all the rage - <sup>d</sup> the other side of the medal

Then came the Socialist Party, which 'unmasked' the opposition and the old-style republican democrats.

Including *Vermorel: Les Hommes de 1848* and *L'Opposition*.  
Vermorel is a Proudhonist.

Last came the Blanquists, for example, *G. Tridon: Gironde et Girondins*.

So the whole historic witches' brew is simmering.

When shall *we* have got this far?

To show you how well the French police are served:

I intended to go to Paris next week to see my daughter.

Last Saturday<sup>a</sup> a police agent enquired of Lafargue whether Mons. Marx had arrived yet. He had a commission for him.<sup>b</sup>  
FOREWARNED!

My heartiest greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen.

How is Madame Tenge?

Yours

K. M.

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## MARX TO HEINRICH OBERWINDER

IN VIENNA

[Draft]

London, 3 MARCH 1869  
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,  
Haverstock Hill, N.W.<sup>c</sup>

Dear Sir,

You must forgive my delayed reply to your letter of 14 February, resulting from my indisposition.<sup>d</sup>

I do not need to assure you that I am greatly interested in the workers' movement in Vienna.<sup>e</sup> If I could dispose freely of my

<sup>a</sup> 27 February - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 216 and 225. - <sup>c</sup> in the original: W.C. - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 229. - <sup>e</sup> deleted in the original: 'and thus in your paper', i.e. *Volksstimme*

time and my strength, I would immediately stand at your disposal as a contributor to your paper. My ability to work is, however, continually interrupted by illness. The little leisure left me after completing the second volume of my work *Capital*<sup>41</sup> is absorbed by the business of the International Working Men's Association.

Thus, I cannot offer the prospect of contributions from me in the *near future*.

I remain, with best respects<sup>a</sup>

Karl Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 March 1869

Dear Moor,

I must leave it quite up to you to do what you think best about the article.<sup>b</sup> For my part, I do *not* think that the article would have any sort of effect in Liebknecht's paper<sup>c</sup> in instalments of 1 or 2 columns, since it would thus be spread over *two years*. On the other hand, if he wanted to print it *cheaply* for the workers, this would be different and could have an impact. Since he is now involved in a row with Schweitzer,<sup>294</sup> I would suggest to him that he publish the last section of my pamphlet on military questions<sup>d</sup> in his sheet, or ask Meissner the price at which he would allow him to sell the remainder (he once asked me about this through Moore, but as I have had no occasion to write to him since, this too has remained unanswered). If, however, he should reprint the article, he must

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<sup>a</sup> deleted in the original: 'You cannot, therefore, expect contributions from me in the near future, but I can assure you of such in the long view.—Yours faithfully' - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 228. - <sup>c</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*

indicate the source. I myself have *not got* a copy and you cannot part with yours either; we must keep one, after all!

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>33</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 5 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

The enclosed little document arrived *yesterday* (though dated 27 February).<sup>299</sup> You must send it back as soon as you have read it, since I have to lay it before the COUNCIL ON TUESDAY NEXT.<sup>a</sup> The gentlemen of the 'Alliance' have taken a long time to produce this opus.

In fact, we would rather they had kept their 'unnumbered legions' in France, Spain and Italy to themselves.

Bakunin thinks: if we approve his '*programme radical*' he can trumpet it forth and compromise us *tant soit peu*.<sup>b</sup> If we declare ourselves against it, we shall be denounced as counter-revolutionaries. Moreover: If we admit it, he will see to it that, at the Congress in Basle, he is seconded by some RIFF-RAFF. I think the answer should be along the following LINES:<sup>300</sup>

According to para. 1 of the Rules, every workers' society that is 'AIMING AT THE SAME END; VIZ., THE PROTECTION, ADVANCEMENT AND COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES', is to be admitted.<sup>c</sup>

As the stage of development reached by different sections of the workers in the same country and by the working class in different countries necessarily varies considerably, the actual movement also necessarily expresses itself in very diverse theoretical forms.

<sup>a</sup> 9 March - <sup>b</sup> however little - <sup>c</sup> *Rules of the International Working Men's Association. Founded September 28th, 1864*, p. 4 (see also present edition, Vol. 20, p. 442).

The community of action the International Working Men's Association is calling into being, the exchange of ideas by means of the different organs of the sections in all countries and, finally, the direct discussions at the general congresses would also gradually create a common theoretical programme for the general workers' movement.

With regard to the programme of the 'Alliance', therefore, it is not necessary for the General Council to submit it to an *examen critique*.<sup>a</sup> The Council does not need to examine whether it is an adequate scientific expression of the workers' movement. It has only to ask whether the *general tendency* of the programme is in opposition to the general tendency of the International Working Men's Association—the COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES!

This reproach might apply to only one phrase in the programme, para. 2: 'elle veut avant tout l'égalisation politique, économique et sociale des classes.'<sup>b</sup> 'L'égalisation des classes', interpreted literally, is simply another way of saying the '*Harmonie du capital et du travail*'<sup>c</sup> preached by bourgeois socialists. The final aim of the International Working Men's Association is not the logically impossible '*égalité des classes*', but the historically necessary '*abolition des classes*'. From the context in which this phrase appears in the programme, however, it seems to be merely A SLIP OF THE PEN. The General Council has little doubt, therefore, that this phrase, which might lead to serious misunderstanding, will be deleted from the programme.<sup>301</sup>

On this assumption, it is the principle of the International Working Men's Association to leave each section the responsibility for its own programme. There is, therefore, no obstacle to the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International Working Men's Association.

As soon as this has taken place, the General Council must, in accordance with the Rules, be supplied with a *dénombrement*<sup>d</sup> of the newly adhering sections, according to country, residence and numbers.

This last point—the census of their legions—will, of course, upset the gentlemen. When you return the letter, tell me what you want changed in this draft reply.

*Quoad*<sup>e</sup> *Liebknecht*, I have given further thought to the matter<sup>f</sup>. Publication in the lousy little sheet must not be allowed.

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<sup>a</sup> critical examination - <sup>b</sup> 'above all, it desires the political, economic and social equalisation of *the classes*' - <sup>c</sup> harmony of capital and labour - <sup>d</sup> listing - <sup>e</sup> with regard to - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, p. 234.

Publication as a pamphlet by Wilhelm is a DELUSION. Should I write to Eichhoff asking whether his brother<sup>a</sup> would publish it at a reasonable price? Could you, in this case, bestow your fee upon the GENERAL COUNCIL, which is greatly in need of money? I still have a copy of the 6th issue containing the *Peasant War* (apart from my bound *Revue*,<sup>b</sup> which is complete). I could send this to Berlin.<sup>302</sup> Please reply by return.

Moreover, Wilhelm should reprint the last section of the pamphlet on military questions.<sup>c</sup> The transaction with Meissner (in which Wilhelm would have to show his cash!—anyway Meissner is very TICKLISH UPON SUCH POINTS) is impossible.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 March 1869

Dear Moor,

The answer<sup>300</sup> for the Russian<sup>d</sup> and his retinue is exactly as it should be. Even in their own *sommation*,<sup>e</sup> the fellows do not dare to call upon you to make the programme your own; they simply wish indirectly to induce you to make a theoretical criticism. A stupid Russian trap into which people in this country will surely not fall. Apart from this, the people's retreat is complete, and nothing more could be desired. The about-face by which the fellows are being compelled to allow you to review their forces is very amusing, and will act like a bucket of cold water over their phrase-mongering heads.

As for the *Peasant War* it must, I believe, be offered first to Meissner<sup>f</sup> for decency's sake; and if he is not interested in

<sup>a</sup> Albert Eichhoff - <sup>b</sup> *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see also this volume, p. 234). - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (see also this volume, pp. 234-35) - <sup>d</sup> Mikhail Bakunin - <sup>e</sup> challenge -

<sup>f</sup> See the previous letter.



printing it as a popular, cheap pamphlet, there will still be time with Eichhoff. You will have to write to him about *The 18th Brumaire*, which you could do at the same time. If Meissner does not get on with *The 18th Brumaire*, or is scared, then steps must be taken and the thing given to Eichhoff.<sup>a</sup> Otherwise time will be wasted and the opportunity lost.

I discovered a copy of *The 18th Brumaire* at Charles',<sup>b</sup> and immediately confiscated it. I read it through again and immediately saw that the book must appear *in French without delay*.<sup>303</sup> That will have quite a different effect from just German, and will immediately make you a name amongst the French, which will at once ensure the translation of your book.<sup>c</sup> See who you might get to do this and, in any case, take steps along these LINES. Printed in Brussels, it would get to France en masse.

Before the *Peasant War* is sent off, send me the copy so that I can correct the misprints, see whether a preface, etc., is necessary, or some notes for the philistines. I am not quite sure whether the Spanish Bergenroth is Frau Jung's Bergenroth. I think I heard the latter had gone to America.

*Ad vocem*<sup>d</sup> Oberwinder<sup>e</sup>: did you ever write to the Angerstein who approached us previously?<sup>304</sup> The fellow still has some sort of paper<sup>f</sup> in Vienna. It would be good to avoid an unnecessary squabble with Oberwinder; Wilhelm will have to inform us of the relations between these two and what Angerstein, who was also recommended by him, is now doing.

PRIMAGE is unknown to me in exchange rates and exchange practice. In freightage, it is a supplement to the usual freight, i.e., you pay 36s.—per ton freight and 10% PRIMAGE, that means 39s.6d. If you quote me the context, I can probably explain.

*Courtage* for the *rembours* is also a very sloppily-worded phrase, so the whole passage would be useful here, too. It probably means *courtage*, i.e., BROKERAGE for calling in from the drawer the sum of a bill that has gone to protest.<sup>g</sup>

The Augsburg [*Allgemeine Zeitung*] is again full of the information on the International in Geneva. Clossmann appears to have approached Becker.<sup>h</sup> Quite useful.

How are things in Basle? Becker has written 3-4 pamphlets about all these things, but apparently never sends any here.<sup>305</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 211. - <sup>b</sup> Charles Roesgen - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> regarding - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 229, 233-34. - <sup>f</sup> *Allgemeine Volkszeitung* - <sup>g</sup> See this volume, p. 229. - <sup>h</sup> See 'Genf, 21 Febr.' (in the section *Neueste Posten*), *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 55, 24 February 1869 (supplement); 'Genf, 28 Febr.' (in the section *Schweiz*), *Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 63, 4 March 1869.

For a change, Schorlemmer has once again burned his face; a bottle of bromic-phosphorus he was preparing exploded in front of his nose. He looks good, but has otherwise suffered no damage.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>180</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 14 MARCH 1869

DEAR FRED,

From the enclosed letter from Meissner you can see how things look with the Louis Bonaparte.<sup>306</sup> Since Meissner told me directly (personally) that he only publishes pamphlets occasionally, now and then, *in order to oblige*, something of which *you need not be aware*, I would prefer you to write to him direct about the *Peasant War*. If nothing emerges, I shall write to Eichhoff<sup>a</sup>, with whom I maintain 'international' relations.

Lieb knecht has the gift of gathering the *stupidest people* in Germany around him. *Exempli causa*<sup>b</sup> the author of 'Die demokratischen Ziele und die deutschen Arbeiter'<sup>c</sup>. This stuff can only be read, even to oneself, in south German patois. This dun-derhead requests the workers to rid him of Bismarck and then promises to provide them with 'full freedom of movement' and other socialist achievements! *Horreur!*<sup>d</sup>

The man from *Zukunft*<sup>e</sup> is infinitely more cunning and sharp in the north German way. But with him, too, the *UPSHOT* is that the workers should pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Eichhoff - <sup>b</sup> for example - <sup>c</sup> 'Die demokratischen Ziele und die deutschen Arbeiter', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, Nos. 34, 36, 47 and 48; 22 August, 5 September, 21 and 28 November 1868, No. 10, 6 March 1869. - <sup>d</sup> ghastly - <sup>e</sup> 'Die Gewerksgenossenschaften', *Die Zukunft*, Nos. 32, 35, 37, 40 and 47; 7, 11, 13, 17 and 25 February 1869 (see also this volume, p. 230).

democratic gentlemen and should not, for the time being, indulge in such pursuits as TRADES UNIONS. If these gentlemen are such hot-headed friends of direct *revolutionary* action, why don't *they* set the example, instead of writing careful and reserved articles for *Zukunft!* Do they expect such stuff to awaken revolutionary passion? That won't catch anybody!

The reply to the Genevans<sup>a</sup> has been sent off. In the French text I kept the tone still icier and *passablement ironique*.<sup>b</sup> Luckily, this was not noticed by the English, who naturally only know my English translation.

Apart from the official communication<sup>299</sup> about which I told you, the gentlemen also sent a 4-page *private letter* to Eccarius, according to which a *direct breach* had only been avoided thanks to the EFFORTS of Becker, Bakunin, and Perret, author of the document. Their 'revolutionary' programme had had more effect in some weeks in Italy, Spain, etc., than that of the International Working Men's Association had in years. If we should reject their 'revolutionary programme', we would [produce] a *separation* between the countries with a '*revolutionary*' workers' movement (these are listed as *France*, where they have all of 2 correspondents, *Switzerland(!)*, *Italy*—where the workers, apart from those who belong to us, are simply a tail to Mazzini—and *Spain*, where there are more clerics than workers) and those with a *more gradual development* of the working class (viz., England, Germany, the United States and Belgium). Thus, a separation between the volcanic and plutonic workers' movement on the one hand, and the AQUEOUS movement on the other.

That the Swiss should represent the revolutionary type is really amusing.

Old Becker must have become very stupid if he really believes that Bakunin has invented a 'programme'.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> K. MARX, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* (see also this volume, pp. 235-36). - <sup>b</sup> passably ironic

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 15 March 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed, Meissner returned.<sup>306</sup> Today only the following:

Even in the past I considered that *Bonaparte*<sup>a</sup> really ought to be printed together with your 3 articles in the *Revue* about the period from February 1848 to 1850<sup>307</sup>; but I thought that it would cause too much loss of time. Since, however, Meissner *himself* is delaying, I would *still do this now*. This will make the whole thing more voluminous—ca. 10-12 printed sheets—and more complete.

If you write to Meissner right away, I am sure there will be enough time.

More tomorrow.

Your

F. E.

Lizzie is in bed with bronchitis and a bad cold; somewhat better today.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>180</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 March 1869

Dear Moor,

I am writing to Meissner about the *Peasant War*.<sup>b</sup>

Even according to *Social-Demokrat* (which I'll send you back in a

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* (see also this volume, p. 238).

couple of days), Wilhelm<sup>a</sup> appears to have kept ahead in Saxony.<sup>b</sup> On the other hand, you have to grant the Lassalleans that they are developing quite a different sort of activity and know how to make ten times more out of the limited means than the People's Party does.<sup>38</sup> Even when Schweitzer was imprisoned, the *Social-Demokrat* did not publish such idiocies as Wilhelm does.

I wonder what Wilhelm will say about the fact that, in Celle the *Hanoverian particularists*, defeated in the first round of polling, voted in the second round for Planck, the *National-Liberal* Bismarckian, and thus got him into the Reichstag *instead* of Yorck, the worker. But that does not matter to Wilhelm.

Huxley's famous article in the *Fortnightly*<sup>248</sup> in fact contains almost nothing except the joke about Comtism. The Comtists are said to be very furious about this, and intend to publish a thunderous reply, as a geological friend<sup>c</sup> in London writes to Moore.

What do you think of my suggestion about printing the articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*<sup>307</sup> before *Bonaparte*? And about the French version?<sup>d</sup>

Many thanks for the Castille.<sup>e</sup> Only yesterday was I able to start reading it. Clearly a crypto-Bonapartist factional publication. However, it is enormous progress that the June insurrection is now generally seen for what it was.<sup>217</sup>

Tony Moilin<sup>f</sup> is really charming. This *homme de*<sup>g</sup> 1869, who cheerfully declares that nobody should earn less than 2,400 fr.! I laughed myself half sick over this naïve doctor with extraordinary pretensions. If Lafargue were still to think anything of him, his wife would laugh at him.

I wanted to write to you about quite a long story, but can't recollect it at the moment. I have to go home now to hear what Gumpert has said about Lizzie, who has been in bed since Sunday.<sup>h</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> 'Zur Agitation in Sachsen', *Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 21, 22, 24, 25 and 30-32; 17, 19, 24 and 26 February, 10, 12 and 14 March 1869. - <sup>c</sup> apparently Dakyns - <sup>d</sup> See the previous letter. - <sup>e</sup> H. Castille, *Les massacres de juin 1848* - <sup>f</sup> T. Moilin, *La liquidation sociale*. - <sup>g</sup> man of - <sup>h</sup> 14 March

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>56</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

We all hope that, in your next letter, you will be sending us better news about Mrs Lizzie's state of health. Tussy especially asks you to extend our deepest sympathy to her. It's damned awful weather. Jennychen can't get rid of her cold, and for the past few days I have been cold-wild and cough-confused.

Next week (Friday or Saturday<sup>a</sup>) the children are going to Paris to the Lafargues. The business with Laura was this: she *had a fall* 2 or 3 weeks *before* her accouchement. As a result of this fall, she had to keep to her bed until 1-2 weeks ago and only with difficulty avoided danger.

I intend to have myself *naturalised* as an Englishman,<sup>308</sup> so I can travel to Paris safely. Without such a journey the French edition of my book<sup>309</sup> will never materialise. My presence there is absolutely necessary. Under Palmerston's law you can, if you wish, slough off the Englishman again after 6 months. The law provides no protection for the naturalised person with regard to illegalities committed in his country of birth *before* naturalisation, if he should return to that country. With this exception, a naturalised person is on the same footing as any Englishman vis-à-vis foreign GOVERNMENTS. I really cannot see why I should not visit Paris *without the permission* of M. Bonaparte, if I have the means to do so.

My best thanks to Schorlemmer for the 2ND EDITION of *Chemie*.<sup>b</sup> Tomorrow, as a Sunday recreation, I shall start re-reading the 2nd part, the organic chemistry (and assume that this is where the changes are to be sought).

As regards *Louis Bonaparte*, I am not in favour of printing the series from the *Revue* up to 1850 as an introduction<sup>c</sup>. On the one hand, I don't wish to give Meissner new excuses for delay. On the other, it would be very easy, by patching in FACTS that emerged later, to revise this section, but there is no hurry. In Brussels, De

<sup>a</sup> 26 or 27 March - <sup>b</sup> H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie nach den neuesten Ansichten der Wissenschaft*. Deutsche Ausgabe, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von Carl Schorlemmer. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 241.

Paepe has sought in vain for a French publisher for *Louis Bonaparte*. For such operations, these gentlemen demand *money* from the author.

Blanqui, *who is now in Paris*, made very good jokes at Lafargue's about Moilin's<sup>a</sup> real QUACK NOSTRUM. France, he said, is always ungrateful to its great men. Moilin, for instance, has solved the problem of the century in an unprecedentedly simple manner—and Paris goes about its business as though nothing had happened.

*Castille* was a June insurgent, was transported as such to Cayenne, and returned after the general amnesty. He wrote the first edition of his book<sup>b</sup> *de bonne foi*.<sup>c</sup> In the meantime, the government bought him, and staged this second edition as the antithesis to Ténot's writings. The changes made are: 1. the tone has become more bourgeois, sometimes smart-alecky. 2. Passages against the men of December<sup>d</sup> have been removed. 3. A few quietly apologetic phrases for Bonaparte have been patched in. Despite all this, the *fonds*<sup>e</sup> unchanged, and it remains as you say, a very satisfactory work. It is a very good thing when M. Bonaparte pushes back the writing of history to the period before 2 December. The struggle of the various parties, their mutual: *Et tu Brute!*<sup>f</sup> will help put a stop to the 'revolutionism' of the old scoundrels of 1848 and earlier.

I sent to Beesly, by city post, WITH A FEW RANDOM NOTES for him to read, Vermorel's pamphlet<sup>g</sup> that I also sent you (with the *Castille*). He sent it back to me with the *enclosed* note, which is as stupid as it is MAGISTERIAL and arrogant. It appears to me that positive philosophy may be equated with ignorance about everything positive. The other sheet enclosed was sent me by Borkheim for my 'DUTCH RELATIONS'.<sup>h</sup>

Yesterday I found the report on the 'miners' guilds',<sup>i</sup> printed in full in the *Social-Demokrat* of last Wednesday. Whether the *Zukunft* has taken it I do not know.<sup>281</sup> Possibly the report does not stand at that lofty stage of wisdom that alone can satisfy social policy. I have not yet received Wilhelm for this week.<sup>j</sup>

Apropos. In the very near future there will be a demonstration here for E. Jones. The business is sponsored by the Clerkenwell

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 242. - <sup>b</sup> H. Castille, *Le massacres de juin 1848...* - <sup>c</sup> in good faith - <sup>d</sup> This refers to the coup d'état of 2 December 1851 - <sup>e</sup> basis - <sup>f</sup> Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, III, 1, 77. - <sup>g</sup> A. Vermorel, *Les hommes de 1848*. - <sup>h</sup> See this volume, p. 215. - <sup>i</sup> F. Engels, 'Bericht über die Knapenschaftsvereine der Bergarbeiter in den Kohlenwerken Sachsens', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 33, 17 March 1869. - <sup>j</sup> The reference is to *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*.

branch of the *quondam* REFORM LEAGUE.<sup>228</sup> Their leaders, Weston, Lucraft, etc. are MEMBERS of our GENERAL COUNCIL. The festival committee offered me one of the 5 presidential chairs in Trafalgar Square, from which the masses are to be harangued. I refused the courtesy very politely. What I could not refuse, however, was to promise a small contribution to the demonstration COSTS ON BEHALF OF MYSELF AND FRIENDS. It must be paid Tuesday NEXT<sup>a</sup> If you and Moore want to take a share, it must be done by then.

*Addio.*

Your  
Moor

who every day resembles more a 'white' washed Moor.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 March 1869

Dear Moor,

Lizzie's case was pleurisy, which, however, took a remarkably quick course—not till last Tuesday<sup>b</sup> was the exudation on the right lung evident, and by this morning it had already vanished completely. She is getting up again today for the first time. Through a remarkable piece of DIVINATION, I diagnosed pleurisy for Gumpert on Sunday,<sup>c</sup> he examined her, found nothing, declared it was bronchitis (which was also present), in addition to catarrh in the lungs, and it was naturally rather annoying for him when the pleurisy declared itself after all. I naturally do not claim that it was present when he could not find it.

POOR Löhrrchen<sup>d</sup> MUST HAVE HAD A HARD TIME OF IT. Ten weeks in

<sup>a</sup> 23 March - <sup>b</sup> 16 March - <sup>c</sup> 14 March - <sup>d</sup> Laura Lafargue



childbed is no joke, and it is good that it is over. When they get there, Tussy and Jenny must give her and Lafargue too my hearty greetings.

The explanation about Castille was very useful to me. The wisdom of Solomon Beesly returned herewith.<sup>a</sup> It is the greatest nonsense. In time, this Comtism will confirm an even stronger version of that remark made by that man from Bonn about the Hegelians: they do not need to know about anything in order to write about everything.

In Germany the conversion of the natural forces, for instance, heat into mechanical energy, etc., has given rise to a very absurd theory, which incidentally follows with a certain inevitability from Laplace's old hypothesis, but is now displayed, as it were, with mathematical proofs: that the world is becoming steadily colder, that the temperature in the universe is levelling down and that, in the end, a moment will come when all life will be impossible and the entire world will consist of frozen spheres rotating round one another. I am simply waiting for the moment when the clerics seize upon this theory as the last word in materialism. It is impossible to imagine anything more stupid. Since, according to this theory, in the existing world, more heat must always be converted into other energy than can be obtained by converting other energy into heat, so the original *hot state*, out of which things have cooled, is obviously inexplicable, even contradictory, and thus presumes a god. Newton's first impulse is thus converted into a first heating. Nevertheless, the theory is regarded as the finest and highest perfection of materialism; these gentlemen prefer to construct a world that begins in nonsense and ends in nonsense, instead of regarding these nonsensical consequences as proof that what they call natural law is, to date, only half-known to them. But this theory is all the dreadful rage in Germany.

I've not yet seen the *Zukunft*.

Tomorrow I shall send you STAMPS for one pound for the E. Jones demonstration.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 244.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 28 March 1869

Dear Moor,

You must really have a foul cold, since even the usual Sunday letter did not arrive today. Enclosed a cheque on the UNION BANK OF LONDON for £87.10 for March-June and a pound in STAMPS for the cost of the meeting, which I forgot to send you on Monday.<sup>a</sup>

This week I read myself fairly well into Dutch-Frisian, and have discovered some quite nice philological things there. Can you discover what *snieuntojowns* means? It is odd, that, today, the West Frisians in many cases *speak* as the English *write*, e.g. GREAT, *hearre* (hear), etc. However, in most cases this is accidental and of more recent date, and Old Frisian from the same area generally differs from this.

Lizzie is on her feet again.

Best greetings—have the girls gone to Paris, and what do they write about Löhrrchen<sup>b</sup>? And are you already a BRITON NEVER SHALL BE SLAVES<sup>c</sup>?

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> 22 March - <sup>b</sup> Laura Lafargue - <sup>c</sup> Words from the British song *Rule, Britannia*.. An allusion to Marx's attempts to acquire British citizenship (see also this volume, p. 243).

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 March 1869

DEAR FRED,

Best thanks for the CHEQUE and the STAMPS. I paid Lucraft last Tuesday.<sup>a</sup> Have you seen the short report about the demonstration in *The Times* OF SATURDAY LAST<sup>b</sup>? It states that a German group ('of our people!') carried a red flag inscribed *Proletarier aller Länder, verunreiniget Euch!*, which they said in English, means 'RAGAMUFFINS OF ALL REGIONS, BEFOUL YOURSELVES!'

As you correctly assume, I am cold-maddened and cold-stupefied.

The children left on Friday<sup>c</sup> evening (to the horror of the English, on GOOD FRIDAY). We received a letter from them this morning. They arrived safely in Paris, but had a stormy crossing.

I am not yet a FREEBORN BRITON. One resists such a step as long as one can.<sup>308</sup>

Nothing could be more gallant than the way Wilhelm the Honourable is extracting himself from the affair of the *Vogt* copies.<sup>d</sup> At my INSTIGATION, Kugelmann wrote to him about it. No reply to the first letter, and to another letter he received the enclosed screed, which may be summed up as follows: If *I* (Liebknecht) announced [the despatch of] 60 copies, but only 6 arrived, you should be aware that *I always lie*, so there the matter must rest. If, however, C. Hirsch of Berlin advised you of the number (he naturally does not know that *I* advised Kugelmann), it is a different matter and must be investigated.

The sort of artful dodges the fellow gets up to is displayed in a letter from Hirsch to Kugelmann. Hirsch writes to Kugelmann<sup>310</sup>:

'Liebknecht probably hopes for nothing more than that you should circulate the books IN QUESTION in Hanover, in order to enlighten the Democratic Party there about the doings of Herr Vogt, etc.'

Thus Wilhelm kept it secret from Hirsch that *I* had demanded information about the state of affairs, and an assured place for storing those copies still available.

Kugelmann writes:

<sup>a</sup> 23 March - <sup>b</sup> 'The Demonstration in Trafalgar Square', *The Times*, No. 26396, 27 March 1869. - <sup>c</sup> 19 March - <sup>d</sup> The reference is to K. Marx, *Herr Vogt* (see this volume, pp. 208 and 231).

'The coming clash of words between Liebknecht and Schweitzer reminds me less of Luther and Eck than of Pater José and Rabbi Juda....' 'But it seems to me, as well, that the rabbi and the monk, both of them to heaven smell'<sup>a</sup>

With regard to this clash of words, I received (today) the enclosed letter from *Bebel*.<sup>311</sup> Since the 60-copy letter,<sup>84</sup> Wilhelm himself does not dare write to me—until more water has flowed under the bridge.

They are amazing fellows! First they wilfully get themselves into a situation where they are bound to get a drubbing. Then I am supposed to intervene as *deus ex machina* and elegantly reject Schweitzer's resolution on the acceptance of the programme of the International, should Schweitzer's general meeting pass it!<sup>312</sup> And all this after Wilhelm and Co. have not taken *one single step* about the International *since the Nuremberg Congress*,<sup>135</sup> have done absolutely *nothing* so that those poor devils in Lugau found it necessary to turn directly to London.<sup>b</sup> I believe Bebel to be useful and able. He only had the particular misfortune to find his 'theoretician' in Mr Wilhelm.

Something else demonstrates the fellows' carelessness and sloppiness: to date they have not informed me of a single FACT to prove the charges of high treason, etc., levelled against Schweitzer. Fine businessmen.

*Lloyd's Paper*, in the Sunday number a week ago,<sup>c</sup> carried long hymns of praise about OUR RESOLUTIONS and the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION in general.

I have received a letter from Dietzgen, who is a prosperous tanner in Siegburg.<sup>313</sup> I shall send it to you as soon as it is answered. Dietzgen's ideas will be published by Meissner, for whom he has guaranteed the printing costs, under the title: *Die Kopfarbeit, dargestellt von einem Handarbeiter usw.*

*Salut.* Greetings to Mrs Lizzie and the two accomplices<sup>d</sup>.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> Personages from Heinrich Heine's 'Disputation', (Romanzero, III). - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 172. - <sup>c</sup> 'International Labour Laws', *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 21 March 1869. - <sup>d</sup> Samuel Moore and Carl Schorlemmer

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 April 1869

Dear Moor,

I cannot write much to you today, since for some time I have had a chronically inflamed eye (mild), and can only do the most essential work.

*L'homme propose et la femme dispose.*<sup>a</sup> Yesterday evening I laid out for you a pile of copies of *Zukunft*, and also B. Becker on Lassalle,<sup>b</sup> but this morning the room was being swept out, so I forgot them. *Die Zukunft*, incidentally, has carried the Lugau story as a feature article.<sup>314</sup>

Wilhelm's stupidities exceed everything. Bebel's cry of alarm was really touching.<sup>311</sup> As you will see from *Zukunft*,<sup>c</sup> his friends in Hanover, the particularists, voted in the Lüneburg election *against* Yorck (Lassallean) and *for* the National-Liberal.<sup>d</sup> The rabble are all united against the workers but this does not disturb Liebknecht. I look forward to the dread debate with great eagerness.

About *Vogt*<sup>e</sup>: if I were you I would write directly to the Berlin Hirsch. Then you will finally reach the proper quarter.

Lizzie is better, but does not go out yet and is on a strengthening diet. How is Mrs Lafargue?

Best wishes.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Man proposes and woman disposes. - <sup>b</sup> B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - <sup>c</sup> 'Bei der in engerer Wahl vollzogenen Ersatzwahl ...', *Die Zukunft*, No. 60, 12 March 1869, in the column 'Berlin, 11. März'. - <sup>d</sup> Gottlieb Planck - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, *Herr Vogt*.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 April 1869

Dear Moor,

What are Applegarth and Odger thinking of, lending themselves to Lloyd Jones as partners and directors of the planned *Citizen Newspaper*?<sup>315</sup> And how has Lloyd Jones suddenly managed to establish his position as a LEADER? For he is supposed to become the editor of this 'oh-so educated'<sup>a</sup> worker-petty-bourgeois paper. The sooner I get information about this, the better, as that jackass Kyllmann is hawking the prospectus around here.

Yesterday we finally achieved the long-planned transfer of my official headquarters from DOVER STREET to 86 Mornington STREET,<sup>316</sup> to the great pleasure of Lizzie, who also went out again for the first time yesterday.

You have not told me what news you have about Löhrrchen's<sup>b</sup> health.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

Since you obviously have not discovered what *snieuntojown* means, I shall tell you: Saturday evening.<sup>c</sup> But how? That is now the question.

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<sup>a</sup> 'jebildeten' in the original (Berlin dialect) - <sup>b</sup> Laura Lafargue - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 247.

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER  
IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 April 1869  
86 Mornington Street

Dear Lessner,

I was very pleased to have word from you, and enclose the photograph requested. The Becker story<sup>a</sup> together with other material I expressly placed ready a week ago, in order to send it to Marx, but the womenfolk put the stuff somewhere else each morning, so I forgot it day after day. Tomorrow I shall take the package into town, and send Becker directly to you.

The compliments you have so undeservedly paid me shame me all the more since, unfortunately, in the last 18 years, I have been able to do as good as nothing *directly* for our cause, and have had to devote all my time to bourgeois activities. I hope this will soon change, I expect in a few months once again to be master of my time, and I shall then surely do my part to earn your compliments; it will always be a pleasure for me to bash the same enemy on the same battlefield together with an old comrade like you. You are right; the cause goes better than ever before; years ago, at a time when the stupid democratic mob complained about reaction and the people's indifference to them, we, Moor and I, were right in foreseeing in the period of this reaction the enormous industrial development of the last 18 years and declared this would result in a sharpening of the contradictions between labour and capital, and more acute class struggle. It would make a donkey laugh to see how these stupid democrats have now really been duped, so that there is not even a decent little place for them in any other corner of the world. The Party of Progress in Germany,<sup>317</sup> republicans in France, radicals in England, all of them equally rotten. There is nothing funnier than the sweet-sour compliments they have to make to the social movement, though they know full well that, one fine day, this social movement will have its foot on their necks.

In old friendship

Your  
F. Engels

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time

<sup>a</sup> B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's*.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

London, 5 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

I can't make anything of your *snieunt* (I can't read the following letters) *jown*.<sup>a</sup> According to the etymology, I can only explain *lucus a non lucendo*<sup>b</sup> that in Danish *snoe* means turn, and *jeon* means EVEN.

I congratulate you on the energy with which you have cut the umbilical cord with Dover Street.<sup>c</sup>

Laura is quite well again. Jenny will be coming home tomorrow or the day after 'for business reasons'. Tussy will stay in Paris for at least 2 months. As you will note from the enclosed letter, she is absolutely delighted with Fouschtra,<sup>d</sup> the YOUNGSTER of the Lafargue FAMILY.

The Wilhelm-Bebel-Schweitzer clash of words has not really been so bad; after all, when of 11,000 voters, 4,500 abstained from voting for Schweitzer, this was not exactly a triumph for this gentleman.<sup>318</sup>

With regard to the *Citizen*,<sup>315</sup> the contributors to which include Dr Engel of Berlin and Dr Brentano of the same, this appears to be stillborn or, as OLD Werner says, 'laid out'. Lloyd Jones is an old tailor by trade, who figured in a STRIKE back in 1824. For a long time now he has been an apostle of cooperation, and a lazy-bones. Odger and Applegarth are both possessed by a mania for mediation and a longing for respectability. On the CENTRAL COUNCIL, we ticked off Mr Applegarth properly.<sup>319</sup> With regard to Odger's *collaboration* in particular, it never went further than the prospectus, and here people simply laugh at such PROMISSORY BILLS on his part.

In 2 issues the Bonapartist *Peuple* (directly edited with Boustrapa<sup>320</sup>) denounces our International because of the recent

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 247, and 251. - <sup>b</sup> Literally: 'a grove from not being light'. The expression, first used by Quintilian in *De institutione oratoria* (I, 6, 34), illustrates the practice ascribed to ancient Roman etymologists of deriving words from their semantic opposites, as *lucus* ('grove') from *lucere* ('to shine, be light') because a grove is not light. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 251. - <sup>d</sup> Charles-Étienne Lafargue



exercises of terrorism in Geneva<sup>a</sup> (on the occasion of the typographers' STRIKE<sup>321</sup>), and, at the same time, makes mocking remarks about our impotence. It would naturally be very good to keep the volcanic explosion on such a small but conspicuous stage, *if the means were available*. But to drag in the International so directly, as Becker<sup>b</sup> and Co. are doing, without preparation, without thinking about a war-chest, without taking into consideration the good or bad state of business in Europe—this is simply compromising. I shall send you the relevant numbers of *Peuple* after I have presented them to the COUNCIL tomorrow.

Oberwinder has sent me the prospectus of his paper<sup>c</sup> for subscription. It appears twice a month, and costs 45 kreuzer per quarter. If I send the list back with subscriptions, 1 copy for you, 1 copy for Moore, 1 for Borkheim and 1 for me, we shall have to send the total sum of 3 gulden. You can't send the money individually, I mean for one COPY.

Enclosed *Lanterne* and *Cloche* and *Werker*.

Do send me copies of *Zukunft*, so that I can see something about the Reichstag.

And also, if possible, Manchester papers containing arguments about the price of cotton. The Liberal M.P. from Manchester<sup>d</sup> is supposed to be agitating or spreading agitation amongst the workers in Stockport so that they should demand, directly from the GOVERNMENT, *cotton production* in India, that is, PROTECTION IN ANOTHER FORM.

COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZIE ON RESTORATION OF HEALTH.

*Salut.*

Your  
Moor

I hope your eye inflammation has passed.

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<sup>a</sup> Ch. Gaumont, 'La grève à Genève', *Le Peuple*, 29 and 30 March 1869. - <sup>b</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>c</sup> *Die Volksstimme* - <sup>d</sup> Thomas Bazley

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>124</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Liebknecht has again had the good luck of fools. The vote of 6,500 against 4,500 was a tremendous defeat for Schweitzer,<sup>318</sup> even if it was not a direct victory for Wilhelm. The *Kölner Zeitung* says that Schweitzer was frightfully dismayed, and though he had declared earlier that he would resign if any sort of considerable minority were to vote against him, he has taken a lot of care not to do so.<sup>322</sup>

In any case, Schweitzer's campaign for the kingdom of the tailors has failed, and his position in his own association has been shaken severely. *N'est pas dictateur qui veut.*<sup>a</sup> The process of the disintegration of specific Lassalleanism has thus begun, and is bound to continue rapidly. The figures 6,500:4,500 mean either a split or abandonment of the 'strict' organisation and Schweitzer's personal leadership. So far Liebknecht's foolhardiness has had a good effect. And under *these* circumstances I shall not take it amiss that he has let himself in for a new armistice,<sup>323</sup> although this is the third case between the two of them of 'cad's fighting, when ended, is very soon mended'.

The copies of *Zukunft* follow enclosed. Unfortunately, the Reichstag debate on industrial legislation is very poorly reported in them. There is nothing more comical than Schweitzer's lecture on the socialist demands, culminating in the declaration that he favours trades freedom<sup>b</sup> up to Wagener, Miquel et Co.<sup>c</sup> Simply childish babble. Best by far was *Bebel*.<sup>324</sup>

I am sending the B. Becker<sup>d</sup> to *Lessner* today. I hear that the latest *Fortnightly* has an article on it.<sup>e</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Not everyone who wishes is a dictator. A paraphrase from Victor Hugo's *Napoleon le petit*. - <sup>b</sup> J. B. Schweitzer, [Speech in the North German Diet, 17 March, 1869], *Die Zukunft*, No. 66, 19 March, 1869. - <sup>c</sup> H. Wagener, [Speech in the North German Diet, 17 March, 1869], *Die Zukunft*, No. 66, 19 March, 1869; J. Miquel, [Speech in the North German Diet, 18 March 1869], *Die Zukunft*, No. 67, 20 March, 1869. - <sup>d</sup> B. Becker, *Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Ferdinand Lassalle's..* - <sup>e</sup> J. M. Ludlow, 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXVIII, 1 April 1869.

I shall send you the *Zukunft* on Schweitzer and Liebknecht, and immediately if there is anything more in it; I assume that Liebknecht sent them a report straight away.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 7 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed letter from Wilhelmchen.<sup>325</sup> Return after reading. What shall I write him about the *Peasant War*<sup>a</sup>?

Strohn is at the door, so *addio*.

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 April 1869

Dear Moor,

The letters from Tussy and Wilhelmchen<sup>325</sup> returned enclosed. The latter remains true to his principle of greatly scorning all

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*.

facts. Anybody who regards facts as important, who 'takes them into consideration', is someone who idolises success, a Bismarckian. So even if Schweitzer's 'dirty deeds' were as cheap as blackberries, he would not give us any facts about them, since, according to the principles of the People's Party,<sup>38</sup> the only important thing about all these facts is that Wilhelm declares them to be 'dirty deeds'. It follows that, as Schweitzer's dirty deeds become enormous, the friction with him disappears. The fellow's logic is as amusing as the anticipation with which he still hopes for a proclamation from you, declaring him to be the angel of light, and naming Schweitzer as Satan.

It is also amusing that he wants to sell an essay<sup>a</sup> of *at least 4 or 5 printer's sheets for 1½ groschen*, and emphasises: not at a profit. '*Le représentant a dit: avec du fer et du pain on va jusqu'en Chine. Il n'a pas parlé de chaussures.*'<sup>b</sup> And Wilhelm has not mentioned who will meet the loss when you sell things at  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of cost price.

I have not yet written to Meissner, and I really cannot expect him to do the wondrous things that Liebknecht boldly ventures. Once Wilhelm has spoken with an *expert* about the printing costs, determined a rational price and made sure that he can raise the printing costs, I am not disinclined to let him print the stuff; tell him to write to me as soon as he can fulfil these conditions, then we shall arrange further steps.

*Snieuntojown* is sun-jovn-to-jovn — sun-eve-to-eve.<sup>c</sup>

The word has caused me to rack my brains; there really are some very difficult things in West Frisian.

The Bazleyite agitation in favour of state aid for cotton cultivation has not yet become so public here that there has been anything substantial in the newspapers. However, I shall soon send you some cuttings about the *STRIKE* in Preston,<sup>326</sup> which the *MASTERS* directly provoked in order to bring about a general shut-down of the factories there. Since they cannot agree amongst themselves on *SHORT TIME* or complete closure, as some would then go on working and the others would be vexed at this, the sole form to bring about joint action amongst them is a *STRIKE*, since *no manufacturer opposes* the proposal to reduce wages. The cream of the thing is that these fellows, who admit that, for 2 years, they have been losing 1 to 2d. per lb of yarn or cloth, and still did not want to close down or work *SHORT TIME*, now declare that a 10% wage

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - <sup>b</sup> 'The commercial traveller said: with iron and bread you can get as far as China. He did not mention boots.' - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 247, 251, 253.

reduction, i.e., a saving of  $\frac{1}{10}$  to  $\frac{1}{6}$  penny per £, is a matter of life or death!

Best greetings

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

I wrote to Wilhelmchen immediately today, as you suggested.<sup>84</sup> I added that it would be good if the price could be fixed, even at a minimum, *above* the cost, so that this surplus could be used to pay for INDIVIDUAL CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP (1d. each). According to the Lausanne<sup>143</sup> and Brussels<sup>138</sup> decisions, representatives cannot be admitted to congress if their *commettants*<sup>a</sup> have not contributed to the national levy.<sup>b</sup>

The thing I liked best in *Zukunft* was the decision of the *High Court of Justice* on the freedom of assembly of the Prussian subjects.<sup>c</sup> This beats the French courts *holo*.<sup>d</sup> And this scurvy Kirchmann with his scurvy critics,<sup>e</sup> is fine and successful. This is the same Kirchmann who, a few years ago, proved the immortality of the soul.<sup>f</sup> His works, in any case, are not immortal.

<sup>a</sup> mandataries - <sup>b</sup> 'Procès-verbaux du congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 septembre 1867', p. 37. 'Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs...' Supplément au journal *Le Peuple belge*, 24 septembre 1868. - <sup>c</sup> 'In Bezug auf das Vereins und Versammlungs-Gesetz ist vom Obertribunal folgender Rechtsgrundsatz angenommen worden...', *Die Zukunft*, No. 61, 13 March 1869. - <sup>d</sup> completely - <sup>e</sup> 'V. Kirchmann's Aesthetik', *Die Zukunft*, Nos. 71 and 72; 25 and 26 March 1869. (Anonymous review of J. H. v. Kirchmann's *Aesthetik auf realistischer Grundlage*, in two vols.) - <sup>f</sup> J. H. Kirchmann, *Ueber die Unsterblichkeit. Ein philosophischer Versuch*.

The enclosed letter<sup>327</sup> shows the frame of mind of the workers in the Rhine province about the Barmen-Elberfeld Congress. Schweitzer had forgotten that Robespierre did not answer accusations only when he was sure of his cause, or when he could answer with the guillotine. But the CORRUPTIBLE should not take the INCORRUPTIBLE as their model.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW<sup>328</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 10 April 1869  
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,  
Haverstock Hill, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Being aware of your services to the working class, I should before this have given myself the pleasure of sending you my last work: *Das Kapital* (2nd and 3d volumes not yet published<sup>41</sup>), if I had known you to be a German reader.

In your article on Lassalle in the *Fortnightly*<sup>a</sup> you say first that Lassalle propagated my principles in Germany and say then that I am propagating 'Lassallean principles' in England. This would indeed be what the French call '*un échange de bons procédés*'.<sup>b</sup>

In the volume I send you, you will find (Preface, p. VIII, note 1) the plain facts stated viz. that 'Lassalle has taken from my writings almost literally *all his general theoretical developments*', but that I 'have nothing whatever to do with *his practical applications*'.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> J. M. Ludlow, 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V. No. XXVIII, 1 April 1869. - <sup>b</sup> exchange of good manner - <sup>c</sup> See present edition, Vol. 35.

His practical nostrum, government aid to co-operative societies, I call by courtesy *his*. It belongs in fact to, and was zealously preached, at the time of Louis Philippe, by *Monsieur Buchez*, Ex-St. Simonian, author of the *Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution Française*, glorifying Robespierre and the Holy Inquisition.<sup>162</sup> M. Buchez put forward his views, f.i. in the journal *L'Atelier*, in *opposition* to the radical views of the French communism of that time.

Since you quote my reply to Proudhon: *Misère de la Philosophie*, you cannot but be aware from its last chapter that in 1847, when all the political economists and all the socialists concurred on one single point—the condemnation of *trades' unions*, I demonstrated their historical necessity.

Yours truly

Karl Marx

J. M. Ludlow, Esq.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 14 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the Solingen letter<sup>329</sup> returned, which is also significant because it clarifies Liebknecht's boasts about the 'establishment of associations in Solingen and Bourscheid'. The one in Solingen was already there,<sup>330</sup> and the Solingen people established the one in Bourscheid.

The article on the Cretan insurrection<sup>331</sup> in *The Diplomatic Review*<sup>a</sup> is the best thing they have published for a long time; ditto Urquhart's letter to Fuad Pasha.<sup>b</sup> But, as always, the source is not given for Brunnow's statement in the Greek dispatch,<sup>c</sup> i.e.,

<sup>a</sup> 'The "Eastern Question" Closed. Summary from the Blue-Books', *The Diplomatic Review*, 7 April 1869. - <sup>b</sup> D. Urquhart, 'Au grand Vizir, 16 août, 1867', *The Diplomatic Review*, 7 April 1869, in the column 'Insurrection en Candie. M. Urquhart à Fuad Pasha'. - <sup>c</sup> 'Le Ministre Grec à Londres à son Gouvernement', 29 December 1868, [extract] *The Diplomatic Review*, 7 April 1869.

whether this dispatch is published in one of the official publications, which is not easy to believe (unless a Greek book), or whether it found its way into Urquhart's hands along private channels. It would be interesting to know this, in case it is quoted later. The statement coincides completely with my constant claim that Russia will not unleash a war before 2 railways are completed to the Black Sea and the Pruth. They are now building like mad, and borrowing money like crazy—in the past 3 years—about £47,000,000! A major part of this represents the future costs of war.

However, in the light of these negotiations, Beust appears to be the Austrian Palmerston, and here too there could be a motive that would favour a speed-up of the action.

Doesn't Eichhoff still send you the *Social-Demokrat*? It would be very important to see how Schweitzer is conducting himself at the moment in his own paper.

You will have read the article about Lassalle in the *Fortnightly*,<sup>a</sup> and will have seen that you are regarded therein as the real papa of Lassallean and other socialism. Who is this Ludlow? If he could be prevailed upon to write an article in the *Fortnightly* about your book,<sup>b</sup> this would be better than nothing after all.—Congreve's reply to Huxley is the DULLEST, most stupid and most confused thing I have ever seen<sup>c</sup>; if this is the supreme wisdom of the Comtists, they can let themselves to be buried without further ado.

I still must not strain my eye too much, and I feel it a little again today, since I read too much by lamplight yesterday evening; so I am closing. On Saturday<sup>d</sup> we received a very jolly letter from Tussy.

Best greetings to your wife and Jenny.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> J. M. Ludlow, 'Ferdinand Lassalle, the German Social-Democrat', *The Fortnightly Review*, 1 April 1869. (See this volume, p. 259.) - <sup>b</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> R. Congreve, 'Mr. Huxley on M. Comte', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXVIII, 1 April 1869. - <sup>d</sup> 10 April



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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>174</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 15 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

Jennychen arrived safely on Wednesday.<sup>332</sup> During the return journey they had such fog at sea that the ship had a hair's-breadth escape from running aground.

From Wilhelm<sup>333</sup> the enclosed note. You will see, *d'abord*<sup>a</sup> his first answer to my query<sup>84</sup> about the 'knavish tricks' of which he accuses Schweitzer. 'Political' amongst this—only two enclosed ELECTIONEERING things. You must send them back to me, for Wilhelm asks for them back, and they appear to constitute his entire political 'evidence for the prosecution'.

Lafargue has sent me his French translation of the *Communist Manifesto* for us to revise. I am sending you the manuscript by post today. For the moment, the business is not urgent. I certainly do not want Lafargue to burn his fingers prematurely. However, if the stuff is eventually to be published in France, certain parts, such as those on German or 'True' Socialism, should be reduced to a few lines, since they are of no interest there.

To get back to the negotiations with Wilhelm. I write to him<sup>84</sup> about the conditions on which you are ready to give him the *Peasant War*.<sup>b</sup> He writes to you that *Eccarius* (who knew nothing about the matter) had informed him you would send him the stuff, and that he would *not* fulfil the conditions you laid down. He further writes to me that he has owed *Eccarius* 30 thaler for 2 quarters, and that I should advance it, since he would, 'on his word of honour', repay it at an—unspecified—date. I certainly feel no inclination towards this transaction, since I have already loaned somewhat more than this sum to my friend Dupont.

Ludlow is BARRISTER AT LAW, a leading contributor to the *Spectator*, a co-operator, devout, a determined enemy of the Comtists. He resigned publicly from our *Commonwealth* because Beesly, Harrison, etc., were contributors. He had sent me a few of his little pamphlets at an earlier date, and is a friend of Jones Lloyd or Lloyd Jones, or whatever the tailor's name is. A few days ago,

<sup>a</sup> first - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 256.

after I had seen the relevant issue of the *Fortnightly*, I sent him MY LAST AVAILABLE COPY OF *Capital*. (Note of receipt enclosure No. I.) I naturally knew he read German. At the same time, I sent him a letter in which I made a few JOKES about his article, in which he first stated that Lassalle disseminated *my principles in Germany* and then that I disseminated *Lassalle's principles in England*.<sup>a</sup> (Reply in No. 2.) I hope by this means still to achieve a review of my book in an English paper.<sup>334</sup> Ludlow is, ditto, a great admirer of Ricardo, something exceptional today, after Mill mucked everything up.

I discovered BY ACCIDENT today that we had two *Neveu de Rameau*<sup>b</sup> in our house, and so am sending you one. This unsurpassed masterpiece will once again give you a treat.

Referring to it, OLD Hegel said: 'The mocking laughter at existence, at the confusion of the whole and at itself, is the disintegrated consciousness, aware of itself and expressing itself, and is, at the same time, the last audible echo of all this confusion.... It is the self-disintegrating nature of all relations and their conscious disintegration... In this aspect of the return to self, the *vanity* of all *things* is the self's *own vanity*, or the self is itself vanity ... but as the indignant consciousness it is aware of its own disintegration and, by that knowledge, has immediately transcended it... Every part of this world either gets its mind [sein Geist] expressed here or is spoken of intellectually [mit Geist] and declared for what it is.—The *honest consciousness*' (the role Diderot allots himself in the dialogue) 'takes each element as a permanent entity and does not realise, in its uneducated thoughtlessness, that it is doing just the opposite. But the disintegrated consciousness is the consciousness of reversal and indeed of absolute reversal; its dominating elements is the concept, which draws together thoughts that, to the honest consciousness, lie so wide apart; hence the brilliance [geistreich] of its language. Thus, the content of the mind's speech of and about itself consists in the reversal of all conceptions and realities; the universal deception of oneself and others and the shamelessness of declaring this deception is, therefore, precisely the greatest truth... To the quiet consciousness, which in its honest way goes on singing the melody of the True and the Good in even tones, i.e., on a monotone, this speech appears as "a farrago of wisdom and madness", etc.'<sup>c</sup> (a passage from Diderot follows).

More amusing than Hegel's commentary is that by Mr Jules Janin, which you will find in the form of an excerpt in the postscript to the little volume. This '*cardinal de la mer*'<sup>d</sup> deplores the absence in Diderot's *Rameau* of the moral point, and consequently sets things in order by discovering that Rameau's entire absurdity arises from his resentment at not being a '*born gentilhomme*'.<sup>e</sup> The Kotzebue-like muck he has heaped upon this cornerstone is being melodramatically presented in London.<sup>335</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 259-60. - <sup>b</sup> D. Diderot, *Le neveu de Rameau*... - <sup>c</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes, Werke*, Bd. II, S. 393-97 - <sup>d</sup> 'cardinal of the sea' - <sup>e</sup> gentleman

From Diderot to Jules Janin must be what the physiologists call a regressive metamorphosis. French intellect *before* the French Revolution and *under* Louis Philippe!

I shall ask Collet about the source of Brunnow's maxim.<sup>a</sup> I would not be at all surprised if it were to be found in the English BLUE BOOK,<sup>173</sup> in an English legation letter from Athens. I found similar things from Brunnow in a 1839 BLUE BOOK about the SYRIAN-EGYPTIAN AFFAIRS.<sup>b</sup>

Eichhoff always sends me the Schweitzer<sup>c</sup> in great masses. So he must be coming soon.

Mr Thornton has written a thick book about CAPITAL AND LABOUR. I haven't seen it yet, only extracts in *The Daily News*, to the effect that capital, as a force separate from labour, will fade away in the distant future.

Take care with your eye.

Salut.

Your  
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>180</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed returned the 2 Ludlows<sup>336</sup> and the 2 'knavish tricks'.<sup>d</sup> From Wilhelm you sent only the few lines for me, not those to you to which you refer.<sup>333</sup> If Wilhelm can't do more than this, then it is a miracle he did not do even worse in Barmen.<sup>318</sup> In a few days I shall send you reports in *Zukunft* about the general assembly,<sup>e</sup> which

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 260. - <sup>b</sup> *Correspondence, 1839-1841, relative to the affairs of the East, and the conflict between Egypt and Turkey*, in 4 parts. - <sup>c</sup> *Der Social-Demokrat* - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 263. - <sup>e</sup> *Die Zukunft*, Nos. 76, 79, 80 and 86; 2, 6, 7 and 14 April 1869.

appeared very late and show that the ground had already been well prepared in Schweitzer's association, and that the rebellion would have broken out even without Wilhelm.

The Ludlow correspondence very useful.

Many thanks for the *Rameau*,<sup>a</sup> which will give me much pleasure. At the moment I am reading almost nothing, in order finally to get my eye back on the right track; I have also cut down on my work at the office.

Wilhelm is badly mistaken if he thinks I would send him the *Peasant War*<sup>b</sup> on the basis of such vague promises, so he could subsequently pop up and yell that, if I did not send the sum of umpteen pounds, it would be impossible to print the final sheets. His letter is real twaddle, and his calm assumption that you should pay his fees is impudent.

Fowler, the STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE here, who had the Fenians brought into court shackled to one another, has relinquished his post. Leaving behind his wife and 2 children, he has eloped with the wife of Milne, the CHAIRMAN OF QUARTER SESSIONS (daughter of the late Brooks, the rich BANKER, and WORTH £80,000 IN HER OWN RIGHT), who, for her part, left 5 children with her beloved husband. Great consternation amongst the philistines.

*Salut.*

Your  
F. E.

This final story can only be explained etymologically; FOWLER from FOWL=Vogel.<sup>c</sup>

First published in part in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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<sup>a</sup> D. Diderot, *Le neveu de Rameau*... - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - <sup>c</sup> This may be an allusion to the German word 'vögeln' ('have it off with').

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London, 16 April 1869]

E.=Eichhoff—B.=Borkheim.<sup>37</sup> I had written to Wilhelm<sup>84</sup> saying he should cease his malicious chatter and scribbling directed against Eichhoff, since Borkheim himself has now recognised his error. Wilhelm, of course, does not know that I know *his own* insinuations against Eichhoff from Kugelmann and OLD Becker.<sup>a 61</sup>

Did you receive the Lafargue manuscript?<sup>b</sup> It is not noted in today's letter from you.

Apropos: *Hermann* is now Stieber's official organ. Juch was forced to sell it, because of his 'diverse' creditors. In today's issue, Stieber starts right away by printing, on the first page, warrant notices, e.g., against the so-and-so Jaeger for illicit abortion of the foetus. Stieber is naturally represented here by a National-Liberal 'sub-Stieber'. I shall hunt out the carefully 'hushed-up' name.<sup>c</sup>

With regard to the eye: try washing it with alcohol. This helped me. To begin with it hurts a bit. For the FIRST attempt, dilute the alcohol a bit with water. That will show you how much you can stand it. Anyway, trying can't hurt.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 262. - <sup>c</sup> Heinemann

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed Liebknecht returned. I wrote to him in a strictly BUSINESSLIKE<sup>84</sup> way about the *Peasant War*,<sup>a</sup> and I shall hear how he reconciles the gushing of funds for printing pamphlets with the newspapers'<sup>b</sup> deficit.

Lafargue's manuscript<sup>c</sup> is here; I have not yet been able to take a look at it, and I think he should take his exams *avant tout*.<sup>d</sup>

The great Thesmar from Cologne is now here, has introduced himself to Gumpert and also Borchardt under the name Themar, but has already accepted Thesmar. If you can send me the number of *Zukunft* that mentioned the warrant out against him for embezzlement, then do so; otherwise I shall have to write to Schneider.

Your  
F. E.

Another curious subject<sup>e</sup> greeted Borchardt as 'editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'; Borchardt himself will write to you about him.

First published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels. *The Peasant War in Germany* (see this volume, pp. 262, 265). -

<sup>b</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 262. - <sup>d</sup> first of all - <sup>e</sup> Gromier (see this volume, p. 275).

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>180</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

London, 24 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

FOR ABOUT 12 days I have been suffering dreadfully with my old liver complaints. I am swigging the old medicine from Gumpert, but so far without success. As a result, I am completely paralysed mentally. This condition appears every spring. If I do not pass through it SAFELY, the CARBUNCLES come next. So please ask Gumpert if he knows of anything new for me. I have not smoked for a week. *Ca suffit*<sup>a</sup> to make clear to you my state.

It will take me a few days to get the information for Borchardt from Dupont. I cannot find the copies of *Zukunft*.

Apropos. The new 'sub-Stieber' who now edits *Hermann* is named, or calls himself, 'Dr' Heinemann, and claims to come from Manchester. Do you know anything about him?

The worthy 'Hillmann' from Elberfeld has written to me. I'll send you his letter on Monday.<sup>b</sup> He attacks Liebknecht on account of his renewed armistice with Schweitzer, as a result of which the fruits of victory have been lost. Hillmann the Honorable was, in 1867, the rival worker candidate to Schweitzer.<sup>338</sup> *Hinc illae lacrimae*.<sup>c</sup>

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> that suffices - <sup>b</sup> 26 April - <sup>c</sup> Hence these tears (Terence, *Andria*, Act 1, Scene 1).

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>239</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 April 1869

Dear Moor,

Most useful for your liver would be a change of air and a change of your set habits. So do the right thing straight away: take a train immediately, and come here for a week or two. I have made myself quite a lot of spare time, and we shall be able to take vigorous walks together. Then you will be able to have Gumpert examine and treat you and, out of deference for your 'condition', you will be able to turn down invitations to 'tea'. You will then be fresh and ready for work in a short time again, to do more work in a few weeks than you can in months in your present condition. So telegraph me tomorrow to the WAREHOUSE which train you are coming on, and be here by the evening. That is the simplest and will *certainly* cure you.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>239</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 April 1869

DEAR FRED,

BEST THANKS FOR THE INVITATION. But it is quite impossible for me to LEAVE AT THIS MOMENT. My wife is coughing badly, and I am waiting that out; as soon as she can travel, she will go to Paris TO FETCH TUSSY.<sup>332</sup> I shall perhaps come up with the latter.



In addition there are some things to put in order in the International this week, which won't get going without me.<sup>399</sup>

And finally, however bad I might feel, I have to complete CERTAIN SLIPS OF PAPER, since it is always difficult to continue, not with a NEW SUBJECT, but in the middle of a certain topic.

WITH ALL THAT, if I don't get better, I shall naturally have to go away.

More tomorrow.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO ELEANOR MARX

IN PARIS

[London,] 26 April 1869

My dear little Quoquo,<sup>a</sup>

You must really excuse my long silence. I am just head over heels immersed in work.

Now first as to your animals. Sambo has become almost inseparable from me, to make some way or other up for the absence of his supreme master. Blacky behaves always like a gentleman, but a very dull one, too. Tommy has again done everything in her power to prove the truth of the Malthus theory. Helen<sup>b</sup> will to-day, I suppose, murder the new offspring of that old hag. Whiskey, that great and good personage, was at first like Calipso not to be consoled, desperate at your departure. He declined the finest bones, never left your bedroom, and altogether exhibited all symptoms of the deep sufferings of a '*schöne Seele*'.<sup>c</sup> Still, when your name is uttered, he gets into a fit.—Dicky has turned out a very fine singer, and we both encourage our respective musical talents by mutual 'exercises'. Sometimes, how-

<sup>a</sup> Eleanor Marx was called in the family by a humorous nickname of Chinese Prince Quo-Quo. - <sup>b</sup> Demuth - <sup>c</sup> 'beautiful soul'

ever, when I commence whistling, Dicky treats me as Luther treated the devil—he turns his ... upon me. Jocko has come out again, but its temper is as bad as possible. Having ascertained that you are absent, it gave vent to every sort of spleen and baffled all Helen's attempts at coaxing. Another source of annoyance for Jocko, was the arrangement of the little garden—a world Jocko considered justly as its own station and domain—by the gardener. Jocko misses its little hills, caves, rents, and all that lively disorder it delighted in.

As to the other 'animals'—as they belong not to the dumb sort, but are rather of a most talkative kind, and perfectly able to account for their own doings—I shall just now not lose *one* syllable upon them.

On Friday evening,<sup>a</sup> I was at dinner at Beesley's. Besides myself, there was Crompton, a barrister, and Jung and Dupont. Jung related his own doings. He told them what 'happy (literal!) *speeches*' he made here, and what 'cutting hits' he made there. In this world of 'Weltschmerz',<sup>b</sup> discontent, and restlessness, it gladdens your heart to be acquainted with an individual that is 'happy' and, moreover, possesses not only one shirt, but Sarah and other good things into the bargain.

*The Irishman* I send you tomorrow.

Many thanks to Cacadou<sup>c</sup> for her letter.

Many kisses to Fouschtra.<sup>d</sup>

And compliments to the African.<sup>340</sup> It will give him great pleasure to hear—if he has not already seen from the French papers, that the first 'black' ambassador of the United States has been appointed by Grant.<sup>341</sup> *Adio* my little Quoquo.

Your  
Old Nick

First published in Russian in *Voin-stuyuzhchy materialist*, Book 4, Moscow, 1925

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<sup>a</sup> 23 April - <sup>b</sup> weariness of life - <sup>c</sup> Laura Lafargue - <sup>d</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 May 1869

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed letter to our Belgian secretary<sup>a 342</sup> will become comprehensible to you from the attached *Cigale*, the organ of the FRENCH BRANCH,<sup>72</sup> one analogue of which has formed itself in Brussels<sup>b</sup> and one (*Comité de l'avenir*<sup>c</sup>) in Geneva; ALL TOGETHER a few dozen men under Pyat's leadership.

My wife is still not well at all, but thinks she will be able to leave for Paris on Tuesday.

Once again it is just before Thomas, i.e., close of post. I think that tomorrow I shall at last be able to write more fully to you.

*Salut!*

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 2 May 1869

Dear Moor,

I would have written long since if you had not left me waiting for the 'more tomorrow'.

I hope your wife is improving with the fine weather; the

<sup>a</sup> Marie Bernard - <sup>b</sup> 'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Formation d'une nouvelle section à Bruxelles', *La Cigale*, No. 16, 18 April 1869. - <sup>c</sup> Committee of the Future

journey will scarcely do her any harm; a change of air generally has a very favourable effect upon such coughs resulting from irritation of the larynx.

You can imagine the jubilation awakened here by the news that you would bring Tussy with you, YOU ARE NOW IN FOR IT and must bring her with you whatever happens. And if she can only come a few days *after* you, that doesn't matter, we could meet her at the station. You might come rather earlier for health reasons. You do not write how you are doing; if I were in your shoes, I would put everything aside and come here, the sooner the better; why let the business become chronic and torment you for so long when the cure is at hand any day.

Your  
F. E.

Best greetings to your wife and Jenny.  
The *Cigale* did not arrive.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 May 1869

Dear Moor,

Your liver must be raging, since we neither see nor hear anything of you. How are things, and when are you coming? And is your wife well again?

No answer from Wilhelm.<sup>a</sup> I wrote to him in a BUSINESSLIKE manner to stop him indulging in any more dodges. If he does not reply soon, we shall have to see to it that Eichhoff prints the stuff.<sup>b</sup> He, i.e., W.,<sup>c</sup> apparently doesn't give any sign of life either.

A few numbers of *Zukunft* by post today, and enclosed the Belgian

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*; see also this volume, p. 262. - <sup>c</sup> Wilhelm Eichhoff

letter,<sup>a</sup> returned with thanks. It is curious how, everywhere on the Continent, the people, relying on the International, simply launch strikes, and apparently have not the faintest intention of filling the general war-chest.

Tomorrow will, I hope, finally be that more lively 'tomorrow' when you will 'at last' get down to letting us have more news of you.<sup>b</sup>

In the debate on the trade regulations<sup>324</sup> Wilhelm played a quite deplorable role. All the motions came either from Schweitzer or from Bebel, and Wilhelm wisely kept his mouth shut, since positive knowledge was called for in this case. Schweitzer was also a treat when he tried to prove that the ban on Sunday work=increased consumption by the worker=wage rise.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 May 1869

Dear FRED,

In the main you had the right explanation for my obstinate silence: it came *from the liver*. However, there were several other additional INCIDENTS. *D'abord*,<sup>c</sup> my wife was very unwell. As soon as the business had got a bit better, last Tuesday,<sup>d</sup> she went to Paris, but arrived there quite benumbed. Paris has adopted the unmannerly custom of conforming to the London weather. When it rains here, it does there too, etc. Second, Eichhoff<sup>e</sup> arrived here, and is still here. And he arrived with a trio, a Berlin engineer, ditto

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 272. - <sup>b</sup> Ibid., pp. 272-73. - <sup>c</sup> Above all - <sup>d</sup> 4 May -  
<sup>e</sup> Wilhelm Eichhoff

merchant, and ditto banker. Their task here, and it seems to be succeeding, is to find names for the prospectus of a bank in East Prussia, which has already received a concession. Finally, there were the *massacres belges*.<sup>343</sup> After addresses had streamed in from all quarters, as you will see from the enclosed papers, it finally became necessary for the *CENTRAL COUNCIL*<sup>73</sup> to speak on this really important issue. I was appointed to edit the ADDRESS.<sup>a</sup> If I had refused, the business would have fallen into the hands of Eccarius, who would be a square peg in a round hole for a vital document like this. So I accepted. In view of the present state of my liver, it was very awkward to do it in English—since such things call for a certain rhetorical style—but then, in addition, the agony afterwards TO DO THIS IN FRENCH! But necessity knows no law, and I DID IT IN FRENCH. To start with, I wanted to send the thing to the Belgians in the original English, but our Belgian secretary Bernard (French by birth) declared to the assembled *patres conscripti*<sup>b</sup> (last Tuesday<sup>c</sup>) that it would be better to abandon the project altogether if the translation was going to be left to the Belgians, who only half knew English and absolutely no French. So I HAD TO GIVE WAY. You will be able to enjoy the thing in both languages. However, I left the German translation, which does not interest me, to Mr Eccarius, who also has a monetary interest.<sup>344</sup>

But writing French, with or without liver, is dead easy if you give the public the sort of French used by Mr Urquhart in the *Diplomatic Review* which is travelling to you today. Astonishing double Dutch—even the original sample given by the *grand* and *illustre* Gaudissart<sup>d</sup> was nothing compared to this!

After my wife left I would have been able to come to your place right away; and I would certainly have gained time by restoring the proper operation of this damnable sack of flesh earlier. But Jennychen was looking forward to my wife's short absence in Paris, to have me entirely at her disposition and be able to let herself go. So I stay here! Apropos Jennychen, she claims that you know everything, and therefore wants to know from you: WHY DID MR 'EXCELSIOR',<sup>e</sup> OF THE ALPINE CLUB, NOT MARRY 'LADY CLARA VERE DE VERE'<sup>f</sup>?

About the FRENCHY<sup>g</sup>—Borchardt had his daughter II ask me

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'The Belgian Massacres'. - <sup>b</sup> members of the General Council (originally collective title of Roman senators) - <sup>c</sup> 4 May - <sup>d</sup> Sigismund Borkheim - <sup>e</sup> the main character of Henry Longfellow's poem 'Excelsior' - <sup>f</sup> the main character of Alfred Tennyson's poem by the same name - <sup>g</sup> M. Gromier. See also this volume, p. 267.

about him<sup>345</sup>—I have only learned after a considerable waste of time that he is a *lumpacius vagabundus*,<sup>a</sup> who, however, held a SUBORDINATE post on the *Glowworm*, a very SUBORDINATE lousy sheet. Communicate this to the doctorly priest or the priestly doctor.

Don't forget to report to me on that Dr Heinemann of Manchester, the sub-Stieber on *Hermann*.

AS TO Wilhelm<sup>b</sup>: Eichhoff brought Eccarius a gratification of £10 (I believe Eichhoff paid it out of *his own* private pocket) for 'my Mill', but told me, in confidence, that 'my Mill'<sup>346</sup> had been printed but now lay firmly aground with the Leipzig printer,<sup>c</sup> who demanded exactly *double* the printing costs stated by Mr Wilhelm. Your steps were, therefore, prophetically correct. Meissner wrote to me more than a fortnight ago that he would start,<sup>347</sup> but NOTHING OF THE SORT! This is really too much.

According to Eichhoff's report, credit swindling and the FINANCING game are at present so dominant in Germany that everything else is absorbed by them, as far as the upper classes are concerned. As for the workers in Berlin, he declares they are the most contemptible specimens in the whole of Germany. Even the imported ones are soon totally corrupted by the city's atmosphere, and the 'low-priced' minor amusements. Bismarck, Duncker, Schulze-Delitzsch and Dr Max Hirsch compete for ascendancy in this sphere.

The old Hatzfeldt's Scurvy-Mende used to be an itinerant improviser and declaimer, a brute who belongs through and through to the lumpenproletariat.

Hasenclever has allowed himself to be captured by Schweitzer. Eichhoff praises Bebel greatly.

Harney—today under-secretary OF SOMETHING OF THE SORT in the HOME DEPARTMENT of the COMMONWEALTH OF Massachusetts (they still say officially 'COMMONWEALTH' and not 'REPUBLIC')—in Boston, has sent £1 membership fee to the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL,<sup>d</sup> ditto a letter in which he asks after you very affectionately. Ditto, he says I should send him A COPY OF *Capital*. He hopes to find a translator and publisher in New York.

A Frenchman who has translated various volumes of Hegel and Kant has written to Lafargue stating that he wants to Frenchify the book,<sup>e</sup> but—and what a visionary idea—for an honorarium of £60, for which sum he will also provide the bookseller.

The *International*, the Bonapartist organ here, had the impu-

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<sup>a</sup> a vagabond rascal - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>c</sup> Otto Wigand - <sup>d</sup> the General Council - <sup>e</sup> the first volume of *Capital*

dence to state that the GENERAL COUNCIL of the 'Internationale' no longer presides in London; that the leadership has now passed into the hands 'd'un *personage très haut placé*'<sup>a</sup> in Paris.<sup>b</sup>

For the subscription list for the Belgians it would be very good if you could also send us *SOMETHING* from Manchester, and quickly.

Apropos. In the report on the EMPLOYMENT of AGRICULTURAL CHILDREN (only 2 volumes out yet, Report I and EVIDENCE), the COMMISSIONERS, in their preliminary resumé, present a variety of facts about the expropriation of the workers from common land, quite in my sense.

My best greetings to MRS LIZZY, KING COLE OF COAL,<sup>c</sup> and JOLLYMAYER.<sup>d</sup>

Your  
Moor

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

[Manchester, 10 May 1869]

Dear Moor,

Letter and 2 consignments received. Best thanks. Enclosed with speed for tomorrow's meeting £1 in STAMPS from us here for your Belgian subscription. The Irish pamphlet caused a great sensation here. Ask Eichhoff if he can get the *Peasant War*<sup>e</sup> printed by his brother.<sup>f</sup> Meissner is obviously frightened.

Here we are in a lovely industrial crisis, and despite the SHORT TIME, too much is still being produced. The only means the manufacturers have of agreeing among themselves on SHORT TIME and a shutdown is—a STRIKE by the workers. They have been working towards this in a planned way for 2 months now. The one

<sup>a</sup> of a very high-ranking person - <sup>b</sup> 'Berlin', *L'International*, 22 April 1869 (in the column *Dernières nouvelles*). - <sup>c</sup> Samuel Moore - <sup>d</sup> Carl Schorlemmer - <sup>e</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - <sup>f</sup> Albert Eichhoff



in Preston<sup>a</sup> was the first attempt, now followed by the 5% wage reduction in East Lancashire.<sup>326</sup> If the workers accept this, it will be followed by a new one, and so on, *until they strike*, for this is the sole aim. The honest Watts did not even mention this type of strike in his pamphlet,<sup>b</sup> *et pour cause*.<sup>c</sup>

When will you be coming?

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 11 MAY 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

You must excuse my PROTRACTED SILENCE. First, I suffered for many weeks from the *liver complaint* that always afflicts me in the months of spring, which is all the more vexatious since it lays me almost completely fallow for intellectual work. Second, I was waiting impatiently from day to day for the photogram you want, which Mr Fehrenbach, a German clot, has still not delivered.<sup>d</sup>

My wife and my youngest daughter<sup>e</sup> are, at the moment, on a visit to the Lafargues in Paris, so we are very lonely here.

The Palmerston PAMPHLETS (mine)<sup>f</sup> I could not find for you with the best will in the world. Urquhart's PUBLICATIONS against Russia and Palmerston,<sup>348</sup> though they contain a good deal that is correct, spoil everything again because of the CROTCHETS of the great 'David'.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 257. - <sup>b</sup> J. Watts, *Trade Societies and Strikes*. - <sup>c</sup> and for good reasons - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 213 and 231. - <sup>e</sup> Eleanor Marx - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx, *Lord Palmerston*. - <sup>g</sup> an ironic allusion to David Urquhart

Your article sent to Engels.<sup>a</sup> As we are completely isolated from the RESPECTABLE PRESS, it will be difficult for us to act for you in this field, BUT WE SHALL TRY.

I intend to descend on you ABOUT the end of August with my daughter,<sup>b</sup> and to lodge with you until the end of September wherever you want in Germany<sup>349</sup>; even at the risk of suspending the completion of my manuscript.<sup>c</sup> No longer period is, of course, at my disposal.

I have read your letter to Borkheim. You note quite rightly that the St Bartholomew chatter about the BELGIAN MASSACRES WILL NOT DO. Yet you, for your part, overlook the importance and particular meaning of these events. Belgium, you should know, is the sole country where sabres and muskets *regularly*, year in, year out, have the last word in every STRIKE.<sup>350</sup> The matter is made clear in an address of the GENERAL COUNCIL here, which I have written in French and English.<sup>d</sup> It should be printed (in English) by tomorrow. I shall send it to you immediately.

In addition, I have just written an English address for the GENERAL COUNCIL of the International Association here to the NATIONAL LABOR UNION in the UNITED STATES<sup>e</sup> regarding the war with England,<sup>351</sup> which the bourgeois Republicans over there want to stage JUST now.

Mr Meissner has had the (printed and corrected) manuscript of the *18th Brumaire* since the end of January, but to date he has repeatedly delayed publication. This is pleasant too! He is waiting until the time for a possible effect has passed, for stupid bookselling reasons.

With best wishes to your dear wife and Fränzchen.

Yours

K. Marx

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 314. - <sup>b</sup> Jenny Marx - <sup>c</sup> the second volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, 'The Belgian Massacres'. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States'.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 13 May 1869

Dear Hermann,

My best congratulations on the increase in the family, which pleases me all the more since this finally breaks the spell that caused you so much concern. YOU WILL NOW HAVE TO MAKE UP FOR LOST TIME.

The current account is so far correct, but I cannot calculate how interest at 5% on 27,924.29.4 thalers should come to 1,396.25.5 instead of 1,396.7.6 thalers. But since this does not amount to more than a bottle of moselle wine it is not worth altering much.

Not a step further contractually with Gottfried.<sup>a</sup> The lawyers are protracting the matter excessively; my lawyer advises me not to hurry, since Gottfried has more interest in coming to a conclusion than I have, which I believe too, because as soon as I have my money I can, if the worst came to the worst, always start up a business again and compete with him; to do this I don't need to start by collecting lots of samples and notes; I've got all that in my head. In the meantime, I have already taken the greater part of my money out of the business and invested in shares, and this in such a way that he himself is now short of money, and I have purchased shares from him for about £2,400; at first he encouraged me to draw funds liberally, but he got out of his depth when I drew about £7,500, and so he had to sell me these shares himself, as he held just the sort I needed.

I am very sorry that I was so deceived by the business with the reform of weights<sup>352</sup> at your end. I thought that such a measure would not be introduced if it were not to be carried out *absolutely* and be made valid for *all*. This, however, would have meant completely excluding yourselves from the market outside Germany, and I concluded that you were not very interested in business outside Germany. Had this not been the case, I would, as I mentioned to Adolf<sup>b</sup> 2 years ago, and to mother last year, have

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<sup>a</sup> Gottfried Ermen - <sup>b</sup> Adolf von Griesheim

first asked you whether you would like to go into business outside Germany, and if so, to what extent we could come to an arrangement. But I had to assume the contrary, and therefore arranged my business with G. Ermen, and now, after this was arranged, mother writes to me that you have made this weight reform for Germany *only*. In this case I, in your place, would not have done it at all, since in Holland, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, etc., they want anything except dutiable weight, and when you expand your business outside Germany you will have just as much trouble and entanglement as before.

Mother writes to me that 4,000 thalers were credited to me there on 1 April. This will have reduced my account to about 17,000 thalers, which will be further reduced by the *cops*, which have been bought cheap and will soon be ready. This I shall remit to you *in thalers* at the beginning of July, since it is high time that I also finally profited from the rate of exchange. If you would prefer *STERLING*, that's all right too, providing we share equally, you half and I half, the whole rate-of-exchange profit you have made since 1860 on my remittances, and also the 35-38% discount you stuck on me then.

Regarding the *cops*, there can be no question of obtaining them directly from the spinners, since these people don't know anything, and don't *want* to know anything, about forwarding and advices. You will have to pay the 1½% brokerage of some commission house, which will be well worth while, as differences of quality arise at the spinners, of which you know nothing, etc. For instance, for years I purchased the 45 from Samuel Taylor & Son in Oldham, but now suddenly the same yarn from John Wagstaffe & Co. in Stalybridge, which you and we used to utilise, has suddenly become much cheaper, so I am buying it again. The 55s and finer yarns are all from John Knowles in Bolton (formerly J. & G. Knowles), and you will have to stick to this yarn, or to that of his brother G. Knowles & Son, Bolton. Will you select a commission agent or shall I suggest one? As soon as you have chosen one, I can explain everything to the man, face to face. Incidentally, I always had the name of the spinners placed on the invoices.

Among my papers I found the original contract with Peter Ermen of 1862, and wanted to send it to you; but I discover that it is the one dealing only with the business *here*, so it would be of no use to you. So I shall keep it here, but if you should ever need it, you now know where it is. The arrangement about *there* you have there.

G. Ermen said recently to his nephew Heinrich<sup>a</sup>: 'There is really nothing to be done with Anton,<sup>b</sup> his head is completely worn out.' I calculate that the fellow has damaged us here, directly and indirectly, to the tune of between £1,000 and £2,000 per year.

Heartiest greetings to Emma and the little ones; the same to mother.

Your  
Friedrich

The cops cost  $\frac{45}{16\frac{3}{4}}$ ,  $\frac{55}{21\frac{3}{4}d}$ .

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 MAY 1869

DEAR FRED,

My wife will come back only sometime next week, so I cannot be in Manchester AT THE OPPORTUNE TIME.

Eichhoff left yesterday. His proposal—*quant à*<sup>c</sup> the *Peasant War*—is that his brother<sup>d</sup> should publish the stuff and that he pay out the balance ON BEHALF of the 'International' at the next Book Fair, after subtracting his commission and costs.<sup>e</sup> He says: as far as his brother is concerned, you may regard the proposal as *definitive*.

With regard to *Herr Vogt*: When Liebknecht was arrested in Berlin, he left everything in confusion and, ditto, he did not clear up at the time of his EXPULSION. So 'he cannot remember' what happened to *Vogt*.<sup>f</sup> Eichhoff finally discovered that a second-hand bookseller had been advertising the book for 2 years in his sales catalogue. He visited the fellow, named Kampfmeyer. He had sold them all, and 'ditto cannot remember' *how* the books came into his hands. So everything Liebknecht told us was—fiction, to put it mildly.

<sup>a</sup> Henry Ermen - <sup>b</sup> Anton Ermen - <sup>c</sup> regarding - <sup>d</sup> Albert Eichhoff - <sup>e</sup> See this volume, pp. 211 and 237. - <sup>f</sup> Ibid., pp. 106, 142, 189.

The press here is lousy. First, they have suppressed like *one* man every word of our *Belgian* MISSIVE<sup>a</sup> (after deliberately publishing last week some stupid lines in the sense of Cherval, probably written by the 'police member' of the Brussels special committee); and not only that, they have ditto like *one* man suppressed our Address to the AMERICAN LABOR UNION<sup>b</sup> (written by me, approved last Tuesday<sup>c</sup>), although this is *against* war between the UNITED STATES and England.<sup>351</sup> But there are things in it that these blackguards do not like.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 19 May 1869

Dear Moor,

I must congratulate you on not having come here last week in this lousy weather. But this time you should really come.

About the *Peasant War* when we meet.

The address about Belgium is very good, and that for the Americans even better.<sup>d</sup> I saw them in the *Bee-Hive*.

Please bring with you the two numbers of the Prussian General Staff Report of 1866;<sup>e</sup> I must compare them with the Austrian ones,<sup>f</sup> which show up some pretty Prussian exaggerations.

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, 'The Belgian Massacres'. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States'. - <sup>c</sup> 11 May - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx. 'The Belgian Massacres' and 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States'. - <sup>e</sup> *Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland*. Redigirt von der kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Großen Generalstabes; *Der Feldzug der preußischen Main-Armee im Sommer 1866*. - <sup>f</sup> *Österreichs Kämpfe im Jahre 1866*. Nach Feldacten bearbeitet durch das k. k. Generalstabs-Bureau für Kriegsgeschichte, Bd. I-V.

Let me know as soon as possible when you will be coming. Your liver must have got somewhat better in the meantime.

Close of post.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 21 MAY 1869

DEAR FRED,

Tussy and my wife returned from Paris on Wednesday,<sup>a</sup> and I intended to come to Manchester with Tussy tomorrow. In the meantime, this has been made impossible by an economic obstacle.

The various Paris journeys by Jenny, Tussy and Madame, and the purchases connected therewith, have naturally entailed extra expenditure for me. Second, there were borrowings to a sum of £14, which I absolutely could not avoid, BY AN UNHAPPY coincidence of circumstances. Dupont, the soundest of the people here, has not only *chômage*,<sup>b</sup> but his wife is hopelessly ill. He is such a discreet man that he borrows from nobody, except in extreme need, and he is so conscientious that he always pays back. So I loaned him £6. Then along came Lessner, put into difficult circumstances by his wife's long and finally fatal illness. I could deny him all the less since I was myself his debtor for a long time. Thus £5. Finally the worthy Liebknecht (after writing to me *in vain* on the subject) writes to Eccarius himself, asking him to approach me for an advance. I told Eccarius that I had already turned Wilhelm down. But Eccarius wailed—and this is a fact—that he would be turned out of the house if I did not advance him at least £2 for rent owing. I thus did this, but at the same time wrote to Wilhelm that he should return it to me. So £14

<sup>a</sup> 19 May - <sup>b</sup> unemployment

OUT OF POCKET. All this left me with £15 lying *in petto*. But then, yesterday, A CERTAIN Drengler (*nomen omen*<sup>a</sup>) arrived from the City with a letter from Mr Zitschke in New York, who 13 years ago loaned me £15, and then suddenly disappeared from London because of embezzlement (he dispatched emigrants to New York). TURNS NOW UP AGAIN with the old loan, which I had thought settled by his defection with the cash. I had to deal with the matter all the more because, in the meantime, he has become friendly with Mr Heinzen; in the event of a refusal to pay, he would have been able to 'Pioneer me out'.<sup>b</sup> Thus cleaned out.

Fox has died in Vienna after a 5-day pulmonary disease. His family left in poverty. Letters on this have reached me from Vienna. Fox's mother (Peter Fox *nom de plume*,<sup>c</sup> real name Peter Fox André) is a rich woman, who, however, left him completely in the lurch, partly because he married her abigail (now old), and partly because of his atheism. I have now approached her, *threatening* that if she does not give something, public collections will be held for her son in London.

Meissner sent me, 1 week ago, the 1st sheet of the 18th *Brumaire*, and wrote that things should now go 'quickly'. But sheet 2 is not here yet. He appears to be dragging the matter out as long as possible.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> The name says it (the name *Drengler* derives from the German verb *drängen*—to press). - <sup>b</sup> Marx refers to the possibility of this material being published in Heinzen's newspaper *Pioneer*. - <sup>c</sup> literary pseudonym



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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 23 May 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the promised first halves of 3 fivers, the other halves follow in a letter I shall put in the letter-box after close of post, which will thus arrive by the next post. Be so good as to let me know which train you will be coming on on Tuesday,<sup>353</sup> so I can pick you up.

From Euston Square	leaves	9	arrives	2	o'clock
	"	10	"	3	"
	"	12	"	5.35	"
" King's Cross Great Northern					
	"	10	"	3.10	"
	"	12	"	6	"
" St. Pancras, Midland					
	"	9	"	2.40	"
	"	10	"	3	"

I hope you arrive at the latest by 3 pm, so we can still dine together. The weather has already changed and is nice and warm, and instead of sitting by the fire I am sitting with the window open for the first time today.

Best greetings to your wife and the girls.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO P. LE NEVE FOSTER, ESQ.<sup>354</sup>Manchester,<sup>355</sup> 28 May 1869

I have to thank You for your letter offering me to be proposed as a member of the Society of Art<sup>356</sup> and beg to say in reply that I shall feel obliged if You will be kind enough to do so at an early opportunity.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant

Karl Marx<sup>357</sup>

First published in *The Royal Society of Arts Journal*, Vol. CXXIX, No. 5296-5297, London, March 1981

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## MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN PARIS

Manchester, 2 June 1869

My dear Paul,

You can, of course, *dispose of my name as you like*. Still, there are some objections. In the first instance, what you want, is work which, for the present, I am unable to perform, while Engels still suffers from an inflammation of the eyes which for some time is sure to debar him from writing. Of course, if a very urgent question arose, we should address ourselves to the *Renaissance*,<sup>283</sup> but this could be done without my name figuring amongst the *rédacteurs*. A merely nominal co-editorship would prove of no possible avail. However, my most serious objection is of an exclusively private nature, and I leave it to your discretion to decide the case. The intended paper will probably involve you and your friends in judicial conflicts with the government, and your father,<sup>a</sup> becoming sooner or later aware of my name figuring among

<sup>a</sup> François Lafargue

the *rédacteurs* of that paper, would be likely to draw the conclusion that I had pushed you to premature political action, and prevented you from taking the steps necessary (and which I am continuously urging you to take<sup>a</sup>) to pass your medical examinations and establish you professionally. He would justly consider such presumed influence on my part as running counter to our express mutual engagement.

As to the misgivings of *Le Petit*,<sup>b</sup> they are altogether unfounded. To make ready for an invasion of France, Prussia would, *under the most favourable circumstances*, want instead of 8 days at least one month. But the circumstances are now anything but favourable to her. There exists, in point of fact, *no German unity*. It could only be founded by a German Revolution, sweeping away the Prussian dynasty, which was, is, and must always be, the man-servant of the Muscovite. It is only by the overthrow of 'Prussia' that Germany can become really centralised.

Prussia has not merged into Germany. It has, on the contrary, conquered a part of Germany, and treats it—the directly annexed provinces as well as those pressed into the Northern German Confederation—as a conquered land. Hence the greatest disaffection prevails in her new acquisitions. In case of an *offensive* (not *defensive*) war against France, Prussia would be forced to employ a large part of its army for the purpose of keeping down these provinces, the more dangerous since her means of communication with France, such as railways, telegraphs etc. run through them, and the Prussian lines of retreat from the Rhine pass through them. As to the military contingents raised from Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony, Kurhessen, Nassau etc., they could not be relied upon, and would prove a source of weakness instead of strength.

Apart from these provinces, either directly annexed or pressed into the Northern German Confederation, there is *Southern Germany* (Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, Hessen-Darmstadt) numbering 9 millions. Here the popular masses are Anti-Prussian to the core. In case of a war against France, Prussia would, therefore, have to detach another part of her army in order to make sure of that part of Southern Germany which, on a long-stretched line, borders upon France.

And last, not least, Prussia would be bound to concentrate a strong army of observation against Austria. Do not forget that the Hapsburg Dynasty is sorely smarting under the recent humilia-

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 224-25.- <sup>b</sup> Louis Auguste Blanqui

tions and losses<sup>358</sup> inflicted upon it by the Prussian upstart.<sup>a</sup> Admit even *the quite absurd hypothesis*, that the Hapsburg Dynasty was ready to condone for the past, it would still be unable to support Prussia. The Austrian Emperor<sup>b</sup> has no longer any control over international affairs. The Hungarian diet has now to decide, and it would decide for France against Prussia. So would the Vienna diet. Thus, however friendly the apparent attitude of the Vienna Cabinet might be, Prussia could and would not rely upon it, but find herself always obliged to detach a strong army of observation against the army which Austria would be sure to concentrate in Bohemia.

Hence you see *de prime abord*,<sup>c</sup> that of the seemingly formidable military power of Prussia a very large part would not be available against France, but, on the contrary, would have to be frittered away in different directions.

Prussia would have no ally except Russia who is not able to dispose of her army on a *sudden emergency*. Before her contingents had been mobilised and had entered Prussia the whole campaign would have been decided.

The very idea that Prussia, under such circumstances, would venture *single-handed*, as she must do, upon an invasion of France, and revolutionary France too, is incorrect.

I have till now considered only the strictly military and diplomatic aspect of the question but there is not the least doubt that in case of a Revolution in France, Prussia would have to act now as in 1848. Instead of throwing her forces abroad, she would be forced to absorb them in *expeditions à l'intérieur*.

If, in 1848, the movement in Germany paralysed the Prussian Government, what would the case be now, when the popular masses in Prussia and the other parts of Germany, are much more developed, and, simultaneously, the Prussian government as well as the other German governments have ceased to be absolute and been weakened by the trammels of a mock constitutionalism?

As to the German working classes, they are, in my opinion, better organised than the French ones. Their ideas are more *international* than in any other country. Their *atheism* is more pronounced than in any other country. Their predilection for France, is general.

Prussia can *do nothing* in case of a French Revolution. (One working men's representative *in the North German Diet*<sup>d</sup> recently *threatened them* with the approach of a French Revolution.<sup>359</sup>) Only

<sup>a</sup> Bismarck - <sup>b</sup> Francis Joseph I - <sup>c</sup> at first sight - <sup>d</sup> Johann Baptist von Schweitzer

in the case of an *Imperial Invasion of 'Fatherland'*, Prussia could become a dangerous antagonist of France.

*Addio.*

Old Nick

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MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY<sup>360</sup>

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 2 June 1869

My dear Emperor,

The thing under the arm was no carbuncle, but another sort of abscess, which bothered me much but, since yesterday, is quickly healing. It was a fortune I was at Manchester. Otherwise, it might have turned out a troublesome affair. I am now quite in good health.

I hope to be with you in the course of next week. Tussy will probably somewhat prolong her stay at Manchester.<sup>353</sup> After the restraint at Paris,<sup>361</sup> she feels here quite at her ease like a new-fledged bird.

I hope Lessner's departure to Brazil is not yet definitively decided upon. I regret very much being not able to do something for him. With your usual kindness you seem to have sacrificed yourself in the interminable tête-à-tête of Sunday last. As to Lafargue's paper,<sup>283</sup> I feel rather uneasy. On the one hand, I should like to oblige Blanqui. On the other hand, my other occupations will not allow me to do much for them, but, above all things, I fear lest *old Lafargue*<sup>a</sup> should suspect me to push his son to premature political action and make him neglect his professional duties.<sup>b</sup> As it is, he has not much reason to delight in his connexion with the Marx family.

<sup>a</sup> François Lafargue - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 287-88.

And now, dear By-Bye, good-by and my compliments to all.  
 Your retainer  
 Old Nick

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Reproduced from the *Annali*

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## MARX TO HIS DAUGHTER JENNY

IN LONDON

Manchester, 10 June 1869

My dear child,

I was firmly resolved to leave Manchester yesterday. But on the pretext, that, during the first week of my stay, I had been an invalid, Engels insisted so much upon my remaining here till Monday next, that I had to give way.<sup>353</sup> He is really too kind towards me to seriously oppose such a whim on his part.

On our three days' trip to the Devonshire Arms, near the Bolton Abbey, I made the acquaintance of a most strange fellow, Mr Dakyns, a geologist, who lives transitorily in that part of Yorkshire in order to make a geological survey. *En passant*, you ought to know that a geological map is taken up of all England, under the orders of government, and under the leadership of Professor Ramsay, of Jermyn street. Moore is himself a geologist. By him Engels and Schorlemmer became acquainted with Dakyns who lives in a farmer house, in midst of a Yorkshire wilderness. That farmer's house was also an old abbey, and the lower part of it still serves as a chapel. It was to see Dakyns that we set out for that part of the world. Dakyns looks much like a German peasant of stunted side, with a face always grinning a broad smile, something monkeyish in the formation of his head, nothing British about him save the protruding upper set of teeth which reminded me of the late Mrs Seiler. His dress is about that of a slovenly and 'underdressed' farm servant, of utmost negligence. Cravat and such paraphernalia of civilisation he is a stranger to. The first impression he makes upon you is that of a

boorish clown whose good heart leaps through his eyes and grins on his lips, but you would give him no credit for intellect. Still, this is a highly scientific man, even an enthusiast for his science and whose name begins already to pierce through a big valley of rivals. He is naive like a child; without the least pretention always ready to communicate his scientific discoveries to the first comer wanting to pump him out. There is in fact always a couple of other geological surveyors swarming to and from him for the express purpose to beat money out of him, or fame, by appropriating his researches. In fact, we found him in the company of two such fellows, one of whom, named Ward, was a timid youth and the other, named Green, a bold, pushing man. We had a dinner on his farm—on Sunday last—in the room directly lying over the chapel. The room had evidently formerly served as an assembly room of the monks, big walled (*ich meine, mit dicken Mauern umgeben*<sup>a</sup>), with a look out to magnificent trees, and to an amphitheatrical group of mountains, the one overtopping the other, and wrapt in that blue veil Curren Bell<sup>b</sup> is so delighted with. During the very merry, and in spite of its rusticity comfortable dinner, the singsong of the youth in the chapel, coming from the depth, intercepted by the big walls, and sounding as from a far-away place, reminded me somewhat of the Christian Song in *Faust*.<sup>c</sup>

Well, our friend Dakyns is a sort of Felix Holt,<sup>d</sup> less the affectation of that man, and plus the knowledge (by the by, the Tories here say 'Felix Holt, the rascal', instead of the 'radical'). He invites once a week the factory lads, treats them to beer and tobacco, and chats with them on social questions. He is a 'naturwüchsiger'<sup>e</sup> communist. I could of course not forbear making a little fun of him and warning him to fight shy of any meeting with Mrs Eliot who would at once lay hold of him and make literary property out of him. He had already written to Moore that he wanted to enter the International. So I brought him a card and he made a donation, as his entrance fee, of 10 sh., which is a sum for him. These men get only 150 £ a year, and have very hard work, mentally and bodily. The Government could not afford to get these men at such a price, if it was a mere matter of competition, but most of them are full of 'geological'

<sup>a</sup> I mean, surrounded by thick walls - <sup>b</sup> pseudonym of Charlotte Brontë - <sup>c</sup> Apparently the reference is to the angels' chorus in Gounod's opera *Faust*. - <sup>d</sup> the main character of George Eliot's novel *Felix Holt, the Radical* - <sup>e</sup> natural

zeal and improve this opportunity afforded them of making researches. They are provided with cards which bind every landowner, farmer and so forth, to allow them to walk over their estates, and farms and look into the formation of the soil. Dakyns, who has a good deal of farcical humour about himself, often enters into a farm, takes out his instruments, and sets at working, when the farmer comes up, growls at the impudent intruder, and bids him to pack himself off, lest he want to become acquainted with the teeth of his dog or the momentum of his flail. Dakyns affects not to mind him, proceeds in his business, and provokes the boor by some bad jokes. When the comedy has been approaching to a certain climax, he pulls out his card, and the cerberus is softened. During our stay he gave me to read in the nick of time the last number of *The Fortnightly Review*—an article of Huxley<sup>a</sup> where he merrily thrashes old Congreve. Dakyns is also a declared enemy of the Comtists or Positivists. He is of my opinion that there is nothing positive about them except their arrogance. As to my friend Beesly, he mentioned him amongst the 'doctrinaires' who mistake their fanciful crotchets for science.—In the same number of the *Fortnightly* is the second article of Mill<sup>b</sup> on Thornton's Capital and Labour. I saw from the criticism that both are equally small fry.—Dakyns is a neighbour of ours. That is to say, he lives at Kilburn (when in London) with his father, a lawyer.

Yesterday evening I had the unavoidable tea at the Gumperts. Mrs Gumpert has been much affected by the teeth of time. I have never before witnessed a more rapid change. The hypocrisy of a Greek nose has given way to the true Jewish type, everything about her looks rather shrivelled and dried up, and the voice has that guttural sound which the selected people is to some degree cursed with. Speaking of the disagreeableness to be in an omnibus, or at public firework, or in the theatre even near to the pit—all this because of the bad smells of the vile multitude, she said: 'I like the clean million, but not the dirty million'. I affected to have understood, clear million, and said that it was a very common predilection with mankind to prefer a clear million of pounds sterling to any million of men, whether washed or unwashed.

And now my dear child *addio*. Give my best wishes to all. On

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<sup>a</sup> T. H. Huxley, 'The Scientific Aspects of Positivism', *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXX, 1 June 1869. - <sup>b</sup> J. S. Mill, 'Thornton on Labour and its Claims', Part II, *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. V, No. XXX, 1 June 1869.



Monday<sup>a</sup> I shall positively leave. As to Tussy, she looks quite blooming, and a little longer stay at Manchester will do her good.

Yours  
Old Nick

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 16 June 1869

DEAR FRED,

Arrived safely the day before yesterday<sup>a</sup> after 5 hours rail travel. From Manchester (by the railway line on which I travelled) you have to take a ticket to *KENTISH TOWN STATION*. Then you are near my house. St. Pancras is one station further, more in the town.

Was in the International yesterday evening. Letter from Paris. 3-4 of our people (Murat, Varlin, etc.) arrested. They write that the *GAMINERIES*, DEVASTATION of the *kiosques*, etc., were carried out *by police agents*, who were allowed to do what they liked; then bystanders were attacked. The aim was to produce something 'bloody'.

Your trunk will be sent back today. You will find in it a wallet of yours that travelled with me, while a notebook of mine remained in Manchester.

Best greetings to all.

Your  
Moor

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<sup>a</sup> 14 June

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>180</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 June 1869

Dear Moor,

I don't know whether you have such fine weather there as we have here, but daylight has been so exhausted that, on the longest day, we had to turn the gas on at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. And it is devilish to read or write when you don't know whether it is day or night.

Tussy is very jolly. This morning the whole family went SHOPPING; tomorrow evening they want to go to the theatre. She has read right through *Hermann und Dorothea*,<sup>a</sup> not without difficulty because of the idyllic philistines' twaddle. Now I have given her the younger *Edda*, which contains several nice stories; then she can read from the elder one<sup>362</sup> the songs of Sigurd and Gudrun. She also plays the piano sedulously. I have also read Danish *Kjæmpeviser*<sup>b</sup> with her.

So that is Wilhelm's entire success: that the male-female line and the all-female line of the Lassalleans have united!<sup>363</sup> He really has achieved something there. Schweitzer will naturally be re-elected—in view of the precipitacy with which the business has been conducted—and then he will, once again, be the chosen one of general suffrage. Wilhelm is also preserving an obstinate silence about this event.

The *Urning*<sup>c</sup> you sent me is a very curious thing. These are extremely unnatural revelations. The paederasts are beginning to count themselves, and discover that they are a power in the state. Only organisation was lacking, but according to this source it apparently already exists in secret. And since they have such important men in all the old parties and even in the new ones, from Rösing to Schweitzer, they cannot fail to triumph. *Guerre aux cons, paix aus trous-de cul*<sup>d</sup> will now be the slogan. It is a bit of luck that we, personally, are too old to have to fear that, when this party wins, we shall have to pay physical tribute to the victors. But

<sup>a</sup> by Goethe - <sup>b</sup> epics - <sup>c</sup> K. H. Ulrichs, 'Argonauticus'. *Zastrow und die Urninge des pietistischen, ultramontanen und freidenkenden Lagers*. - <sup>d</sup> War on the cunts, peace to the arse-holes

the younger generation! Incidentally it is only in Germany that a fellow like this can possibly come forward, convert this smut into a theory, and offer the invitation: *introite*,<sup>a</sup> etc. Unfortunately, he has not yet got up the courage to acknowledge publicly that he is 'that way', and must still operate *coram publico* 'from the front', if not 'going in from the front' as he once said by mistake. But just wait until the new North German Penal Code recognises the *droits du cul*<sup>b</sup>; then he will operate quite differently. Then things will go badly enough for poor frontside people like us, with our childish penchant for females. If Schweitzer could be made useful for anything, it would be to wheedle out of this peculiar honourable gentleman the particulars of the paederasts in high and top places, which would certainly not be difficult for him as a brother in spirit.

At the end of the week, Schorlemmer will be going to Germany for 4 weeks via Grimsby and Rotterdam.

The STRIKES here in the cotton factories<sup>326</sup> have been over since this morning, when the Oldhamites went back. So overproduction has no restraints any more.

Close of post. Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 26 June 1869

DEAR FRED,

With THANKS I notify the £90, first half-notes.

Enclosed for Tussy 2 LETTERS. She must reply to tight-fisted Collet.

<sup>a</sup> enter - <sup>b</sup> rights of the arse-hole

The enclosed letter from Eichhoff shows, unfortunately, that his brother has become skittish.<sup>364</sup> Write me what should happen now.

The last proof-sheets finally arrived and have been returned, ditto preface sent.<sup>a</sup> It now turns out that the procrastination was for two reasons: 1. Mr Wigand in Leipzig is the printer, and 2. Mr Meissner, for his part, does not keep a watch on the Leipziger. He really believed that I had received the last sheets direct from Leipzig several weeks ago. German sloppiness!

The honourable Wilhelm<sup>b</sup> is maintaining a deep silence.

Today the weather finally TURNS to the better.

I have received an invitation from the SOCIETY OF ARTS<sup>366</sup> for a *conversazione* in Kensington Museum on 1 July. This takes place only once a year, and is attended by the entire London aristocracy, from the court down to, etc. So Jennychen will have a chance to see this rabble.<sup>365</sup>

Addio.

Your

K. M.

While re-arranging my bookshelves a small old edition of Rochefoucauld's *Réflexions etc.* fell into my hands again. Leafing through it, I found:

'La gravité est un mystère du corps, inventé pour cacher les défauts de l'esprit'<sup>c</sup> [56].

Thus, pinched by *Sterne* from Rochefoucauld<sup>366</sup>!

And these are nice too:

'Nous avons tous assez de force pour supporter les maux d'autrui' [5].

'Les vieillards aiment à donner de bons préceptes, pour se consoler de n'être plus en état de donner de mauvais exemples' [20].

'Les rois font des hommes comme des pièces de monnaie; ils les font valoir ce qu'ils veulent; et l'on est forcé de les recevoir selon leur cours, et non pas selon leur véritable prix' [126].

'Quand les vices nous quittent, nous nous flattons de la créance que c'est nous qui les quittons' [39].

'La modération est la langueur et la paresse de l'âme, comme l'ambition en est l'activité et l'ardeur' [63].

'Nous pardonnons souvent à ceux qui nous ennuyent, mais nous ne pouvons pardonner à ceux que nous ennuyons' [65].

'Ce qui fait que les amants et les maîtresses ne s'ennuyent point d'être ensemble, c'est qu'ils parlent toujours d'eux-mêmes'<sup>d</sup> [67].

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>c</sup> 'Gravity is a secret of the body, invented to hide the defects of the mind.' - <sup>d</sup> 'We are all strong enough to bear the sufferings of others.'—'The elderly like to give good precepts, to console themselves for no longer being able to set bad

I attended the TRADES UNIONS MEETING LAST WEDNESDAY,<sup>a</sup> in Exeter Hall.<sup>367</sup> Beesly delivered a really fine, very impudent SPEECH, recalling the June days (it was 24 JUNE).<sup>368</sup> The newspapers naturally KILLED, i.e., SUPPRESSED, him. In addition, he committed the crime of speaking very contemptuously of English journalists.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 27 June 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed the other halves of the notes in all haste. Thank Jenny in my name and Tussy's for her two letters. I shall write you more tomorrow or Tuesday, and also return Eichhoff.<sup>b</sup> But it is a crying shame that when the German workers have found a publisher, he cannot even hold on.

Best greetings from all of us to all of you. Sam Moore has been sentenced to be fed by Tussy at tea this evening, and she plans to

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examples.'—'Kings stamp men like money; they determine their worth as they will; and one is forced to accept them at their exchange-rate and not at their real price.'—'When vices abandon us, we flatter ourselves with the belief that we have abandoned them.'—'Moderation is the indifference and indolence of the soul, as ambition is its activity and ardour.'—'We often pardon those who bore us, but we cannot pardon those whom we bore.'—'Lovers and mistresses never bore one another when together, because they always speak of themselves.' - <sup>a</sup> 23 June - <sup>b</sup> See the previous letter.

give him bread and butter and TREACLE, and to smear the syrup in his beard. This is the latest.

Your  
F. E.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>180</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 1 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Hurrah! Today *doux commerce*<sup>a</sup> is at an end, and I am a free man.<sup>369</sup> All the main points I settled with dear Gottfried<sup>b</sup> yesterday; he gave way on everything. Tussy and I celebrated my first free day this morning with a long walk in the fields. In addition, my eye is considerably better, and with a bit of gentle treatment should soon be completely back to normal.

The accounts and the lawyers will keep me on the run for another few weeks, but this will not be anything like the time lost so far.

Beesly really seems to be improving.<sup>c</sup> Just think what respect he still had for the English press that evening when he visited you.

Eichhoff returned enclosed.<sup>364</sup> Wilhelm<sup>d</sup> now appears to be pushing him forward in order to beg forgiveness. In the meantime, war has been declared again between Schweitzer and Wilhelm, and there is rebellion in the General Association of German Workers. But always the bold expectation that *we* should take the side of Wilhelm and the People's Party.<sup>38</sup> Wilhelm would do well to read the *Manifesto*<sup>e</sup> on the attitude of the workers' party, if reading or anything else would do any good! I am very anxious to see how this brawl develops; in any case, it will produce

<sup>a</sup> sweet business - <sup>b</sup> Gottfried Ermen - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 298. - <sup>d</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

some amusing scandal. Schweitzer really showed colossal presumption towards his gang in expecting them to allow themselves to be bartered off like a herd of sheep.<sup>363</sup>

I assume you received the 2nd halves of the notes on Monday.

The Irish MEMBERS behaved wretchedly again in connection with Moore's motion, and Mr Bruce made a happy laughing-stock of himself once again.<sup>370</sup>

From Eichhoff's information, it appears very questionable to me whether one should write to Meissner at all about popularising your book.<sup>a</sup> What do you think? In any case, if books for 5 silver groschen don't sell, then one for 8 to 10 silver groschen will circulate even less. The only thing that would help here would be a small pamphlet of 1-2 sheets at 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> silver groschen, but this needs work and is nothing for Meissner. What do you think of this? Or will you reserve it for personal discussion, since you will certainly visit Meissner in Germany?

I suppose Jenny has gone to the seaside with her honourable Monroes.<sup>371</sup>

Best greetings from all to all.

Your  
F. E.

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## ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 1 July 1869  
86 Mornington Street, Stockport Road

Dear Mother,

Today is the first day of my freedom, and I cannot use it better than by immediately writing to you. Yesterday I finally reached a

<sup>a</sup> the first volume of *Capital*

settlement with Gottfried Ermen on all the main questions. The draft contract, drawn up by his lawyer, was such that I would never have signed it *in that form*. I obliged myself not to compete with him in the next five years, i.e., neither to make nor sell bleached, coloured or dressed cotton cloth. That was all right. But his lawyer had set this out in such a way that, if I breached any stipulation, I was obliged, in advance, to pay a penalty rising from £100 to £1,000 for each single instance, so that, in these monetary penalties, I would have had to pay back to G. Ermen *more* than the £1,750 paid to me, not counting the legal costs. My lawyer advised me strongly not to agree, so we struck out the whole business, nearly half the whole draft. Then there was another point, about the continuation of the firm Ermen & Engels by Gottfried. My lawyer told me that if I *explicitly* allowed him to do this, then, in the case of insolvency, I could still be regarded as *associé*<sup>a</sup> and be held liable. I therefore demanded that my *explicit* agreement to this should also be limited to 5 years, and this only so long as he himself was an active *associé* in the firm.

My Gottfried, who was originally very pressing with the negotiations, soon started dragging things out, and once even left the draft at home for 3 weeks without saying anything about it, so only about 3 weeks ago did I receive the 2nd draft contract (which is between G. Ermen, Anton Ermen and me, and governs the arrangement when I leave), and because of the usual lawyers' formalities could only begin to negotiate 8 days ago. In the past few days G. Ermen appeared frequently to avoid me, as though he wished to delay the matter until I was out of the business, when he might hope to deal with me more easily. Only yesterday morning did we get down to negotiations, and then Gottfried gave way *on all points*, while, for my part, I conceded him that, for 5 years, I would not spin and twine any cotton yarn *under No. 40*; I would remain free to trade in such yarn as long as it was in the *raw* condition. This concession has no sort of practical importance for me, and I thus obliged him.

Thus the matter has now been concluded, with the exception of a few legal matters of form, and I think everything *could* be finished in three weeks; but I am resigned that it might last in to August, since the accounts must be completed, and the lawyers always drag things out so.

Yesterday afternoon I went to the mill with Gottfried and inspected the stores and the reception; afterwards we went to his

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<sup>a</sup> partner



house, where he served me a bottle of very good Scharzhofberger. He is as glad as I am that the matter is finished, that he is now the sole master of the firm, and that he is not going to have a row with me, since 1. as my lawyer tells me, if I had gone into partnership with my brothers, we would have been able to conduct the firm of Ermen & Engels *here too*, and we could prohibit him from doing so; 2. he is anyway very much afraid of competition; and 3. it now emerges that he still needs me very much for a time if bad blunders are to be avoided in the business; for this reason, he has invited me to come to the office as often as I like, and has requested me to give the people information from time to time, to which I naturally agreed. He has engaged a young Stuttgarter as correspondent, but he has only been there for 3 weeks and is naturally still very green. He'll have a heavy enough load.

Gottfried is not finished with Charles<sup>a</sup> either; his notice runs out in 8 days. I am curious whether they will reach an agreement. Five years ago Charles obtained from him a promise to make him managing clerk, but has never received the post; now he is demanding £1,000 compensation for this, but Gottfried will never give it to him.

Neither does he seem to want to keep on Anton as an *associé*. At least the 2nd draft contract dissolves the partnership with him in just the same manner as with me, and Gottfried would not go to this trouble if he did not intend it that way. On the one hand, Gottfried has realised that Anton is worth absolutely nothing in practical business, i.e., in earning money and, on the other, Anton continually draws so much money behind Gottfried's back, and sends it to his Julie<sup>b</sup> that Gottfried is apprehensive that he might some day start drawing money directly from the bank as long as he—Anton—has the right to sign. When Anton joined, Gottfried advanced him £500, which represented Anton's capital, but Monsieur Anton, who should leave £250 yearly standing from his emoluments, has not only not done this, but has also squandered the £500 long ago.

My new freedom is just the thing for me. Since yesterday I have been quite a new man, and ten years younger. This morning, instead of going into the gloomy city, I walked in this wonderful weather for a few hours in the fields; and at my desk, in a comfortably furnished room in which you can open the windows without the smoke making black stains everywhere, with flowers on the windowsills and trees in front of the house, one can work

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<sup>a</sup> Charles Roesgen - <sup>b</sup> later Anton Ermen's wife

quite differently than in my gloomy room in the WAREHOUSE, looking out on to the courtyard of an ale-house. I live ten minutes walk from my club, just far enough away from the German and lodging-house quarters to be sure that I am not overrun. At 5 or 6 in the evening I dine at home, the cooking is really quite good, and then generally go for a few hours to the club to read newspapers, etc. But I shall only be able to organise this properly when I no longer have to go to the city because of the accounts, etc.

But now *adieu*, dear Mother; give my heartiest greetings to all, and if you have plans to travel let me know, so that I can, if possible, adjust to them; as I am situated at the moment, you should not take me into consideration.

From my heart, your son

Friedrich

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>124</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 July 1869

DEAR FRED,

Best congratulations upon your escape from Egyptian bondage<sup>a1</sup>

In honour of this event, I drank 'one glass too many', but late in the evening, not before sunrise like the Prussian gendarmes.

Enclosed a momentous letter from Wilhelm,<sup>372</sup> from which you will see that he has suddenly appointed himself my *curator*, and lays down this and that which I '**must**' do.

I *must* come to their August congress,<sup>373</sup> *must* show myself to the German workers; *must* send the International cards *immediately* (after *they* had *not* replied to two queries on the subject in 3 months), *must* muck the *Communist Manifesto* about; *must* come to Leipzig!

<sup>a</sup> Exodus 13:14; see also this volume, p. 299.

It is really very naive that, in the same letter in which he complains that he *cannot* pay back the £2 (which I gave to Eccarius for him), he offers *me my fare* to Germany. *Toujours le même!*<sup>a</sup>

He appears to be morally indignant about you. I have already replied to him that he has misinterpreted your letter. The fellow simply cannot grasp that convictions and business management are not poles apart, as he assumes in his newspaper administration, and as others have to assume if they do not wish to become SUSPECTS.

Our Wilhelm has a sanguine nature and is a liar. So there are probably, once again, exaggerations in his description of the victory over Schweitzer. Still, there must be something in it. Schweitzer would not have returned to the Church of Hatzfeldt had he not been shaky in his own association. On the other hand, he speeded up the general dissolution by the doltish management of his latest *coup d'état*.<sup>363</sup> I hope that, as a result of this business, the German workers' movement will finally leave the stage of Lassallean infantile disorders behind, and that the Lassallean residue will decay in sectarian isolation.

As for Wilhelm's various 'absolute commandments', I have answered him TO THIS EFFECT:

I feel absolutely no need to show myself to the German workers, and will *not* go to their congress. Once they have really joined the International and given themselves a proper party organisation—and the Nuremberg Congress<sup>135</sup> showed how little trust can be put in just promises, tendencies, etc.—then there will be an opportunity BY AND BY. In addition, it must be CLEARLY understood that the new organisation must be, for us, neither People's Party<sup>38</sup> nor Lassallean church—as little the one as the other. If we went now we would have to speak *against the People's Party*, and that would not please Wilhelm and Bebel! And if they—*mirabile dictu*<sup>b</sup>—would themselves admit this, we would have to throw *our weight* directly onto the scales against Schweitzer and Co., instead of having the change-over appear as a free action by the workers.

As far as polishing up the *Manifesto*<sup>c</sup> is concerned, we would consider this as soon as we have seen the decisions of their congress, etc.

He should hang on to his £2 and not worry about my fare. I praise their action against Becker.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Always the same! - <sup>b</sup> strange to say - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - <sup>d</sup> Johann Philipp Becker

That's all on that.

About Meissner it is probably best if I speak to him. Incidentally, if you have time (that is, if it doesn't bother your eye) to finish something, it is easier to negotiate *with* a manuscript rather than *without* one. I know enough to know that Meissner prefers 5 sheets to 2. The shorter the pamphlet, the harder to sell, as he told me himself.

What do you say about the way that the virtuous Gladstone and puritanical Bright acted with regard to Overend, Gurney, *et* Co.? <sup>227</sup>

Remarkable, also, was Bruce's declaration on the Mold shooting, <sup>374</sup> which was not so INNOCENT as the Manchester papers reported. So the RIOT ACT <sup>375</sup> need *not be read*. It is enough for some fox-hunting UNPAID MAGISTRATE to whisper in the ear of an officer, and the peppering starts. Yet even this is not necessary. The soldiers may use their RIFLES IN SELF-DEFENCE (and they themselves judge whether this is necessary). But then, shouldn't the ARMS ACTS <sup>376</sup> be repealed, so everybody would be able to use his own RIFLE in SELF-DEFENCE against the soldiers?

The Gurney business, or rather the attitude of the Ministry towards it, ditto the Mold affair, finally the ministerial trickery with Lamuda and other scoundrels against the TRADES-UNIONS-BILL <sup>377</sup>—have made a mighty big dent in the fascination held by the names Gladstone and Bright amongst the workers here in London.

Laura was ill and bed-ridden for 14 days, but is said to be better now. They have given notice on their rooms, and in October will move to a more airy locality (Montmartre or some such).

BEST COMPLIMENTS TO ALL.

El  
Moro

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## MARX TO P. ST. KING

IN LONDON

3 July 1869

1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park

Dear Sir,

Will you send me

- 1) *Report of Commission on Bombay Bank*, issued this session;
- 2) *Agricultural Statistics. Ireland* f. 1867, issued this session (not the *General Abstract* for 1867 which I have already);
- 3) *Statistical Abstract for the U. Kingdom, f. 1868*. <\*\*\*\*\*> Sixteenth Number.
- 4) *Report of Committee of H. o. Commons of July, 1843, on results of the allotment system etc.*<sup>378</sup>

Yours truly

K. Marx

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>33</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 6 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed returned Wilhelm.<sup>372</sup> In fact, it is amazing, what he says you *must, must, must* do. But always the same old story. When he gets involved in a squabble with Schweitzer, you **must** always be called in to help. This will happen again, too.

With regard to the Basle congress,<sup>379</sup> I hope you have not minced words with him over the fact that only representatives of *those who have really joined* can be accepted. It would be vexing if he and Bebel had to be excluded on a technicality.

As far as my letter is concerned, his moans about 'reproaches instead of money' are the exact counterpart of Bismarck's complaint: 'Gentlemen, we ask for bread, and you give us stones',<sup>a</sup> when his taxes were rejected. The point that so 'upset' Mr Wilhelm was the question as to how he could tell me, *in one and the same letter*, that he did have the money to print the *Peasant War*, but at the same time had none for the sheet.<sup>b</sup> Further, how is it that the sheet was already 'guaranteed' 1 1/2 years ago, yet today it still doesn't pay? On this point, Monsieur Wilhelm is completely silent and is morally indignant that I should remind him of the shares he promised at that time *to send voluntarily and by return*; naturally I shall not get them now either, since Wilhelm says I shall 'naturally receive' them. The shares were only mentioned in order to prompt Wilhelm to remark upon the status of the sheet; it is fairly clear to me that Wilhelm and his consorts have managed things so sloppily that the printer or some other creditor can take over the sheet, and turn them out *as soon as it does pay*. In this case, it might be very agreeable for Mr Wilhelm if he had a few shareholders sitting here, who could exercise their legal claims in his favour. If the idiot had given me a satisfactory answer (which, however, would scarcely have been possible), he would have got the money; but simply to send a demand, and this self-contradictory, and without excuse either for his earlier dawdling or a word on the condition of the sheet—I wouldn't think of it. We don't want Wilhelm to get into the habit of things *like that*.

The extent to which his shouts of victory are premature is shown by the 4 numbers of *Social-Demokrat* that you sent me today. Certainly Schweitzer is also a big liar, but, *for the moment*, he appears to have saved the mass of the RANK AND FILE. However, things with him are going quickly downhill and, if he had any other opponent than Wilhelm, the process would be speeded up greatly. But, of course, the sultry waffle Wilhelm is now having printed as his 'speech'<sup>c</sup> will not help much. But Bebel is pressing Schweitzer hard, and cites some points that are very vexing to him, which would suggest the possibility that Schweitzer received his share of the Guelph funds surrendered to Stieber.<sup>380</sup>

In any case, nothing can be done with Wilhelm until he has

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<sup>a</sup> Matthew 7:9 - <sup>b</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (see also Note 372). - <sup>c</sup> W. Liebknecht, 'Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie...', *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 27 and supplement to No. 32, 3 July, and 7 August 1869.

quite definitely separated his organisation from the People's Party<sup>38</sup> and placed himself, at most, in a loose cartel relationship with it. Charming, too, is his intention of putting the International on the title of his sheet, which would then, *at one and the same time*, be the organ of the People's Party *and* of the International Working Men's Association! The organ both of the German petty bourgeoisie *and* of the European Workers!

Another fine idea of Wilhelm's is that concessions to the workers should neither be accepted nor *extorted* from the 'present state'. He'll get a long way with the workers like this.

I can't possibly prepare anything for you for Meissner in time. Until the accounts have been balanced, I have to go into town at least 2-3 times weekly, and probably even more often over the next few weeks, since I have to check the stuff carefully. My eye is much better, but still needs to be spared, since I don't want to make it worse again. In addition, I must put a mass of other money matters, my private accounts, etc., once and for all in order, and this is occupying me a lot too. Also, and particularly in this special case, I would like to hear Meissner's views first, since you say he is rather sensitive on such matters.

Tell Jenny I shall reply to her as soon as the beer in question puts in an appearance here, which so far is not the case.

Tussy says she will write tomorrow. She is now reading the Serbian folk songs in the German translation, and she appears to like them a lot; she has replaced me in giving piano lessons to Mary Ellen,<sup>a</sup> to the latter's great advantage. When the weather is good and I don't have to go to town, we go for a walk for a few hours every morning, otherwise in the evening, WEATHER PERMITTING.

The pamphlet by Tridon<sup>b</sup> was mainly of interest to me because of the second part, since I am not familiar with the newer material about the first revolution. The first part is, however, very confused, particularly about centralisation and decentralisation; it's a good thing that the *Renaissance* has been adjourned for the time being<sup>283</sup>; the people would have soon fallen foul of one another. It's a comic idea that the dictatorship of Paris over France, which led to the downfall of the first revolution, could be accomplished without more ado today once again, and with a quite different result.

Bruce's statement about Mold<sup>374</sup> has indeed proved that previous ideas about the English laws in this connection were quite

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<sup>a</sup> Mary Ellen Burns - <sup>b</sup> G. Tridon, *Gironde et Girondins. La Gironde en 1869 et en 1793*.

wrong, and that people take an entirely Prussian point of view. Useful, too, for the workers to know this.

I hope you will soon be able to give me better news about Laura's health. In any case, to move lodgings is sensible.

Best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO FRANÇOIS LAFARGUE

IN BORDEAUX

London, 7 July 1869

My dear friend,

Your letter decided me to leave immediately for Paris.<sup>381</sup> There I shall be able to judge the state of affairs and to act in the sense indicated by you. I quite share your views. I shall write to you from Paris, where I shall stay for two or three days.<sup>a</sup> The news of the state of your health has deeply pained me and all my family, who love you sincerely.

Please, pass my compliments to your wife.

Yours

Karl Marx

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 314-15.



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ENGELS TO JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)<sup>382</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 9 July 1869

\* Dear Jenny,

\* My best thanks for your two kind letters<sup>383</sup> and for the beer which arrived safely on Wednesday and was tried on Thursday after a day's settling. I have just been into the cellar to fetch another bottle up, it is very nice, and Lizzie<sup>a</sup> especially likes it because it reminds her more of her beloved 'Bavarian' than the regular Vienna beer. There is no doubt, it will soon be emptied, and the more so as I am afraid it will not keep very long in hot weather, being lighter than the common Vienna beer, so that there will be plenty of pretexts for taking frequent 'headers' into the cellar and fetching up a bottle or two of 'that same'.

\* I, and indeed all of us, were very much amused with your description of that highly aristocratic *soirée*. That little bit of a printed caution about mobbing, and the fact of its being sent round with the invitations,<sup>384</sup> is more than characteristic of 'that lot', as we say here in Lancashire. Very good, too, on the part of these Britishers, to describe this, their own darling 'vulgar habit' as one 'common throughout Europe'—common, indeed, wherever the British snob—and the snob and the flunkey is at the bottom of all of them—puts his foot! \* I'd like to see any place on the Continent where such a circular would be issued on such an occasion. To be sure, it clearly follows from the entire story that the admixture of rich UPSTARTS has also begun winning the upper hand in aristocratic areas, AND IN FACT, IS NOW SWAMPING 'SOCIETY'. So much the better. Your description, like the circular, fits our Manchester MOCK-'SOCIETY' completely, and the more the smart mob in London Manchesterises, the more gratifying for us.

\* I am just now in the honey-moon of my newly-recovered liberty, and you will not require to be told that I enjoy it amazingly.<sup>369</sup> As my eye, although very much better, still requires a little \* careful treatment, \* I have not yet settled down to regular work and indeed shall not be able to do so until all my business

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<sup>a</sup> Lizzy Burns.

affairs are regularly settled, which will take about a month. In the meantime I walk about a good deal with Tussy and as many of the family, humane and canine, as I can induce to go with us. We have just come back from a long walk through the fields to Heaton Chapel, about 5 or 6 miles the way we went, Tussy, Lizzie, Mary Ellen,<sup>a</sup> myself and two dogs, and I am specially instructed to inform you that these two amiable ladies had two glasses of beer *a-piece* (this is the vernacular Lancashire in which I got my orders). No wonder I had to bring them home by the train (we have a station about seven minutes' walk from our house), but no sooner arrived, than they walked, in common with me, into your Lager-Beer. Now they are getting their tea ready, or getting themselves ready for it, I don't know which, and after that there will be a reading of Irish novels which is likely to last till bedtime or nearly so, unless relieved by a bit of talk about the 'convicted nation'.<sup>b</sup> Anyhow, they seem to like it, and so it's all right to me.\*

Meanwhile they all send you the heartiest greetings, and I'll do the same.

Your with all my heart

F. Engels

If you and Moor don't go to Germany before the end of this month or if you don't return before the end of September, *I* may possibly meet you there somewhere.<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Mary Ellen Burns - <sup>b</sup> Irish - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 341-42.

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ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>385</sup>

IN HANOVER

Manchester, 10 July 1869  
86<sup>a</sup> Mornington Street, Stockport Road

Dear Kugelmann,

As the enclosures show, I do keep my word, and I would have done so a long time ago, had it not been for the following: 1. I still had the enclosed photograph of Lupus,<sup>b</sup> but none of me, and only after frequent sittings last winter did I get a bearable one; 2. then I found that the Lupus photo had been mislaid and, despite all the searching, could not be found. So, 3. I got the photographer who had the negative to make 24 more copies of Lupus, but they turned out miserably, since it was very faded, and I wouldn't like to send any of them. Finally, 4. I found the original one and *les voici*<sup>c</sup> both.

I regretted to hear through Marx that you had to undergo an operation and that, now, for the summer, you want to live healthily, which is certainly very useful, and here and there also probably pleasant. I hope this will put you properly on your feet again, but will probably have the result that our friend Schorlemmer, who has been in Germany for 14 days, and who wanted to go via Hanover and visit you in about 10-12 days, will not find you there. Marx will probably be coming to Germany with his daughter Jenny at the end of this month or the beginning of next,<sup>349</sup> how things will be with me I don't know yet, for the following reasons:

On 30 June this year my agreement with my present *associé*<sup>d</sup> expired.<sup>369</sup> According to my original calculations, at the beginning of the agreement I had expected that, on its expiry, I would have made enough money out of noble COMMERCE to live on, though very modestly by standards here, and be able to bid *adieu* to trade. This did not ensue completely, but after various negotiations with my *associé* we finally agreed that I would allow him to use my name in the firm for 5 years, and I would promise during these 5 years not to go into competition with him, for which he paid me quite a nice round sum, so that I have, in fact, reached the point

<sup>a</sup> In the manuscript: 89 - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Wolff - <sup>c</sup> here are - <sup>d</sup> partner

at which I aimed. Since the 1st inst. I have been out of the business, and my time is finally my own again—that is, for the time being, purely theoretically since I cannot leave here until the balance has been drawn and the necessary documents have been arranged by the lawyers; and I shall still have to waste a lot of time to put these matters in order. I expect, however, to be finished during next month, and if you would let me know where you will be about that time, it might be possible for all of us to meet somewhere in Germany. I don't need to tell you how happy I am to be rid of that damned commerce, and to be able to work for myself again. Particularly, too, since this was possible just now, when events in Europe are taking an increasingly critical turn and when, one fine day, the thunder may clap quite unexpectedly.

The Lassallean sect appears, not without dialectical irony, to seek its effective dissolution precisely in its nominal reunification.<sup>386</sup> Schweitzer may, for the moment, still hold the majority of the people together, but no party or sect can endure the repeated expulsion of its leaders. And this time the dirty washing of this extremely unclean clique will produce all sorts of *curiosa*, which can only harm Schweitzer. The dissolution of the Lassallean sect and, on the other hand, the severance of the Saxon and South German workers from the leading-strings of the 'People's Party'<sup>387</sup> are the two fundamental conditions for the new formation of a genuine German workers' party. The Lassalleans will now play their part themselves and devour one another, but it will be far more difficult to get rid of the South-German-republican philistine narrow-mindedness systematically drummed into the workers by Liebknecht. Just take the stupidity of inscribing on his sheet<sup>a</sup> 'Organ of the People's Party', i.e., of the South German philistines! If Bebel only had some theoretical knowledge, something like this could not happen; he seems to me to be quite a capable fellow, who simply has this one shortcoming. Then along comes Liebknecht and demands that we should come out on his side and that of his People's Party against Schweitzer! Whereby it is obvious that 1. we have far less in common with the People's Party, as a bourgeois party, than we have with Schweitzer's Lassalleans, who are after all a workers' sect; and 2. that Marx, in his capacity as Secretary of the International Working Men's Association for Germany, is *obliged* to treat decorously *every* leader whom a sufficient number of workers place at their head and elect to parliament.

<sup>a</sup> *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*

I would ask you from now on always to send your letters to my home address, given above.

Recently Marx sent me your study on the treatment of exanthematous disorders by means of ventilation. In my opinion you still apply the ventilation much too moderately. Here the window of the bedroom is kept open between 3 and 12 inches without further ado, without a screen, etc., and care is only taken that the patient is not lying in a *direct draught*—and this summer or winter. In addition *extractum carnis*<sup>a</sup> and port in big doses, otherwise practically no medicine. My servant-girl was treated thus last November for typhoid fever, and Marx's two unmarried daughters last summer for scarlet fever. I thought that this method of treatment had long been generally adopted in Germany too but, according to your account, the old keeping-warm and stink-hole method still seems to predominate.

Hoping to hear from you soon. With best wishes

Yours

F. Engels

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## MARX TO FRANÇOIS LAFARGUE<sup>80</sup>

IN BORDEAUX

Paris, 10 July 1869

My dear friend,

I arrived here on Thursday<sup>b</sup> evening and I shall return to London on Monday.<sup>381</sup>

In your letter, which I have reread, you seem to believe that Madame Marx is also here. That is a mistake.<sup>c</sup>

The first thing that struck me is that Laura is still suffering greatly, and her health is very delicate.

<sup>a</sup> meat extract - <sup>b</sup> Marx wrote *Thursday* instead of *Tuesday*. See this volume, p. 315.  
<sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 284.

I begin with this remark because it explains the apparent apathy of our Paul. He has not interrupted his studies, but he has neglected to take the necessary measures to pass his examinations.

To my reproaches on this subject he replied—and I must say had every right to reply—the following: ‘Before I think of the future, I must occupy myself with the present. The state of Laura’s health demanded a great deal of care on my part. It did not even permit me to be absent for any length of time. In order not to cause anxiety to you or to my family, I wanted to conceal all this. Laura and myself, we even did our best not to rouse the suspicions of Madame Marx.’

I have talked to a very good doctor whom Paul invited to the house. He told me that it was absolutely necessary for Laura to go to the seaside, and he suggested Dieppe because a prolonged voyage would do her harm.

Besides, Paul has promised me that on his return from Dieppe he will do his best to cut short the time necessary to pass his doctorate.

I must tell you frankly that the state of my daughter’s health is a matter of serious concern to me.

Our grandson<sup>a</sup> is a charming boy. I have never seen a better shaped child’s head.

My compliments to Madame Lafargue.

Accept, my dear friend, the most sincere compliments of your

Karl Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 JULY 1869

DEAR FRED,

Arrived in Paris last Tuesday evening, left again Monday (12 July).<sup>381</sup> I managed to remain completely *incognito*; on landing

<sup>a</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue

at Dieppe I passed first the *douaniers*<sup>a</sup> and police without them intervening, though, curiously enough, several innocent people (including a YANKEE with very black hair, who was taken for an Italian) were asked for their passports and, in accordance with the latest regulations, the Frenchmen had to give their names. I lodged as A. Williams in Paris, Rue St Placide, *maison meublée*<sup>b</sup> (next street to Lafargue).

Laurachen has been suffering from a really serious illness. She is now convalescing, and is going tomorrow with Paul, etc., to Dieppe, where they will spend a month at the seaside, and will perhaps come over to England later. My BUSINESS in Paris was to have a look at the *status rerum*,<sup>c</sup> following a letter from Lafargue senior, and then write to the senior (from Paris), after consultations with the junior.<sup>d</sup> Because of Laura's state of health, Lafargue has naturally been completely absorbed by domestic worries, but has promised most solemnly to take the necessary steps as soon as Laura is completely restored. The senior also put his foot in it in his letters to Paris. I shall see what he writes to me in his reply.

*Le petit*<sup>e</sup> has left Paris (where he was present *incognito* at all the crowd-gatherings, etc.) for Brussels and, under the circumstances, his absence was by no means unpleasant for me. Because of this, the paper has been 'postponed'.<sup>283</sup>

I saw neither Schily nor ANYBODY ELSE, but confined myself entirely to the FAMILY, with whom I sauntered through more or less the whole of Paris. The bank where they live (Faubourg St Germain, etc.), has not changed much and is not Haussmannised.<sup>387</sup> Then, as now, narrow stinking streets. However, things look much changed on the other bank of the Seine, where the CHANGE already starts with the front of the Louvre.

The females appear to have become much uglier.

The heat was unbearable, particularly in the train.

The biggest sensation, to the great annoyance of the democratic opposition (including the *irréconciliables*), was caused by Raspail's short SPEECH,<sup>388</sup> in which he demanded the release of his election committee. He spoke of the *injustice de la justice*. Thereupon INTERRUPTIONS. He continued: *Niez-vous les injustices commises contre moi par la Restauration? Par ce ridicule Louis-Philippe?*<sup>f</sup> etc. He wanted no *peines*,<sup>g</sup> was ready à brûler le code civil and le code

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<sup>a</sup> customs officials - <sup>b</sup> furnished house - <sup>c</sup> state of affairs - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 309. - <sup>e</sup> Louis Auguste Blanqui - <sup>f</sup> Do you deny the injustices committed against me by the Restoration? By *this ridiculous Louis Philippe?* - <sup>g</sup> punishments

*pénal*<sup>a</sup>; in the meantime, the punishments of officials should be converted into *finés* (i.e., *deductions from salary*) and should begin with *M. le préfet de la police*, namely because of the '*orgies infernales de casse-tête*'.<sup>b</sup> The language of the old man was in violent contrast to the ROUNDABOUT prattle of the *faux jeunes hommes*.<sup>c</sup> And the next day, the government released his *Comité*.

The sessions of the *Corps législatif* were relatively very stormy. For this reason, Bonaparte has adjourned.

Tussychen must also write to me about her plans for staying in Manchester. Schnaps,<sup>d</sup> a charming little lad, sends heartiest greetings.

*Addio*, OLD BOY.

II  
Moro

MY COMPLIMENTS TO MRS<sup>e</sup> BURNS.

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

London, 15 July 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

Your letter of 2 June arrived here while I was in Manchester.<sup>353</sup> They forgot to send it on to me, and later completely forgot about its existence. I have *only just* put my hands on it, after my attention was drawn to it by your letter of 6 July. The latter letter I also received yesterday since, owing to the indisposition of my Laura, I had been for a week *incognito* in Paris<sup>f</sup> where, BY THE BY, a growing movement is manifest. Otherwise, I should have hastened to write to you in your time of suffering.

<sup>a</sup> to burn the civil code and the penal code - <sup>b</sup>'hellish orgies of bludgeoning' - <sup>c</sup> hypocritical young men - <sup>d</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue - <sup>e</sup> Here the MS is damaged. - <sup>f</sup> See the previous letter.



As for the *18th Brumaire*, Meissner's assurances are sheer prevarications.<sup>389</sup> He has had the stuff since the end of January. Naturally, he did not get the preface because he didn't send the last 2 proof sheets. I finally received the latter on 23 June, and sent them back, corrected, the same day, together with the preface. Thus, once again, more than three weeks lost, so we shall be launched right into the off season in the book trade!

I shan't be coming to Germany before September.<sup>349</sup> I am making the journey mainly because of my daughter.<sup>a</sup> But, in any case, I would come to see you in Helgoland (I am travelling via Hanover).

Regarding Engels' biography,<sup>b</sup> be so kind as to return it to me.<sup>390</sup> He must revise it, since it is now intended for a different audience.

With hearty greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen,<sup>c</sup>

Yours  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

Manchester, 15 July 1869

Dear Hermann,

You really are a fine chum. It stands to reason that I wrote about the exchange-rate matter to you simply as *our mother's business manager*.<sup>d</sup> But just *because* you are her business manager, you can't get out of it like that and tell me that I should approach mother directly about the matter. It would be a fine state of affairs if you always resigned as business manager as soon as the other party's opinion differed from yours, or when your arguments were exhausted. No, my lad, you've got to stick to it now.

To get to the point: what do you mean, we agreed to calculate

<sup>a</sup> Jenny Marx - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Karl Marx*. - <sup>c</sup> Kugelmann's daughter Franziska - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 280-82.

everything at 6 thalers 20 silbergroschen? Nothing more nor less than that both parties, our mother and I, should waive making an exchange profit on these £10,000. Since, however, a considerable exchange profit *has* been made by mother on the £7,000 paid back by me, I felt it to be absolutely in order that I should also make my profit on the small remainder. You solve the pattern much more simply, by claiming offhandedly that mother alone has a right to the exchange profit.

In addition, you have not considered that, in presenting mother quite correctly as the only interested party, you are sawing off the bough on which you sit with regard to the discount business. I repay mother £1,000 and, on enquiry, receive the reply that this should be sent to R. Funke & Co. in bills *at any sight*. I did this, and was thus entitled to have these bills credited to me at full value per date of maturity. What Funke later did with the bills as a result of some agreement—of which I know nothing, and which is no business of mine—between R. Funke & Co. and Ermen & Engels, Barmen (2 firms which, as you say, do not concern me in the slightest), is no longer my concern, any more than what the bank did at which Funke discounted them. This should now at last be clear to you.

There can be absolutely no question of 'trickery'. But those who are merchants by profession, just like lawyers by profession, easily accustom themselves to regard the matter in hand solely from the most advantageous angle from their own point of view; when one is dealing with scientific questions this habit is the one which must be broken first. The discount business gave me the impression that your viewpoint on this matter was not entirely unprejudiced, so I have felt since then that I should myself pay rather more attention to my own interests.

I have no recollection at all that *I expressed the desire* to keep the accounts in thalers for *your* convenience. But you overlook the fact that your entire chain of evidence, which is based simply upon the fact the £10,000 stayed here in Manchester to *my* advantage, also demonstrates that, if the exchange rate had remained at 6 thalers 12 silbergroschen, I would have been obliged to remit in *thalers*, since nobody would wish mother to lose money on it. And you must admit yourself what sort of value an argument has that demands that, when the rate is high, I must cover in sterling, and when low, in thalers.

I should also like to ask you, with regard to the COPS AND SEWINGS I purchased for you, whether you have charged them to mother at the current exchange or at 6 thalers 20 silbergroschen, although I

do not doubt at the former, in view of your zeal for mother's profit on the exchange rate.

But that's enough. As your patience appears to be coming to an end, and the matter is not worth the trouble, I'll oblige you and cover in sterling. Under my agreement with Gottfried,<sup>a</sup> the sum of £1,000 is payable on 1 August, and then every 2 months, and I shall devote the first instalments, as far as possible, to cover mother. It is, however, probable that Gottfried will hold back the first instalment until the accounts are completed and the contracts signed, which could take 14 days longer, so I would ask you not to depend on it as a certainty and to the day. Be so good, therefore, as to send me my current account, made up as of 30 June; my account here is so lengthy, as a result of many money withdrawals, that I would prefer not to depend upon it, since I have not yet received my statement, and can only check it superficially in the office. The whole approximate balance you will receive: 1. in August circa £800-900, 2. in October £1,000, and in December—the remainder; I would request you to let me know in good time where and how you would like the remittances.

Your letter of the 13th just arrived; I shall sign the thing as soon as I go to town and meet the vice-consul, probably tomorrow. But be so kind as to enquire what I should do in order to be spared any further communications from the Royal District Court in Bochum with regard to the Vereinigte<sup>b</sup> Engelsburg. From time to time a fat epistle arrives here, written on heavy, poor-quality scribbling paper, with a seal as big as a two-thaler piece, addressed to me as 'Official Business, Post Free'; whereupon the English Post Office, which doesn't give a damn for the District Court of Bochum, charges me between 3 and 5s. postage. A week ago I received a packet like this, with the names of all the shareholders in the Vereinigte Engelsburg and the draft of the amalgamation, and the request that I should make my declaration on it. I learned from this that I may some day have the pleasure of possessing  $3 \frac{601}{672}$  mining shares divided by 8, but feel that it is a little too

dear to pay 4s. 8d. postage for this information. If I could only read the name of the worthy district judge appended to this, I would write him a very polite epistle, praying him to leave me in peace with the Vereinigte Engelsburg; but the Prussian officials purposely write their signatures so illegibly, in order to avoid the danger of receiving replies. Be so good as to inform this illegible

<sup>a</sup> Gottfried Ermen - <sup>b</sup> United

gentleman that the unstamped post of the Dortmund and Bochum District Court is not recognised here and that I'll be grateful to him, if he, in accordance with the power of attorney, sends all communications to mother.

The situation with the firm is this: Gottfried attaches importance to keeping it as long as *you* keep it, since otherwise you would have been able to take over part of the legacy of Ermen & Engels, Manchester. I regarded it as not only superfluous, but also harmful, for me to interfere on your behalf, since you had 1. P.<sup>a</sup> Ermen's promise, which covers you *here*, and 2. the expert opinion of the lawyers, which I took for gospel truth. For as long as P. Ermen *lives* you are safe from G. Ermen; had I known that your rights were not quite bomb-proof, I would certainly have avoided drawing Gottfried's attention to this by making proposals; and G. Ermen would not have entered into an engagement not to challenge your rights *after* P. Ermen's death. Meanwhile we have him in our hands, because I have given him the rights of the firm for only 5 years, and although I promised him that after that period I would make no difficulties for him, this depends, together for instance with my discretion about business secrets, completely upon his conduct, particularly vis-à-vis yourselves, and I have made this plain to him.

On the £10,000 that I have already invested in shares, I had earned at least £170 net in market appreciation by 30 June. They bring me in an average of  $5\frac{7}{8}\%$  of my investment capital. They are mostly gas, WATERWORKS and railway shares, all English companies.

My freedom pleases me more and more from day to day. Unfortunately, I have still too much running about to do to be able to start any particularly thorough studies, but this will soon be settled.

I have spoken about the *COPS* with Schuncks' buyer, and have sent him a memorandum, a copy of which I enclose for your use. With regard to the *SEWINGS*, the qualities have changed so much since my last purchases that it would be best for you to order them from samples if you still need some. Likewise with the *COPS*, it would be best for you to *bind* Schuncks to the yarns named in the memorandum; they are those we have been using here for 20 years, and they are *indispensable for you* as long as they don't change the quality.

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<sup>a</sup> Peter

Best regards to Emma, the little ones, and all brothers and sisters. Enclosed 2 lines for E. Blank.

Your  
Friedrich

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 JULY 1869

DEAR FRED,

The heat here is killing. With you too?

Enclosed a mass of stuff from Eichhoff, Wilhelm,<sup>a</sup> Fritzsche.<sup>391</sup>

Dear old Wilhelm—as always happily disposing of what is not his—naturally refers Fritzsche to me, in order to touch the TRADES UNIONS here for £300, and *he* guarantees repayment! And quite pointlessly puts me in the embarrassing position of having to turn down Fritzsche!

In addition, he doesn't even seem to read properly the letters sent him. I sent him 900 cards and told him the annual subscription was 1d. per card. Of these 900, I placed 500 gratis at his DISPOSITION, so the fellows would at least be eligible for representation at the congress.<sup>379</sup> And now he asks me whether fixed annual dues must be paid.

The tough conditions under which Schweitzer returned to the bosom of Hatzfeldt are shown very vividly by the fact that he has been forced to allow Mende to start a row with the International<sup>392</sup> in the *Social-Demokrat*. He himself knows best how dangerous this operation is for him!

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht

Incidentally, that old jackass Becker<sup>a</sup> had no need to involve the International officially in this dissolution process of the Lassallean church, instead of maintaining objective reserve. The old brute does a lot of damage with his longing for action.

Freiligrath, the family poet, gave me much amusement with his 'robber' and 'corsair'<sup>b</sup>—Viennese mannikin.

Best greetings to all.

Your  
Moor

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 18 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Glad the journey went off so well.

Many thanks for what you sent. The letters will be returned tomorrow.<sup>c</sup>

If Schweitzer attacks the International, we should consider whether to oblige him.

Frightful muck is developing as the Lassallean swindle putrefies. Fritzsche wanted 1,800 thalers from Schweitzer and, when he turned him down, then you should get him 3,000 thalers. The fellow is obviously just as big a blackguard as Schweitzer. From the beginning, Lassalle introduced venality, and this has grown. But where did Schweitzer get the money from, if not the Prussians?

The calm assumption that the English workers should provide £450 for Fritzsche, even before he and his consorts have joined the IWA, is really good. I truly believe that Wilhelm *absolutely* incited Fritzsche to saddle you with himself.

<sup>a</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>b</sup> Apparently the reference is to Freiligrath's poems *Banditenbegräbnis* and *Piratenromanze*. - <sup>c</sup> See the previous letter.

You long ago read the renowned letter sent me 2 years ago.<sup>393</sup> Naked assertion was the only argument to the effect that he could not and should not have acted otherwise. He also said he and his consorts had nothing in common with the People's Party<sup>38</sup> except the name! That's a good one! He is past all remedy.

Heat? Terrible. Yesterday I lay on the floor half the night because it was simply too hot to go to bed. It is so hot that even these few lines have bathed me in sweat.

Enclosed Kugelmann.<sup>394</sup> What do you think of his plans? Karlsbad<sup>a</sup> would be *quite excellent* for you, but Jenny meanwhile in Hanover? What do you say?

Your  
F. E.

Fragment of this letter first published in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 21 July 1869

Dear Moor,

The whole family including Tussy, has gone to see the PRINCE OF WALES<sup>b</sup> drive past. Congratulations to them in such heat.

How dare Wilhelm assure Schweitzer publicly that 'the General Council of the IWA' takes exactly the same attitude to the said Schweitzer as he, Wilhelm does?<sup>395</sup> This is rather much, particularly if, as I assume, he did so without your permission.

That Schweitzer has lost a lot of support among the masses is shown by the fact that he has not dared to proclaim the voting figures.<sup>c 396</sup> Incidentally, he remains—as a DEBATER—superior to all his opponents. The joke about the 'red' republic was very good, and his exploitation of Wilhelm's 'People's Party', ditto that

<sup>a</sup> Karlovy Vary - <sup>b</sup> Albert Edward - <sup>c</sup> F. Mende, 'An die Mitglieder des Allgem. deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins', 5 July 1869, *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 79, 9 July 1869.

Wilhelm is betraying the workers to the bourgeois democrats; Wilhelm is taking care not to answer both points, and altogether he appears even more incapable than usual in this polemic. How absurd, for instance, *just at the moment*, to reprint from Schwabenmayer's<sup>a</sup> *Demokratische Correspondenz* the glorification of the bourgeois American Republic because of the Pacific Railway.<sup>b</sup>

And how can Wilhelm announce to Schweitzer that he will be shown the door at the Basle Congress<sup>379</sup>?

Monsieur Bonaparte appears to have gone right out of his mind. One cropper after another. First his message with its apparent concessions, then the sudden adjournment, now this droll ministry.<sup>388</sup> If he had set out to show even the stupidest Frenchman that he wants to expose France to worldwide derision, he couldn't have done it better. This is just the way to shake the confidence his majority, his ministers and prefects, his judges and officers have in him. And since all the loyalty has been purchased and was conditional on his future success, they will desert him much earlier than the Senate and *Corps législatif* deserted the old Napoleon in 1814 and 1815.<sup>397</sup> Really not much is needed to lose respect for Mr Louis.

What has happened to the *18th Brumaire*? I see and hear nothing of it.<sup>c</sup> Apropos! You must send me a copy for Charles,<sup>d</sup> whom I relieved of his copy (old edition) on this pledge.

What state are your travel plans in? Jenny writes that she will be returning on Saturday, and then a decision will, I suppose, soon be taken as to when you will go. Here the balancing of accounts is dragging on. Yesterday they said at least 14 days, which I translate as: at least 3 weeks. I'm afraid I'll be stuck here until about 20 August.

I shall cut to length and send to Kugelmann for the *Zukunft*, for its feuilleton, the biography<sup>e</sup> he returned to me. If you want to see it first, let me know.

I close because of the heat; with best greetings.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Karl Mayer - <sup>b</sup> 'Was Bürger drüben können und hüben könnten', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 29, 17 July 1869, supplement. - <sup>c</sup> The reference is to the second edition of Marx's work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. See this volume, p. 297. - <sup>d</sup> Charles Roesgen - <sup>e</sup> F. Engels, *Karl Marx*. See also this volume, p. 318.



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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>398</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 22 July 1869

DEAR FRED,

Wilhelm really has colossal impudence, issuing bulls of excommunication on behalf of the General Council of the International.<sup>a</sup> I had written to him that I, personally, was keeping myself out of this scandal<sup>399</sup> (Hatzfeldt, the old trollop, would like nothing better than to drag me in), particularly since I am just as decidedly against the Lassalle clique as against the People's Party. I added that Wilhelm could give notice (to Schweitzer) that (in accordance with the resolutions of the Brussels Congress) only *real* members will be admitted at Basle. And this he did in a paragraph in the issue *before last*.<sup>400</sup>

After soliciting me in vain to take official steps against Schweitzer, he has had the impudence to involve me in this scandal! I wrote him an extremely rude letter immediately upon receipt of the last *Wochenblatt*,<sup>b</sup> in which I reminded him how often he had already compromised me, and declared frankly that I would *publicly disavow* him as soon as he showed such impudence again.<sup>401</sup> (Impudence which, in addition, is a *lie*, since the General Council has never discussed the Schweitzer affair, etc., let alone passed a resolution.)

It depends on how Schweitzer, *who has been badly provoked*, now acts. I shall 'cast off' Mr Wilhelm if he should get me caught up in dirty work for the third time. The fellow does not even have the excuse that he marches with us through thick and thin. He commits his stupidities on his own behalf, betrays us when he sees fit, and identifies us with him as soon as he sees no other way out.

For about 6 days now I have had a large carbuncle on my left arm which, in 'this heat', is not pleasant.

I have another 'family' unpleasantness. I have noticed for some time that my wife was not able to manage on the money I give her every week, although there has been no increase in expenditure. Since I am anxious not to run into debt again, and since the

<sup>a</sup> See the previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> 'Man schreibt uns...', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 29, 17 July 1869.

money I gave her last Monday had already 'run out', I asked for an explanation. And the daftness of females then emerged. In the list of debts she had made me for you<sup>a</sup> she had suppressed ABOUT £75, which she was now trying to pay back BY AND BY out of the housekeeping money. Why, I asked? Reply: she would have been afraid to admit to the full sum! Females obviously need to be under constant tutelage!

Jennychen returned yesterday. Although half a year has passed now, Mrs Monroe has not yet paid her. The Scots hold tight to their CASH!<sup>371</sup>

I don't know what to do about the journey. You know that my only aim in this business is to provide Jennychen with the recreation that is practically indispensable for her. But Kugelmann's illness has changed everything. I would not go to Karlsbad<sup>b</sup> to be his comrade-in-sickness, even if I had needed the trip for myself. And now to leave the child as companion with Frau Kugelmann.<sup>394</sup> Nothing at all can come of this. I expect you will write to tell me your opinion.

Mr Schweitzer's discovery that the Geneva committee consists mainly of workers is good!<sup>392</sup> Bakunin and Schweitzer state councillors!

Bonaparte's rickety ways will soon lead to defections amongst his generals.

Between Prussia and Russia there is a row that does not seem completely 'play-acting'.

On Monday I wrote to Meissner, tersely and rudely.<sup>402</sup>

Laura and Lafargue and son are now in lodgings in Dieppe. My letter from Paris<sup>c</sup> to Lafargue senior had the desired effect.

*Salut.*

Your  
Moor

Both Liebknecht's and Fritzsche's<sup>391</sup> letters indicate clearly that the delightful Wilhelm had directed the latter to me on the money issue.

The ideas the Germans in general hold about our financial means you will see from the enclosed letter from Kugelmann, *voce*<sup>d</sup> Bracke.<sup>403</sup> The fellows never sent a pfennig here. The General Council owes 5 weeks rent, and is in debt to its secretary. Peculiar conceptions!

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 169-70. - <sup>b</sup> Karlovy Vary - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 314-15. - <sup>d</sup> regarding

I do not need to see the biography business.<sup>a 390</sup> This appears to be a sort of mania with Kugelmann.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 24 JULY 1869

DEAR FRED,

I can only write you a few lines today. The thing is in full suppuration, so very painful, but will also soon be over. The swelling of arsenic will have to begin again.

This morning I received the enclosed screed from Liebknecht.<sup>404</sup> Which is the more extraordinary, the stupid impudence or the impudent stupidity? This honest fellow regards *official lies*, such as that about non-existent resolutions of the General Council, as permissible in his own mouth, but as highly reprehensible in Schweitzer's. And why did *he* achieve a *reconciliation* with Schweitzer the Monster in Lausanne? And his theory of action! This consists of giving Mr Wilhelm the right to make 'arbitrary' use of my name and that of the General Council wherever he considers appropriate. And the courage of this honest fellow! He claims to be against Lassalle, and so takes the part of the 'true' Lassalleans against the 'false' Lassalleans! Bracke, his man, after all accuses Schweitzer of declaring Lassalle's theory of state credit to be simply an agitational tool, and of not believing in panacea. He had involved me in 'battles'! In 'scandals', I wrote to him.<sup>405</sup>

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

I regret that I did not know the book *Die Werkzeuge und Waffen, ihre Entstehung und Ausbildung, von Dr Gustav Klemm*, 1858, before

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Karl Marx*. See this volume, p. 325.

the publication of my first volume.<sup>a</sup> What I indicated in the section 'Labour Process' and later 'Division of Labour'<sup>406</sup> is here proved with abundant material.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>398</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 25 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Don't go grey-haired over the £75<sup>b</sup>; as soon as Gottfried<sup>c</sup> pays me my next INSTALMENT, i.e., as soon as the accounts are balanced and the contracts signed, I shall send you the sum. Just make sure that nothing like this happens again; you know our calculations are very tight, and allow absolutely NO MARGIN for extravagances. Thus, since 1 July, I have been noting all expenditures in order to see what all the stuff costs, and in order to find out where something can be cut if necessary.

The new carbuncle proves you must immediately swill arsenic again. Do not delay for a day longer. You should have taken the case under your arm here as warning, and started. Drinking arsenic doesn't hinder you in your ordinary way of life in any manner, so just go on taking it for 3-4 months in order to get rid of the business finally.

As regards your journey, if I were you I would pack my things as soon as Jenny is ready and your carbuncle has healed. You can then adjust your plans for the journey as you like, and also visit worthy Kugelmann. If this way—by ensuring that the period of your journey and his cure do not coincide, or only partly—you will best avoid the Karlsbad<sup>d</sup> business. *Amicus*<sup>e</sup> Kugelmann is, with regard to his health, certainly a considerable hypochondriac, and

<sup>a</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 327. - <sup>c</sup> Gottfried Ermen - <sup>d</sup> Karlovy Vary - <sup>e</sup> Friend

would certainly be a rather doleful cure-companion in Karlsbad. Since I shall not be free before 15-20 August in any case, it would be madness for us to consider anything combined. If I should be free earlier, we can still see what can be done.

I should certainly come to serious grips with Mrs Monroe. Jenny should go to her and tell her frankly that she needs the CASH. Perhaps Mrs Monroe is waiting to receive a formal bill: MRS MONROE TO MISS MARX. TO ONE HALFYEAR'S TUITION, etc. And if Jenny's visit does not help, I would, in your place, write a polite but firm letter. You have to show these Scots that you know what BUSINESS is, and they then respect you all the more.

The impudence of old Wilhelm exceeds the possible.<sup>a</sup> Trying to convince you that, with his lying, he had remained 'within the bounds of your letter'! Just how lazy his conscience is in this connection is shown by the fact that he uses the phrase 'take into consideration' which he otherwise abhors, and by his closing, touching appeal to your good heart. The simpleton demands that we and the whole International should undergo all his metamorphoses *in re* Schweitzer, concluding peace when he concludes peace, thrashing Schweitzer when he thrashes him, and allowing him to lie to his heart's content in the name of the International whenever he thinks it 'necessary'. And *he* wants to prescribe to the Congress<sup>b</sup> who should be admitted and who not.

Also rather strong that, in the Vogt business<sup>407</sup> *he* has left the defence 'up to you!' and this 'for the sake of the Party'. He really takes himself what might be called seriously.

And how lame is the business with the factory inspectors! The government has flatly decided to introduce them, but Liebknecht has *prevented* this, naturally in the interests of the workers, so that they shall not be bribed by them. Bismarck prevented by Liebknecht! Quite something! Not to mention the craftiness of such a policy.

The *18th Brumaire* received yesterday with thanks. The book reads much better in a decent binding and without the misprints. The introduction is very good. This, and the book itself, will bring Wilhelm no pleasure. The manner in which democracy, and even more Social-Democracy, is treated is by no means grist to his mill, but rather on his head. Incidentally, he can no longer say he has no agitational material: we shall see what he does with it.

I am now on the *Journals, Conversations and Essays on Ireland* by

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<sup>a</sup> See the previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> The reference is to the Basle Congress of the International Working Men's Association.

Mr Senior (1843-58). Some FACTS and a few nice admissions, but generally only of special interest because they are stated by such a 'respectable' man. Therefore valuable for me, 2 volumes, 1868. I don't think there will be anything new in it for you.<sup>408</sup>

If Schweitzer had not got such a bad conscience, and if he had not committed the stupidity recently of *threatening* the International, then he would certainly have responded to Liebknecht's bull of excommunication<sup>395</sup>; he would have challenged the General Council on the question and then you would *have had to* disavow Monsieur Wilhelm. Instead of excommunicating Schweitzer in the name of the IWA, why does Wilhelm not grab Schweitzer because of this threat, and with this help put the General Council in a position in which it must say something in response to Schweitzer's threat? The fellow really is too clumsy.

The business with Bracke is also good.<sup>403</sup> These Lassallean menials are always shouting for money, just money. In my opinion, it would be very ill-advised of the IWA to send the Germans *even one pfennig* before they have paid regular dues for a period. The demoralisation that has prevailed since Lassalle and through him must be firmly removed.

Enclosed Kugelmann and Wilhelm returned. You will certainly be writing to Kugelmann yourself about your journey. Send me back Kugelmann's letter so that I can reply to him; without a bit of medical chat he won't release me.

Tussy is reading *Götz von Berlichingen*, and afterwards I'll give her *Egmont*.<sup>a</sup> Walks have almost ceased in this heat; today it will be somewhat cooler.

Best greetings from all to all.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Goethe's works

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 27 July 1869

DEAR FRED,

Amongst the enclosed PAPERS, look at the *Vorbote* and especially what I marked on pp. 105, 106.

You will see that OLD BECKER<sup>a</sup> cannot give up making himself important.<sup>409</sup> With his *language group system* he casts aside our whole Rules and the spirit of the statute, and alters our organic system into an artificial construction of *arbitrary language relations* instead of *real state and national relations*. Extremely reactionary business, fitting for the pan-Slavists! And all this because we allowed *him provisionally* to remain the centre for his former correspondents, until the '*International*' in Germany *gets stronger*.

I immediately put a spoke in his wheel when he attempted at the Eisenach Congress<sup>373</sup> to promote himself as centre for Germany.

Bebel has sent me 25 thalers for the Belgians from his Workers' Educational Association.<sup>410</sup> Today I ACKNOWLEDGED this gift, and took the opportunity to write to him about Becker's fantasy plans.

I drew his attention to *Article 6 of the Rules*,<sup>b</sup> which only recognises *national central committees in direct contact* with the General Council and, where this is impossible because of the police, obliges the *local groups in each country* to correspond directly with the General Council. I explained to him the absurdity of Becker's pretensions and finally stated that if the Eisenach Congress—*quoad*<sup>c</sup> THE INTERNATIONAL—accepted Becker's suggestion, we would immediately and publicly *quash* it as *contrary to the Rules*.

Incidentally Bebel and Liebknecht had written to me *earlier*, SPONTANEOUSLY, that *they* had written to Becker telling him they did *not* recognise him but corresponded directly with London.

Becker himself is not dangerous. But, as we have been informed from Switzerland, his secretary Remy was pressed upon him by Mr Bakunin and is Bakunin's TOOL. This Russian obviously wishes

<sup>a</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>b</sup> *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 441-46). - <sup>c</sup> regarding

to become the dictator of the European workers' movement. He should be careful. Otherwise he will be officially excommunicated.

Your  
Moor

As soon as I receive copies<sup>a</sup> from Meissner I shall send them to my friends in Manchester and Charles Roesgen.

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

Manchester, 28 July 1869

Dear Kugelmann,

Enclosed the biography suitably adapted for *Zukunft*,<sup>390</sup> and drawing attention to the *18th Brumaire*. I would be grateful if you had it copied there, since it would be better for Weiss *not* to know it is by me.

Marx will be writing to you, or will have already written, about the journey. You certainly will not get him to go to Karlsbad,<sup>b</sup> and as far as I am concerned, the business with the final accounts, etc. is dragging on so much that I have no idea *when* I shall be able to get away; it's as good as certain that this will *not* be before 15-20 August. It's very unpleasant, but since this is the last time that COMMERCE will burden me so, I should not grumble too much. This means that I shall scarcely get to see you this year, as I shall hardly get as far afield as Karlsbad.

In order to get the biography off today I must close now—so until next time, and let Karlsbad do some good to your gall-stones.

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 2nd edition. - <sup>b</sup> Karlovy Vary



One of my sisters-in-law in Barmen also had some once, but she is happily rid of them, and once again round, fat and jolly.

Yours  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 JULY 1869

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed the letter from Kugelmann.<sup>394</sup>

Things are better with the arm. Started with the arsenic.

The *Bee-Hive* is now under the control of Samuel Morley, since when everything too anti-bourgeois in the REPORTS on our sessions is crossed out. For instance my entire exposition about Roman and German testate and intestate inheritance law at the last session of the GENERAL COUNCIL.<sup>411</sup>

During my stay in Paris<sup>a</sup> the fellows committed some stupidities, i.e. admitting 5 MEMBERS of the Bronterre O'Brien Society,<sup>412</sup> fellows who are just as dumb and ignorant as they are quarrelsome and conceited about their sectarian secret wisdom.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

Jennychen has received her 'little fortune'.<sup>b</sup> The dear child feels very happy about her 'own income'.

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<sup>a</sup> in the original: London - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 327 and 330.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 30 July 1869

Dear Moor,

Old Becker must have gone completely off his head. How can he decree that the TRADES UNION *must* be the real workers' association and the basis of all organisation, that the other associations *must* only exist provisionally alongside, etc.<sup>409</sup> And all in a country where real TRADES UNIONS still do not yet even exist. And what a complicated 'organisation'. On the one hand each TRADE centralises itself in a national leadership, on the other hand the various TRADES in each locality centralise themselves again in a local leadership. If one wanted to make the eternal squabbling permanent, this would be the arrangement to adopt. But it is *au fond*<sup>a</sup> nothing but the old German journeyman's desire to preserve his 'inn' in every town, and takes this to be the unity of the workers' organisation. If many more such proposals come to light, the time at the Eisenach Congress<sup>373</sup> will be nicely debated away.

The international plans have naturally no other purpose than to ensure the leadership for Becker as far as the German tongue is heard (he has already annexed Mulhouse in Alsace, see *Vorbote*, p. 109 under 'Basle'). In practice this fine organisation, with its leadership in Geneva, must come to grief on the German laws, since Becker has, as usual, made out the bill without the waiter. Generalising the idea of central committees based upon language, in other words putting the Genevan workers under Paris and the Antwerpens under Amsterdam (if Geneva is not intended to rule the whole of France and Walloon-Belgium, which those in free Geneva have very probably assumed), is presumably only designed to strengthen his claim to regency over the German language.<sup>b</sup> But it is very good that the *Eisenach* Congress and *not* the international *Basle* Congress<sup>379</sup> should settle these matters.

Incidentally, I would never claim to have understood Becker's plan properly; given the German and the logic which rule there, sense and understanding come to a complete stop.

It's quite clear that fat Bakunin is behind it. If this damned

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<sup>a</sup> basically - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 332.

Russian really thinks of intriguing his way to the top of the workers' movement, then the time has come to give him once and for all what he deserves and ask the question whether a pan-Slavist can be a member of an international workers' association. The fellow can very easily be tackled. He should not imagine that he can play a cosmopolitan communist for the workers, and a burning national pan-Slavist for the Russians. A few hints to Borkheim, who is just dealing with him now, would be quite in order; Borkheim will undoubtedly understand a broad hint.

You will have seen that the worthy Swiss want to have 'direct legislation by the people'<sup>413</sup> discussed at the congress. That will be nice.

It really is a disgrace that after nearly 40 years of political workers' movement in England, the only workers' paper<sup>a</sup> in existence can be bought up by a bourgeois like S. Morley.<sup>b</sup> But unfortunately it appears to be a law of the proletarian movement that everywhere a part of the workers' leaders necessarily become corrupted, though it has happened nowhere else in the general fashion to which Lassalle developed it in Germany.

Tussy is now reading Firdusi<sup>c</sup> in the very good version by Schack; so far she likes it very much, but whether she will work right through the enormous volume is something different.

At the end of next week I think I shall finally be through with honest Gottfried,<sup>d</sup> and then I shall have about 14 days of freedom ahead of me. So if you want to make a plan for a journey, then make it and let me know; we could meet somewhere in Germany or in Holland too if you like, or we could leave London together. At the end of August I must meet my mother in Ostend, about the 20th or 25th. Can Tussy stay here in the meantime and keep Lizzie company? What do you think?

Your  
F. E.

You will get money as soon as I am in order with Gottfried Ermen, possibly earlier, *id est* IF HE FORKS OUT BEFORE. Send the

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<sup>a</sup> *The Bee-Hive* - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 334. - <sup>c</sup> Firdusi, *Heldensagen*. In deutscher Nachbildung nebst einer Einleitung über das Iranische Epos von Adolf Friedrich von Schack. - <sup>d</sup> Gottfried Ermen

enclosed to Tussy in a disguised hand; she will wonder wherefrom.

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN<sup>29</sup>

IN HANOVER

[London,] 30 July 1869

Dear Friend,

I had (not yet quite healed) for ABOUT 12 days an abscess (carbuncular) on my left arm, which I had DITTO during my stay with Engels in Manchester,<sup>353</sup> under the armpit of my left arm. This is not, however, the reason that so far I have delayed my reply to your letter of 17 inst.

Since I would certainly not like to clash with your plans, and since I am personally interested in enjoying your company, I have taken various steps in order to arrange things in your sense. But this is *positively impossible*. I *must* be in *Holland* at the end of August with my relatives,<sup>a</sup> where all sorts of matters of interest and importance to me have to be settled. My proposal to transfer this *rendezvous* to another date has been turned down flatly, as the people whom I am meeting are all tied up by their business, and only have a certain time free for the meeting in Bommel.<sup>b</sup>

I shall, therefore, be leaving London at the end of August.<sup>349</sup> You should write and tell me when you will be back in Hanover. I shall then see to what extent I can adjust my further PROGRESS accordingly.

With best greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen,<sup>c</sup>

Yours  
K. M.

<sup>a</sup> the Philips family - <sup>b</sup> Zalt-Bommel - <sup>c</sup> Kugelmann's daughter Franziska

P.S. In addition, during August Lafargue, wife and little son are coming to London.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 2 August 1869

DEAR FRED,

Because of Kugelmann my whole travel plan has been thrown to the winds.

If I visited him *before* he went to Karlsbad,<sup>a</sup> he would move heaven and earth to take me with him to this boring and expensive place—or I would hinder him in carrying out his own plan, which he must carry out for the sake of his health.

I have therefore written to him<sup>b</sup> that I *must* go to Holland on family business *at the end of August*, and from there I would perhaps have the opportunity to see him in Hanover *after* his return. I really knew no other way of arranging things. Other reasons for delaying the journey:

*Firstly*: the Lafargue FAMILY may be coming to London soon.

*Secondly*: If I left here now, the General Council would be completely at a loss with the necessary work with regard to the Basle Congress.<sup>379</sup>

Tussy appears to want to stay on in Manchester. During the 14 days of your absence the excuse for this is plausible. Your drawing will be sent to her from a local (English) seaside resort.<sup>c</sup>

Enclosed letters from Bebel and Wilhelm.<sup>414</sup>

You will I hope also be coming to London on your journey.

Your  
Moor

<sup>a</sup> Karlovy Vary - <sup>b</sup> See the previous letter. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 336.

So far I have not seen that Meissner has announced the *18th Brumaire*. His motto: *Chi va piano va sano*.<sup>a</sup>

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 August 1869

Dear Moor,

Enclosed, returned, Wilhelm and Bebel<sup>414</sup> and, in addition, a draft on the UNION BANK OF London for £100, with which I hope the debts are done with for ever.

Since, as Tussy tells me, Jenny has September free too, you can of course postpone your journey until that month. I always thought that, because of Jenny, you were limited to only four weeks during which you *had to* travel.

The row between Schweitzer and the Leipzig people is getting jolly. The accusations that Bebel has been bribed by the Guelphs, and the threat of the Schweitzerians that they will impose their victory upon the congress by muscle power, point to a fine show.

How stupid it was of Wilhelm to allow Goegg to be co-signatory of his congress manifesto, and thus expose himself to the attacks of the *Social-Demokrat*.<sup>415</sup> But Wilhelm simply can't get along without his philistine republicans.

My documents should now be signed today week, if the lawyers are ready. I shall certainly not get away before Wednesday, 11th inst. In any case I shall see you in London on the way there or back.

Best greetings to all.

Your  
F. E.

<sup>a</sup> Who goes slowly goes surely.

So far I have watched in vain for the announcement of the *18th Brumaire*.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 August<sup>a</sup> 1869

DEAR FRED,

£100 received with BEST THANKS. I SHALL NOW WATCH THE PROCEEDINGS SO CLOSELY THAT SIMILAR MISTAKES, etc.

I am by no means in top form. The arm business is in the last stage of healing. I attribute my further indisposition to the weather, and I gulp Gumpert's liver medicine against it.

Yesterday there was a tragicomical meeting of the General Council. Dunning letters for cards, rent, arrears of secretary's salary, etc. In short, INTERNATIONAL BANKRUPTCY, so we can't yet see how we can send a delegate.<sup>b</sup> *On the other hand*, a letter from Geneva, FRENCH SIDE, in which the General Council was politely requested to issue a circular in the 3 languages advising all the members to collect money (and this immediately) for the purchase of a building in Geneva (for MEETINGS), which would cost only £5,000 and should become the property of the 'International'. Is this not a modest presumption on the part of these fellows, who have not yet paid their 1d. per man!

Becker, the chief of the German tongue,<sup>c</sup> sends 280d for his 'myriads'.

The gist of the story is this: the local committees (including central committees) spend too much money and tax their people too highly for their national or local needs, and leave nothing over for the General Council. Money is always there to print idiotic addresses to the Spaniards<sup>416</sup> etc., and for other FOLLIES. We shall be forced to declare to the next congress, either in written or

<sup>a</sup> 3 August in the original - <sup>b</sup> to the Basle Congress - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 335.

spoken form, that we cannot continue to run the General Council in this way; but that they should be so kind, before they give us successors, to pay *our debts*, which would reach a much higher figure if most of our secretaries did not personally cover *correspondence costs*.

If only I could somewhere see people who would not involve us in stupidities, I would greet with the greatest pleasure the exit of the Central Council<sup>73</sup> from here. The business is becoming *ennuyant*.<sup>a</sup>

*Salut.*

El  
Moro

Beesly married on 24 July.

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## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX (DAUGHTER)<sup>417</sup>

IN LONDON

Manchester, 8 August 1869

Dear Jenny,

I have received Lizzie's orders to thank you, in her name, for the very handsome and very considerate present you made her in the volume of Moore's *Irish Melodies*.<sup>b</sup> You could not have made her a greater pleasure. She knows, from her childhood, most of the tunes, but scarcely one of them completely, and so now she can refresh her rather broken-down memory from the book.

Next Sunday<sup>c</sup> there is to be a grand Irish concert in which the whole Fenian and non-Fenian company, convicted and unconvicted, will have to join. I only regret that the whole musical talent of our house will be unable to take full advantage of the book when Tussy will have left us; but then, Mary Ellen *will* have to learn as much as is required for that.

When are you and Moor going to Holland and Germany<sup>d</sup>? I

<sup>a</sup> boring - <sup>b</sup> Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies* - <sup>c</sup> 15 August - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 354.



have now, at last, made my arrangements. I shall have to be in Ostend on the evening of the 17th or morning of the 18th August and intend to stay there for about a week.<sup>418</sup> Probably I shall come over to London on Monday the 16th and spend a day with you, and to see whether I cannot make arrangements to meet you and Moor somewhere in Germany. If not, I shall very likely come straight home again from Ostend. I hope, however, that you will, in the meantime, bring your plans to some state of maturity so as to enable us to have a bottle of hock together in its native country.

With kind regards to Moor and your Mama, I remain

Yours faithfully

F. Engels

First published in *Friedrich Engels. 1820-1970. Referate, Diskussionen, Dokumente*, Hanover, 1971

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## MARX TO ENGELS<sup>33</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 August 1869

DEAR FREDDY,

I am in a great dilemma with Tussy. The Lafargues have written that they will be arriving here next Tuesday or Wednesday.<sup>a</sup> If I do *not* inform Tussy that Fouchtra,<sup>b</sup> whom she loves fanatically, is coming, she will reproach me later. If I do inform her, there will be a tragic collision between her wish to stay with Mrs Lizzie as promised, and the wish to see Fouchtra. I shall leave it to you to deal with the matter as you judge best.

In *L'International*, the French police sheet, an article 'La Dictature Universelle' against the INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION, evoked by the STRIKES in France, which follow blow upon blow. This article by Jerusalem<sup>c</sup> concludes as follows:

'Quoi qu'il en soit, on sait maintenant qu'il dépend de la Ligue de faire cesser la vie sociale là où il entrera dans ses vues de tout arrêter d'un seul mot. S'il se trouvait un ministre ambitieux qui sût gagner ses bonnes grâces, on comprend ce qu'il pourrait

<sup>a</sup> 17 or 18 August - <sup>b</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue - <sup>c</sup> [Jerusalem,] 'La Dictature universelle', *L'International*, 3 August 1869.

contre des rivaux qui le gêneraient. Nous sommes parfaitement convaincu que ce même ministre, une fois arrivé à son but, n'aurait rien de plus pressé que de détruire la Ligue par des procédés radicaux; nous ne savons pas s'il y réussirait; mais, pour l'instant, nous déclarons que la Ligue internationale est véritablement la Dictature universelle. Attendons le moment où ses [caisses<sup>a</sup>] seront pl[eines].<sup>a,b</sup>

If the fellow wants to wait until then he will have a long wait.

The part of Wilhelm's speech (delivered in *Berlin*<sup>c</sup>) printed in the supplement demonstrates, beneath the stupidity, an undeniable cunning in arranging the affair suitably. By the way, this is very nice. *Since* the Reichstag may *only* be utilised as a *means of agitation*, one may *never agitate* there for something sensible and directly affecting the workers' interests! The worthy Wilhelm's illusion that, since Bismarck 'is fond of' turns of speech friendly to the workers, he would not oppose *real workers' measures* is *REALLY CHARMING!* 'As though'—as Bruno Bauer would say—Mr Wagener would not declare himself theoretically in the Reichstag *in favour* of the Factory Acts, but *in practice* against them 'since they would be useless under Prussian conditions!' 'As though' Mr Bismarck, if he really would and *could* do something for the workers, would not force the *implementation* of the existing legislation *in Prussia itself!* Merely because this occurred in Prussia, liberal 'Saxony' etc. *would have* to follow. What Wilhelm does not grasp is that the present governments flirt with the workers, but know full well that their only support lies with the bourgeoisie, and that they therefore scare the latter with phrases friendly to the workers, but are never *really able* to take steps against the bourgeoisie.

The brute believes in the future '*state of democracy!*' Secretly that means sometimes constitutional England, sometimes the bourgeois United States, sometimes wretched Switzerland. '*It*' has no conception of revolutionary politics. Copying Schwabenmayer,<sup>d</sup> he quotes as proof of democratic activity: the railway to California was built by the bourgeoisie *awarding* itself through Congress an

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<sup>a</sup> paper damaged - <sup>b</sup> 'Be this as it may, today one is aware that it depends upon the League to bring the life of society to a halt at that moment when it intends stopping everything with one word. If an ambitious minister were to be found who knew how to win their good graces, it may be understood what he would be able to undertake against rivals uncomfortable to him. We are perfectly convinced that this same minister, his goal once achieved, would find nothing more urgent to do than to take radical measures to destroy the League; we do not know whether he would be successful; but at present we declare that the International League is, in truth, the universal dictatorship. Wait until their cash-boxes are filled.' - <sup>c</sup> W. Liebknecht, 'Ueber die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie...', *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, No. 27 and supplement to No. 32, 3 July and 7 August 1869. - <sup>d</sup> Karl Mayer

enormous mass of 'public land', that is to say, *expropriating* it from the workers; by importing Chinese rabble to depress wages; and finally by instituting a new off-shoot, the 'financial aristocracy'.

Incidentally, I find it a cheek on Wilhelm's part to introduce our names *ad vocem*<sup>a</sup> Brass.<sup>419</sup> I declared myself *outspokenly* against his tipping with Brass and, at the same time,— *viva voce*<sup>b</sup>—declared: if this led to a scandal *we would publicly disavow him*.

The following passages from *Daniel Defoe's 'Memoirs of a Cavalier'*<sup>c</sup> may interest you.

1. Speaking of Cardinal Richelieu's army parade in Lyons, he states:

\* 'The *French foot*, compared to the infantry I have since seen in the German and Swedish armies, were not fit to be called soldiers. On the other hand, considering the Savoyards and Italian troops, they were good troops.\*

2. Speaking of the beginning of Gustav Adolf's intervention in the German muck:

\* 'First, they' (the German Protestant princes) 'were willing to join him, at least they could not find in their hearts to join with the emperor, of whose powers they had such just apprehensions; they wished the Swedes success and would *have been very glad to have had the work done at another man's charge; but like true Germans they were more willing to be saved, than to save themselves*, and therefore hung back and stood on terms.\*

I hope to see you next Monday.<sup>d</sup>

Salut.

II

Moro

Do not forget the small note-book I left with you. There are a few notes in it. Ditto regarding the worthy Dühring.

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<sup>a</sup> regarding - <sup>b</sup> orally - <sup>c</sup> [D. Defoe], *Memoirs of a Cavalier or a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England from the Year 1632, to the Year 1648*, London [1720], pp. 19, 36. - <sup>d</sup> 16 August

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 August 1869

Dear Moor,

I have cut the Gordian knot regarding Schnaps<sup>a</sup> by simply informing Tussy of the *FACT*; whether this has plunged her into a natural conflict I do not know. Unfortunately, however, she now has something else to do, for, since last Friday, she has continuously had horrible toothache in the same tooth that gave her a lot of trouble earlier. So far she has borne the thing with astonishing heroism, but shortened sleep and the long nervous tension have had an effect, and today she looks somewhat exhausted. She said you didn't want the tooth to be pulled out; but I sent her today, since things could not continue thus, together with Lizzie to one of the leading dentists here, and told her she should submit to his judgement. After a long examination he said he hoped to save the tooth, but if the pain did not cease by Saturday morning, the tooth would have to come out. At all events, the child cannot stand this constant and nerve-racking pain every 6 months; her general health suffers far more from this than the whole tooth is worth. But I think I shall soon be able to give better news.

I must just call in at the Schiller Society,<sup>76</sup> and see what has happened in Eisenach.<sup>373</sup> On Saturday the two parties seem to have parted in peace, so they have at least avoided *general* fisticuffs.

The stupidity and meanness of the Urquhartites is demonstrated by the fact that they never mention:

*A RESIDENCE IN BULGARIA* BY St. Clair, LATE CAPTN. 28. REGT. AND Ch. Brophy, 1869.

The book is written by two fellows, of whom St. Clair, a former Crimean officer who knows Turkish, Polish, Russian and Bulgarian, lived 3 years in the country, and the other 1½ years, and they are still there. The thing is written in a very lively and graphic style, and is worth more than any other book I know on the subject. For Englishmen the fellows are remarkably free of prejudices, though they have their blind-spots *IN ECONOMICS* and also

<sup>a</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue; see this volume, p. 342.

IN POLITICS. But they can *see*. They arrived—at least Brophy did—as friends of the Christians, and changed their views completely in favour of the Turks. But since they *also find their blind-spots* in the Turkish governmental system (though here, too, they have something in common with Urquhart), the Urquhartites *are not allowed* to mention a book that is worth more than their entire *Free Press*, even from their own point of view. The FACTS in it are worth more to me than all the chatter by the Urquhartites, and SHORT-ARMED Collet can envy the two their description of Russian and French policy in Constantinople. The business is so described that you can read it, moreover with interest, and will be more useful here than 10 years of the *Free Press* with its oracular announcements.

Finished with Gottfried Ermen the day before yesterday.<sup>a</sup> Everything signed.<sup>b</sup> Finally *completely* free from the honorable gentleman.

Best greetings to all.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 August [1869]

Dear Jung,

Your letter just received (2 o'clock).

Go at all events.<sup>420</sup> The sending of Applegarth by his own Union will show to the continentals that the English workmen are not so indifferent in regard to the International as their ill-wishers say. It is only a pity that Applegarth does not even take part at our present discussions, so as to be able to represent our views.

<sup>a</sup> 10 August - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 320.

If care be not taken, the asses of Denmark street may work mischief. A letter ought also to be written to our Pole<sup>a</sup>—I have not his address.

Yours truly  
K. M.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 August 1869

Dear Moor,

Yesterday I received a telegram informing me that my mother will not be getting to Ostend until Wednesday evening. Since I must now wait for a letter from home providing me with more detailed information and since yet another reason requires that I still be here tomorrow, I telegraphed you today that I will not be coming until Wednesday.<sup>b</sup> Also, I am worried that if in the meantime the Lafargues should come I may not find night quarters in your doubtless full house and, this being the case, would like to know whether I might find lodging somewhere near you.

Tussy's tooth is out; the dentist found that since one of the three roots was inflamed the only solution was to extract. The pain is now gone.

I am planning to take the 3:30 Midlands train that arrives in London at 8:50.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Anton Zabicki - <sup>b</sup> 18 August

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 16 August 1869

Dear Moor,

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED<sup>a</sup>! A fresh telegram from home that my mother, because of a slight indisposition, will not be in Ostend tomorrow either, and that I shall only get more information on Thursday.<sup>b</sup> Since this means that the Ostend business has become uncertain, I have decided to go to Ireland with Tussy and Lizzie on Thursday evening, if nothing intervenes, and spend 10-14 days there.<sup>421</sup> The business could only be altered by a letter arriving from my mother on Thursday at the latest, but I cannot see, as things now stand, that this is in any way probable.

Best greetings.

Your  
F. E.

More on Thursday.

Nearly forgot the main thing. Enclosed—£10 BANKNOTE, of which 5 from Moore and 5 from me as a contribution to the International. Send Moore his RECEIPT direct, S. MOORE, 25 DOVER STREET, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER.

Y/D 69 237, Manchester, 30 January 1868.

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<sup>a</sup> J. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book II, 996. - <sup>b</sup> 19 August

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 17 August 1869

DEAR FRED,

Everything is READY here for your arrival.

Don't forget, either, to take a TICKET only to *KENTISH TOWN STATION* (just near us), or, if you take it to *ST. PANCRAS STATION*, at least to get out at *KENTISH TOWN STATION*.

Mr Lafargue, in principle, never announces the day of his arrival, on the basis that anxiety will thus be avoided should chance delays occur. That's a PRINCIPLE TOO!

I hope POOR Tussychen is ALL RIGHT again now.

I send, enclosed, *Schweitzeriana*,<sup>a</sup> for you to enjoy on the journey.

Your

K. M.

Enclosed—COPIES (*Bonaparte*)<sup>b</sup> for 1. Charles,<sup>c</sup> 2. Schorlemmer, 3. Moore, 4. Gumpert.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>174</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 18 August 1869

DEAR FRED,

Rather disappointed by YOUR LETTER, since all had hoped to see you here this evening. The plan about Ireland is very good (Lizzie

<sup>a</sup> This apparently refers to a series of articles: 'Der Congress zu Eisenach', *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 93, 94 and 95, 10, 13 and 15 August 1869. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 2nd edition. - <sup>c</sup> Charles Roesgen



and Tussy will be able to admire the 'CONVICTED' *in natura*) if nothing new intervenes. This evening the Lafargue FAMILY arrives, leaving Dieppe today at 10 o'clock.

The £10 received, but can't send RECEIPT *before Saturday*,<sup>a</sup> on which day there is a meeting of the sub-committee. The money is very welcome just before closing time.<sup>b</sup>

Yesterday Dupont announced that the French (or Paris) TRADES UNIONISTS (BRONZE WORKERS) had paid back £45, i.e., sent it to him to pay back.<sup>422</sup> This money was partly loaned and partly given to them years ago by the UNIONS here through our mediation. (Even earlier, £20 was sent on our instructions from Paris to Rouen.) I have arranged that *députés* shall wait upon the UNIONS here to appeal to their consciences when they pay in the money.—Incidentally, the Paris UNIONISTS have behaved very decently. Ditto, a letter arrived yesterday from Ludwig Neumayr, *de dato* Eisenach, with the following purport<sup>423</sup>:

'At the congress in Eisenach, it was resolved that the workers of Germany should be called upon to join the International Working Men's Association by taking out cards as central members. Since I have now been appointed by Joh. Ph. Becker in Geneva as the agent of the German-language sectional groups of the International Working Men's Association for *Wiener-Neustadt* and surroundings, I would request exact instructions as to how I should now act. With social-republican fraternal greetings, etc. Address: Ludwig Neumayr, editor of the *Wiener-Neustädter Wochenblatt* in *Wiener-Neustadt*, Austria.'

This is a blow to OLD Becker and also, in particular, to the 'language-group *cash-box*'. But the matter itself may not be mucked about because of private friendship.

You will recall *Werner* (bookbinder) of Leipzig, to whom I wrote from Manchester. Since then he has worked for us diligently.

Yesterday the adherence of an (Italian) group from Trieste arrived. Ditto from *Barcelona*; I enclose a COPY of the *organ*<sup>c</sup> of this new group.

In Posen—as Zabicki reported—the *Polish* workers (joiners, etc.) have victoriously ended a STRIKE with the assistance of their colleagues in Berlin.<sup>424</sup> This struggle against *Monsieur le Capital*—even in the minor form of a STRIKE—will deal with national prejudice differently from the peace declamations made by bourgeois gentlemen.

<sup>a</sup> 21 August 1869 - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 348. - <sup>c</sup> *Federacion*

I HOPE TO RECEIVE SOME LINES FROM TUSSY AS TO HER STATE OF HEALTH. MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZIE.

El  
Moro

Much to be regretted is the sudden death of Sylvis (aged 41), President of the American Labor Union,<sup>146</sup> just *before* the meeting of the LABOR UNION CONGRESS, for which purpose he travelled across the United States agitating for nearly a whole year. Part of his work will thus be lost.

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 September 1869

Dear Moor,

Got back here again midday yesterday<sup>a</sup> from Ostend. I arrived in London at 6.15 in the morning, found a train going here at 7.30, and journeyed on through, since I had scarcely slept all night, and was good for nothing else. I also thought you were away with Jenny,<sup>b</sup> and only here heard the contrary. This delay in your departure looks a little queer to me; I can't think that the Basle Congress<sup>379</sup> is alone to blame, and I am forced to ask myself whether it is not a money matter. When you asked for the £75 I sent you 100, imagining you could use the rest for the journey; since, however, I did not state this in so many words, you perhaps found another use for it; if this is so, *telegraph* me *tomorrow morning* (before 10 o'clock if possible), saying *how much you need*. We shall, you see, be leaving for Dublin tomorrow evening,<sup>421</sup> and I shall be going into town around 11-12 to look after money matters, so I could deal with this at the same time.

<sup>a</sup> 4 September - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 353-54.

I was in Engelskirchen<sup>418</sup> for a few days. People in Germany are becoming increasingly stupid. It is true that the workers' movement is closing in upon them threateningly, and they all flirt with it and have NOSTRUMS of all sorts, but their intelligence has not become any sharper; the opposite is true. My brother,<sup>a</sup> for instance, wanted to solve the social problem by 'redeeming labour', just as he redeems factory installations, buildings, machinery etc., by, for instance, putting a groschen *on the price* of each pound of yarn, and thus paying off the workers who have become old, sick and disabled! The *bonhomme*<sup>b</sup> was very surprised when I explained to him how hopelessly naive and absurd this idea was, and he finally promised to read your book.<sup>c</sup> Concerning the Prussian journeymen's provident funds, he gave me an article in Engel's statistical journal; the most blatant infamies of the statutes of Saxony are *not* present there, but otherwise everything similar.<sup>425</sup>

The greatest man in Germany is undoubtedly Strousberg. The fellow will soon become German Kaiser. Everywhere you go people talk of nothing but Strousberg. Incidentally, the fellow is not as bad as all that. My brother, who had negotiations with him, has described him very vividly to me. He has a lot of humour and some brilliant qualities, and, in any case, is immeasurably superior to Hudson the RAILWAY KING. He is now buying up all sorts of industrial establishments, and immediately cuts the working time to 10 hours everywhere, without reducing wages. He also has the clear knowledge that he will end up a really poor wretch. His main principle is: only swindle share-holders, but deal fairly with contractors and other industrialists. In Cologne I saw his portrait on exhibition; not bad at all, jovial. His background is completely dark: some say he is a qualified lawyer; according to others he kept a brothel in London.

Wilhelmchen<sup>d</sup> has now fallen so low that he may no longer say that Lassalle cribbed from you, and wrongly at that. This has emasculated the whole biography, and only he can know why he continues to print it.<sup>426</sup>

And he has declared the miserable *Felleisen*, not even the *Vorbote*, the journal of the bumpkins in Switzerland.<sup>427</sup> They are a fine bunch. Cf. the debate about social-democratic, democratic-social, or social-democratic + democratic-social workers' party at the Eisenach Congress. And Rittinghausen their prophet!<sup>428</sup>

Wilhelm still makes no mention of the *18th Brumaire*. Here, too,

---

<sup>a</sup> probably Rudolf Engels - <sup>b</sup> honest fellow - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht

he would have to 'omit' various things that 'might upset' him and others!

With best wishes from all of us to all of you.

Your  
F. E.

Enclosed—a picture for transmission to the zoologist Vogt. Liebknecht can arrange this through his friend Goegg. It is democratic in front and socialist behind, thus completely orthodox and democratic-socialist.

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## MARX TO ENGELS<sup>33</sup>

IN MANCHESTER

Hanover, 25 September 1869

Dear FRED,

I had two unpleasant pieces of news from home today. Little Schnappy<sup>a</sup> is in a very bad way, and during our short absence has lost 1½ pounds. Kugelmann insists—and is writing in this sense to London today—that Dr West in London, a famous children's doctor and, he believes, professor at Lafargue's hospital (St Bartholomew's) should be consulted. Second, Laura is again IN INTERESTING CIRCUMSTANCES, which is equally bad luck for herself and for Lafargue.

We have been here for 8 days. We stayed for several days in Belgium (Bruges and Liège), then on to Cologne. From there a visit to Dietzgen the thinker in Siegburg. From there to Bonn, and from there by steamer to Mainz. This journey delighted Jenynchen. Unfortunately, afflicted by an importunate guest. In Bonn I had paid a call on Hagen in the evening. Not at home. Appeared next morning at the moment of our departure. Announcing that he

<sup>a</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue

would accompany us to Rolandseck, we were saddled with him until Mainz. In Mainz we spent one day with Stumpf, who has a most delightful family (daughter and sister). Used the opportunity for a side trip to Wiesbaden. Omitted Ems. One day in Aachen with Karl Philips.

During this tour through Belgium, stay in Aachen, and journey up the Rhine, I convinced myself that energetic action must be taken against the clerics, particularly in the Catholic areas. I shall work in this vein in the International. Where it appears suitable, the rogues are flirting with workers' problems (e.g., Bishop Ketteler in Mainz, the clerics at the Düsseldorf Congress, etc.).<sup>429</sup> In fact we worked for them in 1848, but they enjoyed the fruits of the revolution during the period of reaction.

Everywhere I went people knew nothing about my *Louis Bonaparte*. On this point I sent Meissner a note that was by no means courteous. He has not so far replied.<sup>430</sup>

Liebknecht has written to me again about your *Peasant War*,<sup>a</sup> which is to be printed as a propaganda piece. As, this time, the thing is appearing under the auspices of the Eisenach Central Authority, I would advise you to make the necessary corrections, and to *send the thing in without delay*.<sup>431</sup> Since I shall probably have a rendezvous with Wilhelm in a few days,<sup>b</sup> write to me *by return* about your INTENTIONS.

Feuerbach has written to Kapp in New York in a sense similar—*mutatis mutandis*—to that in which Ruge<sup>c</sup> wrote about my book,<sup>d</sup> and Kapp for his part has informed our Meyer<sup>e</sup> in St Louis about the matter.

Jennychen has still not received an *ordre de retour*<sup>f</sup> from her EMPLOYERS.<sup>g</sup> The business is unpleasant. On the one hand, it is difficult to get away from here quickly. On the other, the CHANGE does the child a lot of good. She is looking really splendid.

Heartiest greetings to Mrs Burns and Tussychen.

*Salut*

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 358. - <sup>c</sup> Ibid., pp. 542-43. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *Capital*, Volume I. - <sup>e</sup> Sigfrid Meyer - <sup>f</sup> summons to return - <sup>g</sup> the Monroe family

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MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE<sup>80</sup>

IN LONDON

Hanover, 25 September 1869

My dear Cacadou,<sup>a</sup>

I regret that I cannot celebrate at home the birthday of my dear clear bird's eye, but Old Nick's<sup>b</sup> thoughts are with you.<sup>432</sup>

Du bist beslözen  
In minem Herzen.<sup>c433</sup>

I was happy to see from Möhmchen's<sup>d</sup> letter (written in her usual amusing way, she is a real virtuoso in letter-writing) that your health is improving. Our dear little Schnappy,<sup>e</sup> I hope, will soon get better. At the same time, I fully share Kugelmann's opinion that Dr West ought to be consulted *at once* (or another medical man if he be absent). I trust you and Lafargue will in this case yield to my paternal authority, a thing, you know full well, I am not in the habit of appealing to. Nobody is more difficult to treat than a baby. In no case more immediate action is wanted, and any delay more hurtful. You must under no circumstances accelerate your departure from London. It would be really dangerous to the child and do no good to yourself. On this point, every medical man will give you the same advice.

I am glad the Basle Congress<sup>379</sup> is over, and has, comparatively speaking, passed off so well. I am always fretting on such occasions of public exhibition of the party '*mit allen ihren Geschwüren*'.<sup>f</sup> None of the actors was *à la hauteur des principes*,<sup>g</sup> but the higher class idiocy effaces the working class blunders. We have passed through no little German town the *Winkelblatt*<sup>h</sup> of which was not full of the doings of 'that formidable Congress'.

We are here in a sort of fix. The Kugelmanns will not hear of an early leave-taking. At the same time, Jenny is much improving in health consequent upon the change of air and circumstances.

With Liebknecht I am likely to meet, within a few days, at Brunswick. I decline going to Leipzig, and he cannot come to

<sup>a</sup> Laura's nickname used by her family - <sup>b</sup> Marx's nickname used by his family - <sup>c</sup> Thou art enclosed in mine heart (Middle-High German). - <sup>d</sup> Marx's wife Jenny - <sup>e</sup> Charles Étienne Lafargue - <sup>f</sup> with all its ulcers - <sup>g</sup> highly principled - <sup>h</sup> local rag

Hanover, since the Prussians would probably give him the advantages of free lodging during the present prorogation of the Reichstag.<sup>434</sup>

My best thanks to Paul for his elaborate letter.<sup>435</sup> Meine herzlichsten Grüsse an das ganze Haus und<sup>a</sup> hundred kisses to yourself and my dear little Schnappy.

*Adio*, my dear child!

Ever yours

Old Nick.<sup>b</sup>

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN HANOVER

Manchester, 27 September 1869

Dear Moor,

Since there is nothing doing with Eichhoff<sup>c</sup> it would be better if Wilhelm were to print the *Peasant War* than for it not to be printed at all. So I shall go through the piece right away. Incidentally, Wilhelm can write to me himself about it; he still has not replied to my last letter, and I don't see why I should make advances to him.<sup>431</sup>

Lafargue is madder with his doctoring than I expected. You must really take energetic steps, otherwise there might really be a misfortune.<sup>d</sup>

We returned safely from Ireland<sup>e</sup> last Thursday<sup>f</sup>; were in Dublin, the Wicklow mountains, Killarney and Cork. Greatly enjoyed ourselves, but both females returned even *hiberniores*<sup>g</sup> than when they departed.<sup>421</sup> Weather fine on the whole. According to the papers the weather with you is now even worse than here.

Learned from Trench's *Realities of Irish Life* the whole secret of why Ireland is so 'overpopulated'. The worthy gentleman proves with examples that, on average, the land is worked by the Irish peasants to such degree that an outlay of £10-15 per ACRE, which is

<sup>a</sup> My heartfelt greetings to the whole family and - <sup>b</sup> On the inside of the letter: 'To Laura'. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 282 and 297. - <sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353. - <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 348 and 351. - <sup>f</sup> 16 September - <sup>g</sup> more Irish

*completely paid off* in 1-4 years, *raises* the rental value from 1s. to 20s., and from 4s. to 25-30s. per ACRE. *This* profit has to be brought into the pockets of the LANDLORDS.

Mr Trench, in return, is nicely checked by his own statements to Senior, which the latter has had published.<sup>a</sup> Trench tells the liberal Senior that, were he an Irish peasant, he too would be a RIBBONMAN<sup>436!</sup>

I would have visited Dietzgen from Engelskirchen,<sup>418</sup> but the highway to Siegburg had just been washed away and communications almost broken off.

Can't Jenny write to the Monroes, I should have thought the matter could be arranged.<sup>b</sup>

Ireland's trade has grown enormously over the last 14 years. Dublin port was unrecognisable. On Queenstown Quay I heard a great deal of Italian, then Serbian, French and Danish or Norwegian. THERE ARE INDEED A GOOD MANY 'ITALIANS' IN CORK, as the comedy has it. The country itself really looks depopulated, however, and you immediately get the idea that there are far too few people. Everywhere you are faced by the state of war. The ROYAL IRISH rush about everywhere in squads, with sheath-knives and sometimes revolvers at their belts, and unsheathed police batons in their hands; in Dublin a horse-drawn battery drove right through the centre of town, something I have never seen in England, and there are soldiers literally everywhere.

The worst thing about the Irish is that they become CORRUPTIBLE as soon as they cease to be peasants and fall into bourgeois ways. Of course this is true of most peasant nations. But in Ireland it's particularly bad, so the press is also particularly scurvy.

Moore is in the Tyrol; will probably return next week.

I expect you'll be going to Hamburg and seeing Meissner.<sup>437</sup> If so, you may mention to him that I am working on something about Ireland, and will offer it to him in due time.<sup>438</sup>

Hearty greetings to Jenny and Kugelmann.

Tussy and Lizzie also send greetings.

Your

F. E.<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> N. W. Senior, *Journals, Conversations and Essays Relating to Ireland*, Vol. 2, London, 1868, p. 208. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 354. - <sup>c</sup> On the inside of the letter: 'To Dr Marx'.