

**KARL
MARX
FREDERICK
ENGELS**

**Collected
Works**



Volume 44
Marx and Engels
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Preface

Volume 44 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels contains their correspondence from July 1870 to December 1873. These years marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the international working-class movement. The proletarian revolution in Paris of 18 March 1871 resulted in the Paris Commune, the first working-class government in the history of mankind. This daring action was a milestone, 'a new point of departure of world-historic importance' (this volume, p. 137), ushering in a new phase in the struggle against capitalism.

The Commune and the changes taking place in the working-class movement created a pressing need for setting up independent proletarian parties capable of leading the class struggle of the workers in the specific conditions of each country. The activity of Marx and Engels and the First International, which they led, was of major importance in preparing the ideological and organisational prerequisites for the formation of such parties.

The letters of Marx and Engels in this volume are indispensable for the study of the activity of the International Working Men's Association at the final stage of its development.

In September 1870 Engels moved from Manchester to London, enabling him to have continuous personal contact with Marx. Engels was immediately made a member of the General Council of the International. Here his extraordinary ability as an organiser and leader of the international working-class movement was given full scope. The circle of people with whom Marx and Engels corresponded became much wider, and included such prominent members of the International as W. Liebknecht, A. Bebel, J. P. Becker, L. Frankel, F. Bolte, P. Lafargue, F. A. Sorge,

T. Cuno, L. Kugelman, N. Utin (Outine), L. Pio, J. Mesa, F. Mora and E. Bignami, and also the democratic allies of the working class, E. Beesly, E. Oswald and T. Allsop. Marx and Engels also extended their contact with Russian revolutionaries at this time.

A large number of letters in this volume concern the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and its consequences. In the situation which had arisen, the General Council of the International had to provide the proletariat, the French and German workers in particular, with a clear understanding of its tasks as a class. This was the purpose of the General Council's Address on the Franco-Prussian War, written by Marx, which, as Engels put it, was intended to 'teach the *populus* of all classes that nowadays the workers are the only ones to have a *real* foreign policy' (p. 18). Marx and Engels were concerned above all to prevent the workers of the belligerent countries being deceived by chauvinist propaganda, to advance their solidarity and help progressive workers realise the need for international unity and action. In his letter to the German democrat Eugen Oswald of 26 July 1870 Marx expressed the belief that 'a genuine power of resistance to the return of national antagonisms and the entire system of present-day diplomacy can *only* be found in the *working class*' (p. 9).

During the first stage of the war, when it was of a defensive nature for Germany, Marx and Engels distinguished clearly between Germany's national interests and the dynastic, territorial aims of Prussian Junkerdom and the German bourgeoisie. They warned the German workers that under the leadership of the Prussian militarists the war might turn into one of territorial aggrandisement against the French people.

In a letter to Marx of 15 August 1870 Engels formulated the tasks of the German Social-Democrats at the initial stage of the war as follows: 'I think our people can: 1) join the national movement ... insofar and for so long as it is limited to the defence of Germany...; 2) at the same time emphasise the difference between German national and dynastic-Prussian interests; 3) oppose any annexation of Alsace and Lorraine...; 4) as soon as a non-chauvinistic republican government is at the helm in Paris, work for an honourable peace with it; 5) constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other' (p. 47).

At the end of August in a letter to the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, Marx and Engels,

anticipating a change in the character of the war with the inevitable collapse of the Second Empire, foresaw the consequent necessity for the German workers to step up the struggle against the annexationist aims of the Prussian militarists and the German bourgeoisie (pp. 79, 82).

This prediction soon proved to be correct. On 4 September 1870 the Second Empire collapsed and a new stage began in the Franco-Prussian War. The General Council's Second Address on the Franco-Prussian War was designed to explain the changed situation and outline the new tasks of the international working class. Many letters by Marx and Engels also dealt with these matters. In defining the new tactical line of the International now that the war had lost its defensive character for Germany, Marx and Engels urged the proletariat of the European countries to resist resolutely the annexationist policy of the ruling classes (see, for example, Engels' letter to Marx of 12 September 1870 and Marx's letter to Engels of 14 September 1870).

Under Marx's guidance the International conducted a campaign for recognition of the French Republic. 'I have set everything in motion here for the workers to force their government to recognise the French Republic. (The series of *meetings* begins on Monday),' Marx wrote to Engels on 10 September 1870 (p. 70). In this connection 'detailed instructions' were sent to Belgium, Switzerland and the United States (p. 77).

A considerable number of letters analyse the strategic plans of the belligerents, the course of the military operations, and their possible outcome. As early as 22 July 1870 Engels, in a letter to Marx, predicted the likelihood of the military defeat of Bonapartist France. In Engels' letters one can trace how he wrote his series of articles *Notes on the War*, which made a new contribution to Marxism's theory of war (see present edition, Vol. 22).

The letters of Marx and Engels concerning the Paris Commune give this volume special importance.

The proletarian revolution in France was the result of the development of the whole workers' movement of the 1860s, which was profoundly influenced by the International Working Men's Association. The Commune, Engels wrote in a letter of 12-17 September 1874 to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, was undoubtedly a brain child of the International (present edition, Vol. 45).

From the very first days of the Paris Commune Marx set about studying its progress. Replying on 12 April 1871 to Ludwig Kugelmann, who had failed to understand the essence of the Paris uprising, comparing it with the action by the petty-bourgeois

Montagne on 13 June 1849 in France, Marx explained the great historic significance of the Commune as the first attempt in history to destroy the military-bureaucratic state machine of the bourgeoisie. The destruction of this machine, Marx stressed, was an essential condition for the victory of a truly popular revolution on the Continent (this volume, p. 131). Marx wrote admiringly of the heroism and self-sacrifice of the Communards: 'What resilience, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! ... However that may be, the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris' (ibid., pp. 131-32).

In his letters to Kugelmann of 12 and 17 April 1871 Marx for the first time expounded his understanding of the Paris Commune as the first attempt at a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx took advantage of every opportunity to contact the leaders of the Commune to help them in tactical and strategic matters. Thus, his letter of 13 May 1871 to Léo Frankel and Louis Eugène Varlin contained a plan for concrete revolutionary action and also a warning about the preparations for a counter-revolutionary attack within Paris, about the agreement against the Commune between Bismarck and the Versaillists (this volume, pp. 148-49). Already at the beginning of April, soberly assessing the alignment of forces, Marx realised that the chances of a victorious outcome for the revolution were rapidly diminishing. On 6 April in a letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht he elaborated on the mistakes made by the Communards: 'It seems the Parisians are succumbing. It is their own fault but a fault which really was due to their too great *honnêteté*. The Central Committee and later the Commune gave that *mischievous avorton*, Thiers, time to consolidate hostile forces, in the first place by their folly of not wanting to start a *civil war*—as if Thiers had not already started it by his attempt at forcibly disarming Paris, as if the National Assembly ... had not immediately declared war on *the Republic!* Secondly, in order that the appearance of having usurped power should not attach to them they lost precious moments (they should immediately have advanced on Versailles...) by the election of the Commune, the organisation of which, etc., cost yet more time' (p. 128).

At a time when Thiers' government and the ruling classes of other states sought to surround the Commune with a wall of lies and slander, Marx and Engels considered it their duty to explain to the workers of all countries the historic significance of the events taking place in Paris. 'The true character of this grand Paris

revolution has been explained to workers everywhere in letters from various secretaries to sections on the Continent and in the United States,' Marx wrote to Frankel (p. 142). 'I have written hundreds of letters on behalf of your cause to all the corners of the earth where we have branches' (p. 149).

After the defeat of the Commune Marx and Engels launched a vigorous campaign in the International to give assistance to the Communards. The letters show how much sympathy, attention and concern were shown by Engels, Marx and the members of his family to Commune refugees who fled to London or hid in France (Marx to Oswald, 21 July 1871; Marx to Friedrich Bolte, 25 August 1871; Jenny Marx (daughter) to Kugelmann, 21-22 December 1871, and others).

One of the main aims of the International after the fall of the Commune was to make its historic experience widely available. For Marx the main objective was to analyse theoretically the lessons of the Commune and so turn spontaneous sympathy into the conscious desire and ability of the proletarian masses to carry its cause forward to victory. The Address entitled *The Civil War in France*, written by Marx on behalf of the General Council, was an important milestone in the elaboration of the programme and principles of the proletarian movement. On 28 July 1871 Engels wrote to the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero that in this document the General Council had openly declared itself 'in favour of communism' (p. 184). The history of the writing, publication and dissemination of this programmatic work of Marxism is reflected in several letters (Marx to Kugelmann, 18 June 1871; Engels to Liebknecht, 22 June 1871; Marx to Sorge, 23 May 1872, and others).

The Paris Commune marked the high-point in the activity of the International Working Men's Association and the beginning of a new stage in the history of the international workers' movement as a whole. 'The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward sections of the proletariat from their deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary socialist propaganda' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 143).

After the defeat of the Paris Commune the ruling classes instigated drastic reprisals against members of the International and its organisations. These were initiated by the French minister Jules Favre, who appealed to all European governments on 6 June 1871 to destroy the International. Marx and Engels fought resolutely against the persecution of the International, against attempts to distort its principles and aims and undermine its

prestige. Against this background their letters to leading members of the International took on a special significance. In many cases they were essentially official documents of the General Council. Passages were often read out at meetings of sections and Federal Councils and sometimes published in the form of articles and reports in the working-class press. Thus the correspondence of Marx and Engels took on an importance as a means of disseminating the ideas of scientific socialism in the organisations of the Association and of educating proletarian revolutionaries.

After the Paris Commune Marx and Engels regarded as one of the International's most important tasks the further elaboration of its political programme. The experience of the Commune made it possible to augment the socialist principles of the future social system proclaimed in the resolutions of the Brussels and Basle congresses, and specify the ways and means of carrying out the socialist transformation of society. The lessons of the Commune were generalised in the resolutions of the London Conference held in September 1871. Its convocation was necessary because, to quote Engels, there were 'several important questions to deal with before proceeding further' (p. 187). The Conference adopted an historic resolution on the creation in each country of an independent proletarian party, whose aim should be to prepare the working class for revolutionary battles for political power. Marx rated the importance of the Conference highly, noting that at this one 'more was done than at all the previous Congresses put together' (p. 220).

As the correspondence shows, Marx and Engels devoted much attention to explaining the importance of the London Conference resolutions. In a letter to Bolte of 23 November 1871, discussing the role of a proletarian party in the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx wrote: 'The political movement of the working class naturally has as its final object the conquest of political power for this class, and this requires, of course, a previous organisation of the working class developed up to a certain point, which arises from the economic struggles themselves' (p. 258).

The work of the London Conference took place amid an acute ideological struggle between the proletarian-revolutionary trend led by Marx and Engels, and Bakuninism. The Paris Commune had drawn a clear dividing line between the proletarian revolutionaries and the representatives of Bakuninist anarchism.

The Bakuninists furiously attacked the basic theses of the political programme set out in the resolutions of the London

Conference. In their circular issued in Sonvillier in November 1871 they denied the need for the proletariat to gain political power, for the creation of a proletarian party and for discipline and centralisation, and demanded the 'abolition of all authority', suggesting as a practical step in this direction that the governing body of the International, the General Council, should be turned into a bureau for statistics and correspondence. On 2 January 1872 Engels wrote to Liebknecht with reference to the circular: 'That is really the last straw and we shall now take action' (p. 289). The Bakuninists were answered in the joint works by Marx and Engels mentioned in the letters, *Fictitious Splits in the International* and *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23).

In their numerous letters to working-class activists in different countries Marx and Engels subjected the main theses of anarchism to criticism. They exposed the idealism of Bakunin, who regarded as the main source of all social evils not the exploiting nature of the social system, but the state, and who saw the abolition of the latter as the way to get rid of capitalism (Engels to Theodor Cuno, 24 January 1872, this volume, pp. 305-07); they emphasised that abstention from politics turned workers into the blind instrument of bourgeois politicians; and they demonstrated the untenability of the anarchist rejection of authority. Engels wrote: '...for the struggle we need to gather all our forces into a single band and concentrate them on the same point of attack. And when people speak to me about authority and centralisation as if they were two things to be condemned in all possible circumstances, it seems to me that those who talk like this, either do not know what a revolution is, or are revolutionaries in name only' (Engels to Carlo Terzaghi, 14[-15] January 1872, this volume, p. 295). Marx and Engels condemned the Bakuninists' denial of the need for a proletarian state. In a letter to Paul Lafargue of 30 December 1871 Engels showed for the first time, before writing his work *On Authority*, that the conditions of large-scale machine production insistently demanded state management and regulation. In the above-mentioned letter to Terzaghi he also drew attention to the experience of the Commune, which confirmed the need for the proletarian state to take measures in the struggle against counter-revolution. 'It was the lack of centralisation and authority that cost the life of the Paris Commune' (p. 295).

In their letters to members of the International Marx and Engels argued that the organisational doctrines of anarchism were

incompatible with the Rules and the very spirit of the International and were disorganising and splitting the movement at a time when solidarity and unity of action by the workers were vital in the face of the offensive mounted by the reactionary forces. Sending Lafargue in Madrid the section of the *Fictitious Splits* dealing with the functions of the General Council, Marx wrote in his covering letter: '...our Association is the *militant organisation* of the proletariat... To destroy our organisation just now would be to abdicate. Bourgeois and governments combined could ask for nothing more' (p. 346). In the struggle against Bakuninism Marx and Engels consistently upheld the principles of proletarian party commitment. As one of the conditions for ensuring the unity of the international proletarian organisation Marx and Engels advanced the principle of party discipline, the bowing of the minority to the will of the majority, or, as Engels wrote, 'the authority of the majority over the minority' (p. 307).

In the summer of 1872 Marx and Engels began to receive information to the effect that the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, which the Bakuninists had declared dissolved, was in fact being retained as a strictly conspiratorial society. The existence within the International of a secret international organisation of Bakuninists with its own Rules and programme meant that Bakunin and his supporters were in practice attempting to split the International Working Men's Association. 'Bakunin retained the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*, which you know of from the *Scissions*, as a *secret* society in order to obtain control of the International,' Engels wrote to Adolf Hepner on 4 August 1872 (p. 415).

Marx and Engels attached particular importance to exposing the Bakuninists to the workers of Spain and Italy, where their position was especially strong.

On Marx's proposal the General Council on 11 June 1871 passed a resolution to convene a Congress of the Association at The Hague on 2 September 1872. It was to take stock of the International's activity since the Basle Congress, incorporate the resolutions of the London Conference into the General Rules and Administrative Regulations, complete the drawing up of a political programme and put an end to the disorganising activity of the anarchists. In letters to Sorge and Kugelmann Marx stressed that the question of the life or death of the International would be decided at the Congress (pp. 398, 413).

The Congress was the scene of a fierce struggle between the supporters of the revolutionary proletarian line and the anarchist delegates, backed by the reformists. The latter joined with the

Bakuninists, who were against public recognition as essential to the programme of the International, of the idea of winning state power by the proletariat and of the need to form mass political parties of the working class independent of the bourgeoisie. The resolution adopted was based on proposals put forward by Marx and Engels and their comrades-in-arms.

With the exacerbation of ideological differences after the Congress, Marx and Engels attached special importance to the widespread propagation of the Congress decisions and the struggle for their acceptance.

In fighting for international unity of the working class Marx and Engels were at the same time concerned to promote the development of the proletarian movement in individual countries.

They gave special attention to the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. In the period following the first proletarian revolution of 1871 Marx's prediction that the centre of gravity of the working-class movement would shift from France to Germany proved to be true. In the workers' press and in their letters Marx and Engels popularised the experience of this most advanced organised detachment of the proletariat. They applauded the brilliant defence of the principles of the Commune by their comrades-in-arms in Germany. 'The German workers,' Engels wrote to Liebknecht on 22 June 1871, 'have behaved themselves quite splendidly in this last great crisis, better than anyone else. And Bebel has been an outstanding spokesman on their behalf; his speech on the Commune went through the entire English press and made a great impression here' (p. 160). The movement in support of the Commune promoted the class solidarity of the German workers and their political education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Marx and Engels spoke proudly of the courageous behaviour of Liebknecht, Bebel and other representatives of German Social-Democracy who, during the trials, made use of the court as a tribune to agitate for the principles of the International. 'Dear Liebknecht,' Engels wrote on 23 April 1872, 'we all send you our congratulations on your performance in court. After the trial of the Brunswickers it was essential for someone to stand up to that gang and you have fairly done so' (p. 360).

In their letters to party leaders Marx and Engels persistently stressed the need for delegates from Germany to take part in the Hague Congress (pp. 376-77). They attached special importance to support at the Congress for the General Council's line by the most

powerful and best organised detachment of the International, the Eisenach Party.

Whilst they were aware of the need for the unity of the working-class movement in Germany, Marx and Engels feared that, if a united party were set up, leadership of it might be seized by the Lassalleans, because certain of the Eisenach leaders were prepared to sacrifice programme and principle for the sake of unity. On 20 June 1873 Engels wrote to Bebel giving his views on overcoming the split in the working-class movement in general, and in Germany in particular. The tactics of the struggle against the influence of the Lassalleans, he wrote, lay not in winning over individual members of their organisation. It presupposed, first and foremost, acting upon the broad mass of workers, propagating the ideas of scientific socialism among them. The unification of the Eisenach Party with the Lassallean General Association of German Workers should be brought about on the basis of a revolutionary programme, and in such a way as to prevent the subversion of the movement's socialist principles and aims by reformist and sectarian dogmas. 'There are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more important things' (p. 512).

In their letters to the leaders of the German working-class movement Marx and Engels stressed the need to fight for the ideological soundness of the party, to overcome ideological vacillations and accept responsibilities towards the international working-class movement (Engels to Liebknecht, 18-22 May 1872, and other letters).

The fate of the working-class movement in England, the opportunities and prospects for the creation of a proletarian party in the British Isles, was of constant concern to Marx and Engels. In the early 1870s a reformist outlook was dominant in the English working class. Its main vehicle was the labour aristocracy, an influential and considerable section of the working class in England. Marx and Engels were quick to understand the consequences of reformism's domination of the working-class movement (see Engels' letter to Hepner of 30 December 1872). The labour aristocracy's ideological dependence on the liberal bourgeoisie was shown clearly in its attitude to the Paris Commune: the English members of the General Council George Odger and Benjamin Lucraft refused to show solidarity with the Commune. Engels informed Cafiero of this on 28 July 1871: '... *two* English members of the Council, who had been getting on too close terms with the bourgeoisie, found our address on the civil

war too strong and they withdrew' (p. 186). A considerable number of trades-union leaders, including several English working-class members of the International, were becoming typical liberal politicians, many aspiring to parliamentary, state and administrative posts.

Marx and Engels were sharply perceptive of the processes taking place in the English working-class movement, and were the first to note the presence of the two tendencies, reformist and revolutionary, and the growing influence of the bourgeoisified upper layers of the proletariat. This added urgency to their persistent efforts for an independent proletarian party that would withstand the influence of reformism. The correspondence of these years shows how consistently they continued to work in England for the ideas and the influence of the International, 'to render it independent of the aristocracy of the working classes and its acknowledged leaders' (p. 147).

Marx and Engels had great hopes for the British Federal Council of the International, set up in the autumn of 1871, which they believed should become the nucleus of a future working-class party. They criticised strongly the reformist wing of the British Federation, which sought to limit the political struggle of the working class exclusively to the struggle for parliamentary representation, and denounced the so-called 'acknowledged leaders' of the working class, 'all of whom either have been bought by the middle class or are begging them to make them an offer' (p. 383). Engels' letters to Sorge of 21 September and 5 October 1872 give a vivid description of the bitter struggle which was taking place between the revolutionary and reformist wings in the English sections of the International.

A large group of letters by Marx and Engels forms an important source on the history of the International in the United States of America.

In this period the working class in the USA continued to be formed mostly by immigrants arriving from various European countries. Its multinational composition and the differences in language, traditions, customs, views and level of education made the political cohesion of the proletariat difficult. The existing organisation of the International was dominated by the German and French sections, in which Lassallean and Proudhonist influences were strong. In time the first sections of American-born workers and members of the petty bourgeoisie appeared, and also several Irish sections. Marx and Engels corresponded with Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Carl Speyer, Friedrich Bolte and other

members of the International in the USA. The prime task of the American socialists, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, consisted in overcoming national separateness and isolation from the broad mass of workers which inevitably led to sectarianism. In a letter to Bolte of 23 November 1871 Marx stressed: 'The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real labour movement always stand in indirect proportion to each other' (p. 252). Marx believed that the way to get rid of sectarianism was, first and foremost, to work with the proletarian masses in the trades unions. 'You must strive to win the support of the Trades Unions at all costs,' he wrote in a letter to Speyer of 10 November 1871 (p. 244).

In his letter to Bolte Marx also touched on the problem of creating a mass political organisation of the working class in America: 'Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organisation to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e. the political power, of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against, and a hostile attitude towards, the policies of the ruling classes' (p. 258). Marx and Engels supported Sorge and other proletarian revolutionaries in the USA in their struggle against bourgeois reformers' attempts to make use of the International's organisations in America for their own purposes.

The transfer of the General Council to New York in the autumn of 1872 greatly stimulated the working-class movement in the USA and contributed to the spread of Marxism on the American continent.

The defeat of the Paris Commune and the subsequent persecution of members of the International considerably reduced the number of Marx's and Engels' correspondents in France. Government reprisals dealt a severe blow to the working-class organisations and sections of the International Working Men's Association. Nevertheless, at the beginning of August 1871 the General Council began to receive information about the renewal of sections and the activity of syndicalist chambers. The ties of local sections with Commune refugees who were members of the General Council were being resumed.

The London Conference of 1871 gave new impetus to the revival of the French sections, providing a realistic programme of action to unite and reorganise the ranks of the working class. On 19 January 1872 Engels wrote to Lafargue: 'In France Serrailier is being amazingly active. Needless to say, the results he has obtained are not for publication, but they are very good.'

Everywhere the sections are reforming under different names' (p. 302). In his letter to Lafargue of 21 March Marx also remarked upon the success of the International in France following the London Conference (p. 346).

The majority of the French members of the International, except Bakunin's supporters and the Blanquists, who had broken with the International Working Men's Association, approved the resolutions of the Hague Congress of 1872. 'Despite the intrigues of the Jurassians and the Blanquists things are going well in the South,' Engels wrote to Sorge on 7 December 1872 (p. 454). But in February 1873 the organisation of the International was again crushed, after which it did not manage to recover. Analysing the causes for the defeat of the French sections, Marx and Engels in their letters to Sorge, Auguste Serrailier and others criticised the voluntarist views of the Blanquists, discussed the prospects for the development of the working-class movement in France and expressed their conviction that it would be reborn in new forms.

The contents of this volume provide an insight into the work Marx and Engels were doing to assist the proletarian movement in Italy and Spain. The establishment of ties with the Italian and Spanish working-class organisations involved a sharp ideological struggle against the influence of anarchists and bourgeois republicans. The main burden was shouldered by Engels, who was the Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for Italy and Spain. Following the transfer of the Council to New York in the autumn of 1872, Engels continued as its representative to maintain contacts with progressive members of the socialist and working-class movement in these countries.

Engels' correspondence with Italian revolutionaries was important as a means of conveying the ideas of scientific socialism to Italy. His letters to the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero were important. In them Engels explained the nature of the International as a broadly-based mass workers' organisation alien to all sectarianism, stressing that the task of the Association was to unite the workers and draw up, by means of theoretical discussions, a truly revolutionary programme.

In his letter to Cafiero of 28 July 1871 Engels defined the main issues over which there was a struggle in the International and contrasted the fundamental propositions of scientific socialism with Bakuninist dogma and Mazzinist petty-bourgeois views. In explaining the programmatic aims of the proletarian movement and arguing the need for the working class to win state power, Engels pointed out: 'We must free ourselves from

landowners and capitalists, and for this end promote the development of the associated classes of agricultural and industrial workers and all the means of production, land, tools, machines, raw materials and whatever means exist to support life during the time necessary for production. ...And to bring this about we need the political supremacy of the proletariat' (p. 184). A considerable part of this letter is devoted to a detailed criticism of Mazzinism as one of the trends of '*vulgar democracy*', which strove to give the workers some political rights 'in order to preserve intact the *social* privileges of the middle and upper classes' (p. 185).

In criticising Mazzini's views and condemning his attacks on the International and the Paris Commune, Engels contrasted him with another fighter for Italy's national liberation, Giuseppe Garibaldi, who openly sympathised with the International Working Men's Association and the Paris Communards (see Engels' letter to Cuno, 13 November 1871).

Of considerable interest is Engels' correspondence with the German Social-Democrat Theodor Cuno, the organiser of a section of the International in Milan. The comprehensive critique of Bakuninism contained in Engels' letter of 24 January 1872 was of great help to Cuno in fighting the anarchists.

At this time Engels conducted a regular correspondence with Enrico Bignami and Cesare Bert, helping them to activate the sections of the International in Lodi and Turin. In a letter to the Italian democrat and member of the workers' movement Gennaro Bovio of 16 April 1872, Engels expressed the profound idea that the proletariat's national and international tasks formed an organic unity. He argued that 'in the working-class movement *true* national ideas, i.e. ideas corresponding to the economic realities, both in industry and in agriculture, to the realities that are dominant in the country in question, are, at the same time, true *international* ideas' (p. 355).

Engels' ties with Spanish internationalists, first established even before the Paris Commune, grew much stronger during the period of the Commune and immediately after. Before the London Conference Engels considered it his responsibility to strengthen these contacts and keep his correspondents informed about the International and the activity of the General Council. He was greatly assisted in this by Lafargue, who moved to Madrid in December 1871. Lafargue played an invaluable part in criticising anarchist views, a struggle which became Engels' main preoccupation after the London Conference.

A result of the influence exerted on the leading representatives

of the Spanish working-class movement by Marx and Engels was the emergence of a group of proletarian revolutionaries (José Mesa, Francisco Mora and others), who spread the ideas of scientific socialism and resisted the influence of the anarchists. Its newspaper was *La Emancipación* and its organisational centre the New Madrid Federation, founded in the summer of 1872.

Marx and Engels attached great importance to the revolutionary movement in Russia, and made a deep study of the socio-economic and political situation there. The letters reveal their connections with progressive social and political figures and representatives of different circles of Russian revolutionaries.

As the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for Russia, Marx gave continuous assistance to the Russian section of the International in Switzerland. He informed the Russian revolutionaries of the situation in the Association and the decisions of its Council and sent them the necessary documents. Marx greatly valued the fact that during the bitter struggle against anarchism the Russian section came out strongly against Bakunin and supported the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the International. In his regular correspondence with Nikolai Utin (Outine), one of the leaders of the Russian section, Marx discussed the essence of the ideological differences with the anarchists and the splitting activities of Bakunin's Alliance.

The close attention Marx and Engels paid to Russia and their friendly contacts with progressive people there are exemplified by Marx's letters to Nikolai Danielson and Engels' to Pyotr Lavrov published in this volume. By this time Marx could read Russian scientific and socio-political literature in the original sufficiently to delve more deeply into the problems of Russia's social and political development. He wrote to Sigfrid Meyer on 21 January 1871: 'The result was worth the effort that a man of my age must make to master a language differing so greatly from the classical, Germanic and Romance languages. The intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that things are seething deep below the surface. Minds are always connected by invisible threads with the body of the people' (p. 105). Through Danielson Marx sent General Council documents to Russia and received essential material, books and journals. From Marx's letters it is clear that he studied the works of N. Flerovsky (pseudonym of Vasily Bervi) and Nikolai Chernyshevsky, for whom he had the deepest respect. He referred to Chernyshevsky's economic works as excellent (p. 105). On receiving from Danielson the manuscript of Chernyshevsky's *Letters*

Without an Address Marx tried to get it printed, regarding it as an extremely important work (p. 457). It was at this time that Marx conceived the idea, as can be seen from his letters to Danielson of 12 December 1872 and 18 January 1873, of writing a biography of the great Russian revolutionary democrat and socialist. Marx also highly valued the work of Chernyshevsky's comrade-in-arms, Nikolai Dobrolyubov (see his letter to Danielson of 9 November 1871, p. 238).

Marx and Engels established particularly close relations with the Russian revolutionary Hermann Lopatin, a member of the General Council of the International, whom they also greatly respected. Very often in his letters to Danielson Marx enquired anxiously about Lopatin, who was arrested at the beginning of the 1870s in connection with the attempt to help Chernyshevsky escape from exile in Siberia. 'The fate of our dear "mutual friend" has been of the very greatest interest to my entire family,' Marx wrote on 12 December 1872 (p. 456). The news that Lopatin had succeeded in escaping from prison in Irkutsk in the summer of 1873 was received joyfully in Marx's home.

The revolutionary movement in Russia, which was steadily gaining strength, was regarded by Marx and Engels as an important indication of the maturing in that country of a popular revolution against tsarism. They saw the participants in this movement as the direct allies of the European proletariat. 'In Russia,' Marx wrote to Thomas Allsop on 23 December 1873, '...the elements of a general convulsion are accumulating' (p. 551). Convinced of the inevitability of a Russian revolution, Marx and Engels believed that it would lead to a radical change in the international situation and help the working class of the capitalist countries to achieve its aims.

The Hague Congress of 1872 was in fact the last congress of the International Working Men's Association. Later some of the federations temporarily followed the anarchists, who set up their own short-lived international association; the majority of the federations, however, now had to tackle the complex task of creating a proletarian party in their respective countries. In its former organisational forms the International had exhausted its role; it had created a firm ideological basis for the formation of proletarian parties bound together by a common ultimate aim and an understanding of the need for the international unity of the working class. 'As I view European conditions,' Marx wrote to Sorge on 27 September 1873, 'it is quite useful to let the formal organisation of the International recede into the background for

the time being... Events and the inevitable development and intertwining of things will of themselves see to it that the International rises again in an improved form' (p. 535).

By the end of 1873 the International had in effect retired from this historical arena. The activity of its organisations had ceased almost everywhere, although the final decision as to its dissolution was taken at the conference in Philadelphia on 15 July 1876. One of the finest phases of Marx's activity ended. Commenting on the historic role played by the International, Engels wrote to Sorge on 12-17 September 1874 that for ten years the International had dominated one side of European history, that which moulded the future, and it could look back to its work with pride (see present edition, Vol. 45).

Lenin also frequently stressed the tremendous significance of the International in the history of the struggle of the proletariat. The First International, he pointed out, 'laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital' (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 306).

In spite of the heavy burden of International business, Marx and Engels continued their intense theoretical activity. The correspondence in this volume enables one to trace the writing by Marx and Engels of several important works. Apart from those mentioned above, they include the preface by Marx and Engels to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and Engels' work *The Housing Question*. Engels' letter to Marx of 30 May 1873 contains the first outline of the philosophical work planned by him, *Dialectics of Nature* (see this volume, pp. 500-03).

As can be seen from the letters, Marx attached particular importance to the completion of his major work, *Capital*, and the perfecting of Volume I of it, which had been published in 1867.

In the 1870s the demand for *Capital* among the workers grew. The influence of the ideas of scientific socialism amongst the working class, particularly after the Paris Commune, as well as the need to counteract petty-bourgeois ideology, impelled Marx to prepare a second German edition of *Capital* (see Engels' letters to Liebknecht and Lafargue of 15 and 30 December 1871, this volume, pp. 282, 286).

From Marx's correspondence for this period it is clear that he invested a great deal of work making changes both in the structure and in the subject matter itself.

With respect to Marx's work on the second German edition of

Volume I of *Capital*, his daughter Jenny wrote on 22 January 1872 to Kugelmann: 'In the first chapter he has made great alterations, and what is more important, he himself is satisfied (which does not happen often) with these alterations. The work he has done these last few weeks is immense, and it is really a wonder that his health ... has not given way under it' (p. 574). The second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, which came out in 1872-73, in a large edition for those days (three thousand copies), was a most important event.

The authorised edition of Volume I of *Capital* in French was intended to make Marx's economic theory accessible to the workers not only of France, but also of other Romance countries.

The French edition of *Capital* was published in instalments over the period 17 September 1872 to November 1875. The letters testify to Marx's intense, painstaking work to polish the translation made by Joseph Roy, and also to revise in part the original itself. 'He [Mr Roy] has often translated too literally,' Marx wrote to Danielson on 28 May 1872. 'I have therefore found myself compelled to re-write whole passages in French, to make them palatable to the French public. It will be all the easier later on to translate the book from French into English and the Romance languages' (p. 385).

Marx gave serious attention to the preparation of a Russian edition of Volume I of *Capital*. Its publication in March 1872 had great impact on the development of progressive social thought in Russia. The Russian edition was the first translation into a foreign language of this brilliant work, and Marx had a very high opinion of it. On 28 May 1872 he wrote to Danielson: 'First of all, my best thanks for the beautifully bound copy. The translation is *masterly*. I would be grateful if you could let me have a second, unbound copy—for the British Museum' (p. 385). Engels also praised the Russian translation. He considered this edition highly important for educating Russian revolutionaries. 'As far as talent and character are concerned some of these are absolutely among the very best in our party,' he stressed in a letter to Johann Philipp Becker of 14 June 1872 (p. 396).

The volume concludes the publication of that section of Marx's and Engels' correspondence (begun in Volume 42) which belongs to the period of their activity as leaders of the First International.

The letters bring out characteristic features of the creative collaboration of Marx and Engels, and also their relations with followers and associates. Engels' letter to his mother of 21 October 1871 testifies to his unshakable loyalty to his revolutionary

convictions and readiness to defend them come what may. The reader can learn much about the lives of Marx's daughters. Thus, a number of letters describe the dangers and deprivations endured by Marx's middle daughter, Laura, the wife of Paul Lafargue, who shared her husband's fate as a political exile; and the police harassment of his eldest and youngest daughters, Jenny and Eleanor, during their stay in the south of France. This biographical material is supplemented by letters from the members of Marx's family contained in the Appendices.

* * *

Volume 44 contains 326 letters of Marx and Engels, of which 197 are published in English for the first time and 131 were published in this language earlier, 52 of them in part only. Of the documents published in the Appendices, 10 appear in English for the first time. Previous English publications are mentioned in the Notes.

Obvious slips of the pen have been corrected without special mention. Proper names, geographical names and individual words contracted by the authors are given in full, except in cases when these contractions were made for the sake of conspiracy or cannot be deciphered. Defects in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes, and passages with lost or illegible words are denoted by omission marks. If the text makes it possible to give a hypothetical reconstruction of the lost or illegible words, this reconstruction is given in square brackets. Passages crossed out by the authors are reproduced—in the footnotes—only when they represent important variant readings. If a letter is a draft or a fragment reproduced in another document, this is marked 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 are italicised (if underlined by the authors, they are given in spaced italics). English words and expressions used by Marx and Engels in texts written in German, French and other languages are printed in small caps. Longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

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

In the course of work on the text and apparatus of this volume

the dating of certain letters has been clarified as a result of additional research.

The text and Notes were prepared by Galina Kostryukova (letters from 20 July 1870 to 4 May 1871), Galina Voitenkova (letters from 5 May 1871 to 30 December 1871) and Natalia Sayenko (letters from January 1872 to December 1873 and also the letters in the Appendices) (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The Preface was written by Natalia Sayenko. The volume was edited by Lev Golman, Velta Pospelova, and Tatiana Yeremeyeva, the Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals were prepared by Andrei Pozdnyakov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

The translations were made by Rodney Livingstone and edited by Nicholas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), K. M. Cook, Stephen Smith, Elena Chistyakova, Svetlana Gerasimenko and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers) and scientific editors Vladimir Mosolov (Institute of Marxism-Leninism) and Norire Ter-Akopyan (USSR Academy of Sciences).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Elena Krishtof (Progress Publishers).

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

July 1870-December 1873

1870

1

MARX TO ENGELS¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 20 July 1870

DEAR FRED,

Enclosed a letter from Kugelmann² which significantly clarifies the political MYSTERIES of the present war.³ He is in the right with his criticism of the proclamation of the Brunswick meeting^a SOME COPIES of which I enclose. I am also sending you the *Réveil*.⁴ You will find in it the first half of the *acte d'accusation*^b presented before the Supreme Court at Blois⁵; what a poor figure the French CONSPIRATORS cut, compared to the FENIANS,⁶ as they transform themselves into *mouchards*^c without the least provocation. The paper is also interesting on account of the leading article by old Delescluze. Although he is opposed to the government, it's just unadulterated chauvinism, *car la France est le seul pays de l'idée*^d (namely, the idea it has of itself). These republican chauvinists are only indignant because the actual incarnation of their idol—Louis Bonaparte with his long nose and his stock exchange rigging—does not correspond to their FANCY. The French deserve a good hiding. If the Prussians win, then centralisation of the STATE POWER will be beneficial for the centralisation of the German working class. German predominance would then shift the centre of gravity of the West European workers' movement from France to Germany, and you need only to compare developments in the two countries from 1866 to the present day to realise that the German working class is superior to the French both in theory and

^a 'Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 58, 20 July 1870. - ^b bill of indictment - ^c spies - ^d for France is the only nation of the Idea

organisation. Its predominance over the French on the international stage would also mean the predominance of *our* theory over Proudhon's, etc.

Finally, I enclose a *review of my book* from Hildebrand's journal for economics and statistics.^a The state of my health does not really predispose me to merriment, but this essay brought the tears to my eyes, *bona fide* tears of laughter. With the reaction and the DOWNFALL of the heroic age of philosophy in Germany, the '*petty bourgeois*' latent in the German citizen has once again come to the fore—in *philosophy* nonsense worthy of Moses Mendelssohn; the smart-alecky, bad-tempered carping of wiseacres and know-alls. And they now want to dissolve *political economy* into a lot of rubbish about *legal concepts*! That goes one better than the 'logarithm of stimuli'.⁷ As Schiller, a competent judge in this sphere, has already noted, the philistine resolves all questions by making them 'a matter of conscience'.

Apropos! A Yankee JOURNAL which I was reading yesterday in the Central Council is publishing a series of articles about capital, etc. It refers to my book^b among others. According to them I believe that the worker *must* work for a certain portion of the day for his own needs, and that therefore the work over and above that time, which I call SURPLUS LABOUR, forms the surplus value and hence the source of profit, etc. There is something in this, no doubt, they continue, but it is not the whole truth. For instance, the goods produced by a manufacturer=0 for him until they have been sold. Let us assume then that the REAL VALUE (he means cost price) of clothes, etc.=*a*. By selling them to the merchant the manufacturer adds *b*, and this is then increased by *c* by the different businessmen through whose hands the articles pass.

Therefore: VALUE=*a*. The increments=*b*+*c*. VALUE IN USE, THEREFORE,=*a*+*b*+*c*. Therefore, *surplus value*=*excess of use value (!) over value*. This really beats the 'FORMULE' which Frankel learnt in Paris!⁸

Just interrupted while writing. Taran,^c the French Italian, drove up in a CAB (he's the man from *The Pall Mall Gazette*). He brought back the things by Lassalle, etc., that I had lent him. He is going to Paris as war-correspondent. Inquired whether I would like to go to Prussia in that capacity, or if not, whether I could propose anyone else. Through him I am now SO FAR in contact with the *Pall*

^a [H. K. F. Rösler,] 'Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie', *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Vol. 12, Jena, 1869. - ^b Volume I of *Capital* - ^c Nicolas Léon Thieblin

Mall that if I want to write SOMETHING political or you SOMETHING military during the farce, it would be accepted and paid for INTO THE BARGAIN.

Yesterday I heard from Perret in Geneva that our resolution^a granting recognition to the Genevan *Comité Fédéral Romand*, in preference to the counter-committee formed by Bakunin, came like a bombshell to the fellows.⁹ They telegraphed Bakunin at once. At the next congress the GENERAL COUNCIL is to be put *in the dock* on account of this coup. It is now absolutely essential that *Dupont* should *at long last* send me the COPIES of our *resolutions^b concerning the ALLIANCE.*¹⁰ Do press him on this score *immédiatement* and *sérieusement* in my name.

The GENERAL COUNCIL yesterday commissioned me to draw up an address.^c By no means welcome IN MY PRESENT STATE of liver troubles and DULLNESS. If it does not improve, Allen and Maddison, whom I saw yesterday, advise me to go to the seaside, the East coast of England, in fact, because it's fresher there.

BEST COMPLIMENTS TO MRS LIZZY AND FRIENDS.

Your
K. M.

Apropos! Hasn't Wilhelm's^d stupidity excelled itself in his last *Volksstaat?*^e

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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

^a K. Marx, 'General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland'. - ^b K. Marx, 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy', 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy'. - ^c K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^d Wilhelm Liebknecht's - ^e This presumably refers to the 'Politische Uebersicht' column in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 57, 17 July 1870.

2

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 22 July 1870

Dear Moor,

Three cheers for Kugelmann! It is obvious that he did not go to school for nothing. His hypothesis is very much in the spirit of the protagonists and explains everything.^a If it is correct in actual fact, then Bismarck at least has bitten off more than he can chew. Those worthies have obviously managed to set off a full-scale national war in Germany. The numerous *tâtonnements*^b with regard to the cession of German territory, Luxembourg, etc., by which means Louis Bonaparte tried, as usual, to accustom the public in advance to the approaching *fait accompli*, have had quite the opposite effect on ordinary Germans. They have obviously made up their minds this time to put a stop to all such tricks once and for all. This being so, and considering the attitude of the two armies and of stubborn old William,^c a pretend-war is not possible. *On ira au fond*.^d

The sudden vacillation and uncertainty evident in the French operations—obviously planned for the middle of this week—is proof that Louis Bonaparte realises how badly he has miscalculated. The swift intervention of the South Germans and then the certainty that he will have the whole German people on his hands has frustrated the attempt to launch a surprise attack on Mainz with his artillery and then to form a spearhead in the direction of Würzburg, *with no more than half his forces mobilised*. If he can now attack at all, he will have to deploy *all* his forces. But there's still time for that. The *order* to form the fourth regimental battalions did not go out before the 15th or 16th. Their units consist of four companies of the three field battalions of each *regiment*, so they must first be *increased* to 6-8 companies and *supplemented* by reserves. The *men on leave* were called up *in Paris* on the 19th and 20th, the *trained* reserves on 21 and 22 July, and the untrained reserves receive their papers tomorrow. The regiments will not be complete until the first two categories have joined them. And this

^a See previous letter. - ^b feelers - ^c William I - ^d It will be fought to the bitter end.

means that—skirmishes apart—the campaign will have to be delayed to the middle of next week at the earliest. By then, however, the Germans may be so strong that Bonaparte will find it necessary to await the fourth battalions, and that means a delay of another 8-14 days. *And by then he'll be foutu.*^a

Yesterday I was told by a local German philistine that he had been travelling on a train in Westphalia last Saturday with a Prussian general who had taken him for an Englishman and had spoken to him in English. He said: *‘It is true enough, we are about ten days behindhand, but if during ten days you do not hear that we have suffered a great defeat, we shall soon have your sympathies.’* On being asked what he meant, he said: *‘The sympathies of the English, you know, are always on the side of success.’*

Mobilisation began on the 16th in Northern Germany and on the 17th in Bavaria. The reserves and Landwehr¹¹ infantry can be at the ready in about 8 days and the rest will be available about 13 days from the start of mobilisation. That means that the entire infantry will be ready on the 25th and everything else on the 30th. But since the reserves are joining up in great numbers without being ordered to, the field army will be ready even sooner. It is certain that the 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th army corps are standing on the Rhine. The Guard has also left Berlin, as I hear from Borchardt who arrived from there yesterday. I suppose it is on its way to Bavaria to serve under the handsome Crown Prince.^b The transport of troops from the East through Berlin was due to begin yesterday. From Sunday or Monday on Bonaparte will be able to occupy the Palatinate at the most, but he will no longer be able to cross the Rhine unless the other side makes crass errors. From the end of next week the Germans can attack and start an army rolling towards France that will smash everything Bonaparte can put in its way, albeit after fierce battles. As things stand at present, I do not believe that the campaign can possibly end well for Bonaparte.

I suppose I would like to write 2 articles weekly on the war for *The Pall Mall Gazette* for good cash payment.¹² I shall do a trial piece on military organisation. 3-4 guineas per article ought to be right; the *Guardian*^c used to pay me 2 guineas and would have paid even more.¹³ If you can arrange that tomorrow, let me know right away. To go to the Prussian headquarters as a correspondent

^a finished - ^b Frederick William - ^c *The Manchester Guardian*

has all sorts of drawbacks, the chief one being called Stieber, and besides I would have a less critical vantage-point there than here.

You can see from the enclosed cuttings what we have been engaged on here. The *Guardian* report is by us¹⁴; what a PENNY-A-LINER makes of it is shown by the accompanying report from the *Courier*^a—enough to make you die laughing. It must be the first time that French workers have been fanatically applauded by German philistines and shop-assistants in Manchester.

I have written to Dupont and intend to see him this evening.

Where do you plan to go to the SEASIDE? South of the Humber there is nothing on the east coast. To the north there is Scarborough—dear and crowded, and Bridlington Quay. If you decide on the latter, we could meet there. I shall send you the £40 as soon as you wish.

I wish the damned panic would abate somewhat; I need to sell some SHARES.

I have saved Rösler up for later.^b

The last issue of Wilhelm's *Volksstaat* has not reached me.^c Particularly annoying at the present time.

Best greetings to you all from Lizzie and myself.

Your
F. E.

Kugelmann returned herewith.

Did you read how Bonaparte is now flirting with the *Marseillaise* and the noble Thérésa^d gives a performance of it every evening with her *grosse voix de sapeur*^e?

The *Marseillaise* sung by Thérésa—that is the spitting image of Bonapartism. Ugh!

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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^a 'Meeting of Germans in Manchester', *The Manchester Courier*, No. 4272, 22 July 1870. - ^b [H. K. F. Rösler,] 'Karl Marx. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie'. See this volume, p. 4. - ^c See this volume, p. 5. - ^d Emma Valadon - ^e loud trooper's voice

3

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

[London,] 26 JULY 1870
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Sir,

I must first of all ask your forgiveness for my delay in replying to you. Your letter arrived on Thursday^a at 6 p.m.; I had just left London for a TRIP IN THE COUNTRY.

However, I would not have been able to join in a public Address¹⁵ because the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, of which I am a member, had already charged me with the task of composing a similar Address.^b The piece had been written already, submitted for discussion and was approved unanimously last Tuesday. It was to have appeared in *The Times* today, but was suppressed, probably because it contained a hit at *Russia*. However, there is some prospect of its appearing in the *Pall Mall*.^c *Paris* is now in a state of siege. We have organs at our disposal in all other West European countries and in the United States.

Should the Address be published here you will discover that its *political* viewpoint (and it is this we are concerned with in the first instance) coincides with your own, however widely our social views may diverge. AT ALL EVENTS, I am convinced that a genuine power of resistance to the return of national antagonisms and the entire system of present-day diplomacy can *only* be found in the *working class*.

However that may be, I am quite prepared to have further discussions on this important subject. Please let me know whether and when you might honour me with a visit, or when I can find you at home.

Yours sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (German) and in Russian, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, No. 2, Moscow, 1958

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a 21 July - ^b K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^c 'Working Men and the War. London, July 23, 1870', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1702, 28 July 1870.

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁶

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 28 July 1870

DEAR FRED,

I forwarded your article^a at once to the *Pall Mall* EDITOR (F. Greenwood), with the request to *return* it immediately if he does not wish to print it. I have no doubt that, in that event, we could place it with *The Times* or *The Daily News*.

The Times had given us every reason, via Eccarius, to believe it would print our (i.e. the *International's*) ADDRESS.^b It did not appear, probably because of a HIT AT RUSSIA. Whereupon (MONDAY LAST^c) I sent the thing off without delay to the *Pall Mall* and also wrote to the EDITOR,¹⁷ in accordance with the agreement with their WAR CORRESPONDENT (Thieblin, now in Luxembourg), about the MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE. Requested an ANSWER. NO REPLY. NOT was the Address printed. So today on sending your article to the EDITOR of the *Pall Mall*, I wrote a curt letter,¹⁷ SPEAKING ONLY OF THE MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE, i.e. I simply asked whether yes or no.

Last Tuesday the General Council ordered a thousand COPIES of the Address to be run off. Today I expect the page proofs.

The singing of the *Marseillaise* in France is a parody just like the whole SECOND EMPIRE. But the dog^d at least feels that '*Partant pour la Syrie*'¹⁸ WOULD NOT DO. In Prussia, on the other hand, such buffoonery is not necessary. 'Lord, in Thee is all my trust',¹⁹ sung by William I, with Bismarck on the right and Stieber on the left, is the German *Marseillaise*! As in 1812 sqq. The German philistine seems fairly enraptured, now that he can give free vent to his innate servility. Who would have thought it possible that 22 years after 1848 a national war in Germany would be given *such* theoretical expression!

Fortunately, this whole demonstration stems from the middle class. The working class, with the exception of the direct adherents of Schweitzer, takes no part in it. And fortunately, the WAR OF CLASSES

^a F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—I.* - ^b K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^c 25 July - ^d Napoleon III

in both countries, France and Germany, is so far advanced that no WAR ABROAD can seriously turn back the wheel of history.

By publishing the TREATY (on Belgium), Bismarck too has overstepped the mark.²⁰ Even London RESPECTABILITY no longer ventures to talk of the integrity of Prussia. Macaire et Co.! Incidentally, shortly before 1866, I recollect reading articles in the organ of the worthy Brass^a and in the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, in which Belgium was denounced as a 'nest of Jacobins' (!) and its annexation by France was recommended. On the other hand, the moral indignation of John Bull is no less comic! RIGHT OF TREATIES! THE DEVIL! After all, it was Palmerston who made it a maxim of English policy that when you solemnly conclude a treaty, you do not necessarily swear to abide by it, and England has acted accordingly ever since 1830! ON ALL SIDES, nothing but war and immorality.

Charming of the *Kreuz-Zeitung* to demand that England should refuse to supply the French with coal, i.e. that she should violate the Anglo-French commercial treaty, i.e. declare war on France.²¹ That coal can be a military commodity is a fact that was vividly brought home to Pam^b by the opposition at the time. He fobbed them off with bad jokes. So the point is one that was by no means overlooked when the treaty was concluded. Urquhart wrote fierce denunciations about it during the negotiations. So if England does not declare war *de prime abord*^c she must continue to supply the French with coal. As far as a declaration of war is concerned, that could produce some extremely serious ill-feeling between the POWERS THAT BE and the London proletariat. The mood of the workers here is DECIDEDLY against such ostentatious gestures.²²

At last a letter from the Russians in Geneva.²³ I enclose it. Return it soon, SAY MONDAY NEXT,^d since I have to reply.

From the enclosed letter by E. Oswald (an Urquhartite, but relatively rationalised in a continental spirit), you can see that even the democrats wish to do something.¹⁵ I have written to him^e that I have already signed an Address of the INTERNATIONAL which, *as far as* the purely political aspect is concerned, puts forward essentially similar views. In further letters, yesterday and today, he insists that I should attend their MEETING in his house this afternoon. (He lives very near here.) He also sends me an extract from a letter by Louis Blanc.

^a *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* - ^b Palmerston - ^c from the very outset -
^d 1 August - ^e See previous letter.

However, I cannot possibly go at the moment. Who can guarantee that where Louis Blanc is, Karl Blind won't turn up also?

I intend to go to Smith right away about the house.²⁴

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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5

MARX TO PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE²⁵

IN PARIS

[London,] 28 July 1870

My dear children,

You must excuse the long delay of my answer. You know I cannot stand heat. It weighs down my energies. On the other hand, I was overwhelmed with business, the German 'friends' firing at me a *mitrailleuse*²⁶ of letters which, under present circumstances, I could not decline answering at once.

You want of course to hear something of the war. So much is sure that L. Bonaparte has already missed his first opportunity. You understand that his first plan was to take the Prussians unawares and get the better of them by surprise. It is, in point of fact, much easier to get the French army—a mere soldiers' army till now—ready than the Prussian one which consists largely of the civilian element forming the Landwehr.¹¹ Hence, if Bonaparte, as he at first intended, had made a dash even with half-collected forces, he might have succeeded to surprise the fortress of Mayence, to push simultaneously forward in the direction of Würzburg, thus to separate Northern from Southern Germany, and so throw consternation amidst the camp of his adversaries. However, he has allowed this opportunity to slip. He saw unmistakable signs of the *national* character of the war in Germany and was stunned by the unanimous, quick, immediate adhesion of Southern Germany to Prussia. His habitude of hesitation, so much adapted to his old trade of conspirator

planning coup d'état and plebiscites, got the upper hand, but this method will not do for war, which demands quick and unwavering resolution. He let his first plan slip and resolved to collect his full forces. Thus he *lost his advantage of a first start*, of surprise, while the Prussians have *gained* all the time necessary for mobilising their forces. Hence you may say that Bonaparte has already lost his first campaign.²⁷

Whatever may now be the first incidents of the war, it will become extremely serious. Even a first great French victory would decide nothing, because the French army will now find on its way three great fortresses, Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne, ready for a protracted defence. In the long run, Prussia has greater military forces to her disposal than Bonaparte. It may even be that on one side or the other she will be able to cross the French frontier and make '*le sol sacré de la patrie*'^a—according to the chauvinists of the Corps Législatif this *sol sacré* is situated only on the French side of the Rhine—the theatre of war!

Both nations remind me of the anecdote of the two Russian noblemen accompanied by two Jews, their serfs. Nobleman A strikes the Jew of Nobleman B, and B answers: 'Schlägst Du meinen Jud, schlag ich deinen Jud.'^b So both nations seem reconciled to their despots by being allowed, each of them, to strike at the despot of the other nation.

In Germany the war is considered as a *national* war, because it is a war of defence. The middle class (not to speak of the *Krautjunker-tum*^c) overdoes itself in manifestations of loyalty. One believes himself taken back to the times of 1812 sqq '*für Gott, König und Vaterland*'^d with the old donkey Arndt's: 'Was ist des Teutschen Vaterland'^e!

The singing of the *Marseillaise* at the bidding of the man of December^f is of course a parody, like the whole history of the Second Empire. Still it shows that he feels that '*Partant pour la Syrie*'¹⁸ would not do for the occasion. On the other hand, that old damned ass, Wilhelm 'Annexander',^g sings 'Jesus meine Zuversicht'¹⁹; flanked on the one side by '*larron*'^h Bismarck and on the other, by the '*policier*' Stieber!

On both sides it is a disgusting exhibition.

^a the sacred soil of the mother country - ^b 'If you strike my Jew, I'll strike yours.' - ^c the rural squires - ^d 'for God, King and Fatherland' - ^e '*The German's Fatherland, What Is It?*', a line from E. M. Arndt's poem 'Des Teutschen Vaterland', published in *Lieder für Teutsche*. - ^f Napoleon III - ^g i.e. William I. A coinage of two words 'annexation' and 'Alexander' is an allusion to Alexander of Macedon. - ^h scoundrel

Still there is this consolation, that the workmen protest in Germany as in France. In point of fact the war of classes in both countries is too far developed to allow any political war whatever to roll back for long time the wheel of history. I believe, on the contrary, that the present war will produce results not at all expected by the 'officials' on both sides.

I enclose two cuts from Liebknecht's *Volksstaat*. You will see that he and Bebel behaved exceedingly well in the *Reichstag*.²⁸

For my own part, I should like that both, Prussians and French, thrashed each other alternately, and that—as I believe will be the case—the Germans got *ultimately* the better of it. I wish this, because the definite defeat of Bonaparte is likely to provoke Revolution in France, while the definite defeat of the Germans would only protract the present state of things for 20 years.

The English upper classes are full of moral indignation against Bonaparte at whose feet they have fawned for 18 years. Then they wanted him as the saviour of their privileges, of rents and profits. At the same time, they know the man to be seated on a volcano the which unpleasant position forces him to trouble peace periodically, and makes him—beside his parvenuship—an unpleasant bedfellow. Now they hope that to solid Prussia, protestant Prussia, Prussia backed by Russia, will fall the part of keeping down revolution in Europe. It would for them be a safer and more respectable policeman.

As to the English workmen, they hate Bonaparte more than Bismarck, principally because he is the aggressor. At the same time they say: 'The plague on both your houses',^a and if the English oligarchy, as it seems very inclined, should take part in the war against France, there will be a 'tuck' at London. For my own part, I do everything in my power, through the means of the *International*, to stimulate this 'neutrality' spirit and to baffle the 'paid' (paid by the 'respectables') leaders of the English working class who strain every nerve to mislead them.

I hope the measures as to the houses within the fortification *rayon* will not hurt you.²⁹

Thousand kisses to my sweet little Schnaps.^b

Yours devotedly,

Old Nick^c

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^a Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III, Scene 1. - ^b Charles Étienne Lafargue -

^c Marx's family nickname

6

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 29 July 1870

Dear FRED,

You will see from the enclosed that SO FAR the *Pall Mall* business is quite satisfactory and your first article^a will appear this evening. The only reason for displeasure is that MR Greenwood (to whom I have *not* yet mentioned your name, BY THE BY) has made no reference to the TERMS even though IN MY FIRST LETTER TO HIM I made a specific inquiry about them.¹⁷ On the other hand, Thieblin (i.e. Taran) said to me on his departure for the Continent and at his LEAVETAKING from me that payment was made as a matter of course at the end of each month.

At all events it seems to me wisest TO GO ON for a few more articles so that we have a firm case before issuing an OFFICIAL NOTE on this *punctum*.^b

I went to see Smith²⁴ yesterday. I learned there that no one in London made inquiries about you in Manchester, because your LANDLORD also has a SEAT near Manchester and desired to make his own inquiry there. However, it would be better to write to him and speed the matter up. At all events I understand that no 'third party' has intervened.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a F. Engels, *Notes on the War*.—I. - ^b point

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 29 July 1870

Dear LIBRARY,^a

Enclosed an extract from the Manifesto of the GENERAL COUNCIL taken from *The Pall Mall Gazette* of 28 July.^b

Be so good as to insert a note in your *translation* in the *Volksstaat* that you received the Manifesto in *English*.³⁰ This will indicate to our other correspondents that we had no time to send them translations.

Last Tuesday^c I translated the Reichstag protest of Bebel and yourself into English for the GENERAL COUNCIL. It was received with great acclamation.³¹

One further matter. Mr Karl Blind made a patriotic speech to a German meeting in the Sports Hall; this comedian represented as a vital, world-shaking event the fact that he, the German Brutus, had suspended his republicanism, sacrificing it on the altar of the fatherland for the duration of the war. That was Act I.

Act II: Karl Blind gives an account in his own hand in the London *Deutsche Post* of that same meeting, whose size, importance, etc., he exaggerates in his usual manner.

Act III: Karl Blind writes an *anonymous* letter^d to *The Daily News*, in which he movingly depicts the overwhelming impact on the whole of Germany of the great speech made by *Karl Blind* at the meeting in the Sports Hall. All the German papers, he claims, have reproduced it. One of them, the Berlin *Volks-Zeitung*, even *ventured* (!) to print it in its entirety. (The fellow is a correspondent of the *Volks-Zeitung*.) Neither did Viennese papers allow the great event to pass them by without trace. (The fellow sent in a report himself to the *Neue Freie Presse*.^e)

This is just one of a thousand instances in which this ant-lion

^a Nickname given to Wilhelm Liebknecht by Marx's daughters. - ^b K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^c 26 July - ^d 'Karl Blind's Speech on the War', *The Daily News*, No. 7561, 25 July 1870. - ^e *Neue Freie Presse*, No. 2121, 25 July 1870.

strives to gull the English into believing that he is a sort of German Mazzini.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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8

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 31 July 1870

Dear Moor,

Enclosed you will find the *plan of the Prussian campaign*.^a Please get a CAB immediately and take it round to *The Pall Mall Gazette*, so that it can come out on Monday evening. It will make me and the P.M.G. tremendously famous. By Tuesday matters may have developed to the point where any ass can figure the business out. I do not know whether my No. II^b appeared on Saturday as the P.M.G. has not reached the clubs here yet. I am building a fair amount on this business, as it really wasn't easy to guess the plan. The deciding factor was the news that a cousin of Gumpert's, a company commander in the 77th regiment, the vanguard of the 7th Army Corps, set off from Aachen for Trier on 27 July. When I heard that everything fell into place.

In addition, it is essential for you to arrange with Greenwood for me to send him the articles¹² direct, so that they can appear *the same day*. Delay is now fatal for articles of this sort. My idea is to send him an article twice a week on the average, more frequently if the matter is urgent, less often when there is a lull. In between I would send shorter notices when opportune, which he could make use of as he wished.

It is indeed becoming increasingly humiliating for us to be

^a F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—III.* - ^b F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—II.*

waging war under William.^a But it is still a good thing that he should be making himself so monstrously ridiculous with his divine mission and his Stieber, without whom German unity could hardly be achieved. The Address of the International^b was printed here on Saturday in the Tory *Courier*.^c Had it been another day of the week, the other papers would have published it too, but the Saturday advertisements were against it. The Address will teach the *populus* of all classes that nowadays the workers are the only ones to have a *real* FOREIGN POLICY. It is very good and it was certainly *only* because of the Russians that *The Times* declined to accept it.^d Both the governments and the bourgeoisie will be greatly astonished after the war when they see how the workers simply resume their activities as if nothing had interrupted them at all.

My confidence in the military achievements of the Germans grows daily. We really seem to have won the first serious encounter. The French do not yet appear to have properly grasped the potential of the breech-loader.

Moltke's game is very audacious. On my calculations he will not be ready with his troop concentrations before Tuesday or Wednesday.^e From Aachen to the frontier is about 20 German miles, i.e. 4-5 *hard* marches, especially in this heat. That means that the whole 7th Corps can scarcely be on the Saar before tomorrow, and the main battle may already take place today. At all events it is SO FINELY CUT that 24 hours either way can make an enormous difference. The battle itself will probably be fought out on the Saar between Merzig and Saarbrücken.³²

It is good that the French have attacked first on German territory. If the Germans follow on their heels after repelling an invasion, this will certainly not have the same effect in France as it would have done had they marched into the country without being invaded first. This means that on the French side the war will remain more Bonapartist in character.

The ultimate success—i.e. a German victory—is quite beyond doubt in my view. However, Moltke's plan betrays his *absolute assurance* that he will have overwhelming superiority in the very first battle. We shall probably know by Tuesday evening whether he has not miscalculated. Moltke often reckons without his William.

^a William I - ^b K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^c *Manchester Courier* -

^d See this volume, p. 10. - ^e 2 or 3 August

The more the German philistine cringes before his William who trusts in God and cringes before Him, the more insolent he becomes towards France. The old pack is once again in full cry on the subject of Alsace-Lorraine—the *Augsburger*^a in the lead. The peasants of Lorraine, however, will soon show the Prussians that the matter is not so easy.

You are quite right about the treaty.^b People are not quite as stupid as Bismarck imagines. The only good thing about it is that the whole mess will now come out into the open and then there will be an end to all the duplicity of Bismarck and Bonaparte.²⁰

In the whole neutrality business, coal included,²¹ the Germans are acting like children, quite in accord with history. These are questions that have never faced *the* people. Who indeed has ever inquired about them?

The Russians returned herewith.²³ Once a Russian, always a Russian. What an idiotic piece of gossip-mongering. Six Russians quarrelling among themselves as if the mastery of the globe depended on the outcome. And it does not even include the accusations against Bakunin, merely their whining about cliquishness in Switzerland. At all events our people seem to be honest in so far as this is possible for a Russian; but I would still proceed cautiously with them. In the meantime it is quite good to know all the gossip; it is after all a fact of life in the diplomacy of the proletariat.

Through the fault of the Post Office my copies of the *Volksstaat* arrive quite irregularly. The issue of the 23rd had a band round it with a post mark from the 19th; so that's the sort of trick they get up to. Many issues have not arrived at all. In the last two Wilhelm^c was not very *actively* stupid; he was sheltering behind the FRATERNISATION of the French and German workers.

Schorlemmer has two brothers in the Hesse division, one-year NCOs.

Have heard nothing more from Smith.²⁴ Many thanks for your efforts. If I hear nothing this week, I shall write Smith a fairly blunt letter. What a crazy idea for an aristocrat like that to gather his own information on the spot here! If he had left it to his BANKER, he would have had all he needed in three days. But the man has to act the BUSINESSMAN. The ox!

Best regards to you all. Lizzie's knee is well on the way to recovery.

Dupont had let himself be landed with a house, probably

^a *Allgemeine Zeitung* - ^b See this volume, p. 11. - ^c Wilhelm Liebknecht

through Mothet, situated in the unhealthiest of neighbourhoods, close by the stinking river. However, I have seen to it that he has taken another. But do not say anything about it to him, it is all settled. He has not brought Mothet to me again, however. Serrailier will have written to him about it, and Dupont himself seems to feel relief now that he hasn't got the fellow round his neck day and night.

Your
F. E.

[Notes attached to the letter]³³

Army of the North German Confederation^a

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1 Guards corps and 12 corps of the line: | |
| summa 114 infantry regiments à ^b 3 battalions | = 342 bat. |
| Chasseurs and rifle battalions | = 16 " |
| Hesse division: 4 reg. à 2 bat. & 2 bat. | |
| of Chasseurs | = 10 " |
| | <hr/> |
| | Battalions of the line 368 |

Landwehr¹¹

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| 93 reg. à 2 bat. and 12 odd bat. | = 198 bat. |
| Hesse, estimate | 6 " |
| | 204 " |
| | <hr/> |

Total bat. already organised 572

Reserves are to be set up as soon as the field army and the Landwehr have been mobilised, and without any further specific orders:

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Troops of the line: the 4th battalions of 114 regiments | 114 " |
| Landwehr: the 3rd " "93 " | 93 " |
| | <hr/> |
| | 779 battalions |

The officers for these reserves are to be picked out at the start of mobilisation; they can be ready 4-6 weeks after the order to mobilise has been issued. They are *the best battalions in the whole army*. As soon as they have been set up a start will be made with the 5th battalions of the line and the 4th of the Landwehr, etc. Hence the organisation is as follows:

^a The first page of the notes up to the words 'The French have:' (on p. 21), is crossed out in the original. - ^b à here means 'each of'

| | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Troops of the line | 368 bat. à 1,000 men | 368,000 |
| Landwehr | 204 " à 800 " | 163,200 |
| | | <hr/> 531,200 |

Envisaged for organisation:

| | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Troops of the line | 114 bat. à 1,000 men | 114,000 |
| Landwehr | 93 " à 800 " | 74,400 |
| | | <hr/> 188,400 ^a |

Infantry total 719,600

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 2 Bavarian army corps, say | | |
| 50 bat.+30 bat. Landwehr | =80 " | |
| 1 Württemberg division, say | | |
| 16 bat.+10 bat. Landwehr | =36 ^b " | |
| 1 Baden division, say | | |
| 9 bat.+5 bat. Landwehr | =14 " | |
| | | <hr/> 130 bat.=ca. 110,000 |

I have kept the figures of the South Germans down to the minimum. I have left cavalry and artillery completely out of account just so as to compare the relative strength of the infantry, since this is what decides the issue.

The French have:

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Guards—33 bat.; line—100 reg. à 3 bat. | 333 bat. |
| Zouaves ³⁴ —3 reg.=9 bat. | |
| Turcos ³⁵ —3 reg.=9 bat. | |
| Foreign, etc., 5 bat. | 23 " |
| Chasseurs-à-pied ^c | 20 " |
| | <hr/> 376 bat. |

There are 8 companies to the battalion; if, as in 1859, the 24 companies of the battalion are divided into 4 battalions à 6 companies, then the company can be raised to 150 men, forming the 4th reserve battalion, which makes in 115 regiments the total of

115 bat.

491 bat.

If *much* of the *Garde mobile*³⁶ is organised, it comes to 100 "

Infantry: 580,000 men=591 bat.

^a In the original '188,600' - ^b This figure is given in the original. - ^c light infantry

Anything additional must be *newly formed* by officers withheld from the field army or recalled to active service. At the same time the *Garde mobile* cannot be deployed in the field on its own for the next 2-3 months at the least, since it has only exercised 2 weeks a year since 1868. The units of the French army (of the line), on the other hand, are too small to be able to contain large numbers of untrained or under-trained reserves. The entire new system has only existed since 1868. Incidentally, I must await further information about this new system, which leaves the *internal* organisation of the French army almost entirely unchanged. It may be that all sorts of things are being done on the quiet. At any rate, the units that have been *trained* only suffice to put the organised battalions of the line on a war-footing.

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9

MARX TO ENGELS³⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 1 August 1870

In great haste

DEAR FRED,

YOUR two last articles first-rate.^a I galloped round to the *Pall Mall* at once. But since Greenwood was out, nothing could be decided. He will, however, be back before noon.

I shall write to him today that in future you will send articles direct to him¹² (I SHALL NOW NAME YOU).

As for the 'Russians',²³ they will learn that my attitude is one of *à corsaire corsaire et demi*.^b

THE OLIGARCHY here wants an English war on behalf of Prussia. Having curried favour with Bonaparte for 18 years and having quite used him up as the SAVIOUR OF RENTS AND PROFITS, they now hope to find A MORE RESPECTABLE AND SAFER POLICEMAN OF THE CONTINENT in reliable,

^a F. Engels, *Notes on the War*, II and III. - ^b tit for tat

God-fearing monarchical Prussia. But the fellows should watch out. Ordinary people everywhere here are already saying: THAT DAMNED GERMAN DYNASTY OF OURS WANTS FOR ITS FAMILY PURPOSES TO INVOLVE US IN THE CONTINENTAL WAR!

The local *Figaro*, of which I have sent a typical issue to Dupont, is an *English* paper, founded by the French Embassy.

Bismarck for his part has also assiduously bought up support in the London press, *Lloyd's* and *Reynolds's*^a among others! The latter in yesterday's issue calls for the DISMEMBERMENT OF FRANCE. That swine *ne ménage pas les transitions*.^b The fellow has always hurled abuse at the GERMANS and fawned upon the French and now he has suddenly changed into a sort of Blind.

As to the latter chap, he hopes to achieve his election as deputy to the next Reichstag by means of a patriotic hubbub and by noisily 'suspending' his republicanism on the altar of the Fatherland.

Oswald kept on at me until I finally went to the third MEETING fixed for yesterday.^c I took care to arrive a quarter of an hour *early* (the meeting was due to start at 11). I explained to him that I could *not* sign, 1. *d'abord*^d because I had already signed the Address of the *INTERNATIONAL*,^e 2. because I could not sign a private Address (i.e. *a non-International one*) *without you* and they would miss the OPPORTUNITY due to the time required just for consultation with you. In the future, if an occasion presented itself, we would invite him and his friends to the *International* to take joint action.

I then mentioned that there was a second, *personal* factor. If Louis Blanc was there, his FOOTMAN, Karl Blind, would surely be present too.

He interrupted me: 'At the last MEETING here Blind mounted a furious chauvinistic diatribe. We need you against him.'

'I cannot remain in the same room as that character, and I must tell you that if he comes I shall leave your house at once.'

I was downstairs in Oswald's study which looks out onto the street. Right enough! My EYEGASS spied from afar the portentous ex-student, even though he had dyed his head black ALL OVER. He was accompanied by two fellow layabouts. Oswald said he would send them up to the DRAWING ROOM (the conference room) for the moment.

^a *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* - ^b shrinks from no change of allegiance - ^c See this volume, p. 11. - ^d first of all - ^e K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

He then proposed to me that he would go up and say I was there and that I could not meet Blind. IN OTHER WORDS, he was going to TURN HIM OUT.

I said that would not do. *He* had invited Blind, there would be pointless scandal and so on.

I took my hat and parted from Oswald on the most cordial terms. Even if he didn't invent gun-powder, he is still a perfectly decent lad.

At my prompting Serrailier wrote a blunt letter to Dupont about Mothet, so blunt that Dupont was insulted and stopped his correspondence with Serrailier for a fortnight.

I would be glad if you could send me the money for the SEASIDE.^a I would like to go to Brighton before the week is out. In the circumstances I cannot go any further away from London.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

So you will now send your letters direct to: *Frederick Greenwood*, Esq., EDITOR OF *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 Northumberland Street, Strand, London.

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10

MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER¹⁶

IN GENEVA

[London,] 2 August 1870
1 Maitland Park Road

Dear Becker,

My long silence is to be explained exclusively by lack of time. I hope we know each other sufficiently well for us both to have the conviction that our friendship is steadfast.

^a See this volume, p. 8.

I sent the Manifesto of the General Council on the war^a to the *Égalité* in the first instance, because I knew that it came too late for the *Vorbote*. I expect to receive copies today which I can send on to you.

In the translation of the programme for the congress (as it appears in the *Vorbote*), *Jung* made a number of mistakes:

1: this must read: '*On the need to abolish the public debt. Discussion of the right to compensation.*'

2: 'On the relationship between the political action and the social movement of the working class.'

4: 'Conversion of banks of issue into national banks.'

5: 'Conditions of cooperative production on a national scale.'

But all this you will find in the *Volksstaat*.³⁸

Furthermore, as far as the congress is concerned, it is perfectly obvious that it cannot be held in *Mainz* under present circumstances. The Belgians have proposed *Amsterdam*. We are convinced that the congress must be *postponed* until conditions are more favourable.

In the first place, our support in *Amsterdam* rests on very feeble foundations and it is important to hold the congress in countries where the *International* has already sprung strong roots.

Secondly, the Germans cannot send anyone—or no more than *one* person at best—thanks to the present lack of money occasioned by the war. The French cannot leave their country without passports, that is to say, without permission from the authorities. Our French sections have been dispersed, the most tried and tested members have either fled or been captured. *In these circumstances* we might easily see a repeat of the farce enacted in Switzerland.³⁹ Certain intriguers might possibly stage-manage a *majorité factice*^b in *Amsterdam*. *They* always manage to find the money necessary for such manoeuvres. Where from? *C'est leur secret*.^c

On the other hand, the General Council is prevented by § 3 of the Rules from postponing the *date of the congress*. Nevertheless, in view of the present *extraordinary* circumstances, it would take the responsibility for such a step upon itself, if it could be sure of the necessary support from the sections.⁴⁰ It would be desirable, therefore, if a reasoned motion to this effect could be proposed

^a K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^b artificial majority - ^c That is their secret.

officially by the German-Swiss group and the French-Swiss in Geneva.

Bakunin, as you know, has in that blatherer *Hins* a fanatical instrument at his disposal in the Belgian General Council. As the Belgian secretariat was momentarily out of action, I added a denunciation and characterisation of Bakunin in my own name to the circular^a which the General Council had issued on the *Égalité*, etc., at the beginning of January. *Hins* then wrote a highly impertinent letter to the General Council against me personally (he spoke of my '*manière indigne d'attaquer Bakunin*'^b), so I replied to him in the manner he deserved.¹⁷ It is doubtless thanks to his influence that, yesterday, we received an official communication full of accusations from the Belgian General Council, saying i.a.: 'The Belgian General Council has resolved to instruct its delegation to the next congress to call us to account for our resolution concerning the *Conseil Fédéral Romand*.'^c They say we had absolutely no right to interfere in these local Swiss affairs! Curiously enough, the Brussels people themselves, like the Paris '*Fédération*', had *directly* requested us to interfere! Memories are short!

At all events, we shall now have to justify our decision in greater detail in our own circular. I would be greatly obliged to you, therefore, if you could give us a precise account of the intrigues of the ALLIANCE,¹⁰ the congress at La Chaux-de-Fonds⁹ and the Swiss squabble in general.

I have received the letter from our Russian friends in Geneva.²³ Please convey my thanks to them.

In actual fact, the best thing would be for them to write a pamphlet on Bakunin, but it must be done *soon*. In that case they need not send me any further documents on Bakunin's machinations.

They ask me what Bakunin did in 1848. During his stay in Paris in 1843-48 he acted the determined socialist. After the revolution he went to Breslau,^d teamed up with the *bourgeois democrats* there and agitated among them for the election of *Arnold Ruge* (to the Frankfurt Parliament), at that time a decided enemy of socialists and communists. Later—in 1848—he organised the Pan-Slavic Congress in Prague.⁴¹ He was charged by the Pan-Slavists

^a K. Marx, 'The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland'. - ^b *unworthy* manner of attacking Bakunin - ^c K. Marx, 'General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland'. - ^d Polish name: Wrocław.

themselves with having played a double game there. But I do not believe this. If he did make mistakes there (from the viewpoint of his Pan-Slavist friends), they were in my opinion 'involuntary ones'. In early 1849 Bakunin issued an Address (pamphlet)—sentimental Pan-Slavism!^a The only praiseworthy thing that can be reported about his activity during the revolution is his participation in the Dresden insurrection in May 1849.⁴²

Very important in any analysis of him are his utterances immediately after his return from Siberia.^b Ample material on this in the *Kolokol* and in Borkheim's 'Russian Letters' in the *Zukunft*,⁴³ which I suppose you have. Tell our Russian friends that the person exposed by them^c has not made his appearance here, that I have passed on their message to Borkheim,⁴⁴ and that I shall be very pleased to have one of them come over here. Lastly, I should be greatly obliged to them if they would send me the *fourth volume of Chernyshevsky just published*. I shall send them the money for it through the post.

Your article on the war in the last *Vorbote*^d was very good, applauded by my whole FAMILY, who send you their most cordial greetings.

Adio.

Your
Karl Marx

The enclosed copy has been *corrected in a number of places* where there were *printers' errors*. So it is better to translate from this than from the copy sent to the *Égalité*.

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^a M. Bakunin, *Aufruf an die Slaven*, Koethen, 1848. Concerning this see F. Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism', present edition, Vol. 8. - ^b M. A. Bakunin, 'Русскимъ, польскимъ и всѣмъ славянскимъ друзьямъ' (To Russian, Polish and All Slavic Friends), *Колоколь* (The Bell), No. 122 & 123 (with Supplement No. 4), 15 February 1862. - ^c Vladimir Serebrennikov - ^d [J. Ph. Becker,] 'Der Völkerkrieg', *Der Vorbote*, No. 7, July 1870.

11

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD
IN LONDON

[London,] 2 August 1870

Dear Sir,

I read in the *Rappel* of 1 August in a correspondence from *Francfort-sur-Main* of 27 juillet, the following, inter alia:

'The town is full of people who have been paid to sustain warlike and anti-French feeling...' (sic!). 'A letter addressed to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from London contains, among other things, a highly interesting confession. Frenchmen living in London decided to issue a proclamation against this *Napoleonic* war and invited the *principal German republicans* likewise resident in London, to join them. The Germans are reported to have *refused* to take part in the protest *on the grounds* that the war was defensive on the German side.'^a

This misleading report which thoroughly distorts the facts concerning the '*convocation*'^b issued by you, stems from *Blind*, the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.^c

I believe that a correction in the *Rappel* (*Bureau de Rédaction*, 18, Rue de Valois, Paris) will enable you best to achieve the effect you originally desired.

Yours,
K. Marx

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time

^a In the original, Marx quotes from *Le Rappel* in French. - ^b 'invitation' - ^c See this volume, p. 32.

12

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 3 August 1870

Dear Moor,

Enclosed are W/2 86721, Manchester, 20 June 1869—£20; W/2 77454, Manchester, 23 January 1869—£20, for Brighton, and S/11 13062, Liverpool, 17 May 1869—£5 Moore's subscription to the International. You will receive mine early in September, I am RATHER SHORT OF CASH and must wait for dividends. Since I have to make some payments, I shall have to sell SHARES. What do you think: should I wait a while or do it right away? I can still sell without loss.

I am very pleased to see that the French have advanced and occupied Saarbrücken (garrisoned by 1 battalion, 4 squadrons and perhaps some artillery). Firstly, for moral reasons. Secondly, because it means that the Germans will take up a defensive position in the first battle and a defensive position is enormously strengthened by the breech-loader. Since, on my reckoning, the Germans must have moved up into strategic positions yesterday evening, I assume that the battle, for which the introductory skirmishes are doubtless taking place today, will be fought tomorrow along the line Ottweiler-Neunkirchen-Homburg. The army of Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince^a will keep the front busy while Steinmetz will fall on the (left) French flank. Or vice versa.

That Greenwood did not publish the article^b until yesterday evening, when a mass of confirmation was already available, was very stupid.^c He also made a number of absurd lexical changes which reveal his ignorance of military terminology. However, it has already had an effect. Today, *The Times* published a LEADER which was copied straight out of my *Articles II & III*. So I am writing to Greenwood about it.⁴⁵

You would have received the money yesterday but your letter only came with the second post and I did not receive it until around 4 o'clock.

^a Frederick William - ^b F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—III*. - ^c See this volume, p. 22.

The joke about Blind is very pretty. Is Oswald one of the Baden Oswalds of 1849? There were 3 of them.

There is still a certain risk that the French will attack before the Germans have fully drawn up their troops. If the noble Louis^a had attacked on Friday,^b he could have got as far as the Rhine without much trouble. But by Tuesday the Germans must be more or less ready. His best chance of taking the offensive was frustrated through his own fault—i.e. by the *bas empire*,⁴⁶ by the JOBBERY in the army administration which delayed him for 5 days and has probably forced him to march in before he was ready.

If the Germans lose this first battle, against all expectation, they could still be significantly stronger in 4 weeks than they are now. *They* are protected from *absolute* defeat by the Rhine; the French, however, have no natural obstacle to protect them.

Be so good as to let me know as soon as you receive the money; even registered letters sometimes go astray. Best greetings to you all.

Your
F. E.

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13

MARX TO ENGELS¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 3 August 1870

DEAR FRED,

The unfortunate Oswald has just left a moment ago—7 p.m., and although it is too late to catch the post, I shall write it all down since I do not know whether I might not be prevented by some diversion tomorrow.

The fellow with Blind was Prof. Goldstücker, an old-time National Liberal. The scene became very stormy.^c Student Blind even *lied*, asserting that Dr Jacoby was on *his* side (this was for the benefit of the Frenchmen present). On departing the fellows

^a Napoleon III - ^b 5 August - ^c See this volume, pp. 23-24.

let it be understood, not LITERALLY but by insinuation, that Oswald had been '*bought*' by Bonaparte.

This threw POOR Oswald into convulsions. So he came to me. I should sign TO BACK HIM. OTHERWISE, HIS POSITION IN LONDON WOULD BE DANGEROUSLY DAMAGED. He brought a printed copy of the Address with him (just the page proofs).¹⁵ I repeated to him *d'abord*^a everything I had said previously. I then read the stuff through—feeble, verbose and—out of *courtoisie* to the Frenchmen negotiating with him—not a hint at the DEFENSIVE CHARACTER of the WAR on the part of the GERMANS (to say nothing of PRUSSIA).

I then proposed that he should drop the whole thing as its effect could not be 'great', since, as I had told him before, in my answer to his first letter,^b the *working class* alone could offer active resistance to the national swindle.

He answered: *d'abord*, a certain number of Frenchmen had already *signed* and Louis Blanc had declared that he would *lend his name* (a formula to indicate that he had had no part in composing the Address).

Second, if he did *not* publish it now, Blind would write the next day in the German papers that *he* had *prevented* the publication of this treasonable Address. It would be better to print it.

The last point is right. I must say that I felt sorry for the lad. So I gave him the following *ultimatum*:

I too would *lend my name* (and, like Louis Blanc, not actually subscribe) on these two conditions:

1. that a note would be *printed* under my name saying

*'I agree with the above Address so far as its general sentiments coincide with the manifesto issued by the General Council of the "International Working Men's Association".'^c

2. that a sentence was added hinting at the DEFENSIVE CHARACTER OF the WAR on the GERMAN side, if only in the most unobtrusive and tactful manner.

He accepted these conditions. The next day at 5 p.m. there would be another MEETING in his house, which I would attend.

He then said: Would Engels not sign too with *the same reservations* as myself?

I said it was a *London* Address. I was lending my name on certain conditions only out of courtesy to him and wholly against my critical judgment. I saw absolutely no reason why you too should compromise yourself because Oswald had made the mistake of

^a First of all. - ^b See this volume, p. 9. - ^c K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

involving ex-student Blind in the affair at all. And there the matter was left.

Incidentally, I had already written to Oswald since Sunday,^a drawing his attention to another manoeuvre of Blind's.^b I had read in the *Rappel* a correspondent's report from Frankfurt (quite rational for a change) in which the author was very anti-chauvinistic for a Frenchman. Nevertheless, he remarks *against* the Germans that

the *Frankfurter Zeitung*^c had printed a correspondent's report from London according to which the 'French republicans in London had invited *all* known German republicans to join in a common protest *contre cette guerre napoléonienne*^d. The German republicans had refused to do so because on the Prussian side the war was a defensive one.'

This was the work of the ex-student who constantly writes of, to, for and about Karl Blind and his deeds of heroism.

The *Pall Mall administration* sent me a cheque for 2¹/₂ guineas yesterday for the first ARTICLE ON WAR^e (DURING JULY), with the comment that all correspondents are always paid at the end of the month. The younger *branche* of the Marx *family consisting of the ferocious girl^f and the illustrious Williams^g have declared 'they should seize upon these first spoils of war as due to them for brokerage'.* If you wish to protest, you should act quickly in view of the energetic nature of these 'neutrals'. I enclose a cutting from yesterday's *Pall Mall* in which they protest against *The Times*' plagiarism.^h If the war lasts A CERTAIN TIME, you will soon be acknowledged as the *foremost military authority in London*.

Despite all the DRAWBACKS the *Pall Mall* has two advantages:

1. Of the respectable newspapers it is the only one which cultivates a certain *opposition to Russia*. This may become important as the war progresses.

2. As the GENTLEMEN'S PAPER *par excellence* it sets the fashion in all the *clubs*, and particularly the military ones.

3. It is the *only non-venal* paper in London.

Apropos! Buy a copy of the latest *London Illustrated News*ⁱ for the portrait of that scoundrel Brunnow. His face is the very incarnation of Russian diplomacy.

BY THE BY. Disraeli came out with that ridiculous guarantee of Prussian Saxony for Prussia in the Vienna Treaties, using it as the

^a 31 July - ^b See this volume, p. 28. - ^c *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* - ^d against this Napoleonic war - ^e F. Engels, *Notes on the War.—I.* - ^f Eleanor Marx - ^g Marx's daughter Jenny, who signed her articles on the Irish question with the pseudonym Williams. - ^h 'Observations of the News', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1707, 3 August 1870. - ⁱ *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. LVII, Nos. 1604, 1605, 23 July 1870.

basis for an Anglo-Russian alliance. (He conveniently forgot that the independence of *Poland* was a condition for that guarantee on England's part.⁴⁷) This was just a FEELER THROWN OUT. But the *Anglo-Russian alliance* is actually planned by Gladstone too. The ENGLISH MEMBERS of the *INTERNATIONAL* really must take energetic action on this. I shall send a letter to the COUNCIL about it FOR NEXT TUESDAY.¹⁷

The Belgians have proposed the congress be held in Amsterdam on 5 September. This is the plan of Mr Bakunin. The congress would consist chiefly of his TOOLS. I have proposed instead: *Appeal to all the sections whether they think not that, under present circumstances, where the French and German delegates would be excluded from the congress, power should be given to the General Council

1. to postpone the congress;
2. to enable the Council to convoke congress at the moment it shall consider opportune.* This was passed.⁴⁰

The matter was all the more pressing as we see from the open attack on us in the LAST *Solidarité* (using our decision on the *Swiss* matter as a pretext)⁴⁸ that Bakunin had taken all his precautionary measures for the Amsterdam Congress. He would have defeated us at the last congress in *Basle*, had it not been for the German element in Switzerland.⁴⁹

Lopatin has moved to London from Brighton, where he was almost dying of boredom. He is the only 'reliable' Russian I have got to know up to now, and I shall soon succeed in driving his national prejudices out of him. I also learned from him that Bakunin had been spreading the rumour that I was an *agent of Bismarck*—*mirabile dictu*^a! And, *c'est vraiment drôle*,^b the same evening (last Tuesday, yesterday), Serraillier told me that Châtelain, MEMBER OF THE FRENCH BRANCH,⁵⁰ and a particular friend of Pyat, had even informed the FRENCH BRANCH IN FULL SITTING *how much* Bismarck had paid me—namely 250,000 francs. If, on the one hand, one is in the French habit of thinking in *francs* and if, on the other hand, one bears Prussian niggardliness in mind, then this is at least a very decent *estimate*!

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a wonderful to tell - ^b this is really funny

14

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

[London,] 3 August 1870

Dear Mr Oswald,

I enclose herewith my *ultimatum* appropriately 'inscribed' and hope that it satisfies you.^a I am unable to go any further.

Yours,
K. M.

*I agree with the above Address so far as its general sentiments coincide with the manifesto on the war^b issued by the General Council of the '*International Working Men's Association*'.*^c

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15

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 4 August [1870]

DEAR FRED,

THANKS FOR the £40. Ditto the £5 received from KING COAL^d for the *INTERNATIONAL*.

AS to the sale of SHARES, my view is as follows: They will go up again, but will then *fall* in the *very near future*, because the LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE, inert for so long, is taking the opportunity for bankruptcies and this will have the same effect on the continental EXCHANGES so that a mass of papers will have to be thrown on to the market.

^a See this volume, pp. 31-32. - ^b K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^c In the original Marx adds the German translation of this phrase: 'Ich stimme obiger Adresse bei, soweit ihre Tendenz im allgemeinen dem Manifest des Generalrats der "*Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*" entspricht.' - ^d Samuel Moore

As to Oswald's 'êtres',^a I shall examine him on the subject today.
Salut.

Your
K. M.

P.S. Among the first victims of the war are the Lafargues and Schnappy.^b Their cottage, in the [fortification] *rayon*,²⁹ will be torn down at the first unfavourable turn of events.

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16

ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

Manchester, 5 August 1870

Dear Moor,

In great haste. The BROKERAGE was honestly earned.^c

But what do you think of our soldiers? They have taken entrenched positions with bayonets against *mitrailleuses*²⁶ and breech-loaders! Молодець!^d I'll bet that tomorrow Bonaparte will invent a victory so as to blur over the thing.

If you think it important, and if there is still time, you can add my name to the Oswald Address with the same reservations.¹⁵

Greenwood wrote very politely today, saying I should send him articles as often as I like. He's asked for it!¹²

Best greetings.

Your
F. E.

Crucial battle tomorrow or Sunday,^e this time probably right on the Lorraine frontier.³²

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^a identity (see this volume, p. 30). - ^b Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^c See this volume, p. 32. - ^d (Russ.) Well done! - ^e 7 August

17

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD⁵¹

IN LONDON

London, 5 August 1870

Dear Oswald,

Would you kindly send your Address¹⁵ to my friend L. S. Bor-
kheim who would like to see it. His private address is:
10 Brunswick Gardens, Kensington, W.

My best regards to the ladies.

Yours,
Karl Marx

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time

18

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 6 August 1870

Dear Jung!

Enclosed a 'very readable' *copy* of the two resolutions of the
General Council relating to the '*Alliance internationale de la
démocratie socialiste*'.^a

You should write to Perret asking him to *print* these resolutions.
That is the best way of replying to the *Solidarité*.^{b 48}

They must *not* say that they publish it by order of the General
Council, but they have the *right* to do so, because in the original

^a K. Marx, 'The International Working Men's Association and the International
Alliance of Socialist Democracy'; 'The General Council of the International
Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of
Socialist Democracy'. - ^b This paragraph is in French in the original.

resolutions of the Council the publication was expressly decided upon.⁵²

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published, in the languages of the original (English and French), in: G. Jaekch, *Die Internationale*, Leipzig, 1904

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19

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

London, 7 August 1870

Dear Oswald,

Iterum Crispinus.^a

Frederick Engels gives you permission to add his name to the Address,¹⁵ but *notabene on the express condition that you print the same reservation word-for-word as under my name.*^b

Yours,
K. M.

H. J. Rothschild, *commerçant*^c (a German, i.e. a Prussian), gives the same permission *on the same condition.*

Apropos. I take it that you did allow the passage to stand which hints at the defensive character of the war on the German side, albeit in an extremely diplomatic way?

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^a *Ecce iterum Crispinus*—Behold, this Crispinus again (Juvenal, *Satires*, IV, 1). In a figurative sense the words mean: 'the same man again' or 'the same (thing) again'. - ^b See this volume, p. 34. - ^c trader

20

MARX TO ENGELS¹

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 8 August 1870

DEAR FRED,

I shall not get away until tomorrow (I've been held back by BUSINESS for the *INTERNATIONAL*). I shall not be going to Brighton after all, but to Ramsgate,⁵³ since the former place turned out on inquiry to be too hot, and besides it is made unsafe by the presence of Arnold Winkelried Ruge.^a

L'Empire est fait,^b i.e. the German Empire. BY HOOK AND BY CROOK, neither in the way intended nor in the manner imagined, it appears that all the double-dealing since the SECOND EMPIRE began has finally combined to carry out the 'national' aims of 1848—Hungary, Italy and Germany! It seems to me that this sort of movement will only be complete when a brawl breaks out *between the Prussians and the Russians*. This is by no means improbable. The press of the Muscovite party (I have seen a good deal of it *chez Borkheim*) has attacked the Russian government just as savagely for its friendly attitude towards Prussia as the French papers sympathetic to Thiers attacked Boustrapa⁵⁴ in 1866 for his flirtation with Prussia. No one but the Emperor,^c the German-Russian party and the official *St Petersburg Journal*^d were sounding the bugle against France. But they did not at all expect Prussian-German successes on such a decisive scale. Like Bonaparte in 1866, they imagined that the BELLIGERENT POWERS would exhaust each other in protracted struggles, so that Holy Russia might then step in as supreme ARBITER.

But now! Unless Alexander wants to be poisoned, SOMETHING MUST BE DONE to appease the national party. The prestige of Russia will obviously be 'harmed' even more by a German-Prussian Empire than was the prestige of the 'SECOND EMPIRE' by the establishment of the North German Confederation.⁵⁵

So Russia will do just what Bonaparte did between 1866 and 1870, namely, play tricks on Prussia in order to gain concessions

^a Arnold Winkelried was a legendary folk-hero of the Swiss struggle for freedom against the Habsburgs. Used by Marx to deride Ruge. - ^b The Empire is created. - ^c Alexander II - ^d *Journal de Saint-Petersbourg politique, littéraire, commercial et industriel*

from Turkey, and despite the Russian religion of the Hohenzollerns, all this trickery will end in *war between the tricksters*. However gullible the German simpleton may be, his newly reinforced national sentiment (especially at the present time, when he is no longer to be persuaded that he must put up with all sorts of things in order to first establish German unity) will hardly allow him to be pressed *into the service of Russia*, for which there is no good reason, nor even a PRETEXT anymore. *Qui vivra, verra.*^a If our handsome William^b survives yet awhile, we may well live to see his proclamations to the Poles. AS OLD Carlyle has said: when God wishes to accomplish something particularly great, his choice always falls on the most stupid people to carry it out.

What gives me cause for anxiety at the present moment is the state of affairs in France itself. The next great battle can hardly but go against the French. And what then? If the defeated army makes for Paris *under Boustrapa's* leadership it will produce the most humiliating peace possible for France, perhaps ending in the *restauration* of the Orléans. If a revolution breaks out in Paris, it is questionable whether they will have the means and the leaders capable of offering serious resistance to the Prussians. One cannot remain blind to the fact that the 20-year-long Bonapartist farce has brought tremendous demoralisation in its wake. One would hardly be justified to rely on revolutionary heroism. What is your opinion?

I understand nothing of military matters, but it is still my impression that rarely has a campaign been conducted in a more mindless, planless and mediocre manner than this campaign of Badinguet's.^c And then, too, the beautiful opening scene with the whole Porte St Martin^d melodrama of the LOWER EMPIRE⁴⁶: the father and son at the flash-vent of the cannon, and the infamous deeds such as the bombarding of Saarbrücken with which this 'sublime' scene is amalgamated! It's the man to a T!

MacMahon pressed for swift action in the original war council in Metz, but Leboeuf was of the opposite point of view.

Apropos! We have heard from Vienna (in a letter from a cousin of Eccarius, a 72-year-old man) that *Bismarck* was there on a secret visit!

Quite in accordance with the spirit of the LOWER EMPIRE, we can see how in this war—in its commissariat and its diplomacy—

^a Time will tell. - ^b William I - ^c A derisive nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet. - ^d A theatre company in Paris that catered for low tastes during the Second Empire.

everyone acts in obedience to the maxim: steal from one another and lie to one another, so that everyone in France, from the minister to the CLERK, from the marshall to the common soldier, from the Emperor to the man who cleans his boots—everyone stands amazed as soon as THE TRUE STATE OF THINGS is revealed under cannon fire.

Mr John Stuart Mill was full of praise for our Address.^a It has had a great EFFECT in London generally. Among others, the philistine Cobden PEACE SOCIETY has made a written offer to distribute it.⁵⁶

Ad vocem^b *Oswald's Address*. I have taken advantage of your permission since I was in fact reluctant to act without 'you'.^c The delay has, of course, only made the Address even more absurd, but this is of no concern to us as we have only endorsed ITS GENERAL SENTIMENTS, etc., *so far as*, etc. It cannot be withdrawn now, despite its ridiculousness, since Louis Blanc, etc., would imagine we had done so because of the Prussian victories.

Apropos! Old Ruge had written to Oswald a week ago saying he could not sign. Why not? Because he was '*convinced that the Prussians would proclaim a French republic in Paris!*' Can't you just picture to yourself the old woolly muddlehead in all his glory?

Enclosed are a number of pieces by the Prophet Urquhart.
Salut.

Your
K. M.

P.S. In an article in *The Fortnightly Review* (August issue) on '*OUR UNCULTIVATED LANDS*',^d I found the following on the soil in Ireland:

*'That her soil is fertile is proved upon the testimony etc. etc. and *M. de Laveleye*: the latter gentleman says etc. etc.' (p. 204).*

Since the English regard Laveleye as a great authority on agronomy because of his books on Belgian and Italian agriculture, the passage may be of use to you.⁵⁷

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^a K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^b And now to - ^c See previous letter, p. 37. - ^d F. A. Maxse, 'Our uncultivated Lands', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLIV, 1 August 1870.

21

ENGELS TO MARX

IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, 10 August 1870

Dear Moor,

Today is 10 August. Can the Parisians have forgotten it completely? To judge from this evening's *Pall Mall Gazette*, it would seem not.⁵⁸ The *bas empire*⁴⁶ looks like dissolving in a fart. Badinguet^a is abdicating from the army and has to hand it over to Bazaine (!!) who is now the best man among those left undefeated. This means in reality that he is abdicating altogether. It seems that people are to have the revolution made very easy for them; everything is falling to pieces entirely of its own accord, as was to be expected. The next few days will surely decide the matter.

I think that without the army the Orleanists are not strong enough to risk a restoration immediately. Since they are now the only possible dynasty left, it is conceivable that they might themselves prefer a republican interregnum again. In that event would the *ex-Marseillaise*⁵⁹ come to power?

I believe that faced with a republic the Prussians would agree to a peace on terms that would be honourable on the whole. It cannot be in their interest to stir up 1793 and 1794 all over again. The whole tenor of the King's^b speech suggested that they were reckoning with a revolution and were unwilling to let things go to extremes. It is true that, against this, there has been since then the great national mania in Germany and the universal cry for Alsace-Lorraine. Nor can William be relied upon. But for the moment I still believe that they will settle for less. France will doubtless have to cede some territory. And for the élan of 1793 to be reborn, and *effectively* reborn—that calls for the *enemies* of 1793 and, as you rightly say, it also calls for somewhat different Frenchmen than those who have just come from the *bas empire*.

Incidentally, I would surmise that the Prussians have already held discussions with the Orléans.

That Bismarck was in Vienna sounds like a local stock-market rumour to me. There is a lot of that about in Vienna.

^a A derisive nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet. - ^b i.e. William I's

What you say about the Russians is my opinion exactly.^a And it won't be long before matters come to a head. I am convinced that in that event Bismarck will arrange things with the French in advance.

On Badinguet's strategy there were articles yesterday (LEADER) and this evening in *The Pall Mall Gazette*.^b Since then still more follies discovered. The 7th Corps of Félix Douay only left Belfort on 1 August and began a leisurely march towards Altkirch. But now that the line Strasbourg-Nancy is, or is about to be, taken by the Germans near Zabern,^c the corps will have to be sent to Metz or Châlons via Vesoul and Chaumont. Such a mess is unheard of. It is excellent that it should be the Germans to expose the whole swindle at a stroke!

The letters published in the *Temps* since Sunday by Captain Jeannerod^d give the best idea of the conception of the enemy prevailing in the French army. The good man was taken prisoner in Saarbrücken and saw the 8th Corps (our Rhinelanders). The fellow's amazement is enough to make you die laughing. The very first glimpse of the Prussian camp impressed him enormously. '*Une belle et bonne armée, une nation fortement organisée pour la guerre*'^e—that is what he perceives in everything down to the Prussian N.C.O. whose '*valeur morale*' is '*malheureusement digne d'être enviée par nous*'.^f And he is one of the most intelligent of them and can himself speak good German! He admits, moreover, that the Prussians shoot far better than the French.

The Germans now have 1¼ million men under arms, so that even 100,000-200,000 Italians (=half that number of Frenchmen) make little difference. Austria risks a revolution in Vienna if she makes a move. Russia will doubtless feel SAFE until peace is concluded, or a revolutionary government has been established in Paris which cannot be relied on to enter into any double-dealing. Everyone will take good care not to irritate the enraged German simpleton still further. However, you can see how right I was in my belief that the Prussian military organisation contained tremendous power, a power completely invincible in a national war like this.

Official accounts now refer to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd *German* army.

^a See previous letter, p. 38. - ^b F. Engels, *Notes on the War*, V and VI. - ^c French name: Saverne. - ^d G. Jeannerod, 'La guerre. Correspondances particulières du *Temps*', *Le Temps*, No. 3448, 7 August 1870. See also F. Engels, *Notes on the War*.—VI. - ^e 'An excellent army, a nation highly organised for war' - ^f 'moral value' is, 'regrettably, worthy of being envied by us'

I just want to go down to the Schiller Institute⁶⁰ to see the latest telegrams. Best greetings to you all.

Your
F. E.

Have still not heard anything about the house. In the circumstances it might perhaps be better not to commit myself for 3¹/₂ years. I shall wait another few days before writing to the fellow.^a

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

Ramsgate, 12 August 1870
36 Hardres Street

Dear FRED,

Enclosed a mass of stuff. Please read it and send it back with *your* reasoned opinion.⁶¹

Before I arrived here I already had pains in my left buttock and continuing into the loin. I did not know what it was. However, it has now acquired a definite character. It is rheumatism but of a diabolic kind, so that I can hardly sleep at night. An Englishman here who suffers from the same thing takes *hot sea baths*. Do you think that is a good idea?

COMPLIMENTS FROM THE WHOLE FAMILY TO MRS LIZZY and FRED. Likewise thanks from my wife for your lines.⁴⁵

Your
Moor

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^a Smith (see this volume, p. 19)

23

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG⁶²

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 12 August 1870
36 Hardres Street

Dear Jung,

Enclosed for submission to the General Council:

1. *Resolution of the German Central Committee in Geneva.* (The Romance Central Committee will be sending you a document with the same content.)

2. Also a copy of the resolution I have received from Brunswick. I am not sending the original, because all sorts of nonsense are attached to it that I have to answer.

I am very unwell, but perhaps the sea air will help.

Salut.

Yours,
K. Marx

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24

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[Ramsgate,] 15 August 1870
36 Hardres Street

DEAR FRED,

You will see from *The Daily News*—and it is reprinted in today's *Pall Mall*^a—that an EMINENT WRITER IS ABOUT TO ISSUE AN ENGLISH PAMPHLET in favour of the ANNEXATION of Alsace by Germany.

^a *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1717, 15 August 1870.

The EMINENT WRITER who has caused this notice about himself to appear in *The Daily News* is of course none other than ex-student Karl Blind. This miserable wretch could really stir up a lot of trouble in the English press at this moment with his intrigues.

Since you have some influence in the *Pall Mall* now, you must tear the rubbish to pieces as soon as it appears, and really flay the beast alive.

Between ourselves, the Prussians could bring off a great diplomatic coup if—without demanding an inch of French soil for themselves—they were to insist on the return of Savoy and Nice to Italy and of the territory neutralised by the 1815 treaties to Switzerland.⁶³ No one could raise any objections to that. However, it is none of *our* business to offer advice on these territorial exchanges.

The family is amusing itself here royally. Tussy and Jennychen never come out of the sea and are building up a good stock of health. For my part, I am lying more or less fallow thanks to the rheumatism and the sleepless nights.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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ENGELS TO MARX⁶⁴

IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, 15 August 1870

Dear Moor,

When one has had severe stomach trouble for three days like me, with slight fever from time to time, it's no great pleasure at all, even when starting to feel better, to expatiate on Wilhelm's^a *politique*. But since you must get this rubbish back, here goes.⁶¹

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht's

How far Bracke, who is certainly a very weak fellow, has allowed his national enthusiasm to run away with him I cannot tell, and as I receive at most *one* issue of the *Volksstaat* every fortnight, I am also unable to judge the position of the Committee^a in this regard except from Bonhorst's letter to Wilhelm, which on the whole is cool, but betrays theoretical uncertainty. In contrast with this, Liebknecht's narrow-minded and self-confident dogmatism undoubtedly shows up, very favourably as usual.

The case seems to me to be as follows: Germany has been driven by Badinguet^b into a war for her national existence. If Badinguet defeats her, Bonapartism will be strengthened for years and Germany broken for years, perhaps for generations. In that event there can be no question any more of an independent German working-class movement either; the struggle to restore Germany's national existence will absorb everything, and at best the German workers will be dragged in the wake of the French. If Germany wins, French Bonapartism will at any rate be smashed, the endless row about the establishment of German unity will at last be over, the German workers will be able to organise on a national scale quite different from that prevailing hitherto, and the French workers, whatever sort of government may succeed this one, are certain to have a freer field than under Bonapartism. The whole mass of the German people of every class have realised that this is first and foremost a question of national existence and have therefore at once flung themselves into the fray. That in these circumstances a German political party should preach total abstention *à la* Wilhelm and place all sorts of secondary considerations before the main one, seems to me impossible.

To this must be added that Badinguet would never have been able to wage this war without the chauvinism of the mass of the French population: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the imperialistic, Haussmannist building-trade proletariat stemming from the peasants, which Bonaparte created in the big towns.⁶⁵ Until this chauvinism is knocked on the head, and knocked good and proper, peace between Germany and France is impossible. One might have expected a proletarian revolution to take this work over, but since the war is already on there is no choice for the Germans but to attend to the job themselves and quickly.

^a the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Brunswick - ^b A derisive nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet.

Now come the secondary considerations. For the fact that Lehmann,^a Bismarck & Co, are in command in this war and that it must minister to their temporary *gloire* if they conduct it successfully, we have to thank the miserable state of the German bourgeoisie. It is certainly very unpleasant, but cannot be altered. But to magnify anti-Bismarckism into the sole guiding principle on that account would be absurd. In the first place, now, as in 1866,⁶⁶ Bismarck is doing a bit of our work, in *his own* way and without meaning to, but all the same he is doing it. He is clearing the deck for us better than before. Moreover it is no longer the year 1815. The South Germans are now bound to enter the Reichstag and this will develop a counterweight to Prussianism. Then there are the national duties which devolve on him and which, as you wrote, forbid the Russian alliance from the outset. In general it is senseless to try *à la* Liebknecht to set back the clock of history on all that has happened since 1866, just because it is not to his liking. But we know our model South Germans. There is nothing to be done with these fools.

I think our people can:

1) join the national movement—you can see from Kugelmann's letter how strong it is⁶⁷—insofar and for so long as it is limited to the defence of Germany (which does not exclude an offensive, in certain circumstances, until peace is attained);

2) at the same time emphasise the difference between German national and dynastic-Prussian interests;

3) oppose any ANNEXATION of Alsace and Lorraine—Bismarck is now intimating an intention of annexing them to Bavaria and Baden;

4) as soon as a non-chauvinistic republican government is at the helm in Paris, work for an honourable peace with it;

5) constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other;

6) *Russia*, as in the Address of the International.^b

Amusing is Wilhelm's assertion that because Bismarck is a former accomplice of Badinguet's the correct position would be to remain neutral. If that were the general opinion in Germany, we should soon have the Confederation of the Rhine⁶⁸ again and the noble Wilhelm should see what sort of role he would play in that, and what would become of the workers' movement. A people that

^a nickname of William I - ^b K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

gets nothing but kicks and blows is indeed the right one to make a social revolution, above all in the innumerable small states so beloved of Wilhelm!

How nice of the poor little fellow to seek to call me to account for something that was 'supposed' to have been in the *Elberfelder Zeitung*!⁶⁹ Poor animal!

The *débâcle* in France seems to be frightful. Everything squandered, sold, swindled away. The *chassepots*⁷⁰ are badly made and misfire in action; there are none left of them and the old flintlocks have got to be hunted out again. Nevertheless a revolutionary government, if it comes *soon*, need not despair. But it must abandon Paris to its fate and carry on the war from the South. There would then still be a possibility of its holding out until arms have been bought and new armies organised which would gradually force the enemy back to the frontier. This would really be the true end of the war, both countries reciprocally furnishing proof that they are unconquerable. But if this does not happen quickly the game is up. Moltke's operations are a model—old William seems to give him a perfectly free hand—and the fourth battalions are already joining the army, while the French ones are not yet in existence.

If Badinguet is not out of Metz yet it may go badly with him.

Sea-bathing is no good for rheumatism. But Gumpert, who is spending four weeks in Wales, maintains that *sea air* is particularly wholesome. I hope you will soon be relieved of your pain. It's something terrible. At any rate it's not dangerous and the restoration of your general health is much more important.

Best regards.

Your
F. E.

You can see, incidentally, how the wretched Wilhelm constantly flirts with the reactionary particularists⁷¹—Wulster, Obermüller, etc., and drags the Party in with him.

Wilhelm has obviously counted on Bonaparte's victory, simply in the hope that it would finish off his dear Bismarck. You recollect how he always threatened him with the French. And it goes without saying, of course, that *you too are on Wilhelm's side!*^a

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^a The last two paragraphs are written in the margin.

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ENGELS TO JENNY MARX⁷²

IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, 15 August 1870

Dear Mrs Marx,

Today I was at the bank I had given to Smith as a reference and I heard there by chance that he had finally condescended to ask for information. What he found out (namely, that the bank would guarantee ten times the sum concerned, if it were required) will doubtless satisfy him.²⁴ I suppose I shall now hear from him soon. I am very glad that I do not have to write first to that stupid aristocrat of a LANDLORD whose SEAT near Bolton seems to be a diminutive affair in the middle of the factory smoke. The fellow is obviously off shooting GROUSE on the moors nearby and will certainly be in just the mood to enter into business correspondence with TENANTS. The ass obviously wanted to make himself feel important.

In view of the present situation in France, where everything may be overturned any day—and probably will be in a week or two—it is of course risky to take a house and furnish it for 3¹/₂ years. However, it is a risk that must be taken. It seems to me that the Orleanists now *want* an interim republic like that of 1848 directed by themselves, in the hope that such a republic would suffer the obloquy of having to conclude a peace, thus ensuring that the Crown would go to their Orléans as the only possible dynasty left. However, this strategy can easily misfire.

The worst thing is: who could possibly take over leadership of a genuine revolutionary movement in Paris? Rochefort is the most popular and the only suitable man—Blanqui seems to be forgotten.

That Barbès is dead is a blessing. The 'Beard of the Party' would spoil everything again. *Enfin, nous verrons.*^a

I have been very lucky with my articles.^b Some few little prophecies which I made at a moment when they were *certain*, appeared in the press in time, so that they could be confirmed by the news the *next morning*. Such things are pure luck and impress the philistines enormously.

^a Well, we shall see. - ^b F. Engels, *Notes on the War*, I-VIII.

Who wrote the article that appeared recently under the name of 'von Thunder-ten-Tronckh' in which the English philistines were so bluntly told the truth?⁷³ In general, it is remarkable what tremendous qualities the English are suddenly able to discover in the Germans, and how they are all at Bonaparte's throat, having lain in the dust at his feet only four weeks ago. There is no greater rabble than the *honnêtes gens*.^a

Unfortunately, I have no time to write to Tussy today; would you please tell her that I shall be writing to Kugelmann in the next few days and shall enclose the relevant material.⁷⁴

My wife^b and I send you all our warmest regards and hope that the stay at the seaside will do you a world of good.

Yours,
F. Engels

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27

MARX TO ENGELS⁶⁴

IN MANCHESTER

[Ramsgate,] 17 August^c 1870

DEAR FRED,

My best thanks (ditto from Mrs Marx for the letter to her^d) for the pains you took under such *circonstances aggravantes*.^e Your letter^f tallies completely with the plan of the answer I have already worked out in my head. Nevertheless, in such an important matter—it is not a question of Wilhelm^g but of *instructions to the German workers as to their line of conduct*—I did not want to act without first consulting with you.⁷⁵

Wilhelm infers his agreement with me:

^a respectable people - ^b Lydia Burns - ^c In the original '17 April', which is a slip of the pen. - ^d See previous letter. - ^e worsening circumstances - ^f See this volume, pp. 45-48. - ^g Wilhelm Liebknecht

1) from the Address of the *International*,^a which he of course first translated into his own, Wilhelminian language;

2) from the fact that I approved his and Bebel's statement in the Reichstag.³¹ That was a 'moment' when harping on principles was *un acte de courage*,^b but it by no means follows that the moment still continues, much less that the attitude of the German proletariat toward a war which has become national is comprehended in Wilhelm's antipathy to the Prussians. It would be just as if we were to object to the relative independence which Italy received as a result of this war merely because at a suitable moment we had raised our voices against the 'Bonapartist' liberation of Italy.

The lust for Alsace and Lorraine seems to predominate in two circles: the Prussian camarilla and the South-German beer-patriots. It would be the greatest misfortune that could befall Europe and above all Germany. You will have seen that most of the Russian newspapers are already talking of the necessity of European diplomatic intervention in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

Kugelmann confuses a defensive war with defensive military operations.^c So if a fellow falls upon me in the street I may only parry his blows but not KNOCK him DOWN, because then I should turn into an *aggressor*! The WANT of dialectics peeps out of every word these people utter.

I have not slept a wink the fourth night running because of the rheumatism, and all that time fantasies about Paris, etc., run through my mind. I shall have Gumpert's sleeping potion prepared for me this evening.

With the DEATH-KNELL of the SECOND EMPIRE THAT WILL END AS IT BEGAN, BY A PARODY,^d I hit the nail on the head with my Bonaparte, after all! Can one imagine a finer parody of Napoleon's 1814 campaign? I believe we two are the only folks who grasped the *whole mediocrity* of Boustrapa⁵⁴ FROM THE BEGINNING, regarded him as a mere SHOWMAN, and never allowed ourselves to be misled by his momentary successes.

Apropos! The bourgeois PEACE SOCIETY⁵⁶ has sent the General

^a K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^b an act of courage - ^c A reference to Kugelmann's letter to Marx of 7 August 1870. - ^d See Marx's 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

Council of the International £20 for printing the Manifesto in the French and German languages.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

The Times, Telegraph,^a *Daily News*, etc., all of which fawned so prettily on Bonaparte for 20 years!

The Brunswick suggestion that the General Council should request *Borkheim* to draw up a pamphlet against Russia is really hilarious!

How naive can people be!

The sea air is very good for me and at any rate this attack would have been far more unpleasant in London.

I don't agree with you about the house rent for 3¹/₂ years.^b Thanks to the French catastrophe, GENTLEMEN'S dwellings in London will now go up in price and you will be able to get rid of the house any day 'with ease'.

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ENGELS TO MARX⁷⁶

IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, 20 August 1870

Dear Moor,

I hope that your rheumatism has become less acute. The chloral will have done you some good; if not, then see a doctor and ask him to prescribe a sedative. Gumpert is in Wales and hence unavailable for consultation.

I have written a vigorous letter to Smith today about the house.²⁴ I can't let myself be humbugged any longer by this

^a *The Daily Telegraph* - ^b See this volume, p. 43.

GROUSE-SHOOTING ARISTOCRAT. I was supposed to be there in 4 weeks, yet it was 5 weeks yesterday since I reached agreement with Smith and there is still no answer!

I think that the ANNEXATION of the French Germans is as good as settled. If a revolutionary government had been formed in Paris as late as last week something still might have been done about it. *Now*, however, it comes too late and can only make a fool of itself by parodying the Convention. I am convinced that Bismarck would have settled for a peace without cession of territory with a revolutionary government if it had come on the scene in time. But the way France is behaving now he has no reason to resist the pressures from without and his vanity from within. It is a great pity, but it seems to me inevitable. If Germany were a state like France, it would be easier to find excuses. But as things stand, with the need to divide the conquered territory between the three neighbouring countries, it is ridiculous. Even more ridiculous is the fact that the Germans should be willing to lumber themselves with a *German-speaking Venetia in the West*.⁷⁷ I shall try to obtain the ponderous Blind's weighty pamphlet, but it will likely as not come too late.^a

What do you think of Mack-Bazaine? Mac-Mahon was bad enough, but now we shall have Mack (of Ulm)—*tout court*.^b It will be an unheard-of thing if 120,000 Frenchmen have to lay down their arms, and that will doubtless be the result.⁷⁸ Just imagine that old mule William^c deflowering *la pucelle*^d of Metz in his old age! There has never been such a *dégringolade*^e as the one now displayed by the 2nd Empire. I am only curious to see whether the Parisians will not finally muster the energy to do something when they learn the truth about the events of this last week.⁷⁹ Not that it would be of any use any more. The demolitions undertaken around Paris to facilitate its defence are on such a colossal scale that I cannot believe they have been carried out properly. The population of the city has almost trebled since 1840 and the difficulties of provisioning it likewise. And finally, all traffic relies so greatly on the railway now that if a few bridges are blown up on every line it will be almost impossible to bring any supplies worth mentioning into the city, even if the blockade is not complete.

^a See this volume, p. 45. - ^b just that; Engels is referring here to Bazaine who allowed himself to be shut up with his army and besieged in Metz, and suggesting a parallel firstly with MacMahon and then with the similar fate that befell the Austrian general Mack in Ulm in 1805. - ^c William I - ^d the maid - ^e collapse

The losses of the last few weeks must be enormous. Throughout the entire war the Germans have used bayonets with the greatest determination. And now they have been deploying cavalry against unflinching infantry so that men must have been falling like flies. The handsome William^a has made no mention of all this. But this much is certain: man for man and battalion for battalion, the Germans have proved their most decisive superiority over the French. First at Spicheren³² where they had 27 battalions against (at least) 42 French battalions which were occupying an almost impregnable position. After Thursday's battle⁸⁰ it will be almost impossible to restrain the demoralisation in the French camp.

Is Kugelmann in Carlsbad^b? I do not know where to send the portrait.⁷⁴

Best wishes from Lizzie and me to you all. I hope to hear good news from you soon about your rheumatism.

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS⁸¹

IN MANCHESTER

London, 22 August 1870

DEAR FRED,

The onslaughts of the rheumatism were so severe that the family council resolved to send me to London to consult Dr Maddison. Hence went to London on Saturday^c afternoon from where I am returning to Ramsgate today.

Consulted Maddison yesterday. Says it is a severe form of SCIATICA. Prescribed medicine and also some stuff to rub in. Sojourn by the sea is beneficial to my GENERAL STATE OF HEALTH which

^a William I - ^b Czech name: Karlovy Vary. - ^c 20 August

is somewhat impaired by my sleeplessness. He is in favour of taking a hot sea-water bath on very warm days.

In Paris they seem concerned only to keep the population at bay until the necessary measures have been taken to make the interim secure for the TRUSTEES of the Orléans.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Did you read the lousy letter from Louis Blanc?^a The essence of patriotism is to remain passive so as to force the Bonapartists to shoulder the *entire responsibility*.

That Scottish jackass Elcho seems to imagine that he is the British Moltke.⁸²

Freiligrath: 'Hurra! Germania!' ⁸³ Nor does he fail to bring God into his laboriously farted song, and 'the Gaul' as well.

I had rather be a kitten and cry mew,
Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers!^b

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

Ramsgate, 30 August 1870

DEAR FRED,

Tomorrow morning back to London by STEAMER. In the first place, it is very expensive to pay for 5 people to stay here since the English have thronged to all the seaside resorts on account of the war.

In the second place, RELATIVELY to the price the accommodation is damned 'draughty'. The worst pains have stopped, but I am

^a L. Blanc, 'Lettres de Londres. 14 août 1870', *Le Temps*, No. 3460, 19 August 1870. - ^b Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Scene 1.

almost paralysed in a certain place, so that I must consult the doctor yet again.

More details from London.

Your
K. M.

The Spectator—8 DAYS SINCE—said that your articles¹² were the only significant ones in the English press, but regretted that the AUTHOR WAS SO CHARY OF HIS WORDS AND HIS FACTS.

Apropos. Borkheim was here yesterday on a visit from Margate. He seemed put out because *he* wanted to write *your* articles, and had approached the *Pall Mall* before us. He took his leave with a long face.

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE⁸⁴

IN HOBOKEN

London, 1 September 1870
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Mr Sorge,⁸⁵

My continued silence in the face of your several letters was due to two circumstances: at first 'OVERWORK', later very serious illness. At the beginning of August the doctors sent me to the seaside.⁵³ But there a severe attack of SCIATICA bent me double for weeks. I have been back in London only since yesterday, by no means fully recovered.

First of all, my best thanks for what you have sent me, especially the *LABOR STATISTICS*,^a which are of great value to me.

^a *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor...*

Now I shall briefly answer the questions in your various letters.

Hume was empowered to carry on propaganda among the Yankees, but has exceeded his powers. I shall submit the matter to the General Council next Tuesday, with an exhibition of his 'cards'.⁸⁶

As for the 'secretaryship' for the UNITED STATES, the matter is as follows: I am secretary for the *German* BRANCHES over there, Dupont for the *French*, and lastly Eccarius for the *Yankees* and the English-speaking part of the branches. In our public DECLARATIONS, therefore, Eccarius figured as 'SECRETARY FOR THE UNITED STATES'. Otherwise we should have to employ useless circumlocutions. I, for instance, would also have to sign as 'Secretary for the *Russian branche*' in Geneva, and so on. Moreover, Eccarius himself plainly set forth the state of affairs in a New York PAPER—in connection with Cluseret.⁸⁷

Next week I shall send you a new pack of CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP.

The lamentable behaviour of Paris during the war—still allowing itself to be ruled by the mamelukes of Louis Bonaparte and of the Spanish adventuress Eugénie^a after appalling defeats—shows how much the French need a tragic lesson in order to regain their manhood.

What the Prussian jackasses do not see is that the present war is leading just as inevitably to a war between Germany and Russia as the war of 1866⁸⁶ led to the war between Prussia and France. This is the *best outcome* that I expect from it for Germany. 'Prussianism' as such never has existed, and never can exist, except in alliance with and in subjection to Russia. And such a war No. 2 will act as the midwife of the inevitable social revolution in Russia.

I regret that some misunderstanding on the part of my friend Vogt which is incomprehensible to me has led to a wrong opinion regarding Schily.⁸⁸ Schily is not only one of my oldest and most intimate personal friends; he is one of the ablest, most courageous, and most reliable members of the Party.

I am very glad that Meyer is going to Cincinnati as a delegate.⁸⁹

Most faithfully yours,

Karl Marx

I should like to have a look at the Kellogg money nonsense (merely a variety of Bray, Gray, Bronterre O'Brien, etc., in

^a wife of Napoleon III

England and of Proudhon in France) in the original.⁹⁰ The stuff cannot be obtained here.

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32

MARX TO ENGELS⁸¹

IN MANCHESTER

London, 2 September 1870

DEAR FRED,

Arrived here the evening before last. Today I shall go to see Dr Maddison.

Yesterday evening the enclosed note came from *The Pall Mall Gazette* together with a CHEQUE. Should I endorse the latter on your behalf and send it to Manchester, or cash it and send banknotes?

After the spectacular confirmation of your first article on MacMahon⁹¹ it would be a good moment to begin your next article with a summary of your own *Notes on the War*.¹² As you know, the English need to have their noses rubbed in the 'POINTS', and too much reticence with regard to furnishing information will NOT DO WITH FULL-MOUTHED John Bull. The female members of the family are furious to find your articles plundered by all the London papers, but never quoted.

In my view the entire DEFENCE of Paris is nothing but a police farce, put on to keep the Parisians happy until the Prussians are standing at the gates, ready to restore *order*, viz., the dynasty and its mamelukes.

The wretched spectacle which Paris presents at this moment, and I mean by that throughout the entire war, shows that France had to be taught a tragic lesson if she was to be saved.

The declaration that no one can defend his 'fatherland' except in a uniform is an authentic piece of *Prussianism!*

The Prussians should surely have learned from their own history that it is not possible to achieve 'eternal' security from a defeated enemy through DISMEMBERMENT, etc. And even after the loss

of Alsace-Lorraine, France will not be battered as badly BY FAR as Prussia was by Napoleon's horse-cure at Tilsit.⁹² And how much did Napoleon I benefit from that? It just helped Prussia onto her feet again.

I do not believe that Russia has *actively* intervened in this war up to now. I don't believe that she is prepared for such intervention, but it is a diplomatic master coup for her to have proclaimed herself France's SAVIOUR already at this stage.⁹³

In my detailed reply to the Brunswick Committee^a I have once and for all abolished the fulsome 'identity' of interests between him and myself which our Wilhelm^b invents to others whenever it suits his purposes. It is a good thing that his initiative should have given me the opportunity to make an official statement for once about this *malentendu*^c fostered by him so intentionally and with a bad conscience.

What do you think of Freiligrath as a family poet? Even historical catastrophes like the present one do no more than provide an opportunity for him to extol his own BRATS. In the process the VOLUNTEER 'medical orderly' is transformed into a 'SURGEON' for the benefit of the English.⁹⁴

The correspondence between the former Swabian seminarist David Strauss and the former French pupil of the Jesuits, Renan, is an entertaining episode.⁹⁵ Once a priest, always a priest. The history course of Mr Strauss seems to have its roots in Kohlrausch^d or a similar school textbook.

Addio!

Your
K. M.

The Prussians do seem to have told infamous lies after all about the bombardment of Saarbrücken.

In Paris farcical episodes follow thick and fast. But the nicest of all is that of the soldiers who march out of one gate and march in again by the next.

Enclosed a letter from Laura.^e The fools' dawdling over their retreat to Bordeaux is unforgivable.^f

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^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party'. - ^b Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^c misunderstanding - ^d F. Kohlrausch, *Kurze Darstellung der deutschen Geschichte für Volksschulen*. - ^e Lafargue - ^f See this volume, p. 556.

MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER
IN HOBOKEN

London, 2 September 1870
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Meyer,

Just a few lines in great haste (if I am to catch the post). I shall write to you more fully next week. I came back yesterday from the seaside where the doctors had sent me for my health⁵³ but where a violent and painful attack of SCIATICA bent me double for weeks on end.

The first thing I did on my return was to reply to a pile of letters waiting for me; among my letter-creditors was Sorge, with half a dozen letters. *Your* letter had been mislaid and I only received it after sending off my reply to Sorge,^a so I was unable to modify that in the light of the information contained in your letter.⁹⁶

In any case I simply had to write to Sorge because he had sent me newspapers and *LABOR STATISTICS* (Massachusetts)^b, ditto information about Hume of use to the General Council, together with 2 SAMPLES of the International cards, etc., he had produced.⁸⁶ Lastly, I could not under any circumstances permit friend Vogt's erroneous view of *Schily*—one of my oldest and most intimate friends—to stand uncorrected.⁸⁸

I was delighted to see from Sorge's last letter that you were being sent as a delegate to Cincinnati.⁸⁹

If the German Workers' Union has nominated other correspondents this FACT should be reported to me *officially* for communication to the General Council.

Salut et fraternité.

Yours,
K. M.

^a See this volume, pp. 56-57. - ^b *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor...*

Could you give me any further information, such as the relevant acts of Congress, etc., about the economics of the railroad in the West?

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34

ENGELS TO MARX¹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 4 September 1870

What care I for wife, what care I for child—
I have higher yearnings;
If hungry they are, let them go and beg—
My Emperor, my Emperor a captive!^a

World history is surely the greatest of poets; it has even succeeded in parodying Heine! My Emperor,^b my Emperor a captive!⁹¹ And what is more, a captive of the 'stinking Prussians', and poor William^c stands by and assures everybody for the hundredth time that he is really quite innocent of the whole business and that it is purely the will of God! William really is just like the schoolboy: 'Who created the world?' 'Please, teacher, I did—but I won't ever do it again!'

And then that wretch Jules Favre comes along with the proposal that Palikao, Trochu and a few Arcadians⁹⁷ should form a government. There has never been such a band of riff-raff. But all the same, when this becomes known in Paris we must expect something or other to happen. I cannot believe that this flood of news, which is bound to become known today or tomorrow, will fail to produce its effect. Perhaps a government of the *gauche*^d which, after a show of resistance, will conclude peace.

The war is at an end. There is no longer an army in France.

^a from Heinrich Heine's *Die Grenadiere* - ^b Napoleon III - ^c William I - ^d Left

As soon as Bazaine capitulates, which will likely as not happen this week,⁹⁸ half the German army will march on Paris and the other half across the Loire to sweep the country clean of all armed units.

On the subject of my articles,¹² you will have seen that I did what was necessary in the one that appeared the day before yesterday.^a But my worst enemy in the English press is Mr Greenwood himself. The fool regularly cuts out all the taunts I make about his competitors' plagiarisms, and what is even better, in his *Epitome* he excerpts the articles copied from mine the previous night with the greatest good humour and without even allowing himself a jibe about their plagiarism. The trouble is that the fellow cannot refrain from indulging his private passion for his own military opinion, which is pure nonsense. Every philistine regards the ability to ride as a matter of honour, and understanding strategy comes into the same category. But even that is not enough to satisfy him. A few days ago he inserted a few utterly absurd lines about the siege of Strasbourg—simply in order to fill up the column. At the first opportunity I shall write an article on the same subject and say the exact opposite.⁹⁹ But what can one say? Journalism in peacetime is nothing but a continual process of reasoning about things which one has not learned about, and so I have no real right to complain.

Cash the CHEQUE yourself and keep the money.^b Half belongs to you by rights and the other half is an advance on the next payment when I shall send you a further £70.

The Alsace swindle—apart from its pristine Teutonic features—is mainly of a strategic nature and aims at getting the line of the Vosges and German Lorraine as border territory. (Language frontier: if you draw a straight line from Donon or Schirmeck in the Vosges to one hour's travelling east of Longwy where the Belgian-Luxembourg and French frontiers meet, that is almost the exact place: from Donon along the Vosges to the Swiss frontier.) Northwards from Donon the Vosges are actually not so high and steep as in the south. Only the jackasses of the *Staats-Anzeiger* and Brass & Co. could get the notion that France will be 'throttled' by the snipping off of this narrow strip with its 1¼ million or so inhabitants. The hysterical demands of the philistines for 'guarantees' are altogether absurd, but they tell because they suit the book of the people at Court.

^a F. Engels, *Notes on the War*.—XV. - ^b See this volume, p. 58.

I have not yet read the great medical-orderly poem.^a It must be great. Moreover, these medical orderlies are the greatest loafers; when they are needed they are never on hand, but they stuff themselves, booze and bluster to such an extent that everyone in the army is fed up with them. Only a few exceptions.

In Saarbrücken the French did as much damage as they could. Of course the bombardment lasted only a few hours and not, as in Strasbourg, day and night for weeks.

Herewith returning Cacadou's^b letter with thanks. Very interesting. The defence of Paris will be an entertaining episode, if nothing out of the way happens inside. These perpetual little PANICS on the part of the French—all of which arise from fear of the moment when they will at last have to learn the truth—give one a much better idea of the Reign of Terror. We take this to mean the rule of people who inspire terror. On the contrary, it is the rule of people who themselves are terror-stricken. *La terreur* implies mostly useless cruelties perpetuated by frightened people in order to reassure themselves. I am convinced that the blame for the Reign of Terror in 1793 lies almost exclusively with the bourgeois frightened out of their wits and setting out to comport themselves like patriots, with the small philistines crapping their trousers, and with the mob of the underworld who knew how to coin profit from the *terreur*. These are the very classes active in the present minor *terreur* too.

Best regards to all of you from all of us, including Jollymeyer^c and Moore.

Your
F. E.

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^a F. Freiligrath, *An Wolfgang im Felde*. - ^b Laura Lafargue's nickname - ^c Carl Schorlemmer's nickname

35

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

London, 4 September 1870

In great haste

Dear Oswald,

I only arrived back in London⁵³ on Saturday,^a and had too much BUSINESS on hand to be able to accept your kind invitation.

If you are doing a 4th EDITION,¹⁵ could you please put instead of '*Association Internationale Ouvrière*', the official title current in France: '*Association Internationale des Travailleurs*'.

I was right about the EMPIRE ending in 'PARODY'.^b

Yours,
K. M.

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36

MARX TO ENGELS¹⁰⁰

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 6 September 1870

DEAR FRED,

I had just 'sat down' to write to you when Serrailier came to tell me that he is leaving London tomorrow for Paris, but only for a few days. His chief purpose is to arrange matters with the *International* there (*Conseil Fédéral de Paris*). This is all the more essential as the entire FRENCH BRANCH⁵⁰ is setting off for Paris today to commit all sorts of follies there in the name of the *International*.

^a 3 September - ^b See K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

'They' intend to bring down the Provisional Government, establish a *commune de Paris*, nominate Pyat as French ambassador in London, and so forth.

I received today a proclamation to the German people from the *Conseil Fédéral* in Paris¹⁰¹ (I shall send it on to you tomorrow), together with an urgent appeal to the *Conseil Général* to issue a new manifesto specifically for the Germans. I had already planned to propose that this evening. Please could you send me as soon as possible the relevant military notes on Alsace-Lorraine in English for use in the manifesto.^a

I have already sent a *detailed* answer today to the *Conseil Fédéral*, and have also subjected myself to the unpleasant task of opening their eyes to the true state of affairs.¹⁷

Received a reply from Brunswick to the effect that they will agitate precisely in accordance with my instructions.¹⁰²

Apropos! Longuet telegraphed me the proclamation of the Republic on Sunday. I received the telegram at 4 a.m.

Jules Favre, although a notorious scoundrel and man of June^b is good *pour le moment*^c as Foreign Minister. He had always opposed the old Thiers policies and come out in favour of the unity of Italy and of Germany.

I am only sorry for Rochefort for being a member of this *gouvernement* which also includes the infamous Garnier-Pagès. But he could not well refuse to take part as a MEMBER of the *comité de défense*.¹⁰³

Best thanks for the cash. Even the gods have no knowledge of any claim I might have to half your fee.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Paul, Laura and Schnappy^d arrived safely in Bordeaux on 2 September. All the better as Lafargue would never have left [Paris] UNDER the PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.^e

Here there are veritable floods of *réfugiés qui ont sauvé la caisse*.^f As I wrote to you before, GENTLEMEN'S residences are going up in price.^g

^a K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^b See this volume, pp. 98-99. - ^c for the moment - ^d Paul and Laura Lafargue and their son Charles Étienne - ^e See this volume, pp. 59 and 556. - ^f refugees who have rescued the funds - ^g See this volume, p. 52.

Do you not think that if the weather, which is said to be abominable in France at the moment, continues like this, as is very probable after the unusually long drought that has preceded it, the Prussians will have good 'cause' to listen to reason, especially as the Anglo-Russo-Austrian alliance is threatening?

Dupont, who used to correspond with Pigott, ought to write the swine an abusive letter in the name of the French republicans. Urge him to do so.

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37

ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Manchester, 7 September 1870

Dear Moor,

(Continuation.)^a Due to the unexpected victories chauvinism has gone horribly to the heads of the German philistines who have done nothing to bring them about, and it is high time to do something about this. If only the *Volksstaat* were not so contemptible! But nothing can be done about that. By the time my preface to *The Peasant War*^b in pamphlet form appears in print, it will have been long since overtaken by events. All the more urgent, therefore, is the new proclamation of the International^c (for which you must do the *German* as well this time).

If the telegraphed version of the Parisian International proclamation¹⁰¹ is anything near accurate, it undoubtedly shows that these people are still entirely dominated by rhetoric. Having endured Badinguet^d for 20 years, having been unable to prevent

^a See this volume, pp. 61-63. - ^b F. Engels, 'Preface to the Second Edition of *The Peasant War in Germany*'. - ^c K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^d A derisive nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) who, in 1846, fled from prison in Ham in the clothes of a mason by the name of Badinguet.

him from winning 6 million votes against 1½ only six months ago¹⁰⁴ and from stirring them up against Germany without any rhyme or reason, now that the German victories have made them a *present* of a republic—*et laquelle!*^a—these people demand that the Germans should leave the sacred soil of France without delay, for otherwise there will be *guerre à outrance*^b! It is the same old idea of the superiority of France, of a land consecrated by 1793 which no subsequent French indecencies can profane, of the sanctity of the word: the Republic. Such behaviour really does put me in mind of the Danes in 1864¹⁰⁵ who allowed the Prussians to approach to within 30 paces, fired a salvo at them and then laid down their arms in the hope that they would not be repaid in kind for the formality.

I hope that they will all reflect on the matter once more when the first intoxication is past, for if not, it will be damned difficult to have any truck with them at an International level.

The entire republic, like its pacific origin, has been a complete farce up to now. As I have expected for the past two weeks and even longer,^c the Orléanists want an interim republic to conclude the shameful peace, so that the *onus* will not fall on the Orléans who are to be restored subsequently. The Orléanists have the real power: Trochu the military command and Kératry the police; the gentlemen of the *gauche*^d have the hot-air portfolios. Since the Orléans are now the only possible dynasty, they can wait calmly for the right moment for the real *avènement au pouvoir*.^e

Dupont has just left. He spent the evening here and was furious about this beautiful Paris proclamation. He was reassured to hear that Serrailier will go there having had prior discussions with you. His views on the case are perfectly clear and accurate: make use of the freedoms inevitably granted by the republic to organise the party in France; act when occasion presents itself, once organisation has been completed; the International to be held on a leash in France until after peace has been concluded.

The gentlemen of the Provisional Government and the bourgeois in Paris appear to know full well (to judge by the reports in *The Daily News*) that any ideas of continuing the war are just idle talk. The rain will hardly hold up the Germans at all; the men in the field are used to it by now and healthier for it than they would be in the heat. Of course there could be epidemics,

^a and what a republic! - ^b war to the knife - ^c See this volume, p. 41. - ^d Left - ^e acquisition of power

especially with the capitulation of Metz, where they will probably have broken out already, though it is not certain. A guerrilla war which would force the Prussians to order mass shootings does not seem very likely either, but it could break out here and there under the initial impact of revolution. As soon as we know what effect the capitulation of Metz will have in Paris (and it must happen next week *at the latest*),⁹⁸ we shall be in a better position to predict the further development of the war. Up to now, the measures, i.e. phrases, of the new rulers seem to promise little but a forthcoming surrender.

Rochefort will probably not remain with that mob for long. When the *Marseillaise* reappears things will quickly come to a head between him and them.

Schorlemmer left today with Wehner to bring a mass of spirits, wine, woollen blankets, flannel shirts, etc. (for over £1,000 in all) from the local Aid-Committee¹⁰⁶ directly through Belgium to Sedan for the wounded. If he has time, he will call on you, but they still have a heap of things to attend to there; they did not start buying things and parcelling them up until yesterday morning. From there, they intend to go on to Metz, if possible, where each of them has a brother with the army.

It is typical of the lousy government in Paris that they do not venture to tell the public the true facts of the present situation. I fear that unless there is a miracle, there will have to be a phase of *direct* bourgeois rule under the Orléans to allow the struggle to proceed in its pure form. To sacrifice the workers now, would be strategy *à la* Bonaparte and MacMahon; before peace they cannot act under any circumstances, and after that they will first need time to organise.

The threat of the alliance^a will doubtless bring pressure to bear on the Prussians. But they know that the Russian breech-loaders are good for nothing, that the English have no army and that the Austrians are very weak. In Italy Bismarck with the Pope^b (since the Florentine government has officially announced it will go to Rome in September), and with the consent of Nice and Savoy, appears to have made any resistance by the ruling circles impossible; it was a brilliant coup. Incidentally, Bismarck seems only to be waiting for some pressure to declare himself satisfied with money and the town of Strasbourg and its environs. He can

^a An allusion to the rumours about the Anglo-Russo-Austrian alliance aimed against Prussia (see this volume, p. 66). - ^b Pius IX

still use the French and may well imagine that they might see this as magnanimous.

Adjus, best greetings,

Your
F. E.

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38

MARX TO ENGELS

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 10 September 1870

Dear FRED,

You and Dupont must forgive me for answering so late and then only in a few lines. I am OVERWHELMED with political BUSINESS.

You can see from the enclosed pieces of imbecility from opposite places—one from Paris, the other from Brunswick—just how pleasant our task is made for us.

You know that I sent instructions to Brunswick.^a I assumed—mistakenly—that I was not dealing with uncouth BABIES, but with educated people who must be aware that the brutal language of a letter is not designed 'for printing', and furthermore that instructions have to contain *confidential hints* that are not intended to be *revealed* in the glare of publicity. WELL! These jackasses not only print 'word-for-word' extracts from my letter. They point their pitchforks *at me*, identifying me as the author. And they *print* sentences, such as the one about 'shifting the centre of gravity of the continental labour movement from France to Germany', etc., which were intended to spur them on, but which were not to be published *now* under any circumstances.¹⁰⁷ I suppose I must be grateful to them at least for *not* having published my criticism of the French workers. And to cap it all the fellows even sent their compromising mishmash IN HOT HASTE—to Paris! (To say nothing of Brussels and Geneva.)

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party' (see also this volume, p. 65).

I shall really tell them a few home truths, but the damage is done! On the other hand, there are the fools in Paris! They have sent me piles of their absurd chauvinistic manifesto¹⁰¹ which the English workers here greeted with derision and indignation that I had the greatest difficulty in preventing from being expressed publicly. I am supposed to send the thing to Germany *en masse*, probably to prove the Germans that they first have to '*withdraw across the Rhine*' before they arrive *home*! And furthermore, instead of writing a rational answer to my letter,¹⁷ the fellows take the liberty of sending me instructions by telegraph (instructions from ex-student Longuet!) on *how* I must set about agitating in Germany! *Quel malheur!*^a

I have set everything in motion here for the workers to force their government to recognise the French Republic.¹⁰⁸ (The series of MEETINGS begins on Monday.^b) Gladstone WAS WILLING ENOUGH at first. But the *Queen*^c was under Prussian instructions and there was also the oligarchic part of the CABINET!

I am sorry to see that that lousy, importunate, vain and over-ambitious babbler Cluseret has got his hooks into Grousset of the *Marseillaise*, a very able, staunch and courageous man.

The new *Address*^d (THANKS for your contribution to it) will be printed by Tuesday. It is long, but that was unavoidable.

Your articles on the FORTIFICATIONS of Paris and the bombardment of Strasbourg are masterly.^e

Tell Dupont that I am in complete agreement with his views, and that I *expressly* commissioned *Serrailier* to write to him saying that he should *not* leave Manchester *pro nunc*.^f

Schorlemmer here the evening before last.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

Apropos! Prof. Schäffle of Tübingen has published a massive and idiotic book^g against me (it costs 12/6d!).

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^a Here: Brilliant! - ^b 12 September - ^c Queen Victoria - ^d K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^e F. Engels, *Notes on the War*, XVI and XVII. - ^f for the present - ^g A. E. F. Schäffle, *Kapitalismus und Socialismus mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Geschäfts- und Vermögensformen*.

39

ENGELS TO MARX¹⁰⁹

IN LONDON

Manchester, 12 September 1870

Dear Moor,

Our friends over there—both in France and Germany—do indeed surpass each other in political adroitness. Those jackasses in Brunswick! They were afraid you would resent it if they tampered with the guidelines you had given them, so they printed them as they stood.¹⁰⁷ The only awkward thing in reality is the passage about shifting the centre of gravity. To have printed that was an unprecedented piece of tactlessness. However, it is to be hoped that the Parisians have more urgent concerns now than to devote themselves to the study of this manifesto, particularly since they do not understand German. Their German in the proclamation is beautiful. And in his paper^a Wilhelm^b is full of praise for this chauvinistic mishmash.¹¹⁰ Longuet is another fine one. Just because William I has presented *them* with a republic, a revolution should break out without delay in Germany. So why did they not make a revolution after the one in Spain?¹¹¹

The passage on Alsace-Lorraine from the manifesto^c is printed in today's *Zukunft*, but as something emanating from the Brunswickers. Send me 2 or more copies of the new Address as soon as it is ready.

If anything at all could be done in Paris, the workers ought to be prevented from letting fly before peace is concluded. Bismarck will soon be in a position to make peace, either by taking Paris or because the European situation will oblige him to put an end to the war. However the peace may turn out, it must be concluded before the workers can do anything at all. If they should be victorious now—in the service of national defence—they would have to enter upon the legacy left by Bonaparte and the present lousy republic. They would be needlessly crushed by the German armies and thrown back another twenty years. They themselves can lose nothing by waiting. The possible boundary changes are in

^a *Der Volksstaat* - ^b Wilhelm Liebknecht - ^c K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

any case only provisional and will be reversed again. To fight for the bourgeoisie against the Prussians would be madness. Whatever government concludes peace will on that account alone become impossible before long, and in internal conflicts there will not be much to fear from the army returning home from prisoner-of-war camps. The situation will present more favourable chances to the workers after the peace than it ever did before. But won't they let themselves be carried away under the pressure of the attack from without, and proclaim the Social Republic on the eve of the storming of Paris? It would be appalling if, as their last act of war, the German armies had to fight a battle with the Parisian workers at the barricades. It would set us back 50 years and would throw everything into such disarray that everybody and everything would get into a false position—to say nothing of the national hatred and the rule of rhetoric which would *then* take hold of the French workers!

It is a damned nuisance that there are so few people in Paris who have the courage to see things as they *really are* in the present situation. Is there anyone in Paris who dares to *admit to himself* that the active resistance of France has been broken as far as this war is concerned, and that consequently there is no prospect of successfully repulsing the invasion by means of revolution! Precisely because people do not *wish* to hear the actual truth, I am afraid that it may come to that. For the apathy of the workers *before* the fall of the Empire will no doubt have been changed now.

Could you let me know the title of the book by Schäßle^a? He really is a worthy opponent for you! The fellow was in the Customs Parliament¹⁰² and is a very undistinguished vulgar economist, rather along the lines of Faucher, but a Swabian. You will just love his book.

Since it looks as if *something* has to be annexed in any case, it is high time for us to think of a way for French and German workers to agree to regard it all as *null et non avenu*^b and to reverse it when occasion presents itself. It was my view that this would have been prudent at the outbreak of war; now, however, that the lot of ceding territory falls to the French, it is essential, otherwise they will all raise a terrible hullabaloo.

^a A. E. F. Schäßle, *Kapitalismus und Socialismus mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Geschäfts- und Vermögensformen*. - ^b null and void

Tell Tussy that my wife^a is very grateful to her for her letter, and she will shortly receive an answer. With best regards to you all,

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY

IN LONDON

[London,] 12 September 1870

My dear Sir,

Last Wednesday^b A. Serrailier, a member of the General Council of the International Workmen's Association, went to Paris as the plenipotentiary of the Council. He thought it his duty to remain there, not only for taking part in the defence, but to bring his influence to bear upon our Paris Federal Council, and he is, in point of fact, a man of superior intellectual quality. His wife was to-day informed of his resolution. Unfortunately, she is not only *sans sou*,^c she and her child, but the creditors of Serrailier having claims to the amount of about £12, threaten to sell her furniture and throw her on the street. Under these circumstances I and my friends have resolved to come to the rescue, and it is for this that I take the liberty to call, by this letter, also on you and your friends.

You will find that the Address^d I laid before the General Council, Friday last, and which is in course of printing, coincides on many points almost literally with your pamphlet.^e

My opinion is, that Paris will be forced to capitulate, and from the private letters I receive from Paris it appears that some

^a Lydia Burns - ^b 7 September - ^c penniless - ^d K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^e E. S. Beesly, *A Word for France: Addressed to the Workmen of London*.

influential members of the Provisional Government are prepared for such a turn of events.

Serraillier writes me to-day that the haste with which the Prussians march upon Paris, is the only thing in the world able to prevent a new *Insurrection of June*¹¹³! Paris fallen, France will be far from lost if the provinces do their duty.

The Federal Council of Paris bombards me with telegrams, all to this effect: *Recognition of the French Republic by England*. In point of fact, it is *most important* for France. It is the only thing you can at present do for her. The King of Prussia^a treats officially Bonaparte as the ruling Sovereign of France. He wants to restore him. The French Republic will not exist officially before its recognition by the British Government. But no time is to be lost. Will you allow your Queen^b and your oligarchs, under the dictation of Bismarck, to abuse the immense influence of England?

Yours faithfully,

Karl Marx

Apropos. There is just now much useless talk in the English Press about 'our defences'. In case of a war with Prussia or the other military powers of the Continent, you have one, but this one an infallible, means of attack—to destroy their maritime commerce. You can do so only by re-vindicating your 'maritime rights', which by a Ministerial intrigue, not by any sanction of Parliament, were in the Paris Treaty of 1856 surrendered to Russia. Russia considers this point of such decisive importance, that she caused Prussia, at the very commencement of this war, to exaggerate those clauses of the Paris 'understanding'.¹¹⁴ Prussia was, of course, but too willing. In the first instance she had *no* navy. In the second instance, it is, of course, the common interest of the continental military powers to make England, the only great maritime power of Europe, surrender the most telling means of maritime warfare on the plea of humanity! The privilege of inhumanity—and you can make no war in a 'humane' way—being reserved for the land forces! Besides, this diplomatic 'philanthropy' supposes that property—always on sea, not on land—is more sacred than human life. This is the reason why the stultified English manufacturers and merchants allowed themselves to be duped by the Paris clauses on maritime war—of no possible use to them, because not accepted by the United States. And only in a war with them such a proviso could be of any value to the

^a William I - ^b Queen Victoria

moneymongers of England. The contempt with which England is at present treated by Prussia and Russia (the latter marching quietly to India) is only due to their knowledge that in an offensive land war she can do nothing, and that for a maritime war, where she could be everything, she has disarmed herself, or has been rather disarmed by the arbitrary act of Clarendon, acting under the secret instructions of Palmerston. Declare to-morrow that these clauses of the Paris treaty—not even drawn up in the form of treaty clauses—are waste paper, and I warrant you the tone of the continental bullies will change at once.

First published in *The Social-Democrat*, Vol. VII, No. 4, London, 1903

Reproduced from the magazine

41

ENGELS TO MARX⁸¹

IN LONDON

[Manchester,] 13 September 1870

Dear Moor,

The Prussians really are incorrigible jackasses! On the orders of Vogel von Falckenstein, they have arrested the whole unfortunate Social-Democratic Committee in Brunswick, including the *printer*^a of the well-intentioned and undoubtedly tame proclamation, and have transported them *as a body* to Lötzen^b in East Prussia.¹¹⁵ You know that on the pretext of a French landing almost the whole of Northern Germany has been put under martial law, so that the military authorities can arrest people at will. Fortunately, the immediate deportation to East Prussia proves that they are just going to be held in custody until peace is concluded, and not brought before a court martial in which case the lieutenants who have received instructions to hand out punishments would have given them a good ten years hard labour or imprisonment in a fortress. It is clear, though, how panic-stricken the wretches are at the very mention of the word 'Republic', and how ill at ease the official world feels when it has no prisoners of state.

^a Sievers - ^b Polish name: Giżycko.

As time goes by, the war is altogether taking on an unpleasant face. The French have not yet been thrashed sufficiently and the German jackasses have already won far too many victories. Victor Hugo is writing absurdities in French,^a and the handsome William is putting the German language to shame.^b

'Now fare thee well with throbbing heart at the end of such a letter.'

What a king! And of the most educated^c nation in the world! And his wife^d has it printed! If this sort of thing goes on for another week, people will think that both sides can, etc., etc.

Now fare thee well with throbbing heart, or not, at the end of such a letter.

Your
F. E.

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

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first time

42

MARX TO ENGELS⁷⁶

IN MANCHESTER

[London,] 14 September 1870

DEAR FRED,

Am sending 12 COPIES of the ADDRESS^e at the same time as this letter. Various minor printing errors, small words omitted, etc., but nothing that distorts the meaning. This will be corrected in the second edition. You must bear in mind that the GENERAL COUNCIL HAS

^a V. Hugo, 'Aux allemands', *Le Rappel*, No. 455, 10 September 1870 and *Le Moniteur universel*, No. 253, 10 September 1870. - ^b Wilhelm [I], 'Der Königin Augusta in Berlin', *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 253, 7 September 1870. - ^c In the original the word 'educated' is written in Berlin dialect (*jebildetsten*). - ^d Augusta - ^e K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

TO DEAL WITH SUSCEPTIBILITIES in every direction, and so cannot write as we both could in our own names.

The news from Brunswick¹¹⁵ arrived yesterday evening from Liebknecht, but with Wilhelm's usual vagueness and hence unusable. I have sent notices about it today to the *Pall Mall*, *Echo*, etc.^a

The FACT itself is very good. This time the witch-hunt against the 'demagogues'¹¹⁶ is beginning *before the end of the war*, and is aimed at workers rather than the student windbags of yore. It is very good that the Prussians are showing themselves in their true colours, and are destroying any possible illusions in the working class even before peace is concluded. Moreover, the working class can only be stirred to action by direct persecution on the part of the state.

The 'Republic'—even the mere word—has given the matter quite a new turn. E.g. Mr *George Potter*—that hero of the workers from the *Bee-Hive*—has PUBLICLY declared himself A REPUBLICAN. This shows you the mood in London. I hope that the Prussian policies of the Court will produce a lot of ill-feeling here. It is a splendid LEVER, the UNCONSTITUTIONAL INTERFERENCE OF THE GRANDDAUGHTER OF George III AND THE MOTHER-IN-LAW OF Fritz^b!

For all that Bismarck is a jackass. Just because everything went right for him as long as he was the instrument of the aspirations to German unity, he has now lost his head to such an extent that he imagines himself able to throw all scruples to the winds and pursue specific Prussian policies, not merely externally, but internally too.

Yesterday there was a workers' meeting in a pub in Lincoln Inn Fields. We were sitting in our own meeting as usual on Tuesdays. A telegram arrived TO COME TO THE RESCUE. The PEACE SOCIETY⁵⁶ fellows, who have been actively 'buying up' workers (e.g. Cremer), had as good as managed to assure themselves of a majority, albeit a slight one. Our sudden appearance TURNED THE SCALE. At issue was a number of resolutions on behalf of the FRENCH REPUBLIC, which the PEACE SOCIETY claims could lead to war with Prussia. I have today sent detailed instructions to Belgium and Switzerland, ditto to the UNITED STATES.¹¹⁷

The enclosed letter from Serrailier^c will interest Dupont and yourself. Only a part of it is enclosed, since the other part contains

^a K. Marx, 'Concerning the Arrest of the Members of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party'. - ^b Queen Victoria, whose daughter, Victoria Adelaïde Marie Louise, was married to Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia. - ^c See this volume, p. 80.

FAMILY AFFAIRS and so has remained in the possession of Mme Serraillier.

Salut.

Your
K. M.
SECRETARY FOR RUSSIA!

Schäffle's book is called *Kapitalismus und Socialismus etc.*

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43

MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER¹¹⁸

IN GENEVA

[London,] 14 September 1870

Dear Becker,

Enclosed the Address of the GENERAL COUNCIL^a for the *Égalité*. Tomorrow you will receive the *German translation* I have made (for I wrote it originally in English). The German translation contains a few sentences intended for Germany, notably the workers, but it was too late to insert them in the English version.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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^a K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

44

MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE

IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 14 September 1870

Dear Citizen,

Herewith two copies of our Address,^a one for *L'Internationale*, one for *La Liberté*. I have no time to translate it, Dupont is in Manchester, and Serrailhier in Paris as delegate of the General Council. My time is fully occupied with correspondence with Germany and with the agitation amongst the English working men.

On 5 September our Central Committee at Brunswick published an appeal 'To the German Workers' to oppose the ANNEXATION of French territory and to support peace with the Republic.¹⁰⁷ On the orders of General Vogel von Falckenstein, the infamous Prussian who (in 1866) distinguished himself by his vandalism in Frankfurt,¹¹⁹ not only were the copies of the manifesto seized, but all the members of the Committee—as well as the unfortunate printer^b of the manifesto—were arrested, clapped in irons like criminals and transported to Lötzen,^c a town in East Prussia.¹¹⁵ As you know, on the pretext of a French landing, the entire coast of Northern Germany has been placed under martial law, thus enabling those gentlemen, the military, to arrest, pass sentence and shoot whenever they think fit. But even in those parts of Germany where martial law has not been proclaimed, the Prussians, aided and abetted by the middle classes, have introduced a reign of terror directed against all independent opinion. Despite this terror and despite the hubbub raised by the bourgeois patriots, the German working man is conducting himself admirably.

Unfortunately I cannot say the same of our French comrades. Their manifesto was absurd.¹⁰¹ 'Recross the Rhine!' They forget that, in order to return home, the Germans have no need to *recross* the Rhine: rather they can simply withdraw to the Palatinate and the Rhine (Prussian) Province. You can imagine

^a K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^b Sievers - ^c Polish name: Giżycko.

how this chauvinist catchphrase has been exploited by Bismarck's official journals! The whole tone of the manifesto is absurd and contrary to the spirit of the *International*.

I have not had the time to copy out for you the whole of the letter I received from Serrailier, but the following passage should suffice to enlighten you on the state of affairs in Paris. It is our duty not to deceive ourselves with illusions.

'It is unbelievable that for six years people can be Internationalists, abolish frontiers, no longer recognise anyone as a foreigner, and arrive at the stage they have now reached, simply in order to preserve a factitious popularity to which they will sooner or later fall victim. When I express indignation at their conduct, they tell me that, were they to speak otherwise, they would be *sent packing*! Accordingly it seems to them more appropriate to deceive these unfortunate fellows over the true situation in France than to seek, at the risk of losing their popularity, to bring them back to their senses, a course that would, I believe, be of much greater use to our France. Moreover, what a situation they are creating for the *International* by their ultra-chauvinist discourses! How many generations may it not take to erase the profound antagonism of nationality which they are seeking to revive by whatever means their feeble imagination can suggest! Not that they are stupid, far from it. But like me they know that when you flatter the people, you deceive them; they feel they are cutting the ground from under their own feet and, I might even say, they are afraid of openly saying they are Internationalists, a foolishness from which it follows that they can think of nothing better than to parody the revolution of '93.'

This state of affairs will, I trust, all be over come the early and *inevitable* capitulation of Paris. The misfortune of the French and even of the working men, is to *hark back to great things*! It is essential that events should once and for all destroy this reactionary worship of the past!

The manifesto printed in the supplement to *La Solidarité* did not surprise me.¹²⁰ I well knew that those who preach total abstention from politics—as though working men were monks who established a world of their own away from the world at large—would always revert to bourgeois politics at the first summons of the historic tocsin.

With the exception of a very few papers the English press has been bought, the majority by Bismarck, the minority by Louis Bonaparte, the latter having saved enough money to buy an entire army. Nevertheless I have found the means to wage a war to the death against those gentry, the Prussians.

Our friends in Paris have been bombarding me with telegrams telling me what I ought to do in Germany. I believe I am a little more familiar than the Parisians with the way in which one must deal with my compatriots.

You would oblige me by dropping me a few lines on the state of affairs in Belgium.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

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time

45

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN ¹²¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 14 September 1870

Dear Wenzel,

The Address^a enclosed.

My time is so completely taken up with 'INTERNATIONAL WORKS' that I never get to bed before three in the morning. This is to excuse my obstinate silence.

Best greetings to *Madame la Comtesse* and Fränzchen.^b

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*,
Bd. 2, Nr. 17, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in
full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugel-*
manu (Letters from Marx to Kugel-
mann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

^a K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^b Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

46

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 September 1870

Dear Oswald,

Enclosed are 50 COPIES of our new Address.^a There are a few printing errors in it, but they do not distort the meaning. We shall correct them in the SECOND EDITION.

Our Central Committee for Germany (residing in Brunswick) issued a manifesto to the German workers on 5 September, opposing the ANNEXATION of Alsace and Lorraine and advocating the recognition of the French Republic, etc.¹⁰⁷ On the orders of Vogel von Falckenstein not only were the copies of the manifesto confiscated, but also *all the members of the Committee*—and the unfortunate printer,^b were arrested INTO THE BARGAIN and transported *as a body* to Lötzen^c in East Prussia.¹¹⁵ I have immediately sent reports of the affair^d to various London papers and shall see if they print them.

The victory in yesterday's meeting over the people who were partly *in the pay* of the PEACE SOCIETY,⁵⁶ and partly unindoctrinated, was QUITE ACCIDENTAL. We were just holding the usual Tuesday meeting of the General Council of the International when our friends telegraphed from the Strand TO COME TO THE RESCUE since they would otherwise have been out-voted. And this is just what we did.¹¹⁷

You must forgive me for not answering sooner. I am so [overwhelmed] with INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS that, since my return,⁵³ I have been unable to get to bed before three in the morning.

Liebknecht has foolishly forgotten to give me a secret address. All letters sent direct to him are INTERCEPTED by the police.

I shall look out some copies of the *Volksstaat* for you, but I must

^a K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^b Sievers - ^c Polish name: Giżycko. - ^d K. Marx, 'Concerning the Arrest of the Members of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party'.

have them back, together with those I have already given you, since I am collecting them.

Yours,
K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33,
Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the typewritten copy

Published in English for the first time

47

MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

[London, 15 September 1870]

Dear Becker,

I sent a translation^a to the *Volksstaat* a few days ago, because more urgent. However, *this version* is improved in a number of places.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the original

Published in English for the first time

^a A German translation of the second Address of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War.

48

MARX TO ENGELS¹²²

IN MANCHESTER

London, 16 September 1870

In great haste

DEAR FRED,

Let Dupont reply to the Marseilles people (incl. their manifesto¹²³ and letter) and put them in their place—in the name of the GENERAL COUNCIL. At the same time he can send them our manifesto.^a If he needs them I can send him new copies from here.

As to the manifesto itself, apart from *The Spectator* which has written it up in an article too clever by half, and the brief extract in the *Pall Mall*,^b all the LONDON PAPERS have tried to BURKE US.

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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

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time

49

MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY

IN LONDON

London, 16 September 1870

My dear Sir,

You must excuse my bothering you again with a letter, but *à la guerre comme à la guerre*.^c

^a K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^b *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1745, 16 September 1870. - ^c One must take the rough with the smooth (literally: that's how it is in wartime).

The worst anticipations of the two Addresses of the General Council of the International^a have already been realised.

Having declared to make war against Louis Bonaparte and not against the French people, Prussia makes now war upon the French people and peace with Bonaparte. It has let out the murder. It has declared its intention of restoring him or his family to the Tuileries. The infamous *Times* affects to-day to treat this as mere gossip.^b It knows, or ought to know that the thing has been printed in the Berlin *Staats-Anzeiger* (the Prussian *Moniteur*). From semi-official Prussian papers, such as the *Cologne Gazette*,^c I see that that old ass, King William, true to his Hohenzollern family traditions, already prostrates himself at the feet of the Czar^d and implores him to be so magnanimous as to employ him as his man-servant against the Turks! Lastly, the reaction has already set in in Germany. Our people at Brunswick, to begin with, have, as I wrote you, been marched off in chains like common felons to the Eastern frontier.¹¹⁵ But this is only one fact amongst hundreds.

After the first war of German Independence against Napoleon I,^e the wild and ferocious Government's chase upon the so-called demagogues (*die demagogischen Untersuchungen*^f) lasted fully for 20 years!¹¹⁶ but they set in only after the end of the war. They now begin before the conclusion of peace.

Then their persecutions were directed against the windy idealists and frothy youths (the students at the Universities) of the middle class, bureaucracy and aristocracy. They are now directed against the working class.

For my part, *I am delighted* at all those misdeeds of the Prussian Government. They will stir Germany. Now what I think you ought to do is this: The first Address of the General Council on the war was only published in full by the *Pall Mall*,^g but extracts and even leading articles on it appeared in many other papers. This time, although the Address has been forwarded to all London papers, not one has taken the least notice of it, except the *Pall Mall*, which gives a very short extract.^h

(By-the-by, this paper, which handles you so nicely in its yesterday's number,¹²⁴ has certain private obligations towards me, I

^a The first and second Addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War. - ^b 'The Emperor Napoleon', *The Times*, No. 26857, 16 September 1870 (leader). - ^c *Kölnische Zeitung* - ^d Alexander II - ^e the war of 1813-14 - ^f investigation of the demagogues - ^g *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 1702, 28 July 1870. - ^h See this volume, p. 84.

having proposed there my friend Engels' *Notes on the War*. I did so at the request of A—B—^a who, from time to time, had smuggled some paragraphs on the 'International' into the *Pall Mall*. Hence our second address is not altogether burked in that paper.)

From the Continent, where people were and are used, even at Moscow and St Petersburg, even in the French papers under the Bonapartist rule, even now at Berlin, to see the manifestoes of the International treated seriously and reproduced in full by some journal or other, we have been once and again taunted for our negligence in not using the 'free' London press. They have, of course, no idea whatsoever, and will not believe in the utter corruption, of that vile concern, long since branded by William Cobbett as 'mercenary, infamous, and illiterate'.

Now I believe you would do the greatest possible service to the *International*, and I should take good care to have your article reproduced in *our* journals in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Hungary, Germany, France, and the United States—if you in the *Fortnightly Review* would publish something on the International,^b the manifestoes of the General Council on the war and the treatment we have to undergo at the hands of that paragon press, that 'free' English press! Those fellows are in fact more enslaved to the Prussian police than the Berlin papers.

Lafargue, now editor of a paper at Bordeaux,^c sends you and Mrs Beesly his best compliments.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published in *The Social-Democrat*,
Vol. VII, No. 4, London, 1903

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^a Thieblin - ^b E. S. Beesly, 'The International Working Men's Association', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLVII, 1 November 1870. - ^c *La Défense nationale. Journal quotidien*

50

MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

[London,] 23 September 1870

Dear Oswald,

Herewith the *Volksstaat* (Nos. 72-76) and the *Volkswille* (No. 34), both of which I must have back by *Monday NEXT*.^a

I only receive occasional copies of the *Zukunft*. The copies that Engels has have not yet been unpacked, any more than the rest of the furniture he has JUST brought down from Manchester.¹²⁵ This is also the reason why I *cannot yet* accept your kind invitation. I must first get Engels AND HIS FAMILY settled in.

I am *toto ovelo*^b *opposed* to your neutralisation plan¹²⁶ and have already expressed my views to this effect in detail after hearing about the plan from another direction.

If people were SERIOUSLY concerned about the military security of Germany, it would meet the case exactly if the fortresses of Metz and Strasbourg were to be razed to the ground.

Bismarck *knows* this. He also knows that on this side neutralisation can achieve no more and that it would contribute *much less*, in fact *nothing*, towards the reconciliation with France that will again become necessary in the future. It is one of those measures that ruin everything and settle nothing.

Consider further that the entire opposition in Germany is only a real power, a power that grows as a result of persecution by the government, *because* and *insofar as* it makes a *strong stand on principle*.

This is appreciated not only by the workers but even by people like Jacoby, people like Ludwig Simon of Trier and even Jakob Venedey! Once such a motley opposition starts playing around with diplomacy, all is lost. It would gain nothing at all through such diplomacy but on the contrary, by involving itself with C....,^c it would lose the right to declare: Annex, IF YOU PLEASE. We declare these annexations *non avenues*^d!

Du reste,^e Jules Favre, and not Thiers, is the man of the moment. Razing the fortresses was *first* proposed in the official *Journal de*

^a 26 September - ^b quite definitely - ^c Text illegible in source. - ^d invalid - ^e Moreover

*Pétersbourg*¹²⁷ and was taken up at once by the French Provisional Government. If anything is powerful enough to break the hold of the military canaille on the handsome William^a it is such hints from Petersburg.

Yours,
K. M.

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time

51

MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY

IN LONDON

[London,] 19 October 1870

My dear Sir,

Deak is against the workmen. He is, in fact, a Hungarian edition of an English Whig.

As to Lyons,¹²⁸ I have received letters not fit for publication. At first everything went well. Under the pressure of the 'International' section, the Republic was proclaimed before Paris had taken that step. A revolutionary Government was at once established—*La Commune*—composed partly of workmen belonging to the 'International', partly of Radical middle-class Republicans. The octrois were at once abolished, and rightly so. The Bonapartist and Clerical intriguers were intimidated. Energetic measures were taken to arm the whole people. The middle class began if not really to sympathise with, at least to quietly undergo, the new order of things. The action of Lyons was at once felt at Marseilles and Toulouse, where the 'International' sections are strong.

But the asses, Bakunine and Cluseret, arrived at Lyons and spoiled everything. Belonging both to the 'International', they had, unfortunately, influence enough to mislead our friends. The Hotel de Ville was seized—for a short time—and most foolish decrees

^a William I

on the *abolition de l'état*^a and similar nonsense were issued. You understand that the very fact of a Russian—represented by the middle class papers as an agent of Bismarck—pretending to impose himself as the leader of a *Comité du Salut de la France*^b was quite sufficient to turn the balance of public opinion. As to *Cluseret*, he behaved both as a fool and a coward. These two men have left Lyons after their failure.

At Rouen, as in most other industrial towns of France, the sections of the International, following the example of Lyons, have enforced the official admission into the 'committees of defence'¹⁰³ of the working-class element.

Still, I must tell you that according to all information I receive from France, the middle class on the whole prefers Prussian conquest to the victory of a Republic with Socialist tendencies.

Yours truly,

Karl Marx

I send you a copy of the *New-York Tribune* which I received yesterday. You will oblige me by returning it after perusal. It contains an article on the International, penned I do not know by whom, but to guess from style and manner, Mr Dana might be the writer.

I forward also three copies of the *Défense nationale*, which Lafargue sends you with his compliments.

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Reproduced from the magazine

52

MARX TO PETER IMANDT

IN DUNDEE

[London,] 11 November 1870

Dear Imandt,

Your nephew^c arrived yesterday morning. Your letter came today. However, we have resolved in a full family council that

^a abolition of the state - ^b Committee of Salvation of France - ^c Robert Imandt

Imandt junior should stay here until Wednesday^a and then leave on the steamer.

Firstly, as far as his departure itself is concerned, we do not wish to lose the pleasure of his company so soon, and it will do him good to take a breather.

Secondly, *quoad*^b the method of travel, he arrived here from Southampton quite frozen, and the train journey to Dundee would be far too exhausting for him (and it would be even worse in the 3rd class), whereas travelling FIRST CLASS by boat for 20sh., he would receive his due measure of warmth.

He is a very sound and well-educated young man who has given us all immense pleasure.

I hope that you are satisfied with this arrangement.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Apropos, our Wilhelm, not *rex*, but Wilhelm Liebknecht is a real thorn in the side of the Prussians with his *Volksstaat* even though he imagines, in his narrow-minded way, that he always has to say black when the enemy says white and vice versa. In consequence he takes all the phrases of someone like Gambetta and his consorts at their face value and so constantly deceives his readers on matters of fact in just the same way as the French are entertained with FALSE NEWS by their GOVERNORS.

Mr Freiligrath, meanwhile, has become the producer of feelings for the NATIONAL LIBERAL PHILISTINE. And rightly so. He has to give something in return for the proceeds of the collections WHICH HE HAS POCKETED.¹²⁹

First published in: Marx and Engels,
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Moscow, 1964

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

^a 16 November - ^b as to

53

MARX TO THE DUTCH AND FLEMISH INTERNATIONALS
IN BRUSSELS

[London, between 3 and 9 December 1870]

We request our friends in the Netherlands to send their organs *De Werkman*, *Asmodée*, *De Toekomst*, *De Werker* of Antwerp, etc., regularly to the General Council of the International Association in London at the following address:

Karl Marx, Modena Villa, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London, England.

First published in *L'Internationale*,
No. 100, 11 December 1870

Printed according to the news-
paper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first
time

54

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹²¹

IN HANOVER

London, 13 December [1870]

Dear Kugelmann,

You must explain my long silence by the fact that during the war, which has taken most of the FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS of the GENERAL COUNCIL to France, I have had to conduct *practically the entire international correspondence*, which is no trifle. Apart from that, with the 'postal freedom' prevailing now in Germany and particularly in the North German Confederation,⁵⁵ and quite 'particularly' in Hanover, it is dangerous—not for me, it is true, but for my German correspondents—if I write them my opinion of the war, and what else can one write about at the present moment?

For example, you ask me for our first Address on the war. I

had sent it to you. It has obviously been intercepted. Today I am enclosing the two Addresses issued as a pamphlet,^a as well as Professor Beesly's article in *The Fortnightly Review*^b and today's *Daily News*. Since this paper has a Prussian tinge, the things will probably get through. Professor Beesly is a Comtist and is as such obliged to support all sorts of CROTCHETS, but for the rest a very capable and brave man. He is professor of history at London University.

It seems that Germany was not satisfied with capturing Bonaparte, his generals and his army; with him, imperialism too, with all its infirmities, has acclimatised itself in the land of the oak and the linden.

As to the German bourgeois, I am not at all surprised by his obsession with conquest. First of all, to seize things is the vital principle of every bourgeoisie and to take foreign provinces is after all 'taking'. And then the German citizen has dutifully accepted so many kicks from his sovereigns, and particularly from the Hohenzollerns, that it must be a real pleasure to him when, for a change, those kicks are administered to the foreigner.

In any case this war has freed us from the 'bourgeois republicans'. It has put a horrible end to that crew. And that is an important result. It has given our professors the best opportunity of damning themselves in the eyes of the whole world as servile pedants. The relations which will come in its wake are the best propaganda for our principles.

Here in England public opinion on the outbreak of war was ultra-Prussian; it has now turned into the opposite. In the *cafés chantants*, for example, the German singers with their *Watch on the Rhine*^c are hissed off while French singers with the *Marseillaise* are accompanied *in choro*. Apart from the decided sympathies of the mass of the people with the Republic and the irritation of the RESPECTABILITY about the alliance between Prussia and Russia—now as clear as daylight—and the shameless tone of Prussian diplomacy since the military successes, the way in which the war has been conducted—the requisitioning system, the burning down of

^a A reference to the pamphlet *The General Council of the International Working-Men's Association on the War*, which contained the first and second Addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War, written by Marx. - ^b E. S. Beesly, 'The International Working Men's Association', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLVII, 1 November 1870. - ^c In the original: 'Wi-Wa-Wacht am Rhein.'

villages, the shooting of *francs-tireurs*,¹³⁰ the taking of hostages and similar recapitulations of the Thirty Years' War¹³¹—all this has aroused universal indignation here. OF COURSE, the English have done the same in India, Jamaica, etc., but the French are neither Hindus, nor Chinese, nor Negroes, and the Prussians are no HEAVEN-BORN ENGLISHMEN. It is a truly Hohenzollern idea that a people commits a crime in continuing to defend itself once its regular army has disappeared. In fact, the war of the Prussian people against Napoleon I was a real thorn in the side of the gallant Frederick William III, as you can see from Professor Pertz's life of Gneisenau,^a who made the war of *francs-tireurs* into a system through his Landsturm regulations.¹³² The fact that the people fought on their own initiative and independent of the all-highest's order gave Frederick William III no peace.

However, the last word has not yet been spoken. The war in France can still take a very 'unpleasant' turn. The resistance put up by the Loire Army¹³³ was 'beyond' calculation, and the present scattering of the German forces right and left is merely to instil fear, but in fact only results in awakening the power of defence at every point and weakening the offensive force. The threatened bombardment of Paris is also a mere trick. On the town of Paris itself it can, by all the rules of probability, have no serious effect. If a few outworks are destroyed, a few breaches made, what help is that when the besieged outnumber the besiegers? And if the besieged made exceptionally good SORTIES, when the enemy defended himself behind ENTRENCHMENTS, how much better would they not fare when the roles are reversed?

To starve Paris out is the only real way. But if it is delayed long enough to allow armies to be formed and the people's war to develop in the provinces, even that will do nothing except transfer the centre of gravity. Moreover, even after the surrender of Paris, which cannot be held and kept quiet by a mere handful, a large part of the INVADERS would be maintained in idleness.

But however the war may end, it has given the French proletariat practice in arms, and that is the best guarantee of the future.

The shameless tone which Russia and Prussia adopt towards England may have wholly unexpected and unpleasant results for them. The matter simply stands like this: By the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 England *disarmed herself*.¹¹⁴ England is a sea power and can counterpose to the great continental military powers only

^a G. H. Pertz, *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau*.

the weapon of naval warfare. The certain method here is temporarily to destroy, or bring to a standstill, the overseas trade of the continental powers. This mainly depends on operating the principle of seizing enemy goods in neutral vessels. This MARITIME RIGHT (as well as other similar RIGHTS) was surrendered by the English in the so-called Declaration attached to the Paris Treaty. Clarendon did this on the secret order of the Russian Palmerston. The Declaration, however, is not an integral part of the treaty itself and has *never* been legally ratified in England. The Russian and Prussian gentlemen are reckoning without their host if they imagine that the influence of the Queen,^a who is Prussianised from FAMILY INTEREST, and the bourgeois feeble-mindedness of a Gladstone, would at a decisive moment keep John Bull from throwing this self-created 'charming obstacle'^b overboard. And he can then strangle Russian-German overseas trade in a few weeks. We shall then have an opportunity of studying the long faces of the Petersburg and Berlin diplomats, and the still longer faces of the 'power patriots'.—*Qui vivra, verra*^c

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO *Madame la Comtesse* AND Fränzchen.^d

Your
K. M.

Apropos. Can you let me have Windthorst's various Reichstag speeches?

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 17, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

^a Queen Victoria - ^b from Heine's *Neuer Frühling* - ^c Time will tell. - ^d Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

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ENGELS TO FREDERICK GREENWOOD

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 17 December [1870]
1 p.m.

A friend of mine Mr Oswald sends me the enclosed. He says that the usual tickets have been sent to *The Pall Mall Gazette* and wishes me to say a word in favour of Mrs Oswald's tonight's concert being noticed in that paper, or at least to induce your musical critic to go and hear her. I have told him that this is entirely out of my line and that I even do not know how to go about such a thing. However he insists, and as he is a very worthy fellow I can only say, that if you can consistently do something in that direction you will confer a personal favour upon me. I am too bad a musician to permit myself an opinion but I have heard people who ought to know, speak very highly of Mrs Oswald's play..

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ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 19 December 1870
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

We have just received the news that Liebknecht, Bebel and Hepner were arrested yesterday. It is the revenge of the Prussians for the moral defeats suffered by the Prussian Empire at the hands of Liebknecht and Bebel even before it was born.¹³⁴ We all rejoiced here at the courageous behaviour of both of them in the Reichstag under circumstances where it was really no small achievement to put forward our views freely and defiantly. We

suppose that their arrest was motivated above all by petty revenge and the wish to destroy the paper^a as well as to make their re-election impossible. The indictment for high treason will turn out to be pure moonshine. But the Prussian gentlemen may well be greatly mistaken, for in view of the really admirable reaction of the German workers which has even compelled that swine Schweitzer to acknowledge the leadership of Liebknecht and Bebel, this *coup de force* may well completely miss the target, and rather provoke the opposite to what was intended. The German workers have displayed an understanding and energy during the war which puts them at the head of the European workers' movement at a stroke, and you will appreciate the sense of pride with which we witness it.

However, we also have the duty to make sure, as best we can, that our arrested friends and their families in Germany do not suffer need, especially at this time when the approaching Christmas season is in any case being so bitterly spoilt for them. We have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing a £5 note of the Bank of England 'B/10, 04841, London, 12 October 1870' and would ask you to share it with Mrs Bebel.

We also enclose 7 thalers collected by the local German Workers' Educational Society¹³⁵ and intended for the families of the Brunswickers who have been arrested.¹¹⁵ Might I ask you to sign and return the enclosed receipt for the latter, so that it may be returned to the Society as proof that Marx has duly forwarded it.

My wife^b is a revolutionary Irishwoman and so you can imagine the rejoicings at home here yesterday on hearing the news that the condemned Fenians had been amnestied—albeit in the shabbiest, most Prussian of ways.¹³⁶ And then to have to hear of the arrest of our friends in Germany immediately afterwards!

Farewell, dear Mrs Liebknecht, and do not lose heart. The Prussians, and the Russians, their masters, have started something that they will be unable to finish.

With my warmest sympathy,

Yours,

Frederick Engels

The Marx family sends its best regards to you and fond greetings to the children.

First published in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2,
Nr. 6, Stuttgart, 1915

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time

^a *Der Volksstaat* - ^b Lydia Burns

1871

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MARX TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT¹³⁷

IN LEIPZIG

London, 13 January 1871
 1 Maitland Park Road,
 Haverstock Hill, N.W.

My dear Mrs Liebknecht,

The General Council of the 'International' has started a collection for the families of the German 'patriots' persecuted by the Prussian government—patriots in the true sense of the word. The first £5 I am sending you now are intended for Mrs Bebel and yourself.

The libellous London correspondent of that pedant Biedermann^a undeniably belongs to the police personnel of the local Prussian Embassy, which was active in like fashion at the time of the Communist trial in Cologne in 1852.¹³⁸ We shall track the man down and publicise the activities of this clique in the local press and so shed light on the latest phase of Christian-Prussian-Germanic ethics.

In the issue of the *Volksstaat* that arrived today I see that there is a notice in which Mr Nechayev is yet again being treated with undue seriousness.^b All the things that this Nechayev has had printed in the European press about his deeds and sufferings in Russia are *bare-faced fabrications*. I have the proofs of this to hand. His name, therefore, is one which should never be mentioned.

My wife and daughters^c send their warmest regards to you, your children and to Liebknecht.

^a A pun: 'Biedermann' means an honest man, and Biedermann is the surname of the editor of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. - ^b See 'Politische Uebersicht', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 4, 11 January 1871. - ^c Jenny and Eleanor Marx

With best wishes for the New Year.

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

58

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 January^a 1871

Dear Jung,

I have in yesterday's sitting of the General Council fully exposed the past history of Jules Favre. I send you a few main points relating to his counterrevolutionary deeds.¹³⁹

The Council has also yesterday passed a Resolution instructing you to write to the Editors of the *Felleisen*—as the Organ of the German *Arbeiterbildungsvereine*^b in Switzerland—in the following sense:

1) What is the position of those 'Vereine' and their organ, the *Felleisen*, to the *International Workingmen's Association*?

2) Till now they have never paid any contribution to the General Council.

3) In their organ—the *Felleisen*—the annexation to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine is defended in flagrant contradiction to the circulars of the General Council^c of which not even an extract has ever been published by them.

4) If they persist in the non-fulfilment of their duties (point 2) and in their opposition to the policy of the General Council (point 3^d), which is in consonance with the Statutes of the *International*, the General Council, using the right deferred to him by the Basel

^a In the original: '17 January'. - ^b workers' educational societies - ^c the first and second Addresses of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War - ^d In the original: point 1.

Congress, will provisionally—that is to say until the meeting of next General Congress—exclude them from the *International*.¹⁴⁰

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

Ladendorf is no longer the Editor of the *Felleisen*. You must address your letter: 'Redaktion des *Felleisen*. Deutscher Arbeiterbildungsverein, in Gassen, Zürich'.

Jules Favre

The infamous decree of 27th June 1848, by which many thousand Parisian workmen made prisoners during the June Insurrection,¹¹³ were, without even the formality of any judicial inquiry, to be *transported* to Algeria, etc., was drawn up by Jules Favre. Afterwards, he constantly refused to join the motions of amnesty, brought forward from time to time by the Republican party of the Constituent Assembly.

Jules Favre was one of the most notorious tools of the *reign of terror* inflicted on the French working class by General Cavaignac after the Insurrection of June. He supported all the shameless laws then passed with a view to suppress the right of reunion, coalition, and the freedom of the press.¹⁴¹

On the 16th April 1849, Jules Favre, as the spokesman of the counterrevolutionary majority of a parliamentary committee, proposed to grant Louis Bonaparte the 1,200,000 francs he demanded for the *expedition against the Roman Republic*.¹⁴²

First published abridged, in the language of the original (English), in: G. Jaechh, *Die Internationale*, Leipzig, 1904 and in full in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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59

MARX TO G. JULIAN HARNEY¹¹⁸

IN BOSTON

London, 21 January 1871
 1^a Maitland Park Road,
 Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Harney,

I want for the second volume of my *Criticism of Political Economy* documents on the disposal of public lands in the United States since the beginning of the Civil War.¹⁴³ Mr S. Meyer, a friend of mine at New York, has advised me to address myself to Mr Wilson, Commissioner of the General Land Office, Washington. As I am not at all acquainted with the form in which this ought to be done, I address myself to you. Perhaps, you will act as my negotiator.¹⁴⁴

In spring, there will be offered a second edition in Germany of the first volume of my work.¹⁴⁵ A Russian translation at St Petersburg has been stopped by the Moscovite police,¹⁴⁶ a French edition at Paris by the war.¹⁴⁷ An '*homme de lettres*'^b at New York proposed me preparing an English translation for the United States¹⁴⁸ but I declined the offer since he seemed to me not a competent man for the task.

By our International Council^c we have stirred the English working class and provoked numerous demonstrations in favour of the French Republic¹⁴⁹ and against the policy of unctuous Gladstone, who has become a servile tool in the hands of the granddaughter of George III and the mother-in-law of 'Fritz'.^d Unfortunately, some of the leading workmen—like Mr Mottershead, an old Chartist and a member of our Council—have been bought up by the Peace Society.⁵⁶ They can do no harm at London but they *do* in the provinces.

The Trades' Councils at Manchester and Birmingham have lately become active agents of the General Council of the 'International'. At London I regret saying, most of the workmen's

^a In the source used, the number is given as '7', presumably a printing error. - ^b man of letters - ^c General Council of the International Working Men's Association - ^d Marx refers to Queen Victoria, whose daughter, Victoria Adelaïde Marie Louise, married Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia.

representatives use their position in our council only as a means of furthering their own petty personal aims. To get into the House of Commons by hook or by crook, is their *ultima Thule*,^a and they like nothing better than rubbing elbows with the lords and M.P.'s by whom they are petted and demoralised.

The state of things in Germany you may judge from my letter to *The Daily News*^b which I enclose.

Mrs Marx and F. Engels send you their best compliments.

Salut et fraternité.

Yours,

Karl Marx

First published in *The Harney Papers*, ed. by F. G. Black and R. M. Black, Assen, 1969

Reproduced from the book

60

MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER¹⁵⁰

IN NEW YORK

[London,] 21 January 1871

Dear Meyer,

The formation of the so-called Central Committee in New York was absolutely not to my taste.¹⁵¹ I deferred the approval of the General Council as long as possible but found the ground taken from under my feet as soon as it emerged from a letter from Mr Charnier that Dupont, our French secretary^c—a thoroughly good man, but too forceful and so often led astray by his thirst for action—had been responsible for starting the whole thing. *Alors, il n'y avait plus rien à faire.*^d He was officially rebuked by the General Council, *mais le jeu était fait*!^e Engels (who now lives here) and I would just like to remind Vogt and yourself that according to our Rules the General Council can only intervene with a veto in the

^a Here: most cherished goal. - ^b K. Marx, 'On the Freedom of the Press and Meetings in Germany'. - ^c Corresponding Secretary of the General Council for the French sections of the International in the United States - ^d So nothing further could be done. - ^e Here: but the damage was done!

event of open VIOLATIONS of the Rules and principles of the International. Apart from that, however, it is our invariable policy to let the sections have their head and conduct their own affairs. The only exception to this was France, because of her special situation under the Empire. It follows, therefore, that our friends will just have to cut their coat according to their cloth. Here in London, we work together with Englishmen, some of whom are not at all to our liking and who, as we know perfectly well, only want to exploit the International as a milch-cow for their own petty personal ambitions. Nevertheless, we have to put *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*.^a If we were to withdraw in indignation on their account, we would only give them a power which is at present paralysed by our presence. And you must act in the same way.

Quant à^b Vogt I was convinced from the outset that pompous Sorge was just blustering. However, I had to make a reply when he questioned me directly.^c Otherwise he would have taken his gossip to my friend Schily in person, a piece of unpleasantness I wished the latter to be spared.⁸⁸

We have given rise to a powerful movement among the working class over here against Gladstone (in support of the FRENCH REPUBLIC¹⁴⁹), which will probably bring about his downfall. Prussia is wholly under the sway of the Russian Cabinet. If it gains a conclusive victory, the HEROIC GERMAN PHILISTINE will get what he deserves. Unfortunately, the present French government thinks it can wage a revolutionary war without a revolution.

Freiligrath, the noble poet, is on a visit to his daughters^d here at the moment. He does not dare to show his face to me. The 60,000 thalers presented to him by the German philistines¹²⁹ have to be paid off in Tyrtaean hymns like 'Germania, thou woman proud',^e etc.

My health has again been abominable for months on end, but who can give thought to such trivia at a time of such momentous historical events!

The semi-official *Archives of Forensic Medicine*^f are published in St Petersburg (in Russian). One of the physicians writing for this journal published an article, 'On the Hygienic Conditions of the West European Proletariat', in the last quarto issue, chiefly quoting my book^g and mentioning the source. This resulted in the

^a a good face on it - ^b As for - ^c See this volume, p. 57. - ^d Käthe and Luise Freiligrath - ^e from Freiligrath's poem *Hurra, Germania!* - ^f *Архивъ Судебной Медицины и Общественой Гигиены* - ^g Volume I of *Capital*

Handwritten text in German, likely a letter from Karl Marx to Sigfried Meyer. The text is dense and somewhat obscured by shadows and ink bleed-through. It appears to be a letter dated 21 January 1871, as indicated by the caption below. The handwriting is in cursive and includes several lines of text, some of which are underlined or crossed out. The text is written on a piece of paper that is slightly aged and has some dark spots.

A page from Marx's letter to Sigfried Meyer of 21 January 1871

following calamity: the censor was severely rebuked by the MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR,^a the EDITOR-IN-CHIEF was fired, and that issue of the journal—all the COPIES they could still get hold of—was consigned to the flames!¹⁵²

I don't know whether I told you that since the beginning of 1870 I have been having to teach myself Russian, which I now read fairly fluently. This came about after I had been sent Flerovsky's very important work on *The Condition of the Working Class (Especially the Peasants) in Russia* from St Petersburg; I also wanted to familiarise myself with the (excellent) economic works of Chernyshevsky (who was rewarded by being sentenced to the Siberian mines for the past seven years¹⁵³). The result was worth the effort that a man of my age must make to master a language differing so greatly from the classical, Germanic, and Romance languages. The intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that things are seething deep below the surface. Minds are always connected by invisible threads with the BODY of the people.

You and Vogt still owe me your photograms. At least I think they were promised to me.

Regards to you and Vogt,

Yours,
Karl Marx

I wrote to my old friend G. J. Harney,^b who is now Assistant Secretary of State of Massachusetts, concerning the PUBLIC LANDS.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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

^a A. Ye. Timashev - ^b See this volume, p. 100.

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹³⁷

IN HOBOKEN

London, 21 January 1871
 1 Maitland Park Road,
 Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Mr Sorge,

All reports from the German sections in America are to be sent to me. Eccarius is only the correspondent for the Yankees. As Secretary TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL he has nothing to do with FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

I had completely forgotten the business about the 'contribution' of the German section.¹⁵⁴ On receiving your letter, therefore, I wrote to Eccarius¹⁷ whose reply, which I enclose, can also serve as a receipt.

I have already written about the FORMATION of the CENTRAL COUNCIL (we would have preferred the term Central Committee¹⁵¹ to avoid confusion).^a

I have not received Kellogg.^b It was presumably sent in a yellow envelope that I received from the POST OFFICE here. It was torn open and had been stamped 'NO CONTENTS'. I expect that the envelope was not strong enough.

A few weeks ago I sent to your address a *large parcel* of publications of the GENERAL COUNCIL of different dates but up to now have had no notice of receipt. They belonged to me personally and I sent them because the supplies of the GENERAL COUNCIL are quite exhausted (for the majority of its publications).

Yours sincerely,

K. Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

^a See this volume, p. 101. - ^b E. Kellogg, *A New Monetary System...*

62

MARX TO JOHANN JACOBY

IN KÖNIGSBERG^a

London, 4 February 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Friend,

Professor John Morley, the editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, wrote to me yesterday requesting me to ask you if you would like to write a short essay on conditions in Germany for the *Review* (it would be translated into English here). At Mr Morley's request I shall also probably submit something for the April issue (contributions for that issue have to be ready by 10 March).^b In the February number, the *Fortnightly* had essays in the Bismarckian spirit by the suspended republican Blind^c and by Professor Kinkel, for the same purpose as the one for which the Spartans demonstrated off to their young men the slaves they had first made drunk.

Hoping for an early reply from you,

With sincere good wishes,

Karl Marx

First published in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Achter Jahrgang, Leipzig, 1919

Printed according to the book

Published in English for the first time

^a Modern name: Kaliningrad. - ^b See this volume, p. 116. - ^c K. Blind, 'The Result of French Designs upon Germany', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLIX, 1 January 1871.

63

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹²¹

IN HANOVER

London, 4 February 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

I am sorry to learn from your last letter that your state of health has again got worse. In the autumn and winter months mine was tolerable, although the cough which I contracted during my last stay in Hanover¹⁵⁵ is still troubling me.

I sent you *The Daily News* containing my letter.^a Obviously it has been intercepted like the other things I sent you. Today I am enclosing the cutting, as well as the first Address of the General Council.^b The letter actually contains nothing but facts, but was effective for precisely that reason.

You know my opinion of MIDDLE-CLASS HEROES. Still, Mr Jules Favre (notorious from the days of the Provisional Government and Cavaignac^c) et Co. have contrived to surpass my worst anticipations. First of all they allowed the 'sabre orthodoxe', the 'crétin militaire', as Blanqui rightly dubs Trochu, to carry out his 'plan'. This plan consisted simply in prolonging the *passive resistance* of Paris to the utmost limit, that is, to STARVATION POINT, and in confining the offensive to sham manoeuvres and '*des sorties platoniques*'. I am not 'guessing' all this. I know the contents of a letter which Jules Favre himself wrote to Gambetta, and in which he complains that he and other members of that part of the government cowering in Paris sought in vain to spur Trochu on to serious offensive measures. Trochu always answered that that would give the upper hand to *Parisian demagogy*. Gambetta replied: *Vous avez prononcé votre propre condamnation*^d! Trochu considered it much more important to keep down the Reds in Paris with the help of his Breton bodyguard—which rendered him the same service that the Corsicans rendered Louis Bonaparte¹⁵⁶—than to defeat the Prussians. This is the real secret of the defeats not only at Paris, but throughout France, where the

^a K. Marx, 'On the Freedom of the Press and Meetings in Germany'. - ^b K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'. - ^c See this volume, pp. 98-99. - ^d You have pronounced your own condemnation.

bourgeoisie, in agreement with the majority of the local authorities, have acted on the same principle.

After Trochu's plan had been carried through to its CLIMAX—to the point where Paris had to surrender or starve—Jules Favre et Co. were only to follow the example of the Governor of the fortress at Toul.^a He did not surrender. He merely explained to the Prussians that he was compelled through lack of food to abandon the defence and open the gates of the fortress. They could now do as they chose.

But Jules Favre is not content with signing a formal surrender.¹⁵⁷ Having declared himself, his governmental colleagues and Paris to be *prisoners of war* of the *roi de Prusse*,^b he has the impudence to act on behalf of all France. What did he know of the state of affairs in France outside Paris? Absolutely nothing, except what Bismarck was gracious enough to tell him.

More. These *Messieurs les prisonniers du roi de Prusse*^c go further and declare that the part of the French government still free in Bordeaux¹⁵⁸ has lost its power and must only act *in unison* with them—the *prisoners of war of the Prussian King*. Since they, as *prisoners of war*, can themselves only act at the command of their war-lord, they have thereby proclaimed the King of Prussia *de facto* the *highest authority* in France.

Even Louis Bonaparte, after he surrendered and was taken prisoner at Sedan,¹⁵⁹ was less shameless. To Bismarck's proposals he replied that he could enter into no negotiations because, by the very fact of his being a Prussian prisoner, he had ceased to hold any authority in France.

At the most Favre could have accepted a *conditional* armistice for the whole of France, with the proviso, namely, that this agreement should be sanctioned by the Bordeaux government, which alone had the right and the capacity to agree upon the clauses of such an armistice with the Prussians. They, at any rate, would not have allowed the latter to exclude the *Eastern* theatre of war from the armistice. They would not have allowed the Prussians to round off the outlines of their occupation so profitably to themselves.

Rendered impudent by the pretensions of his prisoners of war, who in that capacity continue to play at being the French government, Bismarck is now interfering *sans gêne*^d in internal

^a i.e. Hück, who gave up resistance on 23 September 1870 after the siege that had lasted from 19 August - ^b William I - ^c worthy prisoners of the King of Prussia - ^d brazenly

French affairs. He *protests*, the noble fellow, against Gambetta's decree concerning the general elections to the *Assemblée*, because the decree is prejudicial to the freedom of the elections! ¹⁶⁰ INDEED! Gambetta should answer with a protest against the state of siege and other circumstances in Germany, which annul the freedom of the elections to the Reichstag.

I hope that Bismarck sticks to his conditions of peace! Four hundred million pounds sterling as war indemnity ¹⁶¹—half the English national debt! Even the French bourgeois will understand that. They will perhaps at last realise that by continuing the war they *could*, at the worst, *only win*.

The MOB, high class and low, judges by appearances, by the façade, the immediate success. During the last twenty years it has, ALL OVER THE WORLD, apotheosised Louis Bonaparte. I have in actual fact always exposed him, even at his *apogée*, as a *mediocre canaille*. That is also my opinion of the Junker Bismarck. Nevertheless, I do not consider Bismarck as stupid as he would be if his diplomacy were *voluntary*. The man is caught by the Russian Chancellery in a net which only a lion could tear through, and he is no lion.

For example, Bismarck's demand that France should hand over her twenty best men-of-war and Pondicherry in the East Indies! Such an idea could not emanate from a genuine Prussian diplomat. He would know that a Prussian Pondicherry would be nothing but a Prussian hostage in English hands; that England, if she wanted to, could seize the twenty men-of-war before they enter the Baltic Sea, and that such demands could only have the object, absurd from the Prussian point of view, of making John Bull distrustful before the Prussians are OUT OF THE FRENCH WOOD. But Russia is interested precisely in such a result, in order to secure Prussia's vassalage still more firmly. In fact these demands have given rise to a complete change of feeling even in the peace-loving English middle class. Everybody is now calling for war. This provocative act and this threat to English interests are making even the bourgeois mad. It is more than probable that, thanks to this piece of *Prussian 'wisdom'*, Gladstone et Co. WILL BE KICKED OUT OF OFFICE AND SUPPLANTED BY A MINISTRY DECLARING WAR AGAINST PRUSSIA.

On the other hand things look pretty 'awful' in Russia. Since William became an Emperor, ¹⁶² the old Muscovite, anti-German party, with the heir to the throne^a at its head, has again won the upper hand completely. And it is supported by the sentiments of

^a Alexander Alexandrovich (future Alexander III)

the people. Gorchakov's subtle policy is incomprehensible to them. It is therefore probable that the Tsar^a will either have to reverse his foreign policy altogether, OR THAT HE WILL BE OBLIGED TO KICK THE BUCKET, like his predecessors Alexander I, Paul and Peter III.

With a simultaneous convulsion in the politics of England and Russia, WHERE WOULD PRUSSIA BE at a moment when her frontiers to both the north-east and south-east are left defenceless against any invasion and Germany's military strength is exhausted? Not forgetting that since the outbreak of war Prussia-Germany has sent 1,500,000 men to France, of whom only about 700,000 are still on their feet!

So, despite all appearance to the contrary, Prussia's position is ANYTHING BUT PLEASANT. If France holds out, uses the armistice to reorganise her army and finally gives the war a really revolutionary character—and the artful Bismarck is doing his best TO THIS END—the new German, Borussian^b Empire may still get a quite unexpected thrashing as its baptism.

MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO THE *Comtesse* AND Fränzchen.^c

Your

K. M.

Apropos. You wrote to me once about a book by Haxthausen on Westphalian (I think) land ownership relations.^d I should be glad if you would send it to me.

Be so good as to forward the enclosure to Dr Jacoby (Königsberg^e) but *stamp* it by way of precaution.

Get your wife to write on the enclosed letter the address of Dr Johann Jacoby, Königsberg.

Jennychen has just asked me to send her greetings to 'Trautchen, Fränzchen and Wenzelchen'^f, which I hereby do.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 19, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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^a Alexander II - ^b Borussia: old name for Prussia, frequently used in an ironical sense to indicate the feudal landlord nature of Prussia. - ^c Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - ^d A. von Haxthausen, *Ueber den Ursprung und die Grundlagen der Verfassung in den ehemals slavischen Ländern Deutschlands, im allgemeinen und des Herzogthums Pommern im besondern.* - ^e Modern name: Kaliningrad. - ^f Gertrud, Franziska and Ludwig Kugelmann

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MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE

IN BORDEAUX

[London,] 4 February 1871

Dear Paul,

Il faut créer des nouveaux défenseurs à la France.^a You and Laura seem seriously and successfully engaged in that patriotic business. The whole family was delighted to hear that our dear Laura has passed victoriously through the critical juncture and we hope the progress will prove no less favourable.

Embrace little Schnappy^b on my part and tell him that Old Nick^c feels highly elated at the two photograms of his successor. In the 'serious' copy the stern qualities of the little man protrude, while in his attitude as *franc-fileur*^d there is a charming expression of humour and *espièglerie*.^e

You know my low opinion of middle-class heroes. Still, Jules Favre et Co. have contrived to surpass my worst anticipations. When Trochu had carried out his mysterious 'plan', that is to say, when that '*sabre orthodoxe*', that '*crétin militaire*' had pushed the *passive* resistance of Paris to that point where there remained only the alternative of starvation or capitulation—Jules Favre and Co. might have followed the precedent of the Governor of Toul.^f When his power of resistance had altogether broken down, he did not *capitulate*. He simply informed the Prussians of the real state of things, declared that he could not any longer go on with the defence, being deprived of provisions, and that they might now do as they liked. He made them no concession at all. He simply recognised a *fait accompli*. Favre et Co., on the contrary, not only sign a formal capitulation.¹⁵⁷ They have the impudence to act on behalf of *all France*, although in complete ignorance of the state of affairs *en dehors de Paris*,^g in regard to which they were strictly confined to the dishinterested^h information Bismarck condes-

^a One should create new defenders for France. - ^b Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^c Marx's family nickname - ^d Lit. 'free runaway' (comp. *franc-tireur* 'free shooter')—a nickname for Paris bourgeois who fled the city during the siege in 1870-71. Laura called her son *franc-fileur* because of his fear of unfamiliar objects. - ^e mischief - ^f i.e. Hüek, who gave up resistance on 23 September 1870 after the siege which had lasted from 19 August - ^g outside Paris - ^h The insertion of 'h' in this word is ironic and derives from Cockney dialect.

cended to vouchsafe them. Moreover, having capitulated, having become *Messieurs les prisonniers du roi de Prusse*,^a they go further and declare that the *bordelais* delegation¹⁵⁸ has lost its power and must only act in union with '*Messieurs les prisonniers du roi de Prusse*'. Why, even Louis Bonaparte, after his capitulation and surrender at Sedan,¹⁵⁹ declared to Bismarck he could enter into no *negotiations* with him, because he had ceased to be a free agent, and because, by the very fact of his being a *Prussian prisoner*, he had ceased to hold any authority over France!

Thus even L. Bonaparte was less shameless than Favre et Co.!

The only condition which Favre could have accepted *conditionally*, that is to say under the reserve of his act being assented to by the *bordelais* delegation, was the *armistice*. Yet to settle the *terms of that armistice* he must have left to the men who were not prisoners of *le roi de Prusse*. They would certainly not have allowed the Prussians to exclude from that armistice the *Eastern theatre of war*, and would not have allowed the Prussians to improve, on the plea of the armistice, the whole outlines of their military occupation, rounding it off in the way most profitable to themselves.

Embolded by the dastardly servilism of the Paris delegation who presume to participate in the government of France, after having become *Messieurs les capitulards*^p et les *prisonniers du roi de Prusse*, Bismarck considers himself and acts already as the *de facto* supreme authority in France. He *protests* against Gambetta's decree relating to the general elections as interfering with their liberty.¹⁶⁰ He dictates the terms on which the General Assembly ought to be chosen. Why! Gambetta might reply by *protesting* against the conditions under which at this very moment the *general elections for the Reichstag* are carried on *in Germany*.^c He might insist that to render these elections *free*, Bismarck ought above all things to abolish or at least to suspend the *state of siege* maintained through great part of Prussia. To give you one instance of the *liberty of election* in Germany. At *Frankfort* (on the Main) a workmen's candidate (not residing in Frankfort) is proposed and opens his electoral campaign in that town. What do the Prussian authorities resort to? To the expulsion of that candidate from Frankfort by the police force!¹⁶³

I hope that the Prussians will insist on their modest demand of 400 millions of £ sterling war contribution by France!¹⁶¹ This may

^a Worthy prisoners of the King of Prussia - ^b a contemptuous nickname for those who came out for the surrender of Paris during the 1870-71 siege; later on it came to denote the capitulants in general. - ^c The first elections to the Reichstag since the proclamation of the German Empire were fixed for 3 March 1871.

rouse even the French middle class whose manoeuvres together with the intrigues of the local administration (which Gambetta has allowed to a great part to rest in the hands of Bonapartists, Orleanists, etc.) are the true key to the till now reverses of the war. Even the middle class may at last become aware that they will lose more by giving than by fighting!

At the same time, if France holds out still for some time, the foreign relations will become much more favourable to her cause.

In England the Gladstone ministry is seriously endangered. It may soon be kicked out. The public opinion here is now again *warlike* to the highest degree. This change has been worked by Prussia's demands, mainly by her asking *Pon dicherry* and the 20 first-rate French men-of-war. John Bull sees in this a menace against England and a Russian intrigue (and these demands have indeed been suggested to Prussia by the St Petersburg cabinet).

In Russia itself a great change seems imminent. Since the assumption of the Imperial title by the King of Prussia,¹⁶² the anti-German party, the so-called Moscovite party, led by the Prince successor,^a has again got the upper hand. It is very probable that the present Emperor^b will either have to accept its dictates and a consequent change of his foreign policy, or that he will share the fate of his predecessors and by some means or other [be] released of his 'mortal body'. If such a convulsion in Russia takes place, Prussia, whose frontiers on the Russian and Austrian sides are quite denuded of troops, quite exposed and defenceless, will prove unable to keep up her present forces in France. She will at once lower her tone and become quite *traitable*.^c

Hence, if France holds out, if she improves the armistice to repair her forces, if she understands at last that in order to carry on a revolutionary war, revolutionary measures and revolutionary energy are wanted, she may still be saved. Bismarck knows perfectly that he is in a fix. He hopes to get out of it by 'bullying'. He confides in the cooperation of all reactionary elements of France.

Yours,
Old Nick

P.S. The master who now employs Dupont has received a letter from a house at Bordeaux which wants an agent at Manchester.

^a Alexander Alexandrovich (future Alexander III) - ^b Alexander II - ^c manageable

Behind the back of his master—a most infamous and brutal parvenu—Dupont would like to ascertain whether *he* would get that agency. He therefore requests you to obtain information about this point. The address of the house in question, is: Labadie et Co. (Vins et esprits) Rue des terres de Bordes. Bordeaux.

What is Prudhomme doing? Has his health improved?

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Reproduced from the original

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV¹⁶⁴

IN PARIS

London, 27 February 1871

Dear Sir,

Lopatin has left for the United States and I have not yet heard from him.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT¹⁶⁵

IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 March 1871

My dear Mrs Liebknecht,¹⁶⁶

The unfortunately very meagre contributions that I sent you for the benefit of the families of the imprisoned men did not in any

sense stem from the General Council of the International which has absolutely no funds for such purposes. The General Council was merely chosen by the subscribers as 'trustee' to ensure that the money was duly sent. **Incidentally, no further evidence of receipt is necessary.**

On the subject of the articles on the German workers' movement which have appeared in English reviews, what Liebknecht probably had in mind was the enclosed article on the *International* by Professor Beesly^a which appeared in the November NUMBER (1870) of *The Fortnightly Review*. It may well be the passages from p. 531 on (I have put a mark to show where they begin)¹⁶⁷ which Stieber wants to use to cook his proof. In the first place, Professor Beesly is *not* a member of the International and his statements are not authoritative for that reason. In the second place, *he himself refutes* Stieber's inferences.

The letter I sent to the Brunswick people^b was *not* written *in the name of or on the instructions of the General Council*. That is why it was not written on paper with the letterhead of the General Council. My statements there are made entirely in my own name. It was in fact a reply—and a long-deferred reply at that—to a letter asking me *for my personal views*. They were perfectly within their rights to ask for this. At least, I know of no § in the Penal Code that would proscribe it. At any rate, it is not Mr Bismarck's fault if 'my views' cannot be found printed in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*. The worthy *Lothar Bucher* did invite me after the heady days of Sadowa to write the financial column for that paper. More likely than not he took care not to publicise my reply.¹⁶⁸

The German Empire is carrying on the campaign of the French Empire against the *International*. Nothing is so characteristic of the last days of the latter empire as the legal persecution of members of the International because they waged war on the intended war. The secret papers of Mr Ollivier published by the Republic are very revealing in this respect.¹⁶⁹

I was very pleased to receive your letter today. An article by me was to have appeared in *The Fortnightly Review*, but I shall postpone it for the time being, since the inability of the Prussian government to intervene *here* might be more than made good at the expense of friends there [in Germany], who are of course in

^a E. S. Beesly, 'The International Working Men's Association', *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XLVII, I November 1870. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party'.

no way responsible for things that happen without their knowledge.

I would be greatly obliged to you if you could send me the *complete stenographic report of the last session of the Reichstag that ended on 10 December 1870*. I would of course reimburse you for the costs.

Jennychen has unfortunately come down with pleurisy.

With warmest regards to Liebknecht and yourself.

Yours very sincerely,

K. M.

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67

ENGELS TO KARL KLEIN AND FRIEDRICH MOLL

IN SOLINGEN

London, 10 March 1871

122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Friends Klein and Moll,

You must have been very surprised not to have received any reply to your letters of February last year. There were, however, a number of reasons for it. In the first place, I had hoped from one day to the next to be in a position to have something positive to say about the Association. But this turned out to be impossible and after the outbreak of the war it could no longer be expected. In the second place, your letter arrived in such a sorry state that I could be in no doubt that the postal authorities had been at pains to read it. So I waited for an opportune moment, particularly since the war, the state of siege and the many arrests. And, finally, I could not know whether both of you had not been conscripted into the Landwehr¹¹ during the war.

An opportunity has now arisen to send a letter to Barmen, whence it could be passed on with little danger, and so I shall make use of it to give you a sign of life, and to enclose the promised portrait of

myself. I have not yet been able to obtain one of Schapper who, as you know, died last year; as soon as I can lay hands on one, you shall have it.

The German workers now have a hard time ahead of them; it seems to have been decided that they should be the victims whose sacrifice will provide the occasion for a reconciliation between Junker and bourgeoisie. But it doesn't matter. The workers' movement has become too powerful even in Germany to be snuffed out that easily by Prussian tricks. On the contrary, the persecutions we have to be prepared for will just give us greater strength, and when the bourgeois at present drunk with victory has overslept from intoxication and the hangover is beginning, a chance will arise for our party to raise its voice once more. At any rate, the exemplary behaviour of the German workers during the war has demonstrated that they know what is at stake and that they alone, of all the parties, have a correct insight into the history of our age, whereas the bourgeois have really let victory go to their heads.

I have been living here in London for the past five months. It seems doubtful whether you can continue for much longer to belong to the International Working Men's Association unless just in principle, since they seem to want to make it a criminal offence to be a member of that Association in Germany. At any rate, you may rest assured that having prepared the way for the association of the entire European and American proletariat over the past seven years, we shall take good care that it does not disintegrate whatever the circumstances. And that is the main thing.

With fraternal greetings,

Yours,
F. Engels

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time

68

ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 10 March 1871

Dear Rudolf,

Since I am not yet acquainted with any lawyer here who is reliably informed or especially competent in commercial affairs, I have decided after some reflection that the best thing would be to write to the man in Manchester who made the contract with Funke on your behalf. I was quite clear in my mind about the issue at stake, but in matters of English law it is always better not to rely on common sense. However, on this occasion, the lawyer said: *law and common sense agree; the retirement of one of the partners in the German firm, *from* the German firm, in no way affects the firm in England, nor can the firm in England have any voice in the matter. On the other hand no member of the English firm can retire before the expiration of the term without the consent of the other members of the same concern.*

Therefore (1) Adolf's^a position in the firm of R. Funke & Co. remains unaltered even though he has left the firm of Ermen & Engels in Barmen; and (2) his resignation from R. Funke & Co. requires not just his agreement, but also the agreement of *Funke*, a point that may not have occurred to you.

Since these affairs affect Adolf, too, and since I cannot take sides on this matter, I am writing to him in the same terms today.

I purchased this information at a cost of 10/6d., which equals 3.15 thalers, and would be glad if you could credit me with it.

I find it quite natural that Adolf should want to retire from the business as soon as he can. The winter in Engelskirchen is fearfully boring and *you* will not take it amiss that he should long for some other entertainment than endless family drinking-sessions. I am only astonished that he stood it there for so long; I would have kicked up a fuss much sooner and more often. It is all very well for you and Hermann^b to talk, but you both jib at the idea of moving to Engelskirchen, and you cannot persuade me

^a Adolf Griesheim - ^b Hermann Engels

that it is just because you know nothing of the manufacturing process. You could learn it up after all, it would do you both good. Adolf can find many pleasant and congenial occupations for himself even without the business, and anyone who can do that is quite right to withdraw as quickly as possible. You must have been prepared for this eventuality long since, and if it now arises, it can only be in your interest for him to leave as soon as possible. I do not understand therefore how you should find such major grounds for complaint. Let Adolf go his own way, resolve the dispute as friends and make the necessary arrangements to meet the new situation, one which will give a higher percentage yield to each of you.

Gottfried^a will not suffer any great inconvenience; the old MILL in West Lane was empty and available, machinery is also easily procured. In Manchester one can get quite a few things done, etc., by other people, so you should not entertain any exaggerated hopes. Moreover, it is self-evident that I am under a moral obligation not to do anything to harm a former *associé* who has given me a round sum in return for my own resignation. To what purpose then do you have agents and travellers? If they do their duty you do not need any further information.

I rather doubt that the present sympathy with France (both here and fairly generally all over the world) stems from the fact that the French were given the greater thrashing. However, this much is certain: if the Prussians should be given another thrashing at a later stage (which is not at all improbable) people will laugh at them, rather than sympathise with them. The fact is that you cannot see beyond the end of your noses; but the hangover will follow the victory celebrations soon enough, and then you will find it hard to take much pleasure in yourselves. For all your power and glory you are as firmly 'in the thrall of Olmütz' as ever. Olmütz was made in Warsaw,¹⁷⁰ where your sovereign lord, the Emperor of Russia,^b commanded you to bow to Austria and the Federal Diet, and now that you have made sure that for many years to come France (which after all lies on your border) will remain your enemy, Russia will be your only protector and will soon make you pay for that protection. You are more firmly in the grip of Russian domination than ever before.

Would you kindly give my mother^c my warmest wishes and say that I shall be writing to her shortly. Give my regards to your wife

^a Gottfried Ermen - ^b Nicholas I - ^c Elisabeth Engels

and children and all my brothers and sisters and all their encumbrances.

Your
Frederick

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69

MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE¹³⁷

IN BORDEAUX¹¹⁸

London, 23 March 1871

Dear Paul,

I enclose Serrailier's declaration in the *Courrier de l'Europe*, 18 March, 1871—(this French paper is published at London) in regard to the impudent mystification of the *Paris-Journal* of March 14, of which you are probably aware.¹⁷¹

The following is published in *The Times* of 22nd March 1871 under the title '*The International Association*':

'M. Karl Marx asks us to contradict the statement contained in a letter published by us on the 16th of March, from our Paris correspondent, that

"Karl Marx has written a letter to one of his principal *affiliés* in Paris, stating that he is not satisfied with the attitude which the members of that society have taken up in that city, that they violate the Statutes of the Association in dabbling in politics, that they disorganise labour instead of organising it, etc."

'M. Karl Marx says this statement has evidently been taken from the *Paris-Journal* of the 14th of March, where also the publication in full of the pretended letter is promised, and that the *Paris-Journal* of the 19th of March contains a letter dated London, February 28, 1871, purporting to be signed by him, *which letter M. Marx declares is from beginning to end an impudent forgery.*'^a

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*'.

I come now to the second trick of that dirty Parisian reactionary press. When we were informed of the pretended exclusion of the German ‘*Internationals*’ by the Paris ‘*Internationals*’, we wrote to the ‘*frères et amis*’ at Paris, who replied that this story was nothing but an invention of the Paris press scum. Meanwhile, the false news spread like wildfire through the London press which indulged in long leaders upon that pleasant event proving at the same time the decomposition of the *International* and the incorrigible perversion of the Paris workmen.

In to-day’s *Times* (23 March, 1871) the following declaration of the *General Council*^a is published:

*‘The Anti-German League¹⁷² of Paris
To the Editor of “The Times”*

‘Sir,

‘A statement has gone the round of the English press that the Paris members of the International Working Men’s Association had in so far joined the so-called Anti-German League as to declare all Germans to be henceforth excluded from our association.

‘This statement is the very reverse of fact. Neither the Federal Council of our association in Paris, nor any of the Paris sections represented by that council, have ever passed any such resolution. The so-called Anti-German League, as far as it exists at all, is the exclusive work of the upper and middle classes; it was started by the Jockey Club,¹⁷³ and kept up by the adhesions of the Academy, of the Stock Exchange, of some bankers and manufacturers, etc. The working classes have nothing whatever to do with it.

‘The object of these calumnies is evident. A short time before the outbreak of the late war the International was made the general scapegoat for all untoward events. This is now repeated over again. While the Swiss and Prussian press accuse it of having created the late outrage upon Germans in Zurich,¹⁷⁴ French papers, such as the *Courrier de Lyon*, *Le Courrier de la Gironde*, *La Liberté*, etc., tell of certain secret meetings of Internationals having been held at Geneva and Bern, the Prussian ambassador in the chair, in which meetings a plan was concocted to hand over Lyons to the united Prussians and Internationals for the sake of common plunder.

^a K. Marx, ‘Statement by the General Council to the Editor of *The Times* and Other Papers’.

'By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association

'J. G. Eccarius,
General Secretary'

London, March 22

I have to-day still so many letters to write that I must shut up. Tell Laura that I was greatly delighted with her letter.

Yours,
K. Marx ^a

Your letter to Jenny has just arrived. It is not my youthful ardour, as you believe, but *manifestoes* published by the Federal Council of Paris during the war and communicated to us *officially*, that made the GENERAL COUNCIL believe in the possibility of such a foolish thing as the exclusion of the German Internationals by the Parisian Internationals! I have today sent to the *Volksstaat* in Leipzig (Liebknecht's newspaper) and the *Zukunft* in Berlin (Dr Jacoby's organ) a statement on the fantasies of the *Paris-Journal* and the alleged exclusion of the German Internationals by the Parisians, which has caused a great commotion in the German '*bonne presse*'.^b I concluded this statement with the words:

'It is quite natural that the important dignitaries and the ruling classes of the old society who can only maintain their own power and the exploitation of the productive masses by *national* conflicts and antagonisms, recognise their common adversary in the *International Working Men's Association*.'

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^a Thus far Marx wrote in English. The rest of the letter is in French. - ^b K. Marx, 'To the Editorial Boards of the *Volksstaat* and the *Zukunft*'.

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MARX TO PETER IMANDT

IN DUNDEE

[London,] 30 March 1871

Dear Imandt,

The 'letter' is a product of that trashy Paris paper, the *Paris-Journal*, in its issues of 14 and 19 March.¹⁷¹ A statement from me in reply appeared in *The Times* on 22 March (a notice in small print just after the leading articles).^a That lousy paper has direct connections with the *Prussian* police. Its *redacteur en chef*,^b the notorious Henri de Pène, received two bullets in his body as a reward for his participation in the 'peaceable' procession of the *parti de l'ordre*.¹⁷⁵

Regards to Bourbaki junior.^c

Curiously enough the entire reactionary press in France printed the pseudo-letter. To give it more spice, the *Paris-Journal* published it under the high-faluting title: '*Le Grand Chef*' (translation of the *Stieberian* '*Hauptchef*'¹⁷⁶) '*de L'Internationale*'.

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'To the Editor of *The Times*'. - ^b editor-in-chief -
^c Robert Imandt

71

ENGELS TO PHILIPPE COENEN

IN ANTWERP¹¹⁸

[London,] 5 April 1871

To Citizen Ph. Coenen, Antwerp

Dear Citizen,

As I already told you in my last letter,⁴⁵ I felt it incumbent upon me to submit the contents of your letter concerning the strike of the cigar-workers to the Central^a Council when it met yesterday evening.¹⁷⁷ At the same time I requested the Council to afford our Antwerp members all possible help and support.

In this I received vigorous support, more especially from Citizen Cohn, president of the London cigar-workers, who informed the Council that the cigar-workers of his Association had voted a loan of 150 pounds sterling, or about 3,750 francs, to their colleagues in Antwerp; that the Association of Belgian Cigar-workers employed over here had voted £20; that his Association proposed to urge another Association here, and that of the cigar-workers of Liverpool, to advance funds in support of the strike, etc.

The Council then unanimously resolved:

1. That an appeal to the English resistance societies in London and the provinces be immediately drafted, printed and despatched to all the associations, urging them to intervene on behalf of the Antwerp strikers.

2. That deputations from the Council be sent to the big centralised associations in London, with whom we are in touch, to approach them with the same end in view.

Having learned from Citizen Cohn that you had already taken the necessary steps to prevent the debouchment of Dutch cigar-workers by the Antwerp manufacturers and that similar attempts would not be successful here in England, all I could do on your behalf was to write a short note for our German journal, the *Volksstaat of Leipzig*, in which I relate the origins of the strike and urge the German cigar-workers to prevent any debouchment of workers for the [said] place, Antwerp, and, if possible, to advance you some funds to support the strike.^b This note will be publish-

^a General - ^b F. Engels, 'On the Cigar-Workers' Strike in Antwerp'.

ed next week; in addition I asked the editor^a to take up your cause.

As to the success of these various moves, it is hard to judge in advance. Should the English associations consent to give us advances, several weeks will probably have to elapse before the necessary formalities can be completed. The German associations, having been ruined by the war, will hardly be in a position to advance any funds.

In the meantime, please keep me informed of what is happening as regards the cigar-workers' strike, so that I shall be able to act if needs be, and without loss of time. Is it true, as Citizen Cohn has said, that the 300 cigar-workers of Brussels are also on strike? The Council has been told nothing about it and the Brussels people would be greatly to blame were this really the case; for how are we to act if news is kept back from us?

For some time copies of the *Werker* intended for the Council have failed to reach us. The General Council must be sent *two copies* of each of our journals, one for the library where a complete collection of all such journals is being made to help with the future history of the proletarian movement in all countries, the other for the secretary of the country where the journal appears. It would be a pity if *De Werker* were no longer to reach us, since we have always read it with close attention.

The £150 should have been sent to you today. If it fails to arrive within 24 hours after receipt of this letter, kindly write without delay to Citizen Cohn, whose address you have got.

I shall make it my business to do everything in my power for the Antwerp workers whom I have the honour to represent on the Council here; only please keep me properly informed about all that goes on.

With fraternal salutations,

Yours,
Frederick Engels

First published, in Dutch, in *De socialistische Gids*, No. 8/9, Amsterdam, 1928

Printed according to a handwritten copy

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht

72

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 5 April 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Liebknecht,

Could you have the enclosed^a inserted in the next issue of the *Volksstaat*? Precisely this STRIKE is one of supreme importance for the International in Belgium.¹⁷⁷

I congratulate you on your release.¹⁷⁸

Best regards.

Your
F. E.

If the German cigar-workers can afford to advance funds to Antwerp, this should be set in train. The Elberfeld Address was received by the GENERAL COUNCIL *yesterday* to be sent on and has already gone off.¹⁷⁹ I have read it.

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time

73

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT¹

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 6 April 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

The news that you and Bebel as well as the Brunswick people were released¹⁷⁸ was received here in the Central^b Council with great rejoicing.

^a F. Engels, 'On the Cigar-Workers' Strike in Antwerp'. - ^b General

It seems the Parisians are succumbing. It is their own fault but a fault which really was due to their too great *honnêteté*.^a The Central Committee and later the Commune gave that MISCHIEVOUS *avorton*,^b Thiers, time to consolidate hostile forces, in the first place by their folly of not wanting to start a *civil war*—as if Thiers had not already started it by his attempt at forcibly disarming Paris, as if the National Assembly, summoned merely to decide the question of war or peace with the Prussians, had not immediately declared war on *the Republic!* Secondly, in order that the appearance of having usurped power should not attach to them, they lost precious moments (they should immediately have advanced on Versailles after the defeat (Place Vendôme) of the *réactionnaires* in Paris¹⁷⁵) by the election of the Commune, the organisation of which, etc., cost yet more time.

You must not believe a word of all the stuff you get to see in the papers about the internal events in Paris. It is all lies and deception. Never has the vileness of the reptile bourgeois newspaper hacks displayed itself more splendidly.

It is highly characteristic that the German Unity-Emperor,^c Unity-Empire, and Unity-Parliament in Berlin appear *not to exist at all* for the outside world. Every breath of wind that stirs in Paris excites more interest.

You should follow developments in the *Danube Principalities* with some care. If the revolution in France is defeated for the time being—the movement there can only be suppressed for a short time—Europe will have to face a new threat of war from the East, and Rumania will be the first to present the orthodox Tsar^d with a pretext. So keep an eye on events there.

One of the most comical phenomena in London is undoubtedly that ex-student Karl Blind. The self-important fellow eagerly seized on the recent war to show off his pan-Germanic allegiance. He was the first to start screaming for Alsace-Lorraine. He even had the impudence to deny the great revolutionary activities of the French people in the past. The scoundrel even ventured to warn the local workers not to incur the hostility of *workers in Germany* by their sympathy for France against Prussia! Each week this gentleman composes a report describing the activities of Karl Blind and sends it to all the London papers, two or three of which are actually so foolish as to print these bulletins of, about and for Karl Blind. If this system is applied consistently, one cannot fail to force oneself on the public in the end. In this manner this weighty

^a decency - ^b degenerate - ^c William I - ^d Alexander II

personage has managed to delude a section of local public opinion into believing that he plays the same sort of role in Germany as Mazzini used to in Italy. In his bulletins he recounts what Karl Blind had announced in the Viennese *Freie Presse*, and how the whole of Germany looked forward to his oracular utterances with bated breath and anxiously awaited for Karl Blind to deliver himself of the watchword for the week. Now it would be extremely desirable—since this individual, this puffed-up frog, does make us Germans here ridiculous—if you people in the *Volksstaat* could publish a few home truths about the fellow and his ‘complete unimportance’.¹⁸⁰ We would ensure that a translation appeared in *The Eastern Post* (a London workers’ paper). It is quite simple. Karl Blind *does not exist* in the eyes of the German working class, and a *republican* German *middle class*, whose MOUTHPIECE he pretends to be, does not exist anywhere and hence *cannot exist for Karl Blind* either. HE IS NOWHERE. While such figures should not be taken seriously, it is no less true that they should not be allowed to delude the public ON FALSE PRETENCES.

Laura had already arrived in Bordeaux some days before the siege of Paris began.

Our children—Tussy and Jennychen (the latter suffering from pleurisy)—are also going to Bordeaux shortly.

Bebel would oblige me greatly if he could arrange for me to be sent regularly the stenographic reports of the Berlin Unity-Reichstag.

A visit from you here would be very welcome.

The *Volksstaat* must be preserved at all costs now. I have some prospects of being able to raise money for it.

My warmest greetings to your dear wife.^a

Your
K. M.

Could you not let me have a reliable address in Leipzig?

Apropos. I enclose a charming notice about Stieber from the *Petit Journal* (which appears in Paris) in its issue of 5 April.¹⁸¹

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^a Natalie Liebknecht

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT¹³⁷

IN LEIPZIG

London, [around 10 April]^a 1871

Dear Wilhelm,

Just two notices in great haste which you could surely arrange to put into the *Volksstaat*:

1. In the *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale*, now officially published, there is a reference under the letter V (the recipients of money are arranged alphabetically) which states *verbo tenus*^b:

'Vogt—il lui est remis en août 1859 40,000 francs.'^{c 182}

2. Whereas the Bismarck government in Germany has made correspondence with me into a more or less highly penal affair (*vide* the Brunswick trial,¹⁸³ just like the Cologne Communist trial of earlier years¹³⁸), in France it attempts to discredit me (and with me the *International in Paris*—that is the *aim* of the whole manoeuvre) by branding me as one of *Mr Bismarck's agents*. This is done through the organs of the old-Bonapartist police which is still entwined by international bonds with Stieber's police—particularly under the Thiers regime.

In consequence I have been compelled to publish denials in *The Times* of various lies that have appeared in the *Paris-Journal*, the *Gaulois*, and so on, because the rubbish is reported to the English press *by telegraph*.¹⁷¹ The latest example was provided by the *Soir* (the paper of About, the well-known Plonplonist^d), which has only very recently been suppressed by the Commune, and from the *Soir* it circulated to all the French reactionary press throughout the provinces. E.g. today I received from Laura (BY THE BY, Lafargue is at this moment in Paris as a delegate from Bordeaux) the following extract from the paper *La Province* (and yesterday I received the same piece from a clerical newspaper in *Belgium*):

'Paris, 2 April. A piece of news just arrived from Germany is causing a great sensation here. Authentic proof is now to hand to show that Karl Marx, one of the

^a In the original '14 March', which is a slip of the pen. - ^b literally - ^c 'Vogt—40,000 francs were remitted to him in August 1859.' - ^d an adherent of Prince Joseph Napoleon known under the nickname of Plon-Plon

most influential leaders of the *International*, was the *private secretary of Count Bismarck* in 1857, and has never ceased to remain in contact with his former *patron*.^a

Stieber really is becoming a 'terror'!

Salut.

Your

K. M.

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75

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹²¹

IN HANOVER

London, 12 April 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

Your 'doctor's orders' were effective insofar as I consulted my Dr Maddison and have for the present put myself under his treatment. He says, however, that my lungs are in excellent condition and the coughing is connected with bronchitis, etc. Ditto, it may affect the liver.

Yesterday we received the by no means reassuring news that Lafargue (not Laura) is in Paris at the moment.

If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire* you will find that I say that the next attempt of the French revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic military machine from one hand to another, but to *break* it, and that is essential for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting. What resilience, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused rather by internal treachery than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not still at the gates of Paris! History has no like example of a like greatness.

^a 'Nouvelles d'hier', *La Province*, No. 428, 5 April 1871.

If they are defeated only their 'decency' will be to blame. They should have marched at once on Versailles, after first Vinoy and then the reactionary section of the Paris National Guard had themselves retired from the battlefield. The right moment was missed because of conscientious scruples. They did not want to *start the civil war*, as if that MISCHIEVOUS *avorton*^a Thiers had not already started the civil war with his attempt to disarm Paris! Second mistake: The Central Committee surrendered its power too soon, to make way for the Commune.¹⁸⁴ Again from a too 'honourable' scrupulousness! However that may be, the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June Insurrection in Paris.¹¹³ Compare these Parisians, storming the heavens, with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the Church, the cabbage Junkers and above all, of the philistines.

Apropos. In the *official publication*^b of the list of those receiving direct subsidies from Louis Bonaparte's treasury there is a note that *Vogt* received 40,000 francs in August 1859! I have informed Liebkecht of the *fait*, for further use.^c

You can send me the Haxthausen,^d because *recently* I have received various pamphlets, etc., undamaged, not only from Germany, but even from Petersburg.

Thanks for the various newspapers you have been sending (I would ask you for more, as I want to write something about Germany, the Reichstag, etc.).

Best greetings to the Countess and Käuzchen.^e

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, Nr. 23, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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^a degenerate - ^b *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale* - ^c See this volume, p. 130. - ^d A. von Haxthausen, *Ueber den Ursprung und die Grundlagen der Verfassung in den ehemals slavischen Ländern Deutschlands, im allgemeinen und des Herzogthums Pommern im besondern.* - ^e Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

12 April 1871

Ludwig Kugelmann

Dear Ludwig
I have just received your letter of the 10th and am glad to hear from you. I am well and hope these few lines will find you the same. I have not much news to write at present. I am still working on my book, but it is not yet finished. I have also been thinking about the new edition of the Manifesto, but I have not had time to do much on that yet. I am sure you will be interested in these things. I will write again when I have more news to tell you. Give my regards to your mother and sister. I am, dear Ludwig, your affectionate friend, Karl Marx.

Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of 12 April 1871

76

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT¹⁸⁵

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 13 April 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

You may make use of the 80 thalers either for your family, or for the *Volksstaat*.^a Both are 'victims' of the recent war.

I do not have the Freiligrath poem; it came out in 1852 and appeared also in Cotta's *Morgenblatt* which you can perhaps unearth in Leipzig.¹⁸⁶

I do not think it would be useful to reprint items from the *Revue der Rheinischen Zeitung* without introductions, additions, etc., and this is hardly the time for that.¹⁸⁷

Engels asks me to tell you that his essay in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*^b is now only of historical interest and so no longer has any value as practical propaganda. On the other hand, you could print more extensive excerpts from *Capital*, e.g. extracts from the chapter on 'Primitive Accumulation',¹⁸⁸ etc.

Miquel *was* in the League^c and threw his weight about in the Kingdom of Hanover as the League's District Adviser Extraordinary. You can print that, but leave my name out of it, since I have to keep the 'secret' unless directly forced by Miquel [to reveal it].

'Bid me not speak, bid me be silent
To keep the secret I am bound.'^d

The *Communist Manifesto* cannot of course appear without a new preface. Engels and I will see what can be done about it.¹⁸⁹

My kind regards to your dear wife.^e

Your
K. M.

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^a In the original *Volksblatt*, which is a slip of the pen. - ^b F. Engels, *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*. - ^c the Communist League - ^d Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. - ^e Natalie Liebknecht

77

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT
IN LEIPZIG

[London, 13 April 1871]

Dear Liebknecht,

It is absolutely out of the question for you to reprint my old article from the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in the *Volksstaat*.^a It is by now *quite obsolete* and full of inaccuracies that could only confuse people. Moreover, it was still written in a Hegelian style which likewise just will not do nowadays. Its sole value is as an historical document.

With best regards,

Your
F. E.

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time

78

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹⁹⁰
IN HANOVER

[London,] 17 April 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

Your letter arrived all right. At the moment I have my hands full. So only a few words. How you can compare petty-bourgeois demonstrations *à la* 13 June 1849,¹⁹¹ etc., with the present struggle in Paris is quite incomprehensible to me.

World history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances.

^a See previous letter.

It would, on the other hand, be of a very mystical nature, if 'accidents' played no part. These accidents themselves fall naturally into the general course of development and are compensated again by other accidents. But acceleration and delay are very dependent upon such 'accidents', which include the 'accident' of the character of those who first stand at the head of the movement.

The decisively unfavourable 'accident' this time is by no means to be found in the general conditions of French society, but in the presence of the Prussians in France and their position right before Paris. Of this the Parisians were well aware. But of this, the bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles were also well aware. Precisely for that reason they presented the Parisians with the alternative of taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. In the latter case, the demoralisation of the working class would have been a far greater misfortune than the fall of any number of 'leaders'. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase with the struggle in Paris. Whatever the immediate results may be, a new point of departure of world-historic importance has been gained.

Adio.

K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 23, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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79

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 20 April 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Liebknecht,

I must tell you today in all haste about the so-called INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION,¹⁹² which you may well never have heard of and which, therefore, might be confused with us.

The association is a caricature of the IWMA. It has vegetated in obscurity here for a number of years, but expresses its desire, from time to time, to present itself to a wider public, i.e. to make itself ridiculous, exhibiting at the same time a certain secondary tendency to let itself quietly be mistaken for the IWMA. Since these people again held a meeting on the Paris Commune in Hyde Park last Sunday^a—a meeting which under *their* auspices was inevitably *doomed* to failure (they even let it be known that we had sent delegates, even though, when they sent a deputation to us, we roundly refused to do so)—and since they now also intend to establish branches on the Continent and will presumably send deputations to you as well, it has become necessary to make you acquainted with them. In the first place, there is *Weber*, that old trouble-maker from the Palatinate, whom you know; and secondly, *Le Lubez*, whom you have also come across. I enclose a cutting in which they present their muddled programme to the world in muddled language. Insofar as it is comprehensible, it is *purely bourgeois*; what they have to say on the subject of providing work and, alternatively, of making provision for those unable to work, is already fulfilled by the English Poor Law.¹⁹⁹ They take good care not to say a word about capital and labour. The NATIONALISATION OF LAND is so universally accepted here that they cannot evade it, and in itself is so little in conflict with bourgeois interests that only the day before yesterday a *Tory* who has his million thalers in safe keeping told me that he was in favour of it. *Weber* is also, as you know, a supporter of *Heinzen* and a pure 'democrat'.

As long as these fellows pursued their activities in obscurity here, we left them to themselves, but if they choose to expand, conflicts will be unavoidable and we shall then have to hit them where it hurts.

So the *Volksstaat* was confiscated again yesterday for *lèse majesté*, as we hear on the telegraph.¹⁹⁴ I am astonished that it did not happen earlier. You are extremely impudent. But 'after all, this is only right and proper', as Frederick II used to say.

The *Vogt* story^b should be kept alive for a while. It is evident from the context that *Karl Vogt* is the only *Vogt* who can be meant. In the first place, no other *Vogt* is so well known as to be referred to as *Vogt*, *tout court*, without first name and address. In the second place, what other *Vogt* performed such valuable services at that time for the Bonaparte family that he should have been given 40,000 frs in August, i.e. immediately after the

^a 16 April - ^b See this volume, p. 130.

conclusion of the Italian campaign? Moreover, the formula, '*il lui a été remis en Août 1859*',^a indicates that he had received other remittances. The more frequently you return to the point, the more the bourgeois press, which suppresses all this, will find itself forced to take note of it. You might also bring it to the attention of the *Proletarier* and the *Volkswille*.

Since experience has taught me that Stieber's agents are as clumsy at opening letters as they are at fabricating conspiracies, I hereby inform you once and for all that *all* my letters to you are securely sealed with my seal and the initials F. E. in Gothic script. The Prussians cannot yet in all decency break open sealing-wax on rubber, and certainly not so that it cannot be noticed. Mostly they just tear open the side of the envelope with their oafish fists. So if my seal is not clear and legible you will know what has happened. It will at any rate infuriate the fellows to have to let a letter addressed to you and with F. E. on the seal pass through their hands unbroken.

It is time for the post and I still have all sorts of things to tell you, but I must end now.

Your
F. E.

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80

ENGELS TO FRANCISCO MORA¹⁹⁵

IN MADRID

[Résumé of a letter]

[London, around 20 April 1871]

On 19 April the relevant extracts from Nos. 80-92 of the *Federación* about the SPINNERS' STRIKE in Barcelona^b sent to Eccarius who was to report on it to the MANCHESTER TRADE COUNCIL.

^a 'it was remitted to him in August 1859' - ^b See F. Engels, 'Outline of an Appeal of the General Council to the Weavers' and Spinners' Trade Unions of Manchester for Assistance to the Spanish Textile Workers Strike'.

Wrote ditto to Mora, acknowledging receipt and reporting what had happened, pointing out that little help would be forthcoming because of the Belgian and Sunderland STRIKES and the general world situation.

The loan an essential instrument and the one we have mainly used up to now. Therefore the Barcelonese must write a letter binding themselves to repay all loan-monies received through the agency of the General Council. This only necessary to comply with the formalities of the English TRADE UNIONS.

Promise a copy of the Address on Paris.¹⁹⁶

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81

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹⁹⁷

IN HOBOKEN

[London, around 20 April 1871]

Dear Mr Sorge,

My best thanks for the Kellogg,^a which arrived safely this time; ditto for the other things you sent.

The Committee^b will receive its replies sooner in future, but in recent weeks business on the European Continent, together with agitation here among the English,¹⁹⁷ has taken up all the more time as the majority of the non-English secretaries are in Paris.

Yours most sincerely,
K. M.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F.A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

^a E. Kellogg, *A New Monetary System...* See this volume, p. 57. - ^b the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for the United States

82

MARX TO LÉO FRANKEL¹⁹⁸

IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London, around 26 April 1871]

Dear Citizen!¹⁹⁹

I have been authorised by the General Council to issue a most emphatic denial on its behalf of the foul slander being spread by Citizen F. Pyat against Serraillier.^a Pyat's fury springs from one single source: *his hatred for the International*. Through the so-called French Section in London,⁵⁰ which has been expelled by the General Council, and which has been infiltrated by police spies, one-time imperial guardsmen and touts, Pyat has been trying to pose before the world as the secret leader of our Association, to which he does not belong, and to make us responsible for his absurd manifestations in London and his compromising indiscretions in Paris, which, by the way, Citizen Tridon has already flayed during his stay in Brussels.²⁰⁰ That is why the General Council was forced to disown this dirty schemer publicly.^b Hence his furies against Dupont and Serraillier. When Serraillier threatened to summon the vile toadies of Pyat in the so-called French Section before an English court to answer for the slander Pyat keeps spreading in Paris, *the French Section itself* disowned them and branded them as slanderers.

One of these days, the General Council is to issue an Address on the Commune.¹⁹⁶ It has put off this manifesto up to now, because it was expecting the Paris Section from day to day to supply it with precise information. In vain! Not a word! The Council could not afford to wait any longer because the English workers have been eagerly awaiting its explanation.

Meanwhile, time has not been wasted. The true character of this grand Paris revolution has been explained to workers everywhere in letters from various secretaries to sections on the Continent and in the United States.

Since Serraillier's political life has given no occasion for slander,^c it was his private life that was attacked. Had Pyat's private life been as clean as Serraillier's, he would not have had to submit

^a Crossed out in the original: 'representative of the Council'. - ^b See K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on Félix Pyat's Provocative Behaviour'. - ^c Crossed out in the original: 'even to Pyat, this "honest" fellow whose courage is proverbial'.

here, in London, to affronts which it takes blood to wash away...^a

I have had a letter and a visit from a certain citizen over the despatch of you know what. The mistake they made in Paris was not to hand over the papers required^b to facilitate the operations. You should now have some three per cent securities which circulate freely and which can be sold at the current rate. The citizen will give you any other necessary explanations.

He can be quite safely entrusted with the document.

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 28 April 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Kugelmann,

You can see from the above address that I have settled in London and have in fact been here since last autumn when I finally wound up my various business obligations in Manchester. I am happy with the move in every respect. My new house is not quite ten minutes away from Marx, which is very close indeed according to ideas here. Moreover, I have the park directly opposite the door and splendid fresh air.

As far as Marx' condition is concerned, you saw the situation in altogether too gloomy a light. *D'abord*^c your bold diagnosis which blamed his cough on catarrh on the lungs. Marx and I have consulted a very able young doctor^d (a Scot), who knows his auscultation and percussion as well as most in Germany, and who says the same as I have been saying all along: that the source of the cough is solely in the larynx and that the lungs are completely unaffected. He says that it is, however, not easy to get rid of a cough that has been so greatly neglected and which has therefore become so firmly entrenched, and he prophesies a recurrence in

^a Crossed out in the original: 'public affronts to which he was submitted in London by several', 'by a French worker', 'Résumé: Serrailier's crime consists in his persistent efforts to baffle the'. This is followed by a gap in the original. - ^b Crossed out in the original: 'for negotiation'. - ^c First of all - ^d Maddison

the autumn, even if the summer drives it away. Given proper treatment, however, he says there is no cause for concern. The only trouble with the cough to begin with was that it prevented Marx from sleeping and so brought about a general deterioration in his health. That has now been attended to more or less. The doctor has mainly been treating his liver and there too he has had some success. You will understand, however, that there can be no speedy cure for a chronic illness that, to my knowledge, has been more or less permanent for the last 26 years. Incidentally, Marx's way of life is by no means as crazy as people imagine. While the excitement that started with the war still persists, he has given up work on heavy theoretical matters and is living fairly rationally; he even frequently takes his 1½ hour to 2 hour walks *without* my forcing him to and he does not drink a drop of beer for weeks on end as soon as he notices that it doesn't agree with him. That he has a capricious appetite which alternates between lack of appetite and ravenous hunger is not surprising in his condition. You need have no fear that his skin is not in order—apart from the considerable areas where the *CUTIS* has been completely destroyed by the carbuncles. A walk via Highgate to Hampstead and back to Maitland Park is about 1½ German miles and involves going up and down several steep hills. And up on top there is more ozone than in the whole of Hanover. He goes for this walk 3-4 times per week, at least in part. Naturally, I often have to make him do it, but he knows that it is good for him. And in general, like me, he lives circa 150 feet above the Thames in an open district, with hardly a hint of urban atmosphere, among large gardens and few houses, and if matters are not worse with him, it can be put down to this healthy environment.

I have just been called to the table and, since the crazy postal system closes down in half-an-hour, I shall have to break off. At any rate I have given you enough material to counteract your somewhat exaggerated fears. The fact is that I cannot bear to be without a lot of exercise out of doors and, whether he wants to or not, Marx mostly has to come along with me, and that is after all the best medicine for him.

With warm regards,

Yours,
F. E.

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 4 MAY 1871

Dear LIBRARY,^a

Just this in great haste.

The *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale*, in which Vogt figures among others as someone who was subsidised from the official coffers,^b were *not* published by the *Commune*, which has no time for such trivia, but by the *gouvernement de la défense*, i.e. by Jules Favre et Co., the honest republicans so greatly admired by Vogt in his letters to Kolb.²⁰¹

Extracts from these official publications (and particularly the *names of those who received subsidies*) were printed in almost all the Paris papers. The cutting I enclose comes from the *Petit Journal* (issue of 3 May 1871^c), a paper which to this very day is conducting in Paris the same sort of campaign against the Commune as Signor Vogt in Vienna. From a sense of spiritual affinity with Vogt it even prints a (?) after his name.

Meanwhile, Vogt himself retracts all his talk when he says at the end of his gibberish:

'It is *even* possible that my name was misused as far back as 1859, albeit, so it seems, without my first name Karl.'^d

So Louis Bonaparte misused 'Vogt' by inscribing his name in his expenses-book! 'Vogt' as someone subsidised by Louis Bonaparte in August 1859—and moreover, just plain 'Vogt', Vogt without 'first name', Vogt *sans phrase*—naturally, that could only be the 'celebrated' Karl Vogt of Geneva! Mr Vogt is so well aware of that that he says '*my name was misused*'. The good man feels so stung that he forgets to have recourse to the simple evasion: just as there are many 'Karls' in the world, so too are there many 'Vogts'. What does it matter to me if some 'Vogt' or other without a first name received 40,000 frs in August 1859 from the Emperor's central treasury? No, says Vogt, I am *the* Vogt, the Vogt to whom

^a This nickname was given to Liebknecht by Marx's daughters. - ^b See this volume, p. 130. - ^c In the original a slip of the pen. The correct date is 25 March 1871 (see this volume, p. 146). - ^d C. Vogt, 'An die Redaktion des *Schweizer Handels-Couriers*', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 36, 3 May 1871.

people refer even without 'first name', but 'my name' has been 'misused'!

You must use all this to make the necessary statement in your paper. It is quite absurd to mince words for the sake of Mr Weiß and similar 'People's Partyites'.²⁰²

Your
K. M.

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85

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT
IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 4 May 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

Enclosed an article for the *Volksstaat*.^a

The Antwerp cigar-makers maintain that, at the time of the great German cigar-workers' STRIKE, they had sent a contribution of 3,000 frs in support. The STRIKE in Antwerp and Brussels is still in progress¹⁷⁷ and, if this story of the 3,000 frs is correct, it would damn-well be the responsibility of the Germans to pay it back. Please, try to find out about it and, depending on the result, write something on it briefly in the *Volksstaat*.

We have *greatly* enjoyed Bebel's speeches and articles here. His speech in the debate on Basic Rights was excellent,²⁰³ and the elegant superiority with which he, a worker, poured ridicule on the assortment of priests, Junkers and bourgeois, was really by far the best thing that has yet happened in the entire Berlin spittoon.

We heard with pleasure that you were going to visit us soon. You can, of course, stay both with me and with Marx; we shall arrange all that.

^a F. Engels, 'Once Again "Herr Vogt"'.

Jenny and Tussy are in Bordeaux with Lafargue, arrived there last Monday.^a

Best regards,

Your
F. E.

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 5 May 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

Yesterday evening when your letter arrived, I wrote at once and made A MISTAKE. The date of the *Petit Journal* with the reference to Vogt is 25 March 1871.^b This date is important. The *Journal*, like other Paris papers, had begun to publish the list of those subsidised long before the revolution of 18 March, and continued to do so after it. It finished doing so on 25 March with the list of people whose names began with 'V'.

Your
K. M.

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^a 1 May - ^b See this volume, p. 144.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 10 May 1871

Dear Jung,

The subject in question has been talked over many times previously between Marx and myself and again to-night²⁰⁴—we cannot come to any other conclusion but that there are only two candidates likely to *take* the place that can be taken into consideration, viz. Hales and Mottershead. What you say about Hales is quite correct and if he was proposed, it might be made a condition that he should get himself cleared in a more satisfactory way than he has done hitherto—as to his being an overlooker, so is Dupont, and so long as he behaves straight otherwise, that, though a little unpleasant, should not be an absolute bar. We think him, on the whole, preferable to Mottershead whose temper does not perhaps fit him so well for successful agitation among the London masses and that ought to be the principal occupation of the Secretary.—As to the ignorance of the languages, that is a thing that cannot be helped so long as you yourself are not in a position to take the office which I am afraid you are not; so we shall have to take an Englishman. On the one hand I do not consider the absence of linguistic knowledge a serious impediment under our present organisation; on the other this very circumstance might be the means to define more clearly the position of the Secretary which hitherto appears to be rather uncertain. To draw up the minutes and to carry on the correspondence with the English branches; at the same time to spread the Association amongst the masses of London and to render it independent of the aristocracy of the working classes and its acknowledged leaders,—if we could find a man capable and willing of doing that, we should probably get more consideration for our 15/- than hitherto.²⁰⁵ We must not forget that the office to be filled up is not that of 'General Secretary' to the Association, as Eccarius chose to call himself, but merely Secretary to the General Council, an office which confines his official duties to those performed in the Council meetings and to the correspondence with English branches (English-American only by special resolution as far as I know); that is to say he is at the same time Secretary for Great

Britain and as such has to keep up the agitation in this country which Eccarius never did and which yet is very important. This latter portion of his duties Marx and I consider the most important.

However, you will have to talk the matter over and see what can be done.

At all events here you have our opinion (confidentially of course) as you asked for it; there is no hurry, perhaps it might be as well merely to come to a provisional arrangement, but that will be for your committee to decide, as well as all the rest.

Very truly yours,
F. Engels

Those fellows that ran away from Fort Issy²⁰⁶ without being attacked deserve to be shot. The military situation has become much worse through this piece of cowardice.

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MARX TO LÉO FRANKEL AND LOUIS EUGÈNE VARLIN²⁰⁷
IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London,] 13 MAY 1871

Dear Citizens Frankel and Varlin,

I have had a number of interviews with the bearer.^a

Might it not be useful if all papers likely to compromise the riffraff of Versailles were kept in a safe place?^b A precaution of this kind could never do any harm.

They have written to me from Bordeaux to say that four Internationalists have been elected at the last municipal elec-

^a presumably N. Eilau - ^b See K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (First Draft). 'The Government of Defence'.

tions.²⁰⁸ The provinces are beginning to ferment. Unfortunately their action is localised and 'pacific'.

I have written hundreds of letters on behalf of your cause to all the corners of the earth where we have branches. The working class was, incidentally, pro-Commune since the latter's inception.

Even the bourgeois papers in this country have departed from their earlier ferocity. From time to time I contrive to slip a favourable paragraph into them.^a

I believe that the Commune wastes too much time over trifles and personal squabbles. One can see that there are influences at work other than those of the working men. None of this would matter if you had time enough to make up for lost time.

It is very necessary to do quickly what you intend to do outside Paris, in England or elsewhere. The Prussians won't hand over the forts to the Versailles people, but after the definitive conclusion of peace (26 MAY²⁰⁹)^b they will allow the government to invest Paris with its gendarmes. Since Thiers & Co. had, as you know, stipulated a handsome bribe in their treaty concluded by Pouyer-Quertier,²¹⁰ they refused to accept Bismarck's offer of assistance by German bankers. Had they done so, they would have forfeited their bribe. Since the prior condition for the accomplishment of *their* treaty was the conquest of Paris, they asked Bismarck to delay payment of the first instalment until the occupation of Paris. Bismarck accepted this condition. Prussia, being herself in urgent need of that money, will therefore provide the Versailles people with every possible facility to hasten the occupation of Paris. So be on your guard!

First published, in the language of the original (French), in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, Nr. 23, Stuttgart, 1911

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^a See, for instance, K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 27028, 4 April 1871. - ^b In the original there follows a phrase 'they will leave everything for Thiers to do', which is crossed out.

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MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY²¹¹

IN LONDON

London, 12 June 1871
1 Maitland Park Road, N.W.

My dear Sir,

Lafargue, his family and my daughters are in the Pyrenees near the Spanish border but on the French side of it.²¹² As Lafargue was born in Cuba he was able to obtain a Spanish passport. I wish however he would definitely settle on the Spanish side, as he played a leading role in Bordeaux.

Despite my admiration for your articles in the *Bee-Hive*,²¹³ I am almost sorry to see your name in that newspaper. Permit me to observe in passing that as a Party man I take up an entirely hostile attitude towards Comtism,²¹⁴ while as a scholar I have a very poor opinion of it; I regard you however as the only Comtist, both in England and in France, who deals with historical turning points (CRISES) not as a sectarian but as an historian in the best sense of the word. The *Bee-Hive* pretends to be a workers' paper but it is really the organ of renegades, sold to Sam. Morley & Co. During the recent Franco-Prussian war, the General Council of the International was obliged to sever all connection with this paper and publicly to declare that it was a workers' paper only in appearance.²¹⁵ The big London papers, however, with the exception of the local London *Eastern Post*, refused to print this declaration.^a In such circumstances your cooperation with the *Bee-Hive* is a further sacrifice you are making to the good cause.

A woman friend of mine^b will be going to Paris in three or four days. I am giving her regular passports for some members of the Commune who are still hiding in Paris.^c If you or one of your friends have any commissions there please write to me.

What comforts me is the nonsense which the *petite presse*^d publishes every day about my writings and my relations with the

^a K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on *The Bee-Hive*'. - ^b presumably Anna Jaclard - ^c See this volume, p. 174. - ^d yellow press

Commune; this is sent to me each day from Paris. It shows that the Versailles police is very hard put to it to get hold of genuine documents. My relations with the Commune were maintained through a German merchant^a who travels on business between Paris and London all the year round. Everything was settled verbally with the exception of two matters:

First, through the same intermediary I sent the members of the Commune a letter in answer to a question from them as to how they could sell certain securities on the London Exchange.^b

Second, on 11 May, ten days before the catastrophe, I sent them via the same channel all the details of the secret agreement between Bismarck and Favre in Frankfurt.²¹⁶

I had this information from Bismarck's right hand—a man^c who had formerly (from 1848 to 1853) belonged to a secret society of which I was the leader.²¹⁷ This man knows that I still have all the reports which he sent me from and about Germany. He is dependent on my discretion. Hence his continual efforts to prove to me his good intentions. It is the same man who, as I told you, had warned me that Bismarck was determined to have me arrested if I again visited Dr Kugelmann in Hanover this year.

If only the Commune had listened to my warnings! I advised its members to fortify the northern side of the heights of Montmartre, the Prussian side, and they still had time to do this; I told them beforehand that they would otherwise be caught in a trap; I denounced Pyat, Grousset and Vésinier to them; I demanded that they should at once send to London all the documents compromising the members of the National Defence, so that by this means the savagery of the enemies of the Commune could to some extent be held in check—thus the plan of the Versailles people would at least partially have been frustrated.

If the Versailles people had discovered these documents, they would not have published forged ones.

The "Address" of the International^d will not be published before Wednesday.^e I shall then send you a copy at once. Material for four to five sheets has been compressed into two. Hence the

^a probably N. Eilau. - ^b See this volume, p. 142. — ^c Lothar Bucher - ^d K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^e 14 June

numerous corrections, revisions and misprints. Hence also the delay.

Faithfully yours,
Karl Marx

First published in *Vorwärts*, No. 76,
31 March 1909, Supplement 1

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paper

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MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON¹⁸⁵
IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 13 JUNE 1871

Dear Sir,

I shall be happy to see to the 'first chapter', but I cannot start work on it *for another two weeks*.²¹⁸ A period of illness lasting eight weeks has piled up work which has to be dealt with first. I shall then also send you a list of minor corrections.^a

As to the continuation of my work, the report OF OUR FRIEND^b is based on a misunderstanding. I have decided that a complete revision of the manuscript is necessary.²¹⁹ Moreover, even now a number of essential DOCUMENTS are still outstanding, which will eventually arrive from the UNITED STATES.^c

*Our friend *must return to London* from his commercial expedition. I have received news from the correspondents of the firm for which he travels, from Switzerland and elsewhere. The business will be *ruined* if he defers his return, and he himself will be disabled for all time to do any further service to the firm. The competitors of the firm are informed, are looking about for him and will ensnare him with their intrigues.*²²⁰

My best thanks for the various Russian books which you were so kind as to send me. All arrived safely. The other economic writings of the author would be very welcome to me (the one of John Stuart Mill I already have^d).²²¹

Despite my illness I have JUST PUBLISHED AN ADDRESS^e ABOUT 2 SHEETS long. HOW TO SEND IT TO YOU?

^a See this volume, pp. 239-40. - ^b Hermann Lopatin - ^c See this volume, p. 100. - ^d N. G. Chernyshevsky, 'Дополнения и примечания на первую книгу политической экономии Джона Стюарта Милля' (Addenda and Notes to Book One on Political Economy by J. St. Mill). - ^e K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

Since I very often travel and hence am not AT HOME, please send all letters, etc., to my friend A. Williams,^a Esq. (no second envelope necessary). He lives in my house, so use the same address: 1 Maitland Park Road, Chalk Farm, London, N. W.

Yours sincerely,
M.

A short extract from the letter was published, in Russian, in: K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, St Petersburg, 1885 (Preface); the full text of the letter was first published, in Russian, in *Minuushiye gody*, No. 1, St Petersburg, 1908

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MARX TO HIS DAUGHTERS JENNY,
LAURA AND ELEANOR
IN BAGNÈRES-DE-LUCHON²¹²

[London,] 13 June 1871

My dear children,

After a 6 weeks' illness I am all right again, so far as this is possible under present circumstances. Besides, the devil is let loose in the house which is whitewashing, oiling, painting, papering, everything topsy-turvy. During the last days the noise and the continued expulsion from one corner to another got the better of my nervous system, and I have lived more at the general's^b house than at ours.

I wish to have fuller notice about Jenny's health. I fear to have read between the lines that she is not quite as she ought to be. Now, generally speaking, after consultation with doctors of notorious sagacity, and in *possession of full information*, I think all of you ought to leave the French for the Spanish side of the Pyrenees.²²² The climate is much better, the change you all stand in need of much more marked. As to Toole,^c in particular, his health will deteriorate and may even incur great danger, if he any longer hesitates to follow the advice of medical men who know everything about his constitution and have besides consulted his

^a Marx's pseudonym - ^b Engels' nickname - ^c Paul Lafargue's nickname

former doctors at Bordeaux, etc. Hence, I expect that you will not care for a little trouble, resort to a more healthy place, and soon send me your new address whither I would send you my new 'address'.^a

Here in London life is just now dull enough. The cousins from the country^b are thronging its streets. You recognise them at once by their bewildered airs, their astonishment at everything they see and their feverish anxiety at the convulsion of horses, cabs, omnibuses, people, babies, and dogs.

Mamma and Madame Lormier—as I hear—are fighting hard battles about politics. I do not know whether they have already come to blows, or whether they confine themselves to hard words, which will break no bones.

I have got from St Petersburg very valuable books and very friendly letters in which all sorts of advances are made to me.^c

Lawroff (not Anoroff) is a good fellow enough, not at all without capacity, but he has spoiled his brain and lost his time, by reading throughout the last 20 years mainly the German literature (philosophical, etc.) of that period, the lousiest sort of literature in existence. Being German, he seems to have fancied, it must needs be 'scientific'.

Mrs Vivanti has come it out strongly, it seems. I have not seen her, but I remark, that now she is spoken of in terms of praise, perhaps a little exaggerated, but in the family Cutts there runs, as you know, a vein of extravagance.

Jung's sister-in-law has been buried the day before yesterday. Poor girl! She died in a hospital.

The little 'master'^d is excellent in everything essential. So you may bear with his little weaknesses, his loquacity, his self-complacency, and the rehearsal of the 'happy speeches' he made here and there.

The German 'Knoten'-patriots,^e of course, have celebrated in Bolleter's Gardens the 'glorious' upshot of the Borusso-French war^f by a 'Friedensfest'^g in which, *more teutonico*,^h they have not failed 'sich blutig zu keilen'.ⁱ

Kern, having first found a schoolmaster's place, has now, by the general's mediation, got a good place as engineer in the North of England.

^a K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^b i.e. refugees of the Commune - ^c See this volume, p. 152. - ^d Hermann Jung - ^e boor-patriots - ^f i.e. the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Borussia: old name for Prussia, frequently used in an ironical sense to indicate the feudal landlord nature of Prussia. - ^g 'peace festival' - ^h after Teutonic fashion - ⁱ 'to draw blood fighting'

Dr Maddison sends his best compliments to Jenny and Tussy.
And now farewell, my dear children.

Old Nick^a

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ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 16 June 1871

Dear Mother,

I was just sitting down to write to you when your letter from Leutesdorf arrived, which moved me to take out the map from which I was fortunate enough to discover the place. It must be very prettily situated, just there where the mountains come right up close to the Rhine again, with a view of the plain which stretches from Andernach to Koblenz. I am sure that the air there will have been very good for you.

You have done well to take a whole party of lively young girls home with you to Engelskirchen. Relations between the two adjoining houses^b must be rather tense and embarrassing under the circumstances, and the presence of the girls will make sure that it is not talked about too much. Moreover, since the matter has now been settled it would be only right and proper for both sides to leave you in peace; it cannot do any good to keep raking over the ashes. As far as I am concerned, it was extremely unpleasant for me to find myself suddenly asked by Rudolf to do a favour for him, Hermann and Emil which I could not carry out without taking sides against Adolf. As you know, Rudolf is as honest as the day is long and is quite unable to dissemble, so that his letter did not leave me in the slightest doubt that the whole

^a Marx's family nickname - ^b An allusion to the relations between Engels' brothers—Rudolf, Emil and Hermann—on the one hand, and Adolf von Griesheim, the husband of Engels' sister, on the other.

thing was to be arranged behind Adolf's back. However, Adolf had just as great a right to the information requested as the three others. I found the whole business so unpleasant that at first I just neglected it, but when they bombarded me with letters, I had to take a decision and in my view I could not do otherwise than to inform Adolf of the matter as well, since it was of great importance to him. To leave them time to make amends, I wrote to them^a saying that I would write to Adolf and I did not in fact write to him until some days later.⁴⁵ I am at a loss to understand why they did not at once tell Adolf they had approached me and inform him of my reply. Had they done so all would have been well. But for them to obtain information behind Adolf's back which could be used *against* him, was something I could not be a party to. And that this was the intention is proved by Rudolf's subsequent letter to me. And in general Rudolf thought it a crime that Adolf should want to leave the firm at all, and since I had myself resigned only a short while earlier,²³ this seemed to me to go too far. Fortunately, the whole business is now settled and I hope they will soon make it up. I am writing to Adolf who has asked me for an account of the disagreements in Manchester and shall say to him that the most rational thing for them to do would be, either at the signing of the definitive contract, or even sooner, to give back to each other all the letters exchanged on the subject, throw them into the fire and drink a bottle of champagne.

As for my coming on a visit, that is a separate problem. As you know, ever since the business in Paris, there has been general hounding of us "Internationals"; we are supposed to have incited the whole revolution here from London, which is much the same as if someone were to accuse me of having stirred up the ill-feeling between Adolf and my brothers. But the hue and cry is on and we have definite information that Marx, who was expected in Hanover, would have been arrested there. True, they could not do me any serious harm if I did go over, but there could be minor conflicts, and I wouldn't have it for the world that they should take place in your house. Furthermore, the wretched Belgians still insist on passports. I think therefore that it would be best to wait a while until the police and the philistine heads have calmed down a little.

That is a strange business with Emma.^b You seem to have curious *accoucheurs* in Barmen.

^a See this volume, pp. 119-20. - ^b Emma Engels

We have also had a lot of east wind here, but not until late May, so that the weather was often very fine and not excessively cold. Nevertheless, a fire had to be lit a few times early in June. It has been sultry since the day before yesterday, and there has been heavy rain which was very good for the plants, and it looks now as if we shall soon have fine weather. On the whole we had a very pleasant spring here, much better than in Manchester. I often have visitors from there. The day before yesterday, Dr Gumpert and his wife were here. She was puzzled about what I did with such a large house but was full of praise for the good order in which it was kept. Otherwise I have my usual good health and appetite, am now trying to accustom myself to an afternoon nap, am visibly greyer in the beard, and suffer, as always, almost only from thirst. I hope that you are also well and still able to take your walks in the linden avenue on the Agger, where I hope quite soon to be able to lie down again on a bench after a meal and fall asleep.

Affectionate greetings to all from your faithful son,

Frederick

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹²¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 18 June 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

You must forgive my silence; even now I have only time to write a few lines.

You know that throughout the period of the last Paris revolution I was denounced continuously as the '*grand chef de l'Internationale*'^a by the Versailles papers (Stieber collaborating) and *par répercussion*^b by the press here.

^a 'ringleader of the International'. See this volume, p. 124. - ^b following them

And now the *Address*,^a which you will have received. It is making the devil of a noise and I have the honour to be AT THIS MOMENT THE BEST CALUMNIATED AND THE MOST MENACED MAN OF LONDON. That really does one good after a tedious twenty years' idyll in the backwoods. The government paper—*The Observer*—threatens me with legal prosecution. *Qu'ils osent! Je me moque bien de ces canailles-là!*^b I am enclosing a cutting from *The Eastern Post*, because it has our answer to Jules Favre's circular.²²⁴ Our answer appeared originally in *The Times* of 13 June. That honourable paper received a severe reprimand from Mr Bob Lowe (CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER and member of the Supervisory Committee of *The Times*) for this indiscretion.

My best thanks for the Reuters^c and MY BEST COMPLIMENTS TO *Madame la Comtesse et ma chère Fränzchen*.^d

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-02 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa Kugelmannu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

94

MARX TO AN UNKNOWN ADDRESSEE¹⁹⁴

[London,] 19 June 1871
1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, W.L.

Sir,

Please send me two copies of the *Pall Mall* of Saturday last (17 June).^e I enclose 5 d. for the transmission.

Yours obediently,
Karl Marx

Published for the first time

Reproduced from the original

^a K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^b Let them dare! I don't care a damn about these scoundrels! - ^c F. Reuter, *Ut mine Stromtid*. - ^d Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - ^e The leader of this issue, 'The International Working Men's Association', dealt with Marx's Address *The Civil War in France*. See also this volume, p. 159.

95

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT²²⁵

IN LEIPZIG

London, 22 June 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith the translation of Section I of the Address.^a The rest will follow so quickly that you can print Section I in *two* successive issues, i.e. you will have more copy in 8 days. On condition

1. that you print quickly and *a lot* in each issue;
2. that there are no marginal notes; I have translated so as to make them superfluous, apart from innuendos and details which could not in any case be explained in a few words;
3. that the type is left standing for separate publication as a pamphlet, which on this occasion is extremely necessary. If you do not have the money or credit for this, let us know.

Anything you *cannot* print you should replace with dots and send the relevant part of the manuscript to Becker in Geneva for him to publish it in the *Vorbote* (mark it clearly so that he can see where such passages fit in).²²⁶

You will have already received the copy of the original Address which I sent you *as a letter* with a few lines.⁴⁵ More of these are available.

The Address has caused a tremendous hullabaloo here in London. First they tried to ignore it, but it was not possible. On Wednesday the 14th, *The Evening Standard* published a denunciation, on the 15th *The Daily News* had an excerpt that then went through most other papers. Then *The Echo*, *Spectator* on Saturday, *Graphic*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Telegraph*—with leading articles, and that was it. On Monday *The Times* followed with a really lousy LEADER, then the *Standard* once more, yesterday *The Times* again, and the whole of London spoke only of us.²²⁷ All wailing, of course. *Tant mieux*.^b

I simply do not understand your scruples about deportation.²²⁸ In your place I would not give up Hessian citizenship without having a substitute safely in my pocket. You are too timid on this issue. A single great public scandal, which would make it clear to the whole world what a humbug all these imperial laws really are, would put an end to all this nonsense. But if you avoid the scandal

^a K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^b So much the better.

which can only redound to the detriment of servile nationalists,²²⁹ instead of provoking it, then the police will obviously do what they like. N.B. all this refers only to the relevant passage in your letter, not the stance adopted by the paper^a which is extremely courageous, and which we *wholeheartedly* salute. But do not imagine that the police scum would attempt to do to you what they venture to do to individual workers; they would only dare try it once they had created enough precedents by deporting workers over a period of time.

I did not at all realise that your deportation from Prussia was still in force. It may be that the police *maintain* this. But I was never able to comprehend why you did not settle the matter while you were still a deputy.

I am unable to correspond for the *Volksstaat*, but, as you see, I help wherever I can.

Nothing can be done about *The Pall Mall Gazette*. I have myself had all sorts of conflicts with the paper, even in the case of exclusively military articles, and neither you nor I can get political things accepted. I only keep the contact going TO KEEP A FOOTING THERE, so as to be able to print things there from time to time. If they did accept you as a correspondent, which they will not do, *none* of your reports would be printed. I even went so far in the New Year as to tell the editor^b I knew full well that I could only produce military articles for him and not political ones, and said I only did this in the hope that he would publish our factual notices dealing with Party affairs when we thought it necessary. And this is what has happened.

You seem to have a very good idea of Reynolds. The greatest scoundrel in the press here, an arrant coward whenever he is uncertain of success, he has suppressed the entire Address right down to the extract from *The Daily News*.

The German workers have behaved themselves quite splendidly in this last great crisis, better than anyone else. And Bebel has been an outstanding spokesman on their behalf; his speech on the Commune went through the entire English press and made a great impression here.²³⁰ You should send the *Volksstaat* to the *Pall Mall* from time to time; they publish items from it occasionally because the man is afraid of Marx and myself, and because there is another man^c there who knows German and makes use of such things. Moreover, the paper readily publishes all sorts of curious information that others do not include.

^a *Der Volksstaat* - ^b Frederick Greenwood - ^c Nicolas Léon Thieblin

I would be grateful if you could send my copy of the *Volksstaat* to me *here*, and not to Manchester any more. Please send me 3-4 copies of the issues with the Address, one for proof-reading, the rest for distribution.

Best regards to you and yours.

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English in full for the
first time

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ENGELS TO CARLO CAFIERO²³¹

IN BARLETTA

London, 1[-3] July 1871

My dear Friend,

I hope you received the copy of the Address of the General Council on the Civil War in France^a which I sent to the address in Florence that you left me. I shall send you another copy at Barletta in a couple of days, again in the form of a letter for greater safety.^b

I was very pleased to receive your letter from Barletta, which I would have answered sooner had the Address not made a great deal of work for us. It was violently attacked by the press and we had to reply to different newspapers.—I am also busy translating it into German for our Leipzig newspaper (*Der Volksstaat*).²²⁶ A Dutch translation is being published in the *Toekomst* (*The Future*) of The Hague. If you can arrange for an Italian translation to be published this will be of great material help in your propaganda, giving the Italian workers a ready means of knowing the opinions of the General Council, and the principles and methods of action of our Association.

On further consideration I think it would be opportune to send *two* copies of our Address to Castellazzo in Florence, asking him to

^a K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^b See this volume, pp. 170-71.

send one of them to you in a letter.—This will give me the opportunity of establishing a correspondence with him,²⁵² which will be regularly maintained. You must excuse me for not writing to him sooner, but I have to correspond with Spain and Belgium, as well as with Italy. Now, as regards Naples and Caporusso, the latter attended one of our Congresses^a although he never kept a regular correspondence with the Council. To explain this I need to go into certain historical details.—Caporusso and his friends were followers of the Russian Bakunin. Bakunin has a theory peculiar to himself, which is really a mixture of communism and Proudhonism; the fact that he wants to unite these two theories in one shows that he understands absolutely nothing about political economy. Among other phrases he has borrowed from Proudhon is the one about anarchy being the final state of society; he is nevertheless opposed to all political action by the working classes, on the grounds that it would be a recognition of the political state of things; also all political acts are in his opinion 'authoritarian'. Just how he hopes that the present political oppression and the tyranny of capital will be broken, and how he intends to carry out his favourite idea on the abolition of inheritance without 'acts of authority', he does not explain.—But when in September 1870 the insurrection in Lyons was put down by force he decreed in the Hôtel de Ville^b the abolition of the state, without taking any measures against all the bourgeois of the National Guard, who calmly walked into the Hôtel de Ville, kicked Bakunin out and put the state back on its feet, all in less than an hour.¹²⁸ However, Bakunin has founded a sect upon his theories, to which a small portion of French and Swiss workers belong, many of our members in Spain and some in Italy, among whom are Caporusso and his friends. Thus Caporusso is true to his name: he has a Russian for a boss.^c

Now our Association has been founded to provide a central means of communication and joint activity for the working men's societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement and complete emancipation of the working classes (1st Rule of the Association).^d Since the particular theories of Bakunin and his friends come under this rule, there can be no objection to accepting them as members and allowing them to do what they can to propagate their ideas by

^a the Basle Congress of 1869 - ^b town hall - ^c A pun: in Italian 'capo' means 'boss' and 'russo'—Russian. - ^d *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London, [1867].

every appropriate means. We have people of all sorts in our Association—communists, Proudhonists, unionists, commercial-unionists, cooperators, Bakuninists, etc.—and even in our General Council we have men of widely differing opinions.

The moment the Association were to become a sect it would be finished. Our power lies in the liberality with which the first rule is interpreted, namely that all men who are admitted aim for the complete emancipation of the working classes. Unfortunately the Bakuninists, with the narrowness of mentality common to all sects, were not satisfied with this. In their view the General Council consisted of reactionaries, the programme of the Association was too vague. Atheism and materialism (which Bakunin himself learnt from us Germans) had to become compulsory, the abolition of inheritance and the state, etc., had to be part of our programme.—Now Marx and I are almost as old and as good atheists and materialists as Bakunin, just like almost all our members. We know as well as he does that inheritance is nonsensical, although we differ from him over the importance and appropriateness of presenting its abolition as the deliverance from all evil; and the ‘abolition of the state’ is an old German philosophical phrase, of which we made much use when we were tender youths. But to put all these things into our programme would mean alienating an enormous number of our members, and dividing rather than uniting the European proletariat.—When the efforts to get the Bakuninist programme adopted as the programme of the Association failed, an attempt was made to make the Association take a roundabout route. Bakunin formed in Geneva an ‘Alliance of Socialist Democracy’, which was to be an international association separate from ours.¹⁰—The ‘most radical minds in our sections’, the Bakuninists, were to form sections of this *Alliance* everywhere, and these sections were to be subject to a separate General Council in Geneva (Bakunin) and to have national councils separate from ours; and at our General Congress this Alliance was to attend our congress in the morning and hold its own separate congress in the afternoon.—This delightful plan was put before the General Council in November 1868, but on 22 December 1868 the General Council annulled these rules as being contrary to the Rules of our Association and declared that the sections of the Alliance could only be admitted separately and that the Alliance must either be disbanded or cease to belong to the International.^a On 9 March 1869, the General Council informed the Alliance that ‘there exists,

^a K. Marx, *The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*.

therefore, no obstacle to the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the Int. W. Ass. The *dissolution* of the Alliance, and the entrance of its sections into the Int. W. Ass., once settled, it would, according to our Regulations, become necessary to inform the General Council of the residence and the numerical strength of each new section.^a These conditions were never fulfilled exactly, but the Alliance as such disapproved of them everywhere except in France and Switzerland where it ended up creating a split. About 1,000 Bakuninists—less than a tenth of our members—withdrew from the French and Swiss federations and have now appealed to the Council to be recognised as a separate federation, which very probably the Council will not oppose. From this you can see that the main result of the Bakuninists' action has been to create splits in our ranks.—Nobody opposed their particular dogma, but they were not satisfied with that and wanted to be in command and impose their doctrines on all our members.—We have resisted, as was our duty, and if they will agree to work peaceably alongside our other members we have neither the right nor the will to exclude them. But one ought to consider whether the presence of these elements should be made apparent, and if we can win the Italian sections that are not steeped in this particular fanaticism we shall certainly be able to work better together. You will be able to judge for yourself on the basis of the situation you will have found in Naples. The programme quoted in Jules Favre's circular against us as the programme of the International, is a genuinely Bakuninist programme mentioned above.²³³ You will find our reply to Favre in the *London Times* of 13 June.^b

Mazzini in 1864 tried to transform our Association to suit his own ends, but he failed. His chief instrument was a Garibaldian Major Wolff (his real name was Prince Thurn und Taxis) who has now been exposed by Tibaldi as a French police spy.²³⁴ When Mazzini saw that the International could not serve him as a means, he attacked it with great violence and availed himself of every opportunity to slander it, but as you say time has passed quickly and '*God and the people*' is no longer the slogan of the Italian working class.

^a The quotation, which is in French in the copy, was distorted by the police translator. Here it is given according to the original source (see K. Marx, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*). - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular'.

We are well aware that the system of tenant farmers or 'métayers'^a has been the basis of agricultural production in Italy since Roman times. There is no doubt that this system generally gives tenant farmers a greater degree of political independence in relation to the proletariat than is permitted to tenant farmers here.—But if we accept what Sismondi and recent writers on the subject say, the rate of exploitation of tenants by landowners is as great in Italy as everywhere else and the lowest stratum of peasants are extremely severely burdened. In Lombardy, where the plots are extensive, the tenant farmers when I was there²³⁵ were moderately well-off, but there still existed a class of rural proletarians employed by the tenants, who practically did all the work and derived no benefit from this system. In the other parts of Italy where there are fewer tenants, the sharecropping system, so far as I can tell from a distance, does not protect them from the same poverty, ignorance and degradation which is the fate of small tenant farmers in France, Germany, Belgium and Ireland.—Our policy towards agricultural populations has been generally and naturally as follows: where there are extensive landholdings, the tenant farmer is a capitalist in relation to the worker, and there we must support the worker; where there are smallholdings, the tenant although nominally a small capitalist or landowner (as in France and part of Germany) is however in reality generally reduced to the same level of poverty as the proletarian, and we must therefore work for him.—Without doubt it must be the same in Italy. But the Council will be most obliged if you can give us information about these matters and also about the recent legislation in Italy concerning rural properties and other social questions.

After numerous interruptions I am finishing this letter on 3 July, and I ask you only to be so good as to reply promptly. I shall write today to Castelazzo.

Your devoted
F. Engels

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^a 'sharecroppers'

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 10 July 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith the rest of Section III.^a Section IV will follow in 2-3 days, and at all events by the end of the week.²²⁶ The proofs today or tomorrow.

Ad vocem^b deportation,²²⁸ the examples you give of deportations from Prussia and Mainz will not hold water, because they took place in wartime and so were legal. You ought by some means or other to force a decision on the cases in Saxony: either by the refusal of those involved to leave, or by appeal and petition to the Reichstag. The Party of Progress cannot refuse you support on this matter without ruining itself totally.²³⁶ As long as the Reichstag does not explicitly refuse to recognise the rights of citizenship and the freedom to live and move where one likes, the issue is not settled. As to your particular case, you could have brought it to the boil very quickly by going to Berlin 8 days before the opening of the Reichstag and waiting to see what happened. I am convinced that they would not have touched you, and that would have been the end of it. If they had made a move against you, there would have been a fearful outcry and they would have had to release you as soon as the Reichstag convened; you would then have been able to expose the Reichstag in the eyes of the entire world if they had not behaved properly. There are certain decencies that even the most wretched assembly cannot openly violate in untroubled times. However, now that you are no longer in the Reichstag, it is no longer so simple. But if you allow all these rights that you possess on paper to be taken from you in reality *without any sort of struggle*, and if you do not *force* the Reichstag to decide publicly for or against its own creation, then there is no helping you.

The imperious tone in which you demanded that we should found a paper here amused us hugely. You must have confused London with Crimmitschau to have imagined that one can just go

^a The reference is to the German translation of Marx's *The Civil War in France*. - ^b As to

ahead and establish a *Bürger- und Bauernfreund* here without more ado.²³⁷ You surely ought still to be aware that just as London is larger than Crimmitschau so too the difficulties in setting up a paper and all the demands made of it are correspondingly greater. If you can put some £10,000 at our disposal, we shall be at your service.

Ad vocem Odger, you forget that the man was elected by the *Congress* and could not be expelled without a valid reason.²³⁸ From what you say on this point it is quite clear that you have completely lost touch with the situation here, which is not surprising since the papers maintain a total silence about events within the workers' party.

We have now thoroughly and definitively broken off relations with *The Pall Mall Gazette*.²³⁹

Best regards to you and yours from my wife^a and the Marx family.

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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time

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MARX TO LÉON BIGOT²⁴⁰

IN PARIS

London, 11 July 1871

Sir,

I declare that the letter attributed to me in which I allegedly speak of Mr Assi is a *forgery*, like all the other letters attributed to me by the French newspapers.

I have never dealt with Mr Assi either in private or in public with one exception. A few days after the revolution of 18 March the London newspapers published a telegram according to which that revolution was allegedly prepared by me in secret collabora-

^a Lydia Burns

tion with Blanqui and Mr Assi who supposedly had come to London to reach an understanding with me. I then declared in *The Times* that this was all a fairy tale invented by the French police.^a

I have the honour of remaining

Karl Marx

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 12 July 1871

My dear Friend,

Would you be so kind as to dine with us next Sunday at five o'clock in the evening?

You will find some of our friends from Paris here.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book 5, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

^a K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 27028, 4 April 1871.

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MARX TO A. O. RUTSON²⁴¹

IN LONDON

[London,] 12 July 1871
 1 Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
 Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Sir,

I send you together with these lines the following publications of the General Council of the 'International':

- 1) 'Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules'.
 - 2) 'Rules of the International Workingmen's Association' as definitively accepted by the Geneva Congress of 1866.
 - 3) 'Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868'.
 - 4) 'Report of the General Council to the Brussels Congress'^a (*Times*, 9 September 1868).
 - 5) 'The Belgian massacres'.
 - 6) 'Address to the National Labour Union of the United States'.
 - 7) 'Report of the Fourth Annual Congress, held at Basle 1869'.^b
 - 8) 'Irish Amnesty'.^c
 - 9) 'Lockout of the Building Trades at Geneva'.
 - 10) 'Programme of the Fifth Annual Congress'.^d
- N.B. The meeting of this Congress was prevented by the Franco-Prussian War.²⁴²
- 11) Two Addresses on the Franco-Prussian War.^e
 - 12) Address on the 'Civil War in France'.
 - 13) I enclose a written copy of the 'Address to Abraham Lincoln' and his reply.²⁴³

This list, though not complete, contains the most important documents published by the General Council.

^a K. Marx, 'The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association'. - ^b K. Marx, 'Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association'. - ^c K. Marx, 'Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners'. - ^d K. Marx, 'Programme for the Mainz Congress of the International'. - ^e K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'; K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

An Address to the American Committee of the 'International'^a—
which is just printing—I shall forward you tomorrow.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

A. O. Rutson, Esq.

First publication of the fair copy. The
rough copy was first published in: Marx
and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition,
Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO CARLO CAFIERO²⁹¹

IN NAPLES

London, 16 July 1871

My dear Friend,

I hope you have received my letter of 3 July^b which I sent to Barletta. I got yours of 28 June the day after sending mine, and I was pleased to hear that you have received the Address,^c which is currently being translated into Italian and will be published in that language. As for the Russian translation, urge the lady by every possible means to finish it, because the sooner it is done and published the better.²⁴⁴ Besides, the German, Dutch and Spanish translations are being published in Madrid, the French translation will be published in Geneva and perhaps another in Brussels.²⁴⁵ Thus despite all the persecutions of the continental Government it is satisfying to recognise that our Association has greater means of international publishing than the semi-official press of any European Government.

When your letter arrived mine to Florence had not yet been sent,^d and considering the position I thought it better not to write directly there. A letter containing printed documents sent from London to a shoemaker in Florence, whose name had appeared in the Address to the Commune,²⁴⁶ would naturally arouse suspicion,

^a K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'. - ^b See this volume, pp. 161-65. - ^c K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^d See this volume, pp. 161-62.

whereas the same letter addressed to a doctor of law in Naples^a would appear quite normal. I am therefore enclosing herewith:

1. Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules of 1864
2. Regulations established by the Congress^b
3. Resolutions of the 1866 and 1868 Congresses
4. Two Addresses of the General Council on the War
5. Address on the Civil War in France. 2nd Edition
6. Idem on Mr Washburne.^c 3 copies.

Perhaps you will be so good as to send certain of these documents as you can afford to Florence and keep the rest for your own use. I do not know exactly which documents our secretary^d gave you before you left. If you require further copies of some or all of these kindly let me know and they will be sent to you as soon as we have them. In any case, you now have enough material to communicate whatever information about the present state of our Association may be requested by our friends in Florence. It will perhaps be a good idea if, for the moment, I do not correspond with them except through you, until the present persecutions are over, because it would not be advantageous to compromise anyone more than is necessary. Meanwhile, and until their society is reconstituted, they could form a section of our Association right away among their closest friends, from six to a dozen, and write us a letter stating that they are affiliating and nominating their secretary, with whom I shall then enter into correspondence. This section could at a later date be merged into the reconstituted society. As soon as the letter arrives the list of names will be transcribed and sent for publication.

We are pleased to hear that you and other friends do not fear the persecutions but welcome them as the best means of propaganda. This is my opinion and it seems we are destined to have an abundance of such persecutions. In Spain many people have been imprisoned and others are in hiding. In Belgium the government is trying with all its might to give free rein to the law and even more against us. In Germany the followers of Bismarck are starting to play this game too, except that there more than in Spain they are impeded by the forceful resistance of our men who have been much more fortunate. No doubt you will still have your share in Italy, but we are satisfied that these persecutions will be met in a different spirit from that of Caporusso and his friends.²⁴⁷

^a Carlo Cafiero - ^b 'Administrative Regulations' in *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London, [1867]. - ^c K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'. - ^d P. Giovacchini

It is truly remarkable that these partisans of Bakunin should display such cowardice as soon as there is the slightest sign of danger. The Spanish Bakuninists, who recently wrote to tell us that their practice of abstention from political affairs had been a huge success, so much so that the socialists were no longer feared, but considered completely innocent people (!!), have not behaved at all well in the face of the recent persecutions, and we are not able to find a single one of them from any nation who has at any time allowed himself of his own will to be exposed to danger either on a barricade or elsewhere.—It will be good for us to get rid of them altogether, and if you can find people in Naples or in some other town who are not connected to this current in Geneva it will be so much the better.—Whatever we manage to do or whatever congress we prescribe these men will always form, in reality if not in name, an internal sect in our society, and the men of Naples, Spain, etc., will give more weight to our communications received through their own headquarters than to anything else our Association can do. Thus if they come back into our Association we think it will be for a short time only and once again the disputes will arise that will lead to their exclusion. We have had proofs of the fact that they still intend to form their own International within the Great International and they can rest assured that neither the General Council nor the Congress will warrant any violation of our Rules.

What you say about the state of the population in the south of Italy does not surprise us. Even here in England, where the movement of the working classes is almost as old as this century, one meets with apathy and ignorance in abundance. The trade-union movement has become more an obstacle to the general movement than an instrument of its progress, and outside the trade unions there exists here a huge mass of workers in London who for several years have kept quite apart from the political movement and are consequently very ignorant. But on the other hand they are also exempt from many of the traditional prejudices of trade-unionists and other old sects and thus constitute excellent material upon which to work. They are about to be mobilised by our Association, and we have recognised that they are intelligent.

I can understand perfectly your position in Naples. It is the same position as some of us were in 25 years ago in Germany, when we first founded the social movement. At that time we had among the proletarians the only few men in Switzerland, France and England who had absorbed socialist and communist ideas; we

had very few means with which to work on the masses and, like you, we had to find supporters among the schoolmasters, journalists and students. Luckily in this period of the movement such men, not belonging exactly to the working class, were easy to find. Later, when the working people as a mass are in command of the movement, they certainly become rarer.

With the freedom granted by 1848, with the press and with the register of meetings and associations, this first phase of the movement was naturally much curtailed, and no doubt in a year or two you will be able to give us a different report of the state of affairs in Naples.

We thank you also for your resolution to tell us the facts as they really are. Our Association is strong enough to show itself willing to know the real truth, even when it seems unfavourable, and nothing can weaken it more than exaggerated reports without a real foundation. Act in this way and you will never receive from me any report which might in the slightest way make you see things differently from the way they are.

I enclose the report of the meeting of the Council on 4 July^a with all the facts relating to Major Wolff.²³⁴ Since the man is well known in Italy it will be a good thing to publish them there.

May I add that we have a rule for all periodical newspapers published by our organisation: two copies must be sent regularly to the Council here, one for the archive where they are all kept, one for the secretary of the country where they are published. Would you trouble yourself to see to this as soon as there is an Italian organ of the Association? In the case of Italian translations, too, a number of copies should be sent here.

We now have Italian refugees here who fought in Paris for the Commune and are being helped by our refugee fund.

Fraternal greetings.

F. Engels

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^a In the original: '3 July'.

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MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD
IN LONDON

[London,] 21 JULY [1871]

Dear Oswald,

I must once again pester you for a passport—one with a visa from the French Consulate. (The last one is already in Paris.)²⁴⁸ Through your efforts, you have already *saved* 6 people, and such a noble achievement is the best reward for your labours.

Yours in sincere friendship,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33,
Moscow, 1964

Printed according to a typewritten
copy

Published in English for the first
time

103

MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON
IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 22 July [1871]

Dear Friend,

Excuse me for answering with such a delay.^a I have been so much *overworked* during this latter time that I got hardly to bed.

Hence I could not think of doing anything concerning *The Capital*. Next week, however, I shall commence and make the whole thing ready for you.^b

I had a *packet ready for Berlin*, but, unfortunately, it has, by some mistake, not been sent off. It is still here. So please send me a new address for Berlin, and I shall dispatch the packet at once.²⁴⁹

^a Thus far Marx wrote in German. The rest of the letter is in English. - ^b See this volume, pp. 239-40.

As to our mutual friend^a the most alarming news has arrived here, but, I hope, it is false, or at all events exaggerated.

If you were able to find me a *correspondent in Berlin* who might serve as an intermediary for *some* of the commercial business I have to transact with Petersburg, it would be a useful thing, and for *some articles* that circuitous way might prove shorter than the direct way. The straight line is not in all cases, as the mathematicians fancy, the shortest one.

Yours most faithfully,

A. Williams^b

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time

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MARX TO EUGEN OSWALD

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 July 1871

Dear Oswald,

I would like warmly to recommend my friend Józef Rozwadowski^c to you. He was *Chef d'état major*^d under General Wróblewski. He is an excellent young man, *mais sans le sou*.^e What he would like, is, for a start, to give French lessons. As soon as he can speak English, it will be possible to look around for a post as engineer for him.

He is living at 9 Packington Street, Essex Road, Islington.

Yours sincerely,

K. Marx

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^a Hermann Lopatin; see also this volume, p. 152 - ^b Marx's pseudonym - ^c Misspelled in the original as 'Rodwanowski'. - ^d Chief of Staff - ^e but without a penny

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MARX TO CHARLES CARON²⁵⁰

IN NEW ORLEANS

[Résumé of a letter]

[London,] 26 July 1871

Lettre sent to Chas. Caron, New Orleans (Président et Secrétaire par interim du Club International et Républicain, etc.). Accepted as branch of the International. Written them to communicate with Central Committee at New York. Sent them 1 Civil War^a (2^{me} édit.), 1 Rules, et 1 Washburne.^b

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹²¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 27 July [1871]

Dear Kugelmann,

Be so good as to send the enclosed note to Liebknecht at once.¹⁷

I find your silence very strange. I cannot assume that the various packages of printed matter have failed to reach you.

On the other hand, it would be very foolish if you wanted to punish me in this way for not writing—on the old principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Remember, *mon cher*, that if the day had 48 hours, I would still not have finished my day's work for months now.

The work for the International is immense, and in addition London is overrun with REFUGEES, whom we have to look after.²⁵¹ Moreover, I am overrun by other people—newspaper men and others of every description—who want to see the 'MONSTER' with their own eyes.

^a K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^b K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'.

Up till now it has been thought that the emergence of the Christian myths during the Roman Empire was possible only because printing had not yet been invented. Precisely the contrary. The daily press and the telegraph, which in a moment spreads its inventions over the whole earth, fabricate more myths in one day (and the bourgeois cattle believe and propagate them still further), than could have previously been produced in a century.

My daughters have been in the Pyrenees for some months.²¹² Jennychen, who was still suffering from the after-effects of *pleurésie*, is, she writes me, mending visibly.

Best thanks for your Germanic despatches.

I hope that you, as well as your dear wife and Fränzchen^a—whom I ask you to greet cordially—are well.

Apropos. You were probably astonished to see that I made references to a duel in my missive to the *Pall Mall*.^b The matter was quite simple. Had I not given the EDITOR this excuse for making a few cheap jokes, he would simply have suppressed the whole thing. As it was he fell [into] the trap and did what was my real purpose—he published word for word the accusations against Jules Favre et Co. contained in the Address.^c

Salut.

Your
K. M.

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, Nr. 25, Stuttgart, 1901-1902 and in full, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmannu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London, not later than 27 July 1871]

Dear Liebknecht,

Herewith the final portion.^d

When I gave you the *Peasant War*, you did not even send me a

^a Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - ^b K. Marx, 'Letter to Frederick Greenwood, the Editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*'. - ^c K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^d of the German translation of Marx's *The Civil War in France*

single copy of it.²⁵² In order to procure some, I had to order them through the local Workers' Society.¹³⁵ This time I am counting on more decent treatment and would like to have *for myself* 25 copies of a separate offprint of the Address. I not only have private debts of politeness to repay, but I also have to present copies to the local and other German workers. Apart from myself, the *General Council* should also be sent 25 copies. You can add 50 copies of Borkheim's pamphlet, for which we shall *pay*, as well as around 6 copies each of your other publications (1 doz. each of Bebel's and of Dietzgen's things), for which we shall pay too.²⁵³

Your
F. E.

We shall also have the German translation printed in America as soon as the complete text becomes available.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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MARX TO NIKOLAI UTIN¹³⁷

IN GENEVA

[Draft]

[London,] 27 July 1871

Dear Citizen,

Last Tuesday^a the General Council resolved that there would not be a *Congress* this year (in view of extraordinary circumstances) but that, as in 1865, there should be a *private Conference* in London²⁵⁴ to which different sections would be invited to send their delegates. The convocation of this Conference *must not be published in the press*. Its meetings will not be public ones. The Conference will be required to concern itself, not with theoretical questions, but exclusively with questions of *organisation*. It will also deal with disputes between the different sections of a particular country. The Conference will *open in London on 17 September* (third Sunday in September). Jung will advise Becker and Perret of these resolutions.

^a 25 July

At last Tuesday's meeting two questions were put to the General Council by Guillaume²⁵⁵: 1) He sent copies of two letters, one, dated 28 July 1869, from Eccarius, whereby the *Alliance* was recognised as a section of the International, the other, dated 25 August 1869, from Jung. This was a receipt for the Alliance's contribution (year 1868-69). Now Guillaume is asking if these letters were authentic.

We replied saying that *there could be no doubt on that score*.

2nd question: 'Has the General Council passed a resolution excluding the *Alliance* from the *International*?' We replied, saying, as was the case, *that there had been no resolution of this kind*.

Up till then, there had been nothing but facts to ascertain, but when Robin, on behalf of his mandatories, sought to interpret these facts in a light that would have prejudged the Swiss dispute,⁹ the Council cut things short!

First it was pointed out that, in a letter preceding the one from Eccarius, *the conditions* of the Alliance's admission had been specified, that they had been accepted by the Alliance and that it was a question of knowing whether the Alliance had fulfilled those conditions—a question to be dealt with by the Conference.

As to the contribution for 1868-69, it was pointed out that this payment was made by the *Alliance* to buy its admission to the Basle Congress of 1869 and that thereafter the *Alliance* had paid nothing further.

As to the second question, it was pointed out that if the General Council had not passed a resolution excluding the Alliance, this certainly was no proof that the *Alliance* had not excluded itself by its own conduct and actions.

The Council then resolved that, while it might reply to the factual questions raised by Guillaume, it reserved for the Conference the right to pronounce on the essential aspects of the affair.

L'Égalité arrives here at very irregular intervals.

You would oblige me by acknowledging receipt of this letter.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

P. S. I do not sign myself Secretary for *Russia* in the Council's manifestoes for fear of compromising our friends in Russia.

ENGELS TO CARLO CAFIERO²³¹

IN NAPLES

London, 28 July 1871
122, R.P.R. N.W.

Dear Cafiero,

I have received your letter of the 12th, and I hope you have received the one I sent to Naples a few days before,^a containing the Rules of the Association, the deliberations of the Geneva and Brussels congresses, the second^b edition of the address on the civil war in France, the addresses on the Franco-Prussian war, the Association's Inaugural Address of 1864, etc., etc. These documents will certainly suffice to explain to you what the rules and principles of our society are and the means which the General Council has available to act in the name and on behalf of the society. I have once again received the *Plebe* of Lodi, the bulletin on Caporusso and the issue of *Roma del Popolo* containing Mazzini's attack on us.^c

As for the facts relating to Caporusso which have been published and subsequently quoted in your letter, they would seem to be sufficient to make him incapable of harming us in the future. If he were to dare to present himself again to the public as a representative of the working class, the story of the 300 lire²⁵⁶ would be made public and that would erase the last traces of his influence. We are pleased to hear that there is no sign of the *Bakuninist* sect over there. We had been led to believe the reverse because the Swiss *Bakuninists* always asserted it to be the case. They repeated it constantly and since we received no reply from Naples to our letters we believed it. We had no address in Naples other than that of Caporusso, to whom at least 3 letters were written by our French secretary E. Dupont in Marx's presence, but Caporusso must have suppressed them. If you think it is worth the trouble, ask Caporusso about those letters. Besides, no replies from Naples were ever received, and if those letters which were sent were addressed, as you say, directly to the Council, it is only too evident that, between them, the Italian, French and British police would have prevented them from arriving.

^a See this volume, pp. 170-73. - ^b In the original mistakenly: 'third'. - ^c G. Mazzini, 'Agli operai italiani', *La Roma del Popolo*, No. 20, 13 July 1871.

You are right to dwell on the *moment of reflexion* (in which I recognise with pleasure the very voice of old Hegel, to whom we are all so indebted)^a and to say that the Association cannot be satisfied in its work with the mere assertion of Article 1 of the Rules, a principle which, unless developed, will remain a mere *negation*, the negation of the right of the aristocratic and bourgeois classes to 'exploit' the proletariat. In fact we must go much further, we must develop the positive side of the question, how the emancipation of the proletariat is to take effect, and thus the discussion of different opinions becomes not just inevitable but necessary. As I say, this discussion is going ahead constantly not only within the Association but also in the General Council, where there are *Communists, Proudhonists, Owenists, Chartists, Bakuninists*, etc., etc. The most difficult thing is to get them all together and ensure that the differences of opinion on these matters do not disturb the solidity and stability of the Association. In this we have always been fortunate, with the sole exception of the Swiss *Bakuninists*, who with true sectarian fury always dared to impose their programme on the Association, both by direct means and indirectly, by forming a special international society with its own General Council, its own congress, and all this within the great International itself. When this was attempted in the form of the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste de Genève*¹⁰ the Council replied as follows (22 December 1868)^b:

'According to these documents (the Programme and Regulations of the Alliance^c), the said Alliance is merged entirely in the International, at the same time as it is established entirely outside this Association. Besides the General Council of the International, elected at the Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels congresses, there is to be, in line with the initiatory rules (of the Alliance), another Central Council in Geneva, which is self-appointed. Besides the local groups of the *International*, there are to be the local groups of the *Alliance*, which through their national bureaus, operating outside the national bureaus of the International, shall ask the Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them into the International. The Alliance Central Committee thereby takes upon itself the right of admittance to the International.

^a Hegel considered reflexion the motive force of the development of the World Spirit, the inner form of the historical self-consciousness and self-development of culture. - ^b K. Marx, 'The International Working Men's Association and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy'. - ^c The words in parentheses were inserted into the resolution by Engels.

Lastly, the General Congress of the International Working Men's Association will have its parallel (*doublure*) in the General Congress of the Alliance, for, as the initiatory rules say,

“At the Annual Working Men's Congress the delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, shall hold public meetings in a separate building.”

‘Considering:

‘That the presence of a second international body operating within and outside the International Working Men's Association would be the infallible means of its disorganisation;

‘That every other group of individuals, residing anywhere at all, would have the right to imitate the Geneva initiatory group (of the Alliance) and, under more or less plausible excuses, to bring into the International Working Men's Association other international associations with special missions;

‘That the International Working Men's Association would thereby soon become a plaything for intriguers of any nationality and any party;

‘That, moreover, the Rules of the International Working Men's Association admit only *local* and national branches into its ranks (see Art. 1 and Art. 6 of the Rules);

‘That sections of the International Working Men's Association are forbidden to adopt rules or administrative regulations contrary to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association (see Art. 12 of the Administrative Regulations);

‘That the matter has been prejudged by the resolutions against the *Ligue de la Paix*, adopted unanimously at the Brussels Congress. (This league had invited the International to join it, and this was our answer to these bourgeois)²⁵⁷;

‘That in these resolutions, the Congress declares that the *Ligue de la Paix* had no *raison d'être*, because after its recent declarations its aim and its principles were identical with those of the International Working Men's Association; that numerous members of the initiatory group of the Alliance, in their capacity as delegates to the Brussels Congress, voted for these resolutions;

‘the General Council of the International Working Men's Association unanimously agreed:

‘1) All articles of the Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy defining its relations with the International Working Men's Association are declared null and void;

‘2) the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy may not

be admitted as a branch of the International Working Men's Association.'

I do not think there can be any disagreement on this point, namely that the International cannot permit another, sectarian International to exist within its own organisation. There is not the slightest doubt that all future Congresses and General Councils will energetically oppose the organisation of such intrigues within our own ranks and it would be good if our friends in Naples, at least those of them that have links with Geneva, understood this: The *Bakuninists* are a tiny minority within the Association and they are the *only* ones who have at all times brought about dissension. I am referring mainly to *the Swiss*, because we had little or nothing to do with the others. We have always allowed them to have their principles and to promote them as they thought best, so long as they renounced all attempts at undermining the Association or imposing their programme on us. In this way they will see that the workers of Europe will not be made the playthings of a little sect. As for their theoretical views, the General Council wrote to the *Alliance* on 9 March 1869^a citing Article 1 of the Rules:

'Since the sections of the working class in different countries find themselves in different conditions of development, it necessarily follows that their theoretical notions, which reflect the real movement, should also diverge. The community of action, however, called into life by the International Working Men's Association, the exchange of ideas facilitated by the public organs of the different national sections, and the direct debates at the General Congresses, are sure by and by to engender a common theoretical programme. Consequently, it belongs not to the functions of the General Council to subject the programme of the Alliance to a critical examination. It is not our task to find out whether it is or is not an adequate expression of the proletarian movement. All we have to know is whether its general tendency does not run against the general tendency of our Association, viz., the complete emancipation of the working class.'

I have given you these extensive quotations in order to prove the unfoundedness of any accusation that the General Council would be overstepping the limits of Article 1 of the Rules. In its official powers regarding the admission or refusal of divisions, it certainly cannot act in this way. But as regards discussions of

^a K. Marx, 'The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy'.

theoretical points, the Council desires nothing more ardently than this. From discussions of this sort the Council hopes to arrive at a general theoretical programme acceptable to the European proletariat. At all our theoretical congresses, the discussions have taken up by far the largest part of the time, but it should be noted that in these discussions Bakunin and his friends have played a very small role. In its official papers too the General Council has gone much further than Article 1. Read all the addresses that have been sent to you,^a and in particular number 5, the one on the civil war in France, where we declare ourselves in favour of communism, a fact which will no doubt have displeased the many *Proudhonists* in the Assembly. We were able to do this because we were led to it by the capitalist slanderers of the Paris Commune.

No document has been issued by the General Council which does not go beyond Article 1. But the Council can go beyond the official programme of the Association only *insofar as circumstances* are able to justify it. It cannot give any section the right to say: you have broken our statutes; you are officially proclaiming things which are not in the Rules of the Association. You say that our friends in Naples are not content with mere abstraction, that they want something concrete, that they are not satisfied with anything except equality, social order instead of disorder. Good; we are willing to go further. There is not a single man in the General Council who does not support the total abolition of *social classes* and there is not a single document of the General Council which is not in accordance with this aim. We must free ourselves from landowners and capitalists, and for this end promote the development of the associated classes of agricultural and industrial workers and all the means of production, land, tools, machines, raw materials and whatever means exist to support life during the time necessary for production. In this way inequality must cease. And to bring this about we need the political supremacy of the proletariat. I think that is concrete enough for our friends in Naples. At the same time, since others are performing our role in working *the bad soil*, the General Council cannot be expected to send out incendiary statements at every other moment, statements which would please a good many of our members while certainly displeasing the rest. If however a real conjuncture arises, then we show our strength, as in the case of the address on the civil war in France. As for the religious question, we cannot speak about it officially, except when the priests provoke us, but you will detect

^a See this volume, p. 170.

the spirit of atheism in all our publications. Moreover, we do not admit any society which has the slightest hint of religious allusion in its statutes. Many wanted to apply, but they were all invariably rejected. If our friends in Naples were to form a society of atheists and admitted only atheists, whatever would happen to their propaganda in a city where, as you yourself say, it is not only God that is omnipotent but also St Januarius, who needs to be handled with kid gloves.

I am enclosing a letter for C. Palladino⁴⁵ containing expressions of solidarity with the Naples Section, as you requested. Please pass it on to him.

Now for Mazzini. I communicated his article in *Roma del Popolo* to the Council last Tuesday.^a I shall send you the report published on the discussion in a few days.²⁵⁸ For Italy, however, it is desirable that the following be published²⁵⁹:

'Mazzini says:

"This Association, founded in London some years ago and with which I refused to collaborate from the start ... a nucleus of individuals which takes it upon itself directly to govern a broad multitude of men of different nations, tendencies, political conditions, economic interests and methods of action will always end up by not functioning, or it will have to function tyrannically. For this reason I withdrew and shortly afterwards the Italian workers' section withdrew."

Now for the facts. After the foundation meeting of our association on 28 September 1864, as soon as the Provisional Council was elected in public assembly, Major L. Wolff presented a manifesto and a number of rules drawn up by Mazzini himself. Not only was there no objection in these drafts to governing a multitude directly, etc., not only did he not say that this effort 'if it is to work at all, will have to function tyrannically', but on the contrary, the rules were conceived in the spirit of a *centralised conspiracy*, giving tyrannical powers to the central body. The manifesto was in Mazzini's usual style: *la démocratie vulgaire*, offering the workers political rights in order to preserve intact the *social* privileges of the middle and upper classes. This manifesto and *draft statutes* were subsequently thrown out. But the Italians (their names are listed at the end of our Inaugural Address) remained members until the said question was reopened with respect to certain French *bourgeois* democrats who wanted to manipulate the International. When they were refused admission, first Wolff^b and then the others withdrew and we finished once and for all with Mazzini.²⁶⁰ Some time afterwards, the Central

^a 25 July 1871 - ^b See this volume, p. 173.

Council, replying to an article by Vésinier, stated in the Liège newspaper that Mazzini had never been a member of the Association and the drafts of his manifesto and statutes had been rejected.²⁶¹ You will have seen that Mazzini has made a frenzied attack on the Paris Commune in the British press too, which is just what he always does when the proletarians rise up; after their defeat he denounces them to the *bourgeoisie*. After the insurrection of June 1848 he did the same thing, denouncing the insurgent proletarians in such offensive terms that even Louis Blanc wrote a pamphlet against him. And Louis Blanc has since told us several times that the June insurrection was the work of Bonapartist agents.²⁶²

If Mazzini calls our friend Marx a '*man of corrosive ... intellect, of domineering temper*', etc., etc., I can only say that Marx's corrosive domination and his jealous nature have kept our Association together for seven years, and that he has done more than anyone else to bring it to its present proud position. As for the break up of the Association, which is said to have begun already here in England, the fact is that *two* English members of the Council,^a who had been getting on too close terms with the bourgeoisie, found our address on the civil war too strong and they withdrew.²⁶⁸ In their place we have four new English members^b and one Irishman,^c and we reckon ourselves to be much stronger here in England than we were before the two renegades left. Instead of being in a state of dissolution, we are now for the first time being publicly recognised by the entire English press as a *great European power*, and never has a greater sensation been caused by a little pamphlet than that produced here in London by the address on the civil war, the third edition of which is about to appear.

I repeat that it is highly desirable that this reply to Mazzini should be published in Italian and that the Italian workers are shown that the great agitator and conspirator *Mazzini* has no other advice for them than this: educate yourselves, teach yourselves as best you can (as if this were just up to them), strive to create more consumer cooperatives (not just producer ones) and trust in the future!!

At last Tuesday's^d MEETING the Council resolved that a private conference of delegates from the various nations of workers of the International Association should be held on the third Sunday in September (17 September).

^a G. Odger and B. Lucraft - ^b A. Taylor, J. Roach, Ch. Mills, G. Lochner - ^c J. P. MacDonnell - ^d 25 July 1871

This resolution was passed because a public congress is now impossible, in view of the government persecutions now taking place in Spain, France, Germany and perhaps also in Italy. If we held a public congress, in the majority of these countries our delegates would not be publicly elected and they would probably be arrested on their return. Given this state of affairs we are compelled to resort to a private conference, of which neither the convocation, the meeting time nor the proceedings will be made public. A conference of this type took place in 1865 instead of a congress.²⁵⁴ This conference can naturally meet only in London, since this is the only capital in Europe where foreigners are not condemned to expulsion by the police. The number of delegates and the norms for elections are left entirely to the various national *divisions*. The conference will only have a few days at its disposal and it will thus limit its discussions mainly to practical questions concerning the internal Administration of the general organisation of the society. Since its sessions will not be public, and the discussions will not subsequently be published, the discussion of theoretical points will be of little importance; nevertheless the delegates' meeting will be a propitious occasion for an exchange of ideas. The General Council will place before the conference a report on its work over the last two years and the conference will pronounce upon it. There will thus be several important questions to deal with before proceeding.

I beg you however to press for the reorganisation of our sections in Italy as far as possible so that they can be represented in this conference. Since Gambuzzi will be coming to London at about this time, he could perhaps rearrange his trip to suit and receive a mandate as one of your delegates. I must however draw your attention at the same time to paragraph 8 of the Administrative Regulations, which says:

'Only those delegates of divisions and sections that have paid their contributions to the General Council can take part in the work of the Congress.'²⁶³

The contribution is one soldo or 10 cents a year for each member; it would be a good idea to send it in advance of the conference, otherwise difficulties may arise regarding the powers of delegates.

I would be grateful if you could send me at least six copies of the Italian translation of *The Civil War in France* as soon as it is published, for the use of the Council.

It would be advisable if, in addressing your letter, instead of my name you used that of Miss Burns, as follows: Miss Burns, 122

Regent's Park, and *rien de plus*,^a with no other envelope or address inside. She is my niece, a girl who does not speak Italian, so there are no mistakes to fear.

I also enclose our address to the American Council denouncing the conduct of their ambassador in Paris, Mr Washburne.^b

2) and 3) Published reports of the 2 meetings of the Council (these reports contain nothing but what we want published, having taken out all the internal administrative matters).

F. Engels

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MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT
IN LONDON

[London,] 28 July 1871

Dear Citizen,

You would oblige me by coming to dine at my house next Sunday at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. You will find my friend from Brussels^c here and will be able to talk to him about the *publication* of the proceedings at the court martial.²⁶⁴

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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^a nothing more - ^b K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'. - ^c E. Glaser de Willebrord

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ENGELS TO THE MOTHER SUPERIOR
OF THE CONVENT OF THE SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE
IN HAMPSTEAD

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, early August 1871]

Madam,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you, following a conversation I had yesterday with one of the sisters from your establishment.

My concern is to find places as boarders for three little girls, Eugénie Dupont (aged 9), Marie D. (aged 7) and Clarisse D. (aged 3). Their father works as foreman in Mr Joseph Higham's musical instrument factory in Manchester; their mother died some eighteen months ago and Mr Dupont, feeling he cannot bring up his children at home in a satisfactory manner, has requested me to find suitable places for them.

The lady who received me yesterday informed me that you would have room for the little girls and that the fee for boarding them would be £13 a child for the first year and £12 for subsequent years; she then suggested I communicate to you in writing what I require.

I would therefore beg you, Madam, to be so kind as to tell me whether you would agree to take them, in which case I should instruct their father to come to London without delay in order to introduce them to you. If, by any chance, you should need further information I would beg you to let me know at what time I should call and provide you with it.

It was Mr Clarkson of Maitland Park who gave me the address of your establishment.

I am, Madam, your most obedient servant,

F. E.

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time

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ENGELS TO PHILIPPE COENEN¹¹⁸

IN ANTWERP

[London,] 4 August 1871

Dear Citizen Coenen,

I duly received your two letters of 1 May and of the 1st inst., from which I learn that the cigar-workers of Antwerp have not been, and even now are still not, affiliated to the International. I cannot but be greatly surprised at your failure to tell us as much the moment the strike began,¹⁷⁷ since everything we have done for them here—no mere trifle, considering the assistance we procured for them amounted to 15,000 francs and more—was done in the belief that we were working for Internationals^a; and now we hear that not only were they not of our ilk, but that, after all we have done for them, they are still not affiliated! It is really too much and, as for myself, I am determined to do nothing more whatsoever for such ingrates. Is that what these gentry call solidarity—taking the money of English working men and others, procured for them by the International, and, having pocketed it, failing to join our association, thus providing immediate proof that they are prepared to do as much for others? That is not how we understand the matter here, and it is not for such people that the International ought to work. Those who wish to draw on the assistance of our Association must also be prepared to carry their share of the burden, and the least proof they could give of their willingness to do so is to become affiliated. People who scream their heads off for the Internationals' money and yet refuse to belong to us deserve to be exploited good and proper by the bourgeoisie, for they reject the only possible way of escaping bourgeois exploitation: the association and organisation of all the workers of Europe. No such case has occurred since the International came into existence; it is to the Antwerp cigar-workers that the honour has been reserved of begging for assistance from the International and, having obtained that assistance, of telling us: Thank you, gentlemen, you may withdraw, we have no further use for you, there is the door!

I hope that I have judged them too harshly and that they have

^a See this volume, p. 125.

affiliated themselves by now, but if they do not do so at once, you must, I think, agree that their conduct is disgraceful beyond measure, and as long as I have heard no news of their affiliation I shall object to the despatch of so much as another centime to them. We can put our money to far better use by giving it to people who are on our side.

You ask me if the London cigar-workers are affiliated? But of course they are, and have been since the founding of the International. Their president, Citizen Cohn, represents them on the General Council. I spoke to him about the letter you wish him to write to the Antwerp people regarding affiliation, but what effect would a letter have where 15,000 francs has had none?

The *Werker* continues to arrive very irregularly, and only one copy at that. Since there are very few working men here who understand Flemish, it would be very difficult to find subscribers; however, I have asked the members of the Council to cry up the merits of your sheet.

It will not be possible to hold a Congress this year, it being wholly precluded by government persecution in France, Spain, Germany, Austria and Hungary. Instead, a private conference will be held to consolidate our organisation,²⁶⁵ but this is a subject upon which the General Council can correspond only with the various *central* councils. Besides we doubt whether the Dutch government would be liberal enough to give full liberty to our Congress at which, after the events in Paris, some very delicate questions would certainly be raised.

At the last meeting of the General Council^a the secretariats were reallocated; I was given Spain and Italy, and handed over Belgium to Citizen Alfred Herman of Liège, who had been recommended for the position by the last Belgian Congress. So it will be he who will henceforward correspond with you.

Fraternal greetings,

Frederick Engels

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tische Gids, No. 8/9, Amsterdam, 1928

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ten copy

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time

^a held on 1 August 1871

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV
IN PARIS

London, 9 August 1871

My dear Sidorov,^a

Here are the prices of the English books:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Lecky, <i>History of the Spirit of Rationalism</i> ^b | —£-. 16/- |
| Ditto, <i>Ditto of European Morals</i> ^c | —” 1.8/- |
| Tylor, <i>Primitive Culture</i> | —” 1.4/- |
| Lubbock, <i>Origin of Civilisation</i> ^d | —”-. 16/- |
| Maine, <i>Ancient Law</i> | —”-. 12/- |
| Ditto, <i>Rural Communities</i> ^e | —”-. 9/- |

These are bookseller's prices and there would be a discount of about 15 per cent on the above. However, if you authorise me to try and get them for you second-hand, I would probably have to pay no more than half the price and my little bookseller would gladly attend to the matter. I would have let you have this information sooner, but my bookseller has been away on his travels.

You will have received a letter from Williams¹⁷ yesterday. We have not had more recent news from the indisposed traveller,²⁶⁶ but we have found the means of conveying a letter by safe hand to Петербург^f and hope soon to have the more detailed news for which we have insistently been asking.

As to the *Tauchnitz* edition of Buckle,⁸ I know nothing about it but I should be very surprised if it does not exist—any German bookseller in Paris would, by the way, be able to tell you.

I am sending you the last two numbers of *The Eastern Post*.²⁶⁷

We have had various new arrivals here, amongst others

^a Lavrov's pseudonym used by Engels in their correspondence. - ^b W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*. - ^c Idem, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*. -

^d J. Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*. -

^e H. S. Maine, *Village-communities in the East and West*. - (Russ.) St Petersburg. Engels is referring to Marx's letter, signed A. Williams, to Danielson of 22 July 1871

(see this volume, pp. 174-75). - ⁸ H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*.

Вальанъ, Тейсъ, Лонгэ,^a probably Williams has written to you about that.

Could you arrange a subscription for me to the *Gazette des Tribunaux* beginning on 7 August or even 1 August? We need the most authentic text of the Versailles trials²⁶⁸ for our historical studies and there is no other journal to my knowledge that would give as comprehensive a report. At the same time I don't know how to get hold of it over here, and there is no time to lose, for if we delay we might miss the most interesting numbers. You would greatly oblige us if you could see to this matter; we shall attend to your outlays afterwards.

Another thing. In order to make a study of military events during the two sieges of Paris,²⁶⁹ I need a plan of Paris and its environs, the best that is to be had, giving if possible also the street names in Neuilly and the other minor localities where fighting took place. I have tried in vain to obtain one here. Perhaps you could give me the title of a detailed map and the publisher's name after which I should have no difficulty in procuring it.

So you see, my dear friend, that you cannot live in Paris with impunity and that I shall probably have more commissions for you than you will have for me. Meanwhile let me know what to do about the English books and rest assured of my cordial respects.

F. Engels

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^a Vaillant, Theisz, Longuet (the names are written in Cyrillic in the original)

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MARX TO THEODOR KOLL²⁷⁰

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 10 August [1871]
 1 Maitland Park Road,
 Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Citizen Koll,

After I had received £4.1/6 from Lessner for the Pest tailors, I read in the German papers that the tailors' strike in Pest was over.²⁷¹

I therefore wrote *at once* to Jakob Holländer¹⁷ (at the address of Johann Travnick, etc., which is the address Holländer himself had given to the Workers' Society^a). In my letter [I] informed him that I had received £4.1/6 *to send to him* from the German Workers' Society, but that I had read in the German papers that the STRIKE was over, and therefore wanted to know—*if the news turned out to be true*—whether the Pest tailors would mind the money being put into the fund for the French refugees. I asked him for an *immediate* reply.

Since no answer came, on 27 June I paid the money into the refugee fund (as you can see from the enclosed receipt) in the name of the Workers' Society.

This was done *with the reservation* that *if the Pest workers, acting through their correspondent Holländer, should direct me to put the money to another use*, the £4.1/6 paid by me into the refugee fund in the name of the Workers' Educational Society should be regarded as a personal contribution from myself, and I would then send the money on to Pest on behalf of the Workers' Society.

However, no reply came from Pest and so I regarded the matter as settled.

In consequence of your letter I have now written to Bachruch¹⁷ (a Hungarian worker in Paris) and asked him to find a safe way to write to Jakob Holländer in Pest and request him to reply to my letter at once.

^a the German Workers' Educational Society in London

I would ask you at the same time to announce *my resignation from the Society* to its members.

Yours faithfully,
Karl Marx

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MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT¹⁶
IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 10 August 1871

Dear Citizen,

I think there has been a misunderstanding.

In the first place it was not a bookseller, but my friend E. Glaser de Willebrord, who expressed his willingness to undertake, at his own expense, the publication of the reports in Brussels.²⁶⁴

The day before yesterday I received a letter from him in which he says:

'On Sunday I received the enclosed letter' (from Mr Bigot) 'to which I replied, pointing out that, owing to the already considerable costs of publication, I could not increase them by a daily sum of 100 francs, but that, since personal gain was not my object, I was prepared to pay the stenographer and the correspondent out of the profits expected to accrue. The absence of a reply indicated that my proposal had not been accepted. This caused me much delight, for the *Figaro* and the *Gazette des Tribunaux* have arranged to publish full reports of the trial that began yesterday in Versailles. In any case my prolonged stay in London would have prevented me from making the necessary preparations.'

Mr Willebrord adds that in future all correspondence should be sent direct to him: E. Glaser de Willebrord, 24, *Rue de la Pépinière*, Brussels.

The public prosecutor at Versailles has made a grotesque accusation against the *International*.²⁷² In the interests of the defence it might be useful to acquaint Mr Bigot with the following facts:

1. Enclosed (under No. 1) the *General Council's* two manifestoes on the Franco-Prussian War.^a In its first manifesto, of 23 July 1870, the *General Council* declared that the war was being waged, not by the French people, but by the Empire and that at bottom Bismarck was as culpable as Bonaparte. At the same time the General Council appealed to German workers not to permit the Prussian government to change a defensive war into a war of conquest.

2. In the second manifesto, of 9 September 1870 (5 days after the proclamation of the Republic), there is a most emphatic denunciation of the Prussian government's plans for conquest. It is an appeal to German and English working men to throw in their lot *with the French Republic*.

In fact the working men in Germany belonging to the *International Association* opposed Bismarck's policies with such vigour that he illegally sequestered the principal German representatives of the *International* and cast them into Prussian fortresses on a false charge of 'conspiring' with the enemy.¹¹⁵

In London, following the appeal by the Council, English working men held mass meetings in order to compel their government to recognise the French Republic and do all in its power to oppose the dismemberment of France.¹⁰⁸

3. Now, is the French government unaware of the support given to France by the *International* during the war? On the contrary. Mr Jules Favre's Consul in Vienna—Mr Lefavre—has actually been so indiscreet as to publish—in the name of the French government—a letter of thanks to Messrs Liebknecht and Bebel, the two representatives of the *International* in the German Reichstag. In this letter he says, *inter alia* (I am retranslating this from a German translation of Lefavre's letter):

'You, Sirs, and *your Party* (i.e. the *International*) 'are alone upholding the ancient German tradition, i.e. the humanitarian spirit, etc.'²⁷³

Well now. This letter figures in the action for alleged *high treason* which the Saxon government has been forced by Bismarck to bring against Liebknecht and Bebel and which is still being heard.²⁷⁴ It gave Bismarck a pretext to order Bebel's arrest after the adjournment of the German Reichstag.

At the very moment when some scurrilous journals were denouncing me to Thiers as an agent of Bismarck, Bismarck was

^a K. Marx, 'First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'; K. Marx, 'Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War'.

imprisoning my friends on a charge of high treason against Germany and ordering my arrest should I visit Germany.

4. Some time before the Armistice¹⁵⁷ the good *Jules Favre*—as the *General Council* pointed out in a letter to *The Times* of 12 June,^a of which I enclose a reprint (No. II)—requested us through his private secretary, Dr Reitlinger, to organise public demonstrations in London in support of the ‘government of defence’. Reitlinger, as the *General Council* stated in its letter to *The Times*, went on to say that we must not speak of ‘*the Republic*’ but simply ‘of France’. The *General Council* refused to collaborate in demonstrations of *that kind*. But the whole thing proves that the French government itself regarded the *International* as an ally of the French Republic against the Prussian conqueror—and indeed it was France’s sole ally during the war.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 August 1871

Dear Jung,

Would you tell Le Moussu (whose name must be *Constant*)^b to go with the enclosed card to Mr Rosenthal, N. 2, *Red Lion Square*. He must say to be sent by Mr *Eugène Oswald*.

Rosenthal is a French Jew who perhaps will be able to employ Le Moussu as *dessinateur*.^c He does of course best not to say at all that he is a refugee.

There are two Rosenthals, father and son. Le Moussu will do

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, ‘Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre’s Circular’. - ^b Thus far Marx wrote in German. The rest of the letter is in English. - ^c designer

well to speak with both of them. He must *go at once*, because the places vacant must be filled *this week*.

Please send also to my house the *Italian artist*—I don't know his name, but remember to have seen him amongst our refugees. I can perhaps find him an occupation.

I enclose a few lines for Mdme Tomanowski.²⁷⁵

Mes civilités à Madame Jung.^a

Tout à vous,^b

K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, not before 14 August 1871]

Dear Citizen,

First of all I haven't got Mr Bigot's address, so cannot write to him direct. Moreover, I believe it would be safer to send any mail through you.

I cannot immediately lay my hands on the German journals relating to the Lefavre incident,^c but in the issue of the *Volksstaat* (published in Leipzig and edited by Liebknecht), Mr Bigot will find the letter from Lefavre as well as editorial comments on that letter. The trial of Liebknecht and Bebel has, by the bye, gained widespread notoriety.

In No. 63 of the *Volksstaat* (5 August 1871) (see marked passage) Mr Bigot will observe that the proceedings against Liebknecht, Bebel, etc., for *planning high treason* are going ahead and that Lefavre's letter figures amongst the documents used in the indictment.

^a With my best compliments to Mrs Jung. - ^b Yours truly - ^c See this volume, p. 196.

For Jourde's defence I enclose a declaration by an Englishman, Mr Wm. Trate, in regard to the fire at the Ministry of Finance.²⁷⁶

I shall write to Willebrord^a asking him to keep the things which he has received from Mr Bigot.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT^b

IN LEIPZIG

[London, mid-August 1871]

Wróblewski, Longuet, Bastelica are here.

Why bother to rehabilitate that good-for-nothing B. Becker? And allow that jackass Goegg to parade his own idiocies before the public?²⁷⁷

Marx's daughters are in Bagnères-de-Luchon in the Pyrenees, where they were visited by the Prefect, the great Kératry, and Delpech, the Prosecutor-General, who made it clear that it was necessary for them to leave France. Lafargue was safely...^c mountains to Spain. Two gendarmes were posted in their garden until their departure! But do not mention any of this in public (apart from what might be reported in the French papers), until we have them safely back here again.²¹² Thiers is determined to make a complete fool of himself.

Your

F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXIX, Moscow, 1946

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^a E. Glaser de Willebrord - ^b The beginning of the letter is missing because the top of the sheet is damaged. - ^c Paper damaged and partly illegible.

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRIGHTON²⁷⁸

[London,] 18 August 1871

Dear Moor,

Enclosed *The Public Opinion* with a fuller version of the article from the *National-Zeitung*.²⁷⁹ You will see that immediately following the passage incriminated in 'The International', there is a further passage, prudently omitted by the latter, which must be answered. The paper has just lost a court case against Goldschmidt and Jenny Lind and is acquiring a reputation for premeditated libel. I would accordingly insist not only on their inserting a reply, but on *AN AMPLE AND COMPLETE APOLOGY, IN THE SAME PLACE OF THE PAPER.*

It would also serve the *National-Zeitung* damn well right if we were to turn the tables on them and publish the article simultaneously in the *Volksstaat*. That louse Zabel feels far too much at his cannibalistic ease again under Bismarck.

Rozwadowski had a post as a schoolmaster in Somerset without salary, but free board and lodging, until 15 December.^a He leaves for there tomorrow. He *must* learn English there. I have procured his release—agent's commission £1.1/-, clothes £3.7/-, debts £1.13/-, travel and incidental expenses £1.10/-, total £7.11/-. In addition I laid out £12.12/- yesterday for Dupont's children,^b which has cleaned me out. Just after we left this morning to settle the matter, your wife arrived with a letter for me from Tibaldi, holding out other prospects for Rozwadowski from Davydov. But it was now too late and Rozwadowski had to leave for Somerset, at least for the moment. If we find out later that the arrangements can be changed to suit all sides, a Frenchman like Beaufort could take over his post and he could return and obtain the Russian money.

I hope the sea air does you good.

Your
F. E.

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

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time

^a See this volume, p. 175. - ^b *Ibid.*, p. 189.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

Brighton, 19 August 1871
Globe Hotel, Manchester St.

Dear FRED,

Be so good as to write out the contents of the opposite page^a and send it to *The Public Opinion*, 4 Southampton Street, Strand, with my signature. My own handwriting might give the fellows an excuse for MISPRINTS.²⁷⁹ We shall deal with the German side of things^b on my return.²⁷⁸

Today is the first fine day here. Yesterday and the day before it rained. Unfortunately, I have not brought my liver-medicine with me, but the air does me a world of good. If possible (and if the children do not arrive before²¹²), I would gladly stay here until Thursday, but NO CASH IN HAND, and I see from your letter^c that you too are broke.

Nechayev has a highly idiosyncratic manner of circulating false rumours about himself. When I return it will be necessary for the GENERAL COUNCIL to take action against him publicly.²⁸⁰

Salut.

Your
K. M.

Add or change what you think necessary.

First published abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931

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^a K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Public Opinion*'. - ^b A reference to the *National-Zeitung*. - ^c See previous letter.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Brighton,] 21 August 1871

DEAR FRED,

Time until Wednesday.^a

Jung here since Saturday, goes back today.

I shall get some money for the REFUGEES through a (French) priest called Pascal.²⁵¹*Salut.*Your
K. M.

The pen too bad to write.

First published in *MEGA*, Abt. III,
Bd. 4, Berlin, 1931Printed according to the original
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time

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN BRIGHTON

London, 23 August 1871

Dear Moor,

In great haste. Enclosed B/57 68868, London, 27 July 1871, £5. Stay there as long as you can; it will do you more good than to come here. The girls won't be coming this week after all.²¹² According to the *Pall Mall* Lafargue too is at liberty.²⁸¹

Lessner says that the Lassalleans have resolved to sue you if they do not receive the money next week!²⁷⁰

^a 23 August; see also previous letter.

Frankel is here and was elected a member of the GENERAL COUNCIL yesterday, along with Chalain and Bastelica. He was here today with Rochat; does not seem to be a high-flyer.

Allsop was in the COUNCIL yesterday and gave me the sum of 5 shillings for you for the refugees. He is leaving town once more and will be writing to you again. In the crush there was of course no chance to speak with the deaf man in more detail.

Jung's letter saying that I should launch an appeal to the Yankees came yesterday at 7 p.m., i.e. too late. It was resolved that you should be charged with formulating the appeal²⁸² and despatching it by STEAMER next Saturday.^a If you can't, I could do something of the sort; the enclosed letter proves that it would be worth it. Yesterday between £2 and £3 came in altogether!

The whole meeting^b was used once more for the following debate: Weston, Hales, Applegarth and another of our Englishmen had been invited by George Potter to a meeting at which Dr Engländer (!) was also present. Potter produced the information that Sir Edward Watkin had made an agreement with the Canadian government according to which the Versailles prisoners would be sent to Canada where they would each be given 1 ACRE of land—presumably Thiers is behind it in order to get rid of them. Weston was enthusiastically in favour, *il radote de plus en plus*^c In the end Longuet, Theisz and Vaillant moved the next item on the agenda—it was quite well done.

I am overrun from morning till night; can't even manage to read a newspaper, and at this very moment there is someone waiting for me downstairs again. To cap it all my brothers^d are due to come too.

Salut.

Your
F. E.

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

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Published in English for the first
time

^a 26 August - ^b the meeting of the General Council held on 22 August 1871 - ^c He is falling into his dotage. - ^d Hermann and Rudolf Engels

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN LONDON

[Brighton,] 24 August [1871]

Dear FRED,

Your letter with the £5—for which many thanks—arrived at midday, by which time I had already sent my telegram.²⁸³

I shall write a few lines to New York tomorrow.^a The appeal can be made after my return to London (next Saturday^b).

You can see the abject collapse of *The Public Opinion*²⁷⁹ from the letter which I have just sent to my wife today.¹⁷

So Lafargue is at liberty!²⁸¹

Salut.

Your
K. M.

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

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Published in English for the first
time

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH BOLTE²⁸⁴

IN NEW YORK

Brighton, 25 August 1871

Dear Mr Bolte,

I have been here for about two weeks, sent by the doctor because my health was very much impaired as a result of overwork. I shall probably return to London next week, however.²⁷⁸

Next week you will receive an Appeal by the General Council for the refugee Communards.²⁸² Most of them are *in London* (over

^a See next letter. - ^b 26 August

80 to 90 by now). The General Council has kept them above water up to now, but in the past two weeks our funds have been melting away just like that, while the number of arrivals increases daily, so that they are in a very deplorable condition. I hope that everything possible will be done from New York. In Germany all the resources of the party are still absorbed by the victims of the police persecution there, as is the case in Austria, ditto Spain and Italy. In Switzerland they not only have a part of the refugees themselves to support, albeit a small part, but they also have to aid the members of the International as a result of the St Gallen LOCKOUT.²⁸⁵ Lastly, there are also some refugees in Belgium, though only a few and, what is more, the Belgians have to aid them, particularly in getting them through to London.

Owing to these circumstances, up to the present all the funds for the bulk of the refugees in London have been raised exclusively in England.

The *General Council* now includes the following members of the Commune: Serrailier, Vaillant, Theisz, Longuet and Frankel, and the *following agents of the Commune*: Delahaye, Rochat, Bastelica and Chalain.

I have sent *The New-York Herald* a statement in which I disclaim all responsibility for its correspondent's absurd and wholly distorted report of his conversation with me.²⁸⁶ I do not know whether it has printed the statement.

Give Sorge my regards. I shall answer his letter next week.^a

Faithfully yours,
Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the book

^a See this volume, pp. 211 and 217.

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MARX TO JENNY MARX²⁸⁷

IN LONDON

[Brighton,] 25 August 1871

Dear Jenny,

I forgot to tell you yesterday^a of a curious *événement*.^b The second day after my arrival here,²⁷⁸ I met a chap in a waiting posture at the corner of my street. He was the same man whom I had told you about before as having accompanied Engels and myself on our way HOME on a number of occasions. Engels had thought he was a spy and we once gave him a 'hint'. As you know, GENERALLY SPEAKING I am not good at detecting spies. But this fellow has obviously and undeniably dogged my every step down here. Yesterday, I became fed up with it, so I stopped, turned round and stared at him with my notorious EYEGLASS. WHAT DID HE DO? He doffed his hat very humbly and today he no longer honoured me with the pleasure of his company.

I wrote a detailed letter to Dana today giving him, among other things, an extensive account of the adventures in Luchon and Spain.²¹² He will certainly be able to use it for his *Sun*. It is EXACTLY THAT SORT OF THING THE YANKEES ARE FOND OF. I have of course dealt with the matter in terms which can do the children no harm—should they stay longer over there.

No one is so deaf as those who will not hear! And SO OLD STEPNEY IN REGARD TO THE REFUGEES! Jung and I told him the whole story without mincing words. Hales sent him subscription lists.^c I told him of the letter from Davydov,²⁸⁸ and lastly I advised him of the steps taken here to obtain subsidies. But for all that the old jackass has TILL NOW NOT LOOSENED HIS PURSE-STRINGS NOR SEEMS HE AT ALL WILLING TO DO SO. Yesterday he told me with his eunuch's voice that he had sent subscription lists—to Boston, and he showed me a letter that he had written to a local lady, asking for contributions. But he himself! NOT HE!

The fellow is altogether 'off his head', as Jung says. Jung came here last Saturday^d and left again on Monday. He brought his two boys with him and before his departure he told Stepney that he

^a See Note 17. - ^b incident - ^c This refers to the fund for refugee Communards. - ^d 19 August

was going to a family he knew of who would look after the boys. Stepney went with him and after Jung had SETTLED everything with the LANDLADY, Stepney said: 'BUT I WANT FOR 8 DAYS TO TAKE CARE OF THE BOYS MYSELF.' And so all was UNSETTLED again.

On the whole, the weather here has been stormy and rainy, so that I have not ceased to have colds with accompanying cough. But the wonderful air and the bath that I take daily have had a very good effect on my GENERAL STATE OF HEALTH. Throughout the whole period I have regretted nothing so much as the fact that you were not here. Anyhow, you must also—by hook or by crook—have, if not a summer trip, at least an autumn one this year.

As for those Swiss oafs, Schneider and Zichlinsky (the 'tailor'^a was a highly suspect individual even in Germany), they will soon realise that they are *not* in Germany any more.^b

I find that too many Proudhonists are being admitted to the General Council, and on my return I shall insist on the admission of Martin and Le Moussu as an antidote.

Brighton—where, incidentally, I am living the life of a hermit on the whole—is naturally ABSORBED IN THE GREAT POISONING CASE, obviously a pure outbreak of hysterical boredom on the part of a SILLY, love-sick, 35-year-old SPINSTER in comfortable circumstances.

The reports by *The Daily News*^c and *The Daily Telegraph* PARIS CORRESPONDENTS on the Versailles trial²⁶⁸ are truly loathsome, infamous products of PENNY-A-LINERS.

Adio.

Your
Karl

First published, in German, in *Annali*,
an. 1, Milan, 1958

Printed according to the original

^a A pun in the original: 'Schneider' means 'tailor' in German. - ^b The reference is to the Lassallean members of the German Workers' Educational Society (see Letter 122). - ^c Presumably the item 'Trial of the Communist Prisoners' in *The Daily News*, Nos. 7899 and 7900, 23 and 24 August 1871.

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MARX TO HERMANN MEYER²⁸⁹

IN WASHINGTON

[Brighton, around 25 August 1871]

We are greatly in want of money... The *affaire* of the Commune increased our duties and obligations, while the war preceding it cut off our Continental supplies. We are now almost overwhelmed with letters from different parts of this country (England), from people wanting information about the International, and sections are being established in the provinces. There are also Irish sections in the course of formation, and we now have an Irish secretary on the Council in the person of MacDonnel,^a of Fenian notoriety.⁶ Besides that, we have had applications from the East Indies and New Zealand.

The Paris Federal Council is to be reorganised. After all Thiers has caught but very few of our men. There is not a prominent member of our association amongst all his prisoners, and there are but two or three missing, who must have been killed in the last days of fighting, as we cannot get either tale or doings of them. Many who were reported over and over again as shot, even detailed accounts given, have turned up again, and are now safely here^b or in Switzerland.

There is great distress among the refugees here, and between fifty and sixty are without the means of subsistence. Money comes in very slowly. There is to be an appeal issued to your working-men²⁸² which we trust will be liberally responded to.

First published in *The World*, No. 3687,
21 September 1871

Reproduced from the newspaper

^a In the original: MacDonald. - ^b in England

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MARX TO MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY²⁹⁰

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, 29 August 1871]

Sir,

On my return from Brighton²⁷⁸ I found your note d.d. August 24. The next meeting of the General Council takes place to-day, but consequent upon a resolution passed on Tuesday last,^a there will during the continuance of the courts-martial in France²⁶⁸ no visitors be any longer admissible. This strict measure had been rendered necessary by the intrusion of French police agents.

I have the honour to inclose a subscription list for the French refugees. Their numbers (they are now 80-90) [are] increasing daily (there are now about 80 [in] number)^b while our funds are quite exhausted. Their case is truly deplorable. The best thing would be, if possible, to form a separate committee charged to find employment for those men whose great majority consists of skilled workmen and artists.

I have the honour, Sir, to be

Yours sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original

^a 22 August - ^b Thus in the original.

128

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 3 September 1871

Dear Mr Sidorov,^a

Thank you for your good offices in the matter of the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, which reaches me regularly, and also for the maps^b; having consulted Rozwadowski, I think that I shall indeed have to write to a German bookseller. Rozwadowski, incidentally, has secured a post as schoolmaster in a boarding-school, unpaid, but with laundry, board and lodging up till December—he cannot fail to learn English there, after which it will be easy to find him something else.

As to the books, it now transpires that they have not yet reached the second-hand bookshops and must be paid for at publication prices with discounts ranging from 16 to 20 per cent. Let me know by return whether you authorise me to buy them on these terms, in which case you will receive them in a few days' time; they are as follows:

Lecky, *Rationalism*^c
 Tylor, *Primitive Culture*
 Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*^d
 Maine, *Ancient Law*
 Ditto, *Rural Communities*,^e

and, if it is to be had for 10/- or less,

Buckle, *History of Civilization*.

Someone has just interrupted me, and so I am obliged to close this letter.

Yours ever,
 F. Engels

^a Lavrov's pseudonym used by Engels in their correspondence. - ^b See this volume, p. 193. - ^c W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*. - ^d J. Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*. - ^e H. S. Maine, *Village-communities in the East and West*.

Williams' two daughters^a have arrived here, the third is in Spain with her husband.^{b 212}

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

129

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 5 September 1871

Dear Mr Sorge,

Enclosed the appeal for the REFUGEES.²⁸² Your mail from America, dated 23 August, arrived today.²⁹¹

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

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Published in English for the first time

130

MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 6 September 1871

Dear Sir,

From your letter I see that you are not only 'alarmed',²⁹² but have also grown suspicious, since you tuned down your usual 'My dear Sir' to 'Dear Sir'.

^a Jenny and Eleanor Marx; Williams was Marx's pseudonym. - ^b Laura and Paul Lafargue

For my own part I consider the feeling of 'alarm' not one peculiarly adapted to lend a scientific and objective *point de vue*.

I regret not being able to fulfil your wish. I have gone through the whole round of my Continental friends but found no one in possession of some of the numerous reviews and extracts of my book^a that have appeared in Italian and French. The French edition *in extenso* has been cut short by the Prussian war.¹⁴⁷ Neither translation nor review has appeared in English. Two years since my friend F. Engels sent a very accurate analysis of *Das Kapital* to the *Fortnightly*, but it was returned with the remark that 'it was too scientific for the English *Review-reader*'.²⁹³

I do not know of what manifestoes you speak. Save the address on *The Civil War in France* and *Mr. Washburne*,^b which I had the honour to send you, the General Council has, since September 1870, published no manifesto except those on the Franco-Prussian War^c which I hereby forward you. Apart [from] the manifestoes published by the French and Prussian police in the name of the *International*, and which I have declared to be forgeries in *La Vérité* (Paris),^d no manifesto has besides been published in the latter times. The so-called *Swiss* manifesto, printed in *The Times*,^e is, as *The Examiner* of last Saturday justly remarked,

'a garbled translation of a French version, itself far from accurate... It issues, not from the International Workingmen's Association, but from some of its Swiss members'.^f

Yours faithfully,
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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^a Volume I of *Capital* - ^b K. Marx, 'Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris'. - ^c Marx has in mind the pamphlet *The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the war* (London, 1870), containing the first and second Addresses of the General Council of the International on the Franco-Prussian War. - ^d K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *La Vérité*'. - ^e 'A New Socialist Programme', *The Times*, No. 27155, 30 August 1871 (reprint from the *Journal de Genève*). - ^f 'A New Socialist Programme', *The Examiner*, No. 3318, 2 September 1871.

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MARX TO ENGELS²⁹⁴

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 8 September 1871

Dear FRED,

Allsop's address is *Pegwell Bay*. No number has been given nor is it needed. EVERYBODY WILL TELL YOU THE WHEREABOUTS OF Pegwell Bay. It is a good thing that you can speak to him since he is coming to London on Tuesday^a with the money and has invited me to come and see him there. I have written to him at length¹⁷ and made it clear that I can only continue TO BE THE *aumonier*^b OF HIMSELF AND HIS FRIENDS if I am allowed complete freedom of action AND AM NOT BOTHERED WITH THE DEMAND TO PRODUCE LISTS OF 'THE DIFFERENT DEGREES OF DISTRESS' of the refugees.²⁹⁵

What do you think of our honourable Favre? The lousy London press now has to report its own disgrace by telegraph.²⁹⁶

Last Monday *L'Avenir libéral—journal bonapartiste, publié à Paris*—reported my death.^c

In consequence we have received a number of letters; among others, Dronke wrote to my wife today, and Imandt too sent the *Dundee Advertiser* which contained the same nonsense.

À demain.^d CALL UPON ME AFTER YOUR ARRIVAL AT LONDON.

Regards to the WHOLE FAMILY.

Your

K. M.

Rochat does a splendid imitation of Frankel's French.

The Evening Standard of 6 September only published the letter to the EDITOR,^e adding the note: 'WE HAVE RECEIVED NO ENCLOSURE.'²⁹⁷

I did not see the stuff until yesterday. Since the letters to the fellows were in your handwriting^f I got my wife to write to them at once in her own name, on the pretext that I was out of London for a few days. She has sent the *Public Opinion* (and REGISTERED the letter), and demanded that it be printed together with an *apologie*, under threat of legal proceedings. She put in an 'old' card with it,

^a 12 September - ^b almoner - ^c *L'Avenir libéral*, No. 376, 5 September 1871. -

^d Until tomorrow. - ^e K. Marx, 'To the Editor of *The Evening Standard*.' - ^f See this volume, p. 201.

which reads: 'Mme Jenny Marx, née Baronesse de Westphalen', which will be bound to put fear into those Tories.

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

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132

ENGELS TO MILLER & RICHARD²⁹⁸

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, after 9 September 1871]

Gentlemen,

In reply to etc. I beg to say that I believe M. MD^a to be well qualified as to character, talent, & political position, for the undertaking he has in view. As a representative Irishman, he will be able, as far as I can judge, to command considerable support in more than one way among his countrymen; he has very extensive connections among them; and personally, I believe him to be strictly honourable.

Requesting you to make use of the above in strict confidence and without my guarantee, I am etc.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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^a Joseph Patrick MacDonnel

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 11 September 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

I do not require any credentials—as secretary for Italy and Spain, I shall probably have to represent 2 countries in any event.²⁹⁹ If you send anyone you could nominate 2 others; the French here are also nominating 3. Alternatively, you could send credentials for 3, but they must be here by Saturday.^a

Marx and I do not deal in secret first names; we each have only one.³⁰⁰

Why have you not sent any copies of the German edition of the Address²²⁶? We are daily being pestered for it here. I must say that to treat us in this manner is not the way to encourage us to do any further work. I shall not send another line of manuscript, nor Marx either, until you finally condescend to treat us with the barest minimum of common decency.

To compare Monsieur Goegg with Odger is a bit strong. In the first place, Odger has in his own way a thousand times as much political understanding as that stupid Badener, and in the second place, as secretary of the LONDON TRADES COUNCIL,³⁰¹ Odger was the spokesman for some 100,000 workers, and he still represents a whole sector of them, whereas I have never heard that Mr Goegg ever spoke for anyone other than a few reactionary Baden numbskulls in Switzerland, the only authentic ‘numbskulls’ still surviving in fossil form. But when you provide space in the *Volksstaat* for the lucubrations of such people,²⁷⁷ while we throw the Odgers out,²³⁸ it is evident that there the parallel ends. As for Bernhard Becker, whose shabby dealings began when he was still here, in London, and are known to you, you could have knocked us over with a feather when we read that you had forgiven him his rascality because of his—*abilities*! I had always believed hitherto that his shabby dealings, his total rascality, could only be overlooked, if at all, on the grounds of his stupidity! Well, you will see what joy your latest acquisition will bring you. The wretch will never forgive you for having had to come to you ‘with a rope

^a 16 September

round his neck'.³⁰² And as for the newspaper, better none at all than one of his sort! If Mr B. Becker has not betrayed the Party (which I do not know for certain), it can hardly be his fault. The man who could write that swinish book on Lassalle, his lord and master, is *capable de tout*.^a The book was of interest to us, but it rendered its author worthy of undying contempt.³⁰³

Marx was very astonished to see the notice in the *Volksstaat* announcing that you intend to publish a history of the Commune, etc., etc. (No. 73, p. 4).³⁰⁴ I was no less surprised than him. How you arrived at the idea was a complete mystery to us. I have not promised you anything of the sort, and we have no idea where you might have heard the news that someone would write an authentic history of the Commune for the *Volksstaat* by agreement with the General Council. At any rate, since the General Council has been mentioned, could we be informed, since there would be questions about it?

You will soon have some jolly persecution to look forward to. There can be no doubt that Bismarck has just agreed a general witch-hunt with the Austrians and the Italians.³⁰⁵ Bismarck does not feel too strongly about it himself; he wants to work off a little personal rancour and would also like to force the workers' movement back into the Schweitzer-channel that is useful to him. For the rest he is, as a Junker, a speculative bourgeois and a superficial, successful statesman (which he is all in one person), quite without fear of the red spectre. Austria is now being put in fear of the International, just as it was fooled about the 'revolution' and the 'Carbonari' in 1823 at Verona and later in Carlsbad.^b³⁰⁶ But that you will come in for your share, is clear enough.

My wife^c and Mrs Marx are in Ramsgate; I shall also spend a few days there this week, but shall be back here on Saturday.³⁰⁷ If you do not come, I hope that Bebel will. We were very pleased to hear that the baby^d is doing so well. With best regards from Marx and me to all your family.

Your

F. E.

Still no news from Lafargue.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

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^a capable of everything - ^b Czech name: Karlovy Vary. - ^c Lydia Burns - ^d Karl Liebknecht

134

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE³⁰⁸

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 12 September 1871

Dear Mr Sorge,

Kindly convey the enclosed letter from our Irish secretary, MacDonnell, to John Devoy.

I had no time to reply to you in greater detail. We are so extremely busy here at the present time that I have been compelled for the past 3 months (and still am) to interrupt some very urgent theoretical work.

I shall merely say in regard to the Rules that the *English* EDITION is the sole authentic one.^a The conference²⁶⁵ will issue authentic versions in English, French and German,³⁰⁹ which is also necessary because various Congress resolutions relating to the Rules must be incorporated in them.

The CENTRAL COMMITTEE in New York¹⁵¹ must not forget:

1. That the General Council had contacts in America long before the Committee was established;

2. That, as far as the Address^b is concerned, it was on sale in London, and hence anybody had the right to send it to his friends in America at his own expense. The first shipment to New York was so small because the first edition was sold out in two days, which is why I did not get the number of copies allotted for my shipments.

3. In Par. 6 of the Rules it is expressly stated that 'NO INDEPENDENT LOCAL SOCIETY SHALL BE PRECLUDED FROM DIRECTLY CORRESPONDING WITH THE GENERAL COUNCIL', and in Washington, for example, the branch declared that it did not want to enter into contact with New York.³¹⁰

Salut fraternel,

Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

^a *Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, London, [1867]. - ^b K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV
IN PARIS

London, 12 September 1871

My dear Mr Sidorov,^a

Herewith the receipted account for the English books that were sent off to you yesterday^b—my little bookseller did not tell me through what channel, but I think it will have been by the CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS. If you have not received them in two days' time, please let me know.

Buckle,^c 3 vols, the least expensive edition, costs 24/- and, since I am in no doubt that the book is to be had in Paris, I did not send it. However, should you require it, you need only tell me so.

Williams^d has had your letter. As you will have seen, he was reported to be dead,^e which made us laugh a great deal.

Приѣхали здѣсь Вроблевскій и Курнетъ.^f As you will know, Williams' daughters^g are back again.

Excuse my not writing at greater length this evening. I must, you see, leave at about eight o'clock for a meeting^h and it is nearly eight o'clock now.

Yours ever,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,
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Moscow, 1935

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time

^a Lavrov's pseudonym used by Engels in their correspondence - ^b See this volume, p. 210. - ^c H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* - ^d Marx's pseudonym - ^e See this volume, p. 213. - ^f (Russ.) Wróblewski and Cournet had arrived here. - ^g Jenny and Eleanor Marx (see also Note 212) - ^h of the General Council of the International

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG
IN LONDON

[London,] 13 September 1871
1 Maitland Park Road

Dear Jung,

Enclosed please find £3.10/-. Would you be so good as to give £2.15/- to COLONEL Naze and 15/- to the fat Russian whom Lavrov sent us. Give it to them in my name and obtain a receipt.

Yours,
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

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Published in English for the first
time

137

MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT
IN LONDON

[London,] 15 September 1871

My dear Citizen,

Go tomorrow (but you must be there *before ten o'clock in the morning*) to Mr Fuisse, 35 Richmond Terrace, Clapham Road.

Mr Fuisse is French, former refugee, *merchant*. Yesterday I spoke to him about your business; I told him I should be much obliged if he could help you. In reply, he said that he might be able to facilitate the sale of some of your pictures. To gain entry to Mr Fuisse's house, present the card enclosed herewith.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

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Published in English for the first
time

138

MARX TO JENNY MARX ¹³⁷

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 23 September 1871

Dear Jenny,

The conference is at last coming to an end today.²⁶⁵ It was HARD WORK. Morning and evening sessions, commission sessions in between, HEARING OF WITNESSES, REPORTS TO BE DRAWN UP AND SO FORTH. But more was done than at all the previous Congresses put together, because there was no audience in front of which to stage rhetorical comedies. Germany was not represented and from Zwitzerland only Perret and Outine were there.

Last week the revolutionary party in Rome held a banquet for Ricciotti Garibaldi, and a report on it in the Rome paper *La Capitale* has been sent to me. One speaker (*il signore* Luciani) proposed an enthusiastically received toast to the working class and 'a Carlo Marx che (*qui*) sé ne (*en*) è fatto (*a fait*) l'*instancabile instrumento* (*l'instrument infatigable*)'.^a This is a bitter pill for Mazzini!

The news OF MY DEATH^b led to a MEETING of the 'COSMOPOLITAN SOCIETY' in New York whose resolutions in the *World* I am sending to you.³¹¹

Tussy has also received an anxious letter from our friends in St Petersburg.³¹²

We had a hard time here with Robin and Bastelica, Bakunin's friends and fellow-intriguers. The revelations about Robin's activities in Geneva and Paris were, INDEED, STRANGE.³¹³ Jennychen's article was sent off to America today.³¹⁴

Your
Karl

First published, in Russian, in *Pravda*,
No. 126, 6 May 1958

Printed according to the original

^a 'to Karl Marx, who has made himself its indefatigable instrument' - ^b See this volume, p. 213.

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MARX TO GUSTAV KWASNIEWSKI³¹⁵

IN BERLIN

Ramsgate, 29 September 1871
As from: 1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, London

The Conference of the delegates of the International Working Men's Association, which met in London last week,²⁶⁵ has resolved that in the future no membership cards will be distributed by the General Council. Instead the General Council will send out stamps (after the manner of postage stamps) which each member should stick either to his copy of the Rules, or to his membership card in cases where, as in Switzerland, for example, national membership cards are issued. I shall accordingly send you a certain number of these stamps as soon as they become available.

As to the Rules themselves, a new edition of them is being arranged for here (London) in English, French and German (the last is to be printed in Germany). In accordance with the resolutions of the Conference every member must be in possession of a copy of the Rules. For it is important to include in them additions and amendments necessitated by the various resolutions passed by Congress since 1866.³⁰⁹

At the Conference, Germany was not represented either by delegates or by reports, and no financial contributions have been received since September 1869. It is not possible for the purely platonic relationship of the German workers' party to the *International* to continue. The party cannot expect services to be performed by the one side without any services being performed by the other in return. This relationship compromises the German working class. Therefore, I would request the Berlin Section to enter into direct correspondence with me, and I shall put the same request to all other sections, as long as the leadership of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party continues to do nothing about the organisation of the *International* in Germany. The laws may prevent normal organisation, but they cannot prevent the existing organisation of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party from carrying out the same tasks in practice as are performed in every other country, tasks such as enrolling individual members, paying dues, sending in reports, etc.

As a member of the Control Commission of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, it will perhaps be possible for you personally to work in this direction.

Yours in sincere friendship,

Karl Marx

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 3,
Berlin, 1933

Printed according to the handwritten
copy

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 5 October 1871

My dear Friend,

I found your letter³¹⁶ on my return from Ramsgate, where Johnson^a and I had just been spending a couple of days.³¹⁷

As to the money that is still owing to me, might I request you, first, before the end of this month to take out another quarterly subscription for me to the *Gazette des Tribunaux*. My subscription expires on 31 October. Later on I may, perhaps, wish you to make some other purchases in Paris, so do not hasten to remit any money to me. As for the Buckle,^b etc., I am always at your command. I shall also send you *The Eastern Post* whenever there is anything of interest.

As for the firm of Триберъ,^c it is perfectly sound and reliable, and you may therefore deliver *goods* to it without the slightest misgivings. The address was certainly written by Johnson and it was certainly Cep.^d who delivered it to the person in question. Moreover, it was supplied over here with a goodly assortment of engravings. We are temporarily rather short of this article and shall not be able to make any deliveries just now.

I conveyed your letter to our friend in Lower Charles St.^e He no longer deals with the matter in question, which has passed into other hands and has thus lost much of the interest it held for us.

^a Marx - ^b H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*. - ^c Triber (written in Cyrillic in the original) - ^d Serrailier (written in Cyrillic in the original) - ^e Hermann Jung

To give you more precise information would involve entering into endless detail; suffice it to say that a few of the people on whose behalf the business was to be undertaken have behaved in a shameful manner, and refuse, despite our admonitions, to break with individuals undeserving either of credit or of trust, and even go so far as to accept their guidance in their speculations.³¹⁸ As a result, their closest acquaintances have pulled out in the belief that it would be throwing money down the drain to encourage them in undertakings which would either end badly or merely serve to benefit out-and-out rogues. The individuals in question have, by the way, or so I believe, obtained what they needed elsewhere. But there are always a number of good honest lads whose business is gravely hampered by want of capital and if some way could be found of providing them with funds, we should be delighted. An approach might be made to Johnson who, as you know, is the general intermediary in such matters.

My salutations to all our friends.

Yours ever,

F. E.

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time

141

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 11 October 1871

Dear Jung,

From the enclosed letter of Perret³¹⁹ you will see that he has not yet received the Resolutions on the 'Alliance', etc.^a If you have not yet sent them, do not do so, because I shall send you a corrected copy.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

£1 I have sent to Rozwadowski.

Give from the refugees' money so much to Duru that he can leave the lodgings he now lives in which are too dear considering their miserable state. It would be well, if Duru received money enough to get his things out of the pawning shop. But my opinion is that he should take them not to his present lodgings but depose them in your house and leave his lodgings *without paying the rest of his house-rent!* He has already paid more than was really due for such a hole.

Give also say £1 to the *nouveau venu*^a of whom you spoke yesterday.

These expenses—this employment of part of the money remitted to us from the United States—I shall defend so soon as the disposal of those moneys will come before the Council.³²⁰

Yours fraternally,

Karl Marx

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Moscow, 1935

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time

142

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 October 1871

Dear Jung,

Could I ask you to regard the £1 for Rozwadowski as privately donated to him *from me*.

As to *Duru*, he was already gone when your letter arrived. Therefore, if you have already advanced him further sums, I shall inform the *Conseil* that I shall reimburse you, if the expenditure is *not* approved.

^a newcomer

*As to the man who committed the indiscretion in the *Scotsman*,^a I had from the beginning my so to say foregone conclusions. However, I should like to be on the wrong scent.

As to Perret, the letter might with all that have been intercepted.^b I prepare, therefore, a new corrected copy, which, after having been signed by you, must be sent in a *registered* letter.

Yours fraternally,*

Karl Marx

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143

MARX TO JOHN HALES³²¹

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 October 1871

Dear Hales,

You must copy the following Resolution^c and send it to the daily London papers (the *English* ones; Serraillier sends it to the French papers).

Yours fraternally,

Karl Marx

First published, in Russian and (in facsimile) in English, in *Londonskaya konferentsia Pervogo Internatsionala* (The London Conference of the First International), Moscow, 1936

Reproduced from the original

^a See this volume, p. 381. - ^b See previous letter. - ^c K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council on Nechayev's Misuse of the Name of the International Working Men's Association'.

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MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY

IN LONDON

[London, 19 October 1871]

My dear Sir,

Enclosed the photograph for Mrs Beesly. The Christian name of the illustrious Greenwood is Frederick.^a This is not Frederick the Great. You know that Voltaire, in his Swiss retreat, had a Jesuit companion by the name of Adam, whom he used to introduce to his visitors by saying: This is not the first among men! Jenny^b will give herself the pleasure to call on Mrs Beesly on Wednesday next^c about 1 o'clock.

Yours most sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published, in the languages of the original (English and French), in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. IV, Part II, Assen, 1959

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

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 19 October 1871

Dear Jung,

In my opinion Forestier ought to have £4 instead of £3. In case of a man who is compromised care must be taken that during his travel he gets not into trouble by an empty purse.

Please to write to Outine (to be handed over to him by Forestier) a few lines, requesting him

^a The next two sentences are written in French in the original. - ^b Marx's daughter - ^c 25 October

1) to send me (in a registered letter) *the passport* he has promised to me;

2) Request him to inform me immediately whether he knows anything about the new Slavonian branch at Zurich.³²² Under the names signed by them I find A. Dubov, Kasper Turski, Emanuel Ervaćanin.^a

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 October 1871

Dear Jung,

We could give them £2 and give them a first trial by making them print the circular containing the Conference Resolutions.³²³ I shall be ready on Monday.^b You know 500 copies are to be printed in English and 500 in French. As to the Statutes, etc., this requires consideration.

Yours fraternally,
K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
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^a Manojlo Hrvaćanin (Ervaćanin) - ^b 23 October

147

ENGELS TO ELISABETH ENGELS²²⁵

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 21 October 1871

Dear Mother,

If I have not written to you for so very long, it was because I wanted to answer your latest comments on my political activity in a way that would not give you offence. And again and again, whenever I read the despicable lies in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, above all the monstrous fabrications of that swine Wachenhusen, when I saw how the very same people who, during the war, had seen nothing but lies in the whole of the French press, now trumpet forth in Germany as gospel every police invention and every piece of slander about the Commune by the most venal Paris gossipmonger, I kept falling into a mood that little inclined me to my task. In the case of the few hostages who were shot in the Prussian manner, the few palaces burned down on Prussian precedent, a great hue and cry is raised—for all the rest was nothing but lies—, but when it comes to the 40,000 men, women and children whom the Versailles troops massacred with machinery *after* people had been disarmed—no one murmurs a single word! However, you can know nothing of all that, because you have to depend on the *Kölner* and *Elberfelder Zeitung*, and the lies are really drummed into you. And yet you have in the course of your lifetime heard quite a few people denounced as veritable cannibals—the members of the *Tugendbund*³²⁴ under the first Napoleon, the demagogues of 1817 and 1831,¹¹⁶ the men of 1848—and subsequently it always turned out that they were not so bad after all, and that the horror-stories initially put into circulation about them by interested parties, subsequently dissolved into thin air. I hope, dear mother, that you will recall this and give the men of 1871 the benefit of the doubt when you read of these imaginary atrocities in the newspaper.

You knew that I had not modified my opinions, opinions which I shall soon have held for 30 years, and it could not come as a surprise to you that, as soon as events compelled me to do so, I should not only speak up for them but would do my duty in other respects too. You would have to be ashamed of me if I failed to do so. If Marx were not here, or did not even exist, it would make

absolutely no difference at all. It is therefore quite wrong to put the blame on him. Incidentally, I can also remember the time when Marx's relations maintained that *I* had been the ruin of him.

But enough of that. The situation cannot be changed now and it just has to be accepted. If things are quiet for a while, the fuss will die down anyway and you yourself will take a calmer view of the situation.

I spent some time in Ramsgate during September,³⁰⁷ a small, or rather fairly large, seaside resort on the East coast, somewhat to the north of Dover. It is the most amusing resort I know, extremely informal, very pretty firm beach immediately beneath the steep chalk cliffs; the beach is full of fake Negro-minstrels, conjurers, fire-eaters, Punch-and-Judy shows and nonsense of that sort. The place is not very fashionable, but cheap and easy-going. The bathing is very good, and since it was cold it did me twice as much good, my appetite became truly insatiable and I slept fully 10 hours a day. Although I live in one of the most healthy districts of London, where the air is as good as in the country, or so a doctor assures me, I nevertheless perceived what a difference such a change of air makes. You really ought to think of enjoying the sea air for 3-4 weeks next summer which makes even the healthiest more healthy.

My interesting neighbour has for some time now left me in peace with her piano, she must be away. To make up for it, however, I have now acquired a musician on the other side, where some new houses have been built. There is a tailor's shop there and, above it, rooms are being let. Up to now, however, it is not too bad and I cannot complain.

It has been raining abysmally, which comes very unexpectedly after the splendid autumn days we have had, and I am having to make a fire, whereas even 3 days ago it was so sultry that I could not bear to be in a room without open windows. In general, however, the weather here is much better than in Manchester, it hardly ever rains all day long, whereas in Manchester at this season it often rains without a break for 2-3 days on end.

From what Hermann and Emil^a are saying it appeared to me that it will probably take some time before their relations with Adolf^b have got back on an even keel. If they do not see each other for a time, that will make it easier. At all events, it is good that the disagreement has been resolved, at least on the main

^a Engels' brothers. See this volume, pp. 155-56. - ^b Adolf von Griesheim

points. Once the financial side has been sorted out, at least there can be no further occasion for dispute. I hope that all will resolve itself with time.

For the rest, I am well and cheerful and have returned to my first love, namely my long pipe, having finally managed to discover a reasonable tobacco here. This evening I have put aside a special pleasure for myself: despite the rain I am going to the Viennese beerhall in the Strand, where for once I shall be able to drink my fill; Emil Blank junior called in for a moment a few days ago, otherwise I never get to see the young madcap, since I hardly ever go to the City.

Good-bye for now, give my cordial greetings to all my brothers and sisters, and do not be cross with me for my long silence.

With all my heart,

Your
Frederick

You can tell Emil Blank that Marx does not *need* any money from me. But I should like to see the expression on the face of that same Emil Blank if *I* were to advise him about how to spend *his* money.

First published, abridged, in *Deutsche Revue*, Bd. II, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1921 and in full, in Russian, in *Voinstvuyushchy materialist*, Book 3, Moscow, 1925

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

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MARX TO EDOUARD VAILLANT

IN LONDON

[London,] 22 October 1871

Dear Mr Vaillant,

As I am having my pamphlet^a printed next Monday, please make your corrections as soon as possible.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

As to the resolution on political action,³²⁵ the form initially produced by the Committee (Engels, [Martin],^a Le Moussu) and the amendments subsequently adopted by vote of the General Council have created such an imbroglio that I have been compelled to alter the arrangement.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London, around 25 October 1871]

Dear Jung,

Mr Chautard was here with the enclosed letter. That means that 4 days have been lost already. I told Chautard that I must have the resolutions back IMMEDIATELY, if they cannot finish them at once.³²³ I do not see how the same people will be able to print the Rules, etc.

Veillez me retourner la lettre.^b

You will have to send those refugee riff-raff some money, let us say £10. The sooner we can finish with the fellows THE BETTER.

Yours,
K. Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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^a An illegible word here; Constant Martin was the third member of the Committee.- ^b Kindly return the letter to me.

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London, end of October 1871]

Dear Jung,

As soon as those people have finished a portion they must send me the PROOFSHEETS.^a

What are the names of the present SWISS MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL?
AND WHO IS Sadler?

YOURS FRATELNALLY,
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

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time

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 4 November 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

I could not use your credentials at the Conference.³²⁶ It had been resolved that countries without representatives be represented by their secretaries. So I sat as the member for Italy and had I used your credentials, I would have deprived Marx of his seat and his vote; so I simply left the papers in my pocket.

To come back to your unfortunate Goegg,^b his case is to be distinguished from that of Odger in two crucial respects. First, Odger is and always has been a worker, whereas Goegg is by

^a of the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference; see this volume, pp. 227 and 231. - ^b See this volume, p. 215.

nature a petty bourgeois, and will always be so. If you count yourself as belonging to the same party as Goegg, we certainly do not. Second, we have thrown Odger out,²⁸⁸ while you are hanging on to your Goegg and won't let him go. Or are you reproaching us with not having clung to Odger as you have to Goegg?

You explicitly excused your readmission of Bernhard Becker by saying that you badly lacked 'men of ability'.³⁰² You must therefore have considered him to be one.

I do not know to whom I should address my 'rude comments', if not to you. I am beginning, it is true, gradually to accustom myself to the fact that you make all sorts of demands on us without it ever occurring to you to perform even the most self-evident services in return. I shall soon find it quite natural to send you the manuscript of an entire pamphlet, and then have to order my own copies from the bookseller, while at the same time reading in your letters that sales are going fantastically. In other countries, when the General Council sends a pamphlet ready for the press, it is not only sent, as a matter of course, the copies due to it, but also a share of the profits. In Germany, it is even asked to *pay* for the copies. You can bet your last penny, however, that we shall *refuse* to do so. Since I have no desire to figure in your books as your debtor, I am sending the invoice back with the request for a new one. The other things that I ordered for myself or for Marx and the German Workers' Society¹³⁵ we shall, of course, pay for as soon as the invoice has been corrected.

I have been sending you *The Eastern Post* regularly every week. One went off as recently as yesterday, along with *The Times* of 27 October, which has a (well-informed) article on the International.³²⁷ If you have not received these things, announce it at once in the *Volksstaat*. This Stieber must be made to see that we are keeping an eye on him.

In the accompanying report^a you will find a reply to Schwitzguébel. The man is one of the leading intriguers in the Bakunin clique in the Neuchâtel Canton. They have been striving to break up the International in Switzerland for the past two years, ever since the spectacular failure of their attempt to take it over. It is the continuation of the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*¹⁰ in the Jura.

They have usurped the title of *Comité Fédéral Romand* and retained it despite the General Council's having forbidden them to

^a F. Engels, 'On the Company Swindle in England'.

do so.^a Now the Conference has settled the matter once and for all.³²⁸ Should Elpidin send you anything for publication (which I scarcely think possible), the best thing would be for you to send it straight back to him, giving him my address and telling him that he should get in touch with me directly for further clarification. I shall then oblige him in such a manner that he will not bother you again. The story is too long for me to tell it here.

You will receive the Conference resolutions^b in German and ready for the press in a day or two. The translation is in progress now.

Sorge is taken care of.^c

For the rest, matters are proceeding excellently, in Italy we now have a whole mass of organs at our disposal (I enclose a list for publication),³²⁹ and the correspondence is so lively that it involves a hell of a lot of work for me. You will have seen from the copy of *The Eastern Post*^d we sent yesterday that we have established an ENGLISH FEDERAL COUNCIL here³³⁰ and so have relieved the GENERAL COUNCIL of all the details of purely English importance—a matter that had become highly necessary. An Irish COUNCIL will follow shortly.

The English version of the revised Rules^e is in the press, French, German and Italian translations are in progress. All these things have meant an enormous amount of work for us, since Marx and I had to do almost all the editing and attend to all the details ourselves. Moreover, Marx has been unwell again, with an abscess under his arm, and must still stay at home because of a cold.

Johannard has arrived here from the Commune and has taken up his old seat in the General Council again. Jules Vallès is also here, Ranvier arrived during the Conference, Sicard in the last few days. You will have heard that Jaclard—one of the best of men—escaped from prison with Okolowicz and has arrived safely in Berne. They really are splendid people for the most part; of course, among such a mass of refugees there are inevitably a few

^a See K. Marx, 'General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland'. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - ^c In the original: 'Sorge ist besorgt'. Engels puns on Sorge's name, which means 'care'. - ^d This refers to a report on the General Council meeting of 21 October 1871 published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 161, 28 October 1871, under the title 'International Working-Men's Association'. - ^e K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association. Official edition, revised by the General Council*, London, 1871.

out-and-out riff-raff, as always, including Vermersch, the editor of *Père Duchêne*; an arch-scoundrel.

Best regards to you and yours,

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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time

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 4 November 1871

Dear Jung,

Give Beaufort (who no longer has anywhere to live) 10 sh. for the coming week. If he is unable to find EMPLOYMENT in the course of the week, we shall have to send him off to Brussels, from where he will have to try to get back to France.

Yours,
K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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time

153

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE²⁸⁴

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 6 November 1871

Dear Friend,

Today 100 copies (50 in French and 50 in English) of the Conference resolutions^a are being sent off to New York. The decisions not intended for publication will be communicated to you later.

A new, *revised* edition of the Rules and Regulations^b is due to appear in English tomorrow, and you will receive 1,000 copies for sale in America (1d. each). The text must not be translated into French and German in New York, as we are issuing *official* editions in both languages.³⁰⁹ Write us how many copies in each language will be wanted.

I have turned over the correspondence with the German Section and the New York Committee^c to *Eccarius* (he has been appointed to handle that at my suggestion),³⁵¹ since my time does not allow me to perform this function properly.

Section 12 (New York) has submitted proposals to the General Council that it be constituted the leader in America. *Eccarius* will have sent the decisions against these pretensions and for the present Committee^d to Section 12.³⁵²

As for the Washington BRANCH (which has sent the General Council a list of its members), the New York Committee went too far.³¹⁰ It had no right to demand anything but the number of members and the name, etc., of the corresponding secretary.

More in the next letter (this week).^e

Yours,

K. M.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - ^b K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^c the Central Committee of the International Working Men's Association for North America - ^d See 'Résolution du Conseil général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, au réponse à application de la section 12 de New-York'. - ^e See this volume, pp. 241-42.

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MARX TO FERDINAND JOZEWICZ³⁹³

IN BERLIN

[London,] 6 November 1871

Dear Friend,

I enclose a copy of the French translation of the Conference resolutions.^a They have also appeared in English, and the German translation will be sent off to the *Volksstaat* tomorrow.

The single English edition of the Rules and Regulations of the International^b will come out tomorrow. We shall probably publish a German edition in Leipzig and a French one in Geneva. According to the latest Conference resolutions every member must possess a copy of the Rules. I shall send you the stamps as soon as they are available.

With regard to Berlin, my view is that public meetings 'in general' should not be held until more propaganda has been made on the spot. In the meantime, however, every situation with broader implications and of public interest should be exploited both for meetings and for printed manifestoes.³⁹⁴

The next opportune occasion will be the scandalous trial of the members of the ex-committee of the Social-Democratic Party in Brunswick, where the International figures as the central feature of the indictment.³⁹⁵ However, it will be as well to bide one's time until the public sessions, which will focus the attention of Germany on Brunswick.

In the same way, the proposed laws concerning the International which the government intends to lay before the German Reichstag will provide a favourable opportunity. It is to be hoped that the German workers will come out as energetically as the Spanish workers did against similar government interventions.

I made *one* mistake in my last letter.^c Bebel had sent me *one* detailed report in 1870, at the time when we had settled on Mainz as the venue for the Congress (shortly before the outbreak of the war).²⁴²

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - ^b K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^c See this volume, p. 221.

It is not just my duty as corresponding secretary for Germany, it is also a great pleasure for me to be in constant communication with our other friends in Berlin through yourself and Kwasniewski.

Salut et fraternité.

Karl Marx

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 3,
Berlin, 1933

Printed according to a handwritten
copy

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MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON³³⁶

IN ST PETERSBURG

[London,] 9 November 1871

Dear Friend,

Enclosed are a few changes, some of them just printing errors. Of some importance, however, are the changes on p. 192 [p. 225], p. 201 [p. 234], p. 288, Note 205a [p. 309, Note 1], and p. 376 [p. 390], which affect the content.³³⁷

It would be pointless to *wait* for the revision of Chapter I,²¹⁸ since for months now my time has been so taken up that I have not been able to get to my theoretical work (and the foreseeable future holds out small prospect of an improvement in this respect).

*Certainly, I shall one fine morning put a stop to all this but there are circumstances where you are in duty bound to occupy yourselves with things much less attractive than theoretical study and research.

My warmest thanks for all the kindness I have met with on your part. The writings of Ehrlieb^a I am partly acquainted with. I compare him as a writer to Lessing and Diderot.

I have received some curious numbers of the *Moscow Gazette*.^b

Yours truly,*

A. W.^c

^a Nikolai Dobrolyubov. The surname means 'lover of good'. Marx translates this into German. - ^b *Московскія вѣдомости* - ^c A. Williams—Marx's pseudonym

[Appendix]

p. 68, Note 52, line -2 [p. 109, Note 1, line -4] read '*ne pouvant*' instead of '*ne pouvant pas*'.

p. 83, Note 62, line -6 [p. 123, Note 1, line -23] read '*specie*' instead of '*species*'.

p. 192, line 3 [p. 224, line -2] read '*The annual return*' [Umsatz] instead of '*The annual income*' [Einkommen].

Ibid., line 7 [p. 225, lines 2-3] read '*Of the $\frac{23}{23}$ rds*' instead of '*Of these $\frac{23}{23}$ working hours*', so that the sentence should now run, '*Of the $\frac{23}{23}$ rds (constituting the whole £115,000)*', etc.^a

Ibid. Insert the following after *Note 32, p. 192* [p. 225, Note 1]:

Author's addition to Note 32: 'Apart from errors in principle, Senior's statement is confused. What he wants to say is this:

'The manufacturer employs the workman for 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours or for 23 half-hours daily. As the working day, so, too, the working year, may be conceived to consist of 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours or 23 half-hours, but each multiplied by the number of working days in the year. On this supposition,

the 23 half-hours yield a total product of £115,000;

1 half-hour yields $\frac{1}{23} \times £115,000$;

23 half-hours yield $\frac{23}{23} \times £115,000 = £115,000^b$;

20 half-hours yield $\frac{20}{23} \times £115,000 = 100,000$, i.e. they replace no more than the capital of £100,000 advanced.

There remain 3 half-hours, which yield $\frac{3}{23} \times £115,000 = £15,000$

or

the gross profit.

'Of these 3 half-hours, one yields $\frac{1}{23} \times £115,000 = £5,000$; i.e. it makes up for the wear and tear of the factory and the machinery.

'The remaining 2 half-hours, i.e. the *last hour*, yield the last $\frac{2}{23}$ of the product, i.e. $\frac{2}{23} \times £115,000 = £10,000$, i.e. they produce the net profit. Q.E.D.

'In the text, however, *Senior* says,

"The remaining $\frac{2}{23}$ rds, that is, the last two of the twenty-three half-hours of every day, produce the net profit of 10 per cent."

'That is to say, he suddenly confuses the 23rds into which he

^a The English edition, which is quoting Senior, actually reads, '*Of these $\frac{23}{23}$ rds...*' - ^b This line is omitted from the English translation.

has divided the product with the half-hours into which he has divided the working day.'

p. 201, line - 7 [p. 234, line 18] *seqq* read 'But if you consume it in 10 years, you pay me daily $\frac{1}{10950}$ instead of $\frac{1}{3650}$ of its total value, i.e. only $\frac{1}{3}$ of its daily value, and you rob me, therefore, every day of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the value of my commodity.'

p. 288, Note 205a [p. 309, Note 1] read 'The *molecular theory* of modern chemistry first scientifically worked out by *Laurent* and *Gerhardt* rests on no other law', i.e. *omitting the words* 'on the foundations laid by Professor Wurtz in Paris'.

p. 307, line 8 [p. 326, line 14] read 'ANIMAL SPIRITS' instead of 'ANIMAL SPIRIT'.

p. 309, Note 15, line 4 [p. 328, end of French Note 2, continued from p. 327] read '*le poisson*' instead of '*le poison*'.

p. 319, Note 26, line -9 [p. 337, line -12] read '*dévider*' instead of '*divider*'.

Line - 6 [lines -10 and -9] read '*dévidenses*' instead of '*dividenses*' and '*teinturiers*' instead of '*teinturieurs*'.

p. 376, line 20 [p. 390, line 1] read 'The less value it gives up' instead of 'The less value it creates'.

p. 593, Note 60, line -16 [p. 606, line -2] read '*ces services*' instead of '*ses services*'.

p. 658, line -17 [p. 669, line 7] read '2 silver Groschen, 6 Pfennige' instead of '1 silver Groschen, 8 Pfennige'.^a

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^a These figures, which translate the value of 3d. into German, are omitted from the English edition.

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE²⁸⁴

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 9 November 1871

Dear Friend,

I sent you 100 copies of the Conference resolutions^a the day before yesterday, 50 in ENGLISH and 50 in FRENCH.

This week 1,000 copies of the ENGLISH REVISED AND OFFICIAL STATUTES AND REGULATIONS^b will be sent to you. Try to sell them.

The GENERAL COUNCIL has large expenditures to make as a result of the various tasks it was set by the Conference.

We shall have an official French edition of the REVISED STATUTES, etc., printed in Geneva, and the official German edition printed in Leipzig. Write and tell us approximately how many COPIES of each will be required in the UNITED STATES.

A section of the International, *Section française de 1871* (about 24 strong), has been formed here among the FRENCH REFUGEES, which immediately clashed with the GENERAL COUNCIL because we demanded changes in its Rules.³³⁸ It will probably result in a SPLIT. These people are working together with some of the French refugees in Switzerland, who in turn are intriguing with the men of the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste* (Bakunin), which we dissolved.³³⁹ The object of their attack is not the governments and ruling classes of Europe, allied against us, but the General Council of London, and particularly my humble self. This is their gratitude for my having spent nearly 5 months working for the refugees and having acted as their vindicator through the *Address on the Civil War*.^c

I defended them even at the Conference, where the delegates from Spain, Belgium, Switzerland, and Holland expressed their misgivings lest the General Council endanger its international character through too large an admixture of French refugees.³⁴⁰ But in the eyes of these 'Internationalists' it is in itself a sin for 'German' influence (because of German science) to predominate in the GENERAL COUNCIL.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - ^b K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^c K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

As for the New York CENTRAL COMMITTEE,¹⁵¹ the following:

1. According to the Conference decisions, see II, 1, in the future, it must call itself *FEDERAL COUNCIL* OR *FEDERAL COMMITTEE* OF THE UNITED STATES.

2. As soon as a much *larger* number of BRANCHES has been established in the DIFFERENT STATES, the most practical thing to do will be to call a congress of the different SECTIONS—following the example of Belgium, Switzerland, and Spain^a—to elect a FEDERAL COUNCIL OR COMMITTEE in New York.

3. FEDERAL COMMITTEES can in turn be established in the different States—as soon as they have a sufficient number of BRANCHES—for which the New York COMMITTEE will function as the central point.

4. The definitive special Rules, both of the New York FEDERAL COMMITTEE and of the COMMITTEES yet to be established, must be submitted to the GENERAL COUNCIL for sanction before their publication.³⁴¹

We are making rapid progress in Italy. A great triumph over the Mazzini party. The progress in Spain is also considerable. A new section has been established in Copenhagen, which already has 1,500 MEMBERS and publishes its own paper, *Socialisten*.

The Brunswick court's indictment of the local EX-COMMITTEE, Bracke and comrades, has been transmitted to me—an infamous document.³³⁵

All of us regret that you intend to resign from the Committee. I trust, however, that your decision is not final. I myself often think of doing the same, as the affairs of the International take too much of my time and interrupt my theoretical work.

Apropos. I should like to have 12 copies of *Woodhull's etc. Weekly* of 21 October, containing my daughter's story.^b Only by ACCIDENT did we see a COPY of this issue.

Salut fraternel,

Karl Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

^a Crossed out in the original: 'and now also of England'. - ^b J. Marx, 'To the Editor of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*'.

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MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN¹²¹

IN HANOVER

[London,] 9 November 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

I still have my hands so overfull with work that I can only write you these few lines.

Document received. It is a worthy imitation of the Viennese model,³⁴² which was later quashed by the Vienna Court of Appeal.

Enclosed 1 FRENCH AND 1 ENGLISH COPY OF THE RESOLUTIONS.^a

Best greetings to *Madame la Comtesse* and Fränzchen.^b

Your

K. M.

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

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO CARL SPEYER¹³⁷

IN NEW YORK

London, 10 November 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Speyer,

Lessner acquainted me with your letter. Overwork and then illness have prevented me from replying to you sooner. There are a number of errors in your letter.

1. According to the Rules the General Council in YANKEELAND should concern itself primarily with the Yankees.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - ^b Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

2. But as far as the private correspondence with West, etc., is concerned, *the General Council has absolutely nothing to do with it*. A number of the English members of the General Council, in particular George Harris and other sectarians of the school of O'Brien, the *CURRENCY QUACK DOCTOR*,³⁴³ are in contact with West et Co. Anything they may write to the UNITED STATES has no official status. If you can supply proof that Harris, etc., have taken it upon themselves to write to America in the **name of the GENERAL COUNCIL**, we shall soon put a stop to such mischief.

3. As far as any other correspondence from members of the General Council is concerned, we are not in a position to forbid it.

Firstly, I do not see what objection can be made to the correspondence between Eccarius and Jessup. It has not come to my notice that Jessup, one of our oldest correspondents in the UNITED STATES, has been acting against the New York COMMITTEE.¹⁵¹

Secondly, my correspondence with Sigfrid Meyer. Meyer and Vogt were mandataries of the GENERAL COUNCIL; I do *not* know either of them *personally*, but had regarded Meyer, and have always thought of Vogt, as having long been active members of the workers' party.³⁴⁴ I have been advising them both for a long time now to join the organisation established by the Central Committee in New York.

I have not had a letter from Vogt for some years now, and if he *does intrigue*, he will certainly find no support from me. I am concerned only with the interests of your movement, and not with private individuals.

As for Sorge, I am no more acquainted with him personally than I am with Meyer and Vogt. It is my conviction, however, that the General Council owes him a profound debt of gratitude for his activities—a belief which I have repeatedly expressed in the GENERAL COUNCIL.

4. You must strive to win the support of the TRADES UNIONS AT ALL COSTS.

This letter is addressed only to you personally. You must not show it to anyone except Sorge.

Write to me soon.

Salut fraternel.

Yours sincerely,

Karl Marx

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ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO³⁴⁵

IN MILAN

London, 13 November 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Esteemed Friend,

In reply to your kind letter of the 1st inst., I regret to have to tell you that we have no contacts in Milan at the moment, apart from the *Gazzettino Rosa*, to which we send documents for publication,³⁴⁶ but which has otherwise made no offers so far on the establishment of sections, etc. The movement in Italy in International terms broke out so suddenly and unexpectedly that everything is still very disorganised and, as you know, the Mordecaiians^a are doing their best to hamper the organisation. That there must be useful elements in Milan is obvious enough, if only from the fact that the *Gazzettino Rosa* has a reading public. In the meantime, the only thing you can do is to try and discover them. I promise to send you the address of the first one to get into contact with me from there. This will undoubtedly happen shortly, since my name will soon enough become known everywhere as secretary for Italy through the flood of forthcoming publications from the General Council. As the stronghold of Mazzini's followers hitherto, and as major industrial city, Milan is of great importance for us, particularly since, if it falls to us, the areas in Lombardy where the silk industry is concentrated will automatically be ours, too. So anything you and your friends can achieve in Milan for the common cause will have a *very special* value.

We have a strong section in Turin (address: *Proletario Italiano*); letters from Lodi (the *Plebe*), which presumably reported on the establishment of sections, have gone astray.

I met Ricciotti Garibaldi at Marx's house this morning. He is a highly intelligent young man with a very calm manner, but a soldier rather than a thinker. However, he may turn out to be very useful. It is just as with the old man^b; his theoretical ideas give more proof of his good intentions than of his clarity of vision, but his last letter to Petroni is invaluable to us.³⁴⁷ If the sons prove

^a police informers (an allusion to *The Book of Esther*, 4:1) - ^b Giuseppe Garibaldi

to have the same sure instincts in every great crisis as the old man, they will achieve much. Can you obtain a reliable address for us in Genoa? We want to be able to send our things safely to Caprera for the old man, and Ricciotti says that a lot gets intercepted.

Since the Mordecaians will now know my name as well, could I ask you to address letters for me to:

Miss Burns, 122 R.P.R., London, N.W. (as per letter-head), and not to High Holborn where I only go once a week and a lot of post just lies around waiting.

An inner envelope is *not* necessary.

I am sending you an English paper chosen at random through the post and enclosing:

1. *Résolutions de la Conférence de l'Internationale à Londres, Sept. 1871.*

2. *The Civil War in France.* Address of the General Council.

3. The new edition of the Rules,^a available up to now only in English; French and German versions will appear shortly.

Write to me again soon.

Salut et fraternité.

F. Engels

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No. 11, Berlin, 1925

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Published in English in full for the
first time

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 November 1871

Dear Jung,

From the enclosed letter³⁴⁸ (for the return of which I would be grateful), you can see that this is a favourable moment for us to establish contact with the Paris workers without obtaining permission from Roullier.

^a K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.*

Is there a JEWELLERS' UNION or SOCIETY of any kind? If so, it would be good if you could contact them directly. A reduction in the working hours of the Paris JEWELLERS would be of great importance for the Londoners, since Paris is their greatest competitor.

Salut fraternel,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT¹³⁷

IN LEIPZIG

London, 17 November 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Liebknecht,

1. Letter to follow concerning the printing of the Rules,^a etc.

2. Your comments on my proposals concerning Berlin rest on a complete misunderstanding. I declared my opposition to unprovoked demonstrations, but pointed to 'provocations', and imminent ones at that, which would provide demonstrations with a background and with prospects of success.^b

3. First Bebel and yourself do not come to the Conference, and take no steps to ensure that other delegates turn up. Then you print a report from Boruttau in which, acting perhaps as an *unconscious* agent of the Geneva conspiracy against the General Council, he rebukes the latter for failing to invite delegates from Germany.^c The construction already being put upon this in Geneva by the Bakuninists and the whole host of conspiratorial

^a K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b See this volume, p. 237. - ^c [K.] Boruttau, 'Sozialismus und Kommunismus', *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 88 and 89, 1 and 4 November 1871.

hangers-on among the émigrés, is that Marx has lost his influence even in Germany!

4. You may rest assured that I am better informed than you about the intrigues within the International. So when I write to you that letters from Boruttau with *any bearing at all* on the International (including the *Manifesto* already announced, which the aforesaid Boruttau has sent you) should not be printed in the *Volksstaat*, you have simply to make up your mind whether you wish to act *against* us or *with* us. If the latter is the case, then my instructions, which are based on a thorough knowledge of the circumstances, should be followed to the letter.

5. Since we are most dissatisfied here with the way in which the affairs of the International have been conducted hitherto, it is my duty, in accordance with the instructions of the General Council, to make direct contact with the main centres in Germany. I have already made a start on this.^a

6. We are so overwhelmed with International work here that Engels and myself have had no time up to now to write a Preface for the *Communist Manifesto*.¹⁸⁹ At all events we shall not write one simply in order to trigger off a polemic with Mr Boruttau in the *Volksstaat*.

Your
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO JULES JOHANNARD¹¹⁸

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 November 1871

My dear Jules Johannard,

We expect you at my place tomorrow evening (Sunday) between

^a See this volume, p. 221.

7 and 8 o'clock. We shall begin by discussing various International matters. Thereafter any subject under the sun!

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG
IN LONDON

[London,] 18 November 1871

Dear Jung,

On second thoughts it seems to me better after all,

1. that you should write to Dilke simply on your own account, without mentioning me.³⁴⁹ *There are reasons why I should not like to see him on this occasion.*

2. *not* to put Cournet's name forward *as early as Tuesday*.³⁵⁰ It is in his own interests not to be in too much haste.

Best regards to your dear wife.

YOURS FRATELNALLY,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT¹³⁷

IN LONDON

[London,] 22 November 1871

Dear Citizen,

My ailment continues to keep me indoors, thereby preventing me from doing all I should like to do to support the better elements on the *Qui Vive!*³⁵¹ Nevertheless I have spoken to several of my French friends, though I don't know whether they have started things moving.

As to the terms of admission to the *International*, all that is needed is recognition of our principles. I am sending you 30 CARDS OF MEMBERSHIP which you may dispose of as and when you find new candidates. They only have to pay ONE PENNY for their annual contribution but may subscribe more if they so wish. All you have to do is enter the names of new members on the cards.

I am also sending you 30 copies of the Rules.^a Every member must be supplied with a copy, which costs ONE PENNY.

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Conference,^b adhesive stamps are now being manufactured representing the value of one PENNY, and these must be affixed to the Rules in possession of members.

Those who have already paid for their cards will not have to make a further payment for the stamps.

THE PAMPHLET ON *The Civil War in France* IS SOLD AT Truelove's, 256 High Holborn.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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Translated from the French

^a K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. IV: Contribution of 1d. per Member to the General Council.

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH BOLTE³⁵²

IN NEW YORK

[London,] 23 November 1871

Friend Bolte,

I received your letter yesterday together with Sorge's report.³⁵³

1. First of all, as to the attitude of the General Council towards the New York Federal Council, I trust that my letters already sent to Sorge (and a letter to Speyer, which I authorised him to communicate to Sorge *confidentially*)^a will have disposed of the highly erroneous viewpoint of the German Section which you represent.³⁵⁴

In the United States, as in every other country where the *International* first has to be established, the General Council originally had to authorise separate individuals and appoint them as its official correspondents. But from the moment the New York Committee had gained some stability, these correspondents were dropped one after the other, although they could not be removed all at once.

For some time past the *official* correspondence with formerly appointed authorised representatives has been confined to Eccarius' correspondence with Jessup, and I see from your own letter that you have no complaint at all to make regarding the latter.

Except for Eccarius, however, no one was to carry on official correspondence with the United States but myself and Dupont as correspondent (at the time) for the *French sections*, and whatever correspondence he conducted was confined to *the latter*.

With the exception of yourself and Sorge, I have not carried on any official correspondence at all. My correspondence with Sigfrid Meyer is private correspondence, of which *he has never published the slightest detail*, and which by its very nature could *in no way* be troublesome or harmful to the New York Committee.

There is no doubt, on the other hand, that George Harris and perhaps Boon—two English members of the General Council—are carrying on private correspondence with Internationals in New York, etc. Both of them belong to the sect of the late Bronterre

^a See this volume, pp. 236, 241-42 and 244.

O'Brien, and are full of follies and CROTCHETS, such as CURRENCY quackery, false emancipation of women, and the like.³⁴³ They are thus BY NATURE allies of Section 12 in New York and its kindred souls.³³²

The General Council has no right to forbid its members to conduct private correspondence. But if it could be *proved* to us: either that this private correspondence pretends to be *official*, or that it counteracts the activity of the General Council—whether used for publication or to drag the New York Committee through the mire—the necessary measures would be taken to prevent such mischief.

These O'Brienites, in spite of their follies, constitute an often necessary counterweight to TRADES UNIONISTS in the COUNCIL. They are more revolutionary, firmer on the LAND QUESTION, less NATIONALISTIC, and not susceptible to bourgeois bribery in one form or another. Otherwise they would have been kicked out long ago.

2. I was greatly astonished to see that German Section No. 1 suspects the General Council of a preference for bourgeois philanthropists, sectarians, or amateur groups.

The position is quite the contrary.

The *International* was founded in order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a real organisation of the working class for struggle. The original Rules and the Inaugural Address^a show this at a glance. On the other hand, the International could not have asserted itself if the course of history had not already smashed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real labour movement always stand in indirect proportion to each other. So long as the sects are justified (historically), the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all sects are essentially reactionary. For all that, what history exhibits everywhere was repeated in the history of the International. What is antiquated tries to reconstitute and assert itself within the newly acquired form.

And the history of the International was a *continual struggle of the General Council* against the sects and attempts by amateurs to assert themselves within the International itself against the real movement of the working class. This struggle was conducted at the *Congresses*, but far more in the private dealings of the General Council with the individual sections.

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

Handwritten text in German, likely a letter from Karl Marx to Friedrich Bolte. The text is dense and difficult to read due to the high contrast and grainy quality of the scan. It appears to be a page of a letter, with several lines of text and some underlined words or phrases. The handwriting is cursive and typical of the mid-19th century.

A page from Marx's letter to Friedrich Bolte of 23 November 1871



As the Proudhonists (Mutualists³⁵⁵) were co-founders of the Association in Paris, they naturally held the reins there for the first few years. Later, of course, collectivist, positivist, etc., groups were formed there in opposition to them.

In Germany—the Lassalle clique. I myself corresponded with the notorious Schweitzer for two years and irrefutably proved to him that Lassalle's organisation is purely a sectarian organisation and, as such, hostile to the organisation of the *real* workers' movement aimed at by the International. He had his 'reasons' for not understanding.

At the end of 1868 the Russian, Bakunin, joined the *International* with the aim of forming inside it a *second International* under the name of *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*,¹⁰ with himself as leader. He—a man devoid of all theoretical knowledge—claimed that this separate body was to represent the *scientific* propaganda of the International, and that this propaganda was to become the special function of this second *International within the International*.

His programme was a mishmash superficially scraped together from left and right—*equality of classes* (!), *abolition of the right of inheritance* as the *starting point* of the social movement (Saint-Simonist nonsense), *atheism* as a *dogma* dictated to the members, etc., and, as the main dogma, (*Proudhonist*) *abstention from the political movement*.

This children's primer found favour (and still has a certain hold) in Italy and Spain, where the real conditions for the workers' movement are as yet little developed, and among a few vain, ambitious, and empty doctrinaires in Romance Switzerland and Belgium.

For Mr Bakunin the doctrine (the rubbish he has scraped together from Proudhon, St. Simon, etc.) was and is a secondary matter—merely a means to his personal self-assertion. Though a nonentity theoretically, he is in his element as an intriguer.

For years the General Council had to fight against this conspiracy (which was supported up to a certain point by the French Proudhonists, especially in *Southern France*). At last, by means of Conference resolutions 1, 2 and 3, IX, XVI, and XVII, it delivered its long-prepared blow.³⁵⁶

Obviously the General Council does not support in America what it combats in Europe. Resolutions 1, 2 and 3 and IX now give the New York Committee the legal weapons with which to put an end to all sectarianism and amateurish groups, and, if necessary, to expel them.

3. The New York Committee would do well to express its full agreement with the Conference decisions in an *official letter to the General Council*.

Bakunin, personally threatened, moreover, by Resolution XIV (publication of the *Nechayev* trial in the *Égalité*),^a which will bring to light his infamous doings in Russia, is making every possible effort to get protests started against the Conference among the remnants of his following.

For this purpose he has got into contact with the riff-raff among the French refugees in Geneva and London (a numerically weak component, anyway). The slogan issued is that the General Council is dominated by *Pan-Germanism* (or Bismarckism). This refers to the *unpardonable* fact that *I* am by birth a German and actually do exercise a decisive intellectual influence upon the General Council. (N. B. The *German* element in the COUNCIL is two-thirds weaker *numerically* than the *English*, and also weaker than the *French*. The crime therefore consists in the fact that the English and French elements are dominated by the German element *theoretically* (!) and find this domination, i. e. German science, very useful and even indispensable.)

In Geneva, under the patronage of the bourgeoisie, Madame André Léo (who at the Lausanne Congress was so shameless as to denounce Ferré to his Versailles executioners³⁵⁷), they have published a paper, *La Révolution sociale*, which polemicises against us in almost literally the same words as the *Journal de Genève*, the most reactionary paper in Europe.

In London they tried to establish a French Section,³⁵⁸ of whose activities you will find an example in No. 42 of *Qui Vive!*, which I enclose. (Ditto the issue containing the letter from our French secretary, Serrailier.)³⁵⁸ This Section, consisting of 20 people (including many *mouchards*^b), has not been recognised by the General Council, but another, a much larger section, has.³⁵⁹

In fact, despite the intrigues of this bunch of scoundrels, we are carrying on great propaganda in France—and in Russia, where they know what value to place on Bakunin, and where my book on capital is just being published in Russian.³⁶⁰

The secretary of the first-mentioned French Section (the one not recognised by us and now in the process of complete

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. XIV: Instruction to Citizen Outine. - ^b police spies

dissolution) was the same *Durand* whom we expelled from the Association as a *mouchard*.³⁶¹

The Bakuninist abstentionists from politics, Blanc^a and Albert Richard of Lyons, are now *paid Bonapartist agents*. The evidence is in our hands. Bousquet (of the same clique in Geneva), the correspondent in *Béziers* (Southern France), has been denounced to us by the section there as a police officer!³⁶²

4. With regard to the *resolutions* of the Conference, let me say that the whole edition was in my hands, and that I sent them *first* to New York (Sorge) as the most distant point.³²³

If reports on the Conference—half true and half false—appeared in the press before that, the blame rests on a delegate to the Conference,^b against whom the General Council has instituted an inquiry.^c

5. As for the Washington Section, it applied first to the General Council in order to maintain contact with it as an independent section.³¹⁰ If the affair is now settled, it is useless to return to it.

With regard to sections the following general remarks apply:

(a) According to Art. 7 of the Rules,^d sections that wish to be independent can apply directly to the General Council for admission (*‘no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council’*). II: Arts 4 and 5 of the Regulations: *‘Every new branch or society’* (this refers to *‘independent local societies’*) ‘intending to join the International is bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council!’* (II: Art. 4) and *‘The General Council has the right to admit or to refuse the affiliation of any new branch etc.’* (II: Art. 5).

(b) According to Art. 5 of the Regulations,^e however, the GENERAL COUNCIL has to consult the FEDERAL COUNCILS or COMMITTEES beforehand regarding admission, etc., and

(c) according to the decision of the Conference (see V: Art. 3 of the Regulations), no section will be admitted any more from the outset that takes a sectarian name, etc., or (V: Art. 2) does not constitute itself simply as a Section of the International Working Men’s Association.

Kindly communicate this letter to the German Section you

^a Gaspard Blanc - ^b J. G. Eccarius - ^c See this volume, p. 381. - ^d K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men’s Association*. - ^e in Section II

represent, and make use of its contents for action but not for publication.

Salut et fraternité,

Karl Marx

Capital has not been published in English or French as yet. A French edition was being worked on but was discontinued as a result of the events.¹⁴⁷

Eccarius has been appointed, at my request, secretary for *all* sections in the UNITED STATES (with the exception of the French, for which Le Moussu is secretary). Nevertheless I shall be glad to answer any private questions that you or Sorge may address to me. Engels has sent the *Irish Republic* article on the International to Italy for publication there.

In future, issues of *The Eastern Post* containing reports on the General Council's meetings will be sent to New York regularly, addressed to Sorge.

N.B. ad^a POLITICAL MOVEMENT: The POLITICAL MOVEMENT of the working class naturally has as its final object the conquest of POLITICAL POWER for this class, and this requires, of course, a PREVIOUS ORGANISATION of the WORKING CLASS developed up to a certain point, which arises from the economic struggles themselves.

But on the other hand, every movement in which the working class comes out as a *class* against the ruling classes and tries to coerce them by PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT is a POLITICAL MOVEMENT. For instance, the attempt in a particular factory, or even in a particular trade, to force a shorter working day out of the individual capitalists by STRIKES, etc., is a purely economic movement. The movement to force through an eight-hour *law*, etc., however, is a *political* movement. And in this way, out of the separate economic movements of the workers there grows up everywhere a *political* movement, that is to say a movement of the *class*, with the object of achieving its interests in a general form, in a form possessing general, socially binding force. Though these movements presuppose a certain degree of PREVIOUS organisation, they are in turn equally a means of developing this organisation.

Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organisation to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e. the political power, of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against, and a hostile attitude towards, the policies of the ruling classes. Otherwise

^a as to

it remains a plaything in their hands, as the September revolution in France showed, and as is also proved to a certain degree by the game that Messrs Gladstone et Co. still succeed in playing in England up to the present time.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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ENGELS TO CARMELO PALLADINO
IN NAPLES

[Draft]

London, 23 November 1871

Citizen Palladino,

I have just received your letter of the 13th and thank you for the Report on the History of the Naples Section,³⁶³ which I shall submit to the General Council at its next meeting. Whatever decisions the Council may arrive at in regard to the publicity to be given to the contents of that memoir, the necessary discretion will always be observed.

I am sorry you think yourself duty-bound to tell me that you in no way accept the resolutions of the last Conference.²⁶⁵ Since it is evident from your letter that an organised section of the International no longer exists in Naples, I can only assume that the above declaration expresses your individual opinion and not that of the Naples Section, now forcibly dissolved. Being anxious, however, to avoid misunderstandings, I am answering your objections in detail.

(1) You are not satisfied

'with the way in which the said Conference was convened, which certainly did not conform to the regulations laid down by our General Rules'.^a

To that accusation there are two rejoinders:

^a Here and below Engels quotes in Italian.

(a) It is indeed true that our General Rules make no provision for Conferences, but only for Congresses; they were drafted in the somewhat naïve belief that governments would leave us to our own devices.^a Since the governments made it impossible for us to convene a Congress in 1870, the sections, having been directly consulted, confirmed and extended the powers of the General Council, and empowered it to decide upon the time and place at which the next Congress should meet.²⁴² In 1871 the governments made the meeting of a Congress even more impracticable.^b

We have proof of this, should you doubt it. But you will not; 'the Naples Section of the International no longer being able to meet' after 20 August 1871,³⁶⁴ it could not elect a delegate to the Congress. And the same goes for France, Germany and Austria; the Federal Council in Spain was forced to take refuge in Portugal! So what could we do? There remained the precedent of 1865 when, for various reasons, the semi-public Congress was replaced by a private Conference held in London, the convening and actions of which were ratified by the next Congress.³⁶⁵ You might tell me that such precedents are authoritarian and bourgeois survivals unworthy of the true revolutionaries of the proletariat, to which I should reply that the General Rules, Administrative Regulations, resolutions passed by the Congresses, etc., etc., belong in the same category, but that unfortunately no association, however revolutionary, can do without such things. So, the General Council, on its own responsibility, suggested to the sections that the impracticable Congress be temporarily replaced by a practicable Conference, practicable because the delegates would not be known to governments. The sections gave their assent, none protested, and the Council is prepared to answer to the future Congress for its action.

(b) As for the actual convening of the Conference, it was completely in order. All the Federations, all the individual sections in regular communication with the General Council, were notified in good time.

^a The following passage is crossed out in the original here: 'But you are a lawyer, as far as I know, and so you should know that in every society written laws coexist with rules laid down by practice.' - ^b Crossed out in the original: 'In France, the Association was disbanded; in Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria and Hungary it was harassed by persecutions which totally disorganised it. The only countries where the Internationals could at least gather openly were America, England, Belgium and Switzerland. And even in Belgium a law against the International was promulgated. The election of delegates to a Congress which, in keeping with the Rules, would be expected to hold public sessions alongside administrative sittings became impossible.'

(c) Furthermore, if any observations on the legality or the method of convening the Conference were to be made, this should have been done before or during the Conference. *None* were made.

(2) You complain of the 'small number of delegates'. For that, the General Council is not to blame. Nonetheless, Belgium, Spain, Holland, England, Germany, Switzerland and Russia were directly represented. As to France, it was represented by practically all the members of the Paris Commune then in London, and I hardly suppose you would dispute the validity of their mandate. If Italy did not send delegates, you must look to your government.^a

(3) You say that these delegates 'have arrogated to themselves the rights peculiar to a General Congress'. This runs completely counter to the facts. The resolutions of the Conference in no way affect the tenor of the Rules.^b Some merely reaffirm the resolutions of previous Congresses, hardly if at all familiar to sections and members of recent date. Others are of a purely administrative nature. Far from lying outside the competence of a Conference, neither the former nor the latter go beyond even that of the General Council.

(4) You then go on to object to the

'very tenor of such resolutions which appear to you to be in direct opposition to the principles of our Association as laid down in our General Rules'.

With this I totally disagree and look to you to provide the proof. The founders of the International, those who drafted the Rules and the resolutions of our Association's Congresses, were very well represented at the Conference, and you will forgive me if, in the first instance, I lend credence to their interpretation of those Rules and to the interpretation given by successive Congresses ever since. Pray do not forget that the International has its own history and that history—of which it has every reason to be proud—is the best commentary on the Rules; that the International in no way intends to renege that glorious history and that, at this moment, the spontaneous movement of the proletarian masses in favour of our Association—a movement that is more marked and more enthusiastic in Italy than anywhere else—is the most striking ratification, not only of the letter of the Rules, but also of the whole of that history. Whatever your fears in regard to

^a Crossed out in the original: 'and it is high time you offered effective opposition to it.' - ^b Crossed out in the original: 'They are of a purely administrative nature; the General Council had the right to adopt them itself had it wished to do so.'

the great responsibility the General Council has taken upon itself, that Council will remain ever loyal to the flag entrusted to its care seven years ago by the faith of the working men of the civilised world. It will respect individual opinions, it is prepared to transfer its powers to the hands of its mandators, but as long as it is charged with the supreme direction of the Association, it will see to it that nothing is done to vitiate the character of the movement which has made the International what it now is, and will abide by the resolutions of the Conference until such time as a Congress has decided otherwise.

In accordance with Resolution X of the Conference^a there can be no objection to the reconstitution of the disbanded Naples Section under the name of *Federazione Operaia Napolitana*, or under any other name whatsoever.

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time

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MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE¹³⁷

IN BRUSSELS

London, 24 November 1871

My dear Friend,

I would have written to you long since had my time been my own. For the past four weeks I have been confined to the house, having had abscesses, operations, etc., *secundum legem artis*.^b Nevertheless, what with the business of the *International* on the one hand and the refugees on the other, I have not even got round to rewriting the first chapter of *Capital* for the Russian

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. X: General Resolution as to the Countries where the Regular Organisation of the International is Interfered with by the Governments. - ^b in accordance with the rules of the art

translation.²¹⁸ Since our friends in St Petersburg were becoming ever more pressing, I was forced to leave the chapter as it stands and make no more than a few minor alterations.^a As I told you in London, I have often asked myself if the time has not come to resign from the General Council. The more the society develops, the more my time is taken up and I must, after all, finally have done with *Das Kapital*. Moreover, my resignation would rid the International of the threat of *Pan-Germanism*, a threat, or so say Messrs Rouillier, Malon, Bakunin, Robin & Co., represented by myself.^b

I have spoken to my doctor about your case. He tells me:

1. If you are to set up in London as an *English doctor*, it would not be sufficient to pass the examinations over here. You would be obliged to do at least two years of study in a London hospital (or at university). They would take into account Belgian courses in some branches of the science but not all.

2. On the other hand, you can set up here as a doctor with your Belgian qualifications without passing further examinations and without attending any English courses. There are French and German doctors here who practise in this way. True, there are certain fields, not many of them (forensic medicine, for example), in which you would be precluded from working, but that is a minor matter.

3. Lastly you could—as many foreigners have done before you—combine the two methods, namely start practising straight away and at the same time take the necessary steps to transform yourself later into an *English doctor* and ultimately become *the physician of Her Most Gracious Majesty.*

So you can see, my dear friend, that there are many roads that lead to Rome. *Drop me a few lines about this subject.*

The conduct of the Belgian Federal Council vis-à-vis the General Council strikes me as suspect. Mr Hins and his wife—I am speaking frankly—are Bakuninists and Mr Steens has doubtless discovered that his eloquence is insufficiently admired. In Geneva it is even being said, as Utin wrote and told me (he doesn't believe it, needless to say), that you have sided with the Alliancists who are in league with André Léo, Malon, Razoua, etc.

This essentially insignificant business could have unpleasant consequences. England, the United States, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Austria, most of the French groups, the northern

^a See this volume, pp. 239-40. - ^b Ibid., p. 256.

Italians, Sicily and Rome, the vast majority of the Romance Swiss, all the German Swiss and the Russians in Russia (as distinct from certain Russians abroad linked with Bakunin) are marching in step with the General Council.

On the other hand, there will be the Jura Federation in Switzerland (in other words the men of the Alliance who hide behind this name), Naples, possibly Spain, part of Belgium and certain groups of French refugees (who, by the by, to judge by the correspondence we have had from France, would not appear to exert any serious influence there), and these will form the opposing camp. Such a split, in itself no great danger, would be highly inopportune at a time when we must march shoulder to shoulder against the common foe. Our adversaries harbour no illusions whatever about their weakness, but they count on acquiring much moral support from the accession of the Belgian Federal Council.

Every day people keep asking me for the *Anti-Proudhon*.^a I could carry out some degree of propaganda amongst the best minds in the French emigration were I to have the few copies of my piece against Proudhon you were kind enough to promise me.

Fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

Your friend Léonard the painter is not having much luck over here, I am sorry to say. My family went to see his pictures yesterday. I have not seen any of them so far because *the fog is atrocious so that I have not yet been permitted to leave my room*.

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No. 25, Paris, 1958

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Translated from the French

^a K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon*.

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MARX TO LAURA AND PAUL LAFARGUE³⁶⁶

IN SAN SEBASTIAN

London, 24[-25] November 1871

*My dear Laura and Toole,^a

What with the International business, what with the * visits from members of the Commune, *I have not found the time to write. How my time is encroached upon, you may judge from one case. At Petersburg they have been translating *Das Kapital* into Russian, but they had reserved the first chapter because I had asked them to do so, since I intended to re-write it in a more popular manner. Since the events of Paris I was continually prevented from fulfilling my promise and was at last compelled to limit myself to a few alterations, in order not to stop the progress of the publication altogether.*²¹⁸

As for the calumnies against Toole, *it is all moonshine*, a canard put about by the French branch No. 2. Serraillier, the secretary for France, *wrote immediately to Bordeaux. The six sections there existing have answered by a vote of absolute confidence in the illustrious Toole.

As to the scandals that have taken place at London and Geneva, I must begin from the beginning.

Amongst other French refugees we had admitted to the General Council Theisz, Chalain and Bastelica. The latter was hardly admitted when he proposed Avrial and Camélinat, but * *est modus in rebus*^b *and we found that there were now enough *Proudhonists *in our ranks. On different pretexts the election of these two worthies was therefore delayed until the Conference, and dropped after the Conference, the latter having passed a Resolution inviting us not to admit too many refugees.^c Hence* the great rage of citizens Avrial and Camélinat.

*On the Congress itself the Resolution on the political action of the working class was violently opposed by the Bakuninists—Robin, the Spaniard Lorenzo and the * Corsican Bastelica. *The

^a Paul Lafargue's jocular nickname - ^b there's measure in everything (Horace, *Satirae*, Book 1, Satire 1) - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. I: Composition of General Council.

latter, an empty-headed and very pretentious fellow, got the worse of it and was rather roughly handled. His main quality*—i.e. his *amour-propre**—got him into steam*.

There was a further incident.

On the affair of the 'Alliance of Socialist Democracy'¹⁰* and the* dispute in Romance Switzerland, *the Conference appointed a* committee *(of which I was a member) and which met in my house.³⁶⁷ Outine on the one side, Bastelica and Robin on the other, were summoned as witnesses. Robin behaved in the most shabby and cowardly manner.* After having had his say (at the beginning of the meeting) he declared that he must leave and rose, intending to go. Outine told him that he must stay, that the investigation was going to be a serious one and that he would not like to discuss him in his absence. Robin, in an admirable series of tactical moves, approached the door. Outine apostrophised him violently, saying that he would have to accuse him of being the mainspring of the Alliance's intrigues. *Meanwhile, to secure a safe retreat,* the great Robin had partly opened the door and, like a true Parthian,³⁶⁸ delivered a parting shot at Outine with the words: 'Then I despise you.'

On 19 September, with Delahaye for intermediary, he communicated the following epistle to the Conference:

'Called upon as a witness in the matter of the Swiss dispute, before the committee nominated to examine it, I put in an appearance in the hope of contributing to an appeasement.

'Having been directly impugned, I state categorically that I do not accept the role of accused and will refrain from attending those meetings of the Conference at which the Swiss question is to be discussed.

'19 September 1871.

'P. Robin.'

Several members of the Conference, amongst whom De Paepe, demanded that the fellow be expelled forthwith from the General Council but on my advice it was resolved that he be asked to withdraw his letter and that, in case of refusal, the matter be left in the hands of the General Council. Since Robin obstinately persisted in standing by his letter, he was eventually expelled from the Council.

Meanwhile, he had addressed to myself the following *billet doux* of 28 September.

'Citizen Marx,

'I have been under great personal obligations to you, nor have these been a burden to me so long as I believed that nothing could change my respectful

feelings of friendship towards you. Today, being unable to subordinate my gratitude to my conscience, and sorry though I am to break with you, I believe I owe you the following statement.

'I am convinced that, yielding to personal animosity, you have uttered or supported unjust accusations against the objects of that animosity, members of the International, whose sole crime is not to share the same.

'P. Robin.'

*I did not think it worth my while to answer to * R. R. R.—Robin the sheep. (He was already known by that name to Rabelais, who specifically includes him in Panurge's flock.)³⁶⁹ Let me now return to our other sheep.³⁷⁰

After the Conference, Avrial and Camélinat urged the formation of a French branch ('*London French Section of 1871*').³³⁸ Collaborating therein were Theisz, Bastelica (who had already decided to go back to Switzerland and wished to create a prop for Bakunin in London before he left) and Chalain (a completely worthless wag). They published their own Rules in the paper *Qui Vive!*,^a of which more anon. Those Rules were contrary to the General Rules. In particular, these gentry (there were 20 of them, amongst whom several informers; their secretary was the illustrious Durand, publicly branded an informer by the General Council and expelled from the International³⁶¹) arrogated to themselves *the right* to nominate delegates to the General Council with imperative mandates, at the same time resolving that no one belonging to their section must accept nomination as a member of the General Council save when sent as delegate by the Section itself.

Even before their Rules had been confirmed by the General Council, they had the impudence to send as Council delegates Chautard (a cretin who, during the Commune, was the laughing-stock of Paris) and Camélinat. They were politely invited to withdraw and await the confirmation of their Rules by the General Council. I was entrusted with a critique thereof. This first missive from the Council^b to the new Section was still couched in conciliatory terms. All they were asked to do was to delete the articles contrary to the spirit and the letter of the General Rules and Regulations.

They were enraged. Avrial (in collaboration with Theisz and Camélinat) wrote a reply which cost him a fortnight's work *and

^a 'Association internationale des travailleurs. Section française à Londres de 1871. Statuts', *Qui Vive!*, No. 6, 8-9 October 1871. - ^b K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on the Rules of the French Section of 1871'.

to which the last literary finish was given* by *Vermersch* (*Le Père Duchêne*).^a

The said individual had wormed his way into their ranks because, with the aid of a few typographers (refugees), they had founded the paper *Qui Vive!*, under the provisional editorship of Le Verdet (a Schopenhauerian philosopher). Vermersch made much of them and stirred them up against the General Council in order to get hold of the paper—and *in this he succeeded*.

They sent Bastelica to Switzerland, whence they received a *proclamation of policy*: The General Council was under the yoke of *Pan-Germanism* (meaning me), authoritarian, etc. The prime duty of every citizen was to help bring about the fall of the said usurping Council, etc. All this emanated from Bakunin (acting through the Russian N. Zhukovsky, Secretary of the Alliance in Geneva,^b Guillaume, etc.) whose clique (far from numerous in Switzerland by the by) had coalesced with Madame André Léo, Malon, Razoua and a small group of other French refugees³⁹⁹ who were not satisfied with playing second fiddle or *no part whatever.*

Incidentally, all the idiots who had been members of the Federal Council in Paris, or who falsely made themselves out so to have been—such as, e.g., Rouillier, that brawler, braggart and drunken sot—had deluded themselves into thinking they would be admitted—as of right—as members of the General Council.

Theisz (who had been nominated *treasurer* of the General Council, and not secretary for France) and Bastelica handed in their resignations from the Council on the grounds of the article in their Rules prohibiting them from accepting nomination by the Council.

I eventually replied to the letter embellished by old man Vermersch, whose wit is far more Flemish than French. So crushing was this reply^c and at the same time so ironic that they resolved not to continue their correspondence with the Council. Hence they were not recognised as a section of the International.

Old man Vermersch had become editor-in-chief of *Qui Vive!*. In No. 42 he printed a letter³⁷¹ signed by Chautard, *Chouteau* (already denounced as an informer by Rigault in *Patrie en danger*³⁷²), by *Landeck*—who had given his word to Mr Piétri (see

^a A. Avrial, 'Aux Citoyens membres du Conseil général de l'Internationale'.

^b Secretary of the Geneva Section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy - ^c K. Marx, 'Resolution of the General Council on the French Section of 1871'.

the last trial of the Internationalists in Paris) that he would withdraw from the *International* and from politics^a—*and [by] similar riff-raff* in which they denounce the Resolution of the Conference which declares that the German working men (who demonstrated against the annexation of French provinces and, later, for the Commune, and many of whom are at this very moment suffering persecution at the hands of Bismarck) have done their duty,^b and adduce this as flagrant proof of 'pan-Germanism'!

This was rather too much for those zanies Theisz, Camélinat and Avrial. They refused to put their signatures to it. As members of the administrative council of *Qui Vive!*, they also fell out with Vermersch over an immoral novel he had published in the feuilleton.^c Vermersch, who had no further use for these gentry, proceeded, without naming names, to attack them in *Qui Vive!* His nauseating articles have also led to quarrels with other refugees, and I believe that he yesterday had his face slapped by Sicard.³⁷⁸ Now they are determined to relieve him of his editorship. We shall see! He is believed to be paid by Versailles to compromise the Communards. To cut the story short: in London the conspiracy has failed. The French branch No. 2 is in complete disarray (needless to say, it was pushed by Le Lubez, Bradlaugh, Besson, etc.). Another and far larger French section has been formed which is in agreement with the General Council.³⁵⁹

In place of those who have resigned, we have nominated as members of the Council Ant. Arnaud, F. Cournet and G. Ranvier.

In Geneva the 'Alliance', with André Léo, Malon, etc., is publishing a little journal *La Révolution sociale* (edited by one Claris) in which they openly attack the General Council and the Conference. Pan-Germanism (German and Bismarckian intellectuals), authoritarian, etc., etc. The 'Jura Federation' (still the same old bunch, but under another name) has held a tiny little Congress at Sonvilliers (Bernese Jura) at which it was resolved that all the sections of the *International* be invited to join the Jura Federation in order to bring about the meeting, at the earliest opportunity, of a special Congress at which the conduct of the Council should be reviewed and the resolutions of the Conference annulled as being

^a *Troisième procès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à Paris*, Paris, 1870, p. 4. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. XIII: Special Votes of the Conference. - ^c This refers to *Alexis Berneville*, the first novel in the series *L'Infamie humaine*, which was printed anonymously in the *Qui Vive!* in November-December 1871.

contrary to the principle of autonomy which those resolutions 'openly infringe'.³⁷⁴ In particular, they protest against Resolutions II, 2, 3, IX (*Political action by the working class*), XVI and XVII.³⁵⁶ They have not ventured to mention Resolution XIV, which is especially distasteful to Bakunin because it would reveal to the whole of Europe the turpitudes for which he was responsible in Russia.^a

The attitude of the Federal Council in Madrid (manipulated by Bakunin and Bastelica) is highly suspect. Since Lorenzo's departure Engels has received no reply whatever to his many letters. They are imbued with the doctrine of abstention in politics. Engels has written and told them today that, if they persist in their silence, steps will be taken.^b In any case Toole MUST ACT. I shall send him English and French copies of the new edition, revised and enlarged, of the Rules and Regulations.³⁰⁹

Our adversaries are indeed unfortunate. As I have already said, the first secretary of the dissident Section in London was G. Durand whom we unmasked as an agent of Versailles. The Bakuninists Blanc and Albert Richard (of Lyons) sold themselves to Bonaparte. They were over here to enrol members under his banner since—Bonaparte is worth more than Thiers!

Finally, the Béziers correspondent^c of the hostile refugees in Geneva—virtually their only French correspondent—has been denounced to us by the Béziers section as a police agent (he is secretary to the superintendent of police)!³⁶²

I trust I shall soon have good news of the state of health of my beloved Schnaps^d and of the whole family.

Old Nick^e

As regards Theisz, he has lost all influence in Paris because of the praises meted out to him and to old man Beslay by the Versailles papers.

Bastelica is the chief of Bakunin's lickspittles.

I should also remark that the attacks upon us by the *Révolution sociale* of Geneva are couched in more or less the same terms as those in the *Journal de Genève* (the most reactionary newspaper in

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. XIV: Instructions to Citizen Outline. - ^b F. Engels, 'To the Federal Council of the Spanish Region in Madrid'. - ^c Abel Bousquet - ^d Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^e Marx's family nickname

Europe) and in *The Times*, which I am sending you. The newspaper mentioned in *The Times* is the *Journal de Genève*.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE³⁷⁵

IN SAN SEBASTIAN

[London, 25 November 1871]

My dear Toole,^a

Thank you for your letter of which I made good use on the Council. My ultimatum to the Federal Council in Madrid^b goes off today, *by registered mail*; I tell them that, if they persist in their silence, *debuemos proceder como nos la dictará el interés de la Internacional*.^c If they fail to reply, or do so in an unsatisfactory manner, we shall at once appoint you plenipotentiary for the whole of Spain. In the meantime, our Rules confer on you, as on any other member, the right to form new sections. It is important that, in the event of a split, we should continue to have a *pied-à-terre* in Spain, even if the whole of the present organisation were to go over, lock, stock and barrel, to the Bakuninist camp; and you will be the only person we shall then be able to count upon. So do what you can to resume communications everywhere with the men who might be of use to us in such an event. These Bakuninists are absolutely determined to transform the International into an *abstentionist society*, but they are not going to succeed. *La Federación* of Barcelona and *La Emancipación* of Madrid arrive here only at very irregular intervals, so that I cannot know whether the intrigue has not already begun to betray its presence in these journals. But they have always preached abstention, which probably seems to them a question of far greater import than economic questions. So that's where they end up with their

^a Paul Lafargue's nickname - ^b F. Engels, 'To the Federal Council of the Spanish Region in Madrid'. - ^c We shall have to take such steps as the interests of the International dictate.

abstention from politics; *they themselves* turn politics into the most important factor!

Please convey my kind salutations to Laura, and give little Schnaps^a a kiss from me.

Yours ever,
F. E.

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Translated from the French

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MARX TO JULIUSZ BAŁASZEWICZ-POTOCKI³⁷⁶

IN LONDON

London, 25 November 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Sir,

I send you together with these lines 4 copies of the *Statutes and Regulations*^b and some copies of the *Resolutions of the London Conference*.^c

As to the *Statutes etc.* the *French* edition will be published in a few days. Please write me how many copies of that edition you want?

For all other communications relative to the *International*, please address them to General W. Wróblewski (22 Vincent Terrace, Islington), who is the Secretary for Poland of the General Council.

Yours faithfully,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Krasny Arkhiv*, No. 6, Moscow, 1924

Reproduced from the original

^a Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^b K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

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MARX TO JULIUSZ BAŁASZEWICZ-POTOCKI³⁷⁶

IN LONDON

[London,] 29 November 1871
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill, N.W.

Dear Sir,

The French edition of the *General Statutes and Rules* will only be ready in a few days when I shall send you some copies.

I shall be glad to see you at my house after 6 o'clock in the evening.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Krasny Arkhiv*, No. 6, Moscow, 1924

Reproduced from the original

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE³⁷⁷

IN HOBOKEN

London, 29 November 1871

My dear Sorge,

I hope you have at last received at New York the Resolutions of the Conference and the different letters I sent you.^a I send together with this letter the 3 last *Eastern Post* reports on the sittings of the General Council. They contain, of course, only what is meant for public use.

In regard to financial matters I have only to remark:

1) the New York Committee¹⁵¹ has nothing to pay but 2d per piece for the pamphlets on the *Civil War* it has received. It will

^a See this volume, p. 241.

pay ld per piece for the *Statutes and Regulations à fur et mesure* that they are sold. But you ought to write us how many French and German editions of the Statutes etc. you are in want of. Besides what you want immediately, you will perhaps find useful to have a certain stock in reserve.

2) With regard to the money sent us for the refugees, the General Council wants an express written declaration that the General Council alone is responsible for its distribution amongst the French refugees, and that the so-called 'Society of French refugees at London'³⁷⁸ has no right of control over the Council.

This is necessary, because, although the mass of the above-named society are honest people, the committee at their head are *ruffians*, so that a great part—and the most meritorious part of the refugees—does not want to have anything to do with the 'Society' but to be relieved directly by the Council. We, therefore, give a weekly sum for distribution to the Society, and distribute another sum directly.

It is the above said ruffians who have spread the most atrocious calumnies against the General Council without whose aid (and many of its members have not only given their time, but paid out of their own purse) the French refugees would have '*crevé de faim*'^a.

I come now to the question of MacDonnell.³⁷⁹

Before admitting him, the Council instituted a most searching inquiry as to his integrity, he, like *all* other Irish politicians, being much calumniated by his own country-men.

The Council—after most incontrovertible evidence on his private character—chose him because the *mass of the Irish workmen in England* have more confidence in him than in *any other person*. He is a man quite superior to religious prejudices and as to his general views, it is absurd to say that he has any 'bourgeois' predilections. He is a proletarian, by his circumstances of life and by his ideas.

If any accusation is to be brought forward against him, let it be done in exact terms, and not by vague insinuation. My opinion is that the Irishmen, removed for long time by imprisonment, are not competent judges. The best proof is—their relations with *The Irishman* whose editor, Pigott, is a mere speculator, and whose manager, Murphy, is a ruffian. That paper—despite the exertions of the General Council for the Irish cause—has always intrigued against us. MacDonnell was constantly attacked in that paper by an

^a starved to death

Irishman (O'Donnell) connected with Campbell (an officer of the London *Police*) and an habitual drunkard who for a glass of gin will tell the first constable all the secrets he may have to dispose of.

After the nomination of MacDonnell, Murphy attacked and calumniated the *International* (not only MacDonnell) in *The Irishman*, and, *at the same time*, secretly, asked us to nominate him secretary for Ireland.

As to O'Donovan Rossa, I wonder that you quote him still as an authority after what you have written me about him. If any man was obliged, personally, to the *International* and the French Communards, it was he, and you have seen what thanks we have received at his hands.

Let the Irish members of the New York Committee not forget that to be useful to them, we want above all *influence on the Irish in England*, and that for that purpose there exists, as far as we have been able to ascertain, no better man than MacDonnell.

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

Train has never received credentials on the part of the General Council.

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Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 29 November 1871

My dear Sidorov,^a

I have had your last two letters³⁸⁰ and if I have been unable to reply sooner, you must lay it at the door of that *молодецъ* of

^a Lavrov's pseudonym used by Engels in their correspondence.

Бакунинъ's,^a whose intrigues have been causing us no end of labour. Things are approaching a crisis and open warfare will shortly break out in the press. A clean split is in the offing. In short the matter will be decided before long. I shall not attempt to give you the details—it would take too long and they are too boring. What with all this tomfoolery to contend with, it need hardly be said that neither Johnson^b nor I have had any time for work.

Thank you for your further disbursements on my behalf in the matter of the *Gazette des Tribunaux*.

As to Вробл.^c we have been informed by Розвадовский,^d who left his first position, but found another one a few days later.^e We have done all we could but, considering the man's obstinate character and ferocious pride, we have had to be very tactful. However we think we have succeeded to the point where at least he will not lack for necessities. You see, he refuses all medical help and it will be even more difficult to overcome this prejudice.

Johnson is suffering from a slight attack of bronchitis and from one or two *furunculi* that are more troublesome than serious. Yesterday he attended the Council for the first time in a month. Apart from that he is tolerably well. The abominable weather we have been having here has given everyone colds.

As to the intrigues over here, they dwindle in importance day by day. The few honest men, who allowed themselves to be carried away, have withdrawn and left the field open for the out and out riff-raff about whom there is no need to bother one's head.^f It is worse in Switzerland, since Малонъ,^g etc., have fallen into the trap over there, some through spinelessness, others through vanity. So much the worse for them—the world can't stop turning because of their blunders!

Yours ever,
F. E.

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|------|
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^a Bakunin's fine fellow. Engels probably means Bastelica. - ^b Marx - ^c (Russ. abbr.) Wróblewski - ^d Rozwadowski (written in Cyrillic in the original) - ^e See this volume, pp. 175 and 200. - ^f Ibid., p. 223. - ^g Malon (written in Cyrillic in the original) - ^h H. Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology*.

| | | |
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All the titles under Bain indicate individual works.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE³⁸¹

IN SAN SEBASTIAN

London, 9 December 1871
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Lafargue,

Herewith a line or two on matters in Spain. There must have been internal struggles within the Spanish International, struggles that were finally decided in our favour. That, in my view, explains their continued silence and the resolution finally taken to break it. I had written to Mora on the 25th,⁴⁵ on the 28th Mesa wrote to you³⁸² and on the 29th Mora wrote me a letter saying they knew nothing about the calumnies and intrigues against the General Council I had mentioned to him, etc. However, the first of the two issues of *La Federación* that subsequently reached us carried the resolutions passed at the Conference,^a and the second an article on resolution No. IX reprinted from the *Emancipación*, and with this we have every reason to be satisfied.³⁸³ Mesa's letter is even more explicit. In Spain, then, we have won our case. I replied to Mora immediately and trust that everything will go well from now on.

Come to that, the others had done their work well and, as usual,

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

had had recourse to some pretty vile methods. *La Révolution sociale* of 23 November published an article which had appeared in the Barcelona *Federación* of 19 November to the effect that the emissary of the Swiss dissidents, etc., had arrived down there and that the Barcelona sections, having satisfied themselves of the revolutionary character of the dissidents' principles, etc., had accepted the offer of alliance made by these people. We have looked through the relevant issue of *La Federación* but cannot find the article. The issue of 3 December provides the explanation: it says that the article did not reflect the opinion of the sections or even of one section, but only that of *one solitary editor* of the paper, who had slipped it in behind the backs of the editorial committee!

The victory won in Spain has much reduced the field of conflict. There remain only the French branch, which is not recognised here (15 members),³⁸⁸ the Geneva branch, the Jurassians, who are avowed adversaries, and the Italians, whose attitude is doubtful. But I have been working hard at Italy and we have now begun to shift the battleground; from private intrigue and correspondence we are moving into the public arena. Mazzini has given us an excellent opportunity, for in an article in his paper he has made the International responsible for Bakunin's words and deeds. So here was a chance to attack Mazzini and disavow Bakunin at one and the same time. I did so forthwith and sent the article to all our Italian journals.³⁸⁴ Some at least will publish it, but others are, I fear, too much hand-in-glove with Bakunin to do so. But with this article I have advised all of them of the adherence of the Spaniards to the Conference and of the progress of the International in Spain reported by Mesa. That will have an effect; they will see that the others have been telling them nothing but lies about Spain. In fact their policy was to win Spain over by telling her that Italy was unanimously on their side and *vice versa*. We may still have a few unpleasantnesses in Italy, but the decision of the Spaniards to come over to our side will decide the matter — *UPON THE WHOLE* — all along the line. As to the *CANTANKEROUS* Jurassians, we shall go for them in the very near future.³⁸⁵

I shall be much relieved when all this business has been settled once and for all. You wouldn't believe how much work, correspondence, etc., all this has caused us. For weeks past Moor, Serrailier and I have been unable to turn to anything else. And I, poor devil, have had to write long letters, one after the other, in Italian and Spanish, two languages I scarcely know!

In France we are doing famously. Twenty-six journals have offered to publish our documents.

It is devilish cold here and you should be glad to be spending the winter in a warm climate. Otherwise we are keeping well, likewise the Marx family. Compared with their condition last winter, Moor's health, as also Jenny's,^a has greatly improved. Moor is no longer coughing so much; he has had a small abscess below the shoulder but the carbuncle has cleared up and not returned. His liver will never revert to a normal condition at his age, but is working a good deal better than before, and Moor, and this is the main thing, is leading a more sensible existence. Jenny, after the repeated attacks of pleurisy she has been through, will probably suffer permanently from mild emphysema, but she is beginning to understand that she must cosset herself a little and not try to harden herself, in good time, as she used to say, to the cold and the bad weather. She is singing again and her voice is stronger and clearer than ever before.

I learned with great pleasure of the recovery of little Schnaps.^b Give him a kiss from me—likewise one for your wife.^c

Yours ever,

F. E.

General^d

First published in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 15 December 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

About Schneider, the necessary steps will be taken at the local German Workers' Society¹³⁵ next Monday.^c Unfortunately too many of Schweitzer's followers have been allowed in, and if we did not have Frankel, the whole Society would have fallen into their hands of late. (The issues of the *Social-Demokrat* have just this moment arrived.³⁸⁶) How Frankel can *object*, as you demand, to his

^a Marx's daughter - ^b Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^c Laura Lafargue - ^d Engels' nickname - ^e 18 December

old letter being reprinted, is not clear to me.³⁸⁷ He certainly regrets the first half of the letter; but as for the second half, with its criticism of your erstwhile bourgeois-democratic inclinations, it says no more than what we too wrote to you at the time.—At all events, the other author in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* must be Weber.

Against Schneider: 1. It goes without saying that the Conference^a delegates were elected. To answer his other stupid questions would be absurd. 2. The 15-strong French contingent consists of 1 *Commune* member, Chalain; a number of drunkards; the same B. Landeck who declared in the course of the International trial in Paris that he had indeed belonged to the International, but would *never do so again*; 3 people who do not belong to the International at all (but only to this newly formed French Section in London, which has never been recognised³⁸⁸)—and the whole fuss stems from the fact that since their rules contravene the Rules, no one has been willing to grant them recognition as the local French Section. Theisz and Avrial, the only decent people in the Section, have *not* signed this proclamation, and are now trying to make overtures to us once more! In contrast, in the General Council there are now 8 *Commune* members (Serraillier, Frankel, Vaillant, Cournet, Ranvier, Arnaud, Johannard, Longuet), and we have a French Section 50 men strong here, which includes the most decent of the refugees in its numbers.³⁸⁹ Rouillier is not a *Commune* member but a loud-mouthed, drink-sodden cobbler. And these 15 men are described by the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* as ‘the well-known French leaders’!

What the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* says about the English Federal Council and Dilke has been taken from an *intentionally distorted* report in the *bourgeois* press (*The Daily News*, etc.) and is false.³⁸⁸

The *Neuer Social-Demokrat*’s report from Denmark proves that they have *absolutely no* contact with *people there*.³⁸⁹ However, it would be a good idea for you to write to H. Brix, the editor of the *Socialisten* in Copenhagen, or to his deputy, L. Pio, offering them correspondents’ reports from Germany if they are willing in return to send you reports in German or English from Denmark. They do understand English. And anyway, you can learn enough Danish in a fortnight to understand the *Socialisten*; the Tauchnitz dictionary will suffice. The language has no grammar whatever. Address: *Editorial board of ‘Socialisten’, Copenhagen.*

Incidentally, the *Qui Vive!* suffocated in its own filth a week ago.

^a the London Conference of 1871

Even if Vermersch, its editor, was not a *mouchard*,^a his way of writing at least suited the French police to a tee. The paper was finally offered to us,³⁵¹ but we wanted nothing to do with such an inheritance, and so it died.

Boruttau. The letter returned herewith³⁹⁰ shows even more clearly than the previous one that the ass really is entangled *right up to his eyes* in Bakunin's web. When he objects to our disavowal of the Alliance, or calls for compulsory atheism for all members of the International, is that Bakuninism or not? And when he expresses his partial approval of people's complaints on matters of which he knows nothing—every word he writes about the Conference is false—is that Bakuninism or not? And you would like to play *him* off against them? He may be 'honest', but when it comes to those honest dolts with their vast, silent expectations, I would much rather have their enmity than their friendship. The muddled blockhead will not receive a single line *from us* here.^b The events in Geneva³⁹¹ will either have opened his eyes, or else pushed him entirely into the ranks of the Bakuninists, where he belongs. Why don't you get him to send you the *Révolution sociale*, especially Nos. 5, 6 and 7? I presume that you read the *Égalité*; that is absolutely essential to keep yourself *au courant*.

You cannot understand why *all* the Geneva Communards should be against us. This problem, which has no interest at all for me, you can easily solve for yourself by thinking back to the behaviour of the various refugee associations of '49 and '50 where groupings were often determined by the sheer chance of being thrown together. *All* the Geneva Communards are confined to 3 men: Malon, Lefrançais and Ostyn; the rest are people without any name at all.

When you say that the non-representation of Germany at the Conference was the fault of Marx's mystery-mongering, we have to reply that this is not the case. Marx merely wrote to say that the *police* should learn nothing of it. Is it not possible for you to inform your own committee or *other local* groups about the Conference, without its coming to the ears of the police? That would be a fine piece of 'organisation'! We did indeed want to hold the Conference *privatim*, i.e. unbeknown to the continental police, but that does not mean that if you and Bebel could not attend, you should not have taken steps to ensure that others might come! Marx *emphatically rejects* this allegation.

In the context, *action souterranée*^c means nothing more than

^a police informer - ^b See this volume, p. 248. - ^c underground activities

unobtrusive action and propaganda-making without forcing oneself on the general public,³⁹² in contrast to French loud-mouths à la Pyat who called for a daily dose of murder announcements and against whom measures have been taken.³⁹³

In *Spain* we are in the clear, we have gained a resounding victory. The relevant Conference resolution has been *recognised* (you can find the *Emancipación* article on it in the *Égalité*³⁸⁵) and even the business of abstaining from elections, on which they still insist for the moment, is about to crumble. Incidentally, this abstentionist ploy is just confined to the few Bakuninists and the remnants of the Proudhonists (we are rid of the majority) and has suffered a severe defeat this time. The matter is settled as far as *Spain* is concerned.

It was about the *English* company swindle that I wrote to you.^a I know nothing of *German* ones. Have you any material on this? Without that nothing can be done.³⁹⁴

Your view that the German Internationalists do not need to pay dues, and that, in general, it is a matter of complete indifference whether the International has few members in Germany or many, is the exact opposite of ours. If you have not asked for the contributions of 1 silver groschen per person per annum, or if you have used them up yourselves, you will have to come up with your own justification. How you can imagine that the other nations would bear your share of the costs, so that you might come amongst them '*in the Spirit*', like Jesus Christ, while saving your flesh and your money,—is something I quite fail to comprehend. At all events, this Platonic relationship has got to stop and the German workers must either be *in* the International or *out* of it. The French find themselves subjected to pressures of a completely different order, and we are better organised there *than ever*. If you personally treat the matter as being of no importance, we shall have to turn to others, but we shall clear the business up one way or the other, on that you may rely.

The French and English versions of the Rules take up *less than* 1 sheet of print,^{b 309} so that special supplement will probably not be necessary—should this not be the case, let us know how much the costs of typesetting, on the one hand, and the cost of the special supplement, on the other, come to, and we shall see what we can do.

Marx is working on the 2nd edition of *Capital*; I have my hands full with the Italian and Spanish correspondence and other

^a F. Engels, 'On the Company Swindle in England'. - ^b i.e. 16 pages

business. We shall have to see what time we can find to do the preface for the Manifesto.^a

With best wishes from us all to you and yours.

Your
F. E.

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time

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MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN SAN SEBASTIAN

[London,] 18 December 1871

My dear Laura,

In the first instance my best thanks for the offer of Toole.^{b 395} I accept it under two express conditions,

1) that if the enterprise fails, I have to pay the sum advanced with the usual interest upon it,

2) that Toole does not advance more than the 2,000 frs. The expression of the Editor that this is only wanted for the beginning seems to me *ominous*. At all events Toole must *stipulate* that his obligations refer only to this 'beginning'.

I prefer in every respect a *cheap popular* edition.

It is a fortunate combination that a *second German edition* has become necessary just now. I am fully occupied (and can therefore write only a few lines) in arranging it, and the French *translator* will of course have to translate the amended German edition.³⁹⁶ (I shall forward him the old one with the changes inserted.) Möhmchen is just trying to find out the whereabouts of Keller.¹⁴⁷ She has written for that purpose to his sister. If he is not to be found (and in due time), the translator of Feuerbach would be the man.^c

The Russian edition (after the first German edition) will appear January next in St Petersburg.³⁶⁰

^a See this volume, p. 135. - ^b Paul Lafargue's nickname - ^c Joseph Roy

Many kisses to you and Schnappy,^a Happy New Year to Toole and all.

Kakadou's^b old master

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milan, 1958

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE³⁸¹

IN MADRID

London, 30 December 1871

My dear Friend,

Yesterday evening, when I was on the point of writing a pretty tart letter to the Spanish Council regarding the translation and publication of the Bakuninists' manifesto,³⁹⁷ a letter arrived from you which gave me a great deal of pleasure. Although I am sorry that circumstances should have necessitated your going to Madrid, it is most fortunate that you should be there at the moment, for the coyness and silence of the Spanish Council are really such as to invite a somewhat unpleasant interpretation. Though I wrote to Mora 24 days ago,^c I have had no reply, or rather, for all reply, the publication of the hostile manifesto; if it were not for your letters, what could we make of this?

I am sending you herewith the resolutions of the 30 sections in Geneva in case they have not come your way. Likewise the Romance Committee's reply to the Bakuninists and *I can only hope that the 'Emancipación' will provide its readers also with a translation of that excellent piece.*³⁹⁸ In the same issue of *L'Égalité* you will find several other articles relating to this debate and to the meeting of the 30 sections. For the time being the Genevans' reply will suffice; needless to say, the General Council must at once take the matter in hand and will reply in a circular embracing all phases of the dispute from its inception³⁸⁵; as you can imagine, it will be lengthy and will take us some time. Meanwhile, what the Spaniards must be made to realise is [the following]:

^a Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^b Laura Lafargue's nickname - ^c F. Engels, 'To the Federal Council of the Spanish Region in Madrid'.

1) It is plainly apparent from the Sonvilliers circular what these gentry are after. The attack on the Conference^a was no more than a pretext. What is now being attacked are the *Basle resolutions*³⁹⁹ which, for the Association, have the *force of law* and which *have to be obeyed* by the General Council. This is an act of open rebellion and it is fortunate that these people should have shown their hand. But

2) who were the authors of those Basle resolutions? The General Council in London? Certainly not. They were put forward by the *Belgian* delegates (amongst them *Robin!* the Bakunist) and they were most warmly supported by whom?—Bakunin, Guillaume, Schwitzguébel, etc., the very men, that is, who are attacking them today as having, by their authoritarian character, demoralised the General Council. Not that this has prevented Guillaume and Schwitzguébel from signing the self-same circular. We have witnesses over here and, unless Sentiñon and Farga Pellicer have been blinded by the spirit of sectarianism, they must surely remember this (if they were at the meeting, which I do not know). But then things were different. The Bakuninists believed that they were certain of a majority and that the General Council would be transferred to Geneva. It turned out otherwise, and resolutions which, had they been passed by a General Council of their choosing, would have been as revolutionary as might be, became all at once authoritarian and bourgeois!

3) The convening of the Conference was absolutely in order. The Jurassians, represented on the Council by Robin, who himself requested that the dispute be brought *before that Conference*, must have been notified of it by him since he was their regular correspondent. Jung, the secretary for Switzerland, could not continue to correspond officially with a committee which, flying in the face of a resolution passed by the General Council, continued to flaunt the title of Committee of the Romance Federation.⁹ The said resolution of the General Council^b was taken by virtue of the power delegated to it by the Administrative Resolution of Basle No. VIII (new edition of the Rules, etc., Administrative Regulations^c II, Art. 7). All the other sections were officially notified, and through the usual channels.

Our friends in Spain will now realise the way in which these gentry misuse the word '*authoritarian*'. Whenever the Bakuninists

^a the London Conference of 1871 - ^b K. Marx, 'General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland'. - ^c K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*.

take a dislike to something, they say: 'It's *authoritarian*' and believe that by so doing they damn it for ever and aye. If, instead of being bourgeois, journalists and so forth, they were working men, or if they had only devoted some study to economic questions and modern industrial conditions, they would know that no communal action is possible without submission on the part of some to an external will, that is to say an authority. Whether it be the will of a majority of voters, of a managing committee or of one man alone, it is invariably a will imposed on dissidents; but without that single, controlling will, no co-operation is possible. Just try and get one of Barcelona's big factories to function without control, that is to say, without an authority! Or to run a railway without knowing for certain that every engineer, stoker, etc., is at his post exactly when he ought to be! I should very much like to know whether the good Bakunin would entrust his portly frame to a railway carriage if that railway were administered on the principle that no one need be at his post unless he chose to submit to the authority of the regulations, regulations far more authoritarian in any conceivable state of society than those of the Congress of Basle! All these grandiloquent ultra-radical and revolutionary catchphrases serve only to conceal an abysmal paucity of ideas and an abysmal ignorance of the conditions under which the daily life of society takes place. Just try abolishing 'all authority, even by consent', among sailors on board a ship!

You are right, we must find some way of achieving a wider continental circulation for the reports of the General Council's meetings. I am still searching for such a way. For some time I have been sending *The Eastern Post* to Lorenzo, he having assured me they had someone who spoke English. Now I am sending you the latest issue of that journal and enclosing cuttings from earlier issues (*care of Lorenzo*). You might be able to do something with them for the *Emancipación*. I really do not have the time to translate all these things myself, being obliged to conduct a vast correspondence with Italy. But I shall see what can be done—if there was someone in Barcelona who spoke English, might I not send the paper there?

I have not seen Moor today, he is hard at work on his second German edition,^a but I will give him your letter this evening. We are very well. Jenny^b is keeping well and Moor passably so. I make him go for walks as often as possible since what he needs is fresh

^a of Volume I of *Capital*; see this volume, p. 283. - ^b Marx's daughter

air. My wife^a sends you her compliments and wishes you A HAPPY
NEW YEAR. REMEMBER ME TO LAURA WHEN YOU WRITE. THE POST CLOSES.

Yours ever,

The General^b

Para Lafargue si está a Madrid y si no para Mora y Lorenzo.^c

First published in: F. Engels, P. et
L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris,
1956

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

^a Lydia Burns - ^b Engels' nickname - ^c For Lafargue if he is in Madrid and if not
for Mora and Lorenzo (the postscript on the blank, fourth, page of the letter).

1872

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 January 1872^a

Dear Liebknecht,

First of all, Happy New Year, and then the proofs^b enclosed.

Marx or Tussy will have written to you about the Stieberian escapade in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.^c It was so transparent that no correspondence was needed to convince you of the deception; the cost of a telegram would have been money thrown away. You did right to denounce the thing as a forgery at once. Compare the names, most of which are false, with the correct ones under the Conference resolutions and you will have direct proof of the forgery.⁴⁰⁰

Marx still has your letter,⁴⁰¹ so I cannot answer it point by point.

At all events, you have to find a form that will make it possible for you to be represented at the next congress, and if no one can come, you could have yourselves represented by the old guard here. Since in all probability the Bakuninists and Proudhonists will leave no stone unturned, the credentials will be closely scrutinised and being delegated, for instance, by Bebel and yourself *personally*, as was the case with the conference credentials sent to me,²⁹⁹ would not make a good impression. The Spaniards are in as bad a position as you but have not let themselves be side-tracked. Incidentally, the decision of the court in Brunswick does not set a precedent.¹⁸³ A downright disgrace like that, where even the laws of the Federal Diet⁴⁰² can be dragged in, could only happen in a

^a The original mistakenly has '1871'. - ^b K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* (German edition). - ^c See this volume, p. 571.

decadent small state. Bebel ought to protest against it in the Reichstag; the men of Progress²⁵⁶ would either have to support him or stand compromised before the whole of Germany. If I can find the time I shall send a (legal) critique of this pettifogging judgment to the *Volksstaat*.⁴⁰³

In Spain, according to a report from Lafargue (who is or was in Madrid), things are going well—the Bakuninists have overshot the mark with the violence of their manner. The Spaniards are workers and want unity and organisation above all else. You will have received the last circular of the congress in Sonvillier,³⁷⁴ in which they attack the Basle administrative resolutions as the source of all evil.³⁹⁹ That is really the last straw and we shall now take action.

In the meantime, Hins, Steens and Co., in Belgium, have played us a fine trick (see the resolution of the Brussels Congress in *L'Internationale*⁴⁰⁴). De Paepe shamefully let them make a fool of him; he wrote that all was well. However, up to now this opposition has kept itself within the bounds of legality and will likewise be dealt with when the time is ripe. Apart from De Paepe, the Belgians were never anything much.

A society in Macerata, in the Romagna, has nominated as its 3 honorary presidents: Garibaldi, Marx and Mazzini. This confusion will show you very clearly the state of public opinion among the Italian workers. Only Bakunin's name is needed and the mess is complete.

Cuttings from *The Eastern Post* (2 meetings)^a to follow tomorrow; I do not have the last issue anymore and shall only get a copy at today's meeting.

Best wishes to yours and to Bebel.

Your
F. E.

Notabene. Have you changed your address? Braustrasse 11?

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^a reports on the General Council meetings of 12 and 19 December, published in *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 168 and 169, 16 and 23 December 1871

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 3 January 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

Enclosed are the *Eastern Post* cuttings.^a

The *immediate* printing of the enclosed article^b is *very necessary*. The Rules^c can wait. I shall see to it that the *Égalité* translates it and that it reaches every corner of Belgium, Italy and Spain *in that form*.

Your
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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Published in English for the first
time

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MARX TO MALTMAN BARRY

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 7 January 1872

Dear Sir,

I regret that you found neither me nor Mr Engels at home. You seem to proceed in your letters from the idea that we form a distinct party in the Council. If we opposed Mr Hales in what we considered wrong, we did only our duty^d and would, under the same circumstances, have followed the same line of conduct

^a *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 168 and 169, 16 and 23 December 1871 (see preceding letter) - ^b F. Engels, 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International'. - ^c K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^d Crossed out in the original: 'as members of the Council'.

towards any other member of the Council.⁴⁰⁵ This, however, has nothing to do with party. We know of no parties in the Council. There are among the friends of Mr Hales very worthy men who have worked for a long time in our cause.

If Mr Mottershead has 'consented to stand for the secretaryship', we at all events did not invite him to do so. His position as paid secretary of the 'Labour Representation League'⁴⁰⁶ makes the thing almost impossible. Mr Engels told you expressly after last Tuesday's meeting^a that his mind was not yet made up as [to] who was the proper person to vote for, and for the present we see difficulties on all sides. Hence we have resolved to leave our continental friends to their own discretion.

In our opinion the important thing is, to settle the position and composition of the Federal Council. As to the secretaryship, it is mainly a personal matter which need not and, perhaps, cannot be settled in a hurry. At all events this will depend upon circumstances.

Yours truly,
K. M.

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Moscow, 1935

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time

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ENGELS TO CARLO TERZAGHI⁴⁰⁷

IN TURIN

[*First Version*]

[Draft]

London [after 6 January 1872]
122 Regent's Park Road

My dear Terzaghi,

I received your letter of 4 December last year, and if I have not replied sooner, it was because I wanted to give you a precise

^a meeting of the General Council on 2 January

answer about the matter which interests you most of all, namely the fund for the *Proletario*. I am now in a position to provide it.

We have very little money, and the millions of the International exist solely in the terrified imagination of the bourgeoisie and of the police, who cannot understand how an association like ours has been able to achieve such an important position without having money amounting to millions at its disposal. If they had only seen the accounts submitted at the last Conference^a! But never mind; let them go on believing it, it will do us no harm. It had already been decided, on receipt of your letter, to take out a number of shares in the *Proletario*, in the name of the General Council represented by me, but then the news reached us of the split which you had caused⁴⁰⁸ and it was considered doubtful that the newspaper could go on being produced after it. Then there were the holidays, which meant that the meeting of the 26th did not take place, etc., etc. At last I can tell you that if you wish to continue the newspaper, and if there are solid grounds for hoping that this can be done, I am authorised to send you five pounds, i.e. roughly a hundred and sixty Italian lire, in return for which you can send me the corresponding amount of shares in my name. Write to me, then, by return of courier so that if, as I hope, the newspaper is to reappear, I can send you the money without delay.

Tell me at the same time whether the addresses given in your last letter (C. C[eretti] Mirandola, E. P[escatori] Bologna) will be enough to write to them, with no other indication of street or number, because I would not like my letters to be written for any Mordecaian⁴⁰⁹ to read.

You will probably have been sent a circular by the congress of the Jura Federation in Switzerland attacking the General Council and demanding the immediate convocation of a Congress.³⁷⁴ The General Council will reply to these attacks, but in the meantime a reply has appeared in the *Égalité* in Geneva,⁴¹⁰ which I sent you three days ago together with two English newspapers containing summaries of the meetings of the General Council.^b These citizens, who first looked for an argument with us using the pretext of the Conference, now attack us because we are carrying out the resolutions of the Basle Congress, resolutions which have the force of law for us and which we are *obliged* to carry out.³⁹⁹ They do not

^a the London Conference of 1871 - ^b *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 168 and 169, 16 and 23 December 1871, carried reports on the General Council meetings of 12 and 19 December.

want the authority of the General Council, *not even if it were to be voluntarily consented to by all*. I would really like to know how without this authority (as they call it) the Tolains, the Durands and the Nechayevs could have been dealt with according to their deserts and how, with that fine-sounding phrase about the autonomy of the sections, they expect to prevent the formation of sections of Mordecaians and traitors. Besides, what did these same men do at the Basle Congress? With Bakunin they were the *most ardent advocates* of these resolutions proposed not by the General Council, but by the delegates from Belgium!

If, however, you want to have an idea of what they have done and can do for the International, read the official report of the Federal Committee to the congress of the Jura Federation in the *Révolution sociale*, Geneva, No. 5, 23 November 1871, and you will see to what a state of dissolution and impotence they have reduced in one year a federation which was well established before.⁴¹¹

It seems to me that the term '*authority*' is much abused. I know of nothing more authoritarian than a revolution, and when one fights with bombs and rifle bullets against one's enemies, this is an authoritarian act. If there *had been* a little more authority and centralisation in the Paris Commune, it would have triumphed over the bourgeois. After the victory we can organise ourselves as we like, but for the struggle it seems to me necessary to collect all our forces into a single band and direct them on the same point of attack. And when people tell me that this cannot be done without authority and centralisation, and that these are two things to be condemned outright, it seems to me that those who talk like this either do not know what a revolution is, or are revolutionaries in name only.^a

Write to me, therefore, about the matter without delay.
Greetings and fraternity.

Yours,
F. Engels

^a Marginal note by Engels (in German): 'This is not quite right.'

[*Second Version*]

[Draft]

London, 14[-15] January 1872
256 High Holborn

14 January 1872, to Terzaghi, Turin

My dear Terzaghi,

If I have not replied sooner to your letter of 4 December last year, it was because I wanted to give you a precise answer about the matter which interests you most of all, namely the money for the *Proletario*.

You know that the millions of the International do not exist except in the terrified imagination of the bourgeoisie and of the governments, which cannot understand how an association like ours has been able to win such a great position without having millions at its disposal. If they had only seen the accounts submitted at the last Conference!

We would have voted 150 frs for you in spite of our penury, but the *Gazzettino Rosa* arrived with the news, etc.⁴¹² This changed everything. If you had simply decided to send people to the future Congress, fine. But^a what you had in mind was a Congress called for in a circular full of lies and false accusations against the General Council! And if you had only waited for the General Council's reply to this circular!³⁸⁵ The Council could not but see in your resolution the proof that you had taken the side of the accusers, and without having waited for the Council's defence,—and the authorisation to send you the money in question was withdrawn from me. In the meantime you have received the *Égalité* with the answer of the Romance Committee, which represents ten times as many Swiss workers as the Jurassians. But the writers' malevolent intention is already apparent from the Jura circular.^b First they look for an argument with us using the pretext of the Conference, and now they attack us because we are carrying out the resolutions of the Basle Congress, resolutions which we are *obliged* to carry out. They do not want the authority of the General Council, *not even if it were to be voluntarily consented to by all*. I would really like to know how without this authority (as they call it) the Tolains, the Durands and the Nechayevs could have been

^a Except for the words 'to the future Congress' the preceding part of this paragraph is in German in the original. - ^b The two preceding sentences are in German in the original.

dealt with according to their deserts and how, with that fine-sounding phrase about the autonomy of the sections, as it is explained in the circular, they expect to prevent the intrusion of Mordecaians and traitors. Certainly, no one disputes the autonomy of the sections, but one cannot have a federation unless some powers are ceded to the federal committees and, in the last instance, to the General Council.

But do you know who the authors and advocates of these *authoritarian* resolutions were? The delegates of the General Council? Not at all. These authoritarian measures were put forward by the Belgian delegates, and the Schwitzguébels, the Guillaumes, the Bakunins were *their most ardent advocates. That's the truth of the matter.*

It seems to me that the phrases 'authority' and centralisation are much abused. I know of nothing more authoritarian than a revolution, and when one imposes one's will on others with bombs and rifle bullets, as in every revolution,^a it seems to me one performs an authoritarian act. It was the lack of centralisation and authority that cost the life of the Paris Commune. After the victory make what you like of authority, etc., but for the struggle we need to gather all our forces into a single band and concentrate them on the same point of attack. And when people speak to me about authority and centralisation as if they were two things to be condemned in all possible circumstances, it seems to me that those who talk like this either do not know what a revolution is, or are revolutionaries in name only.

If you want to know what the authors of the circular have done in practice for the International, read their own official report on the state of the Jura Federation to the Congress (*Révolution sociale*, Geneva, 23 November 1871) and you will see to what a state of dissolution and impotence they have reduced a federation which was well established a year before. And these are people who want to reform the International!^b

Greetings and fraternity.

Yours,
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the original
Translated from the Italian and German

^a 'as in every revolution' is in German in the original - ^b This sentence is in German in the original.

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 18 January 1872^a

Dear Liebknecht,

The facts about the Belgians are these: De Paepe is the only one who is worth anything, but he is not very active. Steens is a jackass, a schemer and perhaps worse, and Hins is a Proudhonist who by that very fact, but even more because of his Russian wife, has leanings towards Bakunin. The others are puppets. On the other hand, the Belgian workers show no inclination to spark off a rebellion in the International. Hence the bad grace evident in the formulation of the resolution.⁴⁰⁴ Fortunately, Mr Hins has been the victim of his own super-smartness, for the workers' papers, which have not been able to look behind the scenes, interpret the resolution *literally* and so read it as a declaration *in our favour*. E.g. the *Tagwacht* and the *Emancipación* in Madrid,⁴¹³ etc.

Conference resolutions^b have no necessary binding force, since a conference is, in itself, an illegal mechanism, justified only by the gravity of the situation. Hence recognition is always desirable.

It would be good if you were to follow the lead of the *Tagwacht* and interpret the Belgian resolution as indicated above, adding that the resolution about revising the Rules amounts to a rejection of the Bakuninist call for an *immediate* congress. This is implicit because the revision would first have to be debated at *their* congress in June and only after that could it be brought before the regular congress of the International, which could not be held before the regular time scheduled in September. You could further remark that if the Belgians imagined that the General Council was nothing more than a correspondence bureau, they must have forgotten the Basle resolutions,³⁹⁹ which are of an entirely different nature and which at all events remain in force until they are revoked by a regular International congress.

Up to now we intend to convene the congress at the regular

^a The original mistakenly has '1871'. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'.

time. It is still early to decide on the place, but it almost certainly will not be Switzerland, or Germany for that matter.⁴¹⁴

I have received *one* copy of the issue of the *Volksstaat* with my article,^a and of the next issue *nothing at all*. Marx received the next, but not the one with my article! No doubt a mix-up in despatching them. Send me *half a dozen copies* of No. 3 and one of No. 4 *by return*. I need several for correspondents in Italy who can read German, etc.

Warmest thanks from Marx for your discretion in sending the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* which, without preparation and before any counter-action had been initiated, would only have upset his wife unnecessarily. The Workers' Society^b will reply and send its answer to the *Volksstaat*; there will be also a reply to Schneider's article.⁴¹⁵ In the meantime, I enclose an item which is unlikely to give the gentlemen any pleasure.⁴¹⁶ *Apropos* the Workers' Society, there have been some funny goings-on there, too.³⁸⁶ Schneider and that asinine old scoundrel, Scherzer, thought they had got a majority, and together with Weber, who acted as intermediary, they made common cause with the dissident French and then proposed that the Society should *resign from the International*. Our people had become lax, had squandered their advantage and admitted far too much riff-raff. But this time things had gone too far. They were called out in force and the proposal was defeated by 27 votes to 20. A motion to expel the 20 was then tabled. The disorder made a vote impossible. Whereupon our people immediately salvaged all the Society's property, moved to another pub and expelled the 20. The rebels are now out in the cold and don't know what to do, but they had the impertinence to send Scherzer as *their delegate* to the General Council on Tuesday^c! Naturally, he was not admitted.

The alliance of the ultra-federalist French with the ultra-centralist Germans is likewise no bad thing.⁴¹⁷ Moreover, these French are already completely divided. When Vésinier was elected secretary, Theisz, Avrial et Co. resigned (for the *second* time). The remnant has split into two bodies, one of which is led by the nose by Vésinier, the other by Vermersch (of the *Père Duchêne*, and here the editor of the *Qui Vive!* and at present of the *Vermersch Journal*). Personally and politically, the two are equally disreputable and at least 3 others are more than suspected of being spies. The French police have so overshot the mark with

^a F. Engels, 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International'. - ^b the German Workers' Educational Society in London - ^c 16 January

their cunning that their *mouchards*^a now only spend their time spying on *each other*.

The news about the Saxons' resolution gave us great pleasure. We shall see to publication in the appropriate form.⁴¹⁸ Letters about INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS have not yet arrived.⁴¹⁹

To your questions:

1. The [membership] cards have been superseded by stamps following the resolution.⁴²⁰

2. The stamps were to have been ready yesterday at Jung's and in any case will be available by the time you reply, so that we are just waiting to hear from you *how many you need*. We shall be sure to send them off to you.

3. You should have given us the names or addresses of the Italian Freethinkers at once. *Everyone* we have contact with in Italy is a Freethinker. I assume you are referring to Stefanoni in Florence; he is an industrialist, a Bakuninist and—the founder of a rival international Freethinking, socialist society.⁴²¹

There is no urgency about Marx's second anti-Proudhon edition.^b It is much more important for *Capital* to appear in French,³⁹⁵ and that will not be long in coming now. Negotiations are pending. It would be better *not* to say anything about the second edition of *Capital*,³⁹⁶ since the remaining copies of the first edition have still to be disposed of and it would be better for this bomb to strike the Roschers, Fauchers & Co. unawares.

Marx has said nothing to me about printing the essay on Proudhon from the *Social-Demokrat*.^c If I do not write anything to the contrary within a day or so, go ahead and print it.

Sorge is a BUSYBODY who forgets that correspondence between here and New York takes 3 weeks, and that the General Council has other things on its mind apart from the American squabbles. Had they only waited just 1 day before staging their *coup d'état*,⁴²² they would have had the answer from here, which would have rendered it superfluous. First, they admit a mass of unknown riff-raff in an incredibly casual fashion, and then, when the balloon goes up, we have to extricate them from the mess!

Goegg was here a few days ago. He really has improved greatly, and has progressed roughly to the stage reached by the German artisans in 1848. But from petty bourgeois to artisan is a real step forward. It is at least possible to talk to him now, a thing which

^a spies - ^b K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon. - ^c K. Marx, 'On Proudhon'.

was quite out of the question 4 years ago. He is on his way to New York on business and wants to know whether you received the crate of wine he sent you for Christmas. He says that my article^a killed Vogt stone-dead, and appears in general to be of the opinion that we were always in the right about him. It is quite possible that he may develop even further in time, or rather, that he may be developed by the course of events.

The news from Spain is good as far as it concerns the Federal Council. There is still a lot of intrigue going on in Barcelona and there is a strong Bakuninist influence in the *Federación*, but since in Spain the matter will be discussed by the *Congress* (in April)⁴²³ and since workers are in the majority there rather than lawyers and doctors, etc., I surmise that all will be well. Lafargue is fortunately still in Madrid; the information about the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* comes from him.^b Mesa, the editor of the *Emancipación*, is completely on our side.

In Italy we have *Cuno* in Milan, a Swiss engineer who knows Bebel and yourself and who up to now has blocked any Bakuninist resolutions there—apart from that, there are either Bakuninists or people who hang back. It is very difficult terrain and gives me a fiendish amount of work.

I enclose reports of 2 meetings^c together with a polemic against Bradlaugh⁴²⁴; furthermore the circular of Sonvillier³⁷⁴ in case you do not have it.

Best regards from us all to you and yours.

Your

F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), Moscow, 1932

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

^a F. Engels, 'Once Again "Herr Vogt"'. - ^b Engels means the editorial note in *La Emancipación*, No. 31, 14 January 1872, to which he referred above. - ^c Presumably, the reports on the General Council meetings of 2 and 9 January 1872, published in *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 171 and 172, 6 and 14 January 1872.

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN PARIS

London, 19 January 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

My dear Friend,

You will already have received the books⁴²⁵ listed in the enclosed invoice for the sum of £1 16s. 5d. and I have debited your account accordingly.^a

On the other hand I have credited you with your remittance of £2 8s., which I have not yet cashed.

Hodgson's work is quite unknown to me, nor have I seen it advertised anywhere. However, I shall endeavour to find out something about it.

Our accounts should more or less balance now. I shall be writing to you about the *Gazette des Tribuneaux*, a journal of which I do not think we shall have any further need; the subscription expires at the end of January.

You will have received *The Eastern Post* journals which I addressed to you, as also the other printed matter which I have enclosed with them from time to time.

As for the International, things are going well. B.'s^b intrigues will not amount to anything much. That man forgets that the working masses cannot be led as could a little bunch of doctrinaire sectarians. We have had, by the bye, some most valuable intelligence regarding his machinations in Russia—from the original source, at that. They are unutterably despicable.

Ever your obedient servant,

Yours,
F. E.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first
time

^a See this volume, p. 276. - ^b Engels uses the Russian letter Б for the initial. The reference is to Bakunin.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE⁴²⁶

IN MADRID

London, 19 January 1872

My dear Toole,^a

We were delighted to get your letter of the 7th. As for Morago, you may be sure that Bakunin is at the bottom of it. As private correspondents, these men are assiduous beyond belief; and if he [were] a member of the Alliance, they would certainly have bombarded him with letters and blandishments. At any rate, the fact that they have resolved to place all these questions before a Spanish Congress⁴²³ is a victory for ourselves, since:

1) it is a *negative*, albeit indirect, reply to the demand that a Congress of the International be *immediately* convened;

2) we have always found that, as soon as the workers themselves, as a body, consider these questions, their natural common sense and their innate feeling of solidarity invariably enable them speedily to smell out such personal machinations. For working men, the International represents a great acquisition which they have no intention at all of relinquishing; for the aforesaid doctrinaire intriguers, it represents no more than an arena for petty squabbles of a personal and sectarian kind.

In our reply we shall endeavour to make the maximum use of your observations; however, we cannot limit ourselves to what might best suit the Spaniards. The sorely assailed Swiss want just the opposite. However, I hope that we shall be able to write in such a way as to satisfy all our friends on the main points.

There have been requests from several quarters for a new impression of the *Poverty of Philosophy*, for which a new introduction would, of course, be required, and I hope that Moor will attend to this as soon as his work on the second edition of *Capital*³⁹⁶ is completed; if, in the meantime, Mesa were to do the Spanish translation, he would probably get the text of the introduction in good time. But I cannot promise anything; you can imagine the amount of unexpected work that constantly devolves on Moor. He has entered into an agreement with Lachâtre³⁹⁵; the contract contained one or two quite inadmissible

^a Paul Lafargue's nickname

clauses. No doubt Jenny or Tussy will write, either to you or to Laura, and enlarge on the matter.

Now for the news.

1) Over here the French section of 1871,³⁵⁸ a section which had never been accepted as such because of its refusal to delete utterly incredible things from its rules, has completely disintegrated—at the very moment when it was bringing out a long metaphysical declaration against the General Council, signed by 35 citizens.^a The election of *Vésinier* as secretary has caused Theisz, Avrial & Co. to resign (for the second time!). The *Vésinier* clique next demanded the expulsion of Vermersch, a worthy rival to *Vésinier*, both as a private individual and as a man of politics. There followed another split, thus creating *three* rumps. This is group autonomy at its most extreme.

On the other hand we have over here a French section of 60 members,³⁵⁹ an Italian section and a Polish one, aside from the old German section.⁴²⁷ The calumnies in the Berlin *Neuer Social-Demokrat* were the work of some of *Schweitzer's* hoodlums who had wormed their way into that section; they have just been expelled.^b—The British Federal Council³⁵⁰ is now functioning and its propaganda is proving very successful; we are especially anxious to build up support outside the old semi-bourgeois political societies and the old TRADES UNIONS, which are incapable of seeing beyond their trades. In Manchester, Dupont has been very useful to us. The republican clubs of Dilke & Co. adhere to the International in all the larger cities, and the best elements of almost all those clubs belong to us, so that one fine day this bourgeois republican movement will escape from its bourgeois leaders and fall into our hands.

I was greatly pleased by the article on the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* in the *Emancipación*.^c I at once translated and sent it to the *Volksstaat*, Liebknecht's newspaper in Leipzig.⁴¹⁶

In France Serrailier is being amazingly active. Needless to say, the results he has obtained are not for publication, but they are very good. Everywhere the sections are reforming under different names. One fact disclosed by this correspondence is that, in almost every case, the Bakuninists' correspondents are informers. In one town in the Midi, their member was the superintendent of police.^d It has now been almost proved that Marchand of Bordeaux is an

^a *Association internationale des travailleurs. Déclaration de la section française fédéraliste de 1871...* - ^b See this volume, p. 297. - ^c 'Sucesos de la semana', *La Emancipación*, No. 31, 14 January 1872. - ^d Abel Bousquet

informer. As you may know, he mislaid the minutes of two meetings; well, all those mentioned in the said minutes have been taken to court, and the same intentions were harboured in regard to yourself. Marchand has never been able to explain what became of those minutes and, though proscribed in Geneva, he was able to return to Bordeaux without being harassed.

In Switzerland, not only has the Romance Committee, which represents at least ten times more Internationalists than the Jurassians, come out in favour of the General Council,^a but also the *Tagwacht* of Zurich, organ of the Internationalists of German Switzerland (see No. 1 of 6 January).⁴²⁸ The question it puts to those who speak of the authoritarian power wielded by the General Council is as follows:

'A dictatorship always presupposes the possession by the dictator of the material power that would enable him to enforce his dictatorial orders. Now, all these journalists would greatly oblige us if they would kindly let us know where the General Council keeps its arsenal of bayonets and mitrailleuses.²⁶ Suppose, for example, that the Zurich section should not be in agreement with this or that decision of the General Council (something which has not hitherto occurred), to what means could the General Council have recourse in order to compel the Zurich section to bow to that decision? But the General Council has not even the right definitively to exclude any one section from the Association—at the very most it can suspend its functions until the next Congress, which alone can give a final ruling... The most divergent views, not only in regard to the future organisation of society, but also in regard to the steps to be taken here and now, are represented in the great international association. That association, at its general congresses, does of course debate questions of this kind, but in no article of its Rules does it lay down a system, an obligatory norm for the sections. There is nothing obligatory save the fundamental principle: The emancipation of the workers by the workers themselves... Thus, in the International we find represented the most opposing political views, from the strict centralism of the Austrian workers to the anarchic federalism of the Spanish confederates. These last proclaim abstention from elections; the German confederates make full use of their votes in every election. In certain countries the Internationalists support other more or less progressive parties, elsewhere they remain aloof, as a distinct party, no matter what the circumstances. Nowhere, however, are there monarchists amongst the Internationalists. The same thing applies to questions of social economy. Communists and individualists work side by side, and it may be said that all forms of socialism are represented in the International...^b However, the International has always shown itself capable of closing its ranks against the outside enemy, ... it has succeeded in maintaining its unity in the face of the Franco-Prussian War and, from that war, it has emerged bigger and stronger, whereas other societies have been crushed by the war. To a man, the International sided with the Paris Commune... And does the fact that this or that group holds a different view on questions of detail entitle the bourgeois press to talk of splits in the International?...

^a 'Réponse du Comité fédéral romand...', *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 24 December 1871. - ^b In the *Tagwacht*: '...and it may be said that there is no socio-economic view that is not represented in the International'.

You have only to read the circular from the Jura sections, protesting against this and that, but ending with the cry: "Long live the International Working Men's Association!" Is that a split? No, gentlemen, despite your efforts, the International will not be subject to splits, it will settle its own internal affairs and reveal itself more united and with its ranks more serried than ever ... the more you calumniate us, the more you talk of splits in our ranks, the more you attack us—the more shall we serried our ranks and the louder will the cry resound: Long live the International Working Men's Association!"

If you can make use of this for the *Emancipación*, so much the better.

In Germany the *Volksstaat* has come out with considerable force against the Jurassians and in favour of the General Council.^a Furthermore, on 7 January the Saxon Congress, with 120 delegates representing 60 sections, held a private meeting (being forbidden by law to debate the matter publicly) at which they *unanimously* condemned the Jura circular and passed a vote of confidence in the General Council.⁴¹⁸

The Austrians and Hungarians are also unanimous in their support of the General Council, though prevented by persecution from giving public proof of same; they can hardly ever meet, and any meeting in the name of the International is at once prohibited or broken up by the police.

In Italy no organisation so far exists. So autonomous are the groups that they will not or cannot unite. This is a reaction to the extreme and bourgeois centralism of Mazzini, who aspired to control everything himself, and very stupidly at that. By slow degrees enlightenment will dawn, but they will have to be allowed to learn from experience.

You say nothing about your wife^b—I hope that you have had good news of her and also of the little boy.^c Mrs Marx, who is with me at the moment, and the whole of the Marx family, SEND THEIR LOVE. Cordial salutations from my wife^d and from myself also. Remember me to Laura when you write to her, and let me hear from you soon.

Yours ever,

The General^e

First published in F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French

^a Cf. F. Engels, 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International' (published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 3, 10 January 1872). - ^b Laura Lafargue, who was in San Sebastian at the time - ^c Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^d Lydia Burns - ^e Engels' nickname

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 19 January 1872

My dear Jung,

It is absolutely necessary that I see you to-morrow evening. I hope, therefore, that you will come. If it be impossible, I shall call upon you on Sunday morning.

Yours fraternally,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

Reproduced from the original
Published in English for the first
time

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ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO⁴²⁹

IN MILAN

London, 24 January 1872

Dear Cuno,

I have just received your letter via Becker^a and see from it that the damned Mordecaiians⁴⁰⁹ have intercepted my lengthy letter to you of 16 December.⁴⁵ This is all the more annoying as it contained all the necessary information about the Bakuninist intrigues, and would have put you in possession of the relevant facts a whole month earlier. Moreover, as you are a foreigner, and so liable to deportation, I had requested you not to be too prominent in public agitation, so that you might stay where you are and retain your position, one which is now, unfortunately, quite ruined.

^a Johann Philipp Becker

[Membership] *cards* have been abolished by the Conference resolution in favour of stamps and have now been replaced by the latter.⁴²⁰ The cards had been subject to much abuse over a long period, since everywhere a large number of blank cards had fallen into the hands of the police, who had made use of them for their own purposes. In a few days I shall send you the 100 *stamps* as a receipt for the 10 frs I have none in the house at present.— Nothing is known here of the old Captain with the wooden leg; he is not in touch with the General Council.⁴³⁰

I would gladly send you the *Rules*³⁰⁹ if only I had them. They have been printed in French and English; a German version is due out any day, the Italian translation is lying in my desk ready for printing, but 1. we have no money to have them printed on our own account, and 2. in view of the general rebellion against the Conference and the General Council instigated by Bakunin among the Italians, it is highly questionable whether they would in fact recognise an edition revised by the General Council in accordance with the Conference resolutions. Before this is resolved it would in my view be pointless to print. In the meantime, various editions of the Rules have come out in Italian there, e.g. in Girgenti^a (put out by the *Eguaglianza*), likewise in Ravenna (by the now defunct *Romagnolo*—Lodovico Nabruzzi in Ravenna could give you information about it), and also *La Plebe* of Lodi, Corso Palestro, has advertised some at 10c. It is true that all of these are badly and in part incorrectly translated and only contain the earliest Administrative Regulations, but for the time being they will have to do.

Becker tells me that he will write to you about the Bakuninist intrigues, but I do not want to rely on that, so here, in brief, are the essentials. Bakunin, who up to 1868 had intrigued against the International, joined it after he had suffered a fiasco at the Berne Peace Congress⁴³¹ and at once began to conspire *within it* against the General Council. Bakunin has a singular theory, a potpourri of Proudhonism and communism, the chief point of which is first of all, that he does not regard capital, and hence the class antagonism between capitalists and wage workers which has arisen through the development of society, as the main evil to be abolished, but instead the *state*. While the great mass of the Social-Democratic workers hold our view that state power is nothing more than the organisation with which the ruling classes—landowners and capitalists—have provided themselves in order to protect their social privileges, Bakunin maintains that the

^a Modern name: Agrigento.

state has created capital, that the capitalist has his capital only *by the grace of the state*. And since the state is the chief evil, the state above all must be abolished; then capital will go to hell of itself. We, on the contrary, say: Abolish capital, the appropriation of all the means of production by the few, and the state will fall of itself. The difference is an essential one: the abolition of the state is nonsense without a social revolution beforehand; the abolition of capital *is* the social revolution and involves a change in the whole mode of production. However, since for Bakunin the state is the main evil, nothing must be done that can keep the state alive, i.e. any state, republic, monarchy, or whatever it may be. Hence, *complete abstention from all politics*. To commit a political action, especially to take part in an election, would be a betrayal of principle. The thing to do is to conduct propaganda, revile the state, organise, and when *all* the workers are won over, that is, the majority, to depose the authorities, abolish the state, and replace it by the organisation of the International. This great act, with which the millennium begins, is called *social liquidation*.

All this sounds extremely radical and is so simple that it can be learned by heart in five minutes, and that is why this Bakuninist theory has also rapidly found favour in Italy and Spain among the young lawyers, doctors, and other doctrinaires. But the mass of the workers will never allow themselves to be persuaded that the public affairs of their country are not also their own affairs; they are by nature *political* and whoever tries to convince them that they should leave politics alone will in the end be left in the lurch by them. To preach that the workers should abstain from politics under all circumstances means driving them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans.

Now as, according to Bakunin, the International was not formed for political struggle but in order that it might at once replace the old machinery of state when social liquidation occurs, it follows that it must come as near as possible to the Bakuninist ideal of future society. In this society there will above all be no *authority*, for authority=state=evil in the absolute. (How these people propose to operate a factory, run a railway, or steer a ship without one will that decides in the last resort, without unified direction, they do not, of course, tell us.) The authority of the majority over the minority also ceases. Every individual, every community, is autonomous, but how a society of even two people is possible unless each gives up some of his autonomy, Bakunin again keeps to himself.

So the International must be organised according to this pattern

as well. Each section is autonomous, and in each section each individual. To hell with the *Basle resolutions*,³⁹⁹ which conferred upon the General Council a pernicious authority demoralising even to itself! Even if this authority is *voluntarily* conferred, it must cease—precisely *because* it is authority.

Here you have in brief the main points of the swindle. But who were the authors of the *Basle resolutions*? *The same Mr Bakunin and Co.!*

When these gentlemen saw at the *Basle Congress* that their plan for transferring the General Council to Geneva, i.e. getting it in their hands, stood no chance of success, they adopted another course. They founded the *Alliance de la démocratie sociale*, an international society *within* the large International under the pretext which you now encounter in the Bakuninist Italian press, for example in the *Proletario* and the *Gazzettino Rosa*: the ardent Latin races require a more striking programme than the chilly, deliberate Northerners. This little plan failed owing to the resistance of the General Council, which naturally could not tolerate the existence of any separate *international* organisation *within* the International. Since then, the same plan has appeared in all manner of forms in connection with the efforts of Bakunin and his adherents to substitute Bakunin's programme for the programme of the International. On the other hand, the reactionaries—beginning with Jules Favre and Bismarck and ending with Mazzini—have always come down hard upon the empty and vainglorious Bakuninist phrase-mongering when they have been at pains to attack the International. Hence the necessity of my declaration of 5 December against Mazzini and Bakunin, which was likewise printed in the *Gazzettino Rosa*.^a

The core of the Bakunin conspiracy consists of a few dozen people in the Jura, who have scarcely 200 workers behind them; its vanguard in Italy consists of young lawyers, doctors, and journalists, who now come forward everywhere as the representatives of the Italian workers, with a few of the same breed in Barcelona and Madrid, and a few individuals here and there—in Lyons and Brussels. There are almost no workers among them; they have only one specimen here,^b Robin.—The Conference (convened out of necessity, because a Congress had become impossible)²⁵⁴ provided them with a pretext; and since most of the French refugees in Switzerland sided with them—they (the

^a F. Engels, 'Declaration Sent by the General Council to the Editors of Italian Newspapers Concerning Mazzini's Articles about the International'. - ^b in London

Proudhonists) had much in common with them, while personal motives also played a part—they launched the campaign. To be sure, a dissatisfied minority and unrecognised geniuses are to be found everywhere within the International—and they counted on them, not without reason. At the present time their fighting forces are:

1. Bakunin himself—the Napoleon of this campaign.
2. The 200 Jurassians and 40-50 members of the French section (refugees in Geneva).
3. In Brussels, Hins, editor of the *Liberté*, who does *not* support them *openly*, however.
4. Here, the remnants of the *Section française de 1871*,³³⁸ never recognised by us, which has already split into 3 mutually hostile parts; then about 20 Lassalleans of the type of Mr von Schweitzer, expelled from the German section (for proposing *resignation en masse from the International*),^a who, as defenders of extreme centralisation and strict organisation, fit marvellously into an alliance with the anarchists and autonomists.
5. In Spain, a few personal friends and adherents of Bakunin, who have greatly influenced, at least theoretically, the workers, particularly in Barcelona. But, on the other hand, the Spaniards attach great importance to organisation, and its absence among the others is conspicuous to them. How much success Bakunin may expect here will be revealed only at the Spanish Congress in April,⁴²³ but as the workers will predominate at this congress, I have no fears about it.
6. Lastly, in Italy, as far as I know, the Turin, Bologna, and Girgenti sections have voted for convening a Congress *before* it is due.

The Bakunist press asserts that 20 Italian sections have affiliated with them; I have no knowledge of them. In any event, the leadership is in the hands of Bakunin's friends and adherents almost everywhere, and they are raising a terrific hubbub. But on closer examination it will most likely be found that they haven't much of a following, since in the final analysis the overwhelming mass of Italian workers are still Mazzinists and will remain so as long as the International is identified there with abstention from politics.

At any rate the situation in Italy is such that, for the present, the International there is dominated by Bakunist intrigues. Nor does the General Council think of complaining about this; the

^a See this volume, p. 297.

Italians have the right to make fools of themselves as much as they please, and the General Council will oppose this only in peaceable debates. They likewise have the right to express themselves in favour of a Congress in the Jurassian spirit, although it is extremely peculiar, to be sure, that sections that have just joined and can have no knowledge of anything should immediately take a definite stand on a question of this sort without even hearing *both* sides! I have already given the Turin people my opinion of this quite frankly,^a and I shall do the same with other sections taking a similar stand. For every such statement of affiliation represents an indirect approval of the false accusations and lies against the General Council contained in the circular³⁷⁴; the General Council, incidentally, will soon issue its own circular^b on this question. If you can prevent a similar declaration by the Milanese *until this latter appears*, you will be acting in complete accordance with our desires.

The joke is that these same Turinese who have declared their support for the Jurassians and who therefore reproach us here with authoritarianism, are now suddenly demanding that the General Council should act in an authoritarian manner quite without precedent for it and take steps against their rival, the *Federazione Operaia* of Turin, and outlaw Beghelli of the *Ficcanaso* who is not even a member of the International, etc.^c And all this before we have even had a chance to listen to what the *Federazione Operaia* might have to say on it!

Last Monday^d I sent you the *Révolution Sociale* with the Jura circular,^e an issue of the Genevan *Égalité* (unfortunately I no longer have a single copy of the one containing the reply of the Genevan *Comité Fédéral*,^{f391} which represents 20 times as many workers as the Jurassians), and a *Volksstaat* which will show you how people in Germany regard the matter.^g The Saxon provincial assembly—120 delegates from 60 places—has declared itself *unanimously* in favour of the General Council.⁴¹⁸—The Belgian Congress (25-26 December^h) is calling for a revision of the Rules, but at the *regular* Congress (in September).⁴⁰⁴ From France

^a See this volume, pp. 291-95. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - ^c See this volume, p. 313. - ^d 22 January - ^e 'Circulaire à toutes les fédérations...', *La Révolution Sociale*, No. 8, 14 December 1871. - ^f 'Réponse du Comité fédéral romand...', *L'Égalité*, No. 24, 24 December 1871. - ^g Presumably, *Der Volksstaat*, No. 3, 10 January 1872, containing Engels' article 'The Congress of Sonvillier and the International' and a report headlined 'Die Landesversammlung des Sächsischen Social-Demokraten'.—^h The Congress took place on 24-25 December 1871.

statements supporting us come in every day. Here in England, of course, all these intrigues fall upon barren soil. And the General Council, of course, will not call an extraordinary Congress for the benefit of a few intriguing and vainglorious individuals. As long as these gentlemen stay within legal bounds, the General Council will gladly allow them freedom of action, and this coalition of the most motley elements will soon fall apart of itself. But as soon as they undertake anything contrary to the Rules or Congress resolutions, the General Council will do its duty.

If one bears in mind what a time these people choose to embark on their conspiracy—precisely when the International is being hounded everywhere—it is impossible not to think that the gentlemen of the international Mordecai gang are involved in the affair. And this is actually the case. In Béziers the Genevan Bakuninists have as their correspondent the *Commissaire central de police*^a! Two of the chief Bakuninists, Albert Richard from Lyons and Blanc,^b were here and told a worker, Scholl from Lyons, with whom they got in touch, that the only way to overthrow Thiers was to put Bonaparte back on the throne, and that was why they were travelling about *at the Bonapartists' expense* to carry on *propaganda* among the émigrés *on behalf of a Bonapartist restoration*! That is what these gentlemen call abstention from politics! In Berlin the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, in Bismarck's pocket, is singing the same tune. For the time being I shall leave as a moot point the extent to which the Russian police are involved in this affair, though Bakunin was embroiled up to his eyes in the Nechayev business (he denies this, to be sure, but we have authentic Russian reports here, and since Marx and I understand Russian, he cannot bluff us).²⁸⁰ Nechayev is either a Russian *agent-provocateur* or, at any rate, has acted like one; moreover, there are all sorts of suspicious characters among Bakunin's Russian friends.

I am very sorry to hear that you have lost your job. I had expressly written to you saying that you should avoid anything that might have these consequences and that your presence in Milan was of much greater importance for the International than the minute effect that one can have by agitating *in public*; much could be done underground, etc. If I can be of any assistance with translations, etc., I shall do so with the greatest pleasure; just let me know *from* which languages and *into* which language you can translate and *in what way* I can help.

So the police swine have also intercepted my photograph. I

^a Abel Bousquet - ^b Gaspard Blanc

enclose another and ask for 2 of you, one of which will be used to induce Miss Marx to part with a picture of her father for you. (She is the only person who still has a few good ones in her possession.)

I also ask you to take care with *all* persons connected with Bakunin. It is a characteristic of all sects that they stick together closely and carry on intrigues. *Every one of your confidences*—you may rest assured of this—will be conveyed to Bakunin at once. One of his main principles is the affirmation that keeping a promise and other such things are nothing but bourgeois prejudices, which a true revolutionary should always disregard in the interests of the cause. In Russia he speaks of this openly, in Western Europe it is a secret doctrine.

Write to me *very soon*. It would be very good if we could manage to prevent the Milan branch from joining in the chorus of the other Italian sections.

Salut et fraternité.

Yours,
F. Engels

If you write to Miss Burns you *need* neither an inside envelope, nor to make any mention of my name *whatever*. I open everything myself.

First published abridged in: F. Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920 and in full in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 11, Berlin, 1925

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ENGELS TO CARLO TERZAGHI

IN TURIN

[Draft]

[London, 29 January 1872]

My dear Terzaghi,

I wrote to you on the 15th of this month^a and I then received your letter dated the 15th inst.⁴³² I communicated the contents of

^a See this volume, pp. 294-95.

your letter to the General Council, where the great activity of the Turin workers was recognised with pleasure.

So far the Workers' Federation of Turin has not approached the General Council. If it did, the Council, *after listening to both parties*, would have to deliberate whether this federation could be provisionally admitted or not. I cannot promise you in advance that it will under no circumstances be admitted. For one thing, I am not the Council; then there is the Council's position, as follows.

It is true that the Basle Congress conferred upon the General Council the power to refuse admission, until the next Congress, to any new section³⁹⁹; but this power has never been put into practice except in cases of well-proven necessity, and only *after hearing the defence of the section in question*. How can we possibly commit the General Council in advance, before it has heard the other party? You can rest assured that in any case the Council will look after the interests of the International.

As for Mr Beghelli, we cannot vote for the public declaration you request. Beghelli does not belong to the International and he is outside the Council's jurisdiction, and even if this were not the case I do not think he is sufficiently important to be distinguished in this manner from other journalists hostile to the International.

But I must tell you: we did not expect requests of this sort from you. You have supported the calling of a special congress³⁷⁴ whose sole aim is to accuse the General Council of authoritarianism, and to abolish the powers given to the General Council by the Basle Congress. And no sooner do you vote this support than you ask the General Council to perform acts ten times more authoritarian than any it has ever performed: you ask it to make use of these same powers which you have already condemned and refuse admission to a new section without even listening to what it has to say in its defence. What would your Jura friends say if we were to make ourselves guilty of such *authoritarianism*? You have certainly taken your decision on the basis of the Jura circular and you have, albeit indirectly, approved the lies and slanders it contains, without waiting for the reply of the General Council—you, a brand-new section, necessarily ignorant of the whole^a matter. You had a right to do this, you are an autonomous section insofar as this autonomy is not limited by the laws of the International. But the General Council is responsible for its actions and cannot allow itself such liberty.

Perhaps you will now see for yourselves that such *authoritarian*

^a Crossed out in the original: 'previous history of the International'.

powers were conferred upon the General Council not without reason, that they may have some use and that, instead of inaugurating your career as Internationalists by indirectly condemning a General Council quite unknown to you, and with decisions which only tend to sow dissension at a time when universal government persecutions should be pushing all true Internationalists into the closest union—that instead of all this you would have done better to suspend your judgment until you are better informed.

Thank you for the twenty franc contribution, which I have passed on to the treasurer; I am enclosing in return 200 stamps at 10c. each. These stamps, affixed to a page of the General Rules which every member must possess, constitute proof of membership of the International.⁴²⁰

To the Emancipation of the Proletarian Society

International Section

Turin

First published in: Marx and Engels,
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time

188

MARX TO FERDINAND JOZEWICZ⁴³³

IN BERLIN

[London,] 1 February 1872

Dear Citizen,

I have delayed my reply to your letter for 3 reasons.

Firstly, overwork, since in addition to all the confusion which a few vain mediocrities under the control of government agents have stirred up in the *International*—my time is taken up with a second German edition of my book on capital,³⁹⁶ with a French edition,³⁹⁵ for which I have to prepare a plan after the second German edition, and, finally, with a Russian edition, for which I had to supply a number of alterations to the text.^a

^a See this volume, p. 238.

Secondly, the stamps⁴²⁰ were only delivered to the General Council at the beginning of this week. I enclose 500. The German edition of the *Rules and Administrative Regulations*^a is in the press and will soon be available for despatch from the *Volksstaat* at 1 silver groschen each.

Thirdly, we are busy drawing up a circular^b to be printed for private circulation which will give a clear account of the intrigues of Bakunin and his comrades, etc. As soon as it is finished and in print, you shall receive a copy. For the moment, I would only say that as regards the French, everyone worth keeping is sticking by us. The small separate section that was formed here has now split into 3 sections which are devouring each other.³³⁸

With fraternal greetings,

Karl Marx

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 3,
Berlin, 1933

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189

MARX TO HERMANN JUNG¹¹⁸

IN LONDON

[London,] 1 February 1872

My dear Jung,

The letters we want for the project of the circular^b are:

1) During the sitting of the Conference^c you received a letter from one of the Bakuninists, I think from Joukowski, in which *the formation of a new section of propaganda*³³⁹ was announced and the sanction of the General Council demanded. I knew from Outine that you had already sent a preliminary answer, and that that new section was nothing but a second edition of the '*Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*'.

This is the first letter we want.

2) *The letter of Malon* in which he calls upon the General Council to acknowledge a 'French Section', founded under his auspices, at Geneva.⁴³⁴

^a K. Marx, *Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - ^c the London Conference of 1871

3) The letters received since the Conference from Switzerland, relating to the 'quarrel'⁹ and which you told the General Council would be submitted to the Sub-Committee.⁴³⁵

Yours fraternally,

Karl Marx

In order to save time, please give all this to Regis who will call upon you to-morrow morning.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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190

MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE AND JUSTE
VERNOUILLET⁴³⁶

IN PARIS

London, 9 February 1872
1 Maitland Park Road,
Haverstock Hill

Dear Sirs,

Please be so good as to make two copies of the enclosed contract on stamped paper, one to be signed by Mr Maurice Lachâtre, and then send both copies to me, one of which I shall return duly signed.

In a letter dated 2 February my translator tells me:

'I shall start work this very day and proceed more quickly or less quickly, *depending upon the time allowed* me by the publisher. At all events I shall be entirely at his disposal.'

You would oblige me by enabling me to advise Mr Roy of 'the time allowed'.

I have the honour to be, Sirs,

Your obedient servant,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the handwritten copy

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

191

MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT
IN LONDON

[London,] 12 February 1872

My dear Friend,

Herewith the notes:

Old Crémieux has been in London where he put up at the Golden Cross Hotel with a gentleman whom he caused to be entered in the hotel register as his son, but who is in reality Mr Truchy, a former captain on the General Staff, a Bonapartist in search of a fortune, and editor of the *Liberté* (Girardin's), to which he was appointed by Badinguet^a and for which he writes military articles under the *nom de plume* of Mousselerès.

These gentry were in London to settle some business with the man at Chislehurst.^b The result of the transactions was old man Crémieux's nomination as one of the members of the Regency of the Empire (in the event of Badinguet's death).

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

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Published in English for the first
time

^a Nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III). Badinguet was the name of a stonemason in whose clothes Louis Bonaparte escaped from prison in Ham in 1846. - ^b Napoleon III, who lived in that area of London after his release from captivity, from March 1871.

192

MARX TO ASHER & Co.⁴³⁷

IN LONDON

[London,] 13 February 1872

Dear Sir,

Together with these lines I send you the only copy of the 'Inaugural Address'^a I can still dispose of.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,
Works, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50,
Moscow, 1981

Reproduced from the original

193

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 15 February 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

Letters from Germany about enrolment *are still not forthcoming*.⁴¹⁹ If the dear Germans again will not go beyond promises and fine phrases, we shall never get anywhere with them.

I cannot procure for you the data about the POOR-RATES⁴³⁸ for the moment. We are being kept busy by the reply^b to the Jura circular,³⁷⁴ which is very urgent, and local statistics are the sort of thing one must collect oneself from the sources. For the time being, do *not* mention the reply to the Jurassians in public.

You will be aware that Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc were the chief supporters of Bakunin & Co. (see the report on the last meeting).⁴³⁹

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

^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

Re the *Misère de la philosophie*, steps will be taken soon. Marx has signed the contract for the French translation of *Capital* and it will soon start to appear in *instalments*. (Between ourselves for the time being).⁴³⁶ As soon as some have come out, it will be the turn of the *Misère de la philosophie*.

The *Manifesto* will follow, in German¹⁸⁹ and probably in French and English (having appeared in an English and a French periodical in New York⁴⁴⁰).

You see that things are in full swing here. But it all makes for a lot of work.

The Lassalleans here have been thrown out, as you know.^a If they go on kicking up a fuss in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, send us the paper when you have finished with it—it doesn't get sent to the Workers' Educational Society¹³⁵ anymore. The Lassallean gentlemen here had the impertinence to go on behaving as if they were 'The Society' and sent Scherzer as their delegate to the General Council, where he was turned back without further ado.

You will have received the 800-odd STAMPS from Marx. You stick them on the top of the back of the title leaf of the Rules, of which, I hope, we shall soon receive the 3,000 copies, together with the bill? Cf. the relevant Conference resolution, which is clear enough.⁴²⁰

Enclosed find a Prussian loan-certificate for 10 thalers in settlement of the accompanying invoice, for which I should like a receipt. Use the balance as you think fit.

Furthermore, 4 reports on meetings^b from *The Eastern Post* and a few lines to Hepner.⁴⁵

Cuno is behaving very courageously but has lost his job and is in a very bad way.^c

I had guessed that your Italian could only be Stefanoni. Now just pay attention to this:

1. *Libero Pensiero* No. 18, 2 November 1871. Programme of the *Società Universale dei Razionalisti*, setting up a rival association to the International. According to its programme rationalist *monasteries* are to be established, a colossal sum of money to be invested in land is to be amassed and a *marble bust of every bourgeois* who donates 10,000 francs to the society is to be placed in the congress hall.⁴²¹

2. There follow, in Nos. 20 & 21, increasingly virulent attacks on the International for repudiating atheism, as conceived by the

^a See this volume, p. 297. - ^b of the General Council - ^c See this volume, p. 305.

Alliance, and on the General Council for its tyrannical ways, etc.

3. After an interval, this is followed in No. 1 of 4 January 1872 by a lengthy abusive article about the General Council, in which *all the slanders of Schneider and Weber* from the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*³⁸⁶ appear in translation and are accompanied by equally outrageous commentaries, e. g. on the Communist trial.¹³⁸

4. This is followed in No. 3 of 18 January by a letter from *Wilhelm Liebknecht* of 28 December, in which the latter promises help to Stefanoni and offers to publish his contributions and to lend his support, without seeing it, to the programme of this honest society at the Saxon provincial assembly.⁴⁴¹

5. This is followed in No. 4 of 25 January by another abusive article about the General Council in which the slanderous allegations about Marx by Messrs *Schenck and Winand* are once more translated from the *Neuer*.⁴¹⁵

You can see in what fine company you have involved yourself with your letter-writing. Stefanoni, behind whom none other than Bakunin (who supplied him with all this material) is concealed, has just used you as a tool. He has used Feuerbach in the same way, having published one of his letters too. Büchner, of course, is also conspiring with Stefanoni against us. This is what happens when you take up with people you do not know, when a simple enquiry, or even the mere mention of a name, would have sufficed for us to give you the necessary information and to prevent you from compromising yourself in this way. As things stand you have no option but to write Stefanoni a *brief* rude letter, sending him the relevant numbers of the *Volksstaat*. However, since Stefanoni will take good care not to print your letter, you must send me a copy so that I can translate it and see that it appears in the Italian press,^a for even the Bakuninist papers are at loggerheads with him. However, if you wish us to continue to be able to come out with you and on your behalf abroad, the first precondition is that you do not continue to make things difficult for us by writing such letters to unknown people.

The people in Spain have their hands full with their struggle against the government, and are much too busy to quarrel with us anymore.

The Marx family and all of us send best wishes to you all, especially to Bebel.

Your
F. E.

^a See this volume, p. 577.

Lafargue and Laura are in Madrid and intend to stay there for the time being.

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time

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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, 16 February 1872

Au citoyen^a J. Ph. Becker

My dear old Comrade-in-arms,

It gave me great pleasure to receive a letter from you once again after so many years.

The business about Lessner's 10 frs has been settled.⁴⁴²

Can you make any suggestions about how we might assist Cuno in remaining where he is, i.e. in Milan? I cannot see any way from here and we would certainly be glad to do all we can to keep the brave fellow at such an important post. These damned Italians make more work for me than the entire rest of the International put together makes for the General Council. And it is all the more infuriating as in all probability little will come of it as long as the Italian workers are content to allow a few doctrinaire journalists and lawyers to call the tune on their behalf.

Marx sent the 100 stamps à 1 silver groschen in a registered letter to the address indicated in Cologne, but we have not yet had a reply.

Your young friend Wegmann is presumably the same person as the one about whom my cousin, Mrs Beust, wrote to me in Manchester a few years ago. I tried a great deal then to find him a position, even though convinced of the impossibility of doing so, and my efforts were indeed unsuccessful, a fact on which I reported to Anna Beust in detail.⁴⁵ I shall now write once more to Manchester on his behalf, but would be grateful if Wegmann

^a To Citizen

could let me know in what field he is qualified to take up a position. Unfortunately, I cannot really hold out any prospects of success. The place is crawling with young German and Swiss engineers who snap up any position that arises in no time at all. I really tried everything I knew to find something for an Alsatian refugee, but without success, *even though the man was on the spot* and had very good references. He finally discovered something by pure chance after a long period of giving lessons.

Things are going well in Spain. The forcible measures taken against the International by the government have really cured people of abstention from politics, and Marx's son-in-law, Lafargue, who is in Madrid, is also doing his utmost to drive the Bakuninist quirks out of their heads. I have no worries about Spain. The people we are dealing with there are *workers*, and Bakunin's few doctors and journalists in Barcelona have to mind their ps and qs. The Spanish Federal Council is *completely* on our side. People in various sections have expressed very sensible views, and the Federal Council has released a circular (or was about to do so a little while ago), containing its entire correspondence with the General Council⁴⁴³ and then putting the question whether the General Council had attempted to treat them, the Spaniards, in a dictatorial fashion. In the meantime, the situation has changed so much that it looks as if open conflict is imminent in Spain, and this has completely cut the ground from under the feet of the Jurassians and their adherents. They really do have other things on their hands now in Spain than to make such a to-do about trivialities.

Outine's letter and the *Suisse radicale* have arrived. We shall publicise the case⁴⁴⁴ without delay.^a

Your enquiry about the letters really did slip my mind. I shall write to Frankel at once to find out whether he received the two letters, and if not I shall keep on searching. If anything has gone astray I shall let you know immediately.

Marx sends greetings to you all and I do likewise.

Faternally, your old

F. Engels

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^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association'.

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ENGELS TO GIUSEPPE BENEDETTI
IN PISA

[Draft]

[London, 18 February 1872]

Citizen G. Benedetti,

I received a few days ago your letter of 7 January and I am not too sure that it is meant for me, since neither of the two stamps it bears is that of our Association, whether 'Intern. Democr. Assoc.' or 'Int. Assoc. *among* Working Men'. As however you mention the Basle Congress and the Jura circular,³⁷⁴ it is probable that it has reached the correct address.

As for its contents, I must tell you that the Pisa section, as a section of the International Association of Working Men, is absolutely unknown to us. Resolution 4 of the Basle Congress says that any section or society wishing to become part of the International is obliged to give immediate notification thereof to the General Council, which (Resolution 5) has the right to admit or refuse the affiliation of any new society or group, except for an appeal to Congress,⁴⁴⁵ and which admits genuine workers' and internationalist societies and sections as soon as it has obtained proof that their Rules contain nothing contrary to the General Rules (Resolution 14 of the Geneva Congress).⁴⁴⁶

I am sorry that these Congress resolutions weigh so heavily upon the sense of autonomy of the self-styled Pisa section, which despite being only recently formed and not yet admitted, naturally knows the 'temperament of the Association' much better than those who have belonged to it since its inception and who drafted its Rules. But although you are of the opinion that this temperament 'excludes any principle of authority', the General Council must unfortunately recognise *the authority of the laws* of the International, which oblige it to carry out the resolutions of Congresses (including that of Basle), and not to admit sections whose autonomy does not permit them to recognise the authority of the laws that are common to the Association as a whole.

As for the demand for an extraordinary Congress, I cannot submit it to the General Council unless your section is regularly admitted. Meanwhile I can tell you that you have the distinction of

being the *first* section (real or self-styled) to call for this Congress since the publication of the Jura circular.

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196

ENGELS TO WILLIAM BURRS⁴⁴⁷

IN MANCHESTER

[Draft]

[London,] 22 February 1872

In reply...^a I beg to say that Mr Glaser^b has been highly recommended to me and that I believe him to be a strictly honourable man and not without some means, and who is not likely to enter into engagements he could not fulfil so that, if I were in a position to do business with him, I should not hesitate to trust him to a moderate amount say £100 to 200.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50, Moscow, 1981

Reproduced from the original

Published in English for the first time

^a Dots in the original. - ^b de Willebrord

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MARX TO FERDINAND JOZEWICZ⁴⁴⁸

IN BERLIN

[London,] 24 February 1872

Citizen Secretary,

I can only write a few words today. Because of the conspiracy of the 'international police' with certain *faux frères*² within the International, the General Council has heaped so many tasks upon me that I have even been compelled to put aside my theoretical work. So to business:

1. A resolution of the General Council, based on the four-month-long delay in printing the stamps (itself due to unforeseen obstacles in London), has set back the date by which unsold stamps should be returned from *1 March* to *1 July*. (Be kind enough to inform Liebknecht of this since I have no time to write to him at present.)

2. As far as double payment for the stamps is concerned, you have only to state in your report on 1 July that such-and-such a proportion of the money being forwarded stems from that source.

3. As far as the 'corresponding secretary' is concerned, the General Council leaves it to the Berlin section to arrange the matter as it thinks fit.

4. The Berlin section falls into the category of countries where 'legal obstacles' exist to regular organisation and in such countries the sections have absolute freedom to constitute themselves in a manner appropriate to the law of the land, without thereby forfeiting *any right* possessed by the other sections.⁴⁴⁹

5. The next Congress will be held in September 1872. The General Council has not yet decided on a location for the gathering.⁴⁵⁰ The Social-Democratic Party would be well-advised to let us know without delay when they intend to hold their Congress.

6. The periodic reports of the General Council have been replaced by its weekly reports in *The Eastern Post*, the first despatch of which you will receive today.

6.^b The *Volksstaat* is one of the organs in question.

7. The General Council thanks the Berlin section for having already appointed a statistical commission.⁴⁵¹

^a traitors - ^b '6' occurs twice in the handwritten copy.

8. The Council enquires through me in what relationship the *Hamburgers* (i.e. the Committee of the Social-Democratic Party)⁴⁵² stand towards the General Council. Up to now we have not had a word from them.

9. The General Council requests the Berlin section to declare its approval of the resolutions of the last Conference of delegates of the International (in London).²⁵⁴

With fraternal greetings,

K. M.

First published in *Die Gesellschaft*, No. 3, Berlin, 1933

Printed according to the handwritten copy

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG

IN LONDON

[London,] 26^a February 1872

Dear Jung,

Could you come and visit me on Thursday^b evening to help Engels and myself prepare a report for the press on the monies disbursed by the General Council for the refugees, etc.?

Bring all your account books with you, and also as many details as possible about the people we have placed.²⁵¹

We and a mass of Frenchmen will not go to Holborn tomorrow evening, since, in view of the uproar in the streets, the meeting cannot be held after all.⁴⁵³

Harrison has another brazenly boastful article in *The Times* about the wonderful help he & Co. have given to the *réfugiés*, thus putting an end to all need AMONGST THE REALLY DESERVING.^c

Enclosed are a little letter and POST-OFFICE ORDER from Jenny.^d

Tout à vous,^e

K. M.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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^a The original has '27', a slip of the pen. - ^b 29 February - ^c F. Harrison, 'To the Editor of *The Times*', *The Times*, No. 27309, 26 February 1872. - ^d Marx's daughter - ^e Yours sincerely

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MARX TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN MADRID

[London,] 28 February 1872

My dear child,

You may judge of the overwork—I am being bothered with ever since December last—from my negligence in replying to your own and Paul's letters. Still my heart was always with you. In fact, the health of poor little Schnappy^a occupies my thoughts more than everything else, and I feel even a little angry at Paul's last epistle, full of interesting details as to the 'movement', but a mere blank in regard to that dear little sufferer.⁴⁵⁴

In consequence of uninterrupted reading and writing, an inflammation of my right eye has set in since a few days, so that it forsakes service for the moment and obliges me to limit even this letter to the most necessary matter-of-fact communications.

In the first instance, Keller is *not* the translator of my book.^{b 147} When, at last, I had found out his whereabouts, I wrote at once.¹⁷ In his reply, he told me that he had till then only translated about 200 pages, and that, moreover, he could not proceed with the work before the month of May, being bound by contract to finish the translation of a medical work. This would not do for me. I have found in Roy, the translator of Feuerbach, a man perfectly suitable to my purpose. Since the end of December, he has received from me the corrected manuscript of the Second German edition³⁹⁶ up to *pagina* 280. To-day I have written him to send at once to Paris what manuscript may be ready.¹⁷

As to the biography, I have not yet made up my mind as to whether it be at all opportune to publish it in connection with this work.⁴⁵⁵

As to the preface for Proudhon,⁴⁵⁶ *j'y penserai*.^c

The printings Paul wants I shall send to-morrow⁴⁵⁷ and should have done so before, if I had found the time to look after some statistical facts in 'the 18. Brumaire' which, I apprehend, are not quite correct.

To Liebknecht I shall write.⁴⁵⁸

^a Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^b Volume I of *Capital* - ^c I shall think of it.

As to Lara, making him—a man who is a perfect stranger to our party—a contributor to our party prints, is quite out of the question.⁴⁵⁹ At the same time, you ought not to neglect all relations with his family. Under certain circumstances they might prove useful.

I regret that you have written to Woodhull et C°. They are humbugs that compromise us. Let Paul write to Charles A. Dana, editor of *The Sun* (New York) and offer him Spanish correspondence, and ask him at the same time (such things must be settled beforehand with the Yankees) as to the money terms. I enclose a few lines to Dana.¹⁷ If he should not accept, I shall find another paper at New York. (*The Herald* or something else).

The *New Social Demokrat* is the continuation of Schweitzer's paper^a under another editorship. He observed still a certain decorum. It is now a mere police paper, Bismarck's paper for the Lassalleans, as he has his feudal, his liberal, his all sort of colour papers.

Apropos. Misled by one of your letters I had put in the contract with Lachâtre⁴³⁶ '*somme de ... sera remise à Paris ... quinze jours après demande*'.^b I shall write him to-morrow, that I prefer the payment on 1st July. In case of need, I can find the money, but I must be informed beforehand.

And now, my dear child, *adio*, with thousand kisses for little Schnappy and yourself, and my greetings to Paul.

Yours most devotedly
Old Nick^c

The 'Circular' against the dissentients^d you will receive as soon as printed.

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Annali*, an. 1, Milan, 1958

Reproduced from the original

^a *Der Social-Demokrat* - ^b 'the sum of ... shall be paid in Paris ... within 15 days upon demand' - ^c Marx's nickname - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

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ENGELS TO SIGISMUND BORKHEIM⁴⁶⁰

IN LONDON

[London, early March 1872]

...Sorge is very naive to ask for a book on Ireland from *our* standpoint. I have been trying to write one for two years now,⁵⁷ but the war, the Commune and the International have called a halt to everything else. In the meantime I recommend him the following:

1. *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* by Prendergast, London, Longmans, 2nd ed., 1870-71.

2. *Memoir on Ireland* by O'Connell, London—Duffey, 1869.

For the historical fundamentals

3. *The Irish People and the Irish Land* by Isaac Butt, London—Ridgway.

This for the present.

The Irish question, simple as it is, is nevertheless the product of a prolonged historical struggle and so requires a thorough study. A manual to make the situation comprehensible in around 2 hours does not exist...

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Printed according to the original of Borkheim's letter to Sorge of 15 March 1872

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ENGELS TO LOUIS PIO⁴⁶¹

IN COPENHAGEN

[London,] 7 March 1872

Dear Mr Pio,

I was very pleased to receive your letter of 24 February and would have written to you sooner, even before receiving it, had I had a reliable address in *Köbenhavn* and had I not heard from Outine that you were away. The truth is that it had not escaped our notice that Mottershead has not attended to his duties as

Secretary for Denmark as he should. He has neglected a number of tasks that he should have carried out, as the accompanying letter to the Danish Federal Council makes clear. In order to remove Mottershead from the Secretariat, it would be a good idea for the Danish Federal Council to write to the General Council (c/o John Hales, GENERAL SECRETARY, 33 Rathbone Place, W. London), enquiring why the correspondence was being carried on so negligently. The fact of the matter was that we *intentionally* did not want to have a German Secretary for Denmark; our Frenchmen do not write English for the most part and we did not know how well correspondence in French would suit you—so our only alternative was to choose an Englishman, since you had written to us in English. And among such people who did not hold other offices, Mottershead seemed the most suitable. However, we see that he will not do and we have to find ways in which to activate the correspondence, so that things do not just stagnate. Cohen, the previous Secretary, no longer takes an interest beyond his immediate comrades, the cigar-workers, and moreover, he was arraigned by the Belgians at the Conference of September 1871 for his behaviour in Belgium at the time of a visitation from the General Council.⁴⁶² Since then he has not appeared.

For the time being, I shall correspond privately with you, if you agree, until official relations are re-established. I shall also send you a copy of *The Eastern Post* every week as it carries an official report on the meetings of the General Council. I have already sent you a copy of the issue of 24 February.^a You will, of course, write to me *in Danish*. I understand your language perfectly, since I have made a thorough study of Scandinavian literature, and my only regret is that I cannot reply to you in Danish since I have never had the opportunity to practise it. Perhaps that will come later! Apart from myself, Marx understands Danish, but I doubt if anyone else does on the General Council.

I shall do my best to send you a report for publication in the *Socialisten* from time to time, and you should indeed receive one today or tomorrow,^b if at all possible. I am unfortunately so preoccupied at the moment with my secretarial duties for Italy and Spain and with other tasks that I have hardly any time. Until I can find correspondents in Spain and Italy for you, I shall keep you supplied with news and newspapers from both countries. The best solution would be for you to exchange the *Socialisten* for

^a It contained a report on the General Council meeting of 20 February 1872. - ^b See this volume, p. 340.

papers from there—although there is the problem of cost, since their papers are weeklies and yours appears daily.

You will have heard in Geneva and Leipzig of the attempt made by some dissidents, led by Bakunin, to convene an extraordinary Congress in order to arraign the General Council.³⁷⁴ The crux of the business concerns the International's stance on politics. These gentlemen call for *a complete abstention from all political activity*, and especially *from all elections*, whereas, right from the start, the International has written on its banner the conquest of political power by the working class as a means to social emancipation,^a and the General Council has defended this position. Resolution IX of the Conference^b sparked off the dispute,³²⁵ but since the Conference resolutions have no binding force on issues of principle until they are endorsed by the federations, it is vital to have a decision of the Danish Federal Council endorsing this one. I shall say nothing on the substance of the matter, as this would be insulting to a nation so highly developed politically as the Danes.

By the way, recognition of the Conference resolutions has already come in from the majority, that is to say from Zurich, from Romance Switzerland, from Germany, England, Holland and America. In Spain the congress due to meet in April will decide⁴²⁵; in Italy they are all still at sixes and sevens; the Belgians have made no comment up to now; in France the individual sections have *all* given their approval—a federation there is out of the question.

Incidentally, the attempts of the Jura people to force through an extraordinary Congress failed spectacularly, and have been *abandoned* by them in an autographed circular (of 3 March).⁴⁶³ In favour of their proposal were: *one* section in Spain (Palma, Majorca), *one* in Italy (Turin, which has now reversed its decision), and a number of supposed sections which in fact have neither applied for membership of the International, nor paid any subscriptions (Pisa, Bologna, etc.); in London a supposed *Section française de 1871*, which however has never been admitted because its local Rules are incompatible with the General Rules, and which has since split into four parts³³⁸—and that was all. In the meantime, the General Council has produced a reply to these

^a K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association'. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. IX. Political Action by the Working Class.

intrigues,^a which is now in the press and which I shall send you as soon as it is ready.

I am sending you today through the post:

1 copy of the *Emancipación* from Madrid,

1 English and 1 French copy of the Conference resolutions;

1 English and 1 German copy of the new edition of the Rules.^b

For the time being I shall send you the *Emancipación* along with *The Eastern Post* every week, and shall write to Madrid and Italy that they should send papers to you. If, when the *Socialisten* reappears, you can send me 4-6 copies of any interesting issues from time to time, I shall distribute them until you have made firm arrangements of your own.

Since I know that Mottershead has neither proposed that the Danish Federal Council should recognise the Conference resolutions, nor taken any action to implement the decision about the adhesive membership stamps, I am taking it upon myself to put these matters before the Danish Federal Council through you. As for the stamps (Conference Resolution IV, 1-5),⁴²⁰ they were not ready until much later than expected and so the settlement date has been postponed by a decision of the General Council from 1 March (IV, 4) to 1 July. I am sending you 500 stamps for the present. They cost £2.1/10 and I would be obliged if you could let me know whether you need any more and how many. This information should best go to Mottershead (33 Rathbone Place) or to Hales.

We are keenly awaiting the results of your Rigsdag elections⁴⁶⁴— we think it of very great importance that workers from the International should sit in all the parliaments and that Bebel, who up to now has alone had this honour, should receive some support, no matter where. We believe that you in Denmark have good prospects of getting people in and hope that you are successful.

Salut et fraternité.

Yours,
F. Engels

The best way to reach me is to write to
Miss Burns,
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W. London.

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - ^b K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*.

An inner envelope is *not* necessary—it is where I live. I only go to Rathbone Place once a week and we have moved out of Holborn.

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Nr. 23, Stuttgart, 1921

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MARX TO HERMANN JUNG
IN LONDON

[London,] 7 March 1872

My dear Jung,

I do not find the Rules of the Vermersch Section.⁴⁶⁵ Please to look about, whether you have them.

Yours fraternally,
K. Marx

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Works, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,
Moscow, 1935

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time

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹³⁷
IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 8 March 1872
33 Rathbone Place, W.C.⁴⁶⁶

Dear Sorge,

Have only received today the *German Rules*^a sent by Liebknecht and they cannot be sent off until *Monday*.^b Over there people seem

^a K. Marx, *Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*. - ^b 11 March

to imagine that the General Council just conjures up everything out of a hat, whereas the contrary is the case: without the private contributions of its members and their personal friends, *absolutely nothing* could be done. I notice the same comments in letters from Speyer, Bolte and yourself, as I do in correspondence from other countries. Every country believes that our entire time can be devoted to it alone. If we wanted to grumble about every single detail, we could, e.g., complain that your REPORTS to us appear simultaneously in the *Volksstaat*.

Since I was commissioned by the General Council at long last to report on the SPLIT in America⁴²² (the matter had had to be postponed from one meeting to the next on account of the chaos within the International in Europe)—I have carefully gone through all the correspondence from New York together with everything that appeared in the papers and have discovered that we were by no means duly informed in time about the elements that brought about the breach. A portion of the resolutions I have proposed^a has already been accepted, the rest will be passed next Tuesday^b and the final judgment will then be sent off to New York.

You will receive 1,000 copies of the German Rules. Hales will send 500 in English. I am sending 200 French ones, which have all been ordered.

Eccarius says that the things were sent to Gregory⁴⁶⁷ (his private correspondent) because you had written to him that you were resigning from office but had not named a new correspondent.

The complaint about the French having their 'own' correspondent is quite unjust,⁴⁶⁸ since the Germans also had one of their own and Eccarius, the SECRETARY for the UNITED STATES, can certainly deal with correspondence in German and English, but not in French. Moreover, the complaint was politically ill-advised, since it seemed to justify the view of the French members of the COUNCIL that Section I aspired to dictatorial authority over the other sections.³⁵⁴ It arrived here at the same time as the complaint from the COUNTER-COMMITTEE that Section I was represented on the old committee in numbers exceeding those stipulated by the Rules.

The cost of the Rules was higher for the COUNTER-COMMITTEE because import duties had to be paid (at least, that is what they maintain).

^a K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sitzings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'. - ^b 12 March

I hope that your committee will be satisfied with the decision of the COUNCIL.

We are having a pamphlet against the DISSENTERS^a printed in Geneva, which will be almost as big as the one on the *CIVIL WAR*. In the meantime the dissenters have drawn in their horns in their last circular, so as to dull the polemic.⁴⁶³

IN ALL HASTE.

Yours,
K. Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO ÉMILE EUDES
IN LONDON

[London,] 9 March 1872

My dear Eudes,

Do not speak to your landlord until you have *removed your furniture* from your lodgings. Otherwise he might seize it and cause problems for you.

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

First published in *L'Actualité de l'histoire*, No. 10, Paris, 1955

Printed according to the original
Translated from the French
Published in English for the first time

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

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ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE³⁸¹

IN MADRID

London, 11 March 1872

My dear Lafargue,

If you wish to entrust me with your affairs, I shall be glad to look after them; all you have to do is write and ask your agent to send me your share certificates and bonds *by registered letter* addressed to *me* at 122 Regent's Park Road. These I would keep along with my own. As to the coupons, dividends and interest, I shan't be able to tell you anything until I have examined the documents, but that can be arranged without difficulty. In the case of ready cash I believe you would do better to have it remitted to Madrid by *bill of exchange* and deposit it with a banker down there; I feel sure there must be some to whom you can entrust it. If, however, you would rather have it sent to me, I would ask you to give *formal* instructions that this should be in the form of a *bill of exchange* (or mandate) *on London* made out *to my order*—again *by registered letter*. In either case the bill of exchange should be *short-dated*. Or again, you could split the amount and instruct your agent to send part to Madrid and the remainder to me. Whichever you wish. It is always much better to send a bill of exchange than banknotes. You will lose equally one way or the other, but probably less with a bill of exchange. Besides, in the event of theft a banknote is lost for good, whereas a bill of exchange^a is difficult for a thief to cash and in such a case one can prevent payment.

There is always a certain risk, even with registered letters, when they pass from one country to the other, but I know of no other means of ensuring that your share certificates, etc., reach me. Besides, we have recently had a great deal of experience with registered letters, since those that are unregistered do not always arrive, while registered letters have hitherto arrived without exception.^b

I have sent you a number of papers from here, for instance *on February 14th* four cuttings from *The Eastern Post*, the *Volksstaat*, the *Tagwacht* of Zurich, and the *Socialiste* of New York;

^a Engels has 'le billet de banque' (banknote)—a slip of the pen. - ^b Thus far Engels wrote in French. The rest of the original is in English.

on February 21st *The Eastern Post*, *Socialiste* and the French edition of the Rules^a (to the *Emanicipación*).

Tomorrow I shall send you 2 *Eastern Posts*. Unfortunately the two addresses to old ladies are the *only ones we have* and it would be *very important* to have another for both letters and papers as they cannot but become very suspect.

I can understand very well that our friends there are in reality a good deal more practical than they appear in their papers, and I perfectly understand the reason why. I am quite certain for instance that when they demand, that on the morrow of important events the land and the instruments of labour should be at once handed over to those who ought to hold them, they know perfectly well this to be impracticable, but must make the demand for consistency's sake. We must make a full allowance for their position. The Bakunist rubbish cannot be cleared away in one day, it is quite enough that the process of clearing it out has at last begun in good earnest.

From the Jurassian last circular you will have seen what a complete fiasco that ludicrous campaign has ended in.⁴⁶³ However, the circular of the General Council in reply^b is being printed and you may as well prepare our friends there for the fact that these men will be very roughly handled by us, and that all the facts we know about them—they are scandalous enough—will be laid before the Association. We must now make an end of this sect. Mohr's and my time has been wasted entirely by them for months past and this cannot go on. Only yesterday I had to send to Naples a complete pamphlet of twelve closely written pages in refutation of their absurdities.⁴⁵ They are *all* Bakunists in Naples, and there is only one amongst them, Cafiero, who at least is *de bonne volonté*,^c with him I correspond. About other matters I write to your wife.^d

Mrs Engels^e sends her compliments to both of you.

Yours truly,

The General^f

First published, in the languages of the original (French and English), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

^a K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - ^c who at least means well - ^d Laura Lafargue (see next letter) - ^e Lydia Burns - ^f Engels' nickname

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ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE³⁸¹

IN MADRID

London, 11 March 1872

Dear Laura,

I should like to compliment you on Paul's articles in the *Emancipación*, which have given us all great pleasure, sending as they do a breath of fresh air into the desert of abstract declamation that prevails amongst the Spaniards.^a Given all the tribulations and journeyings which have been inflicted on you over the past eighteen months and which, needless to say, I have followed with interest and at times with anxiety, it must be very gratifying for you to know that Paul's presence in Madrid, precisely at the decisive moment, has been of incalculable value both to us and to the whole Association. Had Bakunin & Co. won the day in Spain—and without Paul they would probably have done so—a split would have occurred and with it a public rumpus. But now this attempted rebellion has come to an ignominious end and we can proclaim a *victoire sur toute la ligne*.^b In those articles in the *Emancipación* where, for the first time, the Spaniards were treated to some genuine learning, you yourself played an important part, indeed the really learned part, which means that I, as Secretary for Spain, owe you especial thanks.

I see from the Naples *Campana* that Paul has also extended his activities in that direction. So much the better. Naples harbours the worst Bakuninists in the whole of Italy. Cafiero is a good chap, a born intermediary and, as such, naturally weak. If he doesn't improve soon, I shall give him up too. In Italy the journalists, lawyers and doctors have thrust themselves so much to the fore that up till now we have been unable to get in direct touch with the workers. That is beginning to change and we are discovering that the workers, as everywhere else, are quite different from their spokesmen. It is ludicrous—these people cry 'we want complete autonomy, we don't want leaders' and at the same time, more than

^a This presumably refers to: [P. Lafargue,] 'El apólogo de San Simón', 'El reinado de la burguesía', 'Las panaceas de la burguesía', 'Organización del trabajo', *La Emancipación*, Nos. 29, 32-38; 1, 21, 28 January, 4, 11, 18, 25 February, 3 March 1872. - ^b victory all along the line

in any other country, they allow a handful of doctrinaire bourgeois to lead them by the nose. The Spaniards are much better in this respect, for on the whole they have progressed a good deal further than the aforesaid Italians.

There have been great rejoicings at your home since the Longuet affair and if, at the time of your engagement, one or two people may have cracked bad jokes about *CASTING SHEEP'S EYES*, you have now been fully avenged, for Jenny is doing her very best along similar lines. This business has, by the way, been of enormous benefit to her; she is happy and cheerful and also physically much better, while Longuet is a very kindly companion. Tussy is also very pleased about the affair and really gives the impression that she *SHOULD NOT MIND TO FOLLOW SUIT*. Day after tomorrow Longuet will give a guest performance at your house where he will cook *sole à la normande*, his national dish. We too have been invited and I shall be curious to see what my wife^a makes of the taste. His last offering—*boeuf à la mode*—*WAS NO GREAT SUCCESS*.

The Fondévilles have ruined themselves utterly over here, morally speaking; they are out and out tricksters.

My best thanks for that amusing Spanish poem.⁴⁶⁹ It has caused us a great deal of merriment.

I'm glad that Schnappy^b is improving and hope soon to hear that he is perfectly well again. The poor little chap has already had a great deal to contend with.

So now good-bye, think kind thoughts of me and rest assured that, wherever you may go, my heartfelt interest will go with you. My wife, though still unknown to you, sends her best wishes.

Ever your old
General^c

First published, in the language of the original (German), in: F. Engels, P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, Paris, 1956

Printed according to the original

^a Lydia Burns - ^b Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^c Engels' nickname

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ENGELS TO LOUIS PIO

IN COPENHAGEN

[London, mid-March 1872]

Dear Mr Pio,

I think I cannot give you anything better for my first correspondence than the preceding translation of two excellent articles from the *Pensamento Social*.^a I have not the slightest idea who may be the author, but they show an insight into the economical and historical conditions of the development of modern society which I am astonished to find in a paper coming from so remote a corner of the world.

By the bye, the article on organisation of agricultural production by Association from *Socialisten* which I got inserted in the published report of the Meetings of the General Council, has gone the round of the Spanish, Italian and American press, and I now find it reproduced in the *Pensamento Social*⁴⁷⁰; it has created great sensation and will not be without its fruit. Altogether, with regard to the all-important question of enlisting the small peasantry and *Husmaendena*^b in the proletarian movement, the Danes, owing to their local circumstances and to their great political intelligence, are now in advance of all other nations. I have told Liebknecht and others this, but unfortunately they are too lazy to learn Danish.

Mottershead^c has not attended the last three meetings of the General Council, but he intends, so he has told us, to resign from his office as Secretary for Denmark; he says he is too busy to carry out his duties as Secretary.

In the meantime, I beg you to be so kind as to correspond with me, and I take upon myself all responsibility for any repercussions which might affect you vis-à-vis the General Council because of it. We intend to transfer the secretaryship for Denmark to a Frenchman, a member of the *Commune de Paris*.^d

With a socialist handshake and greetings,

F. Engels

^a Presumably the articles 'A Ignaldade' and 'A Internacional', published in *O Pensamento Social*, No. 1, February 1872. - ^b small tenants - ^c From here on up to and including the words '...literal translation' Engels writes in Danish. - ^d Frederic Étienne Cournet

I have translated the Portuguese articles into French, because this language permits an almost literal translation, and I have made it as literal as possible without regard to elegance or even correctness of French style.

First published, in the languages of the original (English and Danish), in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, Nr. 23, Stuttgart, 1921

Printed according to the original

Published in English in full for the first time

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹¹⁸

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 15 March 1872

33 Rathbone Place, W. C.

(new address of the General Council)^a

Dear Citizen,

I enclose the Resolutions of the General Council (in English and French^b). The other Council⁴²² will receive them from Le Moussu.

Eccarius, at the end of the sitting of 12 March, told me privately that he would not send the Resolutions to New York and that, at next sitting, he would tender his resignation as Secretary for the United States. As this affair cannot be settled by the General Council before Tuesday next,^c the Resolutions sent by me and Le Moussu, are not signed by a Secretary, the which, considering the form chosen, was not necessary. They will be printed in next week's *Eastern Post*.

During the discussion Eccarius spoke in a spirit most hostile to your Council. He spoke and voted against Resolution III, 2.⁴⁷¹ He was moreover offended because, in order to save time, I had not submitted the Resolutions to the subcommittee⁴⁹⁵ of which he forms part, but laid them at once before the General Council. As the latter fully approved this proceeding, after my statement of

^a Marx added this on the letterhead of the General Council. - ^b K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sitings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'. -

^c 19 March

the reasons which had induced me to act as I have done, Eccarius ought to have dropped his personal spleen.

For the *private* information of your Council I add that M. and Madame Huleck—he is an imbecile and she is ‘*une intrigante de bas état*’^a—had for a moment slipped into the General Council at a time when most of us were absent, but that, soon after, this worthy couple was forced to withdraw consequent upon their intrigues with the *soi-disant Branche Française*^b the which was excluded from the *International* and denounced by us, in the *Marseillaise* and the *Réveil*, on the eve of the plebiscite,¹⁰⁴ as ‘*une section policière*’.^{c 50} Moreover, these two persons, after their arrival at New York, cooperated in the foundation of a Society hostile to the *International* and were in constant connection with *les beaux restes de la branche française*^d at London. The same facts have been communicated by Le Moussu to the other Council.

Section 10 (French) has written an excellent letter to the General Council on the American split.⁴⁷²

Yours fraternally,
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Reproduced from the original

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ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London. 17 March 1872
122 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Sorge,

I have a favour to ask of you, which I hope will not put you to too much trouble.

^a 'an intrigante of the basest kind' - ^b so-called French branch - ^c 'a police section' - ^d worthy remnants of the French section

Would you be so kind as to buy 50 copies of the issue of *Woodhull & Claflin's* which contains the translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, and 50-100 of the issues of the *Socialiste* with the French translation, and send them on to me?⁴⁴⁰ I shall send you the money for them as soon as I know how much it comes to. If there are not enough copies available, may I ask you to send what you can obtain. However much both translations leave to be desired, we still have to use them as propaganda for the time being, the French version especially is quite indispensable for the Latin countries of Europe as a counter to the nonsense purveyed by Bakunin, as well as the ubiquitous Proudhonist rubbish.

As soon as we have time, Marx and I, we shall prepare a new edition of the *Manifesto* with an introduction,¹⁸⁹ etc., but at the moment we have our hands full. Apart from Spain and Italy, I have to act as Secretary for Portugal and Denmark as well at present. Marx has quite enough to do with his second edition of *Capital*³⁹⁶ and the various translations that are now looming.⁴³⁶

We had intended to celebrate the revolution of 18 March with a PUBLIC MEETING tomorrow—but yesterday evening the HALL we had hired suddenly became unavailable! The pretext given was that THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS WERE NOT ALLOWED TO MEET IN ANY HALL IN LONDON! Since the owners are sure to be most unwilling to lose the 10 guineas rent, and since we shall sue for DAMAGES and shall get them too, it is obvious that they are being compensated by the government. Meanwhile we shall chance it and just go along quietly and if we find the door locked, which is probable, but not certain, we shall put the man who made the aforementioned statement into the WITNESS-BOX and see what can be made of the affair.⁴⁷³ At all events we shall contrive to embarrass Mr Gladstone.

With warmest regards,

F. Engels

In Lisbon a paper has come out called *O Pensamento Social*, Rua de S. Boaventura, No. 57, Lisboa, which has a number of outstanding articles in the first issue.^a

I enclose an article on Arthur O'Connor from the Brussels *Liberté*, which certainly deserves to appear translated in *The Irish*

^a See this volume, p. 340.

Republic. Up to now it is the *only* article in the entire European press to have come out in support of the poor devil.

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE⁴⁷⁴

IN SAN SEBASTIAN

London, 18 March 1872

To Citizen Maurice La Châtre

Dear Citizen,

I applaud your idea of publishing the translation of *Das Kapital* in periodic instalments. In this form the work will be more accessible to the working class and for me that consideration outweighs any other.

That is the bright side of your medal, but here is the reverse. The method of analysis I have used, a method not previously applied to economic subjects, makes for somewhat arduous reading in the early chapters, and it is to be feared that the French public, ever impatient to arrive at conclusions and eager to know how the general principles relate to the immediate questions that excite them, may become discouraged because they will not have been able to carry straight on.

That is a disadvantage about which I can do nothing other than constantly caution and forewarn those readers concerned with the truth. There is no royal road to learning and the only people with any chance of scaling its sunlit peaks are those who have no fear of weariness when ascending the precipitous paths that lead up to them.

I remain, dear Citizen,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

First published in: K. Marx, *Le Capital*, Vol. I, Paris, 1872

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Translated from the French

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ENGELS TO CESARE BERT⁴⁷⁵

IN TURIN

[Draft]

London, 21 March 1872

Citizen Carlo Bert,

I have received your address from Citizen Ét. Péchard, who was passing through Turin at the end of February, and also the information that you are now the secretary of our section *Emancipation of the Proletarian*, instead of C. Terzaghi, who was expelled for embezzlement, etc. It will therefore now be my pleasant duty to correspond with you.

I have just received a long letter from Terzaghi^a saying that he resigned as secretary and member of the *Emancipation of the Proletarian* because this society is made up in part of government agents and Mazzinians, and that this society wanted to pass a vote of no confidence in him because he was preaching *war on capital*.

Naturally, we here are much more inclined to believe what you and the other members of your Council told Péchard than what I hear from Terzaghi, who has always played all sorts of tricks on us. But in order to be able to act confidently and decisively and to fulfil our responsibility at the next Congress, we should like you to send us an official letter from your Council, setting out the charges against Terzaghi and letting us know the resolutions passed by your society concerning him. In no way can we have two rival, warring sections in the same town. Fortunately, the Administrative Regulations (Resolutions of the Basle Congress) give the General Council the right to admit or reject any new section.⁴⁷⁶ You yourself see how necessary it is for our organisation to possess a right which Terzaghi's Jurassian friends wanted you to believe was authoritarian and unjustifiable.

Please reply as quickly as possible. A fraternal handshake.

Yours

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1935

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^a See this volume, pp. 352-53.

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MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE⁴⁷⁷

IN MADRID

London, 21 March 1872

My dear Toole,^a

Enclosed herewith an extract from our missive against the dissidents^b concerning the functions of the General Council.

All the General Council can do when applying the General Rules and the resolutions of Congresses to given cases is to take decisions as a tribunal. But their implementation in each country depends entirely on the International itself. Thus from the moment at which the Council ceases to function as *the instrument of the general interests* of the International, it becomes wholly invalid and powerless. On the other hand, the General Council itself is one of the Association's vital forces, being essential for the latter's unity and for preventing the Association from being taken over by hostile elements. The moral influence that the present Council (NOTWITHSTANDING ALL ITS SHORTCOMINGS) has been able to acquire vis-à-vis the common enemy, has wounded the vanity of those who saw the International as nothing save an instrument for their personal ambition.

Above all it should not be forgotten that our Association is *the militant organisation* of the proletariat and in no way a society created to bring amateur doctrinaires to the forefront. To destroy our organisation just now would be to abdicate. Bourgeois and governments combined could ask for nothing more. Read the report of the Rural Sacase^c on the Dufaure plan.⁴⁷⁸ What does he most admire and fear about the Association? 'Its organisation.'

We have made marvellous progress since the London Conference.²⁵⁴ New federations have been set up in Denmark, New Zealand and Portugal, great expansion in the *United States*, in **France** (where, by their own admission, Malon & Co. do not possess one single section), in *Germany*, in Hungary, in England (since the formation of the British Federal Council). The *Irish* sections are of very recent formation. In Italy the only serious

^a Paul Lafargue's nickname - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International* - ^c J. F. Sacase, 'Rapport fait au nom de la commission chargée d'examiner le projet de loi...'

sections, in Milan and Turin, are ours; the others are led by lawyers, journalists and other bourgeois doctrinaires. (*Apropos*, one of Bakunin's personal grounds for complaint against me is that he has lost all influence in Russia where the revolutionary youth tread the same path as myself.)

The Resolutions of the London Conference^a have already been recognised by France, America, England, Ireland, Denmark, Holland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland (minus the Jurassians), the genuine working men's sections in Italy and, finally, the Russians and Poles. Those who fail to recognise them will do nothing to alter this fact, but will be forced to part company with the vast majority of the International.

I am overburdened with work, so much so that I haven't even found time to write to my SWEET Kakadou^b and DEAR Schnappy^c (of whom I should like to have further news). Indeed, the International impinges too greatly on my time and, were it not my conviction that my presence on the Council is still necessary at this period of strife, I should have withdrawn long since.

The English government prevented our celebration of 18 March, the resolutions concerning which, adopted at a meeting of English working men and French refugees, are enclosed herewith.⁴⁷³

La Châtre is an abominable charlatan. He wastes my time over the most absurd matters (e.g. his letter replying to my autograph,^d in which regard I was compelled to propose certain alterations to him).

Roy (6, Rue [de] Condillac, Bordeaux) is a marvellous translator.⁴⁷⁹ He has already sent me the manuscript of the first chapter (I had sent the manuscript of the second German edition to him in Paris).³⁹⁶

Yours ever,
OLD NICK^e

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871'. - ^b Laura Lafargue's nickname - ^c Charles Étienne Lafargue - ^d i.e. Marx's letter to Lachâtre of 18 March 1872 (see this volume, p. 344) - ^e Marx's nickname

[Appendix]⁴⁸⁰*Extract**The Council's Right of Co-option*

'The body of the General Council is constantly changing, though some of the founding members remain, as in the Belgian, Romance, etc., Federal Councils.

'The General Council must fulfil three essential conditions, if it is to carry out its mandate. In the first place, it must have a numerically adequate membership to carry on its diverse functions; secondly, a membership of working men belonging to the different nationalities represented in the International Association; and, lastly, workers must be the predominant element therein. Since the exigencies of the worker's job incessantly cause changes in the membership of the General Council, how can it fulfil all these indispensable conditions without the right of co-option?' [Note: More than 3/4 of the members of the General Council in London are wage labourers.]

Functions of the General Council

'Contrary to the rules of all bourgeois societies, the International's General Rules touch only lightly on its administrative organisation. They leave its development to practice, and its regularisation to future Congresses. Nevertheless, inasmuch as only *the unity and joint action* of the sections of the various countries could give them a genuinely international character, the Rules pay more attention to the General Council than to the other bodies of the organisation.

'Article 5 of the original Rules' (Article 6 of the revised Rules^a) 'states:

"The General Council shall form an *international agency* between the different national and local groups"

(There follow examples of its activities: information, statistics to be compiled, etc., and also this important passage, falsified by the Jurassians:

'when *immediate practical steps should be needed*, as, for instance, in case of international^b quarrels, *the action of all the societies be simultaneous and uniform*'.)

^a K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^b In the original: 'national'.

The same article states:

‘Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take *the initiative of proposals* to be laid before the different national or local societies.’

The General Rules charge the General Council with working out certain matters to be submitted to the Congress, etc. (see articles 4 and 6 of the revised edition). ‘In the original Rules so little distinction is made between the spontaneous action of various groups and unity of action of the Association as a whole, that Article 6’ (Article 7 of the revised Rules) ‘states:’ (*see this article*).

‘The first administrative resolution of the *Geneva Congress*’ (1866) ‘(Article I) says:

“‘The General Council is *commissioned to carry* the resolutions of the Congress *into effect*.”

‘This resolution legalised the position that the General Council has held ever since its origin: that of the Association’s *executive delegation*.

‘The Geneva Congress at the same time charged the General Council with publishing “the official and obligatory text of the Rules”.’ (See the revised Rules, *Appendix I*, pp. 16, 17.)

‘The same Congress resolved (Administrative Resolutions of Geneva, Article 14):

“‘Every section has the right to draw up its own rules and regulations adapted to local conditions and to the laws of its own country, but they must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations.”

‘Who is to establish whether’ the required conformity actually exists? ‘Evidently, if there would be no authority charged with this function, the resolution would be null and void. Not only could police or hostile sections be formed, but also the intrusion of declassed sectarians and bourgeois philanthropists into the Association could warp its character and, by force of numbers at Congresses, crush the workers. Since their origin, the national and local federations have exercised in their respective countries the right to admit or reject new sections, according to whether or not their Rules conformed to the General Rules.’ As to the General Council, the exercise of this function ‘is provided for in Article 6 of the General Rules’ (end of Article 7, revised Rules), ‘which allows local independent societies (i.e. societies formed outside the federal body) the right to establish direct contacts with the General Council.’ Since the foundation of the *International* such local independent societies have only been recognised after being admitted by the General Council.

The same 'Article 6 of the Rules' (Article 7 of the revised Rules) 'deals with legal obstacles to the formation of national federations in certain countries where', by force of circumstances, 'the General Council is asked to function as a *Federal Council* (see *Le Congrès de Lausanne, Procès-verbaux*, p. 13, 1867).

'Since the fall of the Commune, these legal obstacles have been multiplying in the various countries, making action by the General Council therein, designed to keep doubtful elements out of the Association, more necessary than ever. Thus, for instance, the French committees recently demanded the General Council's intervention to rid themselves of informers, and in another great country' [between you and me: Austria] 'members of the International requested it not to recognise any section which has not been formed by its direct mandatory or by themselves.' They are seeking, in this way, to rid 'themselves of *agents-provocateurs*, whose burning zeal manifested itself in the rapid formation of sections of unparalleled radicalism.'

[*Note*: Needless to say, in countries like Poland and Russia members of the International can only maintain links with the General Council, which must act with the utmost discretion there.]

'Like all the International's groups, the General Council is required to carry on propaganda. This it has accomplished through its' publications, through its correspondence with individuals in countries where the Association has not yet been established, and through 'its agents, who laid the basis for the first organisations of the International in North America, in Germany and in many French towns' [*ditto* in Australia, in New Zealand].

'Another function of the General Council is to aid strikers and organise their support by the entire International. See General Council reports to the various Congresses. The following fact, *inter alia*, indicates the importance of its intervention in the strike movement. The Resistance Society of the English Foundrymen is in itself an *international* "Trades Union" with branches in other countries, notably in the United States. Nonetheless, during a strike of American foundrymen, the latter found it necessary to invoke the intercession of the General Council to prevent English foundrymen being brought into America.'

[*Note*: The only real *international Trades Union* in Europe is that of the cigar-men (cigar-makers). However, they stay entirely outside the proletarian movement and only have recourse to the General Council to further the interests of their trade.]

'The growth of the International obliged the General Council and all Federal Councils to assume *the role of arbiter*.'

Without the General Council having asked for it, 'the Brussels Congress' (1868) 'resolved that:

"The Federal Councils shall transmit to the General Council every three months a report on *the administration and financial state* of their respective branches" (see *Procès-verbaux du troisième Congrès* etc.) (Administrative Resolution No. 3).

'Lastly, *the Basle Congress* occupied itself solely with regulating the administrative relations engendered by the Association's continuing development' itself. 'If it extended unduly the limits of the General Council's powers, whose fault was it if not that of Bakunin, Schwitzguébel, Fritz Robert, Guillaume and other delegates of the Alliance' of Socialist Democracy, 'who were so anxious to achieve just that?' [Note: At the Basle Congress these gentlemen imagined that the Council would be transferred to Geneva.]

'Here are two resolutions of the Basle Congress:

"No. IV. Each new section or society which is formed and wishes to be part of the International, must immediately announce its adhesion to the General Council",

and "No. V. The General Council has the right to admit or reject the affiliation of any new society or group, subject to appeal at the next Congress."

It is these resolutions that 'authorise the General Council to intervene in the internal affairs of the federations.' However, these articles have never been applied *except in the case of sections placed outside federal associations or sections formed in countries where the International does not yet exist*. In these cases intervention by the Council is absolutely essential. On the other hand, the General Council has never 'intervened in the' internal 'affairs of new sections desirous of affiliating themselves with' *already existing groups or federations.*

'The resolutions cited above' only 'refer to sections in the process of formation. The resolutions given below refer to sections *already recognised*:

"VI. The General Council has equally the right to *suspend*' (see the following Note) 'until the next Congress any section of the International."

"VII. When conflicts arise between the societies or branches of a national group, or between groups of different nationalities, the General Council shall have the right to decide the conflict, subject to appeal at the next Congress which will decide definitely."

'These two articles are necessary for extreme cases, although up to the present the General Council has never had recourse to them. It has never suspended any section and, in cases of conflict, has only acted as arbiter at the request of the two' sections.

[*Note*: From the enclosed resolutions on the split in America^a you will see that the Council has *suspended* one section composed almost exclusively of bourgeois. In the United States the intrusion of bourgeois seeking to turn the International into their instrument is very dangerous. This proves the necessity of Resolution VI of the Basle Congress.]

Apart from the various functions devolving upon the General Council as a result of the historical development of the International, there is yet another one, imposed on it by the enemies of our Association. By making the Council the object of their attacks, all the parties and sects hostile to the proletarian movement have 'placed it in the vanguard of the International Working Men's Association'.

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ENGELS TO CARLO TERZAGHI

IN TURIN

[Draft]

London, 21 [March] 1872

Dear Citizen,

I wrote to you on the 13th of this month⁴⁵ and later received your letter of the 10th. Péchard was told in Turin⁴⁸¹ that you had been expelled from the Emancipation of the Proletarian society for various reasons: that you refused to hand over a certain sum belonging to the Society as well as the 200 stamps which I sent you, etc., etc.

When such accusations are made, it is absolutely essential that the General Council should know whether or not they are true, before it can declare itself for one side or the other. I should be grateful, therefore, if you would tell me what is going on, because

^a K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sitzings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'.

it is certain that such matters cannot be passed over in silence.

As for the contribution of 150 frs,^a this money did not belong to the General Council but to a private Committee formed to collect funds with which to support the friendly press and other international causes, and since your sudden and enthusiastic declaration in favour of the Jura was such as to lead the Committee to believe that you had taken sides in a cause whose very foundations were necessarily unknown to you, the money was immediately spent on another purpose, and there are no more funds available at present.

I have not received *Il Proletario*, which you promised to send me regularly, for the last 6 weeks.

We have changed the address of the Council meetings. I cannot at present give you another personal address, but I believe the one you have, C. R.,^b 122 Regent's Park Road, is still better than that of the General Council.

I think Savio is no longer in London but has gone to work in the provinces.⁴⁸²

Greetings and emancipation.

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MARX TO EDOUARD VAILLANT

IN LONDON

[London,] 4 April 1872

My dear Vaillant,

I shall expect you tomorrow evening at 7 o'clock for dinner at my house with...^c and some other friends.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

^a Engels has £150, presumably a slip of the pen. See this volume, p. 294. -

^b Probably for reasons of secrecy Engels gives the initials of Charles Renshaw, a Manchester businessman of his acquaintance, as the name of the addressee. -

^c name illegible

You would oblige me by lending me Villetard's book (I don't know the title)^a in which there is a French translation of our manifesto on the civil war in France.^b

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Published in English for the first time

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ENGELS TO GENNARO BOVIO¹¹⁸

IN TRANI

London, 16 April 1872

*To Citizen Gennaro Bovio, Trani*⁴⁸³

Esteemed Citizen,

I have received, and am returning with thanks, the various documents which you were so kind as to send me through esteemed Citizen Enrico Bignami.

The General Council of the International, as an administrative committee with clearly defined functions, has not been able to become acquainted with these documents and discuss them *officially*. I did, however, consider it my duty to submit them to those of its members who understand Italian, and they have all read them with great pleasure.

We are happy to acknowledge that, at the same time as an international league of workers was being formed here in London, you, in far-off Apulia, had the same idea and bravely promoted it at the Naples Congress.⁴⁸⁴ We are grateful to you for informing us of this: it is fresh proof that the alliance of workers of the civilised world was already recognised in 1864 as a historical necessity, even in countries with which we were unable to establish contacts at that time, not knowing whom to address.^c And we sincerely regret that

^a Ed. Villetard, *Histoire de l'Internationale*. - ^b K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. -

^c Crossed out after '...address' in the draft of the letter: 'No doubt, if the Italian workers' societies in 1864, had taken up your idea and thus called into being, at

the Italian workers' societies, not having taken up your idea in 1864, have greatly delayed the development of the proletarian movement in Italy.

It gave us great pleasure to read your articles in the *Libertà* defending the Paris Commune against V. Hugo and others^a; we willingly believe that they were the first articles to be written with this purpose in Italian. We published here at the same time the manifesto of the General Council on *The Civil War in France*, of which I have taken the liberty of sending you, on 23 March, a copy in English and one in German, since I do not have the French translation and the Italian one (in the *Eguaglianza* of Girgenti^b) has not yet been completed. You will see from this pamphlet that our ideas coincide on this matter too, and that we have not failed in our duty either.

Greetings and brotherhood

Frederick Engels

Secretary for Italy to the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association

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that time, an Italian working-class movement based on the social conditions of their country, fewer workers' societies in Italy today would be advocating sectarian doctrines which, moreover, are not Italian but French or Russian. I further believe that in the working-class movement *true* national ideas, i.e. ideas corresponding to the economic realities, both in industry and in agriculture, to the realities that are dominant in the country in question, are, at the same time, *true international* ideas. The emancipation of the Italian peasant will not occur in the same form as the emancipation of the English factory worker, but the better the one and the other realise what form corresponds to his conditions, the less will they disagree on matters of substance'. - ^a G. Bovio, 'Via smarrita!', *La Libertà*, No. 90, 10 June 1871, and 'Una difesa dopo la morte', *La Libertà*, Nos. 97-100; 5, 8, 12 and 15 July 1871. - ^b Modern name: Agrigento.

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ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO¹⁵⁰

IN DÜSSELDORF

London, 22[-23] April 1872

Dear Cuno,

This morning I received your letter,^a which I had awaited with anxiety. Gandolfi wrote me some time ago^b saying it was believed that the Italian government had handed you over to the Prussians.—I found out about your arrest, etc., from the papers, which indicated that you were being deported for 'lack of visible means of support'. A police statement to that effect appeared in a Milan newspaper. This affair is not without significance. It is the first exploit of the international police conspiracy organised by Prussia, Austria, and Italy, and if you haven't been transported by the police from the Bavarian frontier to Düsseldorf, you owe this solely to the stupidity of the Bavarians. Tomorrow evening I shall report the matter to the General Council, after which the whole story will be included in the official report, which will be printed in *The Eastern Post* and sent out to every part in the world.^c In the meantime, write an article about this in your own name and send it to the *Volksstaat*, the Geneva *Égalité*, and the *Gazzettino Rosa*. We shall take care of here, America, and Spain, as well as of France, over here.⁴⁸⁵ The rascals will finally have to realise that they cannot keep on doing this with impunity and that the International's arms are longer than those of the King of Italy.^d As soon as the story is printed I shall send you a copy, together with all the newspapers I can collect for you—they won't be too numerous.

The advice Liebknecht gave you—to write to Bismarck—is very good, but for altogether different reasons. First, instead of assisting you to obtain redress, Bismarck will be very glad it happened and will merely be irritated that the Bavarians released you, instead of realising that this gave them a splendid opportunity for having a member of the International transported all over Germany by the police. But you should write to Bismarck simply

^a Cuno's letter of 17 April 1872 - ^b on 14 March - ^c F. Engels, 'On the Police Persecution of the Member of the International Theodore Cuno'. - ^d Victor Emmanuel II

in order to be able to send his reply—which will be nothing but a lame excuse, of course—at a later date to Bebel, who will use it to raise *a row in the Reichstag*. But it is out of the question, of course, that Bismarck will do as much as lift a finger to punish Italy for having fulfilled his orders so well.

You must not be surprised that you have received so little support from the party comrades. From one of your previous letters I had already realised that you laboured under youthful illusions concerning the aid people receive when in need. Unfortunately, my answer to this letter was confiscated by the Mordecaians⁴⁰⁹ and never reached you. I should add that, although our German workers have far outstripped all the others as concerns theory, in practice they have by no means shaken off their artisan-type mentality, and owing to the dreadfully petty-bourgeois character of life in Germany, they are tremendously narrow-minded, especially in money matters. That is why I wasn't at all surprised at what you experienced in this respect. If I had money, I should send you some, but we here are really on the rocks just now. We have more than a hundred helpless refugees of the Paris Commune, *literally* helpless, for no people ever feel as helpless abroad as do the French; and what they didn't eat up, we sent to a fine chap^a in Cork, Ireland, who founded the International there and was rewarded by being excommunicated by the priests and the bourgeoisie and completely ruined. We are in a tight spot at the moment. If we get some money from somewhere or other, I shall see to it that you are not forgotten.

Let me know in what branches of your profession you have had practical experience and in general what you can do. I shall look around immediately to see if anything can be found for you here. England is overrun by foreign engineers, it is true, but perhaps something can still be done. I have some very good contacts.

During your imprisonment all sorts of things have happened. In Turin Terzaghi was sacked from the *Emancipazione del Proletario* for embezzlement and suspicious dealings with the *Questore*.^b He still managed to publish 2-3 issues of the *Proletario* in which he attacks them as *canaglia*, *borghesi*, *vigliacchi*,^c etc.—just as he earlier attacked the *Federazione Operaia*—but the paper now appears to be dead, just like almost all the little new papers in Italy—*Martello*, *Campana*, etc. I wrote to Terzaghi,^d asking him about these

^a John De Morgan - ^b police superintendent - ^c canaille, bourgeois, cowards - ^d See this volume, pp. 352-53.

accusations, and he sent me a copy of the *Proletario* full of abuse, saying that I could see from that what a lot of scoundrels they were! I had had my suspicions about the man for months. Regis (who visited you under the name of Péchard, and who is in Geneva at present) found out that he was constantly going to Locarno to see Bakunin, and it is a good thing that he now stands exposed as a plain rascal.

In Bologna the *Fascio Operaio*⁴⁸⁶ of the Romagna has held a congress in the course of which they threw off their masks and emerged as outright Bakuninists.⁴⁸⁷ The Romagnese are joining the International, but won't hear a word about the need to recognise the Rules, etc. They have not yet written to us, although the congress took place on 18 March; we shall give them a jolly reception!—The Ravenna section has written to us announcing that they intend to join but *salva la propria autonomia*.^a I have simply asked them whether they accept our Rules or not.⁴⁸⁸

I have just been looking at a heap of papers that has been sent to me and see that Pezza and Testini have also been arrested in Milan (around 30 March).

The circular of the General Council on Bakunin and Co.^b is in the press and will probably be ready by the end of next week. I shall send you a copy without delay. It sets forth everything quite bluntly, and it will produce a terrific row.

I believe I'll be able to send you newspapers tomorrow—*Gazzettino Rosa* and some other Italian items, in general, anything I can lay my hands upon.

A congress of the Spanish members of the International was held in Saragossa on 8-11 April, at which our people won a victory over the Bakuninists.⁴⁸⁹ It now turns out that the *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*¹⁰ continued to exist in Spain *within* the International as a *secret society* under the leadership of Bakunin—a secret society aimed, not against the government, but against the mass of the workers! I have every reason to suspect that the same thing is going on in Italy. What information do you have on this subject?

If anything comes of the job in Spain that Becker^c had in mind for you, let me know at once so that I can give you letters of introduction to our people there. That job will probably be in Catalonia, the only industrial province of Spain, and you will be able to do very useful work, since the mass of workers there are

^a reserving their autonomy - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International* - ^c Johann Philipp Becker

admittedly good but leave their newspaper (*La Federación* in Barcelona) and the key positions in the hands of the Bakuninists.

There is only one newspaper appearing in Turin now—*L'Anticristo*, something of the order of a weekly *Gazzettino Rosa*. Then there are *La Plebe* in Lodi, *Il Fascio Operaio* in Bologna, and *L'Eguaglianza* in Girgenti^a—all the other Italian newspapers are dead. Experience in other countries made it obvious to me long ago that this was bound to happen. It is not enough to have a few people at the top; the masses in Italy are still too backward to be able to support so many newspapers. Prolonged and dogged work, with more theoretical content than the Bakuninists possess, is required to free the masses from the influence of the Mazzinist nonsense.

Many thanks for the Milan address. Would it not be a good idea for you to write first and ask the man^b to send you a report on the present position of the International in Milan? You could then send it to me and I would reply to him. The present corresponding secretary is Mauro Gandolfi, i.e. one of Bakunin's supporters.

Write to me very soon—especially on what you are able to do in your profession, so that I can take the necessary steps.

Cordially yours,

F. E.

The address you have been using to write to me (that of your Düsseldorf letter) is by far the best.

23 April 1872

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^a Modern name: Agrigento. - ^b Francesco Danieli

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 23 April 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

We all send you our congratulations on your performance in court.²⁷⁴ After the trial of the Brunswickers³³⁵ it was essential for someone to stand up to that gang and you have fairly done so. The only thing you might have left unsaid was the statement about the 1,000 members of the International.⁴⁹⁰

Here in England jurymen are locked up overnight or kept *prisoner* under guard in an hotel, to make sure that they do not come into contact with anyone. They are taken for walks under escort and are also escorted to church on Sundays, if they wish to go. An exception is only made in cases like the Tichborne trial,⁴⁹¹ where this was not possible because of the inordinate duration of the proceedings (105 days), but even then the jurymen are harassed in all sorts of ways.

Marx will reply to the *Concordia*⁴⁹² as soon as he has compared *The Times* of 1864.^a

Your letter appeared in *The Eastern Post*^b; whether it also appeared in *The Morning Post* is not to be discovered, since the paper is unobtainable here. The fact is that reading rooms where such things would be preserved, *have simply ceased to exist*. We send *The Eastern Post* regularly to the ends of the earth so that the letter will be publicised far more widely—and among the *right people*—than through other papers.

We can scarcely doubt that the sentence *must* be quashed. Such breaches of the law have been unheard of since the Demagogue trials.¹¹⁶ Nor can it be to the advantage of the national-liberal bourgeoisie to establish such precedents, and I doubt very much whether Bismarck, who is hiding behind the small states with the intention of discrediting them, would be willing to risk that sort of thing in Prussia.

I have seen very little about the trial in the English press—I have so many foreign papers to read that I can only read *The*

^a 'The Budget', *The Times*, No. 24535, 17 April 1863. - ^b W. Liebknecht, 'To the Editor of *The Eastern Post*', *The Eastern Post*, No. 185, 14 April 1872 (the letter concerned the Leipzig trial).

Daily News and you must realise that since the introduction of the PENNY PRESS⁴⁹³ it is not possible to find papers *anywhere* to read without buying them. The article from *The Daily News*^a is enclosed; you can make good use of it.

I have passed the bill for the Rules^b on to Marx; we shall send the money at the first opportunity.

I have not been able to get hold of a photograph of Blanqui up to now. The French have one but will not part with it, and there is none to be found here.

Enclosed the receipt for the 6 reichsthalers for the refugees.

It is just not possible for us to conjure up an introduction to the *Manifesto* out of a hat for you.⁴⁹⁴ We shall have to study the socialist literature of the last 24 years, if we are to bring Section III up to date. This must be postponed for a subsequent edition, but we intend to send you a small 'Preface'^c for the separate edition, and that will suffice for the moment.

What Scheu^d has to say about the Belgians is partly correct; the fellows have never been worth much and are now worth less than ever. We have sent someone over there who will let us have a detailed report shortly. At all events Scheu's deductions are wide of the mark—the mass of the people will never go so far with Messrs Hins (who through his Russian wife has a certain connection with Bakunin) and Steens (whose vanity is great enough to seduce him into foolish adventures). Particularly since we are making very good progress elsewhere in the world. Our people have defeated the Bakuninists at the Spanish Congress in Saragossa.⁴⁸⁹

As for Cuno, he has behaved extremely well in Milan and what he tells me in his letters about his fate is completely true and has been confirmed by the Italian press.^e But it seems quite undeniable to me that, on his journeyings, having been shown the door for the sake of the International through no fault of his own and having landed in Bavaria, helpless and penniless, he has since been treated *very uncouthly* indeed by the people he has encountered in various places. He may have had rather dewy-eyed ideas about the help he might look forward to, but your money would be better spent if it were reserved for people *such as him*, instead of its being squandered on tramps and rogues

^a 'News from Berlin', *The Daily News*, No. 8096, 9 April 1872. - ^b K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'. - ^d Heinrich Scheu - ^e See this volume, p. 356.

like Rüdts, etc., about whom you yourselves write letters like those read out at the trial (and which have unfortunately not appeared in the *Volksstaat*—as though that might help!). But, of course, Cuno was not one of the full-fledged men of the 'Party' and so had no business getting into trouble! If I had money I would really sooner send it to him than to anyone else.

The General Council's circular against the Bakuninists^a is now likely to appear next week; it is a French edition. The first instalment of Marx's second edition^b will also come out soon, but do not mention it until Marx writes to you about it or until it is out.¹⁴⁵ The Russian translation³⁶⁰—a very good one—is out, the French version⁴³⁶ is in the press.

Enclosed are:

1. Receipt for the 6 thalers.
2. 3 cuttings from *The Eastern Post*—meetings of the General Council,^c etc.
3. 1 *ditto* on the celebrations of 18 March.⁴⁷³
4. 2 Irish documents.⁴⁹⁵
5. Our reply to the debate in Parliament.^d
6. Article from *The Daily News* on your trial.^e So *nine items* in all.

Must catch the post. Best regards to Bebel and keep your chin up; they haven't got you in jug yet. But make sure that the sale of the stamps goes through properly and not just in Leipzig; we shall *be very strict* at the next Congress.

Best wishes to your family.

Your
F. E.

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^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - ^b of Volume I of *Capital*. - ^c Presumably *The Eastern Post*, Nos. 184-86; 7, 14 and 20 April 1872, containing reports on the General Council meetings of 2, 9 and 16 April. -

^d K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Concerning Cochrane's Speech in the House of Commons'. -

^e 'News from Berlin', *The Daily News*, No. 8096, 9 April 1872.

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MARX TO JOHANN GEORG ECCARIUS⁴⁹⁶

IN LONDON

[London,] 3 May 1872

Dear Eccarius,

You seem to have lost your wits and as I regard this as a passing phase, at least for the present, perhaps you will allow me to address you for the time being as neither SIR, nor *Herr* nor *Domine*, and also to write to you in German instead of English.

If you haven't lost your memory along with your command of the German language—and if you have, the MINUTES of the General Council can jog it—you will recollect that all the quarrels I have had with the English since the founding of the International up to the last conference^a have been due simply and solely to the fact that I always took your side. Firstly, on the subject of *The Commonwealth*, against Odger, Cremer, Howell, etc.; secondly, against Fox, with whom I had been on very friendly terms⁴⁹⁷; and lastly, against Hales during the period when you were General Secretary.

If conflicts occurred later on, it would be important to establish *who* was responsible for them. I have only attacked you twice.

Firstly, on account of the premature publication of the Conference resolutions, in which, as you are well aware, you exceeded your brief.⁴⁹⁸

Secondly, because of the last skirmish with America where you caused great MISCHIEF. (I am leaving out of account here the fact that your actions brought such abuse from the AMERICAN PAPERS, aided and abetted by Karl Heinzen et Co., down on my head; I am just as impervious to this abuse as I had previously been to praise, both public and private, from the same source.)

You appear to imagine, however, that when you make BLUNDERS others must pay you compliments in return, instead of telling you the truth as one would to anyone else. I shall give you back Gregory's stuff tomorrow evening.⁴⁹⁹ Today I have to go through the French and German proofs^b simultaneously, so have no time to look through the American papers.

^a the London Conference of 1871 - ^b of the French and the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*

As for my 'INDICTMENT', I shall simply confine myself to proving that 1. you were absolutely in the wrong to write to New York in the way that you wrote, *at such a decisive moment*, even supposing that your GRIEVANCES were justified, and 2. that your complaint about the suppression of papers vis-à-vis the General Council is absolutely without foundation. *Voilà tout*.^a

Finally, let me give you some good advice. You must not think that old personal and party friends are or will be less well disposed towards you just because they see it as their duty to oppose your FREAKS. On the other hand, you should not imagine that the small clique of Englishmen who make use of you for certain purposes are your friends. I could prove the contrary if I wished.

And so *salut*. Since it is my birthday the day after tomorrow I have absolutely no desire to celebrate it in the unpleasant conviction that I have lost one of my oldest friends and like-minded comrades.

Salut fraternel,

Karl Marx

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 7 May 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

I see now where your mistrust of Cuno stems from: you thought he was an agent of Becker's^b who had come on a mission to lead the German International back into the arms of its mother-section in Geneva.^c This was quite unnecessary. When Cuno was in Chemnitz,^d he could have been enrolled as a member *there and then*, if you had not treated the International so platonically. In

^a That's all. - ^b Johann Philipp Becker - ^c See this volume, pp. 370-72. - ^d Modern name: Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Milan, since he did not have our address, he turned to the only one known to him, that of Becker, and Becker, having admitted him, *directed him to us*. So just because Becker had once experienced the desire to annex Germany for himself, and because he may still intrigue a little here and there, you have to suspect every honest fellow who has had to turn to Becker because you were unwilling to act! I shall not believe your allegations about his boastfulness until I see proof; I have far less confidence in your correspondents in Nuremberg and elsewhere than I have in Cuno, who has never tried to pull the wool over our eyes, but has always reported more truthfully than most other people. Cuno's father is a Prussian official in Düsseldorf who simply threw him out; now he is stuck without a penny to his name. His possessions and those of his father are two different things altogether.

Enclosed an article by Lafargue from the *Emancipación*; you will have someone or other who knows enough Spanish to translate it.⁵⁰⁰ Lafargue is doing a terrific amount of work in Spain and very skilfully too. The report from the *Liberté* on the congress in Saragossa was also by him. Incidentally, *do not forget to publish the second report, the one in the previous issue of the 'Liberté'*, in which he unmasks the secret intrigues of the Bakuninists and describes the spectacular victory gained over them by our supporters there.⁵⁰¹ This was the decisive defeat for that pig-headed Bakunin. The *Emancipación* is now the *best* paper we have. These Bakuninists are jackasses. The Spaniards have a very good organisation, one which has stood the test with flying colours precisely in the last 6 months, and now these fools come along and imagine that they can seduce people with their phrases about autonomy and get them to dissolve their organisation to all intents and purposes.

You ought to make more use of *The Eastern Post*; the information we make available there is truly of greater interest than the dogmatic legalistic waffle of Mr Acollas about the best of all possible constitutions.⁵⁰²

I still believe that the conviction will be quashed. In the first place, too many formal errors have been made, and secondly, the trial has already caused far too much of a rumpus.²⁷⁴ Bismarck must surely perceive that he has gone too far and that quashing the sentence will be more advantageous for him than confirming it.

To the best of my knowledge, Stefanoni has not published your letter.^a I have not received all the issues of the *Libero Pensiero* and

^a See this volume, p. 577.

unfortunately your letter arrived in Italy at the very moment when *all* our papers I had sent it to folded up simultaneously. As for Büchner, you only need glance at his last would-be socialist production to see the envy and hatred the little cripple feels for Marx, whom he plunders and distorts without ever mentioning him by name.^a And I stick to my belief that it is *he* who has filled Stefanoni's head with all that junk. That he is on good terms with *you* is something he shares with Malon and many others who cherish a mortal hatred for us.

I am sending you today's *Daily News* with a delightful account of the behaviour of the German professors and students in Alsace and the reception given them by the Alsatians. A description of the German student is enclosed.^b Both reports are by Major Forbes, the same man who was with the Saxons before Paris and was, at the time, beside himself with admiration for the German officers and soldiers, i.e. if anything he is prejudiced *in favour* of the Germans. You should make use of these descriptions of the representatives of 'German culture'; they are striking proof as to how threadbare that 'culture' of the bourgeoisie has become, and how ludicrous its official spokesmen.⁵⁰³

As soon as I have time I shall write you an article on the housing shortage and against the absurd Proudhonist stories that have appeared in a series of articles on the subject in the *Volksstaat*.⁵⁰⁴

Our reply to the Jurassians^c is still in the press. The devil take all these co-operative printers.

There is nothing to tell you about the Congress. *Where* it will take place can only be decided at the last moment.⁴⁵⁰ *That* it will take place, you know already.

The arrest of our people in Denmark will be of enormous advantage to us and will not do much harm to the victims.⁵⁰⁵ Denmark is not Saxony. Unfortunately, I do not know *who* has been arrested and so am forced to interrupt the correspondence.

The *Emancipación* now regularly publishes extracts from the *Volksstaat*. Laura is looking after it, so make sure that the paper is sent there regularly.

In Belgium the Brussels Federal Council has let everything go to rack and ruin; the two decent people we have there do not have

^a This presumably refers to L. Büchner's book *Die Stellung des Menschen in der Natur in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*. - ^b [A. Forbes,] 'The Opening of the Strasburg University. The Academical Excursion', *The Daily News*, No. 8120, 7 May 1872. - ^c K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*.

sufficient energy to intervene. The workers in the provinces are much superior, but Brussels is the rottenest soil of all and as long as the centre is there it is unlikely that anything decent can develop. Hins has gone off to Verviers and since then the *Liberté* is much more accessible, so *that* is a positive gain.

Give our best wishes to your wife^a and Bebel. You will have heard that Jenny Marx is engaged to Longuet. The first instalments of the 2nd edition of *Capital*¹⁴⁵ are due in the next few days and so is the French edition.⁴³⁶ We have already seen the proofs.

Your
F. E.

What Lafargue says about Büchner is rubbish, of course. He is not sufficiently well informed about such details.

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ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO¹⁵⁰

IN SERAING

[London,] 7[-8] May 1872

Dear Cuno,

It is very good that you are writing to Bismarck about your case—this should be done, if only to induce him to compromise himself and thus afford Bebel an occasion to address the Reichstag.^b—By now you will have received *The Eastern Post* with the report on the General Council meeting at which I talked about your case^c; I sent that issue off on the 2nd inst. You have probably also received the newspapers sent you on 24 and 27 April. I also reported on the arson plot, but this is very badly

^a Natalie Liebknecht - ^b See this volume, pp. 356-57. - ^c F. Engels, 'On the Police Persecution of the Member of the International Theodore Cuno'.

stated in the report, which I am sending you tomorrow, as is usually the case when I don't write these things myself.⁵⁰⁶

I have written off to a friend in Manchester⁴⁵ on your behalf, a cotton-spinner who will certainly do his best for you. Unfortunately, he only spends 2 days a week in Manchester now as, for the next 4 weeks or so, he has to spend the rest of his time in his father's factory in the country. He will therefore not be able to do very much for you until he has returned for good. And as misfortune would have it, another friend, a CONSULTING ENGINEER who has a lot of connections, happens to have just left for a two-month trip to Germany. So if I have nothing positive to tell you at the moment, you must put it down to these circumstances.

The secret society of the Bakuninists in Spain is a fully established fact; you will be able to read the details in the report (the *second one*) on the Saragossa Congress in the Brussels *Liberté*, which you will probably find in the *Volksstaat* in the next few days.⁵⁰¹ Luckily enough, the best of the people in it soon realised that the interests of this secret enterprise and the interests of the International were not at all identical, and as the International was dearer to them than everything else, they immediately shifted their stand and remained in the secret society solely in order to check on it and to paralyse its activity. One of them^a was here as a delegate to the Conference^b and saw for himself that everything they had told him down there about the intrigues, dictatorship, etc., of the General Council was empty twaddle. A short time later one of our best men—half Frenchman, half Spaniard^c—came to Madrid, and this settled the matter. The Spaniards have an excellent organisation, of which they are rightly proud, and, as it happens, it has shown itself in the best light during the past 6 months. And now along come these jackasses from Bakunin's Alliance to the Saragossa Congress⁴²³ and demand that they should kill off the entire organisation and render it impotent simply for the sake of the 'autonomy of the sections'! All the criticism the Jura camels made of the General Council, all the demands which they put to the General Council—the cancellation of all the powers transferred to it, the demotion of the General Council to the level of a mere correspondence bureau—all this was applied in Spain to the Spanish Federal Council. Of course, the Spanish workers simply laughed these doctrinaires out of court and in one voice bid them to be silent. This is the severest blow

^a Anselmo Lorenzo - ^b the London Conference of 1871 - ^c Paul Lafargue

Bakunin has received up to now—he was undoubtedly counting on Spain—and there cannot fail to be repercussions in Italy.

I do not doubt for an instant that the same secret society exists in Italy, though, perhaps, not in as rigid a form as in formalistic Spain. The best proof of this for me is the almost military precision with which the very same slogan, issued *from above*, was simultaneously proclaimed in every corner of the country. (Note that these are the very same persons who always preach the principle *dal basso all' alto*^a to the people, and to the International!) It is only too easy to understand that you were not initiated, for even among the Bakuninists only the *leaders* are admitted to this esoteric society. Meanwhile, some individual symptoms of improvement can be observed in Italy. The Ferrarese have acquiesced; they have recognised the Rules and Administrative Regulations and have sent their own Rules here for our approval,^b something which explicitly goes against the Bakuninist slogan.⁵⁰⁷ The damned difficulty in Italy is simply getting into direct contact with the workers. These damned Bakuninist doctrinaire lawyers, doctors, etc., have penetrated everywhere and behave as if they were the hereditary representatives of the workers. Wherever we have been able to break through this line of skirmishers and get in touch with the masses themselves, everything is all right and soon mended, but it is almost impossible to do this anywhere due to a lack of addresses. That is why it would have been of great value for you to have remained in Milan and to have been able to visit various cities from time to time—if not now, then at any rate later on. With one or two able comrades at the key points we should have managed to deal with all this rabble in 6 months or so.

As for the Spanish police, all I can tell you is that apparently they are frightfully stupid and that there is no unity at all among them. For instance, one of our best men in Madrid^c was ordered to be deported by the Minister of the Interior,^d but the Governor of Madrid said *quod non*,^e and he remained there undisturbed.

8 May. After writing this much I have now received your letter from Seraing. I cannot understand the business with the Prussian police.⁵⁰⁸ The police could *not do anything at all* to you unless you had given them an excuse for legal proceedings, something you will doubtless have taken good care not to do. Could your Papa have staged such a comedy in order to rid himself of an inconvenient son?

^a from the bottom to the top - ^b Cf. F. Engels, 'To the Society of Ferrarese Workers'. - ^c Paul Lafargue - ^d Mateo Sagasta - ^e No

At all events, I enclose 50 francs in banknotes, serial numbers below. I have no addresses in Seraing, but shall write at once to César De Paepe, Hôpital St Jean, Brussels (he is a member of the Belgian Federal Council) and ask him to send you some. I shall also write to Alfred Herman, 57 Mont St Martin, Liège (though whether he is still in Liège I do not know). If you do not hear soon from De Paepe, write to him, mentioning my name. If you go to Liège, look Herman up. I enclose a few lines to him,⁴⁵ he will be able to give you everything—it is better than my writing to him through the post, he may no longer be there—you are quite close to Liège after all. An unrequested letter opened by the post might betray you.

As for Becker,^a I shall clear up the somewhat comic mystery in my next letter. Until then,

Sincerely yours,
F. E.

The letter to Herman should only be given *to him personally!* He also lives with reactionary parents and brothers and sisters.

8 May, evening. As I had to go into town to get the enclosed Banque de France fifty-franc note (dated 11 October 1871, No. 2 648 626, in the upper left corner—626, in the upper right corner—Z 106), and it was too late to send this letter off by registered mail, which had to be done because of the money, I still have time to tell you the story about Becker, which is another instance of what petty intrigues go to make up world history. For a long time old man Becker has retained his own ideas of organisation, dating from the epoch *before* 1848: little groups, whose leaders keep in touch in a more or less organised way to give the whole movement a common thrust, a little conspiratorial activity on occasion, and the like; and then another idea, likewise dating from that period, is that the central executive organ of the German organisation must be located *outside* Germany. When the International was founded, and Becker took over the organisation of the Germans in Switzerland and other countries, he established a section in Geneva, which was gradually converted into the 'Mother Section of the Group of German-Language Sections' by organising new sections in Switzerland, Germany, etc. It then began to claim the top leadership, not only of the Germans living in Switzerland, America, France, etc., but also of the Germans in

^a Johann Philipp Becker

Germany and Austria. This was all the old method of revolutionary agitation employed up to '48, and as long as it was based upon the voluntary subordination of the sections, there could be no objection to it. But there was one thing the good soul Becker forgot: that the entire organisation of the International was too big for such methods and purposes. Becker and his friends, however, *accomplished* something and always remained direct and avowed sections of the International.

In the meantime the labour movement in Germany was growing, freeing itself from the fetters of Lassalleanism, and, under the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht, it came out for the International *in principle*. The movement became too powerful and acquired too much independent significance for it to be able to acknowledge the leadership of the Geneva Mother Section; the German workers held their own congresses and elected their own executive organs. The relationship of the German workers' party to the International never was made clear, however. This relationship remained a purely platonic one; there was no actual membership for individuals (with some exceptions), while the formation of sections was forbidden by law. As a result, the following situation developed in Germany: They claimed the *rights* of membership, while they brushed aside its *obligations*, and only after the London Conference did we insist that henceforth they would have to comply with their obligations as well.

Now you will understand that there not only had to arise a certain rivalry between the leaders in Germany, on the one hand, and the Geneva Mother Section, on the other, but that individual conflicts also became unavoidable, especially over the payment of dues. The extent to which the General Council has been *authoritarian* in this affair, as in every other, you can see from the fact that it has been completely uninterested in the matter and has left both sides entirely to themselves. Each is right in some respects and wrong in others. From the very start Becker has attached great importance to the International, but has wanted to cast it in the long-obsolete mould. Liebknecht, etc., are in the right insofar as the German workers want to rule themselves, and not be controlled by an obscure council in Geneva; but in the last analysis they have sought to subordinate the International to their own, specifically German, aims and to make it serve them. The General Council would intervene solely at the request of both sides or in the event of a serious conflict.

Liebknecht evidently took you to be an agent of Becker's, travelling on behalf of the Geneva Mother Section, and *this*

explains all the mistrust with which it seems he received you. He is also a man of '48 and attaches more importance to such trifles than they deserve. You may be glad that you did not live through this period—I have in mind not the first revolutionary wave from February to the June battle⁵⁰⁹ (that was splendid), but the democratic bourgeois intrigues, beginning with June 1848, and the ensuing emigration of 1849-51. At the present time the movement is infinitely greater.

This, I trust, will explain the reception you got in Leipzig. No special importance should be attached to such trifles—they are all things that are overcome by themselves in time. When you meet the Belgian members of the International, you will, perhaps, again be disappointed. Above all, don't entertain too great illusions about these people. They are very good elements, but the cause has, by and large, run along in a worn-out rut, and phrases are more important to them than the cause itself. The big words *autonomie* and *autoritarisme* can attract a large audience in Belgium as well. *Eh bien, vous verrez pour vous-même.*^a

Yours very truly,
F. E.

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ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, 9 May 1872

Dear Becker,

Your suggestion of Geneva as a location for the Congress has much in its favour and has much support here, but naturally nothing can be decided at the moment since the position can alter from day to day.⁴⁵⁰ In the meantime, we must know, if we are to be able to make a final decision, what the situation is like there and whether it will be possible for you *to be assured* of a compact and reliable majority of the Swiss delegates. The Alliance people¹⁰

^a Well, you will see for yourself.

will use all the old tricks at their disposal to gain the majority for themselves, just as in Basle; the Jurassians will make sure that imaginary sections secure representation. Apart from Turin, the Italians will send *nothing* but friends of Bakunin—even Milan where, since Cuno's expulsion,^a they once again have the upper hand. The Spaniards will be divided, though it is not yet possible to say in what proportions. Germany will be weakly represented as usual, the same applies to England; for France there will only be a few refugees from there and perhaps some from here; the Belgians are highly unreliable so that very great efforts will have to be made to secure a *respectable* majority. For a slight majority is as bad as none at all, and the squabbling would just start up all over again. So let us know what the situation is with you and in German Switzerland, and speak quite frankly so that we do not miscalculate.

Cuno has also had to flee from Düsseldorf with the police after him and he is now in Seraing near Liège.

Wegmann is in Manchester, but since he delayed so long the situation has changed, business is worse and work is hard to come by. However, I shall see to it that he gets something soon. Best wishes from Marx.

Yours very truly,

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 15[-22] May 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

Thanks for the letter from Verviers.⁵¹⁰ It confirms our information from other sources and, as far as Hins is concerned, it

^a See this volume, pp. 356-57.

is agreeable to learn that his preference for the *Neuer*^a not only makes itself felt in the *Liberté* but is also expressed directly. In this Hins, as a Bakuninist thanks to his wife, is quite consistent. It is good that all the scoundrels should meet up with each other.

I passed on the relevant information to Eccarius, who replied: Tell Liebknecht that I shall discuss corresponding with him again once he has answered my letter of last July.—What Sorge writes to you⁵¹¹ is at present the subject of charges levelled at Eccarius, who has lost much ground here thanks to his repeated indiscretions.

It goes without saying that nothing can be decided at present about the location of the Congress.⁴⁵⁰

I am delighted to hear that the *Volksstaat* is selling so well.⁵¹² As soon as time permits I shall contribute articles more frequently, but you can have no idea how hard-pressed we are, because Marx, myself and 1 or 2 others have to do absolutely *everything*.

We shall attend to the Preface for the *Manifesto*^b at the first possible opportunity.⁴⁹⁴ Marx has a terrific amount of work to do on the French translation^c; much has to be altered in the opening part.⁴⁹⁶ And then he has also to read the proofs of the 2nd German edition.³⁹⁶

The article on the housing shortage^d will be done today or tomorrow.

The *Fédération Jurassienne* publishes a swinish little paper: *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, subscription obtainable from Adhémar Schwitzguébel, Sonvillier, Jura Bernois, 4 frs per annum, 2 frs a half-year. You should take it and hit them hard from time to time, it is Bakunin's *Moniteur*. In the last issue Lafargue, who is in Madrid under an assumed name, was directly denounced to the Spanish police.⁵¹³

Enclosed is a cutting from *The Eastern Post*⁵¹⁴—you will probably be sent the *first* edition, in which, thanks to Hales' indolence, the most important things are missing, as usual. If that is the case, drop me a couple of lines for the PUBLISHER so that he can send you the *second* edition. Otherwise you will still be in the dark. What I said about the Saragossa Congress is accurate enough, but Lafargue forgot to tell us that at the same time a resolution had been passed recognising and adopting the resolutions of the *Belgian Congress* (of 25 December 1871).⁴⁰⁴ So that the victory was

^a *Neuer Social-Demokrat* - ^b K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*'. - ^c of Volume I of *Capital* - ^d F. Engels, *The Housing Question*.

by no means as complete as he described it to us.⁴⁸⁹ I am awaiting further details about this last resolution.

That the Alliance¹⁰ has survived as a secret society, in Spain at least, is proved and recognised. Our own people were in it, because they knew no better and thought they had to be. This is a very serious matter for Mr Bakunin.

Don't forget to publish Lafargue's 2nd report on the Saragossa Congress from the *Liberté*.⁵⁰¹ It has put the Jurassians into a fury and their last issue contains a public attack on Lafargue, myself, Marx and Serrailier. But they are as quiet as mice on the subject of the revelations about their *secret society*. *This is the tell-tale point* and so we must noise it abroad as much as possible. I am convinced that this secret organisation of the Alliance has branches in Switzerland and in Italy too. It will not be easy to obtain proof, however.—The next issue of *Égalité* will include a statement by Lafargue against the Jurassians.^a

22 May. In the interim I have been writing the enclosed article on housing. Your Proudhonist^b will be satisfied with it.

I shall write to Wigand about my *Condition of the Working-Class*.⁵¹⁵ But there can be no question at all of my attending to it before the Congress is over; my hands are full until then.

The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* are unobtainable, except, perhaps, second-hand; that should be perfectly clear to you. The same goes for the *Misère de la philosophie* (although Vieweg in Paris, Frank's successor, may still have a few). A collection of essays is an old plan of ours but it also needs time. Mr Knapp will find sufficient instruction in *Capital*; once he has digested that he will doubtless know whether he is on our side or not, and if he still does not know, not even Moses and all the Prophets will be able to do anything for him. The crux of the matter is to be found in Chapters II and III of *Capital* and he should know where he stands on that before calling for further nourishment.

Your request for clarification about Proudhon should be satisfied for the moment by the enclosed article.

Enclosed the report on Spain in *The Eastern Post*,^c which you are unlikely to have received. Please do *not* publish it. It was based on Lafargue's letters, but since the Jurassians are interpreting another

^a P. Lafargue, 'Aux citoyens rédacteurs du *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*. Madrid, 17 mai 1872', *L'Égalité*, No. 11, 1 June 1872; *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 10-11, 15 June 1872. - ^b Arthur Mülberger - ^c Account of Engels' speech on the Saragossa Congress and the situation of the International in Italy. From the newspaper report on the General Council meeting of 7 May 1872.

resolution of the Congress in their own favour,⁵¹⁶ and since Lafargue's initial reports of victory were somewhat exaggerated in any event, it would be desirable for them *not* to circulate with a seal of approval from the General Council. I am not sending it to Italy or Spain either.

I shall now see what can be done about the Preface to the *Manifesto*. Marx is in the CITY checking on the quotation from the *Concordia*; those gentlemen have got a big surprise coming to them.⁴⁹²

Best wishes and hopes for a speedy quashing.

Your
F. E.

What view does the 'Committee' in Hamburg⁴⁵² take of the International? We must now try and clear up the situation there as quickly as possible so that Germany can be properly represented at the Congress.⁴⁵⁰ I must ask you straight out to tell us frankly how the International stands with you.

1. Roughly how many stamps have been distributed to how many places, and *which places* are involved? The 208 counted by Fink⁵¹⁷ are surely not all there are?

2. Does the Social-Democratic Workers' Party intend to be represented at the Congress and *if so* how does it propose to place itself *en règle*^a with the General Council in advance so that its mandate cannot be queried at the Congress? This would mean a) that it would have to declare itself to be the German Federation of the International in reality and not merely *figuratively* and b) that *as such* it would pay its dues before the Congress. The matter is becoming serious and we have to know where we are, or else you will force us to act on our own initiative and to consider the Social-Democratic Workers' Party as an alien body for whom the International has no significance. We cannot allow the representation of the German workers at the Congress to be fumbled or forfeited for reasons unknown to us, but which cannot be other than petty. We should like to ask for a clear statement about this quickly.

Receipt for Fink shortly.

Notabene. It would perhaps be a good idea, if at all possible, to send me proofs of the article, but I leave it up to you. However, an essential prerequisite for my collaboration is 1) no marginal

^a to arrange matters

comments of any kind and 2) it must be printed in *long* instalments.

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹⁶⁵

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 23 May 1872

Dear Sorge,

Just a few lines in great haste.

I am overwhelmed with work.

Quite apart from all the International BUSINESS—everything is at sixes and sevens—every day I have to correct the *German proofs* of the second edition of *Capital* (which will appear in instalments)¹⁴⁵ and the *épreuves*^a of the French translation⁴³⁶ in Paris, which I often have to re-write completely to make matters clear to the French. And in addition I also have the *épreuves* of the *ADDRESS ON THE CIVIL WAR*,^b which we are bringing out in French in Brussels. You will be receiving a constant flow of instalments in German and French from me.

In Petersburg a splendid Russian translation^c has appeared.³⁶⁰ The *Russian* socialist paper, *Die Neue Zeit* (its German title, the paper comes out in Russian), recently published a five-column-long leader lavishing praise on the book, which, however, was only meant as an introduction to a series of articles.^d For this, the paper duly received a warning from the police, who threatened to suppress it.

I shall send Liebknecht my answer to the jackasses from the *Concordia* today.^e I was unable to get round to it sooner. Moreover, it does no harm to leave that factory-owning mob their illusions of victory for a while.

^a proofs - ^b K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. - ^c of Volume I of *Capital* - ^d 'С.-Петербургъ, 22 апрѣля', *Novoye Vremya*, No. 106, 23 April (5 May) 1872. - ^e K. Marx, 'Reply to Brentano's Article'.

AS TO HEINZEN, I CARE NOT ONE FARTHING FOR THE *faits et gestes*^a OF THIS 'democratic numbskull'. He is the true representative of the 'KNOW-NOTHINGS', in the literal sense of the word.

It will do no harm to send me the French translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.⁴⁴⁰

I shall tell you in my next letter why the GENERAL COUNCIL is simply abiding by its resolutions^b for the time being without proceeding in a more aggressive manner. We shall not continue to correspond with those people any more but have only instructed Le Moussu to ask them to return the letters from Eccarius (who has probably already given the *ordre* to print his letter over there) and Hales.⁵¹⁸

(*Between ourselves*. Eccarius has been demoralised for quite some time now and is now a scoundrel pure and simple—*canaille*, even.)

In sincere friendship,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO EDOUARD VAILLANT¹¹⁸

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 May 1872

My dear Vaillant,

Serraillier has received a letter from Brussels from some of the proscribed persons over there—which in my view makes it necessary that something be done here to avert if at all possible any further rumpus amongst the Communards. It is for this reason that I have agreed with Serraillier to ask you (and via you *Arnaud*), Cournet and Ranvier to come to my house tomorrow evening (*Saturday at 8 or 9 o'clock*, whichever is more convenient) to

^a feats and gestures - ^b K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I. W. A. in Its Sitzings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'.

discuss what should be done (needless to say the General Council has nothing to do with the affair).

Yours ever,
Karl Marx

I have had a letter from Rochat,^a who is presently working in a coal-mine in the Borinage.

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE¹³⁷

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 27 May 1872

My dear Sorge,

I am flooded out with proofs, French proofs⁴³⁶ (where I have to re-write an enormous amount that has been translated too literally) and German proofs,³⁹⁶ all of which have to be sent off.^b I can therefore only write you a few lines.

I am sending you the German and French versions of the General Council declaration on the farce of the '*Conseil fédéraliste universel etc.*'^c Ditto *notre circulaire privée sur les Jurassiens*.^d (More to follow, as soon as we have the copies in quantity.) Eccarius handed in his resignation before his case was investigated.⁴⁹⁶ Provisionally, Le Moussu is responsible for *toute l'Amérique* (we also have contacts in South America now). Send everything to me since I see Le Moussu every day, and do not send anything to Hales, who keeps on doing the stupidest things simply out of a desire to seem important. There is an *enquête*^e pending against him as well as Eccarius because of the American *affaire*.

^a Presumably Rochat's letter to Marx of 23 May 1872. - ^b This refers to the proofs of the second German and the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*. - ^c K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. - ^d K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*. - ^e investigation

Eccarius has become both a fool and a scoundrel. I shall write to you about it in greater detail in the course of this week.

I shall insist on the 1,000 COPIES^a tomorrow in the GENERAL COUNCIL.

Yours,
K. Marx

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT⁵¹⁹

IN LEIPZIG

London, 27[-28] May 1872

Dear Liebknecht,

Mrs Marx has shown me Eccarius' letter to you⁵²⁰ and the only possible construction it permits is the one you have put on it and which we have already arrived at from other evidence, namely that Eccarius is mad. How deeply we have intrigued against him you can infer most easily from the fact that I have never said a word to you about the whole clique. Now, however, it is essential to put you *au fait*.

We have absolutely no idea what Eccarius can have in mind when he talks about intrigues directed against him ever since 1869 (!). I only know that up to September 1870, when I arrived here,¹²² Marx, for the sake of their longstanding friendship, had always helped him out of the mess he had got into often enough with the English,⁴⁹⁷ and whenever Marx himself had a row with the English it was on Eccarius' account, since the latter had always treated the International as his literary property and had been guilty of the gravest indiscretions in his Congress reports in *The Times* and in his reports to American papers. In short, he had always exploited the situation for his own literary ends. All this

^a of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association

could be tolerated up to a certain point and we confined ourselves to rebuking him in private, but the offences were always repeated.

All of a sudden Eccarius announced that he was resigning his office as General Secretary and would *absolutely refuse to stand for re-election*. We had therefore to choose a successor who, in the circumstances, could only be an Englishman. Hales and Mottershead stood as candidates and Hales was elected. What Eccarius' intentions had been was something we only discovered later when he told Mottershead that he had simply gone on strike so as to receive 30/- a week instead of 15/-. He had thought he was indispensable, and when this plan went wrong he twisted the facts to make it appear that Marx had intrigued with Hales to get him thrown out, and I am firmly convinced that he himself believes this now, although no-one could have been more surprised by his abdication than us.

Then came the Conference.^a Both the General Council and the Conference itself had resolved that the meetings should be held in private. An explicit resolution, of which you are aware, charged the General Council with the task of deciding which resolutions should be made public and which not. WELL, a few days after the Conference an article appeared in *The Scotsman*^b and *The Manchester Guardian* with a detailed report on a number of the Conference sessions together with the Conference resolutions. This report then went through the entire English and European press. You can imagine the uproar this provoked. Everyone cried treason and called for an example to be made of the traitor. In all the International papers a chorus of abuse fell on the General Council for allowing such matters to appear in the bourgeois press while our own papers were starved of news.

We knew at once who the traitor was. Reports had appeared only about those sessions where Eccarius had been present. On the others there was not a single word, except for a garbled account of some of the resolutions. Marx took the first opportunity when we had Eccarius on his own to accuse him to his face and to advise him in all friendliness TO MAKE A CLEAN BREAST OF IT, to accept his punishment and to be more discreet in future. He [Eccarius] did in fact go to see Jung, the president of the ad-hoc investigating commission, and told him that he had indeed given the local OFFICE of the *New York World* an article about the Conference,⁴⁹⁸ but on the explicit condition that its content was not revealed to the English press. However, he was perfectly aware of the unprinci-

^a the 1871 London Conference of the International - ^b [J. G. Eccarius,] 'The International Conference', *The Scotsman*, No. 8789, 2 October 1871.

pled character of these people and of their connections with the English provincial press and must also have known that he had no right to sell the Conference transactions to the American press. In the process he made all sorts of lame excuses, saying that the English article contained statements not in the American article, so that someone else must have talked, and that someone was Hales in all likelihood (whose behaviour in all this business had been perfectly STRAIGHTFORWARD) and that he was the real traitor. In order to spare Eccarius, Jung delayed making a decision, but finally Eccarius was reprimanded, and since then this man, who would be ready any day to sell the entire International for a mess of pottage, has been all injured innocence.

Despite this we were foolish enough—and you can see from this how we have been intriguing against him—to propose and carry his nomination as American secretary.³³¹

Since Hales' nomination a war to the knife has broken out between Eccarius and Mottershead, on the one hand, and Hales, on the other. The English have split into 3 parties, one anti-Hales, one pro-Hales, and a number of more or less neutral people in the middle. Hales also committed a host of follies—he is terribly vain and WANTS TO STAND FOR HACKNEY^a NEXT ELECTION—but the attacks on him by the others were so ludicrously absurd that he was almost always in the right. In order to put an end to the commotion, which came to occupy the General Council almost to the exclusion of everything else, we were forced to appoint a sort of *Comité de salut public*^b to which all personal matters are referred.⁵²¹ It is scarcely necessary to add that we did not hesitate to give Hales a good dressing-down when he deserved it, and that was often enough, just as we did to Eccarius or anyone else.

At all events, Hales still has the trust of the East End workers—our best people here—whereas Eccarius has associated with the most degenerate and suspect elements all of whom are hand in glove with the GREAT LIBERAL PARTY.

When the BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL⁵³⁰ was formed, Mottershead, Eccarius & Co. were not invited since they did not represent any working men's associations. The way in which this was done was irregular and was criticised in the General Council, but it was very necessary if a repetition of the same business were to be avoided.

This means, according to Eccarius, that we had chosen the DAMNABLE SIDE.

^a a constituency in London's East End, a working-class district - ^b Committee of Public Salvation

As for America, the split took place immediately after the Conference⁴²²; the sub-committee (the secretaries)⁴³⁵ were supposed to report on the matter and since it was Marx who had largely conducted the American correspondence up to then, he took over the mess and all the letters went to him. It goes without saying that Eccarius' position as secretary was virtually suspended until the General Council could reach a decision on the whole business. There was in fact no writing to be done. He seems to have regarded this as yet another insult. When it came to a decision, Eccarius took the part of Sorge's enemies. These consist of 1) a few Frenchmen who, like Malon & Co. in Geneva, want to be in command simply because they are Frenchmen and in part refugees of the Commune; 2) supporters of Schweitzer (Grosse & Co.); 3) the Yankee bourgeois friends of Mesdames Woodhull and Claflin, people who have got a bad name for themselves through their practice of FREE LOVE and who print anything and everything—
A UNIVERSAL GOVERNMENT, SPIRITISM (*à la Home*) and so forth—anything but our stuff. The latter have now declared in reply to the resolutions of the General Council^a that the International will only make progress in America if we *throw out* as many 'WAGE-SLAVES' as possible, since they were certain to be the first to sell themselves to the BOGUS REFORMERS AND TRADING POLITICIANS.⁵²²

Sorge and Co. have also made a number of formal blunders, but if the International in America is not to degenerate into a bourgeois tricksters' society pure and simple, they must have our full support. The good Germans (almost all the Germans), the best Frenchmen and all the Irish are on their side.

Our friend Eccarius, however, had foreseen that the organ of Section 12, *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, might provide him with a new literary refuge and so we are ON THE DAMNABLE SIDE.

In short, Eccarius has become thoroughly demoralised in his relations with the English agitators and TRADING POLITICIANS AND TRADES-UNIONS PAID SECRETARIES, all of whom either have been bought by the middle class or are begging them to make them an offer. His personal situation, which was truly wretched, though partly through his own fault, and finally his literary ambitions have been contributing factors. He has gone so far that I have abandoned all hope for him. I am very sorry for him, both as an old friend and collaborator as well as an intelligent person, but I cannot conjure the facts out of existence. Moreover, in his

^a K. Marx, 'Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sitings of 5th and 12th March, 1872'.

cynicism he admits it all quite openly. But if he imagines that we conspired against him and wished to expel him from the General Council, he is somewhat exaggerating his own importance. The opposite is the case: we let him go his own way despite countless opportunities to throw the book at him and we have not done so. We have confronted him with the truth only where it was quite unavoidable. But it was simply out of the question for us to stand aside while he turned the International into his own milch cow, riding roughshod over all other considerations.

Incidentally, Lochner, Lessner, *Pfänder* and Frankel are all completely in the picture about Eccarius, and if you write to any one of them, you will be unlikely to receive such a cool and dispassionate reply as from me.

28 May. News has come from America today. The separatist Federal Council is now in process of complete dissolution. Madame Woodhull and her Yankee friends from Sections 9 and 12 have held a meeting to push *her candidature as President of the United States*⁵²³ on the basis of a programme which contains everything under the sun except capital and labour, and have made complete fools of themselves into the bargain.^a It was all just too much. The Lassallean Section 6 has deposed its delegate, Grosse, accepted the resolutions of the General Council and has sent a delegate to *Sorge's* Federal Council. Ditto Section 2, the worst of the French sections, which has also parted company with the separatist Council. Another 6 sections are about to follow suit. More details in the next *Eastern Post*.^b You can see what sort of people Eccarius cultivated over there; *all* his private correspondents, Maddock, West, Elliott, etc., were present and spoke at the Woodhull meeting.

All these matters are *between ourselves*, the deliberations of the General Council are not my property and I am telling you of them here simply for your and Bebel's own private information.

The Belgians have debated a revision of the Rules but have not reached any conclusions.^c Hins has tabled a draft proposing abolition of the General Council.⁵²⁴ I would be quite contented with that personally; Marx and I will not re-enter it anyway and as matters stand at present we have scarcely any time to work and that is something that has to stop.

A letter to you from Marx¹⁷ has gone off today. It contains the

^a V. Woodhull, 'The party of the people to secure and maintain human rights, to be inaugurated in the U.S., in May, 1872', *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, No. 26/104, 11 May 1872. - ^b *The Eastern Post*, No. 192, 2 June 1872. - ^c 'Congrès ouvrier belge', *L'Internationale*, No. 176, 26 May 1872.

declaration of the General Council against the petty intriguers here who have acquired a certain importance thanks to the bourgeois press on the Continent.^a

Regards to your wife^b and children, ditto Bebel.

Your

F. E.

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MARX TO NIKOLAI DANIELSON⁵²⁵

IN ST PETERSBURG

London, 28 May 1872

My dear Sir,

My reply to you has been so delayed because I had kept on hoping that I would be able to send you, simultaneously with the letter, the first instalments of the *2nd German edition of 'Capital'*¹⁴⁵ as well as the *French translation*⁴⁵⁶ (Paris). But the German and French booksellers^c have dragged the business out for so long that I cannot postpone it any longer.

First of all, my best thanks for the beautifully bound copy. The translation is *masterly*.³⁶⁰ I would be grateful if you could let me have a second, unbound, copy—for the British Museum.⁵²⁶

I regret that *absolute* [lack of time] (*IN THE MOST STRICTEST SENSE OF THE WORD*) prevented me from making a start on the revision for the second edition before the end of December 1871. It would have been of great benefit for the Russian edition.

Although the French edition—the translation is by Mr Roy, the translator of Feuerbach—has been prepared by a great expert in both languages, he has often translated too literally. I have therefore found myself compelled to re-write whole *PASSAGES* in French, to make them palatable to the French public. It will be all the easier later on to translate the book from French into English and the Romance languages.

^a K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. - ^b Natalie Liebknecht - ^c Meissner and Lachâtre

I am so *overworked, and in fact so much interfered with in my theoretical studies, that, after September, I shall *withdraw* from the *commercial concern*,^a which, at this moment, weighs principally upon my own shoulders, and which, as you know, has its ramifications all over the world.* *Mais, est modus in rebus*,^b *and I can no longer afford—for some time at least—to combine two sorts of business of so very different a character.

The news you have communicated to me on our *mutual friend*^c have delighted both myself and my family. There are few people in the world of whom I am so fond and whom I esteem so much.*⁵²⁷

You will much oblige me by delivering the enclosed letter to Dr W. Baranoff⁵²⁸ at this address: 'Frau Baggohufudt-Gross, Theater Platz, Haus Baron Küster'.

In the hope of hearing from you soon.

Yours very sincerely,

A. W.^d

One of the barkers at present living in Switzerland—Mr Bakounine—is playing such strange tricks that I would be very grateful for any precise piece of information about the man—1) as to the extent of his influence in Russia, 2) about his role in the trial of such notorious memory.⁵²⁹

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MARX TO CÉSAR DE PAEPE¹³⁷

IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 28 May 1872¹¹⁸

My dear Friend,

Enclosed is a statement by the General Council against Vésinier

^a Marx intended to resign from the General Council of the International after the Hague Congress. - ^b But moderation in all things (Horace, *Satires*, I, 1). - ^c Hermann Lopatin - ^d A. Williams, Marx's pseudonym

and Co.^a for the Brussels *L'Internationale*. The same thing has been sent to the *Liberté*,

1) because it needs publicity, 2) because Mr Steens *has suppressed* the General Council's reply to the British Parliament which was sent to him.^b

I have read the report on the Belgian Congress^c in the *L'Internationale*.⁵²⁴ How is it that the Flemish are not included among the delegates? Generally speaking, according to the information received here by the French from their compatriots, it would not seem that the International has made much headway in Belgium after the events of the Commune.

For my part I should be ready to accept the Hins draft (with modifications of detail), not because I think it is good, but because it is always better to make certain experiments than to lull oneself with illusions.

It is very characteristic of the Alliance's¹⁰ tactics: in Spain, where it is strongly organised although it has lost the support of the Spanish Federal Council, it attacked at the Barcelona Council all elements of organisation, the Federal Council, etc., as well as the General Council. In Belgium, where 'prejudices' have to be taken into account, it has been proposed that the General Council be abolished with its functions being transferred to the Federal Councils (this was opposed at Barcelona) and even enlarged.

I can hardly wait for the next Congress. It will be the end of my slavery. After that I shall become a free man again; I shall accept no administrative functions any more, either for the General Council or for the British Federal Council.

Yours as ever,

Karl Marx

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Translated from the French

^a K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council'. - ^b K. Marx, 'Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Concerning Cochrane's Speech in the House of Commons'. - ^c 'Congrès ouvrier belge', *L'Internationale*, No. 176, 26 May 1872.