

**KARL  
MARX  
FREDERICK  
ENGELS**

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**Collected  
Works**



Volume 45  
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TRANSLATORS:

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- RODNEY LIVINGSTONE: Letters 1-5, 8-11, 13-15, 18-30, 32
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- K. M. COOK: Appendices 1, 7



## Preface

Karl Marx's and Frederick Engels' letters from 1874 to 1879, contained in this volume, provide an unrivalled source for the history of the working-class movement and Marxist theory after the Paris Commune (1871), a period in which Marx also wrote his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875), Engels his *Anti-Dühring* (1876-78), and both of them together wrote their Circular Letter (1879) to the leading German Social-Democrats.

At the centre of Marx's studies during this period was his economic theory, mainly the questions examined in the second and third volumes of *Capital*, and his letters give us an idea of the ever broader range of sources he used in his examination of the economic development of bourgeois society. From Russia and the United States he received piles of printed matter on the agrarian problem, finance, trade, and industrial growth. Lamenting the loss in the mail of a large parcel of books sent from Russia, Marx wrote to Pyotr Lavrov that it contained 'things that were absolutely essential to the chapter in the second volume in which I deal with landownership, etc., in Russia' (see this volume, p. 58).

Marx followed closely the worldwide economic crisis of the 1870s, comparing its development in various countries, and comparing it with other crises of the 19th century. This, he wrote, was most important 'for the student of capitalistic production' (p. 355). Marx let his correspondents know he was compelled to delay completion of the subsequent volumes of *Capital*. Thus he wrote to Nikolai Danielson, a translator of *Capital* into Russian: 'I should under no

circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax' (p. 354).

Marx's studies of the 1870s reaffirmed his judgement of joint-stock companies in the manuscript of the third volume of *Capital* (1863-65) as a new form of concentrating and centralising capital. In the same letter to Danielson, he wrote that large joint-stock companies in British, Belgian, French, and US communications and banking gave 'an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital* and also to the accelerated and immensely enlarged *cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital*' (p. 356).

Marx's letters of this period often refer to his preparation of new editions of the first volume of *Capital*, notably its French translation, for which he made many important changes.

Marx's letters show the importance he attached to popular versions of the first volume of *Capital*. He wrote to Friedrich Adolph Sorge on 14 June 1876 that at Wilhelm Liebknecht's request he had taken part in preparing the second edition of Johann Most's pamphlet, *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx*, and eliminated its most substantial faults. He had not put his name to it, however, 'because I should then have had to make even more alterations (I had to delete the bits about value, money, wages and much else, and substitute things of my own)' (p. 125).

Marx commended the popular pamphlet by the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero, issued in Milan in 1879, *Il Capitale di Carlo Marx*, though he did reprimand the author for failing to show in the preface that 'the *material conditions* indispensable to the emancipation of the proletariat are engendered in spontaneous fashion by the progress of capitalist production'. Marx also advised Cafiero to pay closer attention in the next edition of his pamphlet to the method of research he, Marx, had used in *Capital* (p. 366).

The letters also illustrate in detail the intensive research Frederick Engels undertook, notably for his *Dialectics of Nature* and *Anti-Dühring*. Engels had gathered material for the former for many years, setting out to show 'that in nature, amid the welter of innumerable changes, the same dialectical laws of motion force their way through as those which in history govern the apparent fortuitousness of events' (see present edition, Vol. 25, p. 11).

Engels' letters reveal that *Dialectics of Nature* reflects his discussion of certain theoretical points with his correspondents during this

period. His letter to Pyotr Lavrov of 12[-17] November 1875, for example, is repeated almost verbatim in a passage of his manuscript. Setting forth his attitude to Darwinism as a whole, Engels examined the theory of the development of the organic world from the dialectico-materialist angle. He called attention to the limitations of Darwin's 'struggle for existence' formula, and proved that the laws of the animal world should not be applied to human society, as was done by the social Darwinians, whom Engels called bourgeois Darwinians (pp. 106-07).

However, in the summer of 1876 Engels shifted his attention to a more urgent task, that of countering the eclectic petty-bourgeois views of Eugen Dühring which were spreading fast in the socialist movement.

Dühring's doctrine, which professed to be an all-encompassing system of economic, philosophic and socialist views, was influencing some socialists not only inside but also outside Germany.

The idea that action against Dühring had to be taken came from Wilhelm Liebknecht. Informing Engels of the spread of Dühring's ideas, he wrote on 16 May 1876 that measures should be taken at once to refute them.

Marx and Engels agreed that the situation called for action. Their letters reflect concern and understanding of the objective need for a comprehensive and integral rendering of their own doctrine. On 25 May 1876 Marx wrote to Engels that he considered Dühring should be criticised 'without any compunction' (p. 119). Three days later, Engels let him know of what he proposed to do (pp. 122-23).

The volume contains a number of letters showing how and why Engels wrote *Anti-Dühring*. Some of Engels' letters refer directly to his work on the book, namely to the subject of public property in bourgeois society (p. 308) and to social Darwinism, which he discussed in his letter to Lavrov of 12[-17] November 1875. On 19 July 1878, sending a copy of *Anti-Dühring* to the German zoologist Oscar Schmidt, Engels wrote that in his work he had endeavoured, among other things, to give an outline 'of the relation of scientific socialism to the propositions of modern theoretical natural science in general, and to Darwin's theory in particular' (p. 313).

Marx participated in the work on *Anti-Dühring*. He helped Engels pick out material for some of the chapters, read the manuscript from beginning to end and wrote a critical outline of Dühring's views on the history of economic doctrines, which was used by Engels as the basis for Chapter X of Part II.



Engels gave two years of his life to this book, published as *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* and popularly known as *Anti-Dühring*. It provided the first ever comprehensive presentation of Marxism as an integral, indivisible science.

Much of Marx's and Engels' attention in this period was turned to the change in the organisational forms of working-class unity. In 1874 the International had in fact ceased to function, though it was not officially disbanded until 1876. In a letter to Sorge in September 1874, Engels wrote: 'The *old* International is entirely wound up and at an end... It belonged to the period ... when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore... For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies... But in its old form it has outlived itself' (pp. 41, 42). A new form of international unity was called for, Engels observed, based on the independent working-class parties that were springing up in different countries.

Marx and Engels saw their prime duty in helping the new socialist parties to achieve ideological unity and gain mass support. Their many letters to German Social-Democratic leaders show how they dealt with this task. The specific commitment to the German socialists was due to the fact that they were then the only workers' party which was already an independent political force, as the 1874 Reichstag elections had demonstrated. For the first time in history, the working-class movement had a socialist faction of nine deputies in a parliament. This made a distinct impact on the international socialist movement.

But, as Marx and Engels noted in their writings, the German Social-Democratic Party had not yet become a truly mass party functioning on the principles of the International. To achieve this most difficult goal it was necessary to mend the split in the German labour movement and secure unification of the two socialist organisations—the Social-Democratic Party (Eisenachers) of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the General Association of German Workers consisting of followers of Ferdinand Lassalle (see present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 510-14 and this volume, pp. 6-7, 17, 43).

A draft programme, the basis for uniting the two organisations at a congress scheduled in Gotha for May 1875, appeared in the German socialist press in early March, causing Engels to write to Bebel on 18-28 March 1875 and Marx to Wilhelm Bracke on 5 May.

'You ask me what we think of the unification affair' (p. 60), Engels wrote in reply to Bebel's question, and set forth his critical view of many of the draft's provisions which, in the main, came from the Lassalleans: that 'in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass', the 'iron law of wages' and 'state aid' to the producers' co-operative societies. He noted the absence in the draft of a provision on the international character of the workers' movement and on the significance of trade unions, and so on. Engels also set forth his own views on various issues raised in the draft.

Marx and Engels blamed the Eisenachers for making unjustifiable ideological concessions to the Lassalleans, amounting in substance to a departure from their 1869 programme (p. 62).

If it was impossible to 'advance *beyond* the Eisenach Programme,' Marx wrote to Bracke, '... they should simply have come to an agreement about action against the common foe' (p. 70).

In a letter to Bracke of 11 October 1875, Engels examined the by then already adopted Gotha Programme. He noted that it did not sufficiently reflect his and Marx's suggestions, and called attention to its Lassallean rhetoric and slogans, its vulgarly democratic demands, and the incorrectly interpreted provisions of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 'When two factions are agreed,' Engels wrote, 'they should include in the programme what is agreed, not what is contested' (p. 95).

In letters to Bracke of 11 October and Bebel of 12 October, Engels explained why Marx and he had refrained from taking a public stand against the Gotha Programme. As he put it, it was because not only the bourgeois press but also the workers interpreted it 'communistically'. 'It is *this circumstance alone*,' Engels wrote, 'which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this.' Engels admitted at the same time that the unification as such was 'a great success... But it was undoubtedly to be had at a far cheaper price' (p. 98).

The subsequent period showed that the union of the two socialist parties did lead to success for the German workers. The united party's membership rose appreciably. Trade unions sprang up under its guidance. The 'mustering of Social-Democratic forces in Germany', as Marx put it (p. 188), that took place in January 1877 demonstrated that the party's prestige had risen, as did the number of its deputies in the Reichstag. But the ideological concessions made to the Lassalleans had lowered the party's theoretical standard, enhanced the influence of petty-bourgeois

socialism, and caused the spread of Dühringian views which, in turn, led to the appearance of opportunism (p. 295). It was indeed obvious that the ideas of scientific socialism had not reached the minds of even the most advanced workers.

Marx and Engels were disturbed by the indifference of some of the party's leaders to opportunist pronouncements in the labour press. Engels wrote to Liebknecht in July 1877: 'I was speaking of the *party*, and that's whatever it makes itself out to be before the public, in the press and at congresses. ... If, as you say, these people amount to no more than a tiny minority, then obviously the only reason you and the others have to pay any heed to them is that each of them has his supporters. ... Much can ultimately be sweated out by a healthy party, but it is a long and arduous process' (p. 257).

Opportunism grew strong when the party was compelled to go underground in October 1878 in connection with Bismarck's Exceptional Law Against the Socialists (better known as the Anti-Socialist Law). A new tactic was called for to suit the new situation. More, the leaders had to cope with vacillation and confusion. As Marx and Engels saw it, a socialist party organ published outside Germany would help. It would propagate the party's views freely, and spell out its political and tactical principles. Many of Marx's and Engels' letters referred to preparations for the publication of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (in place of the banned *Vorwärts*) and reflected their struggle for its ideological line. They warned the party leadership that the Zurich Trio—Bernstein, Höchberg, and Schramm—who had been picked for the newspaper's control committee and who were former followers of Dühring, would be sure to lace the future party paper's platform with their opportunist views.

The letters of Marx and Engels reflect what preceded the writing of their Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebkecht, Wilhelm Bracke and others. The Circular Letter, drawn up by Engels on 17-18 September 1879 and endorsed by Marx, was intended, as Engels wrote to Sorge, 'just for *private circulation* among the German leaders' (p. 414). Marx held that considering the party's underground status, any public discussion of inner-party affairs, a public polemic, would be inevitably damaging. The Circular Letter criticised opportunism as a whole: its renunciation of class struggle and the working-class party's class character, the conversion of the latter into a party of reform with the exclusive aim of improving capitalism, surrender of the reins of the movement to 'educated bourgeois', and the like. The writers

of the Circular Letter called attention to the Zurichers' endeavours to pass off the aggregate of their petty-bourgeois views for socialism. Marx and Engels pointed to the class roots of opportunism, first of all to the existence of a considerable petty-bourgeois contingent in the party which attempted 'to reconcile superficially assimilated socialist ideas with the most diverse theoretical viewpoints' (p. 407).

In conclusion they stressed: 'We cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be emancipated from above by philanthropic members of the upper and lower middle classes' (p. 408).

At the same time, Marx and Engels took note of the emergence in the socialist party of an ultra-left current represented by Johann Most, a follower of Dühring's, and others. According to Engels, their 'revolutionary tittle-tattle' was something that had ceased to surprise anyone after the preceding almost forty years (p. 363).

The emergence of the Most group, which was swiftly developing towards anarchism, was traceable largely to the invigoration of the opportunist trend. Engels informed Johann Philipp Becker that the newspaper *Freiheit* which Most published in London was publicly accusing the leaders of the party of patronising reformists, and blamed them for the mistakes of some socialist Reichstag deputies (p. 383).

Marx wrote to Sorge: 'Our complaint against Most is not that his *Freiheit* is *too revolutionary*; our complaint is that it has *no revolutionary content*, but merely indulges in *revolutionary jargon*. Again, our complaint is not that he *criticises the party leaders in Germany*, but, in the first place, that he *kicks up a row in public* instead of telling these men what he thinks in writing, as we do, i.e. *by letter*' (p. 411).

The Circular Letter helped the party leadership considerably in setting the desired political course and in consolidating the party. Meanwhile, Marx and Engels continued to work for the party's ideological unity and to combat opportunism and ultra-left sentiment. Of special interest in that respect were Engels' letters to Bebel of 14 and 24 November and 16 December 1879. Here he elaborated on the correlation of theory and practice, the party's policy and tactics, the fight for ideological unity, and the like.

Engels maintained that 'every victory gained in Germany gladdens our hearts as much as any gained elsewhere', and stressed the special responsibility borne by an advanced body such as the party of German Social-Democrats. He could not help feeling

concerned that 'the practical conduct of the German party, and notably the public utterances of the party leadership, should continue to accord with the general theory' (p. 421). He pointed out that it was essential to 'compare from time to time what has been said and what has been done with the theoretical tenets valid for any modern proletarian movement' (ibid.).

Engels wrote: 'A party ... can only look for its laws to its living and ever changing needs. But if it seeks to subordinate those needs to earlier resolutions that are now dead as a doornail, it will be digging its own grave' (p. 418).

Though these points were examined in relation to the underground Social-Democratic movement in Germany, they amounted in substance to general principles governing the development of the international socialist movement as a whole.

The correspondence of Marx and Engels shows that they followed developments in the working-class movement in Europe and the United States of America. They looked into its character and specific features from country to country, and any incipient new trends. Nor did they lose time to inform their correspondents about all the more significant events. In August 1874, for example, Marx let Sorge know about the appearance in France, where reaction dominated at the time, of trade unions (workers' syndicates) that could, as he saw it, serve as 'a point of departure for the time when freer movement' was again possible (p. 30).

When articles appeared in the German newspaper *Vorwärts* saying it was not necessary for the masses in France to fight the threat of a monarchist coup, Engels wrote to Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker and others that it was not a matter of indifference to the workers what type of government existed in their country—a reactionary monarchy as, say, in Germany or a bourgeois-democratic republic. Consolidation of the republic in France, he wrote, offered the working class an opportunity to win democratic rights requisite 'for organisation and struggle'. He added: 'That is all they need to begin with' (p. 294).

Examining the working-class movement in Britain, Marx and Engels pointed out that its distinctive features were the trade unions that served as the movement's main form, a lack of interest in socialist theory, and the traditional commitment to a two-party system. Politically, Marx wrote, the English workers followed as before the Liberal Party (p. 299). The English workers' movement, Engels wrote to Eduard Bernstein on 17 June 1879, 'has been

going round and round ... in a confined circle of strikes for wages and the reduction of working hours'. He added that the strikes were regarded in England not 'as an expedient and a means of propaganda and organisation, but as the ultimate aim'. Summing up, Engels stated: 'At this moment a genuine workers' movement in the continental sense is non-existent here' (pp. 360, 361).

The contacts of Marx and Engels with socialist leaders in various countries increased over the years. In the Appendices to this volume you will find an extract from the reply of Jules Guesde, editor of the French socialist newspaper *Égalité*, to a letter from Marx which, unfortunately, is not extant. Guesde's reply gives a clue to what Marx had written: the historical necessity for a revolutionary transformation of society, the nature of the transformation, and the special role of an independent and militant workers' party (p. 451).

Engels' ties with Enrico Bignami, editor of the Italian newspaper *La Plebe* (Milan), and Eudóxio Gnecco, editor of the Portuguese newspaper *O Protesto* (Lisbon), were quite strong. He informed them of the German socialists' campaign in the January 1877 Reichstag elections. For the Italian workers' movement, in which anarchist influences still prevailed, this was important. Engels' letter to Bignami about the election results was published in *La Plebe* on 26 February 1877 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 172-73).

An important means of securing ties among socialists of different countries, Marx and Engels held, was to exchange printed matter and learn about other parties' experience. Engels advised Johann Philipp Becker to contact the newly-established Portuguese socialist party, to print its contributions, and to supply it in return with requisite material (p. 174). He wrote the same to Liebknecht and other socialists.

On the whole, the correspondence of Marx and Engels was evidence of their growing influence on the international working-class movement. Besides, it reflected the growing role played by their associates heading the socialist movement and their increasing knowledge of theory.

Marx wrote to the German socialist Wilhelm Blos that he and Engels were categorically opposed to any personality cult. 'Neither of us,' he wrote, 'cares a straw for popularity. Let me cite one proof of this: such was my aversion to the personality cult that at the time of the International, when plagued by numerous moves—originating from various countries—to accord me public honour, I never allowed one of these to enter the domain of publicity' (p. 288).

The volume contains the letters of Marx and Engels to their Russian friends—Pyotr Lavrov, Nikolai Danielson and others. The contact with Lavrov was obviously strong and enduring. Marx posted various editions of the first volume of *Capital* to Lavrov, and received Russian books from him. He also regularly read the Russian-language journal *Vperyod!* published by Lavrov, which acquainted him with the state of the revolutionary movement in Russia (pp. 58, 91 et al.). Lavrov supplied him with various other material, including an account of the trials of young Russian revolutionaries in the 1870s. Marx passed on this information to Keyes O'Clery, an Irish MP, for use in the House of Commons (see this volume, pp. 210, 211; *MEGA*, Abt. I, Band 24).

In his long letters to Danielson, Marx set forth his views on the world economic crisis of the 1870s, industrial development, and Russia's financial straits (pp. 344, 346-47, 354-58). In a preface to the first Russian-language edition of the second volume of *Capital* in 1885, Danielson cited passages from Marx's letters to him of 15 November 1878 and 10 April 1879, examining the growth of capitalist relations in the United States, the British economic crisis of the 1870s, and the reasons why the appearance of the second volume was delayed.

In some of their letters, Marx and Engels delved into the foreign policy of European states and, notably, into the possibility of a new war in Europe and its consequences for the working-class movement. Though Engels wrote to Johann Philipp Becker on 20 November 1876 that there was a 'universal lull' at the time (p. 174), both he and Marx did not rule out the possibility of war between European countries in the 1870s. Dwelling on the subject in a letter to Bebel of 16 December 1879, Engels wrote he was convinced that a 'war such as that would, for us, be the greatest of misfortunes; it might set the movement back by twenty years' (p. 431).

Much space in the letters of 1877-78 was devoted to the rise of the revolutionary movement in Russia, its character, and international impact. Marx and Engels related revolution in Russia directly to the aggravation of the Eastern crisis that culminated in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. In their letters and articles of that period, they noted Russia's abrupt economic decline, the impending financial crisis, and the mounting disaffection among Russia's impoverished nobility and among the peasant masses (see

present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 39-50, 203-06, 251-52, and this volume, pp. 278, 295).

Marx and Engels were certain that a Russian revolution would inevitably influence the state of affairs in the rest of Europe, causing the revolutionary movement to grow and laying the ground for the downfall of autocratic monarchies. They were convinced revolution would break out if Russia lost its war against Turkey. In a letter to Liebknecht in February 1878 Marx made this plain in the following terms: 'The *defeat of the Russians* would have greatly *expedited social revolution in Russia*, of which all the elements are present in abundant measure, and *hence radical change throughout Europe*' (p. 296).

For Marx and Engels, revolution in Russia was part of the world revolutionary process. This explains their one-sided view of the democratic movement that sprang up at the time in Britain in support of the struggle of the Slav nations in the Balkans against Turkish rule (pp. 292, 299). In Marx's view it was tantamount to backing tsarism.

But even after the war, which culminated in Turkey's defeat, Marx and Engels noted that revolutionary events were coming to a head in Russia (p. 431).

The letters of Marx and Engels contain extensive biographical information. Those had been uneasy years for the two friends. Marx and his wife were often ill. Marx took the misfortunes of his eldest daughter Jenny, who lost her first-born child, very close to heart. Lizzie Burns, Engels wife, was taken ill time and again, and died in 1878. The letters show how considerate Marx and Engels were to each other and to their friends and associates. They helped them financially and offered moral support during the hard times of government persecution, when they were imprisoned or denied a chance to earn their living. The letters refer to many such cases. Engels, for example, wrote to Johann Philipp Becker, 'anything I can do for you will always be done without fail, and always with pleasure' (p. 383).

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Volume 45 contains 292 of Marx's and Engels' letters. Out of these, 206 appear in English for the first time, while out of the 86 that did appear before, 35 had previously been published



incomplete. Those published in English earlier are indicated in the Notes. Out of the eight letters given in the Appendices, six appear in English for the first time.

In view of the organic connection of Engels' letter to August Bebel of 18-28 March 1875, Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of 5 May 1875 and the Circular Letter of Marx and Engels dated 17-18 September 1879, with all the other correspondence of that period, and considering their particular scientific and political significance, the three said letters, already published in Volume 24 of the present edition, are also being given in this volume.

Obvious slips of the pen in the letters have been corrected without comment. Proper and place names and separate words abbreviated by the authors are given in full, except when the abbreviations were meant to mislead possible censors or were undecipherable. Defects in the manuscripts are pointed out in footnotes, while lost or illegible passages are indicated by omission points. If presumable reconstruction is possible, it is given in square brackets. Any text crossed out by the authors is reproduced in footnotes only where it is pertinent. Rough drafts of letters or fragments reproduced in some other document, etc., are indicated either in the text itself or in the Notes.

Foreign words and expressions are left as given by the authors, with a translation wherever necessary, and displayed in italics (in spaced italics if underlined in the original). Wherever Marx and Engels used English words and expressions in letters they had written in German, French or some other language, these are given in small caps. If whole passages are in English, they are placed in asterisks. If the same facts or events recur in the texts of different letters, the same note number is given every time. Some of the words are now somewhat archaic or have undergone changes in usage. For example, the term 'nigger', which has acquired generally—but especially in the USA—a more profane and unacceptable status than it had in Europe during the 19th century.

The texts of the letters and Notes were prepared by Vladimir Sazonov (letters dated from January 1874 to December 1877) and Natalia Kalennikova (letters dated from January 1878 to December 1879, and the Notes). The Preface is written by Valeria Kunina, assisted by Natalia Kalennikova. The Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals are by Natalia Kalennikova; Vera Popova took part in preparing the text and pertinent matter. The editors of the

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KARL MARX  
and  
FREDERICK ENGELS

LETTERS

January 1874-December 1879



1874

1

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

IN HANOVER

[London,] 19 January 1874

Dear Wenzel,

Engels informed me of your letter to him.<sup>2</sup> Hence these lines. After my return<sup>3</sup> a carbuncle broke out on my right cheek, which was operated on; later it had several smaller successors, and I think that at the present moment I am suffering from the *last* of them.

Incidentally, don't worry at all about newspaper gossip and *still less answer it*. I myself allow the English papers to announce my death from time to time, without showing any sign of life. Nothing annoys me more than to appear to be supplying the public with reports of my state of health through my friends (*you are the great sinner in this respect*). I don't give a farthing for the public, and, if my occasional illness is exaggerated, it at least has the advantage that it spares me all sorts of requests (theoretical and otherwise) from unknown people in every corner of the earth.

My best thanks for the kind words from the Lady Countess and Fränzchen.<sup>4</sup>

I am very glad to receive the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and find all sorts of interesting things in it.

The relative victory of the ultramontanes and Social-Democrats in the elections<sup>4</sup> SERVES MR BISMARCK AND HIS MIDDLE-CLASS TAIL RIGHT. More another time.

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>1</sup> Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

Apropos. On the advice of my friend, Dr Gumpert (of Manchester), I have now rubbed quicksilver ointment in the place concerned at the first trace of carbuncle irritation and find that it works quite specifically.

What has happened to your friend, 'Dr Freund' of Breslau,<sup>a</sup> who in your opinion was so promising? It seems, *après tout, que c'est un fruit sec.*<sup>b</sup>

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2

ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN HUBERTUSBURG

London, 27 January 1874

Dear Liebknecht,

I am glad you give me an occasion to write to you; what with the many different things I have had to deal with recently, our correspondence would otherwise just come to a halt. *Ad rem*, then.

A short while—perhaps a week—before the Geneva Congress,<sup>5</sup> we received a little pamphlet of 16 pages from Geneva. It was signed by Perret, Duval and about another 6-8 names,<sup>6</sup> for the most part, like the two referred to, leaders of the Geneva International and the noisiest opponents of the Jurassians. The pamphlet contained the statement that the Hague Congress was in the wrong, that it was necessary to weaken the General Council, abrogate its powers of suspension, transfer it back to Europe and at the same time debar London for two years (the fools—as if we were pining to have it here!), etc., etc. This was followed by a letter from Perret. Although it was he above all who instigated and conducted the whole row with the Bakuninists, he declared that these concessions would have to be made since this would ensure

<sup>a</sup> Polish name: Wrocław. - <sup>b</sup> after all, that this is a dry fruit.

that '*des sections jurassiennes*'—by which he means the one in Münster-Moutier—joined forces with *them*.—Both Perret and the other Genevans had left us in the dark about this new development *right up to the very last moment*; they had failed to reply to our enquiries about the situation in Geneva and hence omitted to dispel the illusion they themselves had fostered that we could rely on unconditional support in Geneva—particularly since it was their doing that the London General Council had joined in the quarrel with the Bakuninists and become more and more deeply embroiled in it. Indeed, Perret had misled us only two weeks before, when he wrote telling us that the membership of the *Comité Romand* had been changed and that he had resigned! WELL, since all the information pointed to the fact that the Congress would be a purely local event in Geneva, or at most a Swiss Congress with negligible participation from abroad, we FINALLY decided not to attend.<sup>a</sup> Subsequent events proved us right, and Becker<sup>b</sup> was able to tell these sudden Genevan converts to 'anti-authoritarianism' that they could pass whatever resolutions they liked, but that no one would pay any attention and everything would be overturned at the next congress.

In the meantime, however, the whole intrigue came to light. Behind the affair was none other than that adventurer Cluseret, who had also inspired their celebrated pamphlet. The fellow imagined the moment had arrived for him to place himself at the head of the International and have the General Council transferred to Geneva. This latter notion had flattered the local bigwigs, who hoped to convert the International into a local Swiss gossip shop in which they could all play first violin. At the same time, M. Perret was in constant touch with Jung here, who, in the manner he had adopted since The Hague, told him a heap of lies about the powerful support they could count on here if they *reduced the International to an organisation concerned only with rendering support to STRIKES*, etc.

The Geneva *faiseurs*<sup>c</sup> followed his lead, and this resulted in the establishment of the *Union des Travailleurs*, a paper without anyone behind it but Cluseret, Perret & Co., together with their projected *Ligue universelle*.<sup>7</sup> So the whole thing was a new, somewhat modified scheme to make the International serve the Genevans' ends.

But the project was still-born. The paper published reports

<sup>a</sup> See present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 523-25. - <sup>b</sup> Johann Philipp Becker - <sup>c</sup> mountebanks



from Germany, Belgium and France, all of which were written in Geneva; only the London reports were by Jung, and those were as full of lies as only Jung has learnt how to lie in the last fifteen months. When they tried to have their little plans adopted in the Geneva sections they failed everywhere without exception. The Belgians would have nothing to do with them, and now the Sheffield Congress has also given them short shrift, as could have been foreseen by anyone who knows anything about English TRADES UNIONS.<sup>8</sup> So that spells the end of their little plan, and M. Perret can now *resign* indeed.

So you can see how the very same little jackasses who deliberately ruined the Geneva Congress became turncoats immediately after it, and tried out a new swindle, which luckily has come to nought.

The pamphlet on the Alliance,<sup>a</sup> incidentally, has achieved its aim. The entire dissident press, which was an artificial phenomenon, sustained only by the prestige of the International, has now collapsed. The Brussels *Internationale* and probably also *Le Mirabeau* have folded up, not to mention the *Liberté*. The same thing has happened to the plethora of Spanish and Italian papers. I cannot say with assurance whether *La Federación* and the *Bulletin Jurassien* are still appearing, but I think not. This sectarian press will be replaced by a better one BY AND BY, but it will take time and that will do no harm. The bad elements will have to wear themselves out completely before better ones can come along.

Over here the whole mass of workers' leaders in the pay of the bourgeoisie, and in particular of Samuel<sup>b</sup> Morley, are trying their hardest to get the bourgeois to elect them to Parliament as WORKING MEN'S CANDIDATES. They won't succeed, though I would gladly see the whole crew there and for the same reasons as I welcome the election of Hasenclever and Hasselmann and still only regret the absence of my Tölcke. The Reichstag ruined Schweitzer, and it will ruin them too. It is the end of swindling and forces one to show one's colours.

The elections in Germany<sup>4</sup> place the German proletariat at the head of the European workers' movement. It is the first time that the workers have voted for their own people *en masse* and have put themselves forward as a party in their own right, and throughout the whole of Germany at that. It can hardly be doubted that measures to restrict the franchise will follow, though

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - <sup>b</sup> In the original: John.

not for a year or two. How right that feudal socialist R. Meyer<sup>a</sup> was in his contention that the General Association of German Workers would become increasingly international—despite its bosses—was confirmed by the second ballot in Frankfurt when the jackasses finally had to vote for Sonnemann and acted quite correctly: first vote for our own man, and then, if it is clear that he won't get in on the second round, vote for the opponent of the government, whoever he happens to be. This was a very bitter pill for the bosses. But history has its laws, and even the mighty Hasenclever cannot prevail against them.

You have already had news of Marx. He is better, but still needs to *take care not to overwork*. This morning we went out walking on Hampstead Heath, something he ought to do every day; however, it shows you that there is no question of his having to remain indoors, etc.

I assume that the Reichstag will just let you serve out your sentence, so it would be very good if Jacoby were to be elected.<sup>9</sup>

I intended writing something about Germany for the *Volksstaat*, but have been so involved in economic and statistical material that it threatens to become a small, or even a full-size, book.<sup>10</sup>

Best wishes to Bebel.

Your  
F. E.

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

3

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 14 February 1874

Dear Sorge,

Just a very hasty note to let you know that around a fortnight ago I sent you 1 parcel with 12 *Alliances*<sup>b</sup> and the day before

<sup>a</sup> R. H. Meyer, *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1874, p. 120. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*.

yesterday, 2 parcels, each with 50 copies of the English Rules,<sup>a</sup> i.e. 100 in all.

I have managed to get hold of around three hundred copies of the German Rules here, and the English Federal Council has promised me a further 400-500 English ones. As soon as I have them, I shall send you the whole lot, together with some *Alliances*, per PARCELS COMPANY. The post is becoming too expensive; the English Rules cost 4 shillings! To save you problems with customs duties I shall refer to you on the cover as GENERAL SECRETARY, I.W.A.

It was obvious that the New York movement would slip out of your hands as soon as PUBLIC MEETINGS and other demonstrations replaced real work and organisation.

I suppose the German gentlemen will have found out by now what it means to join forces with the Yankee swindlers.

Your  
F. Engels

More soon!

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time

4

ENGELS TO WILHELM BLOSS  
IN LEIPZIG

London, 21 February 1874

Dear Friend Bloss,

Things received with thanks. I enclose the article on the English elections.<sup>b</sup> The first of a series on the Military Law<sup>c</sup> will follow in a few days; the second<sup>d</sup> as soon as I have obtained a copy of Moltke's speech.

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'The English Elections'. - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, 'The Imperial Military Law. I'. - <sup>d</sup> F. Engels, 'The Imperial Military Law. II'.

Jacoby's conduct is irresponsible.<sup>9</sup> If he did not wish to take up his seat he should have requested the Party Committee in advance just to put him forward as a mere 'name' in completely hopeless constituencies. The workers have neither the money nor the time to squander on empty gestures of this sort. The most strenuous efforts will be needed to get Bracke in, and victory there is doubly important since it is in a *rural* constituency. Jacoby has disqualified himself for good with this. The man is just *too much of a sage*. And his reasons are so trivial and vulgar-democratic! He hurls abuse at *force* as something reprehensible in itself, even though we all know that, when it comes down to it, nothing can be achieved without force. If Löb Sonnemann had written such things, that would not be so bad, or Karl Mayer of the *Schwäbischer Beobachter*—but a candidate of our party! However, it is a good thing that he has reduced himself to the level of a mere 'name'.

And in fact it is all very fine and logical: on the one hand, he rejects *force*, on the other, parliamentary *legal* action—what is left then but pure Bakuninist abstention?

Yours in friendship,

F. E.

Liebknecht's letter arrived yesterday.

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No. 13, Moscow, 1932

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time

5

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE

IN HOBOKEN

London, 27 February 1874

Dear Sorge,

The things listed on the back of this letter were sent off to you today in a parcel addressed to *F. A. Sorge, \* General Secretary I.W.M. Association, 25 Hudson Street, Hoboken, N.J. via New York*, per Continental Parcels Express Company (W. Wheatley & Co.—

New York Agents: W. H. Bucknam & Co., 57 Broadway).  
Carriage forwarded, Value declared £10.\*

The BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL has become so lackadaisical that I have not yet managed to extract an official price for the English Rules<sup>a</sup> from them—only a POSTCARD from Barry saying, *I THINK I<sup>1</sup>/2D. WILL DO!*

I am charging 2 shillings each for the *Alliances*,<sup>b</sup> but in return am paying the carriage of those sent by post.<sup>c</sup>

I have to leave in an hour for a few days, so farewell and keep your chin up. Your police seem to want to outdo even those in Versailles.

Your  
F. Engels

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## 6

MARX TO GEORGE MOORE<sup>11</sup>

IN LONDON

[Draft]

London, 26 March 1874  
1 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

It is quite understood that you are welcome to take your time in order to decide upon your course of action in regard to your private settlement with me.

But there was another item in my letter<sup>12</sup> of which you have taken no notice. In order to save expense, always caused by lawyers' letters, I had called upon you to send me the £2. 15s. due by Mr Lester Collier to the firm, and which, *according to the award*, are to be paid to me like all the rest of the outstanding debts.

Now to-day some incidents have come to my knowledge which give to the whole transaction with respect to the collecting of the outstanding debts a very ugly look.

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 7.

Messrs Merriman, Powell, et Co. had, as I told you in my last letter, written to the different firms (except Mr L. Collier) in order to call in the sums due by them. To-day, at their offices, they showed me three letters till then received in reply.

*The first letter* is from Mr *Dickes* (dated 25 March). He states therein that he 'paid his debt on *31st January 1874*' and that the receipt he holds is signed 'Received for Moore and Le Moussu. L. Rocher'.

*The second letter* is from the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (dated 25 March), and, according to it, 'they have paid all up on *February 26*'.

*The last letter* (dated 25 March) is from Mr Turner (Dover). He states that he '*holds receipt* from Messrs Le Moussu and Moore'.

I suppose that the other letters still to drop in will be cut upon the same pattern.

However that may be, the three cases already certified give cause not only for *actions before a County Court*, but, I am afraid, for *actions for embezzlement*.—This is at least the opinions expressed by Messrs Merriman, Powell, et Co., considering 1) that this money has been taken up not only *after* the dissolution of partnership, but while the lawsuit was pending, and after a *notice of warning* sent by Messrs M., P., and Co. to Mr Shaen on 22nd January; 2) that the fact of the drawing in the money was kept not only secret with regard to myself, but before the judge, Mr Harrison, when he was in presence of the three partners scrutinising every single item of the list drawn up originally by you of the outstanding debts, a fact which Mr Harrison, when summoned as a witness, will have to confirm; 3) that after the award had been communicated to the parties concerned the appropriation of the money was still withheld from my knowledge.

*I must now request you to write me at once as how far you have acted in common with Mr Le Moussu* in every single case. The moment my final instructions are once in the hands of my solicitors—and you understand that I am not at all inclined to be bothered with this affair longer than is strictly necessary—it will be no more in my power to stop such disagreeable proceedings as these 'very ugly facts' may give rise to.

Yours truly,  
Karl Marx

## 7

## MARX TO GEORGE MOORE

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 28 March 1874

*To Mr G. Moore*

Your yesterday's letter contains assertions which rest partly upon a misstatement and partly upon an erroneous interpretation of facts.

*Firstly. Your misstatement of facts.*

In the first statement of my solicitors in the hands of Mr Harrison at the time of his arbitration I declared not only that I had *received* the money collected from *The Engineer* and *The Farmer* (but of no other '*etc.*' which figures in your letter) but that I had spent it (and something more) in paying Messrs Longuet and Griset.<sup>a</sup> On the first day of our examination I handed over the respective receipts to Mr Harrison in proof of my declaration.

Mr Shaen having said in his counter-statement that I was not appointed liquidator of the concern, I replied that being the only creditor of the concern, I had a perfect right to act as my own liquidator. This declaration of mine is also contained in my written answer to Shaen's counter-statement, which I handed over to Mr Harrison, on the second day of our examination, and which he has now returned to my solicitors. In his award Mr Harrison has literally endorsed my claim by appointing me my own liquidator. Moreover, Le Moussu having further stated in his own oath to Mr Harrison that I had already laid hold on the machines,—which was not literally exact, but true in that sense that you held then the machines for me—I denied in no way his statement.

There was, therefore, on my part, no concealment of facts.

*Secondly. Your erroneous interpretation of facts.*

In order to prove Le Moussu's mendacity in which he had the boldness to persist when being on oath before Mr Harrison, I proved that the money was not collected by him, that the money [was] collected *in my name*, [that] on the contrary the invoices were made out by you, handed over by you to Longuet, [and the mon-

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<sup>a</sup> Further the words 'creditors of the concern' are crossed out in the original.

ey was] collected by him in the name of the firm, and that my very name was not mentioned in *Mercurer*. This transaction...<sup>a</sup> The judicial proceedings having once begun, I took no step whatever to get at the outstanding debts. You will now have to judge for yourselves whether my proceedings have any analogy with yours.

I come now to another point. In your letter you say:

'I have received the money from *Dover*, the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and I will send you *Collier's Account*.'

You do not mention *Dickes*, but I expect that in your next letter of Monday I shall receive all the details.

In conclusion let me remark that in regard to the *legal* character of the past proceedings, I have only communicated to you not my own view, which is not yet at all settled, but an opinion provisionally expressed by my solicitors, Mr Merriman and Mr Powell, at the interview I had with them, in presence of another gentleman, on Thursday last.<sup>b</sup>

Yours,  
K. Marx

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MARX TO JENNY MARX<sup>13</sup>

IN LONDON

Ramsgate,<sup>c</sup> SUNDAY [19 April 1874]  
16 Abbot's Hill

Dear Jenny,

16 Abbot's Hill—vis-à-vis Mme Williams—that is the address of the 'CLIFF' where I have lodgings. But NEVER MIND! There was no price fixed for it either. The landlady first asked for £1 and then came down to 12 shillings. They are incidentally perfectly decent 'folk'; the man, a COACH BUILDER, seems also to dabble in art. He

<sup>a</sup> The sentence remained unfinished. - <sup>b</sup> i.e. 26 March - <sup>c</sup> Marx took treatment at Ramsgate from mid-April to 5 May 1874.



has painted, and not just daubed, a very idealised and RATHER enigmatic figure who stands guard at the entrance to a certain place. And in the middle of the front-garden there is a TOM-THUMB-sized clay figure of Napoleon I, standing on a brick pedestal, dressed in black, yellow and red, etc., A VERY MANLY MAN, AND WELL DONE. The landlady has a number of children, including a six-week-old BABY who often makes his presence felt in a very disagreeable manner.

The air here is delightful, but despite all the walking I do, I have not yet managed to get good night's sleep.

The place is not quite deserted, but it is the HOME BREWED PEOPLE who are most in evidence, as yet.

I hope that Jennychen is feeling better and that the EXCELLENT LITTLE MAN<sup>a</sup> is not suffering too much with his teeth. Both mother and son are constantly in my mind.

Apropos. Tell Tussychen who found Tennyson's *Alexandrovna!*<sup>14</sup> so amusing, that there is nothing new under the sun (even though she is sufficiently well versed in the Bible to need no telling). In June 1872 the *comte du Nord* (subsequently Tsar Paul, the MADMAN, who was travelling under this name) found himself in Paris with his young wife. He was present at a session of the Académie Française at which M. de la Harpe read out a poetic epistle to his *Altesse impériale.*<sup>b</sup> Each stanza ended with the word 'Petrovich' (son of Peter), of which Grimm remarks:

'Apostrophe répétée, plus ridicule encore pour les oreilles russes qu'elle n'est étrange pour les nôtres. Ce mot, lorsqu'il n'est pas précédé de quelque épithète qui le distingue, est aussi familier en russe que le serait celui de Toinette ou de Pierrot en français.'<sup>c</sup>

Tussy will be doing Tennyson a great favour if she sends this piece of information to the *Quiddities and Oddities Journal*.

GIVE MY THANKS TO ENGELS FOR HIS LETTER.<sup>15</sup> Such a punctilious correspondent is seldom met with in our *temps corrompu.*<sup>d</sup>

Adio and greetings to everyone.

Your  
Karl

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<sup>a</sup> Charles Longuet - <sup>b</sup> Imperial Highness - <sup>c</sup> 'The repetition of this name is even more ridiculous in Russian ears than it is strange in ours. Unless preceded by some distinguishing epithet, the word is as common in Russian as Toinette or Pierrot would be in French.' See F. M. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790*, Vol. 11, Paris, 1830, pp. 154-55. - <sup>d</sup> degenerate age

## 9

MARX TO JENNY LONGUET<sup>16</sup>

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate, between 20 and 24 April 1874]

Dear Jennychen,

I am sending the *épreuves*<sup>a</sup> today. Please let me have them back after Longuet has looked through them. I shall then make a definitive version of the copy to be sent to Paris.<sup>17</sup>

Today was the first day I have been able to do even the slightest amount of work. Up to now, despite baths, walks, marvellous air, care with my diet, etc., my condition was even worse than in London. Proof that the matter had reached a crisis point and that it was high time for me to disappear. For the same reason I am delaying my return, for it is absolutely vital for me to be *fit for work* when I come back. Engels' letter,<sup>15</sup> saying that he is arriving today, reminds me of one of the reasons, I SUPPOSE, for your not coming. How is your health? I am convinced that a few weeks at the SEASIDE would restore you completely. At present it is in fact more pleasant and soothing than during the actual season.

I hope that my darling Putty<sup>b</sup> will still recognise me.

Tell Tussychen that the 'SACRED MUSIC'—*sacrée musique*, as she translated it—was not actually known by this name among the frivolous Parisians, but that what it referred to had come from Italy, where they have always turned the Divine into a comedy, and was known as '*concerts spirituels*' in Diderot's day.

*Pour la bonne bouche*<sup>c</sup> Grimm retells the following witticism of the Chevalier de Boufflers:

'Les princes ont plus besoin d'être divertis qu'adorés; il n'y a que Dieu qui ait un assez grand fonds de gaieté pour ne pas s'ennuyer de tous les hommages qu'on lui rend.'<sup>d</sup>

Adieu, my darling.

Your

OLD NICK<sup>e</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> proofs (of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*) - <sup>b</sup> nickname of Charles, first-born of Jenny Longuet - <sup>c</sup> As a final titbit - <sup>d</sup> 'Princes would rather be distracted than worshipped; only God has a sense of humour great enough to prevent him from being bored by all the homage he receives.' See F. M. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790*, Vol. 7, Paris, 1829, p. 449. - <sup>e</sup> jocular name for Marx

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## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 12 May 1874

Dear Citizen,

It was not until today that I despatched to Paris the proofs<sup>a</sup> you sent me. I had a relapse; my doctor<sup>b</sup> sent me to the seaside resort of Ramsgate<sup>c</sup> and forbade me to do any work. It is as if the devil himself were involved. Now I am feeling better and hope I shall at last get it finished. There will be some three more instalments in all (including the instalment I have begun).<sup>17</sup>

I am much obliged to you for your amendments, etc. I have altered the sentence to which you drew my attention.

You will remember that I wrote to you in St Sebastian saying that Bismarck was backing Thiers, but that the Prussian ambassador, Arnim, was, with the King's<sup>d</sup> support, conspiring with the royalists. Bismarck has finally toppled Arnim and caused him to be recalled from Paris.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

Roy's manuscript was finished long ago, but as the whole thing had to be reworked from start to finish, the printer<sup>e</sup> in Paris has not yet received my version, of which only the draft has been done.

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Published in English for the first time

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<sup>a</sup> of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> Eduard Gumpert - <sup>c</sup> Marx took treatment at Ramsgate from mid-April to 5 May 1874. - <sup>d</sup> William I - <sup>e</sup> Louis Justin Lahure

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

IN HANOVER

[London,] 18 May 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I have received everything: your letters (including some kind lines from your dear wife and Fränzchen<sup>a</sup>), the 'Meyer' (police-socialist, *faiseur*,<sup>b</sup> literary scribbler),<sup>18</sup> the cuttings from the *Frankfurter*, etc., and finally a letter from Madame Tenge.

I am very grateful to you, your family and Madame Tenge for the kind interest in my progress. But you do me an injustice if you ascribe my failure to write to any other cause than shaky state of health, which continually interrupts my work, then goads me on to make up for the time lost by neglecting all other duties (letters included), and finally puts a man out of humour and makes him disinclined to activity.

After my return from Harrogate<sup>3</sup> I had an attack of carbuncles *d'abord*, then my headaches returned, insomnia, etc., so that I had to remain from the middle of April to 5 May in Ramsgate (SEASIDE).<sup>c</sup> Since then I have been feeling much better, but am far from being quite well. My specialist (Dr Gumpert in Manchester) insists upon my going to Karlsbad<sup>d</sup> and would like to make me travel there as soon as possible, but I must finally complete the French translation<sup>17</sup> which has come to a full stop, and, apart from that, I should much prefer it if I could meet you there.

In the meantime, while I was unable to write, I worked through a lot of important new material for the second volume.<sup>e</sup> But I cannot start on its final composition until the French edition is completed and my health fully restored.

So I have by no means yet decided how I shall spend the summer.

The progress of the German labour movement (ditto in Austria) is wholly satisfactory. In France the absence of a theoretical foundation and of practical COMMON SENSE is very evident. In England at the moment only the agricultural labourers' movement

<sup>a</sup> Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann - <sup>b</sup> mountebank - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 13-14. - <sup>d</sup> Czech name: Karlovy Vary. - <sup>e</sup> of *Capital*

shows any advance<sup>19</sup>; the industrial workers have first of all to get rid of their present leaders. When I denounced the fellows<sup>a</sup> at the Hague Congress<sup>20</sup> I knew that I was letting myself in for unpopularity, slander, etc., but such consequences have always been a matter of indifference to me. Here and there people are beginning to see that in making that denunciation I was only doing my duty.

In the United States our party has to fight against great difficulties, partly economic, partly political, but is making headway. The greatest obstacle there are the professional politicians, who immediately try to falsify every new movement and change it into a new 'floatation business' ['Gründungsgeschäft'].

Notwithstanding all diplomatic moves, a new war is inevitable *au peu plus tôt, au peu plus tard*,<sup>b</sup> and before its conclusion there are hardly likely to be any violent popular movements anywhere, or, at the most, they will remain local and unimportant.

The visit of the Russian emperor<sup>c</sup> is giving the London police a great deal to do and the government here will be glad to get rid of the man as soon as possible.<sup>21</sup> As a precautionary measure it requisitioned forty police (*mouchards*<sup>d</sup>), with the notorious police commissioner Bloche at their head (Ali Baba and the forty thieves), from the French government, to watch the Poles and Russians here (during the Tsar's stay). The so-called amnesty petition of the Poles here is the work of the Russian embassy; in answer to it the Poles here issued an address, written and signed by Wróblewski, which is aimed at the English and which has been distributed in large numbers at the Sunday MEETINGS in Hyde Park. The English press (with very few exceptions) is obsequious—the Tsar is after all 'OUR GUEST'; but for all that the real feeling against Russia is incomparably more hostile than it has been since the Crimean War,<sup>22</sup> and the entry of a Russian princess<sup>e</sup> into the royal family has aroused rather than disarmed suspicion. The facts—the arbitrary abrogation of the decisions concerning the Black Sea in the Paris Treaty,<sup>23</sup> the conquests and trickeries in Central Asia, etc.—irritate John Bull, and Disraeli has no chance of remaining at the helm for any length of time if he continues Gladstone's unctuous foreign policy.

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<sup>a</sup> in a speech on 3 September 1872 (see *The Hague Congress of the First International. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 37) - <sup>b</sup> sooner or later - <sup>c</sup> Alexander II - <sup>d</sup> spies - <sup>e</sup> Maria Alexandrovna

With my warmest greetings to your dear family and Madame Tenge.

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 Kugel'manu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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ENGELS TO GOTTFRIED ERMEN  
IN MANCHESTER

London, 1 June 1874

Dear Sir,

A fortnight's absence from London, and subsequently a slight cut in my hand which however disabled me for some time from writing, have caused some delay in my replying to your letter of the 16th April.

When, in 1869, we discussed the conditions on which ultimately I left the business,<sup>24</sup> I certainly gave you reason to hope that, even after the lapse of the five years stipulated, I might consent to allow you to retain my name in the firm. But this was always made dependent upon certain contingencies.

Had these contingencies been realised, I should have been quite willing, on application, to allow you to continue the use of my name in the firm.

But certainly, no word ever uttered by me could have induced you to consider yourself entitled to continue using my name after the 30th instant as a matter of course, and without my express permission.

The principal amongst these contingencies were:

1) That there should occur no collisions between the Manchester house, and that of my brothers<sup>a</sup> in Barmen. I am glad to say, that

<sup>a</sup> Hermann and Rudolf Engels

none such have occurred, and that moreover, from what I heard of my brothers last autumn, none are likely to occur, the two houses scarcely ever coming into competition.

2) That Mr Acton's views as to my not incurring any liability should prove correct.

Now I have consulted upon this point ever so many lawyers, and they are one and all unanimous as to my responsibility for all the debts of the firm so long as I allow my name to remain in the firm.

If you would be good enough to send me Mr Acton's opinion on the point written by himself, I believe I could make short work of this misunderstanding.

The point is so notorious, that it is laid down in plain terms in all handbooks on the law of partnership. I quote from one by a barrister of high reputation:

'If any retiring partner consent to be held out to the public as connected with the firm, as for instance by allowing his name to be written over the shop, or used in the advertisements or invoices of the firm, *he will continue liable.*'

So that, if there can be anything positive in English Law (which I should not risk to assert), it must be this point.

But even supposing Mr Acton to be right on this point, and all the other lawyers wrong, the contrary opinion of the others would merely prove the point to be such a knotty one that, if the very improbable case now under consideration should ever occur, and if my money should not go to the Creditors, it would surely go to the Chancery Lawyers.<sup>25</sup>

However, I shall be quite willing to give my consent to the old firm being continued for a period not extending beyond the 30th June 1875, on the condition of your giving me a distinct promise, that after the 30th of September 1875 my name shall not any longer appear as that of a partner on any goods sent out by the firm.

You see I am quite willing to do everything to facilitate the change of firm, giving you the use of my name there, where it is of most value to you, on the tickets and wrappers, for three months longer than you ask for.

Hoping that this letter will find you in good health and spirits, I remain

Yours very truly,

Fr. Engels

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

IN HANOVER

[London,] 24 June 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I have at last decided to go to Karlsbad in the middle of August with my youngest daughter Eleanor (known as Tussy). You must therefore see about lodgings and inform me approximately how much it will cost per week. What happens later will depend on circumstances.

My best greetings to the Lady Countess and Fränzchen.<sup>a</sup>

Your  
K. M.

The Austrian government would be stupid enough to put difficulties in my way; it is therefore advisable to let nobody know anything of the intended journey.

First published, in Russian, in *Pisma Marksa k Kugelmanu* (Letters from Marx to Kugelmann), Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>26</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

Ryde, 15 July 1874  
11 Nelson Street<sup>27</sup>

Dear FRED,

It is really shameful of me not to have written to you before, but, as is well known, it is very hard to find time when one is absolutely idle. This ISLAND is a little paradise, above all for the gentlemen who have everywhere turned the best-situated land into

<sup>a</sup> Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann



their own parkland. We have made a tour round the island by BOAT, have been in Ventnor, Sandown, Cowes, Newport and also on a number of walks. It is too hot to pursue the latter with any thoroughness, although compared to London, the temperature is doubtless very moderate.

Religion seems to thrive here among the NATIVES, but apart from that they are practical people. 'VOTE FOR STANLEY, THE RICH MAN', we found on posters all over the district. The Town Council of Ryde, on which various members of the Ryde Pier and Railway Company have seats and whose proceedings replace those of the House of Commons in the local press, is a true model of JOBBING.

Our LANDLORD is a SCRIPTURE READER FOR THE POOR, and his theological library, ABOUT TWO DOZEN VOLUMES, adorns our SITTING-ROOM. Although he is a member of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, I found Spurgeon's sermons among them. In Sandown, where I took a hot bath, I found a similar LIBRARY in the bathhouse, and one can scarcely move an inch without seeing posters advertising pious MEETINGS. And in fact, the PLEBS here is very poor and seems to seek its chief distraction in the church. It would be quite interesting to investigate how what was originally a community of fishermen became reduced IN NO TIME to this state of religious self-abasement. It is certainly not the result of 'over-population', since all told there are not even 100,000 genuine inhabitants.

My health is improved, above all no pills required. But my head, despite everything, is still not completely right.

Laurachen gave us great pleasure with her visit last Saturday.<sup>a</sup> Unfortunately, she had to return again on Monday evening. When we went down to the pier to see her off, we witnessed the arrival from Brighton of a Temperance gang back from an excursion. Half of them were drunk. As an old Englishman next to me remarked, it was 'THE WORST LOT HE HAD EVER MET WITH IN HIS LIFE', and neither have I ever actually experienced such a mob of stunted, loutish and smutty-minded idiots all at once, the women as ugly as sin, all of them 'young people'. FOR FOREIGNERS THIS SAMPLE OF FREEBORN BRITONS would have been an amazing sight.

It is a matter of great regret that the Emperor of Russia<sup>b</sup> didn't break his neck in Saxony. You will have seen from the newspaper reports that if the Russians promised to give Bismarck a European sanction for his Articles of War at the Brussels Congress, what they really intended was to take up the issue of MARITIME RIGHTS<sup>28</sup> on the basis of their earlier preparatory work in Paris (1856).<sup>c</sup> If

<sup>a</sup> 11 July - <sup>b</sup> Alexander II - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 18.

Gladstone had been Premier instead of Disraeli, the trick would have worked. As things stand, the congress can only be a FAILURE.

The abortive assassination attempt on Bismarck<sup>29</sup> seems, for all that, to have momentarily turned his head. Would he otherwise have talked, despite the waters at Bad Kissingen, among other things, of 'the freedom' that he himself and those who fell in the war have fought to acquire for Germany? The handsome William<sup>a</sup> for his part must consider it against all etiquette that no one thinks it worth the trouble to take a shot at him any more.

In France it is the fear of DISSOLUTION that makes the fellows so coy. MacMahon is obviously by no means as resolute as he pretends to be, despite his Royal Prussian Order in Council. He is too well aware that a coup d'état would make him dependent on the Bonapartists and would put a speedy end to his septennium.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, he is afraid of a DISSOLUTION without previously regulating or 'organising' his authority as Marshal. If the Rurals<sup>31</sup> put their interests before their ideological fancies, they will make it 'possible for him to rule' despite his reluctance. But has anything as comic as this conflict and its heroes ever been seen in world history? If the Republic pisses its way to survival, certainly no one will have been more innocent of the deed than the professional republicans themselves.

With best regards to Mrs Lizzy and Pumps.

Your  
Moor

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15

ENGELS TO MARX

IN RYDE

Ramsgate, 21 July 1874  
11 Abbot's Hill

Dear Moor,

Last Friday<sup>b</sup> evening I received out of the blue a letter from Gumpert posted in *London*; he has gone there to have an

<sup>a</sup> William I - <sup>b</sup> 17 July

operation and asked us to visit him when it is all over (Saturday). I telegraphed and wrote to him at once<sup>15</sup> and have received a reply today saying that the operation went off all right and that he hopes to be up again in a few days. Depending on what he says in his next letter, I shall visit him either this week or early next, when I have to be in London on business and to fetch Pumps.

I hope that your head has finally given in to the sea air and has ceased to rebel.

The Carlists have indulged in the pleasure of shooting a Prussian officer. So the Prussian fleet can go off there and take its revenge without delay, instead of blockading you in Ryde. It seems obvious that one way or the other the Prussians will come into conflict with Spain. In the meantime, Bismarck is putting his injured wrist to good use.<sup>29</sup> There will certainly be new legislation on the press, assembly, associations, etc.

I fear that you are deceived in William.<sup>a</sup> I suspect that from now on he will regard it as one of the chief duties of all his ministers to take all bullets upon themselves in peacetime, in accordance with the Constitution. The only aspect of constitutionalism that he takes seriously.

Friend Dizzy<sup>b</sup> will probably want to become a minority minister once more now that his crack-brained SQUIRES have compelled him, perhaps for the first time in English history, actually to revoke two parliamentary measures passed by his predecessors: the school business and now the ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION.<sup>32</sup> The jackasses don't know what they are doing by overturning the traditional unassailability and once-and-for-all establishment of laws which have been enacted. This certainly knocks quite a hole in the Old English tradition of loyalty. A few more tricks of that sort and this Tory Parliament will find itself in quite the same position as the Versailles Assembly vis-à-vis the electorate, and it will cling to its septennium just as desperately as MacMahon.<sup>30</sup>

But what a blockhead that man is! First the Prussian MESSAGE,<sup>c</sup> and then the abdication of the author of the MESSAGE,<sup>33</sup> and now the self-same MacMahon begs for a postponement, immediately after almost giving the order to charge! I think all this will come to nothing, the Assembly will pass contradictory resolutions, will adjourn its sessions until the winter, without any result, and will then start to go round in circles once again until a majority has been created in favour of dissolution. If it achieved anything, it

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<sup>a</sup> William I - <sup>b</sup> Benjamin Disraeli - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 23.

would be a sheer FLUKE, a lucky shot at billiards, and up to now this Assembly hasn't a single FLUKE to its credit.

What a financier this Magne is, wanting to squeeze even more money from already overstrained indirect taxes! And he was the financial wizard of the Second Empire! Gambetta really looks very dignified in comparison, as he stands there with his big drum with which to convert the three men of principle, Blanc, Quinet & Co.! And the beaten Italians and the beaten French celebrate the 'supremacy of the Latin race' in Avignon and Arqua over the corpse of Petrarch!<sup>34</sup> While at the same time the German philistine revels in the *Kulturkampf*<sup>35</sup> and his English equivalent gets drunk for CHURCH AND STATE. VERILY the ruling classes are going to seed at the same rate everywhere, and even our German citizens do not lag behind the times in this respect.

Best regards.

Your  
F. E.

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time

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## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

IN BRUSSELS

[London,] 23 July 1874  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Fellow Citizen,

After receipt of your last letter but one,<sup>36</sup> I myself informed Rochefort of its contents, but he had already made an agreement with the English publisher who brings out the *Lanterne anglo-française* in London.

As to the delay with our publication,<sup>a</sup> you may rest assured that no one is more distressed by it than I am. It is not, as you appear to imagine, merely a question of details and of minor corrections

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

of style; rather I had, indeed am still having, to do virtually the whole thing over again. Once condemned to this thankless task I added here and there some important new developments,<sup>17</sup> which will give the French edition—as I shall incidentally point out in the afterword—a value not possessed by the German original.<sup>a</sup> As to my French friends, they can only be of use on a few points of phraseology.

My earlier letters must have convinced you that physical weakness alone has prevented my finishing it. My health has been further aggravated by family misfortunes: Mrs Longuet's only child, a little angel ten months old,<sup>b</sup> has been taken from us by a sudden choleric attack, while my youngest daughter<sup>c</sup> has been suffering for months past from a serious illness.

However my physician<sup>d</sup>—who has given me strict instructions to refrain for the time being from work of any kind—says that a stay at Karlsbad and the taking of its mineral waters will effect a complete cure. I leave on the 15th of August, so that I shall be able to resume work at the end of September, and you have my guarantee that the task will be finished by the end of November.<sup>37</sup> At present the delay cannot be of much importance, seeing that the dead season has begun.

In any case, the previous delays, for which I was in no way responsible, and the total lack of publicity occasioned by the state of affairs in Paris, had long since killed off sales by instalment.<sup>38</sup> I have in my hands a letter from you (from San Sebastian) in which you say so categorically, adding that it would be impossible to set things in motion again until after the sale of the complete work.

I shall always be most grateful for the interest you have taken in this publication and for the patience with which you have put up with tiresome incidents. The need for a scientific basis for socialism is making itself increasingly felt in France, as everywhere else.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

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Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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<sup>a</sup> See present edition, Vol. 35. - <sup>b</sup> Charles Longuet - <sup>c</sup> Eleanor Marx - <sup>d</sup> Eduard Gumpert

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## ENGELS TO JENNY LONGUET

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 2 August 1874  
11 Abbot's Hill

My dear Jenny,

I was sorry I did not see you again before my return and now write to you to remind you of your promise to come over here for a short time.<sup>39</sup> We are staying here till Tuesday fortnight and can accommodate you any day. After all you have gone through both bodily and mentally during these last weeks, it is absolutely necessary for you to have some change of air and change of scene, and I am sure you require the seaside quite as much as Mohr and Tussy require Karlsbad. Do take me for your doctor for the nonce and let me prescribe a short term of sea air for you. The sooner you come the better it will be for you. Mrs E.<sup>a</sup> was quite vexed I had not brought you with me there and then. She and Pumps send their loves to you.

Please remember me to Longuet and believe me yours ever faithfully and affectionately

F. Engels

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time

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 4 August 1874

DEAR FRED,

Jennychen will join you the day after tomorrow; she'll probably leave by the 12 a.m. train from Maitland Station, Kentish Town. I shall come down with her for the day.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lizzie Burns

My four referees, Manning, Matheson, Seton and Adcock, all assembled at the SOLICITORS at precisely 12 o'clock on Saturday; the various STATEMENTS before the MAGISTRATE were taken care of and the papers were delivered to the HOME OFFICE by the SOLICITOR the same day. He thinks that a decision can be expected this week.<sup>40</sup>

Enclosed a letter from Lafargue of which I forgot to inform you.

For the last two days I have had the beginnings of a carbuncle on the left buttock. It will probably succumb to the mercury ointment. Sleep badly; I had taken the little chap<sup>a</sup> to my heart. Best regards to all at home.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>41</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 4 August 1874

Dear Sorge,

My long silence cannot be excused at all; *cependant il y a des circonstances atténuantes*.<sup>b</sup> That damned liver complaint has made such headway that I was positively unable to continue the revision of the French translation<sup>c</sup> (which actually amounts almost to complete rewriting), and I am very unwillingly submitting to the doctor's<sup>d</sup> orders that I go to Karlsbad. I am being assured that after my return I shall be fully able to work again, and being *unable* to work is indeed a death sentence for any man who is not a beast. The journey is expensive and so is the stay there, and what is more, it is not certain whether the foolish Austrian government might not expel me! The Prussians would scarcely be

<sup>a</sup> Charles Longuet - <sup>b</sup> however, there are extenuating circumstances - <sup>c</sup> of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>d</sup> Eduard Gumpert's

so stupid, but they like to talk the Austrians into such compromising measures; and I actually believe that the false newspaper reports that Rochefort wants to go to Karlsbad, etc., stem from Mr Stieber and are, in the final analysis, aimed at me. I have neither time nor money to waste and have therefore decided to apply for British naturalisation,<sup>40</sup> but it is very likely that the British HOME MINISTER,<sup>a</sup> who decides on naturalisation like a sultan, will upset my plans. The matter will probably be decided this week. In any event, I am going to Karlsbad, if only because of my youngest daughter<sup>b</sup> who was seriously, dangerously ill, is only now able to travel again, and has also been told by her doctor<sup>c</sup> to go to Karlsbad.

About a week ago we were afflicted by a great misfortune, the death of Jenny's (Mme Longuet's) eleven-month-old BABY,<sup>d</sup> a truly lovable child. He fell victim to a *foudroyant*<sup>e</sup> attack of gastro-enteritis.

I have given Beifuss a receipt for the monies transferred to me (and which would have been of much greater use in New York, since I need American things from time to time, publications, I mean). You must also convey my thanks to Section I for the splendid box of cigars.

The few Frenchmen (I mean of those who still stuck to us in The Hague) later turned out for the most part to be rascals, in particular M. Le Moussu, who cheated me and others out of significant sums of money<sup>f</sup> and who then resorted to infamous slanders in order to whitewash his character and present himself as an innocent whose beautiful soul has gone unappreciated.

In England the International is as good as dead for the present. The Federal Council in London exists as such only in name, although some of its members are active individually. The great event over here is the reawakening of the AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.<sup>19</sup> The failure of their initial efforts does no harm, *au contraire*. As for the urban workers, it is regrettable that the whole gang of leaders did not get into Parliament. That is the surest way of getting rid of the rascals.

In France workers' syndicates are being organised in the various big cities and are in correspondence with one another. They confine themselves to *purely professional* matters, nor can they do anything else. Otherwise they would be suppressed without further ado. In this way they are keeping some sort of

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<sup>a</sup> Robert Lowe - <sup>b</sup> Eleanor - <sup>c</sup> Elisabeth Anderson-Garrett (see next letter) - <sup>d</sup> Charles - <sup>e</sup> sudden and terrible - <sup>f</sup> See this volume, pp. 11, 12.



organisation, a point of departure for the time when freer movement will again be possible.

By their own practical impotence, Spain, Italy, and Belgium demonstrate the content of their super-socialism.

In Austria our people are working under the most difficult conditions; they are compelled to move with the greatest caution. Nevertheless they have made one great advance: they have prevailed upon the Slav workers in Prague and elsewhere to act together with the German workers.<sup>42</sup> During the final period of the General Council in London I had tried in vain to achieve an understanding of this sort.

In Germany Bismarck is working for us.

General European conditions are such as to increasingly wage a *general European war*. We shall have to pass through it before there can be any thought of decisive overt activity on the part of the European working class.

My wife and children send you their best regards.

Your  
Karl Marx

Despite errors of all sorts, the publication of B. Becker's pamphlet on Lassalle's movement<sup>a</sup> is very useful in putting an end to the sect.

You will have noticed how semi-taught philistine fantasies make their appearance in the *Volksstaat* from time to time. Such stuff emanates from schoolmasters, doctors and students. Engels has told Liebknecht off about it, which he seems to need from time to time.

In judging conditions in France, especially those in Paris, it should not be forgotten that alongside the official military and political authorities the gang of epauletted Bonapartist blackguards is still secretly active out of which the great republican Thiers formed the *military courts* for slaughtering the Communards. They constitute a sort of secret tribunal of terror; their *mouchards*<sup>b</sup> are everywhere, making the Parisian workers' districts, in particular, unsafe.

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<sup>a</sup> B. Becker, *Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's*. - <sup>b</sup> police spies

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

IN HANOVER

[London,] 4 August 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

About a week ago I wrote your dear wife a few lines,<sup>12</sup> telling her of the death of my only grandson<sup>a</sup> and the serious illness of my youngest daughter.<sup>b</sup> This was not an isolated but rather an acute outbreak of an illness from which she has long suffered. Eleanor is now up again, much sooner than her doctor (Madame Dr Anderson-Garrett) had dared to hope. She is able to travel, though of course still delicate. Madame Anderson thinks the Karlsbad waters will help considerably to restore her health, just as Dr Gumpert *ordered* rather than *recommended* me to go there. It is naturally difficult for me to leave Jenny<sup>c</sup> now (I mean IN ABOUT TWO weeks). I am in this respect less stoical than in others and family afflictions always hit me hard. The more one lives, as I do, almost cut off from the outside world, the more one is entangled in the emotional life of one's own circle.

You must send me your exact Karlsbad address by all means and, in particular, make my excuses to your wife and Fränzchen<sup>d</sup> for not answering their kind and affectionate letters.

Your

K. M.

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Printed according to the original

<sup>a</sup> Charles Longuet - <sup>b</sup> Eleanor Marx - <sup>c</sup> Longuet - <sup>d</sup> Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann

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

IN HANOVER

[London,] 10 August 1874

Dear Kugelmann,

I cannot leave here before 15 August (Saturday)<sup>43</sup> and shall take about 4 days to get to our destination, since Tussy<sup>a</sup> must not exert herself too much.

*Salut.*

Your  
K. M.

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22

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, Wednesday,  
12 August [1874]

Dear Moor,

*Peasant War*<sup>b</sup> received with thanks.

Be so good and write at once a few lines about how you are, if you have not done so already. Jenny<sup>c</sup> has heard from Longuet that your leg is not all it should be and she is so worried about it that yesterday she was talking about going back to see you. The sea is visibly doing her good, the bathing is also good for her and her cough is gone, as far as I can judge. Unfortunately, she is still suffering from insomnia somewhat, and I do not know what to do about that except to advise her to try and snatch a little sleep after meals, which she has just done with success.

<sup>a</sup> Eleanor Marx - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - <sup>c</sup> Longuet

In general, it would be good if you could write to her more frequently; you know how much she is attached to you.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>44</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 14 August 1874

DEAR FRED,

I suppose you will have received the letter<sup>12</sup> I posted to you last Tuesday<sup>a</sup>? If not, we shall have to ask the Post Office to look into it, since another letter that Tussychen wrote likewise failed to arrive.

On going through the accounts with my wife yesterday, it turned out that she had had many additional expenses. So I gave her some of the money intended for my trip<sup>43</sup>: £16.5sh. for the LANDLORD and £15 for herself. For the moment I do not need more than what is left after I have made various purchases for the journey, and since I do not expect to be leaving Karlsbad before 18 or 20 September, you could send me what money I need then out of the next quarter's allowance.

However, it is very improbable that I shall be able to stay in Karlsbad. Last week there was a trial in Vienna where the accused was indicted on a number of counts, including the charge that he had sent a photograph of the 'Social Communist K.M.' (as the prosecutor described me) to London. Admittedly, this charge was not held by the court to be a criminal act.

New arrests have been made at all the Russian universities,<sup>45</sup> and it is obvious that throughout Europe the attempt is being made once again to turn the 'International' into a bogey.

<sup>a</sup> 11 August

HOWEVER THAT MAY BE, I shall set off tomorrow, since otherwise I shall arrive too late in the SEASON.

Tussy is feeling much better; her appetite is growing in geometric PROPORTION, but it is the characteristic feature of these women's ailments in which hysteria plays a part; you have to pretend not to notice that the invalid is again living on earthly sustenance. This too becomes unnecessary once recovery is complete.

The carbuncle did not develop into anything big, but it did go deep. Since yesterday the discharge has *quite stopped*, so it is starting to heal. A real blessing that I did not set off earlier. It could have been really unpleasant while travelling. HOWEVER, it was idiotic of Longuet to write about it to Jennynchen. If there is any harassment in Karlsbad, I suppose I shall be compelled to beat a retreat to Hamburg. Borkheim is away.

With best regards to all.

Your  
K. M.

Has Jennynchen received the *Lanterne* which I posted off at the same time as the *Peasant War*<sup>a</sup>?

If Rochefort fails to produce a good *Lanterne* this week, he will have to be written off. The French government is doing all that is humanly possible to ridicule other people.

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24

MARX TO JENNY LONGUET<sup>16</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 14 August 1874

My darling Child,

I think that you will have received at long last the letter<sup>12</sup> I addressed to Engels last Tuesday.<sup>b</sup> If not, enquiries should be

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. - <sup>b</sup> 11 August

made at the Post Office, since such irregularities should not be allowed to pass without comment.

It was very wrong of Longuet to alarm you with the story of my carbuncle. Yesterday morning the so-called core came out, putting an end to the discharge. I then immediately put a plaster on it, which likewise began to have its usual effect. So you can see, my dear child, that all is well in this respect.

As far as my naturalisation is concerned,<sup>40</sup> my SOLICITOR had not received any further NEWS from the HOME OFFICE by last night. I shall go and see him again today. Come what may I shall take my departure tomorrow evening.<sup>43</sup> At the worst I should find myself forced to retreat from Karlsbad to Hamburg, which would be vexing enough, if only on account of the expense. After a long period in which neither the 'International' nor myself had attracted any attention, it is very curious that my name should have figured again JUST NOW in trials in Petersburg and Vienna, and that ridiculous RIOTS in Italy<sup>46</sup> should be connected not only with the 'International' but (see the reports from Rome in today's *Daily News*<sup>a</sup>) directly with me. The insinuation of the Rome correspondent that the INTERNATIONAL RIOTERS are acting on behalf of the Papists smells very much like a recipe provided by Bismarck.

Yesterday's *Evening Standard* contained a small LEADER which began with the words: 'THE INTERNATIONAL HAS BEEN SCOTCHED, BUT NOT KILLED.'<sup>b</sup> This was with reference to the arrest of 80 people in Marseilles,<sup>c</sup> something which is said to be secretly linked with the Italian farce, although the true connection was in fact very PALPABLE: *Bazaine s'est échappé.*<sup>47</sup> *Donc*—as compensation *Macmahoniste*—*80 Communards à Marseille sont arrêtés.*<sup>d</sup> The *Standard*, which at the level of sheer police nastiness can vie with *The Daily News*, goes on to comment that these REVOLUTIONISTS become very conservative as soon as they can lay hands on the smallest bit of property, and that they are nothing but penniless rabble, etc. In the same issue there is a telegram from Marseilles according to which one of the men arrested is a millionaire. BRAVE FELLOWS, THOSE BRITISH GENTLEMEN OF THE 'FREEST PRESS IN THE WORLD'! Moreover, it is a remarkable fact that various French (Parisian) papers which I have

<sup>a</sup> 'International Bands in the Romagna (From Our Own Correspondent), Rome, August 10', *The Daily News*, No. 8831, 14 August 1874. - <sup>b</sup> *The Evening Standard*, 13 August 1874 ('The Internationalist snake has been scotched, not killed...') - <sup>c</sup> *The Evening Standard* of 13 August 1874 also reported on the arrests in Marseilles, in an item entitled 'The Arrest of Communists at Marseilles'. - <sup>d</sup> Bazaine has escaped. Whereupon—as a MacMahonist retaliation—80 Communards were arrested in Marseilles.

seen—including some very conservative ones—do not make any attempt to link the Italian farce with the ‘International’.

Now to another topic. Frankel and Utin were here yesterday evening. The latter brought the news that Madame Tomanovsky has got *married*. (What he was uncertain about—quite between ourselves—was whether her imminent confinement had been prepared before or after the wedding. Nor did he have any details yet about the fortunate husband.<sup>a</sup>) Frankel was very upset by this unexpected blow.

General Cecilia bored me for 3 to 4 hours the day before yesterday. Among other things, he told me that they (*id est*,<sup>b</sup> as we already knew, he and his party, C. Martin) were founding a school for the French refugee children. In it, he said, *l'enseignement de l'hygiène*<sup>c</sup> was to play a part, as well as *économie sociale*, and would I do him the favour of composing A PRIMER for this on the English pattern? He also told me with great indignation that in one of its latest issues *Le Figaro* had made the grotesque assertion that the Republic had ruined France by its appointment of 4 generals *qui s'appellent*: Crémieux, Glais-Bizoin, Cecilia—*et* Lissagaray! I whispered this flattering piece of news into the latter's ear that very evening.

I am just gossiping on because I scarcely dare mention the only subject which interests you. The house is as silent as the grave, now that our little angel<sup>d</sup> is not there to animate it. I miss him at every turn. My heart bleeds when I think of him, and how can one get such a sweet, lovable little chap out of one's mind! But I hope, my child, that you will be brave for your old man's sake.

*Adieu*, my darling Schwärzchen,<sup>e</sup>

Your loving,

OLD NICK<sup>f</sup>

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

Printed according to the original

<sup>a</sup> Ivan Davydovskiy - <sup>b</sup> that is to say - <sup>c</sup> instruction in hygiene - <sup>d</sup> Charles, Jenny Longuet's son - <sup>e</sup> Marx's affectionate name for his daughter Jenny, alluding to her dusky appearance—'schwarz' means black. - <sup>f</sup> jocular name for Marx

25

MARX TO ENGELS<sup>16</sup>

IN LONDON

Karlsbad, Austria,  
1 September 1874  
Germania, am Schlossberg

Dear FRED,

By next Wednesday<sup>a</sup> I shall have been here for two weeks and my powder, ALIAS MONEY, will just suffice for a third week. If you should write to me, please use the above address, but put Miss Eleanor Marx on the envelope. The cure has done wonders for Tussy; I am feeling better but my insomnia has not yet been overcome.

We are both living in strict accordance with the rules. We go to our respective springs at 6 every morning, where I have to drink seven glasses. Between each two glasses there has to be a break of 15 minutes during which one marches up and down. After the last glass, an hour's WALK, and finally, coffee. Another cold glass in the evenings before bed.

I am not allowed to drink anything but pure Pumpenheimer<sup>b</sup>; Tussy, on the other hand, DAILY receives a glass of Pilsner beer, which makes me envious. The doctor<sup>c</sup> prescribed for me by Kugelmann, an Austrian, very like the celebrated General Cecilia in his mannerisms, speech, etc., felt some initial anxiety at the prospect of my staying here. On his advice I have registered as Charles Marx, Privatier,<sup>d</sup> London, and this 'Privatier' meant that I had to pay double the usual *spa taxes*, both for Eleanor and myself, into the worthy municipal treasury. But it did remove the suspicion that I might be the notorious Karl Marx. Yesterday,<sup>e</sup> however, I was denounced as such in the Viennese scandal-sheet *Sprudel* (a spa paper), and the Polish patriot Count Plater (a good Catholic and liberal aristocrat) was bracketed with me as 'head of the Russian Nihilists'.<sup>48</sup> But this has probably come too late, since I already have the municipal receipt for the spa tax I have paid. I could also have lived much more cheaply than where Kugelmann has lodged me, but his arrangements were useful and possibly

<sup>a</sup> 2 September - <sup>b</sup> i.e. water - <sup>c</sup> probably Ferdinand Fleckles - <sup>d</sup> private gentleman - <sup>e</sup> Marx is mistaken. It should be 'the day before yesterday', i.e. 30 August (see *Der Sprudel*, No. 18, 30 August 1874).



essential, in view of my specific need to appear respectable. I shall not travel back via Hanover *under any circumstances*, although Kugelmann does not yet know it, but shall instead take the southern route by which I came. The man irritates me with his grizzling and carping—and the sheer brutishness with which he quite baselessly poisons both his own life and that of his family. On the other hand, it is quite possible that I shall have to remain in Karlsbad for five weeks.

The surroundings here are very beautiful, and one cannot have enough of the walks here over the wooded granite mountains. But there are no birds in these forests. Birds are healthy and do not like the mineral vapours.

I hope that Jennychen is feeling somewhat better.

Best regards to all from

Moor

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

Printed according to the original

26

## ENGELS TO MARX<sup>49</sup>

IN KARLSBAD

London, 5 September 1874

Dear Moor,

Arrived back safely last night, or rather at 2 a.m., after a very rough but splendid sea-crossing<sup>39</sup>—waves up to 20 feet high. Jenny rather sea-sick at first, but better after *σεισάκθεια*<sup>a</sup>; [she spent] the whole time on deck in a warm, very well-sheltered place. Her chief problem is now irregular sleep, the poor girl spends the whole night brooding over her dead baby,<sup>b</sup> and there is nothing that can be done about it.

Last Sunday<sup>c</sup> I wrote to you<sup>15</sup> at Kugelmann's address, enclosing a CROSSED CHEQUE for £30 made out to him. Should you be unable to cash it, telegraph Miss Burns: CHEQUE RETURNED, and then

<sup>a</sup> vomiting - <sup>b</sup> Charles Longuet - <sup>c</sup> 30 August

either send or bring the cheque back with you and I shall send notes. This is for the worst eventuality; I couldn't manage things otherwise, but assume that on arrival it will be all right. If the sum is insufficient, as I almost suspect from your letter which was waiting for me here,<sup>a</sup> just drop me a line, and more will follow. At any event you must take the cure for as long as the doctor thinks necessary, and I enclose a further 2 £5 notes which I happen still to have for all eventualities—the first halves now, the second to follow in a few days. PARTICULARS OF NOTES AT FOOT.

Also waiting for me was a letter from Mesa<sup>50</sup>—a very pleasant surprise, very nice of him.

That the cure should begin by making your insomnia worse if anything seems normal to me in view of the inevitably stimulating effect of the waters. If you keep your doctor informed about the progress of this symptom, he will modify his orders accordingly, and make sure that the matter does not become too serious.

Jenny wrote to Tussy this week—I think it was Tuesday or Wednesday, the letter will probably have arrived by now.

Jenny suffered no after-effects from the tour of the caves, so that even a two-hour trip in an open carriage in the rain last Tuesday—the weather came down on us on the way home—went off well. She was in any case well protected with umbrella, WATERPROOF and SHAWL. On the whole, however, we had constant fine weather up to the very last days, while reports are that it has rained mercilessly on the continent.

Jersey has changed significantly since we were last there.<sup>51</sup> A tremendous amount of building, elegant villas, large hotels, dear, almost English prices in them, and at the market, too, everything more expensive; the London market forces prices up even here. The French language is rapidly disappearing, even country children speak almost nothing but English among themselves, and people under 30 almost all speak English without a trace of a French accent. Only the older notables cling to French. There are also two small railways there now on which you never hear a word of French. In the season 5 different entrepreneurs organise excursions around the island every day. We went on one with more than 150 people in 8-9 carriages. The public: philistines, CLERK and VOLUNTEER, and snobs all providing much occasion for amusement and sometimes annoyance. On such trips even in Jersey the TRUE BRITON casts off his laboriously acquired DOMESTICATION, but resumes it all the more conscientiously at the *table d'hôte*.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 33-34.

The growing supply of money among certain up-and-coming individuals—one can scarcely speak of strata—in the lower English middle class, and the SPREAD of luxuries and of the affectation of RESPECTABILITY associated with it, could be seen very clearly in Jersey precisely because Jersey is still counted a cheap and hence unfashionable little island. The RESPECTABILITY STANDARD of travellers to Jersey seems to diminish each year—an observation, incidentally, which we made also in Ramsgate, where no one complained about it more bitterly than the wretched barber who cut our hair so short last April.

*Nunc autem domine dimittis*<sup>a</sup>—I still have a pile of things to write, and it is time to have this letter registered. Best regards to Tussy, ditto Wenzel.<sup>b</sup>

Your  
General<sup>c</sup>

D 67, 77773 and 4, London, 13 July 1874. 2 £5- BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES, 1st halves enc.

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

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27

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>52</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 12[-17] September 1874

Dear Sorge,

The invoice you requested enclosed.<sup>d</sup> As far as the German Rules<sup>e</sup> are concerned, please look in the books to see whether the printing costs for them were paid for by the old General Council

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<sup>a</sup> But now, O Lord, dismiss me (cf. Luke 2:29). - <sup>b</sup> Ludwig Kugelmann - <sup>c</sup> jocular name for Engels - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 44-45. - <sup>e</sup> K. Marx, *Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* (K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*).

or not. I think not; they were charged up to *me privately* by the *Volksstaat* and, to the best of my knowledge, I have never been reimbursed. However, if the amount appears in the account book as one laid out by the General Council here, then obviously the copies will be inherited by the new General Council and the balance in its favour vis-à-vis myself rises to £6.3.6. Unless you have any claims on the money, which of course take precedence, the present General Council can use it as it wishes, *if you agree*. I have advanced £32 for the cost of printing the *Alliance*<sup>a</sup> and shall *certainly* lose something like half of it, so that there may be a nice little counter invoice at the end of the year. The fact is it would be idiotic to hand the money over to these nonentities who are only there to make sure that everything goes wrong.

With your resignation<sup>55</sup> the *old* International is entirely wound up and at an end anyhow. And that is a good thing. It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, when the oppression throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal controversy for the workers' movement, then just reawakening. It was the moment when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore. Germany, Spain, Italy, and Denmark had only just entered the movement or were entering it. In reality, the theoretical character of the movement in 1864 was still very unclear throughout Europe, that is, among the masses. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, the Proudhonism was too weak to be able to insist on its particular fads, Bakunin's new trash did not yet exist even in his own head, and even the leaders of the English TRADE-UNIONS thought they could enter the movement on the basis of the programme laid down in the *Considérants*<sup>b</sup> of the Rules.<sup>c</sup> The first great success was bound to explode this naive conjunction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was beyond doubt the child of the International intellectually, though the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International—to that extent with full justification—was held responsible. When, thanks to the Commune, the International became a moral force in Europe, the row began at once. Each tendency wanted to exploit the success for itself. The inevitable decomposition set in. Jealousy of the growing power of the only people who were really ready to continue working along the lines of the old comprehensive programme—the German Communists—drove the Belgian

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - <sup>b</sup> Preamble - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Provisional Rules of the Association*.

Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakuninist adventurers. The Hague Congress was actually the end—and for both parties.<sup>20</sup> The only country where something could still be accomplished in the name of the International was America, and by a fortunate instinct the executive was transferred there. Now its prestige is exhausted there too, and any further effort to galvanise new life into it would be folly and a waste of energy. For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies—and can look back upon its work with pride. But in its old form it has outlived itself. In order to produce a new International like the old one—an alliance of all the proletarian parties of all countries—a general suppression of the workers' movement like that which prevailed from 1849 to 1864 would be necessary. For this the proletarian world has now become too big, too extensive. I think the next International—after Marx's writings have been at work for some years—will be directly Communist and will openly proclaim our principles.

Stahl from Chicago was here. A man of much practical ability, like most German Americans. I liked him in other respects too, but this does not mean that he won't do anything silly in Germany. Even he is not entirely immune to that conciliation nonsense.

The Belgians and the Bakuninists are now holding their congress in Brussels.<sup>54</sup> For reports see *The Times*, London, of 10 September et seq.<sup>a</sup> Fourteen full delegates: one German (Lassallean), one Frenchman, one Spaniard (an unknown called Gomez), one Schwitzguébel. The remainder all Belgians. General disagreement on all essentials, concealed by the fact that they did not debate, but only narrated and listened. Admittedly, I have only seen one report. The Italians announced what amounted to their resignation; a public International could only harm them, they intended in future only to conspire. The Spaniards are leaning in the same direction. For the rest, they just tell each other lies about the colossal movements they are creating. And they imagine they will still find people who will be taken in.

Mr Bastelica, too, has become a Bonapartist agent. In Strasbourg, he made approaches of that nature to Avrial, a former member of the Commune, and was, of course, shown the door. One by one, these anarchists all end up in the same way.

Mesa has written to me from Madrid saying that he will have to go to Paris because government persecution is becoming more

<sup>a</sup> *The Times*, Nos. 28104, 28105, 28107, 28108, 28109; 10, 11, 14, 15, 16 September 1874 ('The Seventh International Working Men's Congress').

than he can bear. So we are back in contact with Spain once more.<sup>50</sup>

In Germany things are going splendidly despite the persecutions, in part *because of* the persecutions. The Lassalleans have become so discredited by their representatives in the Reichstag that the government had to start harassing them just so as to convey the impression that they are a serious movement. That aside, ever since the elections, the Lassalleans have found it necessary to cling to the coat-tails of our people.<sup>4</sup> It was a real stroke of luck for Hasselmann and Hasenclever to have been voted into the Reichstag. They are visibly ruining their reputation there: either they will have to join our people or make a mess of things off their own bat. Either course will finish them off.

Mr Jung thought it fitting to write to Liebknecht and make advances to him! Liebknecht sent me the letter and I have shown it to people who will reveal this to Mr Jung.

Marx is in Karlsbad drinking the waters to restore his liver.<sup>43</sup> He has had a lot of bad luck. Scarcely had he managed to recover somewhat in July on the Isle of Wight<sup>27</sup> when he had to return because his youngest daughter<sup>a</sup> suddenly fell seriously ill. No sooner had he arrived than Jenny's little boy<sup>b</sup> died at the age of about one year. That really hit him hard again. I think that once his liver is all right again the cure may more easily have an effect on his overworked nervous system. All the doctors prophesied that Karlsbad would do him a lot of good. Up to now the Austrian government has left him in peace, and he will probably be leaving at the end of this week.

The squabbles in New York, which made it impossible for you to remain in the General Council any longer, are just as much proof as consequence of the fact that the thing has outlived itself. When circumstances no longer allow a society to act effectively, when the first thing to be done is simply to keep the bond of union tied so that it can be used again when the occasion arises, there are always people to be found who cannot fit themselves into this situation, definitely want to play the BUSYBODY, and demand that 'something be done', and this something can then only be folly. And if these people succeed in getting the majority, they compel everyone who does not want to bear the responsibility for their absurdities to resign. What good fortune that we did not send the minute books over!

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<sup>a</sup> Eleanor - <sup>b</sup> Charles, first-born of Jenny Longuet

The French refugees are in utter chaos. They have all fallen out with each other and with everyone else for *quite personal reasons*, money matters for the most part, and we are now almost entirely rid of them. They all want to live without doing any real work, their heads are full of imagined inventions which would bring in millions if only someone would enable them to exploit their discoveries, a matter of just a few pounds. But anyone who is naive enough to take them at their word will be cheated of his money and denounced as a bourgeois into the bargain. Le Moussu has behaved more disgracefully than anyone and now stands exposed as a charlatan pure and simple.<sup>a</sup> All these people have been horribly demoralised by their dissolute life during the war, the Commune and in exile, and the situation really has to be desperate to rescue a Frenchman once he has let himself go. The great mass of politically unknown French workers, on the other hand, has simply abandoned politics for the moment and found work here.

Best regards.

Your  
F. Engels

17 September 1874

*General Council of the International Working Men's Association*

On account with F. Engels

Account No. 1<sup>b</sup>

1873 Nov.	Received per Serrailier		£16.-.-
	Sept. Telegram to New York		£1.16.-
	" 25 copies 'Alliance' <sup>c</sup> by post	2/-	£2.10.-
1874 Feb.	12 " "	2/-	£1.4.-
	" 12 " "	2/-	£1.4.-
	" 100 Engl. 'Rules' <sup>d</sup> by post	1½d.	£12.6
	" 400 " "	1½d.	£2.10-
	" 300 Ger. "	1d.	£1.5.-£11.1.6

Balance in favour of the General Council £4.18.6

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 11-13. - <sup>b</sup> The account is written on a separate sheet of paper and enclosed with this letter. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - <sup>d</sup> K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*.

## Account No. 2

1874 August. Printing costs of *L'Alliance* advanced by  
 F. Engels ..... £32.-  
 Up to now have received payment only  
 for the above-mentioned 49 copies for Amer-  
 ica (not reckoning postage) £4.18.-  
 There remains owing to me £27.2.-  
 (Accounts with Darson and Meissner still  
 to be settled.)

London, 17 September 1874

F. Engels

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

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>16</sup>

IN LONDON

Karlsbad, 18 September 1874

Dear FRED,

We shall set off on Monday<sup>a</sup>; we shall make for Hamburg via Leipzig,<sup>43</sup> where I shall stop off for a while and see Wilhelm.<sup>b</sup>

You know that I am very lazy when it comes to writing, but on this occasion that was not the cause of my stubborn silence. The first three weeks were spent *almost without sleep*. Together with the exertion here that will make it all clear to you.

Although you drink only in the morning (evenings, before going to bed, we have a cold glass from a special spring brought into the house), the fact is that the whole day you find yourself caught up in a sort of machine that hardly leaves you a minute.

<sup>a</sup> 21 September - <sup>b</sup> Liebknecht



Up at 5 or half past 5 in the morning. Then 6 glasses from different springs, one after the other. There must be at least a quarter of an hour between each glass.

Then breakfast is prepared, beginning with the purchase of pastry appropriate to the cure. After that, a walk lasting at least one hour. Finally, some of the very excellent coffee available here in one of the coffee houses outside the town. This is followed by a walking tour through the surrounding hills; at ABOUT noon you return home, but have to take a bath every other day, which takes up yet another hour.

There follows a change of toilette; *puis*<sup>a</sup> luncheon in a local hotel.

Sleeping *after* meals is strictly forbidden (it is allowed before meals) and rightly so, as I have become convinced after a single attempt. So, another tour, alternating with an excursion. Return to Karlsbad 6-8 in the evening, a light snack, and—to bed. This programme is varied by visits to the theatre (which always closes at 9, like all other ENTERTAINMENTS), concerts and reading room.

The effect of the waters is to make my head very IRRITABLE. So you will appreciate how unbearable Kugelmann has become in the long run. He had been so considerate as to give me a room between his and Tussy's so that I enjoyed him, not just when we were together, but also when I was alone. I patiently endured the way he incessantly poured out his solemn, long-winded balderdash in his deep voice. I had greater difficulty in putting up with the gang of Hamburg-Bremen-Hanover philistines, male and female alike, who simply refused to leave me in peace. But my patience came to an end finally when he inflicted his family scenes on me. The fact is that this arch-pedant, this pettifogging, bourgeois philistine has got the idea that his wife<sup>b</sup> is unable to understand him, to comprehend his Faustian nature with its aspirations to a higher world outlook, and he torments the woman, who is his superior in every respect, in the most repulsive manner. So it led to a quarrel between us; I moved to a higher floor, completely liberated myself from him (he was having a ruinous effect on my cure) and we only became reconciled once more just before his departure (which took place last Sunday<sup>c</sup>). However, I declared point-blank that I would not visit him in Hanover.

A man who turned out to be quite an agreeable companion was Simon Deutsch (the same one I had the row with in Paris, and who looked me up without more ado here). In addition half the

<sup>a</sup> then - <sup>b</sup> Gertrud Kugelmann - <sup>c</sup> 13 September

local medical faculty soon assembled round my daughter<sup>a</sup> and me; all very acceptable people for my present purpose when I have to think little and laugh often. Also Knille, the painter from Berlin, a very charming chap.

Shall regale you in London with some amusing details of my adventures with Hans Heiling Kugelmann.

The more one hears of the details about the 'situation in Austria' the more one becomes convinced that this state is coming to the end of the line.

Up to now I have lost about 4 lbs (imperial weight) and even with my hand I can feel that the fat on my liver is in a *status evanescens*. I believe that I have finally achieved my purpose in Karlsbad, at least for a year. It would give me great pleasure if I could find a few lines from you awaiting me at Meissner's in Hamburg.

With best regards from Tussy and me to Madame Lizzy and Pumps.

Your  
Moor

I was invited to go to Ischl (by Dr Kraus, editor of the *Wiener Medizinische Zeitung*<sup>b</sup>) and to Prague by Mr Oppenheim (the brother of Mrs Kugelmann and a very agreeable man), but after a certain stage is reached, one longs to be back at home.

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## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 20 September 1874

Dear Friend,

My daughter<sup>a</sup> and I had been eagerly looking forward to spending a few days with you in Prague and we had made all our

<sup>a</sup> Eleanor - <sup>b</sup> *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung*

arrangements yesterday to make our way tomorrow (Monday) to the old Hussite city. Today, however, simultaneously with your kind letter, we received news from Hamburg which makes it imperative for me to choose the direct route via Leipzig in order to settle some business.<sup>43</sup>

However, all is not lost. I am almost certain to be coming back to Karlsbad next year and will incorporate the visit to Prague in my travel plans from the very start. Your sister<sup>a</sup> will already have written to you how very anxious I am, quite apart from the varied points of interest which Prague itself has to offer, to extend my personal acquaintance with yourself beyond the brief intermezzo here at the spa.

Farewell and rest assured of my feelings of friendship towards you; my travelling companion sends her best regards.

Yours,  
Karl Marx

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Köln, 21. Februar 1933

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time

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ENGELS TO MARX  
IN HAMBURG

London, 21 September 1874

Dear Moor,

I would have written to you long before, had it not been for the fact that the news from Karlsbad left me in doubt whether a letter would still reach you.

Delighted to hear that Karlsbad has borne fruit. Once your liver is back in working order, it will be possible in due course to calm down your nervous system again after the further stimulation provoked by the cure. You will also have to continue the treatment on your return and should bring instructions with you from

<sup>a</sup> Gertrud Kugelmann

Karlsbad about how to proceed. It was absurd of you not to have gone via Dresden; the journey is much prettier and some idle touring would have done you good just now. But there is still time to visit the Holstein coast from Hamburg and you should in any case spend a few days there, it is very attractive. If you are SHORT OF CASH Meissner can give you an advance and we shall pay him back from here.

You will have seen reports of the Brussels congress<sup>54</sup> in *The Times*; they were obviously written by Wingfield, or whatever his name is, who was in The Hague. IT WAS A MISERABLE FAILURE: 14 people, all Belgians apart from 2 German Lassalleans (Frohme from Frankfurt and ?<sup>a</sup>), Schwitzguébel, 1 Spaniard, Gomez, and Eccarius.—Rochat has sent us a highly entertaining account of the nonsense in a small Brussels paper, *La Gazette*.<sup>b</sup>

Furthermore, the two Scheus<sup>c</sup> and the restless Frankel were within an ace of destroying the German communist society here.<sup>55</sup> Determined to prove that they could act, they arranged a public meeting in their pub and invited the Lassallean robber band of *Zilinski et Co.*, whom they had such difficulty in ejecting only 2 years previously! I learned of it only when it was too late, gave Frankel a piece of my mind and also gave him instructions about what to do, whereupon, naturally, he did the opposite. WELL, as was to be expected, Zilinski turned up with 50-60 men (while from the society there were barely 10 men!), packed the committee with his own supporters and they HAD IT ALL THEIR OWN WAY. Finally, the meeting was adjourned, and so we were spared the worst, but it is not over yet. Since I have not yet seen Lessner (who must have something on his conscience, otherwise he would have come), I have not yet had a reliable report on what transpired. Frankel is very peeved about his act of heroism and your wife has given him a good scolding. The Scheus appear to be IRREPRESSIBLE MEDDLERS.

In Leipzig you will perhaps have a chance to see Bloß who is being released tomorrow or the day after. At any rate, you will have heard that the Cologne workers want to publish a daily paper and Bloß has approached me to find out whether they could call it *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*—Bloß is to be the editor. Since it was not possible to confer with you—at the start of your stay in Karlsbad and before any news had arrived from you—I had to make a provisional decision. CONSIDERING that this is the first time that these people have approached US IN A BECOMING MANNER, 2. that it is unlikely that we shall ever publish a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* again

<sup>a</sup> Paul Kersten - <sup>b</sup> *La Gazette de Bruxelles* - <sup>c</sup> Heinrich and Andreas

ourselves, if only because of the provincial nature of Cologne, I had no objection *quant à moi*,<sup>a</sup> and I also hazarded the opinion that you too would agree to it. Jenny,<sup>b</sup> whom I consulted as your representative, was also of this opinion. It would have made a very shabby impression on the Rhineland workers if we had refused. However, if you have any objections there is still time to reverse the matter.<sup>56</sup>

The *Volksstaat* under Wilhelm<sup>c</sup> is becoming worse and even more boring thanks to the tendency to accept materials uncritically just to fill up space. Only here and there is there anything readable.

I am deeply immersed in the doctrine of essence. Back from Jersey, I found Tyndall's and Huxley's speeches in Belfast<sup>57</sup> waiting for me, which once again reveal the plight of these people, and the way they are stuck fast in the thing-in-itself and their cry of anguish for a philosophy to rescue them. This brought me back again, after all manner of interruptions on the first week, to the theme of dialectics. In view of the feeble mind of the natural scientists, the great *Logic*<sup>d</sup> can only be used sparingly, although as far as dialectics are concerned, it goes much more nearly to the heart of the matter. But the account of it in the *Encyclopaedia*,<sup>e</sup> on the other hand, could have been tailor-made for these people, the illustrations are taken largely from their own subject and are striking, and at the same time, because of the more popular presentation, they are freer of idealism. Now, since I neither can nor will exempt these gentlemen from the punishment of having to learn from Hegel, it is clear that there is a veritable treasure-trove here, all the more so since even today the old fellow can give them a number of tough nuts to crack. Tyndall's inaugural lecture, incidentally, is the boldest speech to have been delivered in England to such an audience, and has created a tremendous impression and panic. It is evident that Haeckel's much more incisive manner of speaking has not let him rest. I have the *verbatim* report in *Nature*, which you can read here. His acknowledgement to Epicurus will amuse you. So much is certain: the return to a genuinely reflective view of nature is making much more serious progress here in England than in Germany, and people here seek salvation at least in Epicurus, Descartes, Hume and Kant, rather than in Schopenhauer and Hartmann. The

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<sup>a</sup> for my part - <sup>b</sup> Jenny Longuet - <sup>c</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>d</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*. - <sup>e</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Part I: *Die Logik*.

French thinkers of the eighteenth century, of course, are still taboo.

In New York, the rowdies and braggarts have obtained a majority in the General Council, and *Sorge has abdicated*<sup>a</sup> and completely retired. All the better. It means that we have absolutely no responsibility for the nonsense any more and it will soon die a natural death. How fortunate that we have records of the proceedings!

*Quant à la grande politique*,<sup>b</sup> we can fortunately LET IT TAKE CARE OF ITSELF; there will be time enough to laugh about it all when you return.

Otherwise everything here is ALL RIGHT, Jenny looked very well the day before yesterday and was in high spirits. Wróblewski is better and has used the electricity. There was never any question of amputating his arm, only of cutting out a piece of muscle in which, in all probability, a nerve end had become lodged, thus causing the pain. But he must have felt terrible and our money came in the nick of time.

Regards to Meissner from me; I shall be writing to him myself about various matters.

Warmest regards to Tussy, *à revoir*.

Your  
F. E.

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

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## ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 October 1874  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Laura,

If I sent you only one of the three articles<sup>c</sup> it was, firstly, because I thought you would have had the two previous ones from

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 41. - <sup>b</sup> As for high politics - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *Refugee Literature*.

your Mama and, secondly, because of No. 1 I had given the few extra copies I had to the Poles for propaganda, and because of No. 2 I had no extra copies at all. I send you now my copy of No. 1 which I shall thank you to return at your convenience; as to No. 2 I have lent it to a friend and as usual not received it back, so that I must get it first before I can send it to you.

Of the *Bauernkrieg*<sup>a</sup> I expect to be able to send you, in a few weeks, a new edition with a few words added to the introduction,<sup>b</sup> but otherwise unaltered; as usual, the notice given me was too short.

With kindest regards to Lafargue.

I remain

very affectionately yours,

F. Engels

Mrs Engels<sup>c</sup> sends her kindest regards to you both.

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

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time

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## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

London, 17 October 1874  
1 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Oppenheim,

A few days ago I posted off one *Capital* and one *18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* for you and one copy of each of these books for Dr Gans jun. Would you be so kind as to send his copies on to him; he lives in Rosengasse, No. 17, 1st floor, Prague.

When I took my departure from Karlsbad, I did so with the intention of proceeding directly to Hamburg in order to settle my business with the bookseller<sup>d</sup> there and then to return to London

<sup>a</sup> *Peasant War* - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, 'Supplement to the Preface of 1870 for *The Peasant War in Germany*'. - <sup>c</sup> Lizzie Burns - <sup>d</sup> Otto Meissner

as soon as possible to resume my work. I soon discovered, however, that the *after-treatment* following the strict regime of Karlsbad is not to be taken lightly and so had to spend almost another two weeks romping around Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg.<sup>43</sup> Had I foreseen this—and my daughter<sup>a</sup> and I both regret our mistake—I would have first come to see you in Prague. *Mais l'homme propose et le chemin de fer dispose.*<sup>b</sup>

I hope that your health has improved and that your business may one day soon bring you in this direction.

My daughter sends you her best regards.

Yours very sincerely,

K. Marx

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Köln, 21. Februar 1933

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time

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ENGELS TO HERMANN LOPATIN<sup>58</sup>

IN PARIS

[London, about 20 October 1874]

...But such was not at all my intention. On the contrary, I toned down as much as I possibly could, because after perusing the pamphlet: *Русской социально-революционной молодежи*,<sup>c</sup> I really could no longer bear any grudge to our friend<sup>d</sup> for the uncommonly severe and really unjustifiable expressions he had used towards us. As far as I am concerned *nous sommes quittes*,<sup>e</sup> and I am ready to shake his hand any time if he takes the thing as easy as I do.

First published, in English and in Russian, in *Istoriya SSSR*, No. 6, Moscow, 1959

Reproduced from Lopatin's copy

<sup>a</sup> Eleanor - <sup>b</sup> But man proposes and the railway disposes. - <sup>c</sup> [P. L. Lavrov,] *Русской социально-революционной молодежи. По поводу брошюры: 'Задачи революционной пропаганды в России'*. - <sup>d</sup> Pyotr Lavrov - <sup>e</sup> we are quits



1875

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## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 7 January 1875

Dear Liebknecht,

Happy New Year!

Tomorrow or the day after I shall send you the epilogue and list of printer's errors.<sup>59</sup>

Owing to lack of time I have not, for the most part, read the explanations of terms. Only one thing struck me: '*fleurs de lys*', mentioned in connection with Fleury, are what the brand-marks were called that were imprinted on felons during the *ancien régime* in France.<sup>60</sup>

The essay on the banking system is downright bad.<sup>a</sup> Kirchmann's stuff, too, would have been better left out of the *Volksstaat*.<sup>b</sup>

With kindest regards to all your family.

Your  
K. M.

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

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time

<sup>a</sup> 'Der Bankgesetz-Entwurf', *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 140 and 141, 2 and 4 December 1874; 'Die Reichsbank oder die Association des Reiches mit dem Kapital', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 146, 16 December 1874 (both essays were published under the correspondent's sign K-Z). - <sup>b</sup> See the article 'Kulturkampf und Parlamentarismus' (*Der Volksstaat*, No. 149, 23 December 1874), where J. H. Kirchmann's pamphlet, *Ueber Parlamentarische Debatten*, was discussed.

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## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[London,] 9 January 1875

Dear LIBRARY,<sup>a</sup>

Herewith the epilogue, together with the list of printer's errors,<sup>b</sup> which you must supplement with the printer's errors marked by me on the unpaginated proof I enclose in a wrapper. In future the *prime consideration* in such cases must be that the proofs are sent off to me before publication in the *Volksstaat*. Correct the epilogue carefully. Your Rörig has some nice ideas about my abundance of time. He actually demands of me that I do a work for him on game laws outside Germany. Had I the time I should have no objection. But as it is, twelve hours in the day are not enough for me.

With kindest regards to your wife and children.

Your  
Moor

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

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time

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MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM<sup>16</sup>

IN PRAGUE

London, 20 January 1875

Dear Friend,

Excuse the delay in writing. I have been exceptionally busy, for it was not until today that I finished dealing with the translation

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht's jocular name given to him by Marx's daughters. - <sup>b</sup> See previous letter.

(French) of the as yet unpublished *livraisons*<sup>a</sup> of *Capital*.<sup>17</sup> As soon as the whole thing comes out I shall send it to you, for I have altered a lot and added a lot, especially in the final sections of the French edition.

Your consignment of pheasants and livers arrived in good time and met with a genuinely enthusiastic reception here.

I am not familiar with the Berlin paper<sup>b</sup> about which you wrote to me; however one of my disciples here may be contributing to it, unbeknown to me.<sup>61</sup>

I now have another request to make of you. The doctors have forbidden me to smoke without a cigar-holder. I should therefore like 200 holders for myself and my friends here; they came to my notice in Karlsbad, can be thrown away after every cigar if they no longer seem usable, and are not to be had over here. But bear in mind that this is a commercial commission, the costs of which you must acquaint me with if you carry it out, for otherwise I should feel embarrassed about approaching you in a similar predicament.

My daughter<sup>c</sup> sends you her kindest regards. She corresponds with Mrs Kugelmann and daughter from whom she has recently had letters.

When you next write, would you be so good as to tell me something more about the state of business in Bohemia?

I much look forward to the time when I shall see you here.

Yours very cordially,

Karl Marx

First published in *Rheinische Zeitung*,  
Köln, 21. Februar 1933

Printed according to the original

## MARX TO MAURICE LACHÂTRE

IN BRUSSELS

London, 30 January 1875

Dear Citizen,

I have today sent off to Paris the last part of the manuscript,<sup>d</sup> save only for the afterword, the table of contents and the *errata*,

<sup>a</sup> instalments - <sup>b</sup> *The International Gazette* - <sup>c</sup> Eleanor Marx - <sup>d</sup> of the French translation of the first volume of *Capital*

none of which can be done until I have before me those FASCICLES which have not yet been published.<sup>17</sup>

I agree that it would be best to *publish* the last FASCICLES together, but that does not explain why Mr Lahure should have ceased *printing* three months ago. (He hasn't even sent me back the proofs of instalments 34 and 35.) I am hard-pressed by other work and am receiving letter after letter from my German,<sup>a</sup> and likewise my Russian,<sup>b</sup> publisher, urging me to complete the final editing of the second volume.<sup>62</sup> So if, instead of printing and sending me the proofs as they come off the press, Mr Lahure continues to procrastinate, he alone will be to blame for any new delays and interruptions that may result. Not being desirous of writing further to that gentleman, I would request you to let him have your instructions.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

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## MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET<sup>63</sup>

IN PARIS

[London, 3 February 1875]

...The Bonapartist gentry, or so it would seem, have finally succeeded in alarming the Orleanists, who will now hastily and after their own fashion botch up a republic for you.<sup>64</sup> But once constituted it will, I believe, also frustrate Orleanist intrigue, put an end to the Rurals'<sup>31</sup> régime and potter along in its own way...

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Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

<sup>a</sup> Otto Meissner - <sup>b</sup> N. P. Polyakov

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>65</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 11 February 1875

My dear Friend,

I am sending you today the German edition<sup>a</sup> in one volume (I no longer have any available *Hefte*<sup>b</sup>), and the first six fascicles of the French edition.<sup>17</sup> The latter contains many changes and additions (see e.g. *fascicle 6*, p. 222 attacking John Stuart Mill—a striking example of how bourgeois economists, even with the best of intentions, instinctively go off the rails at the very moment when they seem about to light on the truth<sup>c</sup>). The most important changes contained in the French edition, however, are to be found in those parts not yet published, namely the chapters on accumulation.

Many thanks for the publications you sent me. What particularly interested me were the articles 'Что делается на родине?'.<sup>66</sup> If I had the time I would make excerpts for the *Volksstaat*. The 'Не наши'<sup>d</sup> are first-rate people. I rather suspect that our friend Lopatin had a hand in the said article.<sup>67</sup>

A large parcel of books and official publications was despatched to me from St Petersburg but was stolen, probably by the Russian government. Amongst other things it contained the reports, *Комиссія по сельскому хозяйству и сельской производительности въ Россіи* and *По податному вопросу*,<sup>e</sup> things that were absolutely essential to the chapter in the second volume in which I deal with landownership, etc., in Russia.<sup>68</sup>

My health has greatly improved since my stay at Karlsbad<sup>43</sup> but, for one thing, I am still compelled to greatly restrict my hours of

<sup>a</sup> the second German edition of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>b</sup> instalments - <sup>c</sup> See *Capital*, Vol. I, Part V, Ch. XVI (present edition, Vol. 35). - <sup>d</sup> Not Ours - <sup>e</sup> Докладъ высочайше учрежденной комисіи для изслѣдованія нынѣшняго положенія сельскаго хозяйства и сельской производительности въ Россіи; Труды комисіи, высочайше учрежденной для пересмотра системы податей и сборовъ, Vol. XXII: 'Сводъ отзывовъ губернскихъ земскихъ собраній, земскихъ управъ и особыхъ земскихъ комиссій, по проекту преобразованія подушной системы сборовъ, составленному въ министерствѣ финансовъ', Parts I-III.

work and, for another, I was no sooner back in London than I caught a *COLD* which has not ceased to plague me ever since.

I shall come and see you when the weather turns finer.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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Translated from the French

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>69</sup>

IN LONDON

[London, February-March 1875]

Go to it, but in jovial fashion. So stupid, that Bakunin may have *contributed*. What Peter Tkachov is above all trying to tell his readers is that you had treated *him* as an enemy, and he therefore invents all manner of disputes that never occurred.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 18 (Note 444), Moscow, 1961

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ENGELS TO HERMANN RAMM<sup>70</sup>

IN LEIPZIG

[London, 18 March 1875]

Answered 18/3. *Possibly* 1,000 talers from me, but dependent on circumstances over which I have no control. Shall revert to this as soon as possible.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The text crossed out before this note reads: 'Answered 16/3/75. Have offered, as soon as I can make them available, 1,000 talers on the same terms as the other contributors but definite decision postponed until after the Congress,<sup>71</sup> so that I shall be entirely uncommitted should it produce a predominantly Lassallean programme and authorities.'

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL<sup>72</sup>

IN ZWICKAU

London, 18-28 March 1875

Dear Bebel,

I have received your letter of 23 February and am glad to hear that you are in such good bodily health.

You ask me what we think of the unification affair. We are, unfortunately, in exactly the same boat as yourself. Neither Liebknecht nor anyone else has let us have any kind of information, and hence we too know only what is in the papers—not that there was anything in them until a week or so ago, when the draft programme appeared. That astonished us not a little, I must say.<sup>73</sup>

Our party had so often held out a conciliatory hand to the Lassalleans, or at least proffered co-operation, only to be rebuffed so often and so contemptuously by the Hasenclevers, Hasselmanns and Tölckes as to lead any child to the conclusion that, should these gentlemen now come and themselves proffer conciliation, they must be in a hell of a dilemma. Knowing full well what these people are like, however, it behoves us to make the most of that dilemma and insist on every conceivable guarantee that might prevent these people from restoring, at our party's expense, their shattered reputation in general working-class opinion. They should be given an exceedingly cool and cautious reception, and union be made dependent on the degree of their readiness to abandon their sectarian slogans and their state aid<sup>74</sup> and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach Programme of 1869<sup>75</sup> or an improved edition of it adapted to the present day. Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere, i.e. the crux of the matter where the programme is concerned, but the Lassalleans doubtless have something to learn from the party; the first prerequisite for union was that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans, i.e. that, first and foremost, they should, if not wholly relinquish the universal panacea of state aid, at least admit it to be a secondary provisional measure alongside and amongst many others recognised as possible. The draft programme shows that our people, while infinitely superior to the Lassallean leaders in matters of theory, are far from being a match for them where

political guile is concerned; once again the 'honest men' have been cruelly done in the eye by the dishonest.<sup>a</sup>

To begin with, they adopt the high-sounding but historically false Lassallean dictum: in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass. This proposition is true only in certain exceptional instances, for example in the case of a revolution by the proletariat, like the Commune, or in a country in which not only has the bourgeoisie constructed state and society after its own image but the democratic petty bourgeoisie, in its wake, has already carried that reconstruction to its logical conclusion. If, for instance, in Germany, the democratic petty bourgeoisie were part of this reactionary mass, then how could the Social-Democratic Workers' Party have gone hand in hand with it, with the People's Party,<sup>76</sup> for years on end? How could the *Volksstaat* derive virtually all its political content from the petty-bourgeois democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how can one explain the adoption in this same programme of no less than seven demands that coincide exactly and word for word with the programme of the People's Party and of petty-bourgeois democracy? I mean the seven political demands, 1 to 5 and 1 to 2, of which there is not one that is not *bourgeois-democratic*.<sup>77</sup>

Secondly, the principle that the workers' movement is an international one is, to all intents and purposes, utterly denied in respect of the present, and this by men who, for the space of five years and under the most difficult conditions, upheld that principle in the most laudable manner. The German workers' position in the van of the European movement rests *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war<sup>b</sup>; no other proletariat would have behaved so well. And now this principle is to be denied by them at a moment when, everywhere abroad, workers are stressing it all the more by reason of the efforts made by governments to suppress every attempt at its practical application in an organisation! And what is left of the internationalism of the workers' movement? The dim prospect—not even of subsequent co-operation among European workers with a view to their liberation—nay, but of a future 'international brotherhood of peoples'—of your Peace League<sup>78</sup> bourgeois 'United States of Europe'!

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<sup>a</sup> 'Honest men'—members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); 'dishonest'—members of the General Association of German Workers (Lassalleans). - <sup>b</sup> the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71



There was, of course, no need whatever to mention the International as such. But at the very least there should have been no going back on the programme of 1869, and some sort of statement should have been made to the effect that, *though first of all* the German workers' party is acting within the limits set by its political frontiers (it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat, especially when what it says is wrong), it is nevertheless conscious of its solidarity with the workers of all other countries and will, as before, always be ready to meet the obligations that solidarity entails. Such obligations, even if one does not definitely proclaim or regard oneself as part of the 'International', consist for example in aid, abstention from blacklegging during strikes, making sure that the party organs keep German workers informed of the movement abroad, agitation against impending or incipient dynastic wars and, during such wars, an attitude such as was exemplarily maintained in 1870 and 1871, etc.

Thirdly, our people have allowed themselves to be saddled with the Lassallean 'iron law of wages'<sup>79</sup> which is based on a completely outmoded economic view, namely that on average the worker receives only the *minimum* wage because, according to the Malthusian theory of population, there are always too many workers (such was Lassalle's reasoning). Now in *Capital* Marx has amply demonstrated that the laws governing wages are very complex, that, according to circumstances, now this law, now that, holds sway, that they are therefore by no means iron but are, on the contrary, exceedingly elastic, and that the subject really cannot be dismissed in a few words, as Lassalle imagined. Malthus' argument, upon which the law Lassalle derived from him and Ricardo (whom he misinterpreted) is based, as that argument appears, for instance, on p. 5 of the *Arbeiterlesebuch*,<sup>a</sup> where it is quoted from another pamphlet of Lassalle's,<sup>b</sup> is exhaustively refuted by Marx in the section on 'Accumulation of Capital'.<sup>c</sup> Thus, by adopting the Lassallean 'iron law' one commits oneself to a false proposition and false reasoning in support of the same.

Fourthly, as its *one and only social* demand, the programme puts forward—Lassallean state aid in its starkest form, as stolen by Lassalle from Buchez.<sup>80</sup> And this, after Bracke has so ably demonstrated the sheer futility of that demand<sup>81</sup>; after almost all,

<sup>a</sup> by Lassalle - <sup>b</sup> [F. Lassalle,] *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII (see present edition, Vol. 35).

if not all, of our party speakers have, in their struggle against the Lassalleans, been compelled to make a stand against this 'state aid'! Our party could hardly demean itself further. Internationalism sunk to the level of Amand Goegg, socialism to that of the bourgeois republican Buchez, who *confronted the socialists* with this demand in order to supplant them!

But 'state aid' in the Lassallean sense of the word is, after all, at most only *one* measure among many others for the attainment of an end here lamely described as 'paving the way for the solution of the social question', as though in our case there were still a social *question* that remained *unsolved* in theory! Thus, if you were to say: The German workers' party strives to abolish wage labour and hence class distinctions by introducing co-operative production into industry and agriculture, and on a national scale; it is in favour of any measure calculated to attain that end!—then no Lassallean could possibly object.

Fifthly, there is absolutely no mention of the organisation of the working class as a class through the medium of trade unions. And that is a point of the utmost importance, this being the proletariat's true class organisation in which it fights its daily battles with capital, in which it trains itself and which nowadays can no longer simply be smashed, even with reaction at its worst (as presently in Paris). Considering the importance this organisation is likewise assuming in Germany, it would in our view be indispensable to accord it some mention in the programme and, possibly, to leave some room for it in the organisation of the party.

All these things have been done by our people to oblige the Lassalleans. And what have the others conceded? That a host of somewhat muddled and *purely democratic demands* should figure in the programme, some of them being of a purely fashionable nature—for instance 'legislation by the people' such as exists in Switzerland and does more harm than good, if it can be said to do anything at all. *Administration* by the people—that would at least be something. Similarly omitted is the first prerequisite of all liberty—that all officials be responsible for all their official actions to every citizen before the ordinary courts and in accordance with common law. That demands such as freedom of science and freedom of conscience figure in every liberal bourgeois programme and seem a trifle out of place here is something I shall not enlarge upon.

The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Grammatically speaking, a free state is one in which the state is free vis-à-vis its citizens, a state, that is, with a despotic

government. All the palaver about the state ought to be dropped, especially after the Commune, which had ceased to be a state in the true sense of the term. The *people's state* has been flung in our teeth *ad nauseam* by the anarchists, although Marx's anti-Proudhon piece<sup>a</sup> and after it the *Communist Manifesto*<sup>b</sup> declare outright that, with the introduction of the socialist order of society, the state will dissolve of itself and disappear. Now, since the state is merely a transitional institution of which use is made in the struggle, in the revolution, to keep down one's enemies by force, it is utter nonsense to speak of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still *makes use* of the state, it makes use of it, not for the purpose of freedom, but of keeping down its enemies and, as soon as there can be any question of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore suggest that *Gemeinwesen*<sup>c</sup> be universally substituted for *state*; it is a good old German word that can very well do service for the French 'Commune'.

'The elimination of all social and political inequality', rather than 'the abolition of all class distinctions', is similarly a most dubious expression. As between one country, one province and even one place and another, living conditions will always evince a *certain* inequality which may be reduced to a minimum but never wholly eliminated. The living conditions of Alpine dwellers will always be different from those of the plainsmen. The concept of a socialist society as a realm of *equality* is a one-sided French concept deriving from the old 'liberty, equality, fraternity', a concept which was justified in that, in its own time and place, it signified a *phase of development*, but which, like all the one-sided ideas of earlier socialist schools, ought now to be superseded, since they produce nothing but mental confusion, and more accurate ways of presenting the matter have been discovered.

I shall desist, although almost every word in this programme, a programme which is, moreover, insipidly written, lays itself open to criticism. It is such that, should it be adopted, Marx and I could *never* give our allegiance to a *new* party set up on that basis and shall have to consider most seriously what attitude—public as well as private—we should adopt towards it. Remember that abroad *we* are held responsible for any and every statement and action of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. E.g. by Bakunin in his work *Statehood and Anarchy*,<sup>d</sup> in which we are made to answer for

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the 'Philosophy of Poverty' by M. Proudhon.* - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* -

<sup>c</sup> commonalty - <sup>d</sup> [M. A. Bakunin,] *Государственность и анархия* (for Marx's notes on this book see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 485-526).

every injudicious word spoken or written by Liebknecht since the inception of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*. People imagine that we run the whole show from here, whereas you know as well as I do that we have hardly ever interfered in the least with internal party affairs, and then only in an attempt to make good, as far as possible, what we considered to have been blunders—and *only theoretical* blunders at that. But, as you yourself will realise, this programme marks a turning-point which may very well force us to renounce any kind of responsibility in regard to the party that adopts it.

Generally speaking, less importance attaches to the official programme of a party than to what it does. But a *new* programme is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it. Hence, whatever happens there should be no going back, as there is here, on the Eisenach programme. It should further be considered what the workers of other countries will think of this programme; what impression will be created by this genuflection on the part of the entire German socialist proletariat before Lassalleanism.

I am, moreover, convinced that a union on *this* basis would not last a year. Are the best minds of our party to descend to repeating, parrot-fashion, Lassallean maxims concerning the iron law of wages and state aid? I'd like to see you, for one, thus employed! And were they to do so, their audiences would hiss them off the stage. And I feel sure that it is precisely on *these* bits of the programme that the Lassalleans are insisting, like Shylock the Jew on his pound of flesh.<sup>a</sup> The split will come; but we shall have 'made honest men' again of Hasselmann, Hasenclever and Tölcke and Co.; we shall emerge from the split weaker and the Lassalleans stronger; our party will have lost its political virginity and will never again be able to come out whole-heartedly against the Lassallean maxims which for a time it inscribed on its own banner; and then, should the Lassalleans again declare themselves to be the sole and most genuine workers' party and our people to be bourgeois, the programme would be there to prove it. All the socialist measures in it are *theirs*, and *our* party has introduced nothing save the demands of that petty-bourgeois democracy which it has *itself* described in that same programme as part of the 'reactionary mass'!

I had held this letter back in view of the fact that you would only be released on 1 April, in honour of Bismarck's birthday,<sup>82</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act I, Scene 3.

not wanting to expose it to the risk of interception in the course of an attempt to smuggle it in. Well, I have just had a letter from Bracke, who has also felt grave doubts about the programme and asks for our opinion.<sup>83</sup> I shall therefore send this letter to him for forwarding, so that he can read it without my having to write the whole thing over again. I have, by the way, also spoken my mind to Ramm<sup>15</sup>; to Liebknecht I wrote but briefly.<sup>15</sup> I cannot forgive his not having told us a *single word* about the whole business (whereas Ramm and others believed he had given us exact information) until it was, in a manner of speaking, too late. True, this has always been his wont—hence the large amount of disagreeable correspondence which we, both Marx and myself, have had with him, but this time it really is too bad, and *we definitely shan't act in concert with him.*

Do see that you manage to come here in the summer; you would, of course, stay with me and, if the weather is fine, we might spend a day or two taking sea baths, which would really do you good after your long spell in jail.<sup>84</sup>

Ever your friend,  
F. E.

Marx has just moved house. He is living at 41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W. London.

First published in: August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911

Printed according to the book

43

ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS<sup>85</sup>

IN BARMEN

London, 22 March 1875

Dear Rudolf,

I have received your letter as well as the two from Ermen & Engels and have made entries in conformity with them. Many thanks for dealing with the matter, which has been settled to my entire satisfaction.

Today there is something else. The day before yesterday in the evening little Heinrich Ermen suddenly turned up from Manchester with the following story:

Gottfried Ermen intends to retire in two years' time and has actually allowed Peter Ermen to insinuate his son-in-law, Matilda's husband, the schoolmaster Roby, into the business as an *associé*.<sup>a</sup> No more than a fortnight after Roby's arrival, however, he apparently had second thoughts when it transpired that the aforementioned Roby, who had been described to him in glowing terms as a man of many parts, a builder of schools and heaven knows what else, was no good at business. But Gottfried had become so deeply involved that he could find no way out and, despite the fact that Roby does nothing save study the bank account and *The Times*, Gottfried now wants to [force] him—now his nephew—onto his nephews as principal *associé* with a share approximately as large as those of the three nephews (Heinrich and his brother Franz and Franz, Franz's son) put together.

This Roby, you see, had a very nice little post on the ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION, a government commission set up by Gladstone several years ago to investigate and redress at least some of the most flagrant abuses in the administration of the very considerable endowments designated for schools; he was one of the commissioners. But as soon as Disraeli took the helm he engineered a vote in Parliament whereby he was authorised to disband the whole commission and assign such work as was still outstanding to the CHARITY COMMISSIONERS who, having been elected under a Conservative government, are much more inclined to conserve moderate abuses.<sup>32</sup> In this way our Roby lost his little post and, with Peter's help, hit upon the ingenious notion of becoming a manufacturer.

Now, the contract which Gottfried has had drawn up for this purpose between Roby and the three nephews is so framed that the three nephews actually undertake to work for *fourteen years*, in return for which Mr Roby can expect to get an income of £5,000 and they, between the three of them, perhaps slightly more. True, the two Franzes have signed but not, as yet, Heinrich, and if needs be this will enable the other two to withdraw, as Heinrich thinks his brother Franz would do, should he, Heinrich, not sign and find something else.

He then asked me to inquire whether you might feel disposed to carry on the business of Ermen & Engels in Manchester with him and/or his brother Franz and turn to account its already

<sup>a</sup> partner

established reputation, either by simply forming a partnership with the pair of them or, as is now very common over here, by turning the concern into a limited partnership (Ermen & Engels *LIMITED*, as the firm would then be called); in that case it would have to be ascertained which of the *associés* (the *gérants* of the Code Napoléon) would be liable to the full extent of their assets—the law on this point is almost exactly the same as in the Code Napoléon. As to the capital, he maintains that he will be able to raise it immediately—whether for the former or the latter—as soon as you give your assent, and this I can well believe, for after the good years of 1870-73 Lancashire is again so flush with money that people don't know how to invest it.

I said you would be unlikely to agree to this. You had quite enough to cope with; a limited company would be unlikely to suit you and you would be unlikely to agree to an ordinary company, if only because it might entail the removal of one of you to Manchester, and that wouldn't suit you; moreover you would be unlikely to start up a firm on the money that could be raised in Manchester. In short I was fairly lukewarm about the matter.

But the fact remains that there is still a fair amount of money to be made with the firm of Ermen & Engels in Manchester, particularly if, as would be the case here, one starts off with entirely new machinery which will soon be obtainable very cheaply. Heinrich is a *very good* spinner and twister and has a wife and 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> children, which does at least provide some guarantee for his performance. Franz has an exhaustive knowledge of bleaching, dyeing and bobbin manufacture and of the whole actual manufacturing process of SEWING and KNITTING yarns, including steel thread. On top of that Heinrich says that Franz has become an excellent businessman, which I can well believe, for all his talents lay in that direction. At any rate the two together would always be more acceptable to me than Gottfried. If you feel inclined to take up the idea, H. Ermen will come over at once when you will be able to take a closer look at him and question him at greater length about the details of his plan.

So think the matter over and let me know as soon as possible; apparently Heinrich can't postpone a definite decision vis-à-vis Gottfried for very much longer.

Love to Mathilde,<sup>a</sup> the children and yourself,

Your  
Friedrich

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<sup>a</sup> Mathilde Engels

Devil take the Rhenish Engelses! Trusting in the numerous assurances of prompt payment, I have let myself in for all kinds of things and am now in a bit of a jam.

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## 44

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE<sup>86</sup>

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 5 May 1875

Dear Bracke,

Will you be so kind, after you have read the following critical marginal notes<sup>87</sup> on the unity programme,<sup>a</sup> to pass them on for Geib and Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht to see. Notabene. *The manuscript should be returned to you* so as to be at my disposal if needs be. I have more than enough to do, and, as it is, must take on far more work than laid down for me by my doctor. Hence it was by no means a 'pleasure' to write such a lengthy screed. Yet it was necessary if the steps I shall have to take later on are not to be misinterpreted by the party friends for whom this communication is intended.

After the Unity Congress<sup>71</sup> is over, Engels and I will publish a short statement to the effect that we entirely disassociate ourselves from the said programme of principles and have nothing to do with it.<sup>88</sup>

This is indispensable because of the view taken abroad—a totally erroneous view, carefully nurtured by party enemies—that we are secretly directing the activities of the so-called Eisenach Party from here. Only recently, in a newly published Russian work,<sup>b</sup> Bakunin suggests that I, for instance, am responsible, not

<sup>a</sup> 'Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, 7 March 1875. - <sup>b</sup> [M. A. Bakunin,] *Государственность и анархия*.



only for that party's every programme, etc., but actually for every step taken by Liebknecht from the day he began co-operating with the People's Party.<sup>76</sup>

Aside from this, it is my duty to refuse recognition, even by maintaining a diplomatic silence, to a programme which, I am convinced, is altogether deplorable as well as demoralising for the party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. Hence, if it was impossible to advance *beyond* the Eisenach Programme<sup>75</sup>—and circumstances at the time precluded this—they should simply have come to an agreement about action against the common foe. But to draw up programmes of principles (instead of waiting till a longish spell of common activity has prepared the ground for that sort of thing) is to set up bench marks for all the world to see, whereby it may gauge how far the party has progressed.

The leaders of the Lassalleans came because circumstances forced them to. Had they been told from the start that there was to be no haggling over principles, they would have been *compelled* to content themselves with a programme of action or a plan of organisation for common action. Instead, our people allow them to present themselves armed with mandates, and recognise those mandates as binding, thus surrendering unconditionally to men who are themselves in need of help. To crown it all, they are holding another congress *prior to the congress of compromise*, whereas our own party is holding its congress *post festum*.<sup>a 89</sup> Obviously their idea was to elude all criticism and not allow their own party time for reflection. One knows that the mere fact of unification is enough to satisfy the workers, but it is wrong to suppose that this momentary success has not been bought too dear.

Besides, the programme's no good, even apart from its canonisation of the Lassallean articles of faith.

I shall shortly be sending you the final instalments of the French edition of *Capital*.<sup>17</sup> Printing was held up for a considerable time by the French government ban. The thing will be finished this week or at the beginning of next. Have you received the six previous instalments? Would you also very kindly send me the *address* of Bernhard Becker, to whom I must likewise send the final instalments.

The *bookshop* of the *Volksstaat* has peculiar manners. For

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<sup>a</sup> after the event

N. Bracke

† Wien - Documentary in the hands of... London, 5. Mai 1875  
... ...

Lieber Bracke

zu dem Coactionsprogramm

Microbiologie für alle Handlungen... ist es wohl so gut, nach Durchführung, das betrifft  
ein Stück zillens. Beisel - Leichrecht mit mehreren Fächern abarbeit (fest) und  
muss sein mit über dem Anstehen, das mir wirklich  
vorgeschrieben ist. Gewiss ist das keine Bewegung, die allgemein so sehr  
Wort zu schreiben. ~~...~~ Doch wenn wir überhaupt ein solches  
zu machen könnten wenn die Parteifreunde, für welche diese Mitteilung bestimmt  
ist, nicht mündlich werden

Ich abgesehen Coactions-Compos werden Einfluss nicht ein harte Erklärung  
verpflichten, das heißt, dass wir keinen Coactionsprogramm darüber  
haben und nicht damit zu handeln

Es ist mir unklar, dass wir überhaupt die von Parteifreunden komponiert  
ausstellt - die anderen keine Unrecht hat, dass wir die Bewegung  
vielleicht auch eingehen um diesen Namen. Ich bin ein junger  
menschlicher Schritt macht Berlin mit V. B. nicht nur für alle Programme  
für die Partei verantwortlich, sondern auch für jeden Teil der  
am Tag neue Kooperation mit der Volkspartei am 15ten Mal. ~~...~~

~~...~~  
Aber wenn es keine Pflicht ist, nach einer Übersetzung darüber  
läßt, und die Partei demokratisches Programm mit nicht zum  
Wohlfühlen anzuwenden.

Der Herr Herr... ~~...~~ als ein... Programm.  
Herr Herr... die... ~~...~~ - ~~...~~  
Programm... es hätte man einfach... ~~...~~  
für Aktion... der... ~~...~~ Macht... ~~...~~  
Programm... (statt... bis zu... ~~...~~ was... ~~...~~  
nicht... ~~...~~ ~~...~~ ~~...~~  
die... ~~...~~ mit... ~~...~~ ~~...~~  
man... ~~...~~ ~~...~~ ~~...~~  
schlechter... ~~...~~ mit... ~~...~~ ~~...~~



instance, they haven't as yet sent me so much as a single copy of their reprint of the *Cologne Communist Trial*.<sup>59</sup>

With kind regards

Yours,  
Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 9, Bd. 1, Nr. 18, Berlin, 1891 and in full in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. 4, Bd. II, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1927

Printed according to the original

45

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 8 May 1875

My dear Friend,

I have just received a letter from a Berlin businessman<sup>a</sup> (a very upright man and of no political importance at all, at any rate in the eyes of the world and the police), who asks me to explain to him some points in *Capital*.<sup>90</sup> When replying to him, which I did at once, I took the opportunity of requesting, in my turn, that he give me a safe address for your letters from Russia.<sup>91</sup> My letter will go off today.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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<sup>a</sup> Carl August Schramm

46  
ENGELS TO EUGEN OSWALD  
IN LONDON

[London,] 8 May 1875

Dear Oswald,

I can't imagine what I was thinking about during our discussion yesterday when I maintained that *teutsch* was quite a modern spelling. What is modern is not the spelling but merely the significance attached to it as being the *correct* one. In Middle High German *tiutsch*, *tiusch* actually predominates throughout (e.g. Walther von der Vogelweide). Also *diutisch* (e.g. *Annolied*<sup>92</sup>). During the 16th century *teutsch* again predominated (e.g. Luther, U. von Hutten). In Old High German, on the other hand, it is *always diutisk*, *diotisk*. Indeed I believe that the older form *thiodisk*, *theotisk* has even been identified somewhere.

The facts are as follows: the Gothic, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian *th* (þ) subsequently changes into *d* in Saxon and Franconian as a result of reduction or slurring, and likewise into *d* in High German as a result of the sound shift (which is why all words beginning with *th* in English uniformly start with *d* both in High German and in Low German, including Dutch). This correspondence, ostensibly flouting all the rules, induced in 13th-century High German scribes, when dealing with a word as important as the name of the nation itself, a tendency to redress the ostensibly correct distinction resulting from the sound shift by using *T* and thus adulterating the language.—All this had been as completely forgotten in Luther's day as had the origin of the word itself. From the Renaissance onwards, on the other hand, the names handed down by the Romans—*Teutones*, *Tuisto*, etc.—were used as an etymological basis and continued as such up till the time of Jacob Grimm.

My philological conscience will give me no peace until I have sent you a rectification of the statement I made yesterday. *Règle Générale*<sup>a</sup>: one ought not to prattle away about comparative philology after 2 o'clock in the morning.

Yours,

F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> General rule

47

## MARX TO JENNY MARX

IN SHANKLIN

[London,] 10 May 1875

Dear Jenny,

We have all been greatly concerned about your indisposition, but after the CASTOR-OIL and now that the weather is fine, I hope it has passed.

Engels' suggestion that I accompany him to Shanklin suited me quite well in that I thought it expedient to stay there, if only for your sake; but I would not have wished him to delay on my account or, on the other hand, to restrict my freedom of movement, thereby inconveniencing both me and himself. I am awaiting the final PROOF-SHEETS from Paris, you see, and would have no peace of mind if, because of my absence, the unspeakably protracted publication of the final instalments<sup>17</sup> were to be still further protracted. This time I have received two letters in succession from Lachâtre who is presently staying in Vevey (Switzerland). The fool expresses his utmost satisfaction with the *dernières livraisons*,<sup>a</sup> these being, he says, generally comprehensible, i.e. even to him. Of course, I shall not reply to this stuff, any more than to his disgruntled letter from Brussels.

I have sent off the circular (now already in Bracke's possession) on Liebknecht-Hasselmann's concoction; it's a little pamphlet<sup>87</sup>; also given the required information to Mr Schramm in Berlin<sup>b</sup>; finally, made Willebrord unhappy by STRICTLY refusing to collaborate in any way on a journal<sup>12</sup> under the editorship of *Messieurs de 'L'Indépendance'*.<sup>c</sup> I'm sorry for Willebrord's sake, but really, what a nonsensical request.<sup>93</sup>

Here at home everything goes on as usual. It seems to me that the finer weather is doing Jennychen good. To her great satisfaction MOTHER Lormier has subjected Longuet to a merciless criticism of his 'French' furniture RUBBISH. Lafargue's business appears to be getting on all right.<sup>94</sup>

I'm minding the house today, since Lenchen and Tussy have gone into town where they are to meet Jennychen at a furniture auction.

<sup>a</sup> last instalments - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 73. - <sup>c</sup> *L'Indépendance belge*

Our little garden is beginning to look quite green and cheerful. Lopatin paid me a surprise visit on Friday.<sup>a</sup> The following Saturday he was already on his way to Hastings where he is to spend a few months. In Paris he found that his lodgings were never for one moment free of Russian visitors, which made it impossible for him to work.

With love,

Your  
Karl

Give Madame Lizzy my regards.

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1958

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time

48

ENGELS TO PATRICK JOHN COLEMAN<sup>95</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 May 1875

[Draft]

As to your own business, I am sorry I am not in position to become security for *anybody*. I have done it once and the experience I made then has been such that I shall never repeat the act. If it was in my power to assist you in any other way I should be glad to do it, but at present I do not see any possibility of being useful to you.

[Engels' later note, in German, on the envelope of Coleman's letter]

Coleman, [18]75. McDonnell's follower at the time of the International.

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<sup>a</sup> 7 May

49

ENGELS TO A. GOUPPY  
IN MANCHESTER

[Draft]

[London,] 14 June 1875

Sir,

If my memory serves me right, I have seen you only once in my life. Hence it was not without some surprise that I read your suggestion that I should stand surety for you in the sum of £100. In any case, I must forewarn you that I am not in a position to undertake any guarantees for anyone at all.

As for the Dupont children, I explicitly declared to Dupont before his departure that if he were to go to America and leave them in England, he would be doing so at his own risk and peril; that, having advanced him more than a hundred pounds for their maintenance and education, I could do nothing further; and that, in consequence, he could in no way count on obtaining my help again. This I can only repeat to you. Having done all that I could for these poor children,<sup>a</sup> there can be absolutely no question of my making any further sacrifices on their behalf.

Respectfully yours, etc.

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<sup>a</sup> See present edition, Vol. 44, pp. 189 and 200.



50

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>96</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 18 June 1875

My dear Friend,

When I visited you the day before yesterday I forgot to tell you an important piece of news of which you may not yet be aware. Traube, a Berlin physiologist, has succeeded in making artificial cells.<sup>97</sup> Needless to say, they are not completely natural cells, being without a nucleus.

If a colloidal solution, e.g. of gelatine, is combined with copper sulphate, etc., this produces globules surrounded by a membrane that can be made to grow by intussusception. Here, then, membrane formation and cell growth have left the realm of hypothesis! It marks a great step forward, the more so since Helmholtz and others were engaged in disseminating the absurd doctrine that the germs of terrestrial life fall ready-made from the moon, i.e. that they were brought down here by aerolites.<sup>a</sup> I detest the kind of explanation which solves a problem by consigning it to some other locality.

The trade crisis goes on. Everything now depends on the news that will arrive from the Asiatic markets which, for years, have been getting increasingly overstocked—especially those in East Indies. Under certain conditions, which are, however, not likely to materialise, the final crash may yet be delayed until the autumn.

One truly remarkable phenomenon is the decrease in the number of years between general crises. I have always regarded that number not as a constant, but as a decreasing magnitude; what is pleasing, however, is that the signs of its decrease are so palpable as to augur ill for the survival of the bourgeois world.<sup>98</sup>

My compliments to Mrs and Mr Noel.<sup>b</sup>

Yours ever,

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> See present edition, Vol. 25, p. 574. - <sup>b</sup> Rozalia Idelson and her husband Valerian Smirnov

51

MARX TO JUSTE VERNOUILLET<sup>99</sup>

IN PARIS

[London,] 12 July 1875

Dear Citizen,

You have done me a great service in telling me all about the affair. I shall at once write to M. Lahure, asking him to let me have an unequivocal reply.<sup>100</sup>

In the meantime, perhaps you would be so kind as to send me the name and address of that *managerial* Cerberus,<sup>a</sup> as also the address of a *lawyer* to whom I might have recourse should need arise.

If the French government wants a rumpus, I have sufficient contacts with the European press to do it signal service in that respect.

Yours very sincerely,

K. Marx<sup>b</sup>

First published (facsimile) in *Renmin Ribao*, Beijing, 9 March 1983 and in the language of the original (French) in *Schriften aus dem Karl-Marx-Haus. Arbeiterbewegung und Geschichte*, Nr. 29, Trier, 1983

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52

## MARX TO MATILDA BETHAM-EDWARDS

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 July 1875

41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Sir,<sup>c</sup>

In your article 'The International Working Men's Association'<sup>d</sup> there occur matter-of-facts errors to some of which I shall call

<sup>a</sup> Adolphe Quêt - <sup>b</sup> There follows an undecipherable postscript. - <sup>c</sup> When Marx wrote this letter, he probably did not know that the author of the article, 'The International Working Men's Association', was a woman. - <sup>d</sup> The article was published anonymously in *Fraser's Magazine*, Nos. LXVII-LXIX, July to September 1875.

your attention. But before doing so, allow me to express my astonishment at your statement:

'We believe that an abbreviated translation of this work' (*Das Kapital*) 'is to be brought out shortly.'

I have reserved the right of translation and there exists a copyright treaty between Germany and England.<sup>101</sup> I shall, therefore, certainly stop the circulation of any such epitome, *not beforehand authorised by me*. Abbreviation affords the *traduttore*<sup>a</sup> peculiar facilities to turn *traditore*.<sup>b</sup> Even the *revision* of the not-abbreviated French translation, published in *livraisons*<sup>c</sup> at Paris, has given me more trouble than the re-writing the whole book in French would have done.<sup>17</sup>

Supposing that you know the translator, and being anxious to avoid the nuisance of law-proceedings, I have taken the liberty to write to you upon this subject.

With regard to the matter-of-fact errors occurring in your article, I shall limit myself to a few items.

You say:

'*Das Kapital* came out soon after Proudhon's essays on the *Fallacies of Political Economy*, and in a little chapter called the *Miseries of Philosophy* Marx answered Proudhon's chapter on the *Philosophy of Misery*, etc.

It was Proudhon's voluminous work: *Système des Contradictions Economiques ou Philosophie de la Misère*, to which I replied by the brochure, written in French, *Misère de la Philosophie*.<sup>d</sup> The latter was published in 1847, but *Das Kapital* only twenty years later, in 1867. I suppose that you have been led into error by Fribourg's most untrustworthy publication on the 'International'.<sup>e</sup>

Not being aware that, when giving in full the preamble of the Rules, and parts of the Inaugural Address of the International, you were actually quoting writings from my pen,<sup>f</sup> you reprint from an address, nameless and dateless, a proposition which, you say, 'must have come from the pen of Dr Marx himself'. Unfortunately, they did not. I never saw that address before I read it in the columns of *Fraser*.<sup>g</sup> It has evidently been indited by one of my adherents, but, at the same time, contains some loose phraseology I was not delighted to have fathered upon me.

<sup>a</sup> translator - <sup>b</sup> traitor - <sup>c</sup> instalments - <sup>d</sup> See present edition, Vol. 6. - <sup>e</sup> E. E. Fribourg, *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*. - <sup>f</sup> K. Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' and 'Provisional Rules of the Association'. - <sup>g</sup> *Fraser's Magazine*

Mazzini and Blanqui had never any 'correspondence' whatever with the General Council of the *International*. When the *International* was founded, some Italian workmen, partisans of Mazzini, and one Major Wolff (whom papers, detected at the time of the Paris Commune, have proved to have been a police spy, in the regular pay of the Bonapartist *prefet de police*), his agent, became members of the General Council. Wolff proposed an Inaugural Address and Rules which, it was known, had been written by Mazzini. Both documents being rejected, and those drawn up by me being accepted, Mazzini, soon after, induced his partisans to secede from the General Council, and remained, from that time to his death, the most irreconcilable enemy of the International.

Orsini<sup>a</sup> (the brother of the Italian patriot) was never present at the sittings of the General Council and never gave it any account, interesting or otherwise, of any subject whatever. He had some private correspondence with me, relating to his doings in the U. States.

Potter was never a member of the 'International', Hales was not present at the Basle Congress,<sup>102</sup> etc.

I have the honour, Sir,

To be yours most respectfully,

Karl Marx

First published abridged in *Sotheby and Co. Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents, etc.*, London, 1952, and in full, in Chinese, in Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*, Renmin Publishers, Beijing, 1972, and in the language of the original (English, facsimile) in *Renmin Ribao*, Beijing, 9 March 1983

Reproduced from the facsimile

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<sup>a</sup> Cesare Orsini

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>26</sup>IN RAMSGATE<sup>103</sup>

Karlsbad, 21 August 1875  
 Germania, Schlossplatz

Dear FRED,

I arrived here last Sunday.<sup>104</sup> Dr Kraus had already left for Gmund where he has joined his family; has sorted out his relations with his wife.

As was my intention, I am now my own doctor and, as Dr Gans confided to me more in sorrow than in anger, the same applies to one third of the older visitors to the spa. Another very therapeutic factor so far as I am concerned is the absence of my personal physician Kugelmann.<sup>a</sup>

Though the *dramatis personae* may change, the public here looks much the same one time as another: Quetelet's AVERAGE MAN<sup>105</sup> is the exception; instead, extremes prevail—round as a barrel and thin as a rake.

I spend at least 12 hours out of doors, and once I have completed my business, my principal diversion consists in discovering new walks, beauty spots and vistas in the mountain forests, and here I am the more subject to surprises for having so little sense of direction.

As from today—when I received chits in return for the spa tax—I am safe from the police. I registered as a D. Phil. and not as a rentier, which is advantageous to my pocket. My namesake, the Vienna chief of police, is civil enough to arrive here always at the same time as myself.

Yesterday I went to the *Hopfenstock*,<sup>b</sup> renowned for its beer, to drink my glass of Giesshübler mineral water. There were some Karlsbad philistines there, and the entire conversation turned on what is locally an *everlasting* bone of contention, viz., the respective merits of the old Pilsner, Bürgerbräu and commercialised beer. 'Aye,' says one, 'I can sup 15 glasses (and they're big 'uns) of the old stuff and be none the worse.' 'Well,' says another, 'I used to stick up for it too, but now I'm above such bickering. I drink all and any of 'em and the result's the same,' etc. Beside these

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 46-47. - <sup>b</sup> Hop Pole—a hotel in Karlsbad.

sagacious NATIVES, however, there sat two Berlin SWELLS, *Referendarien* or some such.<sup>106</sup> They were arguing about the merits of the coffee in the various well-known Karlsbad restaurants, and one of them declared in all seriousness: 'It has been *statistically*' (!) 'demonstrated that the coffee at the Garten von Schönbrunn<sup>a</sup> is the best.' At this point a NATIVE cried: 'Our Bohemia's a pretty big place and it's done big things. Its Pilsner beer goes to every country in the world; Salzmann, the big brewer, has got a branch in Paris now, and it goes to America as well! A pity we can't also supply them with our big natural rock cellars, for they're part and parcel of Pilsner!'

Now that I've imparted to you the insights I have just gained with regard to the bustle of the world *in nuce*,<sup>b</sup> here are some of my travelling experiences.

In London, a crafty-looking little Jew with a small box under his arm climbed into our carriage with great haste. Shortly before we got to Harwich, he started looking for keys with which to open his box in order to see, as he said, whether his office-boy had packed the clothes he needed. 'For, while I was at the office,' he continued, 'I got a telegram from my brother in Berlin telling me to leave for Berlin immediately, so I sent the boy to my house to fetch the stuff I needed.' After searching here, there and everywhere, he at last found admittedly not the right key, but nevertheless a key that opened the box, only to discover that trousers and coat didn't match and that nightshirts, top-coat, etc., were missing. On the ship the little Jew poured out his heart to me. 'Such double-dealing! The world's never seen the like of it,' he cried, over and over again. This was his story: A German Yankee by the name of Börn- or Bernstein, recommended to him by his Berlin friend Neumann, had done him out of £1,700—him, who passed for one of the cleverest traders! This laddie, ostensibly engaged in the African trade, showed him invoices for goods worth many thousands of pounds which he had bought from leading houses in Bradford and Manchester; the ship they were in was berthed at Southampton. At this he gave him the advance he had asked for. But hearing nothing more from the man, he grew anxious and wrote to Manchester and Bradford. He even showed me the replies he received saying that Börnstein had taken samples and purchased goods from them, but payment was to be made only *on receipt of the goods*; the invoices were just a formality;

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<sup>a</sup> Schönbrunn—royal palace and park in Vienna. - <sup>b</sup> in miniature

goods never received. In Southampton they were placed under distraint and the discovery made that B.'s shipment consisted merely of bales stuffed with straw mattresses. Our little Jew who was incensed, not only about the £1,700, but above all by the fact that such a cunning trader should have let himself be taken in, wrote to his friend Neumann and to his brother in Berlin. The latter informed him by telegraph that B. had been located in Berlin, that the police had been notified and were keeping an eye on him, and that he must set off for Berlin without delay. 'Do you intend,' I asked, 'to hand the man over to the law?' 'Not on your life. I aim to get the money off him.' *I*: 'He'll have squandered it.' *He*: 'Not on your life! In the City, I tell yer, he did the fellers' (at this point he listed all manner of blokes) 'out of £12,000. It's me he's got to pay. The others will have to nab 'im where they can.' But the really choice part was that, when we arrived at Rotterdam, it was discovered that he couldn't travel beyond Minden where he would have to wait until 11 o'clock the following morning before continuing his journey. The fellow cursed the RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION like mad. All to no purpose.

We had a curious passenger on board—a corpse. His attendant was a red-haired German; he told me the dead man was called Nassauer, a young fellow of 34 from Mainz, on a trip to London, run over, his family wanted him buried at home. The dead man's escort, too, was unable to continue his journey straight away. The ship's captain told him they couldn't hand over the corpse until he had completed certain formalities with the German consul.

Between Cologne and Frankfurt (I travelled straight through) a Catholic priest<sup>a</sup> of worldly mien got in. From his conversation with others I gathered that he was on his way back to Frankfurt, his home, from Dublin where he had attended O'Connell's centenary.<sup>107</sup> He had plenty to say for himself. At Koblenz, where the carriages were changed, I found myself tête-à-tête with him in the carriage. He had come by the new route via Flushing; obviously the boat was far preferable to the Harwich *Dreckshuite*. I tried to draw him on the subject of the *Kulturkampf*.<sup>35</sup> But to start off with he was mistrustful and exceedingly reserved, though he spoke with much enthusiasm of Monsignore Cappelé's eloquence. Eventually the Holy Ghost came to my aid. The priest pulled out a BOTTLE—it was empty; and he now told me that he had been

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<sup>a</sup> Mutzelberger

hungry and thirsty ever since arriving in Holland. I offered him my brandy BOTTLE, a few swigs from which loosened his tongue. He now began to talk nineteen to the dozen. When passengers got in, he cracked bad jokes with them in our mother tongue, but resumed his conversation with me in English, which he speaks very well. 'So great is the freedom we enjoy in the German Empire that one has to chat about the *Kulturkampf* in English.' Before we got out in Frankfurt I told him—without, however, disclosing my name—that he must not be surprised if, next day, he were to read in the newspapers about yet another conspiracy between the black and the red International.<sup>108</sup> At Frankfurt I learned (in the editorial office of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*) that my companion had been Mr Mutzelberger who acts as a kind of substitute for a Catholic bishop there. He too will have seen my name in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (which he reads). It published a note about my passing through there.<sup>109</sup>

Saw Sonnemann, who had just made another appearance in court for refusing to reveal a correspondent's name and had been granted a further ten days' stay of execution which, however, was to be the last.<sup>110</sup> Sonnemann is a man of the world, though one can see that he is aware of his own importance. In what was a fairly long conversation he explained that his principal aim was to involve the petty bourgeoisie in the Social-Democratic movement. The financial strength of his paper lay in its being avowedly the best commercial and stock-market paper in southern Germany. He was, he said, well aware of the service his paper rendered as political retailer of the workers' press. By contrast, however, that party did nothing for him. He had, for instance, taken on Vahlteich as correspondent; but the latter had been *forbidden* to act as such by the Executive Committee of the united party.<sup>111</sup> In the Reichstag, he said, Liebknecht's attitude was unduly demagogic; Bebel, on the other hand, was accorded the most universal acclaim, etc. I shall see him again on my return journey. I also saw Dr Guido Weiss who is spending a few days with his daughter (wife of Dr Stern, one of the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*). Had I arrived at the office a little earlier, I would have had the misfortune to encounter Karl Mayer from Swabia (the former *Beobachter* man).

Incidentally, business in Frankfurt and all the other leading commercial centres is far worse than would appear from the German press.

Your friend Cafiero is living with Bakunin and he even bought the house in Lugano for him.



And now *vale faveque*.<sup>a</sup> I must get back to business. My kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your  
Moor

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MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 1 September 1875  
Germania

Dear Friend,

By the time your letter of the 12th ult. arrived in London, I had already set off on my journey here.<sup>104</sup> I found it extremely interesting. I shall be leaving here a week next Saturday (not this Saturday, that is, but the Saturday after)<sup>b</sup> and shall travel via Prague so that I may enjoy the pleasure of your company. However, urgent business will preclude my staying for more than 2 days.

With kindest regards.

Yours,  
Karl Marx

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<sup>a</sup> good-bye and farewell - <sup>b</sup> 11 September

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## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 6 September 1875  
 Germania

Dear Friend,

Having had no reply to the letter I sent you last week, I conclude that you are not in Prague. On that assumption, I shall not return home via Prague on Saturday (11th September) but direct via Frankfurt.

*Au revoir,*

Your most sincere friend,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>16</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

Karlsbad, 8 September 1875  
 Germania

Dear FRED,

You will doubtless have already heard from Tussy that my first letter to her, which I handed in personally at the main post office here on 18 August in the presence of Dr Gans junior, has been intercepted, doubtless by the Prussian postal authorities. The subsequent ones have arrived; the latest, which I sent her last week, appears to have shared the fate of the first, for I should otherwise surely have had an answer from her.<sup>112</sup>

This time I'm really getting on splendidly with the cure; with rare exceptions good nights, too. But I am also, or so my

numerous doctor friends say, Karlsbad's model guest. From time to time these gentlemen have been at pains to lead me away from the path of 'salvation'<sup>a</sup> on the pretext '*praesente medico*',<sup>b</sup> etc., but their attempts have failed.

As a second-year patient I have been promoted in the hierarchy of the springs. Last year my sources of supply were Theresienbrunn (41° R), Marktbrunn (39°) and Mühlbrunn (43.6°), while I only took a glass of Sprudel twice. This year, from the second week on, they have been Felsenquelle (one glass a day) (45° R), Bernardsbrunn (53.8°) (two glasses) and Sprudel (two glasses) 59°-60° R, making five glasses of hot every morning, on top of which come one cold Schlossbrunn on rising and one at bedtime.

According to Prof. Ferdinand Ragsky's analysis, Sprudel water consists of:

In 16 ounces=7680 g.

Sulphate of potash .....	1.2564
Sulphate of soda .....	18.2160
Chloride of sodium .....	7.9156
Carbonate of soda .....	10.4593
Carbonate of lime .....	2.2870
Carbonate of magnesia .....	0.9523
Carbonate of strontium .....	0.0061
Carbonate of ferric oxide .....	0.0215
Carbonate of manganic oxide .....	0.0046
Phosphate of clay .....	0.0030
Phosphate of lime .....	0.0015
Fluoride of potassium .....	0.0276
Silica .....	0.5590
Total of fixed constituents .....	41.7099
Free and uncombined carbonic acid .....	5.8670

Among the fellows calling for the celebration of Sedan Day<sup>113</sup> here was a businessman from Barmen, Gustav Köttgen—might he be connected with the old fool<sup>114</sup>?

You had better watch out: Karl Grün is competing with you. He is bringing out a work on natural philosophy next spring and has already given a foretaste of it in the Berlin *Wage* which Weiss has sent me from Berlin.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>a</sup> '*Heil*' in the original, meaning 'salvation' and 'treatment'. - <sup>b</sup> Here: that doctors were in attendance.

I shall be leaving here on Saturday,<sup>a</sup> initially for Prague, having got a letter from there today from Oppenheim.<sup>b</sup> From Prague I shall proceed via Frankfurt.

Dr Fleckles has just arrived and is taking me out for a meal. So my long letter has come to naught; moreover Dr Fleckles says it is unsuited to the cure. Kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your  
Moor

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

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## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 9 September 1875  
Germania

Dear Friend,

I shall be leaving on Saturday (11th) at 3.57 and am due to arrive at the State Railway Station in Prague at 8.50.<sup>104</sup>

I shall be on my own, without any female companion<sup>c</sup>; hence any old bedroom will do.

Many thanks for the *Prager Führer*.

With most cordial regards,

Your  
K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> 11 September - <sup>b</sup> See next letter. - <sup>c</sup> Marx is referring to his daughter Eleanor.

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## MARX TO HERMANN SCHUMACHER

IN ZARCHLIN

London, 21 September 1875

41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Esteemed Sir,

Your letter of 27 June reached me in good time, but the book<sup>a</sup> did not arrive until much later, after I had already left London to take the cure at Karlsbad.<sup>104</sup> Hence the delay in replying. I didn't get back until yesterday.

While tendering my best thanks for your letter and the first part of Thünen, I shall be presumptuous enough to ask for the biography of Thünen you also offered me.<sup>b</sup> If you do not possess the second edition of *Capital*<sup>c</sup> I shall send it to you with the greatest pleasure.

I have always regarded Thünen as something of an exception among German economists, since it is exceedingly rare for an objective, independent inquirer to be found in their midst.

I would endorse your preface in its entirety if our attitudes in regard to 'wages' did not differ materially. Thünen and you yourself regard wages as the immediate expression of a genuine economic relation; I regard them as a spurious form concealing a content materially different from the expression of that form.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Karl Marx

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<sup>a</sup> J. H. Thünen, *Der isolirte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirthschaft und Nationalökonomie*, 3rd ed., Part I, Berlin, 1875 (with Preface by the publisher H. Schumacher). - <sup>b</sup> [H. Schumacher,] *Johann Heinrich von Thünen. Ein Forscherleben*. - <sup>c</sup> the first volume of *Capital* in German

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## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 September 1875  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

On my return from Ramsgate where I had spent a few weeks,<sup>103</sup> I found your letter of the 20th, along with a pile of newspapers, books, etc. which had arrived during my absence. To start with I shall try to get all this into some kind of order and, as soon as possible, turn to reading your article in *Впередь!*<sup>a</sup>—so as to be able to tell you where we agree and where we differ in our views on the relationship of socialism to the struggle for existence as propounded by Darwin.<sup>b</sup> If this does not reach you within a day or two, you must excuse me on the grounds of the many letters I have to write and the backlog of work that remains to be tackled, since for the past month I have only been able to do those things which absolutely had to be done without delay.

I do not know the pamphlet of which you speak<sup>116</sup>; if you could let me have it by post for a day or two, I should be much obliged.

We once more have a Portuguese paper, *O Protesto* (The Protest) of Lisbon, of which six (weekly) issues have appeared—editorial department, Rua do Bemformoso 110, second floor, management, Rua dos Cardaes de Jesus (!) 69, second floor. I still have not looked through the four issues we have received.

Would you kindly remember me to Mr and Mrs Smirnov.<sup>c</sup>

Yours ever,

F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Соціалізмъ и борьба за существованіе', *Впередь!*, No. 17, 15 (3) September 1875. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 106-09. - <sup>c</sup> Valerian Smirnov and his wife Rozalia Idelson

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## MARX TO PETER IMANDT

IN DUNDEE

London, 27 September 1875

41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Imandt,

I was very glad to hear from you again at last.

I have only just arrived back from taking the cure at Karlsbad.<sup>104</sup> It has done me a great deal of good and is also the reason why I didn't know about the article that was sent to me.<sup>117</sup> I imagine it originates from Barry, a very fanatical Scottish party member. The article in *Fraser's* (to which Eccarius, Hales, Mottershead, Jung contributed their share—chaps now in very low water) stems from a deplorable novelist, Mrs Betham-Edwards<sup>a</sup> who relates, e.g., that my anti-Proudhon piece<sup>b</sup> is a short chapter in *Capital*.

Printing of the French edition of the latter (the last three FASCICLES in particular heavily revised by me) has been constantly *disrupted by the French government*. The last three instalments, which were set more than six months ago, are finally to be allowed to leave the press. I shall send them to you on receipt of the same.

Kaub and Dr C. Hirsch, who have come over from Paris for a few days, tell me that things are going ill with our old friend Schily (he is still living at 4 rue St Quentin); to begin with, there had been trouble for years between him and his better half, health ruined, lost most of his German clients through their having to leave Paris after the catastrophe,<sup>c</sup> has grown morose, francophobe and somewhat conservative. He could probably do well for himself in Strasbourg, but is rightly too proud to petition the Prussians.

In Germany I found much disenchantment, even among the philistines, following the sorry outcome of the milliards windfall.<sup>118</sup>

The whole family send their warmest regards. Drop us a line again soon.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

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Published in English for the first time

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 79-81. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. - <sup>c</sup> i.e. of the Franco-Prussian War that began in 1870

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## MARX TO BERNHARD KRAUS

IN VIENNA

London, 30 September 1875

Dear Kraus,

May I most heartily commend to you my friend *Leo Frankel*, the bearer of these lines and a former member of the Paris Commune. I enclose another photograph, since the first was a poor one. I should be grateful if you could let me have your compendium of the new medical sciences.<sup>a</sup> You would already have received the French edition of *Capital*, had not the publication of the last instalments been delayed and obstructed by the French police.<sup>17</sup> It's bound to appear some day.

With best wishes from myself and daughter Eleanor,

Yours,

Karl Marx

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time

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>119</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 8 October 1875  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Friend,

I am sorry that I and my wife were not at home when you were kind enough to call.

I got the *Quelques Mots d'un Groupe ... Russe etc.* from Engels<sup>b</sup> and shall, with your permission, show it to another of my friends

<sup>a</sup> B. Kraus, *Compendium der neueren medicinischen Wissenschaften*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 91.



before returning it. This puerile *scriptum* does not warrant an answer.

Yours sincerely,  
K. M.

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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

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ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE<sup>72</sup>

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 11 October 1875  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.<sup>a</sup>

Dear Bracke,

I have put off answering your last letters, the most recent dated 28 June, firstly because Marx and I have been apart for six weeks—he at Karlsbad<sup>104</sup> and I at the seaside,<sup>103</sup> where I didn't see the *Volksstaat*—and next, because I wanted to wait and see how the new coalition and the combined committee<sup>120</sup> got on in practice.

We entirely share your view that Liebknecht, in his anxiety to achieve unity and pay *any* price for it, has made a complete mess of everything. Even if they deemed this necessary, there was no need to say or indicate as much to the other contracting party. Thereafter the vindication of one mistake has inevitably entailed another. The Unity Congress,<sup>89</sup> once established on an unsound basis and blazoned abroad, could on no account be allowed to fail, and thus they again had to give way on essential issues. You are perfectly right: this unification bears within it the seeds of dissension, and I shall be happy if, when the split does come, the *only* ones to go are the incurable fanatics, and not, with them, the whole of the otherwise sound rank and file who could, if given a

<sup>a</sup> This line is written by an unknown person.

good training, be licked into shape. That will depend on the time when, and the circumstances under which, the inevitable happens.

The programme in its final version<sup>121</sup> consists of 3 parts:

1. Lassallean dicta and slogans which ought in no circumstances to be adopted. When two factions are agreed, they should include in the programme what is agreed, not what is contested. By permitting this regardless, our people voluntarily passed under the Caudine yoke<sup>122</sup>;

2. a series of vulgar democratic demands, drawn up in the spirit and style of the People's Party<sup>76</sup>;

3. a number of would-be communist propositions, for the most part borrowed from the *Manifesto*,<sup>a</sup> but so reworded that, looked at in the light of day, every one without exception contains hair-raising balderdash. If they don't understand these things, they should either leave them alone or else copy them word for word from those who are generally admitted to know what they are talking about.

Luckily the programme fared better than it deserved. Working men, bourgeois and petty bourgeois alike read into it what it ought, in fact, to contain but doesn't contain, and it occurred to no one, of whatever complexion, to submit one of these wondrous propositions to public scrutiny in order to discover its real import. That's what has made it possible for us to say nothing about this programme. A further consideration is that one cannot translate these propositions into any foreign language without being *forced* either to write down stuff that is palpably idiotic or else place a communist construction on them, the latter having already been done by friend and foe alike. I myself have had to do so when making a translation for our Spanish friends.<sup>123</sup>

What I have seen of the committee's activities has not so far been gratifying. Firstly, their proceedings against your book and that of B. Becker; it wasn't the committee's fault if they didn't succeed.<sup>124</sup> Secondly, Sonnemann, whom Marx saw when in transit, said that he had offered Vahlteich the post of correspondent to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* but that the committee had *forbidden* Vahlteich to accept<sup>b</sup>! That's worse than censorship, and how Vahlteich could possibly submit to anything of the kind is beyond my comprehension. And then, what ineptitude! Rather they should have ensured that, everywhere in Germany, it was our people who worked for the *Frankfurter*! Finally, the methods

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 85.

adopted by the Lassallean members at the founding of the Berlin co-operative printing office would seem to me not altogether above-board; after our people had confidently appointed the committee as supervisory board of the Leipzig printing office, those in Berlin had first to be *coerced* into doing so.<sup>125</sup> But I am not very well acquainted with the details in this instance.

However, it's a good thing that the committee is comparatively inactive and, as C. Hirsch says, who was over here recently, confines itself to the humdrum existence of a news and information agency. Any vigorous intervention on its part would only precipitate the crisis, something its members would appear to sense.

And what weakness, assenting to a committee of three Lassalleans and two of our chaps!<sup>111</sup>

All in all, it looks as though they'll get away with a black eye, if a mighty one. Let us hope that that will be all and that meanwhile propaganda will have its effect upon the Lassalleans. If things hold out until the next Reichstag elections,<sup>126</sup> all may be well. But then Stieber and Tessedorf will do their damndest and then, too, the time will come when our folk will see for the first time *what* exactly they have taken on in the persons of Hasselmann and Hasenclever.

Marx has returned from Karlsbad a completely different man, strong, invigorated, cheerful and healthy, and will soon be able to get down seriously to work again. He and I send our cordial regards. Write again every now and then and let us know how things are going. The Leipzigers<sup>a</sup> have all of them too deep interests of their own to be frank and open with us, and at this particular juncture the party would not dream of washing its *dirty linen* in public.

Most sincerely yours,  
F. E.

First published abridged in: F. Engels, *Politisches Vermächtnis. Aus unveröffentlichten Briefen*, Berlin, 1920 and in full in *Die Gesellschaft*, Jg. 4, Bd. II, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1927

Printed according to the original

<sup>a</sup> above all Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL<sup>72</sup>

IN LEIPZIG

London, 12 October 1875

Dear Bebel,

Your letter<sup>a</sup> wholly corroborates our view that for us unification<sup>71</sup> is premature and bears within it the seeds of future dissension. Should it prove possible to stave off such dissension until after the next Reichstag elections<sup>126</sup>—well and good...

The programme, as it now stands,<sup>121</sup> consists of three parts:

1. of Lassallean propositions and slogans whose adoption is a lasting stigma on our party. When two factions agree upon a common programme, they should include in it what is agreed, and not touch on anything where they disagree. True, Lassallean state aid figures in the Eisenach programme, but as *one* of many *transitional measures* and, from all I have heard, it would almost certainly have been thrown out on Bracke's motion at this year's Congress<sup>81</sup> had there been *no* unification. Now it figures as a unique and infallible panacea for all social ills. To have let the 'iron law of wages' and other Lassallean dicta be imposed upon it was for our party a tremendous moral defeat. It became converted to the Lassallean creed. That is something which brooks no denial. This part of the programme is the Caudine yoke<sup>122</sup> beneath which our party has crawled for the greater glory of Saint Lassalle;

2. of democratic demands, drawn up in the very spirit and style of the People's Party<sup>76</sup>;

3. of demands on the '*present-day state*' (there is no knowing to whom, if anyone, the other 'demands' are addressed), which are very muddled and illogical;

4. of general propositions, for the most part borrowed from the *Communist Manifesto* and the Rules of the International,<sup>b</sup> but so reworded that what they convey is either *totally wrong* or pure *balderdash*, as Marx has made abundantly clear in the essay known to you.<sup>c</sup>

The whole thing is excessively disjointed, muddled, inconsequential, illogical and discreditable. Had the bourgeois press

<sup>a</sup> See A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Part II, Stuttgart, 1911, pp. 334-36. - <sup>b</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; K. Marx, *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*. - <sup>c</sup> K. Marx, *Critique of the Cotha Programme*.

possessed a single critical mind, he would have gone through this programme proposition by proposition, examined each proposition for its true content, shown it quite clearly to be nonsensical and enlarged on the contradictions and economic howlers (when it says, for instance, that the means of labour are today 'a monopoly of the capitalist class', as though there were no landowners, or talks of 'freeing labour' instead of the working class, the trouble nowadays being that labour as such is *far too free!*), thus exposing our whole party to the most dreadful ridicule. Instead of that the jackasses on the bourgeois papers have taken this programme perfectly seriously, reading into it what isn't there and interpreting it communistically. The workers are apparently doing the same. It is *this circumstance alone* which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this. So long as our opponents as well as the workers continue to read our views into that programme, we are justified in saying nothing about it.

If you are satisfied with the outcome in the matter of personnel, then our side must have lowered its sights considerably. Two of our men and three Lassalleans!<sup>111</sup> So here again our people are not equal allies but losers, and outvoted from the start. Nor, from what we know of it, is the committee's<sup>a</sup> activity edifying: 1. Resolution *not* to place the two books about Lassalleanism by Bracke and B. Becker on the party's list; if this was withdrawn, the fault did not lie with the committee or Liebknecht<sup>124</sup>; 2. Ban on Vahlteich's acceptance of the post of correspondent to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* offered by Sonnemann, who himself told Marx this when he was in transit there.<sup>b</sup> What surprises me even more than the arrogance of the committee and the readiness with which Vahlteich knuckled under instead of giving the committee a piece of his mind, is the colossal stupidity of the said resolution. Rather, the committee should have ensured that a paper like the *Frankfurter* be served *exclusively* by our people in all districts.

...You are perfectly right when you say that the whole thing is an educational experiment which promises the most favourable results even with circumstances as they are. The unification as such may be considered a great success if it holds out for two years. But it was undoubtedly to be had at a far cheaper price.

First published in: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Teil II, Stuttgart, 1911

Printed according to the book

<sup>a</sup> the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 85.

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL<sup>127</sup>

IN LEIPZIG

...but all I can see is that the legal status of the company must have changed considerably.<sup>128</sup> I'd like some elucidation on this point, and also as to what guarantees there are to prevent the Lassallean majority on the administrative board from taking over the whole printing office in the event of the split.<sup>129</sup>

From the fact of the [press's] removal, I gather indirectly that the plan to purchase a house for the purpose<sup>a</sup> has been abandoned or become unnecessary. That is undoubtedly a very good thing, for only in a case of the utmost necessity would a poor party like ours be justified in tying up money in property. First because it could be better used as working capital, and second because, in view of the total unpredictability of the law in Germany where political matters are concerned, one can never tell what might become of the property if, at any time, acute reaction should set in.

We again have a paper in Portugal, *O Protesto—Protest*. The movement there is forging ahead, despite much obstruction on the part of the government and the bourgeoisie.

Marx has complained bitterly about the incomprehensible comment in No. 104 on the passage in his 'Anti-Proudhon'—about the condemnation of coalitions by socialists and economists alike—namely that these were 'socialists of the Proudhonian stamp'.<sup>130</sup> In the first place, there was at that time not a single socialist of the Proudhonian stamp unless it were Proudhon himself. Secondly, Marx's assertion applied to *all* socialists who had hitherto entered the arena (except for us two, who were not known in France), in so far as they had occasion to concern themselves with coalitions—first and foremost *Robert Owen*. The same applies to the Owenites and, among the French, to Cabet *inter alia*. There being no right of coalition in France, this question was hardly touched on in that country. But since the only kind of socialism that existed before Marx was feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or utopian, or a combination of various of these elements, it was clear that all these socialists, all of whom claimed to possess a definite universal panacea of their own, and were completely outside the real workers' movement, regarded *every* manifestation of the real movement—and that includes coalitions

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 59.

and strikes—as a wrong turning that would deflect the masses from the one redeeming path of the true faith. Thus, you see, the comment was not only mistaken but utterly preposterous. However, it would seem to be impossible for our people—some of them, at least—to confine their articles to what they have really understood. In proof I cite the endless columns of theoretical-socialist matter by K-Z,<sup>131</sup> Symmachos<sup>a</sup> *et al* who, with their economic blunders and false perspectives and ignorance of socialist literature, furnish the means best calculated to destroy completely the superiority hitherto enjoyed by the German movement in the field of theory. Marx all but issued a statement on the subject of this comment.

But enough of complaining. I only trust that the hopes and expectations engendered by this injudicious and precipitate unification will be fulfilled, that the bulk of the Lassalleans will prove amenable to conversion from the Lassalle cult and adopt a more reasonable view of their real class position, and that the split, which will come as surely as two times two is four, will take place in what are for us the most favourable circumstances. But that I should also believe all this is more than anyone could ask.

Aside from Germany and Austria, the country to which we should continue to devote most of our attention is Russia. There, as in Germany, the government is the movement's principal ally. An infinitely better one, however, than our Bismarck-Stieber-Tessendorfs. The Russian court party, now more or less in the ascendant, is seeking to reverse all the concessions made during the 'new era' of 1861<sup>132</sup> and the years that ensued, and to do so in true Russian style. Once again, for instance, only the 'sons of the upper classes' are to go to university and, in order to bring this about, all the rest are failed in their school-leaving examinations. In 1873 alone this fate befell no less than 24,000 young people, thus totally barring their way to a career, for they were even expressly banned from becoming elementary school-teachers! And then they're surprised at the spread of 'nihilism' in Russia. If Walster, with his knowledge of Russian, were to summarise a few of the pamphlets emanating from the *liberal* opposition and published by B. Behr in Berlin,<sup>b</sup> or if somebody could be found

<sup>a</sup> Karl Kautsky's pen-name - <sup>b</sup> Engels is presumably referring to the following pamphlets that appeared in Berlin in 1875: [Koshelev] А. Кошелёвъ, *Наше положение; Обь общинномъ землевладѣніи въ Россіи; Общая земская дума въ Россіи;* [Vasilchikov] А. Васильчиковъ, *Письмо министру народнаго просвѣщенія графу Толстому;* [Samarin and Dmitriev] Ю. Самаринъ и М. Дмитріевъ, *Революціонный консерватизмъ.*

26  
 Willen eines anderen durch Gewalt nicht zu verletzen, sondern selbst freiwillig zu versagen, ist  
 etwas, was in Italien (160-161) dargestellt wurde, dann in Spanien (168) dargestellt wurde, und  
 auch in anderen Ländern, wie z.B. in England, Frankreich, etc. Dies ist die Grundform der  
 Freiheit, die in der Natur liegt, und die durch die menschliche Natur selbst bedingt ist.  
 Aber diese Freiheit ist nicht eine absolute Freiheit, sondern eine Freiheit, die durch die  
 Gesetze des menschlichen Zusammenlebens bedingt ist. Diese Freiheit ist die Freiheit, die  
 in der Natur liegt, und die durch die menschliche Natur selbst bedingt ist.

A. Koshelev: О сѣмномъ земледѣльчѣ въ Россіи

Введ. (С. Введ.) 1879.

[ТО ПОСЛУ АКСАРА ВЪ КОМУНАЛЬНІИ КОМУНАЛЬНІИ ДО СЕИ СЕИ]  
КОМУНАЛЬНОЕ ПОХОДИТЪ СЕБѢ СВОЮ КОМУНАЛЬНІИ А СЕИ СЕИ ТРОИТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ВЪ РОССІИ.

C. Введ. 1879

Die Grundform der Freiheit ist die Freiheit, die in der Natur liegt, und die durch die menschliche Natur selbst bedingt ist. Diese Freiheit ist die Freiheit, die in der Natur liegt, und die durch die menschliche Natur selbst bedingt ist.

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(p. 1-4)

Extracts made by Marx from A. I. Koshelev's book  
 On Communal Landownership in Russia, Berlin, 1875





with enough Polish to read the Lemberg<sup>a</sup> newspapers (e.g. *Dziennik Polski* or *Gazeta Narodowa*) and extract things of that nature, the *Volksstaat* could become Europe's leading newspaper on Russian affairs. And it almost looks as though the next do will take place in Russia. Should this happen at the time when the *inevitable* war between the German-Prussian Empire and Russia is in progress, as seems highly probable, it will have inevitable repercussions on Germany.

Marx sends his best regards.

Yours very sincerely,  
F. Engels

[London,] 15 October 1875  
Cordial regards to Liebknecht.

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

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

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MARX TO BERNHARD KRAUS<sup>133</sup>

IN VIENNA

London, 20 October 1875

Dear Friend,

You will have seen from my daughter's<sup>b</sup> letter that, of the 3 letters you wrote me, not one has reached London, and that the same thing happened to the letters I wrote<sup>134</sup> and those directed to me (during my stay at Karlsbad). This bears the stamp of—Stieber! So in future write to me at the following address: Mr John Withers, 54 Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park, London.

If I didn't write to you from Karlsbad, it was because your

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<sup>a</sup> old name of Lvov - <sup>b</sup> Eleanor Marx

friends there told me that you intended to return thither from Gmund.

With sincere regards,

Your  
K. M.

First published in *Weg und Ziel*, Nr. 5,  
Wien, Mai 1978

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Published in English for the first  
time

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## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 8 November 1875  
(122 Regent's Park Road)

Dear Pauli,

We got back here safely last Saturday afternoon, having stopped overnight in Bingen, Cologne and Dover.<sup>135</sup> In accordance with your advice we took the steamer from Bingen to Cologne and didn't regret it for one instant. The crossing from Ostend was quite good for the time of year, though my wife suffered a little from seasickness for a while. In Dover, where we stayed at the Lord Warden, we recalled how once, in this same hotel, an old Englishman with six daughters had said: 'THANK GOD, T'S THE COMFORTS OF AN ENGLISH HOTEL'—consisting of a good bed and a bad breakfast and unpolished boots, for which they charged us the trifling sum of 16/-, say, sixteen shillings.

Once again my wife and I would like to say how deeply grateful we are to you and your dear wife for receiving us so warmly and for promising to take Pumps under your wing every so often during her exile; and we are definitely counting not only on your bringing Mrs Pauli over here as soon as possible, but also on your regarding our house as your own whenever you come to London WITH OR WITHOUT NOTICE.

With sincere regards,

Yours,  
F. Engels

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

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## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 9 November 1875

Dear Pauli,

In my haste yesterday I forgot what was most important of all. I am therefore sending you today per Book Post a parcel containing:

1. 3 numbers of *The Housing Question*
2. *The Bakuninists at Work*
3. *On Social Relations in Russia* (separate copy of the first article, omitted from this publication, is on the wrapper of the parcel)<sup>136</sup>
4. *The Peasant War in Germany*
5. *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine* (1860) by me
6. the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and me
7. *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* by Marx (1851)<sup>137</sup>

and trust it will arrive safely.

Once again warm regards,

Yours,  
F. Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
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Moscow, 1935

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Published in English for the first  
time

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## ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS

IN BARMEN

London, 9 November 1875

Dear Rudolf,

I'm sorry that nothing has come of Paul's<sup>a</sup> trip; next year, perhaps.

<sup>a</sup> Paul Engels

Last Saturday I and my wife returned from Heidelberg where we had taken our little one to spend a year *en pension*.<sup>135</sup> On the return journey we drank a truly excellent Oberingelheimer at the Domhotel; I at once ordered some to be sent to me and would ask you to arrange to pay Mr Theodor Metz, Domhotel, Cologne, 35 *talers*=105 marks for my account.

Cologne is a town of miracles. Thus, between the Cathedral and the Central Station, I came upon a gentleman so similar to Hermann<sup>a</sup> as to be indistinguishable from him, save that he seemed to have grown somewhat, had a more grizzled beard and looked frightfully serious. I was only waiting—alas in vain—for him to go through the usual performance of collecting himself before falling into his arms. This miracle happened last Friday morning between 10 and 11 o'clock.

Love to Mathilde<sup>b</sup> and the children.

Your  
Friedrich

First published in *Deutsche Revue*, Jg. 46,  
Bd. 2, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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time

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## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>138</sup>

IN LONDON

London, 12[-17] November 1875

*Mon cher Monsieur Lavrov,*

*Enfin, de retour d'un voyage en Allemagne,<sup>135</sup> j'arrive à votre article,<sup>c</sup> que je viens de lire avec beaucoup d'intérêt.<sup>d</sup> Voici mes observations y relatives, rédigées en allemand ce que me permettra d'être plus concis.<sup>e</sup><sup>139</sup>*

1. Of Darwin's doctrine, I accept the *theory of evolution*, but assume Darwin's method of verification (STRUGGLE FOR LIFE, NATURAL

<sup>a</sup> Hermann Engels - <sup>b</sup> Mathilde Engels - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 91. - <sup>d</sup> [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Соціалізмъ и борьба за существованіе', *Впередь!*, No. 17, 15 (3) September 1875. - <sup>e</sup> At last, on my return from a trip to Germany, I have got round to your article which I have just read with great interest. Here are my observations relating to it, written in German and thus enabling me to be more concise.

SELECTION) to be merely a first, provisional, incomplete expression of a newly discovered fact. Before Darwin, the very people who now, wherever they look, see nothing but the *struggle* for existence (Vogt, Büchner, Moleschott and others), once laid particular stress on *co-operation* in organic nature, the way in which the plant kingdom supplies oxygen and food to the animal kingdom and, conversely, the latter supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure, as indicated notably by Liebig. Both conceptions are to some extent justified, but each is as one-sided and narrow as the other. The interaction of natural bodies—both dead and living—comprises harmony as well as strife, struggle as well as co-operation. Hence, if a self-styled naturalist takes it upon himself to subsume all the manifold wealth of historical development under the one-sided and meagre axiom 'struggle for existence', a phrase which, even in the field of nature, can only be accepted *cum grano salis*,<sup>a</sup> his method damns itself from the outset.

2. Of the three *uběždennyye Darwinisty*<sup>b</sup> you cite, only Hellwald would seem worthy of mention. After all, Seidlitz is at best no more than a minor luminary and Robert Byr a novelist, whose novel *Drei Mal* is currently appearing in *Ueber Land und Meer*. And that's where all his rodomontade belongs.

3. While not denying the merits of your mode of attack, which I might describe as psychological, I would for myself have chosen a different one. Every one of us is more or less swayed by the intellectual medium in which he predominantly moves. For Russia, where you are better acquainted with your public than I am, and for a propagandist journal which appeals to the *sviazujuščij affect*—the moral sense—your method is probably the better one. For Germany, where false sentimentality has wrought and still wreaks such untold havoc, it would not be suitable, since it would be misunderstood and a sentimental twist put upon it. In our case, hatred is needed rather than love—at any rate to start off with—and, above all, the abandonment of all remnants of German idealism, the placing of material facts in the historical context that is theirs by right. Hence I would—and some time perhaps will—attack these bourgeois Darwinians in about the following terms:

All that the Darwinian theory of the struggle for existence boils down to is an extrapolation from society to animate nature of

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<sup>a</sup> with a grain of salt - <sup>b</sup> convinced Darwinians (hereinafter Engels quotes Lavrov's article in Latin transcription)

Hobbes' theory of the *bellum omnium contra omnes*<sup>a</sup> and of the bourgeois-economic theory of competition together with the Malthusian theory of population. Having accomplished this feat (the absolute admissibility of which, as indicated above under 1, I contest, especially where the Malthusian theory is concerned), these people proceed to re-extrapolate the same theories from organic nature to history, and then claim to have proved their validity as eternal laws of human society. The puerility of this procedure is self-evident, and there is no need to waste words on it. If, however, I did wish to enlarge upon it, I should represent them, firstly as bad *economists* and secondly as bad naturalists and philosophers.

4. The essential distinction between human and animal society is that the most animals do is *garner*, whereas humans *produce*. This unique but crucial distinction alone makes it impossible simply to extrapolate the laws of animal societies to human societies. What it does make possible, as you rightly remark, is that

*čelovek vel borjbu ne toljko za suščestvovanie, no za naslaždenie i za uveličenie svojich naslaždenij ... gotov byl dlja vysšago naslaždenija otrečšja ot nissich.*<sup>b</sup>

While not contesting the conclusions you proceed to draw from this, I would, from my own premisses, draw the following inferences: At a certain stage, then, human production reaches such a level that not only necessary requirements are produced, but also luxuries if, to begin with, only for a minority. The struggle for existence—if, for the moment, this category be allowed—thus becomes a struggle for enjoyment, not just for the means of *subsistence*, but for the means of *development*—*socially produced* means of development—and in respect of this stage the categories of animal kingdom are no longer applicable. If, however, as has now happened, production in its capitalist form produces means of subsistence and development far in excess of what can be consumed by capitalist society since it keeps the great mass of real producers artificially at a distance from these means of subsistence and development; if, by its own existential law, that society is compelled continually to raise what is, for its own purposes, an already excessive production and hence periodically, every ten years, gets to the point of destroying, not only huge

<sup>a</sup> war of all against all (an expression from Th. Hobbes' *Elementa philosophica de cive and Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of the Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*. Preface). - <sup>b</sup> man was not simply engaged in a struggle for existence but also for enjoyment and *for the intensification of his enjoyment ... was prepared to forego less high for the sake of higher enjoyment* (italics by Engels)

quantities of products, but even the productive forces themselves—what meaning still attaches to talk of the ‘struggle for existence’? For in that case the struggle for existence can consist only in this—that the producing class takes over the management of production and distribution from the class formerly entrusted with that task but now no longer capable of it, and this, in effect, is socialist revolution.

I might remark *en passant* that the mere consideration of previous history as a series of class struggles is enough to reveal the utter shallowness of the view of that same history as a slightly modified representation of the ‘struggle for existence’. Hence it’s a favour I’d never do these bogus naturalists.

5. For the same reason I would have formulated rather differently your substantially correct proposition,

*čto ideja solidarnosti dlja oblegčeniya borjby mogla ... vyrosti nakonec do togo, čtoby ochvatitj včë čelovečestvo i protivupostavitj jego, kak solidarnoje občestvo bratjev, ostaljnomu miru mineralov, rasteniji i životnyh.<sup>a</sup>*

6. I cannot, on the other hand, agree that the *borjba vsëch protiv vsëch<sup>b</sup>* was the first phase of human evolution. I should regard the social instinct as one of the most essential factors in the evolution of humans from apes. The first humans must have lived in bands and, as far back as we can see, we find that such was the case.

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*17 novembre. J'ai été de nouveau interrompu et je reprends ces lignes aujourd'hui pour vous les remettre. Vous voyez que mes observations se rattachent plutôt à la forme, à la méthode de votre attaque, qu'au fond. J'espère que vous les trouverez assez claires, je les ai écrites à la hâte et en les relisant, je voudrais changer bien des mots, mais je crains de rendre le manuscrit trop illisible.*

*Je vous salue cordialement.<sup>c</sup>*

F. Engels

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

Printed according to the original

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<sup>a</sup> that the idea of solidarity as a means of alleviating the struggle might ... finally gain the whole of mankind and pit it, as a fraternal society imbued with solidarity, against the rest of the world of minerals, plants and animals - <sup>b</sup> war of all against all - <sup>c</sup> 17 November. Having again been interrupted, I have today resumed this letter so that it may go off to you. You will have seen that my observations apply rather to the form, to the method, of your attack than to its substance. I hope you will find them sufficiently clear; I wrote them in haste and, upon rereading them, find many words I should like to alter, but I fear to make the manuscript unduly illegible.

With cordial regards.



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## ENGELS TO PAUL KERSTEN

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 November 1875  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mr Kersten,

I have just received your esteemed note of this morning<sup>140</sup> and hasten to inform you that I shall be pleased to see you and your friend at my house next Sunday evening at about six o'clock.

Yours faithfully,  
F. Engels

[Engels' later note on Kersten's letter]

[18]75. Kersten has not been seen any more.

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Published in English for the first  
time

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## MARX TO MOREL

[London, probably autumn 1875]

Monsieur Morel,

Be so kind as to let me know, through Mr Theisz, your neighbour, what has become of the three copies of *Capital*<sup>a</sup> which you received from me.

Salutations,  
Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50,  
Moscow, 1981

Printed according to the original  
Translated from the French  
Published in English for the first  
time

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

73

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>141</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 3 December 1875  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

A carbuncle (and on my left nipple to boot)—which you may actually inspect for yourself by coming to call on me—makes it quite impossible for me to go out in the evening to attend the meeting of 4 December. For that matter, I should only have reiterated the opinion I have upheld for the past thirty years,<sup>142</sup> namely that the emancipation of Poland is one of the preconditions for the emancipation of the working class in Europe. The new conspiracies of the Holy Alliance<sup>143</sup> provide further proof of this.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

First published in full, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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Published in English for the first time

74

ENGELS TO WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI<sup>141</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 4 December 1875, midday  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Wróblewski,

This morning I awoke with so violent a cold in the head that it almost prevents me from talking. Hence, to my great regret, it will not be possible for me to attend your Polish meeting tonight, the more so since the evening promises to be one which will combine

all the advantages of the Polish climate with the pleasures of an English fog.

My feelings for the cause of the Polish people, feelings to which I am sorry not to be able to give expression tonight, will always remain the same; I shall always regard the liberation of Poland as being one of the foundation stones of the ultimate liberation of the European proletariat and, in particular, of the liberation of the other Slav nationalities. So long as the division and the subjection of the Polish people continues, so, too, will endure and reproduce itself with fatal inevitability the Holy Alliance between those who partitioned Poland, an alliance which signifies nothing but bondage for the Russian, Hungarian and German peoples, just as it does for the Polish people. Long Live Poland!

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

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75

## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 December 1875

Dear Lessner,

Frankel, who was imprudent enough to live in Vienna under an assumed name, has been found out and arrested. The French Embassy are demanding his extradition for arson and for taking part in the shooting of the Dominican monks.<sup>144</sup> But this is nonsensical, for a country does not extradite its own nationals but only foreigners, assuming in the first place that there could be any question of extradition here. He will probably get off with a token punishment for using a false name.

Your  
F. E.

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76

MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV <sup>119</sup>

IN LONDON

[London, 17 December 1875]

Dear Friend,

Our good Leblanc is very ill and likes to be visited. *Definite* limits were set for the last sheets (i.e. the last instalment, 44th, of the French edition of *Capital*).<sup>17</sup> Mr Lachâtre alleged that things had been so arranged with the printers that it would be impossible to go beyond the 44th sheet. This meant that I had to sacrifice the subject *index which had already been drawn up*. If I find a copy of it, I will send it to you.

Yours ever,

K. M.

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1876

77

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>145</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

*London, 4 April 1876**41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.*(PAY ATTENTION TO THE ADDRESS: IT IS 41 NOW  
INSTEAD OF 1, BUT SAME STREET)

My dear Friend,

It gave me great pleasure to see your handwriting again at last. My interpretation of your silence was correct, that is to say it tallied with your own explanation. I assure that we over here have also experienced more than enough mudslinging, though it was not done in so brazenly public a manner (and even that wasn't lacking in the early days after the Hague Congress<sup>20</sup>). But here one might say with Chernyshevsky: 'He who treads the path of history must not be afraid of getting besmirched'.<sup>146</sup>

I sent you the last fifteen *livraisons du*<sup>a</sup> *Capital*<sup>b</sup> at the beginning of January, namely on *Monday 3 January* (I made a note of every copy I sent off at that time, which is why I know the date). However, I'm not surprised that you haven't had them, for no less than three copies consigned to Paris from here did *not* arrive, and fresh ones had to be sent off. At the beginning of January there is such a HURLY-BURLY in the post office over here that to send anything by post is irresponsible. I shall send you a further fifteen numbers this week. I only regret that you didn't get consignment No. 1, since it is precisely this part, in particular the section on the accumulation process, that I have substantially revised and hence would like you to have read.

Engels and I cannot come to Philadelphia<sup>147</sup> because we have too much work on our hands—I, especially, have even less time to spare inasmuch as MY STATE OF HEALTH still compels me to lose ABOUT 2 MONTHS taking the cure at Karlsbad.

<sup>a</sup> instalments of - <sup>b</sup> the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

We intend to apply ourselves to the *Communist Manifesto*; but the time is not yet ripe for a decision on the appendix.<sup>148</sup>

And now I have various requests to make of you:

1. Might I have my '*Tribune*'<sup>a</sup> articles (ex, I think, Weydemeyer's effects) which had been kept by our friend Meyer<sup>b</sup> before his untimely death. I have got none of them.

2. Could the American *book catalogues* from 1873 up till the present be sent to me from New York (*needless to say at my own expense*)? The point is I want to see for myself (for the second volume of *Capital*) what has appeared that might, perhaps, be of use as regards American agriculture and relations of landownership, ditto as regards credit (panic, money, etc., and anything connected therewith).<sup>62</sup>

3. There is absolutely nothing to be gleaned from the English newspapers about the present scandalous goings-on in the United States.<sup>149</sup> Have you by chance kept any American PAPERS that refer to them?

With warmest regards from all the family.

*Totus tuus,*<sup>c</sup>

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

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78

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 25 April 1876

122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Pauli,

I really don't know how we can thank you and your wife for all the kindness and friendship you have shown our Pumps,<sup>d</sup> so much so that she evidently feels completely at home with you. If her

<sup>a</sup> *New-York Daily Tribune* - <sup>b</sup> Hermann Meyer - <sup>c</sup> All yours - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, p. 104.

year *en pension* remains in her memory as the happiest of her life, it is you and your dear wife she has to thank for it.

She has told us of a nice little scheme which she devised when with you, and apparently with your help, aimed at bringing us all together at Whitsuntide. Unfortunately, as is usually the case with girls of her age, she has forgotten to tell us the most important thing of all, namely *when* in June her holidays begin. If I remember rightly, Miss Schupp said the holidays were in *July*, this being the hottest month of the year. So I shall first have to extract more accurate information from Mamsell Pumps on this point before I and my wife can come to any decision.

I hardly need tell you that it would give us both great pleasure to spend Whitsuntide with you at Rheinau.<sup>150</sup> Unfortunately my wife always feels somewhat seedy in the springtime, and for that there is only one doctor—sea air, so I shall see whether I can't send her there for a few weeks, in which case the trip to Germany would do her twice as much good.

We were quite delighted when Pumps wrote to say that Mrs Pauli had decided to come to England with us. That is splendid, and we only trust that Pumps is voicing not simply a hope but a firm decision to be implemented without fail, even if the Whitsuntide excursion comes to nothing through Pumps having possibly made a miscalculation about her holidays, for after all the summer lasts a long time and she will have to be fetched whatever happens. However, we prefer to hope that Pumps is right and that the combined strategical operation will go off splendidly. Needless to say we shall do everything we can to make your wife's stay here as agreeable as possible and to induce her to prolong it until you yourself come to fetch her. *Projet contre projet!*<sup>151</sup> Schorlemmer and Allman, if the latter hasn't gone away, would also be summoned, and the former will probably spend a fortnight with us at the seaside as he did last year. So we shall regard the thing as settled, the only point at issue being whether it takes place a fortnight earlier or later.

Schorlemmer was here for a few days in March; he looked very well and was very cheerful.

We got Mrs Pauli's letter in due course and were glad to learn that the pudding, after its long Odyssey, had arrived undamaged at its destination and had met with approval.

---

<sup>a</sup> Plan for plan!

With warm regards from my wife and myself to you, your wife and the children.

Most cordially yours,  
F. Engels

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV  
IN LONDON

[London,] 18 May 1876

Dear Friend,

Pio's address is 15 Hargwyne Street, Stockwell, S. W.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

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ENGELS TO MARX  
IN LONDON

Ramsgate,<sup>151</sup> 24 May 1876  
3 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

I have just received the two letters enclosed herewith.<sup>152</sup> The  
curse of paid agitators, of the semi-literate, lies heavy on our party



in Germany. If things go on at this rate the Lassalleans will soon be more lucid than anyone else because they assimilate less rubbish and Lassalle's writings provide the least noxious form of agitation. I wonder what this man Most really wants of us and what we should do to satisfy him. Obviously, these people imagine that Dühring, by his scurrilous onslaughts upon you, has rendered himself invulnerable vis-à-vis ourselves, for, if we make fun of his theoretical nonsense, it will look as though it's out of revenge for those personalities! The ruder Dühring is, the more humble and propitiating we are to be, and can, in fact, thank our stars that Mr Most, besides requiring us to point out Mr Dühring's howlers kindly and privily to him (as if nothing more than howlers was involved) in order that he might eliminate them from the next edition,<sup>153</sup> shouldn't ask us to kiss his most worthy of posteriors. This fellow—Most, I mean—has contrived to do a résumé of the whole of *Capital*<sup>154</sup> without understanding a word of the thing. Of this the letter provides striking proof while showing up the fellow for what he is. All such nonsense would be out of the question if only, instead of Wilhelm,<sup>a</sup> there were at the top a man with some modicum of theoretical insight, someone who wasn't eager to print every and any kind of nonsense—the crazier the better—and commend it to the workers with all the authority of the *Volksstaat*. *Enfin*,<sup>b</sup> the business has made my blood boil, and the question is whether it isn't about time we seriously reconsidered our position vis-à-vis these gentlemen.<sup>155</sup>

So far as that silly ass Wilhelm is concerned, all this is simply a welcome pretext to dun us for manuscripts. What a party leader!

I enclose an interesting news item from Constantinople in yesterday's *Daily News*<sup>c</sup>; one is all the more prepared to credit the man in that the softas' revolution<sup>156</sup> goes very much against the grain with him. The affair in the east is about TO COME TO A HEAD; the Serbians' renewed attempt to raise a loan, likewise their suspension of bills of exchange and the fresh demands of the Herzegovinian insurgents<sup>157</sup> are all evidence of the extent of Russia's machinations there. I am curious to see what turn things will take.

We've had our first rainy day here; yesterday there was only a brief shower. I hope all continues to go well with Jenny.<sup>158</sup> Lizzie and I send our love to all of you, the Longuets and Lafargues.

Your  
F. E.

---

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> In short - <sup>c</sup> 'The Revolution in Constantinople', *The Daily News*, No. 9386, 23 May 1876.

I have just noticed that Wilhelm has sent me the whole of Most's manuscript<sup>159</sup> in a wrapper. Who knows whether that is internationally admissible and hence whether it will arrive? Would you go and see some time if it's there and, IF SO, send it to me? I shall be staying here until the Friday of *next week*.<sup>a</sup> Mrs Leeson will show you where she keeps any papers, etc., that arrive for me.

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## 81

## MARX TO ENGELS

## IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 25 May 1876

Dear FRED,

At the same time as this letter I am posting off Most's manuscript<sup>159</sup> in the inadequately packed state in which it arrived. I opened the enclosed scrawl from Wilhelm<sup>b</sup> because I thought it had something to do with Most's affair. In addition, I removed from your house a communication from the GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY intending to forward it to you because I thought it was a business letter, but now discover it to be simply a PROGRAMME OF TOURIST ARRANGEMENTS.

I consider that, if one is to adopt a 'position vis-à-vis these gentlemen' one can do so only by criticising Dühring without any compunction. He has obviously been secretly at work among the literary loutish *careerists* devoted to him in order to obviate such criticism; they for their part have been counting on Liebknecht's weakness of which they are well aware. It was, BY THE BY, Liebknecht's duty, and he should be told as much, to let these laddies know that he had repeatedly asked for such criticism and that we had long (for the business started after my first return from Karlsbad<sup>43</sup>) refused on the grounds that the work was too

<sup>a</sup> 2 June - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht

paltry. As he knows, and as his letters to us go to prove, the thing only seemed worth doing when, by repeatedly passing on to us the louts' letters, he drew our attention to the threat of debased propaganda within the party.<sup>155</sup>

As regards Mr Most *in specie*,<sup>a</sup> he must by the nature of things regard Dühring as an authentic thinker because of the latter's having broadcast the discovery, not only in a lecture to workers in Berlin, but subsequently in black and white, that Most was the only one to have made some sense out of *Capital*.<sup>160</sup> Dühring systematically flatters these louts—something they cannot complain we do. Most and Co.'s vexation over the way you *dumbfounded* the Swabian Proudhonist<sup>161</sup> is typical. It serves as a terrible example before which they quail, and they are trying to prevent such a thing ever happening again by means of tittle-tattle, stalwart bonhomie and outraged brotherly love.

Certainly, the root of the trouble is and will remain Liebknecht's want of manuscripts, in which, generally speaking, his editorial talent seems to be concentrated. However, the pettiness with which he avoids according Becker's history of the French Commune<sup>b</sup> so much as a word of recognition, let alone publishing an extract or two from it, proves that even the want of manuscripts is not the *only* governing factor.

You may remember that, in a recent conversation we had about Turkey, I drew your attention to the possibility of a puritan party (based on the Koran) amongst the Turks. This has now supervened. According to a news item from Constantinople in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, there is a plan, if things continue as they are, to remove the Sultan and put his brother in his place.<sup>162</sup> The correspondent, who speaks Turkish and has much personal intercourse with Turks in Constantinople, insists *inter alia* that they know very well what Ignatiyev is up to, and that he is the source of all the disquieting rumours circulating among the Christians in Constantinople. Of one thing we may be sure: the Turks are not to be got rid of WITHOUT HARNESS ON THEIR BACK, and the Russians, who did not dare (or, perhaps, could not, due to lack of money) act swiftly and thus seize time by the forelock, may perhaps by the present ADVENTURE contribute more to the collapse of their own régime than to that of the Turks in Europe.

Jennychen is well, but the little boy is somewhat seedy, though it's nothing of consequence, the doctor says. He is to be called

<sup>a</sup> in particular - <sup>b</sup> B. Becker, *Geschichte der Revolutionären Pariser Kommune in den Jahren 1789 bis 1794*.

Jean (after Longuet's father) Laurent (NICKNAME OF LAURA) Frederick (in your honour).

The Copenhagen people have invited me by telegram, as well as in a letter to Pio (who left on Monday<sup>a</sup>), to attend a working men's congress (beginning of June).<sup>163</sup> It's fantastic to suppose I should now be able to give guest performances of this kind.

Today our park has been boarded off. Funny how ancient Teutonic customs survive as curiosities in England. This is the safeguarding of 'genuine freehold' by fencing off and hence separating it from the common mark.

Pumps has written long letters to my wife and Tussy. Even if the spelling sometimes isn't up to scratch, she has really made astonishing progress in the matter of style and ease of expression, which are far more important.

Kindest regards to Madame Lizzy.

Your  
K. Marx

What a jackass Dizzy<sup>b</sup> has become! At a moment when England is completely isolated, he insists on keeping a dozen or more Fenians to himself!<sup>164</sup>

As regards 'Richter',<sup>c</sup> Liebknecht shouldn't confine himself to mere HINTS when uttering warnings of this kind.<sup>165</sup> While there may be a possibility that my address book disappeared along with Richter, I don't for the time being believe it.

The fact of Eichhoff's working for Arnim was, of course, known to us long before Liebknecht, nor is there anything in the least surprising about it, in view of Eichhoff's hatred of Bismarck and Stieber. Notabene, in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* there is a Prussian warrant against Arnim, in accordance with which he is to be relieved of his money and handed over to the Berlin police; the authorities abroad will have their expenses paid and are assured of their services being requited in kind! (This on account of the suppression of documents for which he had already been sentenced.)<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> 22 May - <sup>b</sup> Benjamin Disraeli - <sup>c</sup> Dmitry Richter

82

ENGELS TO MARX<sup>52</sup>

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 28 May 1876

Dear Moor,

It's all very well for you to talk. You can lie in a warm bed—study Russian agrarian relations in particular and rent in general without anything to interrupt you—but I have to sit on a hard bench, drink cold wine, and all of a sudden drop everything else and break a lance with the tedious Dühring.<sup>155</sup> However, it can't be helped, I suppose, even if it means letting myself in for a controversy to which there is no foreseeable end; for otherwise I'll get no peace, and anyway, *amicus*<sup>a</sup> Most's panegyric on Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie*<sup>159</sup> has shown me exactly from what quarter and how the attack must be made. It's essential to include that book as well because in many crucial points it reveals the weak sides and foundations of the arguments contained in the *Ökonomie* more clearly.<sup>167</sup> I shall order it straight away. For there's no philosophy proper—formal logic, dialectics, metaphysics, etc.—in it at all, rather it's supposed to present a course in general knowledge in which nature, history, society, state, law, etc., are discussed in what purports to be an internal relation. Again, there is a whole chapter in which the future, or so-called 'free', society is depicted in its less economic aspects and, *inter alia*, a syllabus is already laid down for the primary and secondary schools of the future. Here, then, one finds platitudinousness in an even simpler form than in the political economy, so that, by taking both books together, one can kill two birds with one stone by exposing that side of the fellow as well. As regards the magnanimous chap's view of history—that it was nothing but rubbish till Dühring came along—the book affords one the additional advantage of being able to quote his own preposterous words. ANYHOW, I HAVE HIM ON THE HIP NOW.<sup>b</sup> My plan is laid—*j'ai mon plan*. I shall begin by taking a wholly objective and apparently serious look at the stuff; then, as evidence of its nonsensicality on the one hand and platitudinousness on the other begins to mount up, my treatment of it will become correspondingly severe until eventually I come down on it like a ton of bricks.

<sup>a</sup> friend - <sup>b</sup> Paraphrased words from Shakespeare's comedy *The Merchant of Venice*, Act. IV, Scene 1.

In this way Most & Co. will be deprived of the plea of 'uncharitableness', etc., while Dühring will still get his deserts. These gentlemen ought to be shown that we have more ways than *one* of dealing with such folk.

I hope Wilhelm<sup>a</sup> will print Most's article in the *Neue Welt*, for which it was evidently written. As always, Most is incapable of copying and has Dühring write the most absurd nonsense about natural science, e.g. the detachment of *rings* (according to Kant's theory) from *fixed stars*!

The trouble with Wilhelm isn't simply a want of manuscripts, something that could be overcome by printing more articles on topical questions, etc., as was done in Hepner's and Blos' time. It is Wilhelm's urge to make good the shortcomings of our theory, to have an answer to every philistine objection and to have a picture of future society, because that's another thing about which your philistine is always pestering them with questions; he is, besides, intent on being as independent of us theoretically as possible, and in this, considering his complete ignorance of theory, he has always been far more successful than he himself is aware. But he has thus put me in the position of having to remind myself that, compared with the theoretical bunglers on the *Volksstaat*, Dühring is at least an educated man and his *opera*<sup>b</sup> are better at any rate than the products of these subjectively and objectively obscure gentlemen.

You were absolutely right about the Turkish business and I only hope the affair will proceed satisfactorily; during the past week it appears to have hung fire somewhat and an oriental revolution, more than any other, calls for a prompt decision. The Sultan<sup>c</sup>—and this is the reason for the complaints about his constant requests for money—has accumulated a vast HOARD in the palace, so vast that the softas<sup>156</sup> have demanded that he hand over £5,000,000 of it, which means that there must be far more. The presentation of the Gorchakov Note of 3 emperors<sup>168</sup> will, one may hope, bring the matter to a head.

Please convey my best thanks to Jenny and Longuet for the honour they have done me; I shall try and show myself worthy of it. I trust the little boy with the three potent names is all right again.<sup>d</sup>

My re-reading of early history and my studies in the field of natural science have rendered me yeoman service where Dühr-

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> works - <sup>c</sup> Abdul Aziz - <sup>d</sup> See this volume, pp. 120-21.

ing<sup>a</sup> is concerned, and have done much to make things easier for me. Natural science, in particular, is a field in which I feel very much more at home and one in which I am able to move about with a fair amount of freedom and assurance, albeit with considerable caution. I am beginning to see an end even to this task.<sup>169</sup> The thing's beginning to take shape in my head, no small contributory factor being the idle existence here at the seaside, where I am able to turn over the details in my mind. In so vast a field it is absolutely essential to break off one's systematic studies every now and again, and ruminate upon what one has learnt.

Ever since 1853 Mr Helmholtz has been continuously harping upon the thing-in-itself and hasn't got it sorted out yet. The fellow doesn't hesitate to go on calmly bringing out reprints of the balderdash he had published *before Darwin*.<sup>170</sup>

Lizzie and I send our love to all of you. We shall be returning to London<sup>151</sup> on Friday.<sup>b</sup> I'm very glad to hear that Pumps is doing so well in the matter of style<sup>c</sup>; I, of course, have noticed it too, if to a lesser extent.

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>171</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

[London, 14 June 1876]

Dear Friend,

I am today sending you for the third time *livraisons*<sup>d</sup> Nos. 31-44 of *Capital*<sup>e</sup>; should you once more fail to receive them, let me

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*. - <sup>b</sup> 2 June - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 121. - <sup>d</sup> instalments - <sup>e</sup> the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

know immediately, then I shall pick a SERIOUS QUARREL with the GENERAL POST OFFICE here. As for meddling by Dr Kugelmann (*resp.* Meissner, which I cannot credit, though I shall inquire further from the man himself), I was greatly surprised to hear of it since I am not yet a 'goner' and hence no one apart from myself has any say in the disposal of my writings.<sup>172</sup>

By 'scandalous goings-on' I meant what you suppose, but shan't be needing it until towards the end of September.<sup>a</sup>

Shall send you a copy of the *Most*,<sup>154</sup> corrected by me, forthwith; didn't put my name to it because I should then have had to make even more alterations (I had to delete the bits about value, money, wages and much else, and substitute things of my own).

More anon. Warm regards from the whole FAMILY.

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT<sup>173</sup>

IN LEIPZIG

[London, 14 June 1876]

Dear LIBRARY,<sup>b</sup>

Herewith—for communication to those concerned in Chemnitz—a copy of *Most's* thing, with corrections of what are often very bad printing errors.<sup>154</sup>

Warmest regards from one family to the other,

Your  
K. M.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 115. - <sup>b</sup> jocular name for Wilhelm Liebknecht



[Address in Marx's handwriting on the postcard]

Via Ostend W. Liebknecht, Esq.,  
11, Braustrasse,  
Leipzig (Germany)

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV  
IN LONDON

[London,] 14 June 1876

Dear Friend,

Engels will already have informed you that Liebknecht and his friends have reason to regard Richter as *under suspicion*—of spying.<sup>165</sup> If this were to be confirmed, it would also explain why my address book—containing *the addresses* of my correspondents in various countries—should have disappeared after the last visit which Richter deigned to pay me. The grave disquiet this business is causing me is solely on account of a few people in Russia.

Pio should be warned as well.

Yours ever,  
K. Marx

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86

## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 June 1876

My dear Friend,

I am delighted to see from your letter that the suspicions about R.<sup>a</sup> cannot be anything other than figments of the imagination.

Liebknecht first wrote to Engels, telling him that certain suspicions attached to R. and that he (Engels) should *privately* warn our Russian friends in London.<sup>b</sup> <sup>165</sup> Engels replied that he would do nothing so long as Liebknecht had not informed him of the facts upon which those suspicions were based. Then Liebknecht wrote saying that one evening, while in the company of several members of the *Volksstaat's* despatch department and some other working men, R., *who was not altogether sober*, tried to filch a packet of letters (from the *Volksstaat*) intended for the post, that his friends did not try to stop him, but went with him to the post office and made him post the packet. The matter was reported to Liebknecht, so that it was not he, but the working men—who had previously trusted R. implicitly—who raised the alarm. Liebknecht himself says that the adage '*in vino veritas*'<sup>c</sup> is very far from being gospel truth, but nevertheless the incident gives food for thought. As you well know, once a suspicion of this kind has been aroused, other evidence invariably comes to mind which, however vague, lends itself to unfavourable interpretation.

In my opinion, Liebknecht was doing no more than his duty in reporting the matter; neither he (and up to a point this also applies to *me*) nor his friends were aware of the *intimate* ties between R. and yourself; otherwise he would certainly not have thought it necessary to have you informed. Misunderstandings of this kind can best be cleared up by plain speaking. In the life of a militant party one must be ready for anything; I, at any rate, was not at all surprised when I was accused of being one of Mr Bismarck's agents.

Engels was here last night. I asked him if he had written to you; he said he had *not*; he did not think it right to *write* to you on the subject, since Liebknecht had enjoined him to inform you

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<sup>a</sup> Dmitry Richter - <sup>b</sup> See next letter. - <sup>c</sup> Truth comes out in wine.

*privately*, and he had not yet had time to go and see you. I told him I had written to you, whereupon he said he would also write.<sup>a</sup>

I shall write and give Liebknecht the gist of your letter. At the same time I feel that it might be better not to let R. know anything about what has happened. When Liebknecht shows my letter to his friends, the latter—I feel sure—will do all in their power (for they are honest working men) to right the wrong they have done their comrade.

Last week's *Pall Mall Gazette* carried an article fulminating against Russia's financial policy.<sup>b</sup>

Yours ever,  
K. Marx

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87

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 16 June 1876  
122 Regent's Park Road

My dear Mr Lavrov,

A short while ago Liebknecht wrote asking me to inform you that R.<sup>c</sup> was under suspicion and, since I could not undertake such a mission without so much as a single fact to go on, I told him so outright.

Here is his reply, which I pass on to you *in strict confidence*:

'Last winter R. tried in the most conspicuous way to get hold of a packet of letters that was due to be sent me in Berlin. He was *tipsy* and, in consequence, went about it clumsily so that he was caught out. For hours, befuddled as he was, he was *obsessed* by the thought of getting hold of the packet, and in this he succeeded, but was forced by his companions to drop it into the letter-box, which he did after an attempt to *substitute* it had failed. Those who were present on this occasion had, up

<sup>a</sup> See next letter. - <sup>b</sup> 'Russian Credit', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, No. 3529, Vol. XXIII, 10 June 1876. - <sup>c</sup> Dmitry Richter

till then, been absolutely convinced of his honesty, but now they began to wonder. Drunkenness, it is true, sometimes brings strange thoughts into a man's head, but nothing that had not already been there when he was sober. *In vino veritas*<sup>a</sup> does after all have a modicum of truth in it. I shall not mention here other highly suspicious circumstances, these not being so grave as the one I have related. But it is noteworthy that R. should have repeatedly offered himself as intermediary in the *carrying of letters* and that he should have asked for introductions to all manner of party members.<sup>b</sup>

I am sorry that repeated interruptions should have prevented my passing on this communication before now; I really don't know what to make of the thing.

I trust that this letter finds you in good health. My regards to Mr Smirnov.

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

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88

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

London, 30 June 1876

My dear Mr Lavrov,

To console you for the ban placed by Mr Bismarck on *Vpered*<sup>c</sup> in Germany, I must inform you that, six days since, I saw it on public display in bookshop windows in Heidelberg.<sup>174</sup> Mr Bismarck

<sup>a</sup> Truth comes out in wine. - <sup>b</sup> Engels quotes Liebknecht's letter in German. - <sup>c</sup> Thus in the original.

has not yet discovered a way of teaching all his policemen the letters of the Russian alphabet.

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

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89

## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate,<sup>175</sup> 25 July 1876  
11 Camden Square

Dear Moor,

Have written to Lafargue asking him to let us know what day he is arriving, Friday or Saturday.<sup>15</sup>

Herewith Wilhelm's<sup>a</sup> letter with enclosure by Most. You see what sort of people they are—both of them. Take Wilhelm's portentous attitude to the 'attempts at a rapprochement'.<sup>b</sup> As though one—that is anyone—could become involved with canaille who have been convicted of such treason! And as though any kind of rapprochement could lead to anything! What is supposed to happen when they have effected it? If, circumstances being what they are and the situation what it is, these people want to resume the role of the International, LET THEM PLEASE THEMSELVES AND BAD MANNERS TO THEM!

The COLLAPSE of the Serbs is stupendous.<sup>176</sup> The campaign was intended to set the whole of Turkey in flames, and everywhere the tinder is damp—Montenegro has betrayed the campaign for her own private ends, Bosnia has absolutely no intention of rebelling now that Serbia proposes to liberate her, and the worthy Bulgarians aren't lifting a finger. The Serbian army of liberation is having to live at its own expense and, after a swashbuckling

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht's - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 184.

offensive, withdraw into its robber's lair without having been seriously defeated anywhere.—No doubt that will also serve as a lesson to the Romanians, in which case the Russian plans will be pretty well in the soup.

For the rest, I console myself here with Dühring's philosophy<sup>a</sup>—never before has anyone written such arrant rubbish. Windy platitudes—nothing more, interspersed with utter drivel, but the whole thing dressed up, not without skill, for a public with which the author is thoroughly familiar—a public that wants by means of beggar's soup<sup>b</sup> and little effort to lay down the law about everything. The man is as if cut out for the socialism and philosophy of the milliards era.<sup>118</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 26 July<sup>c</sup> 1876

DEAR FRED,

SEASIDE OR NO SEASIDE, you must recall that you did not leave till last Monday<sup>d</sup>; moreover, according to the *RELICTS* living at No. 122,<sup>e</sup> you will both of you be returning in the middle or at the end of this week (or so I was informed only yesterday).<sup>175</sup> As for *last week*, Laura (and I accompanied her, as my wife had written to say she was very unwell) spent the second part of it in Brighton (Lafargue came down on Saturday and returned with myself and Laura on Sunday); Longuet and Jennychen, however,

<sup>a</sup> E. Dühring, *Cursus der Philosophie...* - <sup>b</sup> expression from Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, Scene 6 ('Hexenküche') - <sup>c</sup> June in the original - <sup>d</sup> 24 July - <sup>e</sup> i.e. in Engels' house in Regent's Park Road

were still SCHOOLBOUND.<sup>177</sup> The Lafargues will be coming down to Ramsgate this *Friday* or *Saturday*, and will return on Sunday, since Lafargue cannot interrupt his BUSINESS<sup>94</sup> and Laura has to resume her teaching on Monday. The only week she will have off is *the last week in August*. (She has got to make up this week for the one day she missed last week, which, in this heat, is far from agreeable.)

I shall pass on the contents of your letter<sup>15</sup> to the other members of the family.

My wife was still very unwell when we arrived, and slightly better when we left her. As soon as she feels fit enough she will certainly wish to spend a few days in Ramsgate. During the *next day or two* Lenchen will be completely taken up with the preparations for Tussy's trip.<sup>178</sup>

We were told in Brighton that Madame Bravo used to be a ballet dancer and Madame COX her DRESSMAKER. During my wife's stay in Brighton, Mrs Bravo gave GREAT PUBLIC (*plus ou moins*)<sup>a</sup> DINNER PARTIES there.

In the last *Впередь!* there's a disgustingly sycophantic article about Bakunin's funeral,<sup>b</sup> at which Guillaume, Brousse, the two Reclus and *l'illustre*<sup>c</sup> Cafiero were the chief ACTORS. Bakunin is depicted therein as the 'giant' of the Revolution. We are promised a sequel by the same correspondent on the subject of the plans put forward after the funeral for a coalition between the two Internationals, namely the Jurassians who want a 'FREE FEDERATION' of workers, and the Germans who aspire to a 'People's State' [*Volksstaat*]. To achieve this, it was said, all that was needed was to reframe Article 3 of the Rules in accordance with the version adopted at the 'Congress of 1873' (Guillaume's congress).<sup>179</sup> In a short paragraph in the *Volksstaat* (I don't know whether you've read it yet) Liebknecht declares that nobody could desire this more than we (i.e. he); but, incorrigible TALKER that he is, goes on to say: 'Let us see deeds instead of words'.<sup>d</sup> Naturally, he is gratified that Mr Guillaume should proclaim the 'People's State' the be-all and end-all of the non-Bakuninist International. Lavrov clearly considers it a good BUSINESS MANOEUVRE to accept Bakuninist articles, thus also committing that PARTY to his paper.<sup>e</sup>

The Brighton AQUARIUM has really come into its own since the time (three years ago) when I witnessed its beginnings.<sup>180</sup> In accordance with the compromise it has reached with PARSON POWER, it

<sup>a</sup> more or less - <sup>b</sup> 'Бернь, 4 июля. Похороны М. А. Бакунина', *Впередь!*, No. 37, 15 July 1876. - <sup>c</sup> the illustrious - <sup>d</sup> 'Das Begräbniß Bakunin's...', *Der Volksstaat*, No. 82, 16 July 1876. - <sup>e</sup> *Впередь!*

now stays open on Sunday afternoons (until the evening), but on the arid condition that the poor devils of EXCURSIONISTS shall not obtain a drop of liquid, not even undistilled water. You ought to go and have a look at it one of these days.

Love to the whole FAMILY and kind regards to Madame Pauli.<sup>a</sup>

Your  
Moor

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## 91

## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

Ramsgate, 11 August 1876  
11 Camden Square

Dear Pauli,

On Friday<sup>b</sup> I duly proceeded to Cologne as planned and would have gone on overnight to London via Ostend had not the confounded midge bite on my left hand swollen to truly colossal proportions. So I went to an hotel in Cologne and held my hand in iced water for about an hour, which relieved the worst of the inflammation; on Saturday to England via Flushing. At Chatham I found a train going to Ramsgate and came straight here.<sup>175</sup> When I arrived in London on Tuesday I found Schorlemmer at the Marxes preparing to leave for Darmstadt on Wednesday, where he will doubtless arrive today.

It's still very fine here, moderately hot summer temperatures and a cool wind off the sea, on top of which the bottled beer is excellent and salt water bathing 'a proper treat',<sup>c</sup> as Nadler's seamstress would say.<sup>181</sup> His stuff has made me laugh a lot; the small town patriot of '48 is particularly well portrayed.<sup>182</sup>

The crossing from Flushing was once again as smooth as glass; I'm heartily sick of it by now; a bit of tossing about is all part of

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 116. - <sup>b</sup> 4 August - <sup>c</sup> Engels has '*e wohres Laubsal*' (dialect).



the game, otherwise one has no idea of having been at sea. But that's something I can have whenever I want here aboard the pleasure boats which sail every afternoon.

We are staying here until Monday fortnight and in London shall, I trust, retire from the very idle life we've been a-leadin' of.

The trip and the sea-bathing have done my wife a great deal of good, so I have reason to hope that I shall also be able to get her through the winter in passable health. Both she and I send our kindest regards to you, your wife and the children, and in the hope that Rheinau's gnat population will shortly diminish I shall close because of incipient table-laying.

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

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## 92

## ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 15 August 1876  
11 Camden Square

My dear Mr Lavrov,

On my return from Germany<sup>175</sup> I found awaiting me your letter of the 7th which I hastened to pass on to Liebknecht.<sup>15</sup> Since the people concerned are completely unknown to me, there was little else I could do.<sup>183</sup>

I hope our poor Smirnov will have strength enough to get over his illness. He has been working harder than the delicate state of his health allows, and he would be well-advised to take it a bit easier. With warmest regards both to him and to yourself.

Yours ever,  
F. Engels

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>13</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

Karlsbad, 19 August 1876  
 Germania

Dear FRED,

I am writing to your London address since I don't know whether you are still living at the seaside.<sup>175</sup>

First, our adventures *en route*.<sup>178</sup> As I had planned, we spent a night in Cologne—left there at 6 o'clock in the morning, our next staging post being Nuremberg. We arrived in Nuremberg at about five in the afternoon, not intending to leave for Karlsbad until the following evening (it was the 14th and we had informed our Karlsbad landlady that we would be arriving on the 15th). Our cases were unloaded and entrusted to a man with a barrow who was to accompany us to the nearest inn, just beside the railway station on the outskirts of town. But at the said inn we were told there was only one room left, and at the same time the landlord conveyed to us the awful tidings that we were unlikely to find accommodation elsewhere since the town was overcrowded, partly as a result of a millers' and bakers' convention, partly by people from all over the world who were on their way to state musician Wagner's Festival of Fools at Bayreuth.<sup>184</sup> And such was the case. We spent ages wandering about the town with the barrow beside us; neither the smallest beer-house nor the biggest hotel could offer us asylum; all we gained was a nodding acquaintance with the (highly interesting) birthplace of German handicraftsmen. So we returned to the station; there we were told that the town closest to Karlsbad, whither we might still be transported by rail, was Weiden. We took TICKETS for Weiden. However, the worthy guard had already had one (if not more) over the eight; instead of making us get out at Neunkirchen, from which there was a new branch line to Weiden, he carried us on as far as Irrelohe (that's roughly what the beastly place is called)<sup>a</sup> and we had to spend two whole hours travelling back (in the direction opposite to that from which we had come) so that we finally arrived at Weiden at midnight. Here again the only hostelry in the place was full to overflowing so that we had to possess our souls in patience on the

<sup>a</sup> The correct name is Irrenlohe.

hard chairs at the railway station until four o'clock in the morning. Altogether, the journey from Cologne to Karlsbad took us 28 hours! Add to which, it was outrageously hot!

Next day at Karlsbad (where it hasn't rained for six weeks) what everybody was talking about, and what we experienced in our own persons, was the excessive heat! Likewise the water shortage; the Tepl looks as though it's been almost completely drained. Deforestation has reduced it to a sorry state; at times of heavy rain (as in 1872) it floods everything, in hot years it disappears altogether.

Incidentally, the excessive heat has let up during the past three days and, even on really hot days, we found wooded glens, long familiar to me, where it was bearable.

Tussychen, who was rather unwell during the journey, is recovering visibly here and, as always, Karlsbad is having a wonderful effect on me. During the past months the horrible feeling of heaviness in the head had shown signs of returning, but now it's completely gone again.

Dr Fleckles passed on a piece of news that astonished me very much. I had asked him whether his cousin, Madame Wollmann from Paris, was here; I met her last year—a most interesting lady. In reply he said that her husband had lost the whole of his own fortune, as well as his wife's, speculating on the Paris Bourse so that the family, now in desperate straits, was forced to retire to some German backwater. The curious thing about this affair is that Mr Wollmann had made a large fortune in Paris as a dyestuffs manufacturer; he had never gambled on the Bourse but had soberly invested the money not required for his business (as also that of his wife) in Austrian state bonds. All of a sudden he went a bit wrong in the head; he regarded the state of Austria as unsound, sold all his bonds, and *quite secretly*, without the prior knowledge of his wife or of his friends Heine and Rothschild, and in anticipation of a rise, he speculated on the Bourse in—Turkish and Peruvian securities!—until the last farthing had gone down the drain. The poor woman was just in process of furnishing her newly rented hotel in Paris when, one fine day, without any warning at all, she heard that she was a pauper.

Professor Friedberg (at Breslau University, medicine) tells me today that the great Lasker has brought out anonymously a semi-fictitious work entitled *Experiences of a Man's Heart*.<sup>a</sup> These exceedingly boastful experiences are preceded by a fulsome

<sup>a</sup> [E. Lasker,] *Erlebnisse einer Mannes-Seele*

foreword or introduction by Mr Berthold Auerbach. What Lasker experienced was this: that all women (including a daughter of Kinkel's) fell in love with him, and he proceeds to explain, not only why he didn't marry the whole lot at once, but why he didn't even so much as clinch matters with a single one of them. It's said to be a veritable odyssey of a milksop's heart. Hot on its heels came a parody (likewise anonymous)<sup>a</sup> SO HORRIBLE that, at great loss to himself, Otto's<sup>b</sup> big brother<sup>c</sup> bought up every copy of the *Experiences* he could lay hands on. 'Duty' calls me from my desk. So until next time, in so far as I am not prevented by the magically stupefying effect of the hot alkaline tippie from scrawling a line or two.

My love to Madame Lizzy.

Your  
Moor

No Kovalevsky here. What I have got is a stout volume, sent me by Lavrov, about the functions of the 'state' in the future.<sup>d</sup> Anyway I am also putting off reading it till some future time. Just now everything's future here after the drums of the music of the future<sup>185</sup> at Bayreuth.

Swarming with Russians here.

Have just heard from my wife that you are still in Ramsgate. I am therefore sending the letter straight there.

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<sup>a</sup> H. J. Gehlsen, *Das Buch vom 'großen' Lasker oder Leiden und Freuden einer schönen Mannes-Seele*. - <sup>b</sup> Otto Bismarck - <sup>c</sup> Eduard Lasker - <sup>d</sup> [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Государственный элементъ въ будущемъ обществѣ', *Впередь!*, Vol. IV, 1876.

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## ENGELS TO JENNY MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 20 August 1876  
11 Camden Square

Dear Mrs Marx,

My best thanks for Tussy's letter which we have promptly forwarded to Jenny.<sup>a</sup>

Lenchen<sup>b</sup> has had a curious and distinctly unpleasant turn while down here. Last Tuesday she went bathing with my wife<sup>c</sup> and was assailed by a violent headache which persisted for three days. On Friday she had another try and was at once assailed by the same headache, this time more violently. On Friday evening it was again very bad and she simply could not sleep. It was not until Saturday afternoon that she managed to get a little sleep, but then came another violent attack which, however, died down in the late evening, whereupon she slept soundly and today is ALL RIGHT again. The result is that, this year at any rate, she would be well-advised not to repeat the bathing experiment.

Lenchen wanted to return to London no later than tomorrow, but we have persuaded her to give herself another day in which to recover completely from what have sometimes been extraordinarily violent attacks, so now she doesn't intend to return until Tuesday. We thought, if you were to come here on Wednesday and stay until Friday week, then we could all return to London together.<sup>175</sup>

Since STEAMERS take at least 30-31 days from the Cape, Carolinchen<sup>d</sup> could not, after all, arrive before 3-4 September, i.e. 3-4 days after your return.

We have had to put up with some pretty oppressive heat here—a few days ago there were thunderstorms and, since yesterday evening, there has been a lot of rain, but it's clearing up again now. My wife is in very good health, and bathing suits her particularly well. Both she and Lenchen send their warm regards.

Your devoted

F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> Jenny Longuet - <sup>b</sup> Helene Demuth - <sup>c</sup> Lizzie Burns - <sup>d</sup> Karoline Jutta

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN KARLSBAD<sup>178</sup>

Ramsgate, Friday, 25 August 1876

Dear Moor,

Your letter arrived here on Tuesday and is now circulating among your daughters.<sup>a</sup> No one here envies you your 28 hours of roving between Cologne and Karlsbad<sup>b</sup>; on the other hand, there's been much waging as to the amount of Bavarian 'liquid' that helped to see you through your many vicissitudes.

A week ago on Monday Lenchen<sup>c</sup> arrived here from Hastings where she had been spending Sunday with Jenny and the Lafargues; despite being rather seedy, she went into the water, thereby incurring a frightful headache that lasted two days; a second attempt only made matters worse, so she had to give it up. She went home on Tuesday, and the day after that, the day before yesterday, your wife turned up here; she is noticeably better than she was—six weeks ago at any rate. She does a great deal of walking, her appetite is good and she seems to be sleeping very well. After being fortified by me at the station with a glass of port, she and Lizzie are loafing about on the SANDS and rejoicing at not having to write any letters. Sea-bathing has done Lizzie a power of good and I hope that this time it will last the winter through.

At this moment Ramsgate is populated almost exclusively by small GREENGROCERS and other quite small SHOPKEEPERS from London. These people stay here a week, for as long as the RETURN TICKET is valid, and then make way for others of the same ilk. It's the former day-trip public which now takes a week off. At first sight one would think they were working men, but their conversation immediately betrays the fact that they ARE RATHER ABOVE THAT and belong to quite the most disagreeable stratum of London society—they're the kind who, in speech and manner, are already preparing themselves, after the inevitably impending bankruptcy, for the no less inevitably impending career of COSTERMONGER. And now, let Tussy imagine her old friend Gore on the SANDS of a morning, surrounded by 30 or 40 *dames de la halle*<sup>d</sup> of that ilk.

In view of the ever denser stultification induced by the seaside, the most suitable reading has, naturally enough, been Mr Düh-

<sup>a</sup> Jenny Longuet and Laura Lafargue - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 135-36. - <sup>c</sup> Helene Demuth - <sup>d</sup> market women

ring's natural philosophy of reality.<sup>a</sup> Never have I encountered anything so natural. Everything occurs naturally since everything is regarded as natural that occurs naturally to Mr D., which is why he invariably takes his departure from 'axiomatic propositions', for what is natural requires no proof. As far as banality goes, the thing is absolutely unprecedented. Poor though it is, the part dealing with nature is by far the best. Here, at any rate, there are still some withered remains of dialectical phraseology, but no sooner does he touch on social and historical conditions than the old metaphysic prevails in the form of *morality*, and then he gets well and truly onto the wrong tack and turns helplessly round and round in circles. His horizon barely extends beyond the area covered by the common law of the land<sup>186</sup> and, for him, Prussian officialdom represents 'the state'. We shall be returning to London a week today<sup>175</sup> and then I shall at once settle down to work on the fellow. The nature of the eternal truths he preaches will be apparent to you from his three *bêtes noires*—tobacco, cats and Jews—and they get it hot and strong.

Tussy's letter to Lenchen has just arrived here; I shall forward it to London directly.

With their hullaballo about TURKISH ATROCITIES,<sup>187</sup> *The Daily News* and old Russell have done the Russians a signal service and splendidly paved the way for the latter's next campaign, which may begin as soon as the liberal gents have taken the helm here. The liberal provincial press is even now sounding the alarm and, since OLD DIZZY<sup>b</sup> has retreated to the HOUSE OF LORDS,<sup>188</sup> it will no doubt be the liberal ranters who will lay down the law in the next session in the COMMONS. Not a word is said, of course, about the infamies perpetrated by the Montenegrins and Herzegovinians. Luckily the Serbs are getting knocked for six<sup>176</sup>—even Forbes, who, by the way, is again the one solitary rational war correspondent, speaks with unmistakable admiration of the superior military prowess of the Turkish troops—and it isn't so easy for the БЪЛЫЙ ЦАРЬ<sup>c</sup> to intervene.

Your wife and Lizzie send much love to Tussy as also to yourself.

Your

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> E. Dühring, *Cursus der Philosophie...* - <sup>b</sup> Disraeli - <sup>c</sup> White Tsar (Alexander II)

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## ENGELS TO IDA PAULI

IN RHEINAU

Ramsgate, 27 August 1876  
11 Camden Square

Dear Mrs Pauli,

The midges must indeed have been hard at it if you have felt obliged to follow in the footsteps of the emancipated Russian ladies and smoke cigarettes. I hope, however, that like us, you have had cooler weather for the past three or four days and hence freedom from midges. Here, we've been positively frozen and have had to have the windows shut, while my wife has been hankering for fur jackets. On Friday night in London it was only 6 degrees Reaumur, and in Liverpool the melons have been positively frozen hard.

Mrs Marx has been staying with us since Tuesday.<sup>a 189</sup> She has made a fairly good recovery, but will probably have to leave before Tuesday as she is expecting a niece<sup>b</sup> from the Cape of Good Hope by then.

Despite the weather, we are persevering with our bathing as the sea is still warm and, with this wind, the breakers get better and better and keep one warm; it's precisely these cold sea-baths that have the most invigorating effect, and my wife's health has improved wonderfully since she's been going into the water. On Friday we repack our bags and shall then, I hope, at last settle down again. We are now both heartily sick of lounging about; my wife longs for her kitchen and I for my writing-desk and both of us for our big, roomy bed.

Marx's address in Karlsbad is: Dr. Marx, Germania, Schlossberg, Karlsbad.<sup>178</sup> I heard from him a few days since<sup>c</sup>; the Karlsbad water was doing both him and his daughter Tussy a great deal of good, but unfortunately it has a tiresome sequel: for months afterwards one may neither tipple nor eat salad or suchlike palatable things. He will stay there until mid-September at least and maybe a week longer, depending on the cure and the effect it has.

At the same time as yours we received a letter from Pumps. I shall reply to her as soon as I get back to London; here, where

<sup>a</sup> 22 August - <sup>b</sup> Karoline Jutta - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 135-37.



idleness is an institution, it always requires an effort of will to sit down and write.

What's the position about Pauli's trip to England? He must surely almost have completed his building operations at the factory and, being so fond of rough seas, he shouldn't put it off too long.

Mrs Marx asks me to send her warmest regards and my wife and I send you, Pauli and the children our love. I am sending Pauli a newspaper today. Well, may you all keep well and happy and, whenever the beer is especially good, spare a thought for

Your sincere friend,

F. Engels

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time

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## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 30 August 1876  
Germania, Schlossberg

Dear Friend,

My daughter and I have been here for the past two weeks and, despite changeable weather and rain, intend to persevere for another two weeks.<sup>178</sup> We should be very glad to see you here. At any rate, drop us a line.

Very sincerely yours,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO JENNY LONGUET<sup>16</sup>

IN HASTINGS

[Karlsbad, end of August-  
beginning of September 1876]

My Darling,

I was delighted to see from your letters, one of which unfortunately went astray, that your health has improved and that Hastings is suiting the fine little chap<sup>a</sup> and that he already has a presence of his own. *Macte puer vitute!*<sup>b</sup>

Here we jog along from day to day, as mindlessly as the cure demands if it is to be successful. Latterly we have virtually ceased our excursions into the mountain forests owing to the sharply changing weather,—now April showers, now a cloudburst, then sunshine again. But the cold that suddenly set in after the prolonged heat is now quite gone again.

We have made many acquaintances of late—aside from a few Poles, mostly German university professors and doctors of other descriptions.

Everywhere one goes one is plagued with the question: 'What do you think of Wagner?' It is highly typical of this latter-day Prusso-German imperial court musician that he, plus wife (the one who was divorced from Bülow), plus the cuckold Bülow, plus their mutual father-in-law Liszt, should all four be living together harmoniously in Bayreuth, cuddling, kissing and adoring one another, and generally enjoying themselves. If, moreover, one reflects that Liszt is a Roman monk and Madame Wagner (first name Cosima) his 'natural' daughter by Madame d'Agoult (Daniel Stern)—what better Offenbachian *libretto* could one possibly conceive than this family group with its patriarchal relationships? Or again, the goings-on of the said group might—like the Nibelungen<sup>190</sup>—be made the theme of a tetralogy.

I hope, dear child, that I shall find you well and happy. Give Longuet my best regards and my little grandson a dozen kisses from his GRANNY.

*Adio*

<sup>a</sup> Jean Longuet - <sup>b</sup> Cf. 'Good speed to thy valour, O youth!', Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX, 641.

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## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 1 September 1876

Dear Friend,

I had never given up the idea of spending a day or two in Prague with my daughter, but did not wish to say anything about it in my letter to you, because I wanted to entice you here.<sup>178</sup>

*Mais les affaires sont les affaires*<sup>a</sup>; perhaps on closer reflection you may find that a trip to Karlsbad might after all be of benefit to your health. I await your final decision on this score.

I wouldn't mind very much what the weather as such was like if it didn't to some extent clash with the conditions of the cure.

My daughter sends her warmest regards.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 6 September 1876

Dear Friend,

Your sister's letter enclosed; her news of the *aventures de Norderney*<sup>b</sup> was of the very greatest interest to my daughter<sup>c</sup> and myself. I have seen your sister's portrait and heard many complimentary things about her in Hanover, and had hoped to

<sup>a</sup> But business is business. - <sup>b</sup> the adventures in Norderney - <sup>c</sup> Eleanor Marx

make her acquaintance at your home in Prague; however, I see from your letter that she is still staying in Aachen.

My cure ends on Sunday.<sup>a</sup> Monday is therefore the day appointed for our departure for Prague<sup>178</sup>; nevertheless, it's possible that our stay at Karlsbad will have to be prolonged. My daughter has suddenly become unwell. I hope it's nothing serious; I'm expecting a second visit from the doctor<sup>b</sup> this evening. You shall have further information as soon as I can communicate something more definite.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

[Karlsbad,] 9 September 1876

Dear Friend,

Very many thanks from self and daughter<sup>c</sup> for your kind letter. She had a nasty fever, had to stay in bed for three days and at this moment is still confined to her room; but she is now quite out of danger thanks to the speedy intervention of Dr Fleckles junior. It's unlikely we'll be able to leave for Prague before Wednesday.<sup>d</sup> However, I'll notify you of the exact day before our departure.

Trusting meanwhile that we shall see you again shortly.

Yours,

Karl Marx

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<sup>a</sup> 10 September - <sup>b</sup> presumably Ferdinand Fleckles - <sup>c</sup> Eleanor Marx -  
<sup>d</sup> 13 September

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## MARX TO IDA PAULI

IN RHEINAU

[Karlsbad,] 10 September 1876

My dear Mrs Pauli,

My warmest thanks for your kind invitation. I'm sorry to say that an unfortunate contingency has arisen which precludes my taking advantage of it.

Today, you see, our four weeks' cure came to an end.<sup>178</sup> As a result of the constant changes of weather, however, my daughter<sup>a</sup> went down with a cold, fever, etc. For the time being she is confined to her room and I shall of necessity have to prolong our stay here. As I must be in London on an appointed day because of certain business matters, I shall be able to make even fewer diversions on the return journey. But to postpone is not to abandon. Perhaps we shall meet again next year.

With kindest regards from my daughter to you and Mr Pauli.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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time

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## MARX TO MAX OPPENHEIM

IN PRAGUE

Karlsbad, 12 September 1876  
Germania

Dear Friend,

I'm most grateful to you for your kind concern; fortunately my daughter<sup>a</sup> has completely recovered; *mais elle l'a échappé belle*.<sup>b</sup> She

<sup>a</sup> Eleanor Marx - <sup>b</sup> but she had a narrow squeak

was on the brink of pneumonia; speedy action by Dr Fleckles jun., her doctor, saved her from a long and dangerous illness.

As a result of this contingency, however, we shall have to stay here until Friday<sup>a</sup> for her to undergo after-treatment. We shall leave Karlsbad at 10.47 and arrive in Prague (State Railway Station) at 5.50 in the afternoon.

So until we meet again,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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time

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ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 15 September 1876  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Mr Lavrov,

At the bottom of this note I append a few observations that Liebknecht has just sent me on the subject of the people you mentioned in your letter.<sup>b</sup> You will see that Liebknecht disclaims all responsibility for what D.<sup>c</sup> may have written and what Ch.<sup>d</sup> might have done.

I trust Mr Smirnov is getting better.

Yours ever,

F. Engels

<sup>e</sup>The letters from *me*, which G.<sup>e</sup> allowed to fall into the hands of the police, were from the outset intended for Stieber's eyes—not, however, the numerous letters from the Russians. L.<sup>f</sup> is mistaken if he imagines that I confided in *any* Russian refugee. I take no responsibility for such people's *chatter*, and chatter they

<sup>a</sup> 15 September - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 134. - <sup>c</sup> Vladimir Dekhterev - <sup>d</sup> Ivan Chernyshev - <sup>e</sup> Grigory Gurevich - <sup>f</sup> Lavrov

do to a fearsome extent. Ch. went to Berlin *not* at my behest, though admittedly I was aware of it; there was no longer any damage to be done there.<sup>a</sup>

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## MARX TO FERDINAND FLECKLES

IN KARLSBAD

Liège, Belgium, 21 September 1876  
Hôtel de Suède

Dear Fleckles,

I am sending you POST-HASTE a line or two concerning an urgent matter.

A medical examination of my friend, Nikolai Utin, aged 35, has indicated incipient fatty degeneration of the heart. Karlsbad has been recommended to him, but since he is exceptionally busy in the spring, summer and autumn—he is an engineer in charge of big railway and similar undertakings—he can only spare time for treatment in December and during the winter months.

Since he is greatly afraid of the cold, he would like to know whether he might not go to Vichy rather than Karlsbad.

It is of course difficult, perhaps impossible, to reply to such a question without knowledge of his person. But at all events you will be able to give a general opinion as to whether Vichy might serve as a substitute for Karlsbad in cases of this kind.

The man in question is one of my dearest friends and for that reason I take the liberty of appealing to your friendship and requesting your early reply (to my London address: 41 Maitland Park Road, London). The child<sup>b</sup> and I leave here for home tomorrow.<sup>178</sup>

Yours very sincerely,  
Karl Marx

<sup>a</sup> Engels quotes Liebknecht's letter in German.- <sup>b</sup> Eleanor Marx

[From Eleanor Marx in French]

Dear Doctor,

I've just received the photographs from Karlsbad—but only eleven—have you got one of them? If so, send it off to me—if not, will you tell Hirsch?

I'm eagerly awaiting the letter you sent to London. Let me have some news about 'Marion', which interests me greatly—and work away at the last acts.

Good-bye—write and send me *your* portraits.

Yours sincerely,

Eleanor Marx

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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 23 September 1876

Dear Bracke,

A French work by Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune* (500-600 pages), is now being printed, publisher, H. Kistemaeckers, *librairie contemporaine*, Boulevard du Nord, 60, Bruxelles. This will be the first *authentic* history of the Commune. Not only has Lissagaray made use of all the published sources—he is also in possession of the material inaccessible to all others, quite apart from his having witnessed with his own eyes most of the events he depicts.

Yesterday I had from him a letter addressed to him by Julius Grunzig of Berlin, in which the latter offers himself as translator.

*D'abord*,<sup>a</sup> I don't know Grunzig; perhaps you can let me have some information about him.

Secondly, however, he says nothing whatever about where the thing is to be published or how and, even if we could use Mr

<sup>a</sup> First



Grunzig as translator (this depends entirely on his ability to do such work), he would be taken on *only* as translator, and in no case would he be entrusted with its publication.

I would suggest that you undertake to bring out this work, which is of importance to our party and of interest to the German reading public at large. But Lissagaray—who, needless to say, as a refugee in London, isn't exactly in a bed of roses—must, in return for the German publication rights conceded by him, get a share of the profits which you yourself should determine.

As for the translation, I would send Grunzig—since he was the first to apply and is also recommended by Most—some sample sheets to translate in order to assure myself of his competence.

Should you accept the proposal, the original would be sent to you (and/or the translator) in batches, so that the German translation might appear pretty well simultaneously with the French original.

Publication by instalments, as proposed by Grunzig in his letter, is inadmissible since the thing would then appear in German sooner than in French, and the Belgian publisher would object to this.

As regards payment of the translator, that is a matter to be settled exclusively between yourself and him.

You would oblige me by letting me have an early reply so that no time may be lost, and I can, if needs be, write to another publisher.

With best regards from myself and Engels.

Yours,  
Karl Marx

My address is:  
41 Maitland Park Road, N.W., London.

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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 30 September 1876

Dear Bracke,

I had already learnt of your transactions with B. Becker from your various letters to Engels, since we always show one another everything that has a bearing on party interests.

As soon as I received your letter, Engels and I ventilated every aspect of the question and came to the conclusion that consideration for Becker is not in any way incompatible with your publication of Lissagaray's work.<sup>a</sup>

1. You *terminated* YOUR ENGAGEMENT with B. Becker, *purely on business grounds*—long before there was any mention of Lissagaray's work—after *he* had abruptly *turned down* your proposals. Moreover, you paid him 300 talers by way of compensation. That meant that the matter was settled, nor could it possibly be assumed that, from then on, your house would refrain from printing any works relating to the history of the Commune.

2. In so far as Lissagaray's work competes with Becker's,<sup>b</sup> such competition is going to arise whether the work is published by you or by someone else. (Liebknecht just now offered to have it published by the *Volksstaat* printing office, an offer we would in *no circumstances* accept.) Lissagaray's work will be *appearing* in Brussels in a few weeks' time, whereas Becker won't have *finished* his until May 1877. So any injury he may incur thereby is in any case inevitable.

3. Although Becker's and Lissagaray's books have the same title—*History of the Commune*—they differ completely in kind and are works which, had not commercial or other considerations intervened, might very well have been brought out by the same publisher.

Becker's work is at best a compilation, written from the *German critical* standpoint, of material concerning the Commune which is available to anyone in Paris.

Lissagaray's book is the work of a participant in the events described (and to that extent it is in the nature of a memoir), a participant, moreover, who had at his command a wealth of

<sup>a</sup> [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. - <sup>b</sup> B. Becker, *Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871*.

manuscripts stemming from the protagonists in the drama, etc., which were not accessible to anyone else.

The only possible connection between the two works is that Becker will find in Lissagaray's book a fresh source which he cannot afford to leave out of account and which may necessitate extensive alterations to his manuscript, in so far as this has already been completed.

Your interest in the publication of Lissagaray's book is the same as induced you to commission Becker to compile the material—namely party interest which you can satisfy, as said above under 1., without remotely infringing your publishing ENGAGEMENTS originally entered into with Becker.

So much for that point.

As regards Mr Grunzig, I should like you to make inquiries from Most concerning the man's character. Should the particulars prove satisfactory, I would *tentatively* send Mr Grunzig a first sample sheet for translation so as to be able to judge whether he is up to this far from easy work.

Lissagaray has sent me the first five printed sheets. From this I see that it is a luxury edition, only thirty lines per page. If the French original runs to 500-600 pages, it will, in an ordinary German edition, hardly run to more than 400 pages.

Your stipulation as to the apportionment of profits meets with my complete approval; should it yield nothing, Lissagaray, like you yourself, must and will rest content with that.

As regards the translator's fee, that is a matter for you alone to decide. It is no concern of the French author.

As regards all the other stipulations—number of copies, design, prices, etc.—the decision is yours *alone*. (For Lissagaray has given me *plein pouvoir*<sup>a</sup> to act in his name.)

On the title-page you should print: 'Translation authorized by the writer of this work.'

On the title-page of the French original Lissagaray will put '*tous les droits réservés*'<sup>b</sup> so that you will be able to confiscate any eventual German translation that competes with yours.

With cordial regards,

Yours,  
Karl Marx

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Published in English for the first time

<sup>a</sup> absolute authority - <sup>b</sup> all rights reserved

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## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 7 October 1876

My dear Friend,

I have just received a letter from Paris (from an employe<sup>a</sup> at Lachâtre's booksellers) from which it transpires that the banning of *Capital*<sup>b</sup> is simply a myth, a myth, moreover, assiduously disseminated by the police and by Mr Quêt himself, the judicial administrator appointed by the late Buffet as sequestrator of Lachâtre's booksellers.<sup>38</sup>

Because it had been published under the state of siege, *Capital*—now that the state of siege has been raised—could only be banned by the regular courts, and the authorities fear a scandal of this kind. So they are seeking to suppress the book by underhand methods of intrigue.

You would greatly oblige me by advising me of the contents of the letter in which your agent Guyot mentions the banning of the book.<sup>c</sup> Kovalevsky, for his part, has Russian friends in Paris prepared to attest that even Lachâtre's booksellers has refused to sell them the work.

Armed with these proofs I shall be able to threaten Mr Quêt—a great miser, albeit a millionaire—with legal proceedings and a demand for damages and interest. It is only through the force of such threats that he has finally ordered the printing of the last fifteen instalments.<sup>d</sup> Under French law he is, vis-à-vis myself, merely Mr Lachâtre's representative, his deputy, and must fulfil all the conditions laid down in my contract with the latter.

Last September's *Revue des deux Mondes* contains a so-called critique of *Capital* by Mr Laveleye.<sup>e</sup> Only by reading it can one get any idea of the idiocy of our bourgeois 'thinkers'. Mr Laveleye is, however, naive enough to admit that, once you accept the doctrines of Adam Smith and Ricardo or even—*horribile dictu*<sup>f</sup>—those of the Careys and the Bastiats, there is no means of escaping the subversive doctrines of *Capital*.

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<sup>a</sup> presumably from Henri Oriol - <sup>b</sup> the French edition of the first volume of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 440. - <sup>d</sup> Ibid., p. 92. - <sup>e</sup> E. de Laveleye, 'Le socialisme contemporain en Allemagne. I. Les théoriciens', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 17, Paris, 1876. - <sup>f</sup> dreadful to relate

I congratulate you on your LEADING ARTICLE in *Впередь!* on Pan-Slav lyricism in Russia.<sup>a</sup> It is not only a masterpiece, it is above all a great act of moral courage.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

How is Smirnov's health progressing?

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## MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 7 October 1876  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

DEAR LIBRARY,<sup>b</sup>

According to a letter you wrote to Engels, you told the Congress that Engels was going to deal with Dühring. Instead, much to his displeasure, he found—and showed me immediately on my arrival from Karlsbad<sup>178</sup>—a report in the *Volksstaat* according to which you had said that I (something I would never dream of doing) was going to take issue with Mr Dühring.<sup>191</sup>

Resolve for me, O Oerindur, this dichotomy of nature!<sup>c</sup>

Engels is busy with his work on Dühring.<sup>d</sup> It entails a considerable sacrifice on his part, as he had to break off an incomparably more important piece of work<sup>e</sup> to that end.

The fact that your Congress proffered a fraternal hand to Guillaume and Co., is, given the form it took, relatively innocuous.<sup>192</sup> However, any *real co-operation* with these people, who

<sup>a</sup> [P. L. Lavrov,] 'Русские передъ южно-славянскимъ вопросомъ', *Впередь!*, No. 42, 1 October 1876. - <sup>b</sup> jocular name for Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>c</sup> from Adolf Müllner's drama *Die Schuld*, Act II, Scene 5 - <sup>d</sup> *Anti-Dühring* - <sup>e</sup> *Dialectics of Nature*

have systematically worked to bring about the dissolution of the *International*, is to be avoided under all circumstances. The *very few* working men in the Jura, Italy and Spain whom they are still leading by the nose, may FOR OUGHT I KNOW be upright men. They themselves are incorrigible intriguers who, now that they have discovered their nullity *outside* the International, would like to worm their way in again through the back door so that they may resume their previous role.<sup>193</sup>

I had already been in communication with Bracke about the translation into German of Lissagaray's book before your proposal<sup>a</sup> reached me; I have concluded an agreement with Bracke.<sup>194</sup>

It is about time the *Volksstaat*, or rather, I should now say, the *Vorwärts*,<sup>195</sup> put a finger at last on the real source of the rot in dealing with the oriental question.<sup>196</sup> In one of its most recent numbers the *Kölnische Zeitung* says that one might echo the words of a famous diplomat: '*Il n'y a plus d'Europe!*'<sup>b</sup>; once upon a time it was possible to speak of other powers, now the stage is held by only one power—Russia!

But why is this? The German papers, in so far as they aren't dancing to Russia's tune, now heap reproaches on Disraeli, now accuse Andrassy of weak-minded vacillation.

Yet the nub of the matter is—*Bismarck's policy*. He embarked on it after Sedan<sup>113</sup> during the Franco-Prussian War. At this moment he is hamstringing Austria (and even England, relatively speaking) by his official flirtation with Russia; indeed, he is hamstringing the entire Continent. The passage (according to the latest advices) of armed Russian troops through the Romanian provinces (under the auspices of a Hohenzollern<sup>c</sup>) has led everyone in Paris and London to believe in the existence of an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Prussia. In fact, by his policy of conquest in France, Bismarck has disarmed Germany vis-à-vis Russia and condemned her to the shameful role she is playing at this moment, *et qui est véritablement 'la honte de l'Europe'*.<sup>d</sup>

Here in England a turning-point has been reached; the curtain is about to fall on the sentimental farce staged by the Whigs in their haste to reconquer the LOAVES AND FISHES OF OFFICE and for which an appropriate chorus has been provided from among the workers—such canaille as Mottershead, Hales *et tutti quanti*<sup>e</sup>—under the influence of bourgeois FIVE POUND NOTES; Gladstone has

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 149-52. - <sup>b</sup> There is no longer a Europe! - <sup>c</sup> Carol I - <sup>d</sup> and which is truly 'the shame of Europe' (an allusion to E. de Girardin's pamphlet *La Honte de l'Europe*) - <sup>e</sup> and whoever else there may be

sounded the retreat, ditto Lord Russell, and now only the brazen Bob Lowe (the Australian ex-demagogue, the creature who, during the recent reform movement,<sup>197</sup> followed the example of Edmund Burke and branded the working class a SWINISH MULTITUDE) is making a fool of himself with his talk of the AUTOCRAT OF ALL THE RUSSIAS AS 'THE ONLY FATHER OF THE OPPRESSED'. Amongst the London workers, it is precisely the most progressive and resolute who have staged a PROTEST MEETING against the Pan-Slavophiles. They realise that, each time the working class acts as chorus to the governing classes (to a Bright, Gladstone, etc.), it is perpetrating an infamy. *Caeterum censeo*<sup>a</sup> that it behoves you to write a LEADING ARTICLE revealing how sorry a figure is cut by the German-Prussian, ostensibly anti-Russian, bourgeois press which, while at most presuming to criticise the ministers of other countries, maintains a most devout silence in regard to its own Bismarck.

With warmest regards to your family.

Your  
Moor

Apropos. The rascal from Antwerp, whom Guillaume and Co., by their intrigues among the unwitting Dutch workers, foisted upon the Hague Congress<sup>20</sup> as its provisional president, one van den Abeele, has now himself been unmasked by his own people as an agent of the French government and has accordingly been thrown out of those sections of the International still eking out an existence in Belgium. This, after another of the same clique, Mr Bastelica, had publicly disclosed in Strasbourg that he was a Bonapartist agent!<sup>b</sup>

[Note at the beginning of the letter]

The *Frankfurter Zeitung's* 'unbaptized crusader'<sup>c</sup> is playing a thoroughly grotesque role in the oriental imbroglio.

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<sup>a</sup> For the rest, I consider. These are the initial words of Cato the Elder's famous expression: '*Caeterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*' (For the rest, I consider that Carthage must be destroyed). - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 184. - <sup>c</sup> Presumably Leopold Sonnemann.

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MARX TO LEO FRANKEL<sup>198</sup>

IN BUDAPEST

London, 13 October 1876  
41 Maitland Park Grescent, N. W.

Dear Frankel,

I could not answer your long letter, for which I am much obliged, because I was not clear about your situation, that is, did not know whether a letter from me might not be to your detriment if intercepted by chance, no matter how harmless its content might be.<sup>199</sup> Will you be so kind as to explain to me, if possible, the following: What is the relationship between sown plains and highlands (the latter used possibly as pasture)?

You are quite right to take part in editing a workers' newspaper.<sup>a</sup>

As for the so-called Swiss international congress,<sup>200</sup> it is the work of the Alliancists—Guillaume and Company.<sup>201</sup> Knowing that they are worth absolutely nothing by themselves, they deem it necessary to step again into the limelight under the banner of 'unification', which they could not do alone.<sup>202</sup> Their plan was supported by the Malons, Pindys and other Arnoulds, who, frightened at the fact that the workers are 'acting' in Paris without them, are out to bring themselves back to people's minds as patented representatives of the workers. On the other hand, Guillaume's group cunningly took in Bebel while he was in Switzerland. However, this matters but little. The Gotha Congress did not appoint any official representative to the Swiss congress but contented itself with general rhetoric about the community of workers' interests.<sup>192</sup> Meanwhile I sent a warning to Leipzig, and if any of them goes to the congress as a private person, he will take a negative stance on the blandishments of long-standing conspirators against the International. How you acted as a former member of the General Council and a delegate to the Hague Congress<sup>20</sup> is entirely understandable. You must not in the least succumb to the intoxication of reconciliation, a state in which scheming villains always swindle honest fools.

They have just begun printing Lissagaray's book<sup>b</sup>; he is now busy reading the first proofs. The scoundrels, the so-called labour

<sup>a</sup> *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* - <sup>b</sup> *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*



leaders (Englishmen), those whom I exposed at the Hague Congress, swallowed during the Russo-Bulgarian campaign over atrocities<sup>187</sup> a handsome amount of five-pound notes from the great leaders Gladstone, Bright, Robert Lowe (the man who during the latest reform agitation<sup>197</sup> called the working class a swinish multitude<sup>a</sup>), Fawcett and others. But the plot is coming to a terrible end. These labour leaders, Mottershead and others, are the same dogs with whom it was impossible to hold a meeting against the butchers of the Commune.

I am sending you the latest issue of *The Diplomatic Review*. Despite the space it gives Urquhart to unload his inanities, the journal contains weighty facts concerning the Bulgarian epidemic of atrocities by which Russia has fooled the whole of Christian liberal Europe.<sup>b</sup>

I inform you on evidence from *the most trustworthy source*—and it would be a good thing to publish this fact in *Hungarian papers*—that some months ago the Russian government *suspended the payment of interest* due at fixed intervals to the Russian railways, and this *completely in secret*; every single department received private notification with *orders* to hold its tongue (and we know what that means in Russian). All this notwithstanding, the news of the fact reached not only me but also *Reuter's Telegraph Agency* (the biggest member of the Holy Trinity of European telegraph agencies, Reuter—Havas—Wolff) but the good man withheld the news at the special request of the Russian Embassy in London.

In any case, this is an edifying symptom of Russia's financial embarrassment. Should the English bourgeois feel it, he will again become pro-Turkish, for no matter how much the Turks owe England, it is nothing compared to the Russian debt.

Warm regards from my whole family.

Your  
K. M.

First published, in Hungarian, in the newspaper *Népszava*, No. 142, Budapest, 17 June 1906

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Translated from the Hungarian

Published in English for the first time

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 156. - <sup>b</sup> 'The Bulgarian Insurrection', *The Diplomatic Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, October 1876.

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ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE<sup>203</sup>

IN WATERLOO

[Note]

[London, 15 October 1876]

Liverpool, 13 October 1876. E. Dronke.

Replied 15 October<sup>15</sup> that I had written to E. Blank.<sup>15</sup>

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
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time

112

MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LIMINGTON

[London,] 16 October 1876

41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear and honoured Friend,

A few days since Mr Leblanc informed us of the decease of your wife, but I find it even now almost impossible to address you a few lines. Those who had the privilege of knowing and admiring your noble companion for life, dare not intrude with empty words of consolations. It was in fact but her love for you, her fear to leave you alone that enabled her to resist so bravely to increasing ailments and to struggle so hard with nature for her own existence. Your love of mankind, your passionate interest in its general life, will, I hope, enable you to bear even with this irreparable loss.<sup>204</sup>

Your most devoted friend

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the  
original (English), in *Économies et Sociétés*,  
Tome IV, No. 11, Genève, 1970

Reproduced from the original

113

## ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK

IN LEUTESDORF

[Copy]

[London,] 16 October 1876

*To E. Blank*

If then, upon the POLICY being deposited with you, you are prepared to open a credit of £150 for Dronke, I would gladly pay you that amount through Hermann<sup>a</sup> as soon as desired, likewise any possible expenses arising out of the transaction.<sup>203</sup> As soon as Dronke repaid the money you could remit it to me in any way you chose, and return the POLICY to him.

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*Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,  
Moscow, 1935

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Published in English for the first  
time

114

## ENGELS TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LIMINGTON

London, 17 October 1876  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

I have just been informed by Marx of the very, very heavy blow which has fallen upon you in the shape of the death of your wife. I fully realise the dreadful, dreary feeling of loneliness which this bereavement, after fifty years of happiness, must have thrown you into. At the same time I know your character well enough to be assured that, with time, you will get the better of it, and not give way to despondency. You are bound to live until you see at least the first instalment of the victory of that cause for which you have

<sup>a</sup> Hermann Engels

now worked and struggled for fully two generations; and there are events now preparing in the East which must hasten, and may bring about, the downfall of the old political and social system. In the meantime, rest assured that from the depth of my heart I feel with you in your affliction, and so does my wife. I say no more. I know that consolation in such a case would seem a mockery.

With heartfelt sympathy

Ever yours faithfully,

Frederick Engels

First published in: Marx and Engels,  
*Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 50,  
Moscow, 1981

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time

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ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE

IN WATERLOO

[Copy]

[London,] 20 October 1876

*To Dronke*

My brother-in-law Blank writes to say that he absolutely and categorically refuses to enter into a transaction such as you suggest.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, he tells me he severed all connections with Hinsberg, Fischer & Co. three years ago, as is indeed the case.

I am sorry that nothing has come of the matter, since I should have liked to help you in so far as it was in my power to do so.

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*Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVI,  
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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 20 October 1876  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Kugelmann,

You may give Mr Caro the most positive assurances that, aside from announcements of family events in the more distant past and personal statements signed with his name on the Vogt affair, etc., Marx has never written *one line* for the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*,<sup>205</sup> and, if the gentlemen in Breslau<sup>a</sup> know better, we can only treat it as a joke. We don't even know Mr Caro by name, though his friendship with Gorchakov leads us to suppose that he knows relatively little of Russia, for Gorchakov would not be on such a footing with people who were *too well* versed in this subject. So let us hope that the order which is still lacking will shortly pop into the buttonhole that is pining for it.

Just now I'm writing a work on Mr Dühring for the *Vorwärts* in Leipzig.<sup>153</sup> For this purpose I need the review of *Capital* which you sent to Marx in March 1868 and which, if I'm not mistaken, was published by Dühring in a periodical appearing in Hildburghausen.<sup>206</sup> Marx simply can't find it. Knowing how conscientious you are in all matters, I presume you have something about it among your notes from that time—the *name*, perhaps, of the periodical and the No. of the volume in which the thing appeared. If you could let me know this, I would order the volume and have it here within a few days. But if you can't, you should, *under no circumstances*, write to Dühring about it, for the slightest—even if indirect—contact with the man and, still more, the very slightest service rendered by him would impair my freedom of criticism in a matter in which I should preserve it to the utmost.

Work on the second volume<sup>b</sup> will be started again in a few days. If, by the way, one wishes to correct *all* the inanities about Marx that circulate in learned circles, one would have one's work cut out. Yesterday, for example, a Russian told us about a Russian professor who stubbornly maintained that Marx was now engaged solely in Russian studies and was doing so because firmly convinced *que la commune russe ferait le tour du monde*<sup>c</sup>!

<sup>a</sup> Polish name: Wrocław. - <sup>b</sup> of *Capital* - <sup>c</sup> that the Russian commune would make its way round the world

The war in the Orient will doubtless really get going soon.<sup>207</sup> Never before have the Russians been able to strike under such favourable diplomatic circumstances as now. Militarily speaking, on the other hand, circumstances are less favourable to Russia than in 1828, and financially very unfavourable, since no one will lend her anything. Just now I'm re-reading Moltke's history of the war of 1828-29<sup>a</sup>; a very good book although the man could not be frank about political matters.

Thank you for the Schäffle article.

Your  
F. Engels

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Published in English for the first time

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 21 October 1876

My dear Friend,

Enclosed a cutting from *The Pall Mall Gazette*. This extract from your leader (in No. 42 of *Впередь!*<sup>b</sup>) is badly translated, even though it was done by Sir etc. Rawlinson. Kovalevsky informed me of it and also sent me the thing. He asked me to lend him No. 42 of your journal, but not even the prettiest girl in France can give more than she's got. I had already sent it to Utin (Liège).

Kovalevsky also told me—you could make use of it in your journal<sup>208</sup>—that a detestable Russian clique, which purports to represent the leading Russian men of letters, and has announced its venture in these terms to Rawlinson and other English notables, intends to publish a review in London for the purpose of acquainting the English with the true politico-social movement in Russia. Golokhvastov would be editor-in-chief, with other col-

<sup>a</sup> [H. K. B.] von Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*. - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 154.

laborators from that disgusting journal *Гражданин*<sup>a</sup> and also, so it is said, Prince Meshchersky.

The Russian government has already given signs of its insolvency by ordering the Bank of Petersburg to announce that it would no longer pay foreign bills of exchange in gold (and/or silver). I had been expecting this, but what passes all understanding is the fact that, for two or three weeks before settling on this 'disagreeable' measure, the aforesaid government had again perpetrated the folly of seeking artificially to maintain the rate of exchange in the London market. This has cost it nearly twenty million roubles; it might just as well have thrown the money into the Thames.

This absurd operation—the artificial maintenance of the rate of exchange at government expense—belongs to the eighteenth century. Today it is only the alchemists of Russia's finances who can go in for such things. Since Nicholas' death these grotesque, periodically repeated, manipulations have cost Russia at least 120 million roubles. But it is typical of a government which still seriously believes in the omnipotence of the State. Other governments do at least know that 'money has no master'.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

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ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE<sup>209</sup>

IN WATERLOO

[Draft]

[London,] 1 November 1876

Dear Dronke,

I am writing today to tell you what I was on the point of telling you last Friday<sup>b</sup> when you categorically refused to let me intervene in any way.

I am not in a position to lose the sum of £150, still less £200,

<sup>a</sup> *Grazhdanin* (Citizen) - <sup>b</sup> 27 October

nor, by the same token, to gamble with it. If I were still in business,<sup>210</sup> when any loss incurred could be made good in the course of time, that would be a rather different matter. Hence, even if I were on a different footing with Götz, whom I barely know by sight, and even if I didn't find the whole transaction highly unpleasant, in that it can't be carried out without the prior knowledge of Kyllmann, and therefore of Dr Borchardt, I would, under no circumstances, undertake a guarantee of the kind you want.

Even if I were still in business, I obviously couldn't consider gaily staking, for old friendship's sake, the sum of £150 on a business about whose standing I know absolutely nothing. But all the same I could have gone further than I can now when it's no longer possible for me simply to write off a loss of this order. On the other hand, I should be glad to help you so long as it's simply a question of making funds available to you for a stated period without my incurring a risk of this kind.

You had offered my brother-in-law<sup>a</sup> a POLICY amounting to £300 as collateral security. I told him that if he was willing to agree to your proposal I would pay him the £150 in the event of your not having paid it at the end of 6 months.<sup>b</sup> I could have raised the sum by then, which I was unable to do at that moment, and he would then have held the POLICY as security for myself. But he refused so much as to entertain the thing. Had you then made me exactly the same offer as you made my brother-in-law, I should not, it is true, have been in a position to advance you the £150 immediately, but no doubt something might have been arranged. Now, however, the latest American drawing has brought me a 5/20 bonus, the result being that I am in a position to make available over £150; it is at your disposal for a period of 6 months, provided you give me the POLICY as security. It will in any case be as safe with me as with anyone else, if not safer.

I have told you in all frankness how I see the matter and how far I'm able to go. Maybe you have other proposals to make, in which case I shall be glad to consider them. Just one final word: Whatever we may arrange, let it be arranged strictly between ourselves, with no third party, giving of guarantees, etc.; it's much simpler.

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<sup>a</sup> Emil Blank - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 161.



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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 6 November 1876

Dear Bracke,

I have been comparing Grunzig's translation—first sheet—most scrupulously with the original<sup>a</sup> and am about to inform him that I *cannot* accept his services.

In fact, to correct it (an *occasional* correction will doubtless be necessary with any translator) would take more time than if I were to translate it myself from start to finish. But I haven't the time for that. I cannot again go through the painful experience I endured in connection with the French translation of *Capital*.<sup>17</sup>

I'd be glad to have Kokosky, but he entirely lacks the deftness, the lightness of touch, which is precisely what the translation of this book needs.

I have already taken soundings in another quarter<sup>211</sup> but doubt whether the person in question will have the time. Meanwhile, it would be as well for you to cast round if possible for a professional translator in Leipzig. Since the book in question is not intended purely for working-class readers, it would be foolish to go and look for a translator specifically within a party that is not well endowed with literary talent, i.e. to proceed from the outset on the assumption that the translator *must* be a party man.

From what I hear, B. Becker has found a publisher in Switzerland.<sup>b</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
K. M.

The *conciliation congress in Berne*—Engels and I wrote and told Liebknecht *the moment* we heard of the Germans' intention to send their delegates to it—is, and has been from the start, nothing but a Bakuninist intrigue.<sup>200</sup> What is more, proof of this reached us a few days ago from Portugal.<sup>c</sup> More anon.

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<sup>a</sup> [P. O.] Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (see this volume, pp. 149-50 and 152). - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 151-52. - <sup>c</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

120

## MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET

IN LONDON

London, 10 November 1876  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Sir,

In communicating to you some *éclaircissements*<sup>a</sup> on the last movements of Mr Gladstone, I do so on the express understanding:

1) that until *January* next they be kept secret (this refers of course not to Mr Urquhart);

2) that if made use of in the January number of the *Diplomatic Review*, it be done in the form of a correspondence, dated from Rome, Naples or Vienna. Regard to the security of third persons renders these precautions necessary.

Since some time a Russian lady, Madame *Nowikoff*, has established her autumn and winter quarters in London; during the remainder of the year she travels on the continent or sojourns at Moscow. She is the wife—practically divorced, if not legally—of Mr *Nowikoff*, Russian dragoman at Constantinople,<sup>b</sup> who is himself the brother of the Russian ambassador at Vienna<sup>c</sup> (the latter has, I believe, been recently removed from Vienna to Constantinople).

Excluded in Russia from '*la bonne compagnie*' because of her matrimonial embarrassments, Madame *Nowikoff* plays nevertheless a certain part at Moscow where her saloon is frequented by *Frondeurs*, at the same time that other compatriots suspect her of being a subaltern agent of the Third Division. (*The Third Division* means the secret State police, a Star Chamber on a colossal scale, the main lever of the Russian governmental machine.) A busybody, she intrudes everywhere, on scientific congresses at Brussels, old Catholic meetings in Germany, etc. Once very handsome, she has now reached a certain age between 45 and 50, and pretends only to intellectual charms. Very amiable and adroit, she possesses indeed the qualities which, as the French say, '*distinguent la tripoteuse russe*'.<sup>d</sup> Still it would be a mistake to range her with the higher order of that species; her mind is of a very superficial cast.

<sup>a</sup> explanations - <sup>b</sup> Ivan Novikov - <sup>c</sup> Yevgeny Novikov - <sup>d</sup> are characteristic of the Russian intrigantes

At London Englishmen (professors of science, literary men, politicians), Frenchmen, Slavs and Russians meet in her saloon. One of its principal attractions is the *cavalier servant* of the lady, 'son ami intime', as she calls him—Count Beust, the Austrian ambassador.

Some London papers having met the 'Bulgarian atrocities',<sup>187</sup> ushered in by Mr Schuyler, with the 'Turkestan atrocities',<sup>212</sup> told by the same Mr Schuyler, Madame Nowikoff (in collusion with General Gorloff, the military attaché to the Russian Embassy at London) addressed a letter to Mr Gladstone, till then a perfect stranger to her—a letter, set off with an enthusiastic eulogy of his chivalrous exploits on behalf of the downtrodden Slavs, but really intended to give him lessons on the Turkestan events and to protest indignantly against the alleged foul slanders of some London prints. In answer to this missive she received a friendly reply, written and signed by Madame Gladstone.

Since then, Mr Gladstone has paid several visits to Madame Nowikoff who improved her opportunities so well that a literary campaign against the shameless revilers of Russian humanitarianism was at once resolved upon.

Two letters, the one by Madame Nowikoff, but anonymous, the other written by Gorloff and *signed with his name* (the which letter Mad. Nowikoff communicated to Mr Gladstone), were to be published in the *Daily News* as forerunners to an article of Mr Gladstone himself (in the *Contemporary Review*), so that he might refer to Gorloff's letter as a '*document justificatif*'. The gist of Gorloff's letter was the denial of General Kaufmann's atrocious order to General Golowatscheff,<sup>213</sup> as published by Mr Schuyler. The public denial of the authenticity of that order with *Gorloff's signature* would have derived a certain value from the circumstance that Gorloff occupies a double position; he is an attaché of the Embassy, but depends at the same time on the Russian war ministry, and might therefore have been considered its authorised spokesman.

However, at an interview of Mr Gladstone with Madame Nowikoff, she received, and communicated to him, a letter from Gorloff to the effect, that Schuwaloff, the ambassador, had forbidden him (Gorloff) to sign his letter with his name, as it might compromise the embassy. (Schuwaloff, of course, would not have cared a pin to see a lie publicly signed by Gorloff; but, as the Russian war minister, Miljutin, is the enemy both of Schuwaloff and Kaufmann, and a man not to be trifled with, Schuwaloff stood on his guard.)

Thereupon, by request of Mr Gladstone, Gorloff's letter was amended and abridged, that is to say, its invectives against the English revilers were suppressed, Mr Gladstone considering it more becoming to reserve that part of the business for himself; it was, moreover, agreed that Gorloff's letter should be signed 'A Russian'<sup>a</sup> and that of Madame Nowikoff 'Another Russian'.<sup>b</sup> As to Mr Gladstone's article for the November number of the *Contemporary Review*,<sup>c</sup> he had not only read it in manuscript to Madame Nowikoff; it was in fact but a summary of the lessons taught by the Muscovite Egeria to the English Numa.

In this article (see *Contemporary* pp. 883, 884) Mr Gladstone speaks of Gorloff's letter in the following terms:

'The defence so far as I find it supplied by a letter recently published in the *Daily News*, with the signature of "A Russian", which, as I learn from a friend, has the sanction of General Gorloff, military attaché at London.'

The passage is so worded as to make the public believe that 'A Russian', the writer to the *Daily News*, and General Gorloff are two different persons, the one having written and published the letter, the other sanctioned it after its publication; that Mr Gladstone became first acquainted with the letter of 'A Russian' through the columns of the *Daily News*; that only after having read it in that paper, he 'learned from a friend' that 'Gorloff has sanctioned it'. The most admirable trait is certainly the discreet introduction of Gorloff's name and the hiding of Madame Nowikoff under cover of 'a friend'.

When Madame Nowikoff, borne up by Gorloff's written testimony, had succeeded to impress Mr Gladstone with the conviction, that General Kaufmann's 'authentic' order to Golowatscheff was a myth,<sup>214</sup> she gave, amidst her Russian friends, rather freely vent to by no means flattering animadversions upon English ignorance and credulity. Having been appointed (some time after the last Polish insurrection,<sup>215</sup> and in succession to the hangman Muravieff) governor of Wilna,<sup>d</sup> Kaufmann contrived to overact even his part, so that General Berg, the commander of Warsaw, addressed a letter to the Czar<sup>e</sup> showing the impolicy to continue that man in his office, from which he was indeed at last removed. Such were the despair and the disgust which his

<sup>a</sup> 'The Russians in Turkestan', *The Daily News*, No. 9521, 27 October 1876. -

<sup>b</sup> 'The Russians in Turkestan', *The Daily News*, No. 9523, 30 October 1876. -

<sup>c</sup> W. E. Gladstone, 'Russian Policy and Deeds in Turkistan', *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XXVIII, London, June-November 1876. - <sup>d</sup> now Vilnius -

<sup>e</sup> Alexander II

ferociously infamous treatment of the Poles had evoked at Wilna, that its inhabitants actually welcomed as a saviour General Potapoff, his successor, one of the most notorious villains in the Russian service. (This same Potapoff was put at the head of the Third Division, when Schuwaloff exchanged this honourable post of spy-in-chief at home for that of Ambassador abroad.)

Muravieff was a Muscovite patriot who, in his merciless execution of the Czar's orders, was convinced to apply the only method sure to save the Empire from dismemberment. Kaufmann, on the contrary, is an intriguer, eager to outdo in atrocity even the common run of Russian generals, in order to make the Muscovites forget his foreign origin, to ingratiate himself with the Czar, and to oust Mr Miljutin from the war ministry which he covets.

*Before* the publication of the letters in the *Daily News* and Mr Gladstone's article in the *Contemporary Review*, I had been kept *au courant* of the incidents told in this letter. I had every reason to be convinced of the authentic character of my information, but if I had entertained the least doubt, it must have vanished after I saw in print what I knew beforehand.

Meanwhile the company of Madame Nowikoff has been enriched by a hopeful newcomer, Mr *Mackenzie Wallace*, a young man who, during his five years' residence in Russia, has learned the language of that country and become more or less familiar with its social state. He is now, like a true Briton of the 19th century, on the look out for 'realizing' his acquirements on the best market.

Yours truly,  
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, Heft 5, Berlin, 1975

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ENGELS TO ERNST DRONKE<sup>216</sup>

IN WATERLOO

[Draft]

[London,] 13 November 1876

Dear Dronke,

Since only five payments à £14=£70 have been made on the policy up till now, and it might well be that in the meantime you would find yourself compelled to make use of the money in another way and be unable to raise it on the 21st inst., and since I am actually advancing more than twice the amount already paid on the policy, you will pardon me if I prefer to make the payment myself in this instance, and I await your advice as to *when*. On the other hand, in order to oblige you so far as I can, I do not propose to set off against the £150 the £10 lent to you here, which means that I am advancing you £160 in all, and this at 5%, repayable 1 May '77.

You received here	£10	£160
CHEQUE 10 November 1876	"10	
To Drake & Son	"60	
Payment on policy	"14	94
		<hr/>
Herewith CHEQUE for balance		£ 66

I've got such frightful bronchial catarrh that I have been condemned to stay indoors in dressing-gown, slippers and a state of TEETOTALISM, hence can't go out to get any bank-notes.

[Note at the end of the letter]

LIFE ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND  
5 Lombard St., E.C.  
DUE 21 NOV. AT LATEST.

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time

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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 20 November 1876

Dear Bracke,

Enclosed the first French sheet for Mlle Isolde Kurz for her sample translation; the latter must be *returned to me at the same time as the French original* (for purposes of comparison).<sup>194</sup>

It is Lissagaray's opinion—since his book will be out by the beginning of January, whereas the difficulties over the translation will cause a delay—that it would be better after all to publish the German edition by instalments.

Also enclosed the great Guillaume's MISSIVE.<sup>217</sup> What I find particularly amusing is '*que pensent les socialistes de langue française*'.<sup>a</sup> These *socialistes 'de langue française'* are, of course, wholly embodied in the Reclus brothers (secret co-founders of the Alliance<sup>201</sup> but otherwise unknown so far as *socialist works* are concerned) and De Paepe, who is Dutch by birth but in other respects Belgian.

I hope you will pull it off at the elections; a demonstration of this kind on the part of the peasants would be significant.<sup>218</sup>

Yours,  
K. M.

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Published in English for the first  
time

<sup>a</sup> what **the** *French-speaking socialists* think

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## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 20 November 1876  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Becker,

We have duly received your circular addressed to the Zurich section<sup>219</sup> and are likewise of the opinion that the time has come to oppose the Bakuninists' pretensions to form an International off their own bat.<sup>200</sup> Whether it is possible to achieve reorganisation on the basis you propose, namely a federation of the big organised national bodies, is, I should say, very doubtful, since legislation in most countries prohibits such associations from corresponding, let alone amalgamating, with associations abroad. But that is a side issue and could easily be got round or altered, once people are fully convinced that the continued existence of each one of those big organisations is of greater importance than its *formal* entry into an international society. As it is, you will encounter in the Germans the same Platonic indifference which, as a *party*, they invariably evinced towards the old International.

My chief purpose in writing to you today is to propose a fresh field of activity for you in this connection. The Portuguese, with whom I still correspond and who are very well organised, complain loudly of the lack of attention shown them by our friends. They say that the German-Swiss, Germans, Austrians, Americans, etc., have not only failed to pass on information to them, but have not even replied to their letters, whereas they have been regularly inundated with parcels, invitations to congresses, felicitations, etc., by the Jurassians, Bakuninist Spaniards, Italians and Belgians, so that the Portuguese workers have come to regard these as the only people who still have any interest left either in the International or the Portuguese movement. As you will realise, they must be stout fellows indeed who nonetheless don't let themselves be side-tracked, and that such is the case will be apparent to you from the following letter which they sent to the Bakuninist Congress in Berne:

'We have been invited by the Federation of Cádiz to send representatives to the Berne Congress and have since then read, in the *Bulletin jurassienne*, the circular convening that Congress and setting forth its agenda. Not having received this invitation until very late on, the Portuguese socialists are unable to send any



delegates; nevertheless, their Federal Council has resolved that we assure you of our *moral* solidarity with socialist workers all over the world, and state that we never have called that solidarity in question, nor ever shall let it be called in question; *accordingly, the express compact of solidarity which you propose to conclude seems to us a formality that could well be dispensed with.*

'Subscribing as we do most ardently to the unification of all proletarians, we send you our fraternal greetings. Long live the International Working Men's Association!'

Well, I shall write and tell these people about your plan and also send them one of your circulars, although it's doubtful whether they understand German. But you would be well advised to get in touch with them immediately. You can write to them in French; should they reply in Portuguese, I can translate the answer for you.

You might get the above letter published in the *Tagwacht*, likewise the fact that on 5 January and the following days they are going to hold a congress in Lisbon<sup>a</sup> and will present a new party programme for discussion.<sup>220</sup>

The address is:

E.C. Azedo Gnecco  
Rua do Bemformoso 110, 2°  
Lisbonne, Portugal.

That's where their paper, *O Protesto*, is brought out; it's been going for over a year.

I hope that you will achieve something worthwhile and, if we can lend you a hand by providing addresses, etc., we shall gladly do so. Only you mustn't overburden us. Both of us, Marx and I, have quite specific theoretical work to do, of which, so far as we can now see, no one else would be capable, even if they were willing, and we must make use of the present universal lull to complete it. Yet who knows how soon some event won't suddenly involve us in the practical movement again? All the more reason for us to make use of the brief respite to carry the no less important theoretical side a little bit further.

Apropos. We have paid through Frankel for 12 instalments of the 12 copies of *Stunden der Andacht*<sup>b</sup> ordered by Marx and myself; hence we still have to pay for 3×12 instalments à 25 cts.=9 fr. If that is correct, let me know and I'll send you a money order.

The *Vorwärts* will shortly be publishing a critique of Dühring by me.<sup>c</sup> They had pestered me dreadfully before I took on this

<sup>a</sup> [Notice about the forthcoming congress of Portuguese socialists on 5 January 1877.] *Die Tagwacht*, No. 96, 2 December 1876.- <sup>b</sup> J. Ph. Becker, *Neue Stunden der Andacht*. - <sup>c</sup> F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

disagreeable task<sup>155</sup>—disagreeable because the man is blind so that the contest is unequal, and yet the chap's colossal arrogance precludes my taking that into account.

Your

F. Engels

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ENGELS TO GUSTAV RASCH<sup>221</sup>

IN VIENNA

[Draft]

[London, end of November 1876]

Dear Mr Rasch,

The Schaible in question always has to go rushing into the breach on Blind's behalf wherever the latter has made things too hot for himself.<sup>222</sup> That's what happened in the 1859 affair. Blind (at the end of May or the beginning of June 1859) had printed in London an anonymous flysheet, *Zur Warnung*,<sup>a</sup> in which Karl Vogt was accused of allowing himself to be bribed with Bonapartist money and was denounced as a Bonapartist agent of the press in Germany. There was a request for its dissemination. This flysheet, printed in F. Hollinger's print-shop in London, was reproduced in *Das Volk*, a German paper printed in the same print-shop, from the original type which was still set up. Liebknecht saw the corrected proof, with corrections in Blind's handwriting, in this print-shop, and sent the flysheet to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which reprinted it in June. Thereupon Vogt sued the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* for libel, the latter asked Liebknecht to provide proof; he turned to Blind, who stated that he had played *no part whatever* in the matter. Vogt<sup>b</sup> now distorted the matter, making out that Marx was the man behind Liebknecht and had written the flysheet. This now gave rise to a dispute between

<sup>a</sup> *A Warning* - <sup>b</sup> Deleted in the original: 'thus winning his law-suit'.

Marx and Blind in the columns of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Using affidavits sworn by the compositor, Vögele,—i.e. legal instruments—Marx proved that the latter and Hollinger had set the type for the flysheet which had been *written in Blind's hand*. Blind persuaded Hollinger to make a false declaration, namely that the flysheet had not been printed in his shop and that Blind had not been the author; in addition, together with Hollinger, he persuaded the compositor Wiehe to make an equally false statement to the effect that, having worked for Hollinger for 11 months, he could corroborate the latter's assertions. Relying on this, Blind declared the statement that he was the author to be a *downright lie*. At this, the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* terminated the controversy.<sup>a</sup> Marx replied with a printed circular in English, declaring the above statements made by Blind and his witnesses to be a DELIBERATE LIE, and Blind himself to be A DELIBERATE LIAR (London, 4 February 1860).<sup>b</sup> Blind remained silent. But on 8 February 1860, the compositor Wiehe swore an affidavit before the stipendiary magistrate at Bow Street which contradicted his earlier statement:

1. he had not been employed by Hollinger for 11 months,
2. he had not been working at Hollinger's at the time the flysheet *Zur Warnung* was published,
3. he had heard from Vögele at the time that he (Vögele) and Hollinger had composed the flysheet in question, and that the manuscript had been in Blind's handwriting,
4. he himself had subsequently broken the types that were still standing into columns for reprinting in the *Volk*,
5. and had seen Hollinger give Liebknecht the proof-sheet corrected in Blind's hand and heard that, immediately afterwards, Hollinger had expressed his regret at having done so,
6. he had signed his earlier statement under pressure from Hollinger and Blind. Hollinger had promised him *money* while Blind had said he would give proof of his gratitude.<sup>c</sup>

Marx had copies of these documents circulated among various circles, and this elicited a reply. On 15 February a statement from Schaible appeared in *The Daily Telegraph*; Schaible sent it (copy) to Marx, who replied<sup>12</sup> saying that this changed nothing, either as regards Blind's obtaining false testimony by underhand means, or

<sup>a</sup> For the details see K. Marx, *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 125-27). -

<sup>b</sup> K. Marx, 'Prosecution of the Augsburg Gazette' (ibid., pp. 10-11). - <sup>c</sup> Cf. present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 319-20.

as regards Blind's criminal CONSPIRACY with Hollinger to obtain by underhand means Wiehe's signature for the spurious forged document.

Now, as then—Schaible to the rescue!<sup>a</sup>

Such are the facts. I know nothing further about the sorry fellow.

One more thing. Should you again do me the honour of referring to our encounter in London, might I request you to refrain in future from suggesting I talked about matters which were never the subject of discussion between us.<sup>223</sup> As to the self-determination of human beings, I could only have said that, viewed in this general way, it makes no sense to me. As to the autonomy of nations, if I discussed it at all it was to deny the southern Slavs the right to use it as a pretext for lending themselves to Russian expansionist plans, just as I now heartily applaud the drubbing inflicted on the Serbs<sup>176</sup>; to the best of my knowledge, however, we never discussed a social republic or the executions in Baden. Again, you have only what were entirely fortuitous circumstances to thank for the fact that, consequent upon your article, Marx did not declare that he had never seen you, and hence could not possibly have conducted these conversations.

I could not reply sooner as someone had borrowed my copy of Marx's *Herr Vogt*, in which the above may be found on pp. 55 et seq.,<sup>b</sup> and did not return it until yesterday.

Cordial regards.

Yours,

F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. the corresponding passage in Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* (libretto by Friedrich Kind), Act II, Scene 6. - <sup>b</sup> See present edition, Vol. 17, p. 111 ff.

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MARX TO COLLET DOBSON COLLET<sup>224</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 9 December 1876

My dear Sir,

Mr Gladstone's exhibition at yesterday's conference<sup>225</sup> prompts me to communicate—for your and Mr Urquhart's *private* information—a recent exploit of this sensational statesman.

About a week ago he wrote a letter to Madame Nowikoff telling her that the *Morning Post* was sold to the Austrian government and that the Russian government ought, on its part, to buy London newspapers, in order to influence British opinion. Even Mad. Nowikoff found this a rather strange proceeding on the part of an English ex-premier. In the same letter he asserts that his popularity is daily increasing and that he feels sure of soon upsetting the Disraeli cabinet.

Mr Gladstone has evidently lost his senses. From some hints given to me, I believe that Mad. Nowikoff, on her return to Russia, will receive a visit on the part of the secret police and be courteously invited to hand over the letters of Mr Gladstone in her possession. By these letters the Russian government will keep him in bondage.

This communication is strictly *private*; any indiscretion would expose third persons to great danger.

Yours faithfully,

Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English), in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, Heft 5, Berlin, 1975

Reproduced from the original

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>226</sup>

IN LONDON

[London,] 11 December 1876

DEAR FRED,

Kovalevsky came to see me yesterday, asked for the Hanssen<sup>227</sup>; told him he should have it *tomorrow evening*; at the same time agreed that he and I should call on you that same evening (Tuesday).

I am sending you the Hanssen which, as I did, you will polish off with ease in a couple of hours.

Written about book-binding.

*Salut.*

Your

K. M.

After the *conference* (St. James)<sup>225</sup> Mr Gladstone entered the gallery where Madame Novikov was sitting, offered her his arm—*pour montrer*<sup>a</sup> (or so he said according to Novikov's account) *que l'alliance entre l'Angleterre et la Russie existe déjà*<sup>b</sup>—and, with her on his arm, strutted through the vast throng which made way on both sides; he a relatively small, skinny chap, she a veritable dragoon. She remarked to Kovalevsky: *que ces Anglais sont gauches!*<sup>c</sup>

Generalissimus Chernyayev had twice asked Novikov by telegraph whether he should also appear at the conference; she had to tell him that Mr Gladstone would be pleased to see him personally but thought a public appearance inexpedient.

At the conference (admission by TICKET) Harrison (who, in his article 'Cross and Crescent' in the *Fortnightly*,<sup>d</sup> makes great play with a few HINTS recently picked up from Kovalevsky) told Howell to his face that all the workers present without exception belonged to a paid band well known to him (Harrison).

Unfortunately Charles Darwin also lent his name to the rotten demonstration; Lewes refused to do so.

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<sup>a</sup> to show - <sup>b</sup> that the alliance between England and Russia already exists - <sup>c</sup> How gauche these English are! - <sup>d</sup> *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. XX, London, 1 July-1 December 1876.

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## ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 16 December 1876

Dear Pauli,

Yesterday I sent you, carriage paid, per CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS and thereon per German Imperial parcel post, a crate addressed to: Dr Pauli, Mannheim (Chemical Works, Rheinau), Germany, containing a PLUM PUDDING for your wife,<sup>a</sup> a currant cake baked for you by my wife,<sup>b</sup> a book, a small box of handkerchiefs and a small ink-pot for Pumps. As the crate would not hold anything further, we were forced to put a new dress for her into the crate containing the pudding for the Schupps; that's the worst of these crates—one just has to take them as one finds them; they are German toy manufacturers' crates.

Should the small crate fail to turn up by Wednesday<sup>c</sup> at the latest, you had better make inquiries at the parcels office in Mannheim; the postal service is responsible for it—that office and CONTINENTAL PARCELS EXPRESS are agents one for the other. However, I hope that everything will arrive all right since we sent the things in good enough time for them to arrive *before* the Christmas bustle, which the Imperial postal service admits it can't cope.

Your two letters have arrived and I would thank you belatedly for the information about Schmidt. Similar news from Frankfurt<sup>228</sup>: Sonnemann, whom he gave as a reference, doesn't know him either, but one of the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* knows him as a 'professional lèse-majesté man' and ditto a martyr with intent who later, 'on the strength of his martyrdom, became perhaps a bit of a *schnorrer*' (North German term for a cadger). He wrote to me again, whereupon I drew his attention to the bogus references he had given me<sup>15</sup> and since then have heard nothing more from the elephant on crutches.

I shall see to it that you get the articles<sup>153</sup> in one form or another as soon as several have come out. Later on they will come out in a separate edition which you will also receive, of course.

During the past four or five days my wife has got very much better for no apparent reason; it's almost miraculous how these

<sup>a</sup> Ida Pauli - <sup>b</sup> Lizzie Burns - <sup>c</sup> 20 December

sort of things seem to happen in the case of women between 40 and 50. I only hope it lasts.

The small crate also contains some Christmas evergreen, holly with its ritual red berries, for sticking into the pudding when it's dished up. The holly's right on top, so that the customs men get their fingers pricked.

And now, warmest regards from my wife and myself to you all, and a merry Christmas!

Your  
F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 18 December 1876

Dear Hermann,

I have safely received your two letters of 14 and 17 November, made the appropriate entries and found the statement of the account to be correct, save for an item I had not previously been advised of—payment of 90.68 marks to Emil Blank on 24 January 1876. I presume this is the total of the amounts I owed him for various consignments of wine sent to me through his firm over here. In which case this, too, is in order.

I return herewith the Indian paper; the characters are badly defaced Devanagari or Sanskrit characters,<sup>229</sup> which is why I was only able to read one word; it's a kind of *long-hand*, whereas all I've come across is *printed* characters. It would seem to be a Central Indian dialect, since in the North they mostly use Arabic characters.

True, I have again been allotted another £600 gas shares at par (which show me a profit of about 60-70 per cent) but on the other hand sundry Americans came my way at the last drawing, so that



at the moment I don't need any money other than the interest due to me. Since, however, all my gas companies will be issuing new shares or debentures in the course of this year, it's very nice for me to know that I can call on you at any time for £300-£500; for sometimes the whole amount has to be paid up at once and that means getting hold of money quickly.

Many thanks for your information about Schaaffhausen.<sup>a</sup> I had rather suspected that the rumours I had heard were exaggerated; however, Mevissen's resignation from the board might well be a sign that the rats have begun to desert the ship.

I am positive that war is not far off.<sup>207</sup> The Russians have got so deeply implicated that they can no longer turn back, and the Turks will, of course, resist any incursion into their territory. Come what may, England will protect Constantinople and the Straits, though we've by no means reached that stage yet, and I'm convinced that the Turks will best cope with the Russians if they are left to fend for themselves. The position between the Danube and the Balkans is one of the strongest in Europe, and as long as no railways or highways are built there, the strength of a Russian army that could be employed and provisioned there, would be limited to a maximum of, say, a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand men at the outside. Hence it will probably be a protracted war fought out within the quadrilateral of fortresses Ruschuk, Silistria, Varna, Shumla,<sup>b</sup> and this the Turks are better able to withstand than the Russians. All that Bulgaria's so-called autonomy boils down to is the expulsion of the Turks from this strong position and the exposure of Constantinople to a Russian invasion. And the Turks, of course, aren't going to let themselves be bullied into this by any conference.<sup>230</sup> If you'd like to know exactly what obstacles the Russians will encounter there, give yourself a Christmas present in the shape of Moltke's *Russo-Turkish Campaign of 1828/29*,<sup>c</sup> Berlin 1845.<sup>d</sup> It's a very good book which will, at the same time, provide you with the specialised maps you will need for the impending war. This time it will be different from 1828 in that:

1. the Turks have an army,
2. Silistria, Ruschuk, etc., are ringed with modern, detached FORTS,
3. the Turks have, after the English, the most powerful fleet of iron-clads, and are in complete control of the Black Sea,

<sup>a</sup> Schaaffhausen Bank Association - <sup>b</sup> Bulgarian names: Ruse, Silistria, Varna, Shumen (now Kolarovgrad). - <sup>c</sup> [H. K. B.] von Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*. - <sup>d</sup> 1836 in the original

4. the Russian Army is in the throes of reorganisation and hence hardly fit for war.

Love to Emma<sup>a</sup> and the children, and the compliments of the season from

Your  
Friedrich

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Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 21 December 1876  
122 Regent's Park Road

Dear Becker,

Have received your post card, the *Précurseurs* and two copies of the French address.<sup>231</sup> If you could send a few more copies of the same, they would be most welcome (*in French*,—we'd be sending them on to Paris); we shall be glad to pay for them as soon as we know how much, say, 20 copies would cost.

Herewith money order for 15 francs, of which 9 fr. for the amount still outstanding on the *Stunden der Andacht*<sup>b</sup> and 6 fr. for two half-year subscriptions to the *Précurseur* for Marx and myself. You can send me *both* the numbers as this saves postage, and I can give Marx his. It's a very good thing that we have a French paper in Switzerland again; the Jurassians are hopelessly addicted to cliquism and calumny, and it will enable us to demonstrate that peace *with them* is an impossibility. I couldn't send you articles regularly because I don't want to tell lies, and all that can be said of the workers' movement here is that it has degenerated into Trades Unionism of the pettiest variety, and the self-styled leaders, not excepting Eccarius, are tailing after the liberal bourgeoisie in order to tout their services as agitators against the alleged Turkish atrocities,<sup>187</sup> and advocate the betrayal of the Balkan

<sup>a</sup> Emma Engels - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 174.

peninsula to the Russians in the interests of humanity and freedom.

The fact that De Paepe attended the Berne Congress<sup>200</sup> is wholly consistent with his previous attitude. Since the time of the Hague Congress<sup>20</sup> he had officially remained with the seceded Belgians,<sup>232</sup> but as leader of the opposition, and is now really doing some good by persuading the Flemings to come out in favour of universal suffrage and factory legislation. This is the first sensible thing that has been done in Belgium. Now the Walloon braggarts will also have to co-operate. But for our people in Germany to have fallen into the Jurassian trap was inexcusable. Bakuninist organs everywhere exulted to high heaven when it became known that the Germans would be sending delegates to the Congress.<sup>192</sup> Liebknecht knew exactly what he was doing; in reply to a question as to what we thought of the proffered conciliation and what position we would adopt, I had told him: no position at all<sup>15</sup>; the fellows were just the same as they had always been, and if anyone wished to burn his fingers by having any truck with them, let him do so. And then they went and acted in this silly, gullible way, as though they were dealing with the most noble, honest men.

Have you had the New York, or rather Philadelphia, resolutions regarding the dissolution of the General Council<sup>233</sup>? In case you haven't I am sending you a few copies; it might provide you people with fresh grounds for taking the thing in hand.

In Geneva an Italian and French paper is appearing under the aegis of the Terzaghi of whom we drew a character-sketch in our *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*.<sup>a</sup> This person is now said to be abusing the Bakuninists. For, having long tolerated him, although he had already been denounced by us as a police spy, they were nevertheless eventually compelled to throw him out as such. He is simply a *mouchard*,<sup>b</sup> while his henchman Bastelica is a Bonapartist agent—in Strasbourg he published an invocation to the French workers to restore the Empire.

There's nothing to be done in Italy, Bakuninists everywhere, and in Spain I no longer have any address, but may soon be sent one.

Kindest regards,

Your

F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 499-501). - <sup>b</sup> informer

1877

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MARX TO MAXIM KOVALEVSKY<sup>234</sup>

IN MOSCOW

London, 9 January 1877  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear Friend,

I have learned that a Russian lady<sup>a</sup> who has rendered the party important services is unable for want of money to find a lawyer in Moscow for her husband.<sup>b</sup> I know neither the husband in question, nor whether he is guilty or not. But a consequence of the trial could be exile in Siberia and, since Mrs ... is determined to follow her husband, whom she considers innocent, it is most important that she should at least be provided with the means for his defence. Since Mrs ... has left the management of her fortune to her husband and is wholly uninformed about such matters, only a lawyer could set things right.<sup>235</sup>

Mr Taneyev, whom you know and whom I have long esteemed as a devoted friend of the emancipation of the people is, perhaps, the only lawyer in Moscow who would take on so thankless a case. You would greatly oblige me by asking him to concern himself with our friend's exceptionally unfortunate situation.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

First published, in Russian, in *Letopisi marksizma*, Book VI, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928

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Translated from the French

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<sup>a</sup> Yelizaveta Tomanovskaya - <sup>b</sup> Ivan Davydovsky

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT<sup>236</sup>

IN LEIPZIG

London, 9 January 1877

Dear Liebknecht,

*D'abord*,<sup>a</sup> a Happy New Year to you and family and all our friends.

Herewith the remainder of the 'Philosophy'<sup>b</sup>; I shall at once set to work on the 'Political Economy' and 'Socialism', although there might well be a hiatus after the 'Philosophy'. I wish you had waited until *after* the elections<sup>237</sup>; at that time you ought to have been using the space for agitation. Again, I'd be perfectly satisfied if some of my work appeared in two numbers per week, leaving the third free for your other stuff. But should you occasionally give me space in the third number of the week as well, I would naturally not object.

We had already sent Geib £10 via Bracke some time ago, as our contribution to the election fund, and so were unfortunately not in a position to make another one. Hence I couldn't accede to your request to send you something more. Provided you people are not deluding yourselves and the reports in the *Vorwärts* are not exaggerated[...]

If the Turks stand their ground, it will soon be all up with the Russians. General conscription has disorganised the Russian army far more than I had expected,<sup>238</sup> while the Turks have never been in better shape and, what is more, their fleet of ironclads is the best and strongest in the world after the British. If things get cracking—and if they don't there'll be another revolution in Constantinople and then things will really get cracking—it will lend singular actuality (topicality)<sup>c</sup> to your motion on the *restoration of Poland*.

[...]to tell the truth. And should they complain of my *tone*, I trust you will not forget to confront them with the *tone* adopted by Mr Dühring vis-à-vis Marx and his other precursors, and more particularly with the fact that I *substantiate*, and in detail at that, whereas Dühring merely calumniates and abuses his precursors.

<sup>a</sup> First - <sup>b</sup> F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part I. - <sup>c</sup> The word in parentheses was probably inserted by Liebknecht.

They have asked for it, and they're going to be thoroughly hauled over the coals, you have my word for that.

Your  
F. E.

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Printed according to the original and the text in the *Vorwärts*

Published in English for the first time

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 9 January 1877

Dear Hermann,

Your letter duly received, with the remittance of £300 with which I shall credit you in accordance with the statement. Many thanks for this and also for the current account which I shall take a look at. Your having somewhat increased the amount of your remittance doesn't make any difference. I got it on Saturday evening<sup>a</sup> when I had visitors here and, because of the plethora of visiting and PARTIES at this time of year, could not send you an acknowledgement of receipt until today, which you will, I hope, excuse.

I had no idea Hermann and Moritz<sup>b</sup> were at university. It will do them no harm at all to study for a year or two and, if they then want to go into the business, the knowledge they have gained will be all the more useful to them; the past two decades have thoroughly demolished the old commercial superstition that in business what is above all required is three years of quill driving, a good hand, the most execrable German, and a notable lack of knowledge. And should they wish to try something else, the whole world will be open to them.

Things may go hopelessly wrong for the Russians. I have always held that the introduction of general conscription<sup>238</sup> would ruin

<sup>a</sup> 6 January 1877 - <sup>b</sup> Hermann Friedrich and Rudolf Moritz Engels

the Russian army. But that it would happen so fast and so gloriously was something I didn't expect. Everything's going to pieces, discipline and administration, officers and soldiers, there's a shortage of everything—far more so even than there was during your splendid mobilisation in 1852, for in Russia theft is assuming really grandiose proportions. The more stores and depots there are for mobilisation purposes, the less there is in them, since they merely provide occasion for theft. And, what is more, the Turks have never been in such good shape as they are today; they already have more troops in Bulgaria than the Russians would be able to throw in with their four army corps (144,000 men *on paper*). And those four army corps also comprise all the reserves called up in Poland, who would go over at the first opportunity. The Romanian army is there simply for the purpose of being taken prisoner, and the Serbian peasant militia won't find it so easy to muster any more men, and such as it does muster will have already had quite enough.

I am being summoned to table and it's half past five—time for the post. Love to all from

Your  
Friedrich

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Bd. 3, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1921

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MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE<sup>16</sup>

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 21 January 1877

Dear Bracke,

Congratulations on the most recent mustering of Social-Democratic forces in Germany.<sup>237</sup> It has greatly impressed other countries, in particular England, where for years Berlin newspaper correspondents have done all they can to bemuse their British readers concerning the state of our party. But 'MURDER WILL OUT', as John Bull says whenever he goes bankrupt.

Well, now I'd like to know at long last (didn't want to pester you about it during the election campaign) just where I am with Miss Isolde.<sup>a</sup> She had sent me the first sample sheet of translation<sup>b</sup>; I had replied telling her she was fitted for the work provided she took her time and didn't go at it at full-tilt, and also sending her the four additional sheets.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, however, I also let her have a pretty lengthy catalogue of sins relating to the sample sheet.<sup>194</sup>

This would seem to have been something of a shock to the little lady's nerves, for her reply betrayed a certain petulance. Undeterred by this, I wrote again to the effect that I looked upon her as the translator of my choice.<sup>12</sup> Since that time weeks have gone by without sight or sound of her. It is now absolutely essential that the young lady should decide, *oui ou non*,<sup>c</sup> and, if the first, that she should actually let me have some work. Perhaps you would be so good as to write and tell her this. Should she have defected, we shall have to try the Scheus,<sup>d</sup> although I'd be reluctant (not that it's in any way relevant) to have anything to do with the Scheus. There's no more time to be lost. Should the gracious Isolde decline, she would also have to return me the French sheets she has received.

Would you be so kind as to draw up a contract in duplicate—in accordance with the conditions we have agreed—of which one, with your signature, will be retained by Lissagaray and the other, with his signature, will be returned to you.

*Salut.*

Yours  
K. Marx

First published abridged in: P. Kampffmeyer und Altmann, *Vor dem Sozialistengesetz*, Berlin, 1928 and in full in: K. Marx-F. Engels, *Briefe an A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, K. Kautsky und andere*, Teil 1, Moskau-Leningrad, 1933

Printed according to the original

<sup>a</sup> Isolde Kurz - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 172. - <sup>c</sup> yes or no - <sup>d</sup> Andreas and Heinrich Scheu



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## MARX TO FERDINAND FLECKLES

IN KARLSBAD

[London,] 21 January 1877

Dear Friend,

To begin with, my best thanks for the medicinal salts and my regret that your first, long letter went astray.

Tomorrow a small parcel of books goes off from here to Madame Wollmann, containing the French edition of *Capital* for your cousin and, for yourself (from the 'child'<sup>a</sup>), Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune*.

The muster-roll of the Social-Democratic party in Germany on the occasion of the general elections<sup>237</sup> has rudely alarmed, not only our amiable German philistine, but also *les classes dominantes* in England and France. An English paper comments sourly upon, *inter alia*, the contrast between 'THE MELODRAMATIC FITS AND STARTS OF THE FRENCH AND THE BUSINESSLIKE WAY OF PROCEEDING OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS'.

The increasing extent to which even the ideologists of the German middle classes are being affected by the insidious poison is evident from, amongst other things, a short pamphlet recently published by an old acquaintance of yours, Schäffle, entitled *Die Quintessenz des Socialismus*. You ought to order the thing, if only for amusement's sake. It is full of unintentional comedy. For, on the one hand, the little book, as the author himself indicates, is aimed especially at Protestant clergymen who, after all, cannot leave flirtation with socialism entirely to their Catholic rivals. On the other, Mr Schäffle, with a fantasy truly Swabian, paints so pretty a picture of the future socialist millennium as to make it seem the kingdom come of your cosy petty bourgeois, a paradise fit only for the Karl Mayers of this world.

Not only is the weather here unspeakable—close, damp, with a fog in so deep a tinge of yellow that one has, as I do, to keep the gaslight on throughout the morning, but the 'ORIENTAL QUESTION' is rampant. Wherever you go, you're buttonholed by *un* John Bull *quelconque*<sup>b</sup>: 'NOW, SIR, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE ORIENTAL QUESTION?' Politeness precludes one from giving the only appropriate answer: 'I THINK, SIR, THAT YOU ARE A DAMNED ASS.'

<sup>a</sup> Eleanor Marx - <sup>b</sup> some John Bull or other

Whatever the outcome of the war,<sup>207</sup> whether favourable or unfavourable to the Little Father in Petersburg,<sup>a</sup> that 'sick man',<sup>239</sup> deafened and confused by the hysterical philanthropic bellowing of the English liberal 'PARTY OF PROFIT AT ANY PRICE', has given the signal for a convulsion which has long been in the making within his own Empire, the ultimate result of which will be to put paid to the whole of old Europe's present status quo.

Please give your dear cousin my warmest regards and apply yourself seriously to the study of the English language, for if the worst comes to the worst, England is still the best place in which to set up medical quarters.

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

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time

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## MARX TO WILHELM ALEXANDER FREUND<sup>16</sup>

IN BRESLAU

London, 21 January 1877  
41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Dear Friend Freund,<sup>b</sup>

My New Year's greetings to you and your dear wife are, unfortunately, belated owing to pressure of work and a sore throat which I caught during my last days in Karlsbad. My fate there was similar to that of Martin Luther's peasant who, given a leg up on one side of his horse, fell off on the other.<sup>240</sup>

My daughter<sup>c</sup> sends her best regards to your wife and yourself. She has, *inter alia*, been guilty of a translation, published by the local Shakespeare Society of which she is a member, of Professor Delius' 'Das epische Element in Shakespeare', a translation which has, however, earned her the highest praise from Mr Delius.<sup>241</sup> She has requested me to ask you for the name of the Swabian anti-

<sup>a</sup> Alexander II - <sup>b</sup> A play on words by Marx: 'Freund'=friend. - <sup>c</sup> Eleanor Marx

Shakespeare professor and the title of his book about which you spoke to us in Karlsbad.<sup>242</sup> The matador of the Shakespeare Society here, Mr Furnivall, is determined not to forego enjoyment of that opus.

The 'Oriental Question' (which will end up with a revolution in Russia, whatever the outcome of the war against Turkey<sup>207</sup>), and the mustering of the Social-Democratic legions at home<sup>237</sup> will perhaps have convinced the German cultural philistine that there are more important things in the world than Richard Wagner's music of the future.<sup>185</sup>

With kindest regards to you and your dear wife,

Your most sincere friend,

Karl Marx

Should you happen to see Dr Traube, would you be so good as to give him my kindest regards and remind him that he promised to send me the *titles* of his various publications. This would be of great importance to my friend Engels, who is engaged on a work on natural philosophy<sup>a</sup> and intends to give more weight to Traube's achievements than has hitherto been done.<sup>243</sup>

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16. Juni 1931, Beilage

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paper

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## MARX TO FREDERIC HARRISON

IN LONDON

[London,] 21 January 1877

41 Maitland Park Crescent, N. W.

Dear Sir,

The bearer of this letter, my nephew, Mr Henry Juta of Cape Town, wants to complete his general studies at the London University, and, at the same time, to become a member of the Inner Temple.<sup>244</sup> For the latter purpose he has to sign a paper stating that he is no attorney etc. and his own signature has to be

<sup>a</sup> F. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.

countersigned by two barristers attesting that he is a proper person etc. As the affair is very pressing, I have taken the liberty to direct him to you in the hope that you will be so kind as to instruct the young man how to find his way out of this difficulty.

I have the honour, Sir, to be

Yours sincerely

Karl Marx

Fd. Harrison, Esq.

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in German, in *Neues Deutschland*, Nr. 15, Berlin, 15. Januar 1963

Reproduced from the original

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MARX TO GABRIEL DEVILLE

IN PARIS

[Draft]

London, 23 January 1877  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Citizen,

On receiving your kind letter of 15 December, I wrote to our friend Hirsch<sup>12</sup> about my obligations, stipulated in the contract, to Mr Lachâtre, the publisher of *Capital*, which do not admit of my agreeing to your project<sup>245</sup> without his authorisation. I then wrote to the latter<sup>12</sup> and from day to day vainly awaited his reply. Finally, a few days ago, I sent him a registered letter,<sup>12</sup> the first having doubtless been intercepted—an everyday occurrence in the Prusso-German Empire. Pending Mr Lachâtre's reply, I should further point out that, even should he give his consent, Mr A. Quêt would be quite capable of ordering the confiscation of every 'summary' of *Capital*. Since Mr Lachâtre had been convicted *in absentia* of 'communard' acts and was living abroad as a refugee, the judicial administration of Lachâtre's booksellers was placed by the Broglie ministry in the hands of Mr Quêt who belongs to the dregs of the conservative party and who has done

everything in his power first to hold up the printing of my book and then to prevent its distribution. He would be just the man to play a trick on you, despite the authorisation from Mr Lachâtre vis-à-vis whom I am myself bound by a private contract but who, vis-à-vis Mr Quêt, is entirely powerless, since this sequestrator is his legal trustee.

Under the circumstances I think that the best thing would be to put off for the moment 'a summary' of *Capital*, and in the meantime bring out a short review of it, if necessary in the form of a small pamphlet, which would be all the more useful in that Mr Block (in the *Journal des Économistes*)<sup>a</sup> and Mr Laveleye (in the *Revue des deux Mondes*)<sup>b</sup> have given the French public utterly false notions of *Capital*. Such a course had also been agreed at the outset by Mr Hirsch and myself.

Please accept my best thanks for your book which you were kind enough to send me and which is distinguished by great stylistic verve and a sound basis.

I trust the incident that has put us in touch with one another will be the starting point of a sustained correspondence.

Yours ever,  
K. M.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN RAMM

IN LEIPZIG

London, 25 January 1877

Dear Ramm,

Since I do not know whether Liebknecht is back from Offenbach,<sup>246</sup> I am writing to you.

<sup>a</sup> M. Block, *Les théoriciens du socialisme en Allemagne. Extrait du 'Journal des Économistes'*. - <sup>b</sup> É. de Laveleye, 'Le socialisme contemporain en Allemagne. I. Les théoriciens', *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol. 17, Paris, 1876.

To begin with, it is nearly a fortnight now since I had any of the *Dühring* proof-sheets<sup>158</sup> (the last, sent back at once, being Art. VI) and I'm afraid that a consignment may have gone astray.

Next, I had requested Liebknecht<sup>15</sup> to send me the Nos. of the *Neue Welt* containing my biography of Wolff<sup>247</sup>; I received the first 4 numbers, but since then it was only from the mutilated *Neue Welts* used for packing the *Vorwärts* that I saw that the subsequent part had also appeared. Needless to say, I neither kept a copy of the manuscript here, nor did anything about getting hold of the thing, having taken Liebknecht at his word; would you be so good as to see to this before all numbers have been torn to pieces and used up?

As to the by-elections, we over here are very much in the dark. All we know is that Rittinghausen is 'in', as the English say.<sup>248</sup> A pity that the Christian-Social chaplain, Laaf, was licked; in the first place, it would have been amusing to watch him steering a middle course through the Reichstag and, in the second, since he was evidently doomed to make an ass of himself, he would have stirred up dissension among the working men at Aachen, thus giving us a chance of introducing the thin end of the wedge.

What is most encouraging about the recent elections is the great progress made in the country, particularly in the big farming districts of Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg. Thence it's an easy step to Pomerania and Brandenburg and, once inroads have been made into the schnapps country,<sup>a</sup> it will soon be all up with the Prussian monarchy.

Ever your friend,  
F. Engels

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<sup>a</sup> See Engels' article 'Prussian Schnapps in the Reichstag'.

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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 14 February 1877  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Bracke,

Lissagaray, who is otherwise completely in agreement with your draft contract, is firmly of the opinion that in every case the price (per copy) should be kept to the *minimum* quoted by you.<sup>194</sup>

So far as the free copies for himself are concerned, a dozen would amply suffice.

Apropos! Miss Isolde Kurz has written to me, partly to say that she will be sending you the manuscript direct, while the proof-sheets would come to me from you (I have no objection), partly to ask for a further consignment of sheets from the original; the latter have now been sent her by Lissagaray. *But notabene*, Lissagaray has also made all manner of alterations to the *introduction, additions* (very important ones) to the French original, etc., so that *nothing should be printed in Brunswick before Isolde has made corresponding modifications to the initial sheets she has already translated*. Thus, should Isolde's manuscript be already in Brunswick by the time my letter arrives, it should not be printed but returned to her for alteration.

It goes without saying that the German edition will acquire extra value as a result of these alterations and additions made by the author himself.

With kindest regards,

Yours,  
K. Marx

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time

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## ENGELS TO IDA PAULI

IN RHEINAU

London, 14 February 1877

Dear Mrs Pauli,

I fear that, if all the plans hatched during the winter in Rheinau are to come to fruition, the length of the summer would have to be nine months rather than three. Time will show whether anything can come of the proposal you make in your kind letter, but one major snag is, alas, already evident to me and that is my wife's<sup>a</sup> health. So far she has come reasonably well through the winter, and similarly the wear and tear of the Christmas campaign (in which all festivities here in England are concentrated); but I couldn't yet say to what extent I shall be able to mobilise her, come September, for another Munich campaign without her acting as a drag on the mobility of others. During the past six weeks we have again had bad luck of one kind after another with maids and now, at the very time when she ought to be resting, she often has to exert herself beyond her strength. I had foreseen this eventuality and had therefore reserved the right vis-à-vis the Schupps to bring Pumps back at any time. Now things have come to such a pass that she absolutely must relieve my wife of the housekeeping, and since, apart from anything else, I myself cannot very well get away, I shall probably take advantage of an opportunity which presents itself and have her escorted back home around the 1st or, at the latest, the 15th of March. As soon as I know anything definite, which should be within the next few days, I shall let both Pumps and Miss Schupp have further particulars; until then I would ask you to say nothing about the matter to them.

As soon as we have got the house into some sort of order, I intend to take my wife to the seaside for a fortnight or so to help her recover her appetite and prevent her from getting too debilitated.<sup>249</sup> You'd have laughed had you seen me making the bed last night and lighting the kitchen fire this morning.

That you found the elections<sup>237</sup> tedious I can well believe, seeing that you are not allowed to vote in them. When we take over the helm, not only will women be given the vote, they will also be

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<sup>a</sup> Lizzie Burns



elected and make speeches. The latter already applies to the school board here and, last November, I gave all my 7 votes to a lady who, as a result, had more votes than any of the other 7 candidates for election. Incidentally, the ladies who sit on school boards here are notable for the fact that they do very little talking and a great deal of working—as much on average as three men. Or perhaps it's a case of 'new brooms sweeping clean'? However, most of these 'brooms' are pretty ancient.

At all events we shall bear the September project constantly in mind and do all we can to implement it. And now I would beg you to convey my wife's and my own warm regards to Pauli and the children and accept our kindest regards on your own behalf.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Brighton, 23 February 1877  
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

I wrote to Bignami last week, took out a subscription to the *Plebe*, and wrote to him about the elections.<sup>250</sup> Three days ago, before we left,<sup>249</sup> I received 3 numbers, and he is going to let me have some that are missing.<sup>251</sup> My intervention could not have come at a better time.

*Plebe*, 7 January, reports proceedings at the Assizes against *Bignami*, the *Questore* (chief of police) of Turin (the self-same man who treated Terzaghi to a 'vermouth', see *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*<sup>a</sup>), for *embezzlement* (*tout comme chez nous*<sup>b</sup>). A policeman,

<sup>a</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. - <sup>b</sup> just like at home (a modified phrase from Nolant de Fatouville's comedy *Arlequin, empereur dans la lune*; 'tout comme ici' (just as here) is the stock response made by the people listening to Harlequin's inventions about life on the moon)

one Blandini, stated that, on Bignami's orders, he had carried out a *pro-forma*<sup>a</sup> house search *chez* Terzaghi, having also been ordered by Bignami only to remove what Terzaghi should give him. When a warrant went out for Terzaghi's arrest, he had already been notified by another policeman, Premerlani, acting on Bignami's orders; Terzaghi *era un agente segreto di Bignami che gli dava tre lire* (francs) *al giorno*.<sup>b</sup> About which the *Plebe* remarked that this showed what use the *fondi segreti dei governi di classe*<sup>c</sup> were put to.

To which there came a reply from a little Bakuninist sheet, *Il Martello*<sup>d</sup>—the name betrays my Cafiero.—Since discussion of the revolting Terzaghi case was not permissible, the little sheet fastened on the *fondi segreti dei governi di classe*: so in your case, it said, the *governi non di classe*<sup>e</sup> would likewise have *fondi segreti*,<sup>f</sup> so in your case, too, everything would remain as before—there follows all the same old anarchist rigmarole *que l'on sait*.<sup>g</sup> Having replied to this in due form, the *Plebe* at once proceeded to attack the *Bulletin Jurassien* for having been sent into a rage by four lines in the *Plebe* and acting as though the *Plebe* were enraged although it had simply been *edificata*<sup>h</sup> by the *Jurassien*'s insinuation.

Come to that, [said the *Plebe*,] one would have to be exceedingly *ingenuo*<sup>i</sup> to take the bait proffered by people who, green with envy, went knocking at door after door to beg for a bit of animosity towards us in return for their calumnies. The hand, which has long been sowing tares and discord, is sufficiently well known for its Loyolan<sup>j</sup> machinations to be instantly detectable and *gli onesti non ne facciano tantosto giustizia*.<sup>k</sup>

The same No. contains a letter from E. Dörenberg (Drbg. of the *Berliner Freie Presse*) on the elections in Berlin.

No. of 16 February, letter from Brussels, 'Cesar De Paepe' about the recent Flemish agitation for factory laws and general suffrage, ends:

*Noi crediamo altresì di arrivare, con questo metodo, più prontamente e più puramente all'emancipazione del proletario, piuttosto che star lì, abbaiano alla luna per degli anni e dei quarti di secolo, e attendendo che mamma Rivoluzione voglia degnarsi di venire a spezzarsi le catene dei lavoratori.*<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> formal - <sup>b</sup> was a secret agent of Bignami's who gave him three lire a day. - <sup>c</sup> class governments' secret funds - <sup>d</sup> See *La Plebe*, 21 January 1877. - <sup>e</sup> non-class governments - <sup>f</sup> secret funds - <sup>g</sup> we are familiar with - <sup>h</sup> edified - <sup>i</sup> ingenuous - <sup>j</sup> from the name of St. Ignatius of Loyola, i.e. Jesuitical - <sup>k</sup> Honest folk won't take very long to size it up. - <sup>l</sup> We likewise believe that we shall, by this means, achieve the emancipation of the proletariat more promptly and more thoroughly than if we were to stand for years and generations baying at the moon and waiting until Mother Revolution should deign to come and break the workers' chains.

It further speaks of old Becker's proclamation<sup>219</sup> as a *symptom*, and in most amicable terms.

A very delighted letter from Bignami today, in which he says he will print my stuff on the elections, and confirms that the *Federazione dell'alta Italia*,<sup>a</sup> which extends from Venice to Turin and will shortly be holding a congress,<sup>252</sup> *vuole lottare sul terreno del suffragio universale*.<sup>b</sup> The *Plebe* is its official organ.

Thus the stronghold of lawyers, literati and dilettanti in Italy has been breached. And the best part of it is that all the former Alliance men<sup>201</sup> in Milan, Mauro Gandolfi, etc., of Cuno's time also seem to have gone over. Indeed, a bogus working men's movement could not have survived long in an industrial city like Milan. And Northern Italy is decisive not only strategically, but also to the working men's movement throughout the whole length of the agrarian peninsula.

Thus the world government in Neuchâtel<sup>253</sup> has nothing left that is uncontested except for Spain, and how long will that last?

If these events are to be followed more closely, by the way, it is high time that Mr Demuth took out a subscription to the *Bulletin jurassien*, as agreed. After all, we've got to know what anathemas are being uttered by the Holy See's universal dictator and deputy.<sup>c</sup>

Warmest regards to all,

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Federation of Northern Italy - <sup>b</sup> intends to fight on the terrain of universal suffrage - <sup>c</sup> James Guillaume

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## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 24 February 1877

My dear Friend,

You would greatly oblige my wife and myself by coming to dine with us tomorrow (Sunday) at 2 o'clock. I shall then give you an explanation for my prolonged silence—throat trouble and work which, to some extent despite myself, has been thrust upon me.<sup>254</sup>

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Brighton, 2 March 1877  
42 Kings Road

Dear Moor,

I have written to Liebknecht<sup>15</sup> and asked him to send the proof-sheets to me here until further notice; I usually get them by Monday at the latest, but have had none this week and am afraid that, as usual, something's been overlooked.<sup>155</sup> Would you be so good as to go to my house and see if any proofs have arrived there, and forward them to me? Mrs Leeson will show you what parcels of newspapers, etc., have arrived and you'll easily be able to pick them out; she can likewise give you NEWSPAPER WRAPPERS, etc., in which to pack the stuff. Otherwise the fellows are quite capable

of publishing under my name the balderdash they have set up in type.

In some respects I'm glad that Lina<sup>a</sup> and Pumps aren't coming until the middle of the month. In the first place, we shall then be home again, as we are thinking of coming back a week on Tuesday<sup>b</sup>; secondly, it would give me time to send Lina, in addition to the £15 I sent her in haste (all I happened to have at the time), another £5 against any eventuality, and again make it clear to her (not altogether unnecessarily, perhaps) that she should have an eye to comfortable rather than cheap travel, since all the money I have sent hitherto is, of course, intended only for the journey *here*.

We've had glorious weather here, but today it's misty and damp with occasional rain. How much the climate down here differs from that in London is apparent from the news item in this morning's paper which says that there was an inch and a half of ice on the water in the parks, whereas here the effect of the slight nocturnal frost had already been dissipated by the sun by ten o'clock. For a couple of weeks at the SEASIDE in winter, Brighton is indeed 'a fine place', which is why the more refined what-d'ye-call-'ems pullulate here. But it's a disgrace to London that, after the aquarium here has attained truly scientific rank by its achievements in the breeding of fish and amphibia, anyone could be presumptuous enough to evoke its caricature in Westminster—MUSIC HALL with piscine accompaniment—and with such PUFFING into the bargain!

Best wishes,

Your  
F. E.

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

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Published in English for the first  
time

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<sup>a</sup> Caroline Schöler - <sup>b</sup> 13 March

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 3 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

I am sending you the things from Leipzig I found at your house,<sup>a</sup> together with the *Plebe*. As to the important declaration by the federation of *Italia alta*<sup>b</sup> in which they state that they have always abided by the 'original Rules' of the International,<sup>255</sup> and officially disassociate themselves from any actual federative link with the Italian Bakuninist groups,<sup>256</sup> you must see that the *Vorwärts* gets this as soon as possible, along with the other very interesting, and to me highly welcome, facts contained in the first letter<sup>c</sup> you sent me.<sup>257</sup> Otherwise Liebknecht will contrive to make nonsense of this affair too.

I've been very unwell of late, with a chronic cold, catarrh and cough.

ALL RIGHT about Lina.<sup>d</sup>

Lavrov, who is going through a damned bad period, has praised your anti-Dühring articles, though one (i.e., he) 'is unaccustomed to such gentleness in Engels' polemics'.

You will be getting a longer missive<sup>258</sup> from me some time next Monday'.<sup>e</sup> Do *not* regard this as a Dühringian manoeuvre of always making promises one never sticks to—namely doing something.

Kindest regards to Lizzy.

Your  
K. Marx

Devil take Hirsch and his Castelnau. The latter has now asked me on behalf of them both to figure as a contributor to a working men's paper which they already have in hand. As if I had the time for that—and Hirsch must surely know that I haven't any! The mere fact of my name appearing, however, would make me needlessly 'responsible'. Because Mr Castelnau himself now admits

<sup>a</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> Northern Italy - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 198-200. -

<sup>d</sup> Caroline Schöler - <sup>e</sup> 5 March

that, so long as Quêt is in charge, his *abrégé*<sup>a</sup> will belong to the Land of Nod, it seems he is going to thrash me in some other way. I have yet to see either him or Hirsch lift so much as a finger on behalf of *Capital*, unlike Laveleye or Block.<sup>b</sup>

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## ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH LESSNER

IN LONDON

Brighton, 4 March 1877  
42 King's Road

Dear Lessner,

This morning I got a letter from Hoffmann, 9 Hayes Court, Soho, to whom I had already sent two pounds through you. One child died before Christmas, a second on 15 February and on 25 February he lost his wife; he asks me for help, since he has not yet paid off the funeral expenses for the child and doesn't know how he can meet those for his wife, who is to be buried today, and which amount to £4. The letter (of 28 February) remained in London unattended to and hence I couldn't do anything for him in time; moreover today is Sunday when no action can be taken. Will you be so good as to call on the man and see what can be arranged and how things are with him, and if you have a pound or 30s. at your disposal you could, depending on the circumstances, give it to him on my behalf, or else write and tell me straight away what you think of the matter and I can send a Post OFFICE order. Above all make it clear to the man that I didn't get his letter until this morning and was therefore unable to do anything.

I had to bring my wife here so that she could recover somewhat from her debility<sup>249</sup> and this she has managed to do; she is much

<sup>a</sup> summary (of the first volume of *Capital*). - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, p. 194.

better and I trust she will remain so. We go back on Tuesday week,<sup>a</sup> and a day or two after that Pumps will also be returning, accompanied by Miss Lina Schöler.

My wife sends her warm regards to you and yours and also to Nelli, as does

Your old friend,  
F. Engels

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>96</sup>

IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 5 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

Dürringiana enclosed.<sup>258</sup> I found it impossible to read the fellow without belabouring him constantly and at some length.

Now, having thus familiarised myself with him (and the section from Ricardo onwards, which I've not yet read, must contain many exquisite pearls), a task that required patience and a club ready to hand, I shall in future be capable of enjoying him in tranquillity. Once one sees how the laddie's mind works, so that one really gets the hang of his method, he proves to be a fairly entertaining SCRIBBLER. Meanwhile, what with my catarrh and consequent irritability, he has done me yeoman service by providing a secondary 'occupation'.

Your  
Moor

Apropos. That most virulent article on Gladstone-Novikova, the sight of which had caused the *Whitehall Review* to quake in its boots, appeared yesterday in *Vanity Fair*, with improvements by

<sup>a</sup> 13 March



Barry.<sup>259</sup> As we could see, when Collet's son and daughter<sup>a</sup> came to visit us yesterday, it has met with Papa Collet's<sup>b</sup> disapproval, Gladstone being, after all, an honest though crazy man, and a polemic of this sort 'indecent'.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>96</sup>

IN LONDON

Brighton, 6 March 1877  
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

Very many thanks for the long opus re 'critical history'.<sup>258</sup> It is more than I need in order to destroy the fellow utterly in this field too. In fact Lavrov is to some extent right in maintaining that the fellow has been treated too decently hitherto.<sup>c</sup> When I now re-read the *Kursus der Nationalökonomie*<sup>d</sup> and knowing the fellow and his ways as I now do, so that I no longer need fear some hidden trap amidst the verbiage and can see the pompous *fadaise*<sup>e</sup> for what it is, I certainly consider that a little more contempt wouldn't come amiss. The good Lavrov is entitled to his own feelings about it, of course, and in his проповѣды<sup>f</sup> can leave out of account the crescendo which the likes of us must always bear in mind when engaged on so protracted a demolition job. When I've finished the 'Philosophy', however, there'll be no further need for him to complain about gentleness, still less when it comes to the 'Political Economy'.

Collet's grave misgivings apropos Gladstone were inevitable.<sup>g</sup> These are things that ought not to happen without orders from above. It would have been better to have remained silent until Gladstone was back in office and then left it to Urquhart to issue a

<sup>a</sup> Clara Collet - <sup>b</sup> Collet Dobson Collet's - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 203. - <sup>d</sup> E. Dühring, *Kursus der National- und Socialökonomie...* - <sup>e</sup> twaddle - <sup>f</sup> homilies - <sup>g</sup> See previous letter.

grave warning by way of profound INNUENDOES incomprehensible even to the person concerned. The war against SECRET DIPLOMACY must itself be waged secretly and diplomatically.

I shall make a digest of the Plebeiana<sup>257</sup> for Wilhelm.<sup>a</sup> The present split in Italy spells disaster for *messieurs les* anarchist dictators. The brief comments in this number of the *Plebe* on the *spiriti ristretti ed anarchici—ed allo stesso tempo mostruosa contraddizione, dittatoriali*<sup>b</sup> go to show that Bignami has acquired an intimate knowledge of the peculiarities of these people. All the same, Bakunin was more skilful and patient than Mr Guillaume, who is in too much of a hurry in the matter of world government.

What you sent me wasn't a new proof.<sup>155</sup> I've had none as yet. Wilhelm is making a thorough mess of things.

We return tomorrow week.<sup>249</sup> Lizzy is noticeably restored, appetite *almost* normal; but here, on this long uninterrupted stretch of beach, the air is really incomparable.

Best wishes,

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>96</sup>

IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 7 March 1877

DEAR FRED,

As I might forget to do so later, I am sending off this contribution in the wake of my last epistle<sup>258</sup>:

1. The most important point of Hume's view of the influence of an increase in money on the stimulation of industry, a point which shows more clearly than anything else (if, indeed, there had been

<sup>a</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>b</sup> minds that are narrow and anarchic and at the same time—monstrous contradiction this—dictatorial

any room for DOUBT on this score) that he sees this increase as occurring only in conjunction with a depreciation of precious metals, a point to which Hume reverts on various occasions, as is apparent if only from the excerpt I have sent—is that ‘THE PRICE OF LABOUR’ rises only in the last resort, after that of all other commodities.<sup>a</sup> Now M. Dühring<sup>b</sup> says not a word about this; indeed, Hume whom he praises so highly, is treated by him in as slovenly and superficial a fashion as all the rest. Besides, assuming he had noticed the thing, which is more than doubtful, he would have seen fit, having regard to the workers, not to praise a theory of this kind but rather TO BURKE THE WHOLE.

2. My own particular way of dealing with the Physiocrats<sup>260</sup>—i.e. as the first methodical (not, like Petty, etc., merely casual) *exponents of capital* and of the *capitalist mode of production*—was something I did not, of course, wish to put on display just yet. The fact is, IN PLAIN WORDS SAID, that my viewpoint might be taken up and simultaneously debased by charlatans before I had a chance to expound it. Which is why I did not touch on this in the exposé I sent you.

But in dealing with Dühring it might perhaps be fitting to draw attention to the following two passages in *CAPITAL*. I quote them from the *French* edition because they are less vague here than in the German original:

*With reference to the Tableau Économique*<sup>261</sup>:

‘La reproduction annuelle est un procès très facile à saisir tant que l’on ne considère que le fonds de la production annuelle, mais tous les éléments de celle-ci doivent passer par le marché. Là les mouvements des capitaux et des revenus se croisent, s’entremêlent et se perdent dans un mouvement général de déplacement—la circulation de la richesse sociale—qui trouble la vue de l’observateur et offre à l’analyse des problèmes très-compliqués. C’est le grand mérite des physiocrates d’avoir les premiers essayé de donner, dans leur *tableau économique*, une image de la reproduction annuelle telle qu’elle sort de la circulation. Leur exposition est à beaucoup d’égards plus près de la vérité que celle de leurs successeurs.’<sup>c</sup> (258, 259.)

<sup>a</sup> D. Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, Vol. I, Dublin, 1779, pp. 303-04. - <sup>b</sup> E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie*.... - <sup>c</sup> ‘Annual reproduction is a process very easy to comprehend provided one considers only the funds of annual production. But all elements of the latter have to pass through the market. It is there that the movements of capital and revenue meet, intermingle and lose themselves in a general interchange—the circulation of social wealth—which confuses the eye of the beholder and presents problems of great complexity to the

*With reference to the definition of 'travail productif'<sup>a</sup>:*

'Aussi l'économie politique classique a-t-elle toujours, tantôt instinctivement, tantôt consciemment, soutenu que ce qui caractérisait le travail productif, c'était de rendre *une plus-value*. Ses définitions du travail productif, changent à mesure qu'elle pousse plus avant son analyse de la plus-value. Les physiocrates, par exemple, déclarent que le travail agricole seul est productif. Et pourquoi? Parce que seul il donne une plus-value qui, pour eux, n'existe que sous la forme de la rente foncière.'<sup>b</sup> (p. 219).

'Although the Physiocrats could not penetrate the mystery of surplus value, yet this much was clear to them, viz., that it was "*une richesse indépendante et disponible qu'il*" (the possessor thereof) "*n'a point achetée et qu'il vend*"'<sup>c</sup> (Turgot) (p. 554, *Capital*, 2nd German ed.), and that the same could not arise out of **circulation** (i.e., *Capital*, pp. 141-145).

I happened to be at DINNER when the GREAT Barry arrived IN GREAT HURRY with 8 newspapers under his arm.

English newspaper editors are quite extraordinary ANIMALS. The EDITOR of *Vanity Fair* (i.e. the subordinate one; Mr Bowles, the head and PROPRIETOR, a semi-Urquhartite, has gone to Spain with his wife for the benefit of the latter's health) had at length published the article<sup>259</sup> from which the *Scottish Morning News* and the London *Whitehall Review* had shied away, ditto the 6 GOVERNMENTAL PAPERS, or rather the CENTRAL PRESS which is in the hands of the Tory Ministry and puts their stuff together for them.

Bon.<sup>d</sup> The same *Vanity Fair* MAN has, by way of revenge, now taken fright in his turn at the prospect of reprinting (in the interests of the cause and Mr Barry) the article already printed by those 8 journals, namely the one relating to Gladstone's ARTICLE IN THE *Contemporary Review*.<sup>262</sup> Writes, asking Barry what to do in the event of a LIBEL action. I gave Barry—who had providently come already armed with the above-mentioned 8 PAPERS—instructions as

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analyst. It is greatly to the credit of the Physiocrats that they should have been the first to attempt to give, in their *tableau économique*, a picture of annual reproduction as it is when it emerges from circulation. In many respects their exposé is closer to the truth than that of their successors.'

<sup>a</sup> productive labour - <sup>b</sup> 'Indeed, classical political economy has always, whether instinctively or consciously, maintained that it was in the nature of productive labour to provide *surplus value*. The further it carries its analysis of surplus value, the more its definitions of productive labour change. The Physiocrats, for example, declare agricultural labour alone to be productive. And why? Because it alone provides surplus value which, for them, exists only in the form of rent.'

<sup>c</sup> 'independent and disposable wealth which he ... has not bought and which he sells' - <sup>d</sup> Very well.

to what answer he should give. I MUST BE VERY MUCH MISTAKEN IF EVEN THIS HESITATION (WHICH WE SHALL, HOWEVER, OVERCOME) HAS NOT SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE 'SCRUPLES' OF MR COLLET. IT IS, IN FACT, TOO BAD TO TAKE THE SECRET DIPLOMACY BUSINESS OUT OF THEIR HANDS!

By the by, Russian diplomacy has degenerated into pure farce. Mr Ignatiyev's TOUR, whether or not it is initially successful, will still remain, no matter what the circumstances, an even more grotesque and compromising pilgrimage than that of Mr Thiers after the farrago of the 4th of September.<sup>268</sup>

From the magnanimous *Gambuzzi* I have received an epilogue, 9 PAGES long, of his own contriving, upon the magnanimous *Fanelli*,<sup>a</sup> who has just died. Presumably intended to make me repent of the insulting remarks about *ejusdem*<sup>b</sup> Fanelli in the piece concerning the Alliance.<sup>c 201</sup>

Your  
K. M.

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV  
IN LONDON

[London,] 16 March 1877

My dear Friend,

A member of the HOUSE OF COMMONS (an Irishman<sup>d</sup>) intends to bring a motion—next week—to the effect that the English government should call upon the *Russian* government to introduce the reforms (in Russia), which it declares to be necessary in respect of Turkey. He wants to take advantage of the occasion by speaking of the horrors that are occurring inside Russia. I have

<sup>a</sup> C. Gambuzzi, *Sulla tomba di Giuseppe Fanelli*. - <sup>b</sup> the same - <sup>c</sup> See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 497). - <sup>d</sup> Keyes O'Clery

already supplied him with a few details about the measures taken by the Russian government against the refractory Poles of the United Church. Could you make a brief résumé—in French—of judicial and police persecution inside Russia in recent years? Since time is short—I was only informed of the matter today—and something is better than nothing, could you, since these incidents are fresher in your memory than in mine, do this ‘something’? I believe that would be of great service to your suffering compatriots.<sup>264</sup>

As to Mrs Utin, I can make absolutely nothing of it, but I SHALL CROSS-EXAMINE HER AT THE NEXT INTERVIEW. Had she not, on various occasions and in the presence of my wife and myself, expressed the wish to see you, we should not have breathed a word of it.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

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MARX TO MRS WOLLMANN

IN KARLSBAD

[London,] 19 March 1877  
[41 Maitland] Park Road

Dear Mrs Wollmann,

I have delayed replying in order to seek advice on so important matter from one of my friends, a former businessman.<sup>a</sup> He returned to London only yesterday, after a long absence.

With the income you mention you can live decently in London, though only, needless to say, on a modest bourgeois basis. In fact London is today probably the *cheapest* capital in Europe, thus offering the advantage that, provided you keep up the usual

<sup>a</sup> Frederick Engels

appearances, you can run your house in any way you wish, and that no one, not even the rich, need be unduly sociable. The city's enormous size and population relieve one of many considerations which are more or less obtrusive elsewhere. So far as education is concerned, in all the public schools—and these, even from the financial viewpoint, are the only ones I would recommend—they also have German teachers. In some respects the schools themselves are less adequate than those in Germany, in others they are to be preferred. But in any case, and particularly for a boy who is to prepare himself for the STRUGGLE with LIFE, England is a far more useful training school than Germany, that great barracks, servants' hall and nursery.<sup>a</sup>

As regards German teachers for private tuition, there is very heavy competition among them, and so the cost of LESSONS is not high.

Here, as in America and on the European Continent, there is a business crisis which in my view has yet to reach its peak. After that point has been reached, we shall enter the most favourable period of all for the launching of new businesses. But the sooner you move to London, the longer and more leisurely will be the time available to your husband to take the preparatory steps.

I need hardly tell you that both my daughters and I welcome your move to this country as an unexpected stroke of luck.

My kindest regards to Fleckles and the dear children,

Yours very sincerely,

Karl Marx

Should you wish to leaf through some of *Capital*, it would be best to start with the last section,<sup>b</sup> p. 314. In the scientific exposition the arrangement is prescribed for the author, although some other arrangement might often be more convenient and more appropriate for the reader.

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<sup>a</sup> By nursery (*Kinderstube*) Heine called Germany in his poem 'Zur Beruhigung' (in *Zeitgedichte*). - <sup>b</sup> the eighth section—'Le procès d'accumulation du capital'—of the French edition of the first volume of *Capital*

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## MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 23 March 1877

My dear Friend,

I have received the article and it is now in the hands of the member of the House of Commons, to whom, by the by, I shall send the rectification.<sup>264</sup>

Beesly called on me yesterday; I spoke to him about an article by you<sup>a</sup> for the *Fortnightly*. He told me he would recommend you to John Morley, the editor-in-chief, but—and this is most disagreeable—it would have to be written in, or translated into, English before being sent to the editor. As to the length of the article, 16 pages is the usual requirement.

Allsop did not give us his latest address; perhaps Le Blanc could get hold of it.

Yesterday I received a letter from St Petersburg with a note advising me that a parcel containing several books had been sent off to me.<sup>265</sup> Unfortunately I have still to set eyes on it.

Yours ever,

Karl Marx

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<sup>a</sup> [P. L. Lavrov,] 'La justice en Russie', *Vanity Fair*, Vol. XVII, 14 April 1877.



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## ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

IN GENEVA

London, 24 March 1877  
 122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

My dear old Friend,

I am sending you herewith a money-order for 50 fr. and, I think, 20 centimes and would ask you to send me in return *two* copies of the *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mairevolution*<sup>a</sup> and, if you can, the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* for 1876. If you can send it through a bookseller, give him the parcel addressed: F. E. care of F. Wohlauser, St. Paul's Buildings, Paternoster Row, London; in which case it will cost very little. Marx and I would like you to use the rest of the money as an additional contribution to the *Précurseur*.

In No. 32 of the *Vorwärts* there is an article of mine, 'From Italy',<sup>b</sup> from which you will have seen that the empire of *Messieurs les Bakuninists* is in a truly splendid state of disintegration. The people on the *Plebe* deserve every support and would certainly be glad to make a reciprocal arrangement with the *Précurseur*. The paper's address is *La Plebe*, Via Carlo Alberto No. 1, Milan. The editor is called Enrico Bignami and he has maintained correspondence with me for years, which only became dormant when the Bakuninists' dictatorship was at its fiercest in Italy. Even Mr Malon has defected and he, after all, was one of the first seventeen International Brethren and founders of the Alliance<sup>266</sup>; one by one they are forswearing their allegiance to the luckless Guillaume. World government is not exactly everybody's cup of tea and, as for these gentlemen's future congresses, there's every likelihood that the goings-on there will be even wilder than at The Hague.<sup>20</sup> Our policy of mercilessly unmasking these people and then letting them rip has been gloriously vindicated. What with Belgium's turning her back on them, the defection of the last remnant in Italy, and the lamentable role they play in Switzerland (the annual shindy in Berne with the obligatory free-for-all), they have nothing left save the minuscule Spanish Alliance which only

<sup>a</sup> J. Ph. Becker und Ch. Essellen, *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849*. - <sup>b</sup> See present edition, Vol. 24.

keeps going because they have virtually no public outlet there and double-dealings are more easily conducted in the dark.

Your little piece in the *Neue Welt* amused me greatly.<sup>a</sup> You ought to write a sequel; it's good for the young to be reminded about the earlier movements, otherwise they imagine that they are indebted to no one but themselves.

Your old friend,  
F. Engels

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ENGELS TO PHILIPP PAULI  
IN RHEINAU

[London, 26 March 1877]

Dear Pauli,

I can't let this curious letter from Pumps go off without saying once again how very grateful my wife<sup>b</sup> and I are to you and your wife<sup>c</sup> for all the love and kindness you have shown the girl. I hope that when your children are bigger there will at last be an opportunity of squaring the account.

When will you be coming? Schorlemmer swears black and blue that you *have* to visit England before the summer, but that's all we can find out, and yet it would be very nice to know, approximately, when you will be turning up. Your room is ready; if you were to arrive at the end of this week, Schorlemmer could take advantage of the holidays and come too.

We spent three weeks in Brighton,<sup>249</sup> which did my wife a power of good; she returned stronger than even after last year's long spell at the seaside and recuperative trip, and she had been remarkably low. If only it lasts until the summer.

<sup>a</sup> J. Ph. Becker, 'Abgerissene Bilder aus meinem Leben'. - <sup>b</sup> Lizzie Burns - <sup>c</sup> Ida Pauli

So after all the endless shilly-shallying it now looks as though they are going to come to blows in the Orient after all<sup>207</sup> and I shall be delighted if the Russians take a pasting. The Turks are people of a quite peculiar stamp, who cannot be judged by European standards, and their position, complete with fortresses, between the Danube and the Balkans is inferior in strength only to the position Metz-Strasbourg-Mainz-Koblenz. The Russians may yet break many a tooth there.

And now, warm regards to your wife and children and you yourself from my wife and

Your  
F. Engels

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>267</sup>

IN LONDON

[London, 27 March 1877]

My dear Friend,

Could you let me have Ignat'yev's Christian name, ditto a few details about his family and the man himself. As regards his political exploits, I am pretty well informed about them.

There has been a fine old mercantile and financial collapse in Moscow.

Yours ever,  
K. M.

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>267</sup>

IN LONDON

[London, 29 March 1877]

My dear Friend,

My best thanks for the note which I received yesterday evening. You have no idea of the pusillanimity and shilly-shallying of the 'free' English press. That is the only reason why I am not yet in a position to let you have definite news about the fate of your article.<sup>264</sup>

Yours ever,

K. M.

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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 11 April 1877

Dear Bracke,

Your title's a good one, except that, instead of 'text' you should put 'original text' or else just 'original', whichever you please.<sup>268</sup>

I am returning the first proof-sheet with this note; it will do, because the little madam,<sup>a</sup> despite her evident annoyance with myself, has stuck pretty accurately to my corrections. But every now and again she makes mistakes which are a bit too much of a good thing. On p. 14 we read: 'As luck would have it, a vague

<sup>a</sup> Isolde Kurz

piece of news burst open the doors.' How can a 'piece of news', and a 'vague' one at that, burst open doors? In French it's '*une vague nouvelle*', which should read: 'a fresh wave' (of people) that is!

Moreover, the translation has gone damned slowly up till now.

Could you send me an approximate list of works which have appeared in Germany during recent years on the commercial and industrial crisis there<sup>118</sup>?

What your complaint chiefly calls for is a 'good' doctor. But whatever you do, don't treat the thing too lightly. Easy to cure in the early stages, the illness will become malignant if not dealt with in good time.

Engels is very dissatisfied with the way in which the *Vorwärts* is printing his anti-Dühring piece.<sup>155</sup> First they forced him into doing it, and now they pay not the slightest heed to the terms of the contract. At election time,<sup>269</sup> when no one did any reading, his articles were simply used to fill up space; next, they print short, disjointed fragments, one fragment one week, another a fortnight or three weeks later, which means that readers (working men in particular) lose the thread. Engels wrote, admonishing Liebknecht.<sup>a</sup> He believes that this way of going about things is deliberate, that there's been intimidation by Mr Dühring's handful of supporters. It would be quite natural if the same blockheads who originally made such a song and dance about the 'deathly silencing of the hollow fool' should now wish to silence his critics. It's all very well for Mr Most to talk about the undue length of the articles. His apology for Dühring,<sup>159</sup> luckily for him never published, was very long indeed, and if Mr Most has failed to note that there's much to be learnt from Engels' positive exposés, not only by ordinary workers and even ex-workers like himself, who suppose themselves capable of getting to know everything and pronounce on everything within the shortest possible time, but even by scientifically educated people, then I can only pity him for his lack of judgment.

With kind regards,

Yours,  
K. M.

PS. Mlle Kurz translates '*l'expropriation de toutes les denrées de première nécessité*',<sup>b</sup> which means expropriation by the government,

<sup>a</sup> See next letter. - <sup>b</sup> expropriation of all the prime necessities

or public appropriation, as 'public alienation', which gives completely the wrong sense (p. 16).

*Rationnement* = being placed on short rations (as in a besieged fortress or on board a vessel when supplies are running out), as 'maintenance of all citizens' (p. 16). She sets down the first word that comes into her head, whether it makes sense or not.

Ditto, p. 16, she translates '*pour faire lever les provinces*', as 'to levy the province'; should read 'to cause the provinces' (not 'province') 'to rise'.

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London, 11 April 1877]

Dear Liebknecht,

I have today received your letter of the 9th. It's the same old story. First you make all kinds of promises, whereupon exactly quite the opposite happens and then, if I complain, I hear nothing from you for a fortnight and I'm told that you had too much to do and would I kindly spare you my unnecessary objurgations. It IS ADDING INSULT TO INJURY.<sup>a</sup> So often has this comedy been played that I refuse to tolerate another performance.

My letter of yesterday, which will be in Leipzig first thing tomorrow morning, will get to you on 13 Friday,<sup>15</sup> and I expect an immediate reply to my questions. My reply to yours will depend on your reply to these, i.e. if by then there is any need at all for a reply from me.

If, by the evening of 17 Tuesday, I have had no reply, or no adequate one, from you, I shall no longer be able to show you any

<sup>a</sup> Phaedrus, *Fables* ('The Bald Man and the Fly').

consideration and shall myself see to it that such articles<sup>155</sup> of mine as remain are not mismanaged as hitherto. In which case it might very well happen that, in the course of things, I shall sooner or later find it necessary to air the whole business in public.

Your  
E.

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MARX TO PHILIP STEPHEN KING

IN LONDON

[London,] 14 April 1877  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Sir,

Please send me the Papers: *The Greek United Church in Russia* just laid before Parliament.

Enclosed for account sent £1, 3, 3.

Yours truly,  
Karl Marx

First published, in the language of the original (English) and in German, in *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch*, Nr. 8, Berlin, 1985

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 17 April 1877

My dear Friend,

The agent has just handed me the fee of £2.10/- due to you from *Vanity Fair*; I am sending it by the enclosed POST-OFFICE order.

I am truly astonished by your letter. It was at my request that you took the trouble to write—and promptly at that—not only the article published, but also the manuscript for the Member of Parliament,<sup>264</sup> and yet you feel you are under an obligation to me! On the contrary, I am the one under an obligation.

We can discuss the Pio affair<sup>270</sup> when you keep your promise and come and see me.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

If they ask at the POST OFFICE for the name of the 'SENDER', you should give my name and address.

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MARX TO THOMAS ALLSOP

IN LONDON

[London,] 20 April 1877  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

My dear and honoured Friend,

During your last stay at London I spoke with you of *Wróblewski*. He was the most able and gallant general of the Paris Commune, and even at the age of 17<sup>a</sup> years, during the time of the Polish insurrection of 1863, the leader of the insurgent Lithuanians most redoubted by the Russians. During his exile in London he has lived in a poor but respectable way by drawing military maps and doing similar work. Though brought up in the usual style of Polish noblemen, he has courageously borne with more hardship than most of the workmen exiles. It would be in the interest of our cause to procure him the means of entering the Turkish

<sup>a</sup> Should be: 27.



service now that the war with Russia is at hand,<sup>207</sup> and all the more so that he wields great influence over his countrymen.

Myself, Engels and one or two other friends at London are willing to contribute our quota, if you and some of your friends would act in common with us. What he wants are the costs of travel and some money for dress etc. I hope that your health has been going on improving. Mrs Marx (who is rather ailing) and Tussy send their best love to you. As I do not know where to find you, I send this letter at haphazard. Old Leblanc, who will leave London for Paris, is still woefully beset by his marriage-mania.

Yours most devotedly,

Karl Marx

First published in the language of the original (English) in *Économies et Sociétés*, No. 6, Paris, juin 1967, Série S-11

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MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE<sup>26</sup>

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 21 April 1877

Dear Bracke,

On the sheet enclosed herewith I have again noted down for your benefit the most glaring of Kurz's mistakes.<sup>194</sup>

Months ago, when I ceased to correspond with her, I told Miss Kurz<sup>12</sup> that, being so short of time, I could at most only undertake to correct errors of fact such as might be made by any foreigner insufficiently *au fait* with French conditions—but not mere mistakes in translation.

Hence, if she does not proceed more carefully (I shall spare enough time for one or two more proof-sheets), you will have to find an expert corrector and deduct what you pay him from the translator's fee.

You should devise one footnote in which you say once and for all that *all notes*, unless expressly stated otherwise, are Lissagaray's own. By so doing you would save the cost of having to put 'A. d. V.'<sup>a</sup> several times on every page.

<sup>a</sup> Short for 'Anmerkung des Verfassers'—author's note. -

Your idea of disseminating a portrait of me taken from the caricature provided by Lachâtre<sup>271</sup> does not appeal to me in the least.<sup>a</sup>

It is to be feared that Prussia has concluded a secret treaty with Russia; without such a treaty Russia could not invade Romania.<sup>272</sup> The workers' press concerns itself too little with the oriental question, forgetting that the government's politics gamble wantonly with the lives and money of the people.

At all events, public opinion amongst the workers, petty bourgeoisie, etc., should be duly alerted long enough in advance to make things difficult for the Prussian government (in its plans e.g. to get Russia to cede a little bit of Poland or to indemnify itself at Austria's expense), should it attempt to involve Germany in the war *on Russia's behalf* or so much as put pressure on Austria to that end.

With kindest regards,

Yours,

K. M.

*ad p. 17, Mandat tacite*, the gracious lady translates this as 'silent mandate', which is nonsense; the term 'unspoken' agreements is used in German, to be sure, but never silent ones. But in the same sentence '*démarche de Ferrières*', meaning Jules Favre's journey to Ferrières, where Bismarck was, is translated as '*Ferrière's* demarche', thus changing Ferrières the *place* into a *person*!

*ad p. 18*, she has omitted the place-name from battle 'of Chevilly'.

*ibid.* '*Trochu ... lui fit une belle Conférence*'. This she translates 'read *him* a fine lecture', a literal schoolroom rendering which, however, makes no sense in the German.

*ad p. 20, l'Hôtel de Ville* she translates as 'town house'; what is meant is the September government which was housed in the 'Hôtel de Ville'.

*ibid.* *à ce lancé*, another rendering that smacks strongly of the schoolroom: 'at *this* throw there came a roar from the whole rabble'. What on earth does the German mean—at this throw (which?) there came a roar, etc.? *Lancé* should here be translated as 'virulent cry'.

*ibid.* '*D'autres tocsins éclatent*' is translated 'new' (why not old?) '*tocsins* were *pulled* (!)'—What is meant is that more distress was being ventilated. The very word '*éclatent*',<sup>b</sup> not to mention the

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 227. - <sup>b</sup> break out

whole context, should have shown her what nonsense she was writing.

*p. 25* Miss Kurz changed what the text calls the '*Cordeliers*'<sup>273</sup> of the old French Revolution into the latter's non-existent 'Franciscans'. Not content with that she changes '*le prolétariat de la petite bourgeoisie*'—the proletariat of the petty bourgeoisie—into 'the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie'. Sheer carelessness, this!

*ad p. 26, contre-maîtres* she translates as '*senior boatswains*', whereas here it means *foremen*, while *chefs d'ateliers* are captains of industry.

*ad p. 30, 'Paris capitulait avant le 15 sans l'irritation des patriotes'*.

Kurz translates this as 'Paris capitulated before the 15th, without exacerbation on the patriots' part', which would be correct if the original read:

'*Paris capitulait etc. sans irritation de la part des patriotes*' (instead of what it actually says: '*sans l'irritation des patriotes*').

Hence, what is meant is precisely the opposite, namely: 'Had it not been for the exacerbation of the patriots, Paris would have capitulated before the 15th.'

What is patently at fault here—the sentence is a very simple one—is once again the most unpardonable carelessness.

*ad p. 32, 'Jules Favre demandait à Trochu sa démission'*.

Kurz translates this as: 'Jules Favre demanded *his dismissal* of Trochu.' Since a man does not *dismiss* himself from office, but is dismissed by his superiors, this sentence could only mean that Jules Favre wished to be dismissed from office by Trochu. In fact, however, Jules Favre demanded his (Trochu's) *resignation* of Trochu which is, indeed, the literal rendering of '*démission*'.

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV<sup>267</sup>

IN LONDON

[London, 21 April 1877]

My dear Friend,

We shall expect you tomorrow (Sunday) for dinner (2 o'clock).  
In great haste, and with regards from Mrs Marx,

Yours,  
K. M.

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ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 21 April 1877

*To Mr B. Lindheimer*

The last time you came and saw me, I categorically told you that I could not let you have more than the £1 I had advanced you, and you yourself declared that this went without saying. I am all the less prepared to go back on this in that, according to your own story, you could at any time obtain money from your friends in the CITY, were it not for your reluctance to approach them to this effect. But if the position be viewed in its proper perspective, it cannot possibly be harder for you to approach these friends of yours, who know you and your circumstances and to whom you were recommended, than myself who is as much a stranger to you as you are to me. In any case, I cannot spare you this step,

having already more than enough to do lending an occasional helping hand to party comrades who have no one in the CITY from whom they might obtain advances, and I would ask you politely but unequivocally to regard this as *my final word*.

I am, Sir, etc.

E.

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MARX TO PYOTR LAVROV

IN LONDON

[London,] 23 April 1877  
(BIRTHDAY OF SHAKESPEARE)

My dear Friend,

On my daughter Tussy's behalf I am sending you a ticket (for two people) for the STALLS at the *Lyceum Theatre*.<sup>274</sup> It is for today's (Monday's) performance. The play is *Richard III*.<sup>a</sup> It would be as well if you were to get there a little after seven o'clock.

Yours ever,  
Karl Marx

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<sup>a</sup> by Shakespeare

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 24 April 1877

Dear Bracke,

It is hardly likely that you will get the photographic plate from Paris since Lachâtre is in exile and his business has been sequestered by the government; the publishing house is being administered by an arch-reactionary<sup>a</sup> who is doing all he can to ruin it.<sup>38</sup> For that matter, the portrait is a rotten one and Marx quite unrecognisable<sup>271</sup>; if you like, we can send you a better photograph. I shall be glad to write the biography for you. Tell me how many *Kalender* pages you'd like at most and at least, so that I know how much space I can take up, ditto the delivery date.<sup>275</sup>

The three stenographic reports received with thanks<sup>276</sup>; a pity your subject was not a better one; if one is constantly compelled to cite witnesses who provisionally withhold their names, one is in a poor position. But all the same, the purpose has been achieved since a favourable vote in *that* company is, presumably, out of the question.<sup>277</sup> Bebel's speech is excellent—lucid, matter-of-fact and to the point.<sup>278</sup>

I should never have suspected any kind of Dühringian influence had Liebknecht told me the plain truth and promised me redress.<sup>b</sup> There was a definite agreement that an article should appear every week<sup>155</sup>; when I complained that it was not being adhered to, Liebknecht kept me waiting for ten days or more and during that time, despite his presence in Leipzig, there was no sign of rectification; finally he wrote and told me that I should spare him unnecessary objurgations—that was all, not a word about any future redress. Now, since I had no idea what influence other people might have over the editorial board, the only course open to me was to assume the above and, by means of an ultimatum, compel Liebknecht to keep his promises. I have written and told him he may, if he wishes, show the relevant letters from me to *anyone* he chooses, and hence, so far as I am concerned, they are at your disposal. Over here people are literally overwhelming me

<sup>a</sup> Adolphe Quêt - <sup>b</sup> See this volume, pp. 217-20.

with reproaches on the grounds that *I* have allowed the articles to be printed as mere stop-gaps so that no one could follow the thread. And when you consider it is now at least the sixth time that this tale has recurred, that I have been given the finest and most unequivocal promises, only to see, without fail, the very opposite happen, you will realise that in the end one grows sick of it.

So the Russians are in Bucharest.<sup>272</sup> I trust the Turks will at once occupy all their Danubian fortresses in the locality facing the Romanian bank and turn them into bridgeheads. In particular Calafat (Vidin), Giurgevo (Rustchuk) and Calarashi (Silistria).<sup>a</sup> That would force the Russians to lay siege to these fortresses on *both* banks, i.e. beleaguer them with *twice* the number of troops, thereby losing a great deal of time. But with every soldier the Russians have to leave behind in Romania, it will become easier for the Turks to meet them in the open field and prevent them from taking the fortresses. I likewise trust that Abdul Kerim will, as promised, send 20,000 Circassians to Romania to destroy the railways and do some thorough foraging. All honour to Strousberg for constructing the Romanian railways with such splendid ineptitude that they are already letting the Russians down.

*Re* trade regulations. Cross, the Home Secretary here, has brought in a *BILL* whereby all the many and sometimes conflicting laws governing the limitation of working hours are to be brought together within a *single* act<sup>279</sup> and thus become enforceable for the first time. I will try and get hold of the thing and send it to you or Liebknecht so that the liberal jackasses may see for once what a Conservative minister has the nerve to do in that line over here.

Time for the post and for a meal. Regards to all our friends.

Yours,  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Calafat, Giurgevo and Calarashi—the Romanian names of the towns on the left bank of the Danube; Vidin, Rustchuk (Ruse) and Silistria (Silistra)—the Bulgarian names of the towns on the right bank of the Danube.

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ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER<sup>280</sup>

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London,] 26 April 1877

*To Mr B. Lindheimer*

The tales you first told me about your relations and your contacts in the *CITY* are so completely at variance with everything you now say that I regret I shall be unable in future to place any faith in your words. The fact that your relations are reluctant so much as to entrust you with money for your journey and that your supposed friends in the *CITY* merely refer you to the German society is even less calculated to inspire me with confidence. I do not know the party members you invoke,<sup>a</sup> nor if I did would their general testimony signify much in the face of such facts. Hence I regret that I can do nothing further for you in this matter.

Faithfully

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## ENGELS TO B. LINDHEIMER

IN LONDON

[Draft]

[London, 3 or 4 May 1877]

It is indeed incomprehensible to me why I, of all people, should be called upon to pay your travelling expenses. You yourself must have known what was the extent of your means and when the time

<sup>a</sup> Hoffmann and Immhof



had come to go home, for you came over here on the off chance and not as a working man at that. You let the time go by and then approached me, a total stranger, for help. You did not produce a single document relating either to your character or your position, for a party card does not serve the purpose of vouching for its holder. Your tales about your position and acquaintances blatantly contradict what you were subsequently obliged to tell me. Finally you attempt to force me to receive you at my house by behaviour which compels me to close my doors to you.

If I nevertheless send you a postal order on GOWER STREET OFFICE for the £1 in question, I do so simply with a view to giving you one last chance to prove that you are deserving of better treatment than that which you have hitherto forced me to mete out to you. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Faithfully

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MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 26 May 1877

Dear Bracke,

What Miss Kurz has been awaiting has today gone off from London. In the course of next week she will (save, I think, for the appendix) be getting *everything* in the way of alterations which Lissagaray still has to send her.<sup>194</sup>

For the rest I should like to point out that:

1. *La Kurz* should have sent you, as a matter of course, anything in manuscript form she had received from Lissagaray, along with her own manuscript. Considering the masterly way she translates (see just a few recent examples overleaf), how can I keep a check on her without Lissagaray's ms.? I am convinced that, because of this, all manner of infelicities have already crept in.

2. She might very well have told herself that Lissagaray requires this ms. for his own second French edition.

All in all, the translation, when not actually wrong, is often unhelpful, philistine and wooden. But this may, perhaps, to some extent correspond to German taste.

With kind regards,

Yours,

K. M.

I should be grateful if you would insist that the said Kurz should, *firstly*, send you (for return to Lissagaray) that part of Lissagaray's ms. she has already translated (you can pass it on to me together with the proofs) and, *secondly*, always enclose with her own manuscript the manuscript she has just translated so that I may compare translation and original. All in all this additional manuscript does not amount to very much.

*The passage heavily scored by me on p. 73 should read thus:*

'It [the people] looked for this emancipation to the autonomous Commune which, etc., would conduct its administration independently, within the limits required to maintain national unity. Rather than the representative who may, etc., should, etc., it opposed to that monarchical excrescence of society, the "State", which, etc., undermines, etc., represents particular class interests which, etc., the delegation of communes endowed with a life of their own which, etc., was to administer the general national interests.'

### *Examples*

*p. 49 'A l'appel de son nom il a voulu répondre'* Miss Kurz translates as: 'He wanted to respond to the summons issued to him.' Sheer rubbish! It means: 'He wished to answer when his name was called, etc.'

{ditto '*les yeux ... brillants de foi républicaine*'; *foi* does not here mean 'truth'—nor does it ever mean that, save in the sense of 'upon my truth!' (*ma foi*)—but *faith, conviction*, etc. I have left it as it stands since I am generally averse to all such commonplaces in German; so what matter if she puts an X for a U.}

*p. 51 'des intrigants bourgeois qui couraient après la députation'*. Kurz translates 'who ran after the deputation'. A primary school child could hardly translate worse.

*p. 51 'pour statuer en cas de doubles nominations'* Kurz translates outrageously 'so as, if need be,' (what's that supposed to mean?) 'to decree double nominations'!!! Should read: 'so as to decide in the case of double nominations'.

p. 54 '*une permanence*' is translated as 'permanent session' (what the devil is that?). Means 'standing committee'.

p. 59 instead of 'expired bills of exchange' she puts 'expired merchandise' (!!!).

p. 70 '*l'intelligence etc. de la bourgeoisie de cette époque*' she translates as 'the big bourgeois of this point of time' (!). An epoch is no more a *point* of time than a line is a *point* in space.

p. 75 '*C'est que la première note est juste*' she translates as: 'The reason was that *the first account* (!) was correct', should read, that from the start they had struck or hit the right note.

p. 90 '*plumitifs*'—'quill-pushers' she translates as *legal records!!!*

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Brighton, 27 May 1877  
42 King's Road

Dear Moor,

My obstinate silence must have surprised you. I've had a damned awful week with my eye: the bright sunlight has done it no good. I have been wearing spectacles all day for a week now and given alcohol the sack, but experienced no improvement at all to begin with. Only since yesterday has there been any definite change, inasmuch as I am no longer aware of my eye. When I come up to London<sup>249</sup> (Friday<sup>a</sup>) I shall definitely put paid to the thing; I'm sick of a condition which prevents me doing anything at all.

The stupid English papers carry tales of the enormous advances made by the Russians in Armenia<sup>281</sup> of which, so far, there have been very few. But unless the softas in Constantinople soon bestir themselves,<sup>282</sup> Muhtar Pasha may wreak considerable havoc.—It's

<sup>a</sup> 1 June -

characteristic of the way the war is being conducted on the Danube that the Tsar<sup>a</sup> has to put in an appearance before anything is done. For the rest, the administration of the Russian army would actually seem to have been better so far than might have been expected; however, we shall see how things go when the real campaign begins. But the decision lies with Constantinople and is now becoming an urgent necessity.

Monsieur Mac-Mahon, too, seems to have gone off the rails with his *coup de tête*.<sup>b 283</sup> It is not proving attractive, nor, despite all efforts, will the Bourse really swallow the bait. Moreover his avowed intention of remaining within the bounds of legality is evidence that the results are not consistent with the promises made by Broglie & Co. If the French stand firm this time and vote properly, or at any rate no worse than last time, they may well be quit of this kind of reaction once and for all. The course things are taking shows that this coup does not envisage the use of force and, even if there was a subsequent attempt in that direction, it would probably misfire. A coup d'état cannot, like a bill of exchange, be fixed up at three months' date. Nor, come to that, is Broglie a man of blood, but rather a parliamentary intriguer who will certainly miss the right moment, even if Mac-Mahon's scruples and vacillations had not made this a virtual certainty from the start. *Enfin*,<sup>c</sup> the affair is taking an exceedingly favourable course, and if the electors allow the prefects, etc., to treat them like enfranchised cattle on this occasion, they will only be getting their deserts; but it doesn't look as though they will. What luck for that old swine Thiers if Mac-Mahon presents an ultimatum—favourable elections or else I resign! Idiot!

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> Alexander II - <sup>b</sup> rash act - <sup>c</sup> In short

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN BRIGHTON

[London,] 31 May 1877

Dear Engels,

I hope that your eyes are better. Madame Lormier, whose eye trouble got worse day by day and became really serious, was sent by Madame Longuet SENIOR a little jar of ointment (said to cost no less than 30 francs), a very small quantity of which completely cured her—*mirabile dictu*<sup>a</sup>—within a few days. There is no disputing that FACT. The ointment enjoys considerable repute in France and, by smelling, observing it, etc., you will doubtless discover what the main ingredient is.

So closely do your views on the STATE IN TURKEY agree with my own that I had said literally almost the same thing to Wróblewski.

But the crisis is not far off. Damad Mahmud and Co. who are under the direct influence of Russia, are apparently much inclined to conclude peace with the Russians, one of the terms being, of course (as indeed recommended by *The Times*, in the same number in which that paper raps Mac-Mahon over the knuckles for his anti-constitutionalism<sup>b</sup>), *the abolition of the constitution*. Nothing could be more opportune for the Tsar<sup>c</sup>; hitherto all that has taken place has been in the nature of a preliminary military parade; Russian victories in Asia Minor<sup>281</sup> have been overrated and overstated for various reasons (apart from BLOODY IGNORANCE) by the various parties; financial constraint as such is as yet in its infancy; the Caucasian malady is as yet no more than sporadic<sup>284</sup>; for the present the Tsar might get off with a *succès d'estime* and without constitutional constraint, and might in his turn have an important part to play in the occidental crisis, etc., etc. Midhat Pasha, I AM TOLD, DOES EVERYTHING FROM HERE TO PUSH THE MOVEMENT AT CONSTANTINOPLE ON WHICH, IN FACT, THE FATE OF TURKEY (AND THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS OF RUSSIAN 'DEVELOPMENT') DEPEND.

In France we are beginning to see what I have long in vain been telling Lissagaray (who is now again taking too rosy a view), namely that the really industrial and commercial bourgeoisie is

<sup>a</sup> marvellous to say - <sup>b</sup> 'Peace Rumours' and 'The New French Ministry', *The Times*, No. 28956, 31 May 1877. - <sup>c</sup> Alexander II

becoming republican, as indeed events EVEN SINCE THIERS' RÉGIME have clearly shown, and that the 'hommes de combat'<sup>a</sup> do not represent a particular class, but only the *beaux restes*<sup>b</sup> of the former parties' PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS. The workers (in Paris) have taken for their watchword *que c'est cette fois l'affaire de Messieurs les bourgeois*.<sup>c</sup> Hence they are holding back.

From the enclosed cutting from the *Marseillaise* you will see how Mac-Mahon is being treated by the radical journals. The sagacious *République Française* tells him that the question can be decided only by his resignation; Émile de Girardin threatens him with IMPEACHMENT and, of all the papers, the *Siècle*, the *épiciers*<sup>d</sup> paper *par excellence*, treats him with the greatest ruthlessness.

Meanwhile the Bonapartists are insistent. Too late in the day to draw the sword (apart from the fact that it's not in Broglie's LINE). But (after the Chamber has been further prorogued) there might be an attempt to institute an *état de siège*<sup>e</sup>—illegal, it is true, but covered by the ministers' *responsabilité légale*<sup>f</sup> and Mac-Mahon's *irresponsabilité constitutionnelle*.<sup>g</sup><sup>283</sup> Such a course, which is being urged by the Bonapartists at least, might yet give rise to violent clashes. It's a possibility, if an unlikely one.

Collet, as in duty bound, has informed me of Urquhart's death.

My own constitution, while not exceptionally flourishing, is pretty fair compared with what it usually is about this time of year. My wife is getting better.

The weaning of the little chap<sup>h</sup> (the Irishwoman is still with us in the meantime) has gone smoothly, but he evinces a dangerous passion for crawling up the stairs instead of round the drawing-room.

Warmest regards from one family to the other.

Your

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> fighting men - <sup>b</sup> here 'last remnants' - <sup>c</sup> that this time it's the bourgeoisie's affair - <sup>d</sup> shopkeepers' - <sup>e</sup> state of siege - <sup>f</sup> legal responsibility - <sup>g</sup> constitutional irresponsibility - <sup>h</sup> Jean Longuet

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

London, 25 June 1877

Dear Bracke,

Many thanks for your remittance of £15.1.2. in payment of interest which has been credited to you with thanks.

You should simply transfer the fee of 30 marks<sup>285</sup> to your election fund, if only by way of a sop to the man's conscience.

As for the next *Kalender*,<sup>a</sup> let us wait a bit before deciding what to do. After all, there's almost a year to go.

The beginning of *Dühring*, 'Political Economy',<sup>155</sup> goes off to Leipzig today. Liebknecht maintains that the congress resolution in no way affects *my* articles. I can only assume the same since the congress is not, after all, empowered to make arbitrary use of my articles or, without my consent, to relieve Liebknecht of the commitment he entered into vis-à-vis myself on the strength of a resolution adopted by last year's congress.<sup>286</sup>

You really are a martyr to ill-health. One might almost think that Brunswick had a dreadfully unwholesome climate. Gout, rheumatism, measles and an unknown complaint into the bargain—it's truly horrifying! I hope that all will end well.

What a wretched, petty-minded creature that Helmholtz must be so much as to let himself be irritated by the remarks of a Dühring, let alone be irritated to the extent of confronting the Berlin faculty with the alternative: either Dühring goes or I go!<sup>287</sup> As though all that Dühring has written, rabidly envious as it is, was of any more consequence to science than a fart! But admittedly Helmholtz, though a quite outstanding experimentalist, is no whit superior to Dühring as a thinker. And then again, a German professorship—particularly in Berlin—is the top of German petty-bourgeois philistinism and provincialism. Where else could a man of, for example, Virchow's scientific repute set his highest sights on—becoming a town councillor!

You will yet be surprised at the kind of stuff the Turks are made of. If only we had in Germany a parliament such as that in

<sup>a</sup> *Volks-Kalender*

Constantinople! So long as the mass of the people—in this case the Turkish peasant and even the Turkish middle landowner—remains sound, and sound he is, an oriental polity such as this is capable of withstanding a quite incredible amount of buffeting. Any other nation would have been destroyed by four hundred years of metropolitan corruption, a legacy from the Byzantines; all the Turks need do to be a complete match for Russia is slough off the topmost layer. Treachery, venality on the part of army leaders and commandants of fortresses, the squandering of money destined for the army, defalcation of all kinds, everything that would ruin any other state, is to be found in abundance in Turkey, but not in such abundance as to effect its ruin. The only danger for the Turks lies in the meddling of European diplomats, notably the English who are restraining the Turks from making uninhibited use of their military resources and expect them to put up with the most unheard-of provocation. Thus when, for instance, the Romanians let the Russians into their country,<sup>272</sup> the Turks were supposed to regard this as an act of *neutrality* and neither to occupy nor to consolidate the bridgeheads of their fortresses on Wallachian territory<sup>a</sup>—not on your life! That would infringe Romania's neutrality! And the Turks were good-natured enough to comply with this English and Austrian claptrap and thus reduce the defensive qualities of their Danubian fortifications by more than half!

The crossing of the Danube by the Russians at Matshin, which I foretold in conversation with Marx as much as three weeks ago, is an admission of their inability to force a crossing where it would have been of some use, namely *above* the Dobrudja.<sup>288</sup> The Russians will have to send at least two or three army corps through the Dobrudja if they want to carry the Chernavoda-Küstend<sup>b</sup> positions—how they propose to supply them and how many will reach their destination, I should dearly like to know. This action has been forced upon the Russians by the defeat of the Montenegrins<sup>176</sup> which they could not allow to happen without doing something about it. No doubt the campaign will now get under way, and the Russians are faced with the choice of sending as many troops across the Danube as military necessity demands but they will be unable to feed them, or of sending fewer—no more than they can feed,—whereupon the campaign will soon come to a halt. Nevertheless, the immediate future will probably

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 228. - <sup>b</sup> Romanian name: Constanța.



see a rash of Russian victories on the Danube—none of which will be of the least significance.

kindest regards from your  
 F. E.

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ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 2 July 1877

Dear Liebknecht,

You would have spared both of us a great deal of unnecessary annoyance had you at once informed me of the simple fact that the supplement would actually be appearing *now*, and that you were going to publish my articles in it.<sup>286</sup> From your earlier letters I could only assume that the supplement could not appear before October and had, moreover, already been incorporated into the review<sup>a</sup> scheduled to come out at that time; hence I could only assume that, *despite* the resolution, you proposed to print the sequel to the article in the main body of the *Vorwärts*. Hence my many misgivings—all too justified in the event.

I have sent Ramm three articles and am today taking the precaution of writing to him again to say that he can go ahead with their publication in the supplement. A fourth article is finished and I am working on a fifth. Unfortunately there are all manner of lets and hindrances; the day after tomorrow I have to go to Manchester for a few days, and after that, my wife being unwell, to the seaside<sup>289</sup> where, however, I shall nevertheless be able to do a few hours' work every day.

As regards Urquhart, we have taken steps to get the material together.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Die Zukunft*

The round of trials and/or sentencings seems to be getting even merrier over there.<sup>291</sup> You ought to amend the penal code so that you can spend your nights in jug—or more precisely your prison cot—and be at large during the day.

It seems to us that the *Vorwärts* is taking the business in France a trifle too lightly.<sup>292</sup> True, it's no immediate concern of the workers and they know it and say: *à vous maintenant, MM. les bourgeois, faites votre jeu!*<sup>a</sup> All the same, it's of the utmost importance to future developments in France that the present lull before the next workers' movement should occur under the régime of a bourgeois republic when Gambetta & Co. would discredit themselves, rather than, as hitherto, under imperial pressure when they would regain their popularity and, on the day of action, assume the leadership again; that the squabbling over *forms of government*, now meaningless in France, should finally cease, and the republic appear for what it is—the classical form of bourgeois rule and simultaneously that of its impending dissolution. Come to that, you'd damned well know it in Germany if reaction were to be victorious in France.<sup>293</sup>

So far all has gone well on the Danube. An oriental army like that of the Turks, unfit for use in big strategical operations, could not possibly prevent the Russians from crossing.<sup>294</sup> But this is compensated by the fact that an oriental army of this kind is never the victim of its own stupidity. We shall now see how the Russians propose to feed their army in Bulgaria. With every step they advance their difficulties mount up in geometrical progression and the peculiar performance under fire of the *best* they have—the Caucasian army in Armenia—does not augur well for them. Meanwhile Montenegro is being reduced to pulp. I'm particularly glad for G. Rasch's sake.<sup>295</sup>

Your  
F. E.

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time

<sup>a</sup> Now it's up to you, Messrs bourgeois, put up your stake!

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 15 July 1877  
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

We have been installed here since Wednesday,<sup>289</sup> but this time, alas, the effect of the sea air has not been as rapid in my wife's case as we hoped; she can't quite get her appetite back. In my case, on the other hand, the aftermath of the excursion to Manchester is already 'out of sight, out of mind'.

The enclosed letter has been forwarded to me along with one from the selfsame Wiede<sup>296</sup> (who thus must obviously be someone other than our merry little hunchback<sup>a</sup>). Write and tell me what you say to the worthy fellow so that we proceed *unisono*.

The first proof of the 'Political Economy' is already here.<sup>297</sup> Sheet 6 of the 'Philosophy', from which 29 lines were omitted, is being reprinted; let's hope there is no further unpleasantness in store.<sup>298</sup>

I still find the collapse of the Russians in Asia somewhat inexplicable. The Caucasian army has a strength of 8 divisions à 16 battalions, i.e. 128 battalions of the line (apart from riflemen, garrison troops and new formations), but Loris-Melikov is said to have only 40-50 batts in all just now. If we estimate the flying columns near Batum and Bayazid<sup>b</sup> at a further 30 batts (certainly too high), there remain 50-60 batts TO BE ACCOUNTED FOR. These must therefore have remained in the Caucasus to cover the lines of communication. If this assumption runs counter to the vainglorious claims originally made by the Russians, that is no reason for rejecting it. ANYHOW the landing at Sukhum-Kaleh—whatever its real and immediate results may have been—would appear fully to have succeeded in achieving the aim of tying up almost half the Caucasian army in the Caucasus proper.<sup>299</sup>

In Bulgaria the Russians are apparently feeling their way for the time being, an easy enough task thanks to the *purely passive* resistance of the Turks (which has reduced the *Kölnische Zeitung's* Prussian lieutenants to utter despair). At all events they are, it

<sup>a</sup> Johannes Wedde - <sup>b</sup> Modern Turkish name: Dogubayazid

seems, preparing to make a rapid thrust through the Balkans, either via Gabrovo-Kazanlyk or via Sofia-Philippopolis.<sup>3</sup> If they do so, and the Turkish government refuses to let itself be intimidated thereby, this 'most modern form of warfare' could end in disaster. To maintain three army corps in Thrace and keep them supplied with ammunition, etc., when you have no negotiable lines of communication to your rear, is a feat that may be the undoing of even the great Nikolai Nikolayevich.

The fact of the matter is that a few Europeans are necessary to the Turks. These people think in terms either of attack *alone* or defence *alone*. A combination of the two is beyond them. Like that Turkish major who said to the *Kölnische Zeitung's* lieutenant: You see all those Russians over there on the far side of the Danube?—Dammit, aren't your guns going to fire at them?—*Yok, efendim*, no Sir, but just let the Russians fire at us, and they'll see what sort of an answer we'll give them!—Meanwhile the Russians are setting up their batteries completely at their leisure. Had Silistria been defended *like this* in 1853, it would soon have fallen.<sup>300</sup>

Kindest regards from family to family,

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>301</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 18 July 1877

DEAR FRED,

First, as regards *Wiede*, I shall reply to him saying that in my present state of health I am not in a position (which is indeed the case) to interest myself in any periodical as a contributor.<sup>296</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Bulgarian name: Plovdiv

It would certainly be very nice if a really scientific socialist periodical were to appear. This would provide an opportunity for criticism and counter-criticism in which theoretical points could be discussed by us and the total ignorance of professors and university lecturers exposed, thereby simultaneously disabusing the minds of the GENERAL PUBLIC—workers and bourgeois alike. But Wiede's periodical<sup>a</sup> *cannot* be other than SHAM-SCIENTIFIC; those same semi-educated louts and semi-informed literati, who infest the *Neue Welt*, *Vorwärts*, etc., will perforce constitute the bulk of its contributors. In such company ruthlessness—the prime requirement in all criticism—becomes impossible; moreover, constant heed must be paid to comprehensibility, i.e. to presentation for the ignorant. Imagine a chemical periodical in which the reader's ignorance of chemistry is invariably taken for granted. And apart from all that, the way in which those who would perforce be Wiede's contributors have conducted themselves in the Dühring affair calls for the precaution of maintaining as much distance from these gentlemen as political party relations permit.<sup>302</sup> Their motto seems to be: Anyone who criticises his adversary by abusing him is a man of sensibility; but he who abuses an adversary by genuinely criticising him is an unworthy individual.

I trust that the Russians' impudent goings-on beyond the Balkans will stir up the Turks against their old regime. The fact that the Russian defeats in European Turkey are leading straight to revolution in Russia has now been made plain even to Lavrov and Lopatin by the outbursts in the Russian press following the FAILURES in Armenia, outbursts which no censorship could have suppressed. The tone of the Petersburg newspapers is more menacing than that of the German press at the time when the siege of Paris was not proceeding as expected.<sup>b</sup>

For a few days during the past week and the early part of this one, my insomnia and a correspondingly chaotic condition of the cranial nerves assumed serious dimensions. Yesterday it started to get better again.

With kindest regards from family to family

Your  
Moor

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<sup>a</sup> *Die Neue Gesellschaft* - <sup>b</sup> This refers to the siege of Paris by the Prussians during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>49</sup>

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 19 July 1877  
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

I too shall write to Wiede<sup>a</sup> saying that, owing to lack of time, I can make no promises, let alone keep them. Unfortunately one cannot give the true, or rather intrinsic, reasons which you so rightly adduce. Besides—what do we know about Mr Wiede's ability to run a scientific review? Or even—on crucial occasions, of which surely there will shortly be more—about his reliability or merely his good will?

Herewith the latest from Wilhelm.<sup>b</sup> As regards the manuscript,<sup>303</sup> all I told him in my reply was that I would send the letter to you.<sup>15</sup> While in the *cachot*<sup>c 291</sup> he actually polished off three complete articles which appear in Nos. 80 and 81 of the *Vorwärts*.<sup>d</sup> Pitiably prevarication, a splendid example of how he would paraphrase your '*Critique of the Programme*', turning it into a glorification of the same. I rebuffed his request for an article on the war, saying I had no wish to compete for space in the *Vorwärts* with the worthy socialists of the future, or to give further cause for clamorous protests that I fill the paper with abstruse stuff of no interest to the bulk of the readers, who evidently prefer fantasy to fact.<sup>286</sup>

It's only a pity that our people in Germany have such lamentable opponents. If there were, on the bourgeois side, just one competent man with a knowledge of economics, he would soon put these gentlemen in their places and open their eyes to their own confusion. But what can be the upshot of a battle in which the only weapons on either side are commonplaces and philistia drive! As a counterpart in Germany to the learned bourgeois noddle, a new German vulgar socialism is evolving that is a worthy successor to the old 'true socialism' of 1845.<sup>304</sup>

The Turks will have to hurry if the affair is to turn out satisfactorily. Should they allow the Russians in Bulgaria and on

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 241. - <sup>b</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht - <sup>c</sup> cell - <sup>d</sup> W. Liebknecht, 'Das Ketzergericht in Berlin', *Vorwärts*, No. 80, 11 July 1877; 'Die Rothen wider die Blauen. I-II', *Vorwärts*, Nos. 80 and 81, 11 and 13 July 1877.

the southern slopes of the Balkans to establish a quadrilateral of Russian fortresses,<sup>305</sup> the situation might become chronic there, and in that case a thrust towards Constantinople would not be impossible, i.e. one having an eye to the purely *moral* effect as in 1828—or to treachery. And treachery would seem to be quite ON THE CARDS. That treachery there was at Nikopol—otherwise of no great importance *after* the Russian crossing—seems clear to me. Never before have 6,000 Turks, with a ditch and wall in front of them, surrendered without assault—except at Varna in 1828.<sup>306</sup> I get quite nervous, what with the newspapers arriving twice a day and bringing news of the Russians' activity and the unflinching inaction of the Turks; it was no worse than this even in 1828 when there was *no* Turkish army at all.

You really ought to go and see Gumpert and get him to give you something for your insomnia; he's still there and the TRIP will do you good. Don't let the thing go too far this time—I imagine you will be going to Karlsbad again in the middle of August, and until then you have a month which you would surely do better to spend in decent health. Things aren't going too well here either.<sup>289</sup> Since yesterday, for no apparent reason, Lizzie has been extremely unwell; the magic powers of sea-bathing have failed her for the first time and I'm beginning to get seriously alarmed.

Kindest regards to your wife, Tussy and Lenchen as well as the Longuets and Lafargues and yourself from us all.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 23 July 1877

DEAR FRED,

The enclosed *Journal des Débats* is already a bit out of date but is not without interest, notably the LEADER on the oriental war and the

articles from Russia. Also, *Volksfreund*,<sup>a</sup> which seems to have become Mr Dühring's monitor. Collet's 'ENGLAND, ENEMY OF TURKEY', etc.

I had intended to pay you a two- or three-day visit in Ramsgate; a trip to see Gumpert would be pointless for I KNOW BY HEART, both from him and from the Karlsbad doctors and professors, everything that medical science *cannot* do in this particular case. Besides, my *insomnie* is somewhat better. But *un homme propose et l'autre dispose*.<sup>b</sup> The other, in this instance, being Hirsch who has come to London for the express purpose of spending a week in my company. More about him and what he has told me in the course of this epistle. But *tout d'abord*,<sup>c</sup> my plans for the immediate future.

I intend to leave shortly, if possible on 12th August, for Neuenahr<sup>307</sup> and *not* for Karlsbad, and this for the following reasons:

*First, because of the expense:* As you know, my wife suffers from serious digestive disturbances and, since I shall in any case be taking Tussy who has had another nasty attack, my wife would take great exception to being left behind. For the three of us plus luggage—if, for the sake of the cure one travels at one's leisure as I have several times done—the journey there and back would alone amount to £70. Moreover I long ago promised Lenchen,<sup>d</sup> who is very much run down, to convey her to her home where she cannot live completely gratis. Moreover, the family has all sorts of purchases to make for the trip.

*Secondly:* In unguarded moments, the Karlsbad doctors have themselves told me that, if one didn't want to visit Karlsbad every year, Neuenahr might be beneficial as an *intermezzo*. Of course, they would rather one always went to Karlsbad. But it might be better even from the viewpoint of hygiene to make a change for once and take less potent waters, for *variatio delectat corpus*.<sup>e</sup> Besides, my trouble is not so much my LIVER as the nervous upset occasioned by it. Hence, less potent waters, but of *essentielllement* the same composition.

Furthermore, there is one important matter I have always neglected because of the expense—the after-cure. In view of the greatly reduced travelling expenses and the fact that the house will be shut up (under Withers' care) for the duration of the cure, all

<sup>a</sup> *Braunschweiger Volksfreund* - <sup>b</sup> One man proposes, the other disposes. - <sup>c</sup> first of all - <sup>d</sup> Helene Demuth - <sup>e</sup> variety becomes the body (an expression traced back to Euripides' tragedy *Orestes*, 234).



these birds would be killed with one stone by exchanging Karlsbad for Neuenahr.

HENCE q.e.d. I hope you approve.

Now for other matters—first of all Hirsch.

He has turned out very well and has not been wasting his time. I tried him out, amongst other things, on the subject of French statistics and found him to be *à la hauteur*.<sup>a</sup> He also gave me some very interesting information about the *almost universal* transformation of French industrial concerns into JOINT STOCK COMPANIES. In the first place, this was facilitated by legislation in the days of the Empire. In the second, the French are not partial to business, preferring whenever possible to live as rentiers. And to which end this form of business is, of course, A GODSEND.

According to Hirsch (and here he may be taking too rosy a view) the officers of the French Army, with the exception of those at the top, are republican. However that may be, it is a FACT and a typical one, that Galliffet (the incident with *la Beaumont*<sup>308</sup> really did take place, as Hirsch ascertained, according to further *recherches*<sup>b</sup>) offered his services to Mr Gambetta in a letter written in his own hand, and that the self-same Galliffet, after the *préfet* of his garrison town had been dismissed by Broglie, called on the disgraced *préfet*, together with his general staff, to proffer his condolences. If these things occur in a dry tree, etc.<sup>c</sup> On the other hand, there is a widespread belief among the non-commissioned officers, largely consisting of new men, that Mac-Mahon got rid of the Chamber<sup>283</sup> because it had put forward a series of proposals intended to improve the lot of non-commissioned officers.

Everything that happens at the Elysée<sup>309</sup> daily becomes common knowledge in Paris, for the Bonapartist *tapageurs*<sup>d</sup> who frequent the place cannot hold their tongues. Mac-Mahon is exceedingly embittered. The brute, whose first historic words were: *J'y suis, j'y reste*,<sup>e 310</sup> his second being: *C'est assez*,<sup>f</sup> is now uttering his last one. All he says from morn till night is: '*Merde!*'<sup>g</sup>

Hirsch is furious with the *Vorwärts* over the Dühring business as well as 'Nieder mit der Republik!'.<sup>292</sup> He wrote an exceedingly brusque letter to the executive (Geib, etc.)<sup>111</sup> about both these. He, too, now realises that fusion has degraded the party, both in theory and in practice.

With reference to 'Nieder mit der Republik!', he remarked that the great Hasenclever as a Prussian soldier (probably a reservist or

<sup>a</sup> up to the mark - <sup>b</sup> recherches - <sup>c</sup> Cf. Luke 23:31 - <sup>d</sup> brawlers - <sup>e</sup> Here I am, here I remain. - <sup>f</sup> That's enough - <sup>g</sup> Shit!

militia man) was at the gates of Paris at the time of the Commune, and hence has no reason to lay down the law in matters of principle.

He maintains that, at the time of the Prussian conflict,<sup>311</sup> Hasenclever was editor of a progressist<sup>312</sup> paper in Krefeld,<sup>a</sup> sold it to an ultra-reactionary, and gravely compromised himself in the course of a lawsuit arising out of the sale. This, as Bracke himself told him, was known to Bracke and Co. when they appointed Hasenclever co-editor with Liebknecht of the *Vorwärts*.<sup>195</sup>

Liebknecht, MEANWHILE, *est puni par où il a péché*.<sup>b</sup> The Lassallean gang is doing everything it can to harass and humiliate him. For instance, they reproach him with the pittance he is paid by the *Vorwärts*, say his wife (with five children) doesn't need a maid, etc. They have, contrary to all party and journalistic practice, deliberately so organised things that Liebknecht has to go to jug for all articles,<sup>291</sup> even if written during his absence, thus in fact playing the same role on the *Vorwärts* as the man of straw on a French paper.

Next month Hirsch is leaving Paris for Berlin where he is going to take over the editorship of the lithographed party papers for a month<sup>c</sup> and proposes to do so in such a way as to mortify the allied riffraff.

I enclose herewith a letter from the *Zukunft*, in case you have not also received one.<sup>313</sup> Send it back to me for answering.

What a nice piece of cunning on the part of 'citizen', 'thinker' and 'socialist of the future' Most. So a second fusion is planned; ourselves, combined with Mr Dühring, for he'll be there without fail; at the same time, our names under the editorship of Most and Co. will mean our swallowing all their infamies in public, and most gratefully at that! In which case I would infinitely sooner have obliged Wiede.<sup>296</sup> But I am obliged to Most for having given me the opportunity of tendering my refusal. These fellows imagine they are dealing with 'babes and sucklings'. *Quelle impudence!*<sup>d</sup>

I should say that the Russians have grossly miscalculated with their sabre-rattling; and when unsoldierly *coups de tête*<sup>e</sup> of this kind don't come off HERE AND THEN, their effect on their own army and the public is highly and miserably compromising, particularly so soon after the EXIT from Armenia.

<sup>a</sup> Presumably *Westphälische Volkszeitung*. - <sup>b</sup> is reaping what he has sown (Bible, The Wisdom of Solomon 11:7). - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, pp. 252-53. - <sup>d</sup> What impudence! - <sup>e</sup> brain-waves

Friend Lopatin, it seems, has in the meantime again waxed unpatriotic.

I trust that your wife is feeling better.

*Salut* to all.

Your  
Moor

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ENGELS TO MARX

IN LONDON

Ramsgate, 24 July 1877

Dear Moor,

Newspapers, etc., received. Very many thanks.

Your plan does at any rate have the advantage of killing quite a lot of birds with one stone; I can only hope that the chief one, your liver, won't suffer accordingly.<sup>a</sup> Still, with so many medical authorities in favour, there's not much one can really say against it from that viewpoint either. Who knows whether this time Neuenahr won't do you more good than Karlsbad?<sup>307</sup> It's simply a lottery, *espérons le mieux*.<sup>b</sup> For essential needs enclosed CHEQUE for £101.3.7—the non-round sum is intentional!

At all events you really ought to come here for a few days and bring Hirsch with you if it can be managed. The change of air will do you good. By the way, I had thought of coming up to London once again for a day before 12 August, but don't let yourself be put off by such uncertainties.

What Hirsch has to say about France is very encouraging, particularly just now, even when one allows for some exaggeration. It's excellent that he should be giving a good account of himself. High time that a few people, at least, gave a good account

<sup>a</sup> See previous letter. - <sup>b</sup> We must hope for the best.

of themselves when so many are turning into fools and ragamuffins.

The *Zukunft's* estimable letter returned herewith. One in identical terms has been forwarded to me from London.<sup>313</sup>

I think my reply will be as follows: firstly, it's impossible to agree to contribute to a scientific periodical with editors that are anonymous and contributors likewise unnamed. Congress resolutions, however unexceptionable they may be in the field of practical agitation, count for nothing in that of science, nor do they suffice to establish a periodical's scientific nature—something that cannot be decreed.<sup>314</sup> A socialist scientific periodical without a quite definite scientific line is an absurdity and, given the present epidemic in Germany of diverse and indefinite lines, there has so far been no guarantee whatsoever that the line to be adopted will suit us.—Secondly, however, after finishing the *Dühring*,<sup>155</sup> I shall have to confine myself to my own independent work and shan't therefore have the time. What do you think of it? There's no hurry.

You will see from the enclosed letter from Liebknecht, which I would like to have back so that I can answer it,<sup>a</sup> that Mr Dühring 'couldn't tarry till the hour of twelve had struck'<sup>b</sup> and has been the cause of his own undoing.<sup>287</sup> All this was, of course, the fruit of silly Wilhelm's sagacity, and such is his childish glee that he doesn't even notice how much 'the party' has been discredited as a result. What is one to do with people like these? On top of that the man is still quite proud of his articles on France in which he simply endorses Hasenclever's nonsense.<sup>315</sup> However we'd better wait and see whether all the jubilation over Dühring's downfall doesn't fizzle out again.

The Russian moves are extremely bold, but what good will they do anyone if the Turks' conduct of the war remains as it has been for the past four weeks? The right course was to march on the Russian flank with a combined force from Shumla and Rustchuk<sup>c</sup> and smite it. They now *have* the best pass in the Balkans (the Shipka) which they can easily hold and, according to today's news, the Turks are sending troops from Shumla via Jamboli<sup>d</sup> to Rumelia in order to display themselves to the Russians there, instead of transferring the troops from Rumelia—the Adrianople<sup>e</sup> garrison excepted—to Shumla and attacking Sistova<sup>f</sup> with all

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 256-58. - <sup>b</sup> From 'Kurzweil', a poem included in the collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* compiled by A. von Arnim and C. Brentano. - <sup>c</sup> Bulgarian names: Shumen (now Kolarovgrad) and Ruse. - <sup>d</sup> Bulgarian name: Yambol. - <sup>e</sup> Turkish name: Edirne. - <sup>f</sup> Bulgarian name: Svishtov.

available forces. The Turkish leadership *has* clearly allowed itself to be intimidated and has blundered accordingly. Moreover, it has everywhere abandoned the *now ripe* harvest to the Russians who therefore have enough to eat. Abdul Kerim has allowed the Turkish army to run so much to seed that more than 20% are in hospital, while the *Kölnische Zeitung's* Prussian lieutenant says that in Shumla he saw crowds of Turkish officers (not men) drunk on spirits. And all as a result of inaction. It drives one wild to see such a magnificent position and such splendid fighting material go to waste like this. All the same the Russians won't get to Constantinople, nor will they find it so easy to deny even the Turks in the quadrilateral of fortresses<sup>305</sup> their supplies of food. Moreover, they have only two months left in which to force a decision and hence, despite all the follies of the Turks, this year's campaign has already as good as failed—were unpredictability not the rule out there! The despatch of British troops will probably be enough to prevent the Sultan<sup>a</sup> from concluding a separate peace, and that's what's good about it.

Lizzie is doing better. She went through a serious crisis on Sunday<sup>b</sup> and now seems to be gradually recovering.

Best wishes to everyone,

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>145</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 25 July 1877

DEAR FRED,

Best thanks for the *billet doux*.<sup>c</sup>

Another word about Neuenahr.<sup>307</sup> If one keeps going unintermittently to Karlsbad, one is forever staking one's last card. If,

<sup>a</sup> Abdul Hamid II - <sup>b</sup> 22 July - <sup>c</sup> love letter (see previous letter)

however, one has recourse to a less potent spa, there will always be a last resort should things take a turn for the worse. And one has to treat one's physique with as much diplomacy as everything else.

Herewith, ditto, an excerpt from Geib's letters to Hirsch. Hirsch regrets not having Liebknecht's letters with him because, he says, we should see from them that Liebknecht has been agitating vigorously against the Dühring clique for months. Liebknecht, it would seem, has to swallow a great deal of trouble which he conceals from us.

What do you think of the workers of the UNITED STATES? This, the first outbreak against the ASSOCIATED CAPITAL oligarchy that has arisen since the CIVIL WAR, will, of course, be suppressed,<sup>316</sup> but may well provide a point of departure for the constitution of a serious workers' party in the UNITED STATES. There are two favourable circumstances on top of that. The policy of the new President<sup>a</sup> will turn the negroes, just as the big expropriations of land (EXACTLY OF THE FERTILE LAND) for the benefit of the RAILWAY, MINING, etc. companies will turn the peasants of the West—whose grumbling is already plainly audible—into militant allies of the workers. So there's a pretty fair storm brewing over there, and the transfer of the centre of the International to the UNITED STATES<sup>317</sup> may yet, *post festum*,<sup>b</sup> be presented with a quite exceptional opportunity.

You will recall that Challemel (I don't know how the name is spelt) de Lacour<sup>c</sup> wrote a caustic, perfectly insulting anti-Mac-Mahon article in the *République Française* in which, *inter alia*, he spoke of the '*blessure opportune*',<sup>d</sup> failing which he [Mac-Mahon] would have been relegated to the same *gloire-liste*<sup>e</sup> as the Frossards, Faillys, etc. Thereupon notification was given in the official papers that the *République* was to be prosecuted for this libellous article. But it wasn't and, as Hirsch says, for the following reason: the famous Stoffel, mortal enemy of Mac-Mahon who dismissed him from the army and with whom he had a tremendous row during Bazaine's trial,<sup>47</sup> called on Gambetta and offered, should the trial proceed, to give evidence about Mac-Mahon's EXPLOITS during the battle of Sedan.<sup>113</sup> This soon became known in the Elysée<sup>309</sup> and the prosecution was dropped.

*Ad vocem*<sup>f</sup> Broglie. As you know, he had discharged his debts in the first *ordre moral* government<sup>318</sup> but now once more found himself in difficulties, of which the whole of Paris was aware. He was waiting for the death of a very old and frail relative (stinking

<sup>a</sup> Rutherford Birchard Hayes - <sup>b</sup> after the event - <sup>c</sup> Paul Armand Challemel-Lacour - <sup>d</sup> timely wound - <sup>e</sup> honours list - <sup>f</sup> As to

rich) in Switzerland, a Mrs von Staël (a relative of the famous VIRAGO<sup>a</sup>). This person died on 13 March 1877, leaving her whole fortune to a lady and—not a FARTHING to Broglie. Whereupon, like Dolleschall, he said: ‘Now it’s a question of daily bread. Now I have nothing to count on!’

Your reply to the Berliners<sup>b</sup> would be seasonable. The fellows must be made to feel that, if one is long-ENDURING, one is also capable of digging one’s heels in.

I shall see whether the TRIP with Hirsch can be arranged.<sup>c</sup> Today he is at the Crystal Palace,<sup>319</sup> which means that I’m unlikely to see him until tomorrow afternoon (since he writes his articles for the *Vossische*,<sup>d</sup> etc., in the mornings).

*Salut.*

Your  
Moor

*Sample of the ‘great perspicacity’ of the armchair socialists:*

‘Not even great perspicacity such as is at the command of Marx is able to solve the task of “reducing use values”’ (the idiot forgets that the subject under discussion is ‘commodities’) ‘i.e. vehicles for enjoyment, etc., to their opposite, to amounts of effort, to sacrifices etc.’ (The idiot believes that in equalising values I wish to ‘reduce’ use values to value.) ‘That is to substitute a foreign element. The equation of disparate use values is only explicable by the reduction of the same to a common factor of use value.’ (Why not simply to—weight?)

Thus dixit<sup>e</sup> Mr Knies, the critical genius of professorial political economy.<sup>f</sup>

*Excerpts from letters from Geib to Hirsch.*

1. *Hamburg, dated 3.6.77*

(Concerning the founding of the review<sup>g</sup>): ‘A comrade, Karl Höchberg, in Berlin’ (in Hirsch’s view a ‘comrade’ of the ILLUSTRIOUS Eugen Dühring), ‘native of Frankfurt am Main, has undertaken to make the party an annual gift of 10,000 marks for literary purposes. Having thus been made independent, we resolved at Gotha to publish, as from 1 October, not only the *Review*<sup>314</sup> but also a *Social-Democratic news-letter*—autographed—such as we had privately discussed the previous year at Gotha. You immediately sprang to mind as editor of both papers. The review is to come out twice a month and the news-letter two or three times; six times while the Reichstag is in session, etc.

‘Höchberg, who has a degree and is about thirty years old, will help as required with the editing of the *Review*, but will not have any administrative say in it. The editor of both undertakings is to have an annual salary of 3,000 marks... Everyone I have asked so far is agreed that the editing could be entrusted to no better hands than yours.’

<sup>a</sup> Anne Louise Germaine de Staël - <sup>b</sup> i.e. to the *Zukunft* editorial board (see previous letter) - <sup>c</sup> to Engels in Ramsgate (see previous letter) - <sup>d</sup> *Vossische Zeitung* - <sup>e</sup> saith - <sup>f</sup> C. Knies, *Geld und Credit*, Part I: ‘Das Geld’, Berlin, 1873, p. 119. - <sup>g</sup> *Die Zukunft*

2. *Hamburg*, 5.7.77: ...'The review will come out as from 1 October... Höchberg, who will probably approach you direct, will assist you with the editing of the review. This I envisage as follows: You either hand over to him, or make some arrangement with him about, certain departments which he is to administer, such as, e.g., philosophy, history, natural science. New books in this sphere will be discussed by Höchberg... If it transpires that you have to devote your entire attention to the news-letter, it will be easy to make some other arrangement. In this connection I would mention Dr Wiede, who is a keen party member, speaks and writes French, English and Italian, has travelled widely and was himself proposing to publish a socialist review in Zurich.<sup>a</sup> When he was here recently I dissuaded him from carrying out his plan, etc.' (but to no effect!)

3. *Hamburg*, 18.7.77.

'...You have definitely accepted so far as the news-letter is concerned' (i.e. Hirsch proposes to try the thing out for a month in August). ...'We have still not settled anything definite in respect of the review. As you have refused, we have latterly been engaged in verbal negotiations here with Höchberg. Here we had to consider the circumstances that the Leipzigers are all, to a man, opposed to the review's editorial board being composed solely of newcomers to the party. Everyone likes Höchberg well enough, but not Wiede. It is feared that a weak editorial board—and an unknown one might ultimately turn out to be weak—in Berlin might easily be led into Dühringian channels, thus sowing the seeds of fatal dissension within the party. Not that I myself take such a gloomy view of it, though in one respect I agree with all the rest, namely that in the first quarter the review must be co-edited and signed—in other words, launched—by a lettered man, a comrade known to the whole party. I believe that you could do this quite well...' (whereupon, however, Hirsch declares that he won't do it).

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## ENGELS TO FRANZ WIEDE

IN ZURICH

[Draft]

[Ramsgate, 25 July 1877]

Dear Sir,

Pray excuse me for, etc.

Now, as regards my collaboration on your projected journal,<sup>a</sup> I can, unfortunately, promise you nothing definite at the moment.

<sup>a</sup> *Die Neue Gesellschaft*



As soon as I have completed my critique of Dühring for the *Vorwärts*,<sup>155</sup> I shall be obliged to concentrate my whole attention on a longer, independent work<sup>169</sup> which I have had in mind for years, one of the obstacles to its completion hitherto—aside from extraneous circumstances—having been my collaboration on socialist organs. When a man has totted up 56 years, he must finally make up his mind to take stock of his time so that something may finally come of his preliminary labours. Should an isolated case occur in which I again deemed it necessary to cast my vote in public, it would depend on the circumstances *where* this should be done, whether in the *Vorwärts* or elsewhere, and in this latter case I should, among all the various ‘scientific journals’ now being projected, be happy, in so far as I can now predict, to turn to yours first. If, therefore, I feel unable to make any firmer promise today, I would beg you to ascribe this solely to the reasons adduced above, and in no way to a want of sympathy for a journal which greatly interests me, to which I wish all prosperity and to which I have already subscribed through my bookseller.

I am, Sir, etc.

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ENGELS TO MARX<sup>320</sup>

IN LONDON

[Ramsgate,] 31 July 1877  
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

Just a couple of lines in great haste enclosing letter from W. Liebknecht which might perhaps influence your reply to the *Zukunft*.<sup>321</sup> I haven't yet sent a straight answer, but have written to Liebknecht about the oddity of expecting us to entrust our manuscripts to totally anonymous persons because a congress has conferred a scientific character on them.<sup>314</sup> I further told him that

I would write articles only in exceptional cases and when I myself considered it imperative.<sup>a</sup>

Wilhelm himself obviously doesn't know how things stand—otherwise he couldn't have made such a howler about Wiede. A fine way of setting up a scientific journal! Anyhow, it's a good thing there isn't any Dühringianism.

I was delighted by the business of the strike in America.<sup>316</sup> The way they throw themselves into the movement has no equivalent on this side of the ocean. Only twelve years since slavery was abolished and already the movement has got to such a pitch!

*Knies*<sup>b</sup> is capital. Dühring, too, concerning whom you have again hit the nail on the head. What he ultimately says, in fact,—translated from confusion into economics—is that value is determined by wages.<sup>c</sup>

Doubtless one will have to resign oneself to the Russians remaining between the Balkans and the Danube until the autumn. The Turks have allowed a very large proportion of their regular troops to succumb for want of proper provisioning during the fighting in Serbia and Montenegro,<sup>176</sup> and Abdul Kerim has done his best to finish off the rest. I doubt whether Mehemet Ali has more than 50,000 men capable of an offensive; Osman Pasha will have some 25,000 and another 25,000 south of the Balkans; that would seem to be all, the remainder being untrained militia of no use in the field. Provided the Turkish government doesn't now conclude a premature peace, the Russians will not get to Constantinople this year, but probably cross the Danube again in November and, not having yet made any impression on the fortresses which—barring accidents—are therefore likely to continue secure throughout this campaign, they can start from the beginning again in the spring—if at all.

The wretched *Standard* correspondent in Constantinople is, at Layard's behest, disseminating alarmist rumours in order that the English fleet may be imposed on the Turks.

Your  
F. E.

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 257-580. - <sup>b</sup> C. Knies, *Geld und Credit*. Part I: 'Das Geld'. - <sup>c</sup> E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie...*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 27. •

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## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Ramsgate, 31 July 1877  
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

May I request you to arrange at your convenience for this note<sup>a</sup> to reach your husband safely? With any luck you will shortly be relieved of labours of this kind and, I hope, for some considerable time.<sup>322</sup> The wives of our friends in Germany have to play their part in the struggle which their husbands are actively waging, and to play it in a manner which would come as a surprise to our wives here, in the security of England. It's all very well for us here to talk and criticise, when in Germany any thoughtless or ill-considered word may entail imprisonment and the temporary disruption of family life. Fortunately our German women do not allow themselves to be deterred by this and prove by their deeds that the sickly sentimentality of which one hears so much is just a class affliction peculiar to bourgeois women.

With warm regards to you and your children,

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

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## ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

Ramsgate, 31 July 1877  
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Liebknecht,

Have received your two letters of 21 and 28. I can only hope that the Dühringian fiasco is over for good and that things won't

<sup>a</sup> See next letter.

be patched up again. The fact remains that those party organs which allowed themselves to be misled into according him scientific importance simply because of his harassment by the Prussians (!) have made asses of themselves. And that means all the ones I have seen.<sup>287</sup>

Vahlteich *certainly* made the remark about Marxians and Dühringians; immediately after the congress it appeared in all the papers that published his speech at the public meeting (where it was perpetrated).<sup>323</sup> Nor do I think he would repudiate it. The fact that he is now doing time seems to me no reason for making him out to be better than he is.

Élisée Reclus is a mere compiler and nothing more. Since he and his brother<sup>a</sup> were *co-founders* of the secret Alliance,<sup>201</sup> he could, if he would, give you more inside information than you could give him. Whether or not he belongs to your little lot makes no difference at all; politically he is muddle-headed and impotent.

I never said that the *bulk* of your people didn't want real science. I was speaking<sup>15</sup> of the *party*, and that's whatever it makes itself out to be before the public, in the press and at congresses. And there the order of the day is semi-literacy and your ex-worker dolling himself up as a man of letters. If, as you say, these people amount to no more than a tiny minority, then obviously the only reason you and the others have to pay any heed to them is that each of them has his supporters. The moral and intellectual decline of the party dates from the unification<sup>71</sup> and could have been avoided had a little more caution and intelligence been shown at the time. Much can ultimately be sweated out by a healthy party, but it is a long and arduous process and the health of the masses is certainly not an adequate reason for injecting them unnecessarily with a disease.

As regards the *Zukunft*, it's lucky that your letter reached me in time to prevent my sending the reply I had already decided to make to the invitation that I should contribute.<sup>321</sup> An invitation from *completely anonymous* editors who can proffer no better scientific credentials than a resolution in congress, as though a congress could confer a scientific character upon anything!<sup>314</sup> What presumption, that we should entrust our manuscripts to completely anonymous people who might very well be the most arrant Dühringians!

You say that Wiede is a co-editor. But as recently as the 20th

<sup>a</sup> Michel Élie Reclus

inst.<sup>a</sup> he himself invited me to work for a review<sup>b</sup> he was proposing to found *in Zurich!*

In short, I am sick of this muddle, this perpetual embarking on hare-brained and over-precipitate schemes. If only because of the necessity of my now finishing off, at long last, my own, lengthier works, I cannot at present enter into any agreements whatsoever. I shall complete the 'Dühring',<sup>155</sup> after which I shall write articles only when I myself consider it to be imperative and, were there to be a journal that was *not* a party organ, I would choose it for preference rather than remain at the mercy of congressional debates.<sup>286</sup> When all is said and done, there is no democratic forum for scientific works, and I don't want a repetition of my earlier experience.

You ought to go to Ghent<sup>324</sup> and come on to London from there; we certainly shan't be going to Ghent, otherwise why should we have withdrawn from practical participation at The Hague<sup>20?</sup> You would be able to reach London quickly and very cheaply via Antwerp, and there'll always be a room ready for you at my house.

I have got to close as the table is being laid.

Your  
F. E.

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>52</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 1 August 1877

DEAR FRED,

Herewith letter from Höchberg to Hirsch who went back to Paris on Saturday.<sup>c</sup> Kindly return the letter after reading it, as I have got to let Hirsch have it back.

<sup>a</sup> A mistake: Wiede wrote to Engels on 10 July 1877. - <sup>b</sup> *Die Neue Gesellschaft* (see this volume, pp. 253-54). - <sup>c</sup> 28 July

Höchberg's letter, I believe, gives a better idea of the man than anything that Liebknecht says (the latter again distinguishing himself by recommending addle-pated Acollas and that *faiseur*<sup>a</sup> Lacroix) or might say about him. Höchberg is the first man to buy his way into the party—with the best of intentions as I think—and seek to reshape it in his image. Evidently he has little if any knowledge of the personal standing of party members and writers 'abroad', whom he proposes to gather about him as an 'international' group. He takes *au sérieux*<sup>b</sup> the worthy B. Malon who was rejected even by the *Liberté belge*<sup>c</sup> as a superficial hack. As regards *Élisée Reclus*, the Protestant pastor's son, he should at least have known that he and his brother Pollux<sup>d</sup> are the 'souls' (to use the words of one who formerly inspired our *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*<sup>325</sup>) of the Swiss journal *Le Travailleur*<sup>326</sup> (other contributors being Zhukovsky, Lefrançais, Razoua *et tutti quanti*<sup>e</sup>) wherein, if in a more jesuitically refined form than is at the unfortunate Guillaume's command, war without quarter is being waged against the German workers' movement, its leaders in particular (not, of course, that Liebknecht, etc., are *named*) being denounced as people who—do *nothing* at the workers' expense, but rather hamper the movement and sap the strength of the proletariat in mock fighting and parliamentary intrigues. And in gratitude for this, Höchberg proposes to invite his collaboration from Berlin.

That cheery little hunchback Wedde *TURNED UP* a few days since, only to disappear to Germany again a short while after. He had an urgent mandate from Geib, namely to recruit you and me for the *Zukunft*.<sup>313</sup> Much to his chagrin, I made absolutely no secret either of our intention to abstain, or of the reasons for it, and at the same time intimated that, should time and circumstances again permit propagandist activity on our part, we would, as internationalists, in no way feel bound by duty or sentiment to associate ourselves with Germany, our beloved fatherland.<sup>f</sup>

In Hamburg he had seen Dr Höchberg and ditto Wiede; the latter, he thought, had more than a touch of your Berliner's flippancy and arrogance; the former he liked, though finding him still very much prone to 'modern mythology'. For during the little chap's (Wedde's) first visit to London, I used the expression 'modern mythology' to describe the renewed ascendancy of the

<sup>a</sup> humbug - <sup>b</sup> in earnest - <sup>c</sup> Belgian *Liberté* - <sup>d</sup> Michel Élie Reclus (an ironical comparison of Élisée and Élie Reclus with the twin brothers Castor and Pollux. - <sup>e</sup> all the rest - <sup>f</sup> Cf. F. von Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell*, Act II, Scene 1.

goddesses of 'Justice, Liberty, Equality', etc., and this made a profound impression on one who had himself done much in the service of these superior beings. Höchberg seemed to him to be tainted with Dühringianism, and he has a sharper nose than Liebknecht.

You will have received the Mehring.<sup>a</sup> Today I am also sending you a little anti-Treitschke pamphlet<sup>b</sup> which, while most boringly and superficially written, nevertheless has some points of interest.

The main trouble with Turkey is—the old story with all absolute monarchies. The Seraglio party—which is also Russian, just as the parties of *Charles I, Charles II, James II, Louis XVI and Frederick William IV* all sought to keep themselves going by recourse to foreign intrigue—is giving way but is far from being broken. In the first moment of alarm Abdul Kerim and Redif were summoned before a court martial. Mahmud Damad was disgraced, Midhat Pasha invited to return. Scarcely was the first *panique* over when Damad was again at the helm, protecting his trusties and keeping Midhat at arm's length, etc. I am convinced that the Muscovite diplomats are following the moves in Constantinople more attentively than those on either side of the Balkans.

*Apropos* 'value' in the first<sup>c</sup> (most inadequate, even wholly erroneous, but not uninteresting) chapter of his *Теорія колебанія цѣнъ*<sup>d</sup> on 'Value', having passed under review all the epigonic musings of contemporary German, French and English scholastics, Kaufman makes the following, absolutely correct comment<sup>e</sup>:

'In our review of the doctrines of value ... we saw that the political economists had certainly grasped the importance of this category.... All the same ... everyone who occupies himself with economic science is familiar with the fact that in figures of speech the importance of value is raised to the extreme, but in actual fact is forgotten as quickly as possible, as soon as there has more or less been some mention of it in the introduction; it is impossible to give *even a single example* where what is said about value is to be found organically linked to what is said about other matters, where what is said about value in the introduction has any influence at all on the subsequent arguments. I refer here, of course, only to the pure category "value", as distinct from *price*.'<sup>f</sup>

That is, indeed, the hallmark of all vulgar political economy. Adam Smith began it; his few profound and surprising applica-

<sup>a</sup> F. Mehring, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*. - <sup>b</sup> [F. Mehring,] *Herr von Treitschke der Sozialistenlöder und die Endziele des Liberalismus*. - <sup>c</sup> A slip of the pen; should read: 'second'. - <sup>d</sup> *Theory of Price Fluctuation*. - <sup>e</sup> Marx gives a free rendering of Kaufman's text; italics by Marx. - <sup>f</sup> [Kaufman] И. И. Кауфманъ, *Теорія колебанія цѣнъ*, Kharkov, 1867, p. 123.

tions of the theory of value are found in haphazard remarks which have no bearing whatever on his exposés *ex professo*. Ricardo's great transgression which, from the start, made him impossible to swallow, was precisely his attempt to prove the correctness of his theory of value in the light of economic facts which seemed wholly to contradict it.

My good nephews<sup>a</sup> yesterday did me the honour of presenting me with the five fat volumes of Bancroft's *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*. The book, published by Longmans, came as a godsend to them, since all they had to do was put it down to their old man's<sup>b</sup> account at Longmans.

I have had a very nice reply from Dr Wiede to my letter of EXCUSE.<sup>c</sup>

As for the *Zukunft*, I shall not answer at all, CONSIDERING THAT AN ANONYMOUS CIRCULAR, SIGNED BY NOBODY, IS FROM ITS VERY NATURE—UNANSWERABLE AND NOT TO BE ANSWERED.

The Irish skirmishing in the HOUSE OF COMMONS is most amusing. Parnell, etc., told Barry that the worst thing was the attitude of Butt who, with an eye to being appointed judge, threatened to resign his position as LEADER. He might, they said, do them a great deal of harm in Ireland. Barry mentioned BUTT'S LETTER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL,<sup>327</sup> a document they would like to have so as to prove that his inflexibility towards the intransigents was only put on; but where should I find the thing now?

*Salut.*

Your  
Moor

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<sup>a</sup> Henry and Charles Juta - <sup>b</sup> Johann Carl Juta - <sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 241.



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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN BRUNSWICK

[London,] 1 August 1877

Dear Bracke,

I shall be leaving London at the end of this week or the beginning of next and going to the Continent since my state of health necessitates my taking a cure.<sup>307</sup> In the meantime I have been forbidden work of any kind and you will therefore have to look elsewhere for someone to revise the translation of Lissagaray's book,<sup>194</sup> since *without revision* the thing's unprintable. (C. Hirsch might be able to suggest someone to you.)

Needless to say, Lissagaray finds the month's hiatus, during which you have failed to communicate with him, far from edifying and I consider his grievance to be fully justified.

Yours very sincerely,  
K. M.

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## MARX TO ENGELS

IN RAMSGATE

[London,] 8 August 1877

DEAR FRED,

Still no news from the Longuets, which is all the more awkward in that we are leaving today (this evening).<sup>307</sup>

Herewith the *Tableau économique*<sup>261</sup> together with a few marginal notes.<sup>328</sup>

It was not possible for me to find Owen's stuff (or for that matter Fourier's *Fausse industrie*) in the attic since everything up

there (it also does duty as Carry's bedroom, and the ladies have arrayed all their trunks there, to be packed with what is indispensable for the journey) is in the utmost confusion.

*Ad vocem*<sup>a</sup> Owen. Sargent's work<sup>b</sup> would be easily obtainable; of greater importance and unobtainable is the little pamphlet ON PRIVATE MARRIAGES.<sup>c</sup> The two stout tomes<sup>d</sup> which Jennychen has got were definitely not at her house; I went through everything there; perhaps Longuet took them away with him. If the worst comes to the worst, all Owen's works could probably be obtained from old Allsop. MEANWHILE I have found here at home a very important work of Owen's in which he gives a résumé of his entire doctrine. *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race*, 1849. I had forgotten all about it. I shall take this to your house today, together with Fourier's *Théorie des quatre mouvements* and *Nouveau Monde industriel*, and Hubbard's piece on Saint-Simon.<sup>e</sup> 329

My wife is in a far from satisfactory state of health. I hope Madame Lizzy is improving; with any luck she will soon be able to begin bathing in the sea which has, after all, always helped her hitherto. We all send her our best wishes.

And now, OLD BOY, *au revoir*. The damned Prussians can't stop bickering and the bogus old N.C.O.<sup>f</sup> will do his utmost to push Francis Joseph into perpetrating some stupidity. All the latter needs now is a Hungarian revolution.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *République Française* writes that an intrigue of Mahmud Damad's has led to the deposition of the old Sheikh-al-Islam<sup>330</sup> because of his revolutionary opinions, and his replacement by some other jackass.<sup>g</sup> He believes that, unless the palace intrigues cease very soon, Constantinople is in for a tumultuous time.

*Adio.*

Your  
Moor<sup>331</sup>

*So much for Quesnay's Tableau!*

*Sub I a) avances annuelles des fermiers*,<sup>h</sup> paid out by the same; replaced by product of 5 milliards, of which 2 milliards (a<sup>iv</sup>),

<sup>a</sup> As for - <sup>b</sup> W. L. Sargent, *Robert Owen, and His Social Philosophy*. - <sup>c</sup> Presumably R. Owen. *The Marriage System of the New Moral World*. - <sup>d</sup> Probably [R. Owen,] *The Life of Robert Owen*, Vol. I and *A Supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of The Life of Robert Owen*, Vol. I. A. - <sup>e</sup> G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon, sa vie et ses travaux*. - <sup>f</sup> William I - <sup>g</sup> Hassan Cheirullah was replaced by Kara Chalil - <sup>h</sup> farmers' annual advances

the replacement *in natura* of the said *avances annuelles*, are spent by the *Classe Productive* (*fermiers* and their *ouvriers*<sup>a</sup>) in the course of the following year, i.e. the year beginning with the new harvest.

The *avances primitives*<sup>b</sup> of 10 milliards do not figure in the *Tableau*, but are presupposed, just as it is further presupposed that the farmers *have paid* 2 milliards *in money* as rents to *REVENUE* (LANDLORDS, CHURCH AND STATE) before the circulation depicted in the *Tableau* begins. Besides the replacement of the *avances annuelles* of 2 milliards *in natura*, the gross product provides a further 3 milliards of which 2 in *vivres*,<sup>c</sup> 1 in *matières premières*<sup>d</sup> for industry. These 3 milliards under *a'*, *a''*, *a'''* are *SURPLUS PRODUCE* of which, however, only  $\frac{2}{3}$  counts as *NET PRODUCE*, *produit net* or *REVENUE* because  $\frac{1}{3}$ , (IN FACT, the farmers' profit), forms the interest produced *in natura* for the *avances primitives* of 10 milliards.

*Sub III c) avances of the classe stérile*<sup>e</sup> of 1 milliard consist solely of *raw materials* (see my previous exposition<sup>258</sup>); expended in the course of the year ending with the last harvest. Are replaced by *industrial goods* (*c'* and *c''*) to the value of 2 milliards; of which 1 milliard = *value of matières premières*, 1 milliard = *value of means of subsistence*, which the *classe stérile* has received as *salaire*<sup>f</sup> from the other two classes in return for its labour.

*Now for the mouvement depicted in the Tableau:*

1. *b—a'*. LANDLORDS (incl. church, state) buy *vivres* for 1 milliard from *fermiers*; thus  $\frac{1}{2}$  the money they paid for RENT OF LAND returns to them.

2. *b—c'—a'''*. LANDLORDS buy industrial goods for 1 milliard from *classe stérile*, the latter, for that same milliard, means of subsistence from *classe productive*; thus, the second half of the money, which it has paid for RENT OF LAND, returns to it.

3. *a—c''*. Farmers buy industrial products for 1 milliard from *classe stérile* (details in previous exposition). The line runs from *a* to *c''* and from *c''* back to *a*, so as to indicate that the greater portion of this expenditure by the farmers is capitalised, i.e. serves to maintain and enrich elements of the *avances annuelles* and *primitives*.

4. *c—a''*. *Classe stérile* buys from *classe productive* raw materials for 1 milliard and thus replaces its *avances* for the coming year, IN FACT, its productive capital. Thus 1 milliard in money flows back to

<sup>a</sup> productive class (farmers and their labourers) - <sup>b</sup> original advances - <sup>c</sup> means of subsistence - <sup>d</sup> raw materials - <sup>e</sup> advances of the sterile class - <sup>f</sup> wage

the farmers and they again find themselves in possession of the 2 milliards in money which constitute the nation's *pécule*<sup>a</sup> and which they put back into circulation primarily via the LANDLORDS (in payment of rent). The circulation of money *within* each individual class is excluded from the *Tableau*, and rightly so.

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Bearing in mind the time of its publication, the whole thing is one of the most brilliant generalisations political economy has ever produced.

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The exposé I originally gave you is based on the *Tableau* somewhat modified, with Quesnay's consent, by Abbé Baudeau in *Explication du Tableau économique*. The line a—c" had given rise to misunderstandings. Similarly, in Baudeau's case, the *mouvement* does not start from b (LANDLORDS) but from a' (farmers), inasmuch as payment of monetary rent is not assumed to have been made. This and sundry other details in no way alter the case.

On the whole I think you would be well-advised to use the *Tableau* solely for your own guidance, but to confine yourself *solely to words* when describing the various very simple movements for the *Vorwärts*. If the *Tableau* itself were reproduced, it would be necessary to go into small, inessential details, which would confuse people rather than enlighten them.

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MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE  
IN BRUNSWICK

London, 8 August 1877

Dear Bracke,

Your letter received. I leave today.<sup>307</sup> You will be getting a letter from me in a few days' time (perhaps even in two) directed to Ems *poste restante*.

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<sup>a</sup> stock of money

Engels cannot be of service to you<sup>332</sup>; he is at a seaside resort and will shortly be moving on, possibly to Jersey or the Isle of Man or elsewhere.<sup>333</sup> Such little time for work as he has at his disposal is, moreover,—under present circumstances—wholly spoken for.

As regards B. Becker, I must say that I *am totally opposed to his being entrusted in any way with Lissagaray's work*.<sup>194</sup> In Paris he abused me and Engels—not to speak of yourself—in no uncertain terms and now in London (where he has been for the past two months) has taken great care to keep out of my sight. His fury—as I had already heard from Paris—was due solely to your publishing Lissagaray's work! His insults and intrigues are a matter of complete indifference to me, but I cannot under any circumstances permit this individual to be mixed up in anything that has to do with Lissagaray.

As for Isolde,<sup>a</sup> she seems to know more about extortion than translation.

Yours,  
K. M.

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MARX TO MALTMAN BARRY  
IN LONDON

[Neuenahr,] 15 August 1877

Dear Barry,

My address is: Dr K. Marx, Hotel Flora, *Neuenahr, Rhenish Prussia*. *Neuenahr* is the name of the village, this watering place not pretending to the dignity even of a market town. It is quite separated from the outer world; no railways within the boundaries of the valley of the Ahr.

I have seen from the *Times*—in the reading room of the

<sup>a</sup> Isolde Kurz

Kurhaus<sup>a</sup>—that you have published an advertisement relating to action in the oriental affair.<sup>334</sup> Please inform me of the progress you make in that line.

Yours truly,  
K. M.

Be so kind as to cash the enclosed cheque for 40£ St. and to forward it to me, in the form of two Twenty Pound Notes (Bank of England Notes, of course), in a *registered* letter, via Ostend, under the *above address*. I write again the name of the village: *Neuenahr* (*Hotel Flora* is the name of the house where I live).

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Reproduced from the original

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MARX TO ENGELS<sup>16</sup>

IN RAMSGATE

Neuenahr, 17 August 1877  
Hotel Flora

DEAR FRED,

I'd have written to you before now, but when the whole person is, over a period of days, subject to conditions of a binding nature—in my case *a posteriori* always the immediate effect of the journey and one which drinking the spa waters only serves to consolidate—the said person is rendered singularly incapable of action. There's nothing much to report from here.<sup>307</sup> A veritable idyll; moreover, because the weather is not altogether favourable (although here, despite rain and wind, the air's always admirable), and no doubt also because of the persistent commercial crisis, the number of visitors has dropped from 3,000 to 1,700 or 1,800. Lucky Ahr Valley. No railways as yet; but a survey has already been made for a railway from Remagen to Ahrweiler, and *commencement d'exécution*<sup>b</sup> is threatened for next year; however, it is not to run down the Ahr Valley, but will branch off left to Trier.

I have discovered a very good doctor here. Dr Schmitz (a native of Siegen), who has sense enough, despite the beautiful house and

<sup>a</sup> spa rooms - <sup>b</sup> commencement of operation

garden he occupies here, to practise medicine in Italy during the winter (from the end of October onwards). He has knocked about the world a lot, including California and Central America. His appearance and MANNERS are very reminiscent of LITTLE Dronke in his heyday.

He has pretty well confirmed what I suspected and wrote and told you from London.<sup>a</sup> My liver no longer shows any trace of enlargement; the digestive APPARATUS is SOMEWHAT DISORDERED, but the actual trouble is of a nervous kind. Today Schmitz again told me that, after a three-week stay here, I should go somewhere higher up, in the Black Forest, and take my fill of mountain and woodland air. *Nous verrons*.<sup>b</sup> He recommends the same for my wife who, by the by, is having to take medicine and arrived here at just the right moment, before her trouble got any worse. Tussychen's appetite is improving, which is the best sign with her.

Just where Neuenahr is, the hills are rather too far away from the actual spa, at least for those whom Karlsbad has spoiled.

We are much disturbed at not having had a mortal word about the ADVENTURES of the Longuet family.

How is your wife? Better, I hope; is the weather as capricious where you are? Here, in the Ahr Valley, people are not at all used to this sort of thing.

At the spa rooms here (where, like everywhere else, one takes baths as well as drinking the alkaline tippel) there is a READING ROOM in which are available, not only German and Dutch newspapers, but also *The Times* and *Galignani's Messenger*, *Figaro* and the *Indépendance belge*—more than my requirements, in fact, since I refrain in so far as possible from reading newspapers here. Only, I see to my regret that the Turks are again wasting time—at least in my layman's opinion.

Some wine is drunk here, though it so happens that most of the guests (including myself) are forbidden Walporzheimer and the other red wines of the Ahr.

Schorlemmer had promised to come here; so far, however, I've had no 'intimation' of him, as Richard Wagner puts it.

And now, OLD BOY, with warmest regards from one family to another, I am,

Your  
Moor

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<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 245. - <sup>b</sup> We shall see.

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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN EMS

[Neuenahr,] 18 August 1877  
Hotel Flora

Dear Bracke,

Let me have the eighth sheet.<sup>254</sup>

Couldn't you come here for half a day? It's not far from Ems.

As regards B. Becker, he attempted (an attempt I thwarted without his knowledge) to cast suspicion on you in the eyes first of Hirsch and Kaub and to make you out to be a 'money-grubber'. Small wonder that he is now performing the opposite manoeuvre. It would be best not to give the man any indication that one knows him.

Hirsch is an absolutely reliable man and capable of the utmost self-sacrifice; his main weakness—insufficient knowledge of human nature so that people who know how to feign enthusiasm for the cause find it easy to take him in, if not for very long.

Trusting that I shall see you here and that you will make the acquaintance of my wife and daughter<sup>a</sup> (the youngest is with me here),

Yours very sincerely,

K. M.

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<sup>a</sup> Eleanor Marx



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## MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE

IN EMS

Neuenahr, 24 August 1877  
Hotel Flora

Dear Bracke,

I much regret that under the circumstances our meeting is not feasible, since this would mean interrupting your cure, *which is inadvisable*.

I at once started going through the proofs,<sup>254</sup> a task that was interrupted by the arrival of my friend Professor Schorlemmer from Manchester who, however, is only staying here for a day or two. A letter to you I began *yesterday* at the same time<sup>12</sup> will also include a few comments of mine and hence I shan't be able to finish it until I have done the proof-reading.

Apropos. I have had a letter from London from my friend Maltman Barry (a Scot). He is a former member of the General Council in London and the most zealous and competent of our British party comrades. He informs me that he is going to the Ghent Congress<sup>324</sup> and would like a *recommendation to delegates from Germany* if any should be coming. Perhaps you would be good enough to write me a note for him to this effect.

With kindest regards,

Yours,

Karl Marx

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time

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## ENGELS TO MARX

IN NEUENAHN

Ramsgate, 25 August 1877  
2 Adelaide Gardens

Dear Moor,

Through Schorlemmer you will already have received news of the Longuets, Lafargues and ourselves<sup>15</sup> either the day before yesterday or yesterday at the latest; since then you will have heard from Jenny direct about the little chap's<sup>a</sup> illness which has caused her somewhat excessive alarm; according to a letter from her today, the boy is out of danger, fortunately.

We leave here on Tuesday<sup>b</sup> after a seven-week stay<sup>289</sup> which has done me a great deal of good but fallen far short of our expectations so far as Lizzie is concerned. WEATHER PERMITTING, I shall probably have to subject her to an even more drastic change of air.<sup>333</sup>

I congratulate you on your liver's restoration to health. You must certainly make for the hills of the Black Forest. I asked Schorlemmer to bring you the map of Baden I used in 1849<sup>335</sup> and trust he has done so. You may find it of use; considering the scale, the high ground in particular is very well drawn.

No doubt you are at last having better weather. We have done splendidly here. When it was raining everywhere else, it was merely overcast here. Two rainy afternoons in seven weeks, and today the first really wet day—and even then with longish breaks—so one can hardly complain of that. The rain, such as it was, fell mostly at night.

The immobility of the Turks may be largely attributed to the want of a train. To enable an army, not merely to fight, but to move about freely, seems to be beyond the ability of all barbarians and semi-barbarians; their army, organised with great difficulty along something approaching modern lines (for fighting), is expected to move about with the APPLIANCES of an old barbarian army. They have introduced modern weapons, but the ammunition pertaining thereto must tag along of its own accord. They organise and concentrate brigades, divisions and army corps in accordance with the rules of modern strategy, but forget that,

<sup>a</sup> Jean Longuet - <sup>b</sup> 28 August

unlike a band of janissaries, spahis or nomads, these cannot fend for themselves. This is already evident in the case of the Russians, and even more so in that of the Turks; hence, where armies of this kind are concerned, any calculation will err that ascribes to such military formations the mobility of the Western Europeans.

The blunders now being perpetrated by the Turks are all due to the anxiety which Gurko's advance has aroused in Constantinople.<sup>336</sup> Instead of being ordered to link up immediately—via the passes unoccupied by the Russians—either with Osman or Mehemet Ali, Suleiman is to make an immediate stand against the Russians and provide *immediate* protection for Constantinople. Hence the useless carnage on the Shipka Pass,<sup>337</sup> part of a combined operation which had been agreed with the other two armies and, being as usual unsynchronised, had miscarried. None of this, however, has made any difference, and once again everything will be the same as it was before.

The COLLAPSE of the Russians' military organisation is complete. They admit to losses of 15,000 men during the fighting (in Europe); their losses from sickness must amount to twice that or more. Transport completely BROKEN DOWN. Not one road under construction anywhere. Camp police non-existent. Even without the climate, the filth and the putrefying corpses would be enough to cause mass epidemics. Six Russian army corps, now eight, are in Bulgaria and, as a result of *one* battle, have been thrown back onto the defensive—of the most passive kind. Out of 50 Russian infantry divisions, 16 are on the Danube, 9 in the Caucasus and Asia, at least 5 are moving up, 6 are guarding the Black Sea and Baltic coasts, total 36; there remain 14, of which 2 are indispensable to the Baltic provinces, hence 12 infantry divisions—at most 120,000 men or, counting cavalry and artillery, 150,000 combatants available for all eventualities! And this against the 'sick man'<sup>239</sup>! Moreover, owing to a shortage of officers, new formations are either impracticable or worthless. In short, it's worse than during the Crimean War.<sup>22</sup> And the same stupidity into the bargain: impelled by rage at the defeat at Plevna<sup>338</sup> they at once set colossal reinforcements in motion, although these will be able to operate for a month at most, during which time they will be useless and hard put to it to keep themselves in grub. And by the end of October at the latest it will be time to turn back—back, proud Cid<sup>a</sup>—to the bare larders of Wallachia, not one bridge will remain across the Danube and at the end of May 1878 they will, if

<sup>a</sup> J. G. von Herder, *Cid*, Canto 28.

all goes well, begin again exactly where they began at the end of May 1877.<sup>339</sup>

Best wishes to you all,

Your  
F. E.

By the way, the Turks may take a few more severe beatings before the winter but that's of no consequence provided Constantinople doesn't let this intimidate it.

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## MARX TO NIKOLAUS DELIUS

IN BONN

Bad Neuenahr,<sup>307</sup> 25 August 1877  
Hotel Flora

Dear Professor Delius,

My daughter Eleanor, who is with me here taking the waters, had the privilege of translating into English, for the London Shakespeare Society, one of your papers on the epic element in Shakespeare,<sup>241</sup> and would very much like to make your acquaintance in person. If it would be convenient to you to name a day and time at which we might meet, I should be glad to introduce my daughter to you.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Karl Marx

We shall probably be spending another 8 or 9 days here before, WIND AND WEATHER PERMITTING, moving on to the Black Forest.

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time

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## ENGELS TO NATALIE LIEBKNECHT

IN LEIPZIG

London, 4 September 1877  
122 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

Dear Mrs Liebknecht,

No more than a short note in great haste in reply to your amiable letter of the 28th ult. Liebknecht had said something about coming to London<sup>340</sup> from the Ghent Congress<sup>324</sup>; on my return from Ramsgate,<sup>289</sup> I now find that that Congress is to take place between 9 September (next Sunday) and 17 September (the following Sunday).<sup>a</sup> Now, I myself am leaving for Scotland tomorrow with my wife, on the doctor's advice, and shall be there a fortnight,<sup>333</sup> during which time letters will not as a rule be able to reach me; I intend in any case to be back by Thursday the 20th, or Friday the 21st at the latest so that, even if Liebknecht were to come over on the 18th, he would arrive at most a couple of days before me. Moreover, during this period I shall keep in touch with my house by telegraph so as to ascertain all that is necessary concerning his arrival. The people who look after our house during our absence have been instructed to make him really comfortable when he arrives, his room is ready and waiting for him, and I am sure that my instructions will be complied with. Whether the Marxes will be back here by that time, I cannot quite say, but from the last news I got, I am inclined to think they will, as they had left Neuenahr and said nothing more about going to stay in the Black Forest, as originally intended.<sup>307</sup> Perhaps you know more about it through Mrs Marx than we do over here. At all events, Liebknecht can obtain the latest news about this when he is in Ghent by dropping a line to Mad. Lafargue (Marx's second daughter), 225 Camden Road, N. W., London. Should neither Marx nor I be here when Liebknecht arrives, he can find entertainment, not only at the Lafargues', but also at the house of Marx's eldest daughter, Mad. Longuet, 30 Leighton Grove, Leighton Road, Kentish Town, N. W., or look up our old friend Lessner, 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square. At the moment the Longuets are also away—at the seaside resort of Yarmouth—and

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<sup>a</sup> A slip of the pen: 16 September was a Sunday.

will be back at any rate by the middle of September, though I can't say what day.

I do indeed share your view that Liebknecht spends too much time *sitting down*<sup>291</sup>; it may be as well not to make a fuss about such things, but that doesn't mean one should accustom oneself to a sedentary way of life. Whether you can wean him away from service in the front line (or rather the *avant-garde*) is, I should say, somewhat doubtful; anyone who has spent so many years in that service derives too much pleasure from it; however, by long practice he will soon reach the stage of eluding the toils of the penal system. Doubtless, however, you could wish nothing better than that Liebknecht should not continue to spend in prison such time as he is not on duty and all such time as he is not in prison either in the Reichstag or on his travels.

My wife most cordially reciprocates your amiable sentiments.  
With warmest regards,

Yours,  
F. Engels

Since I do not know whether Liebknecht is with you, might I request you to be so kind as to convey the contents of this letter to him.

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## MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>52</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

London, 27 September 1877  
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Dear Friend,

Unfortunately it is not till now, on my return from the Continent (whither I had been sent by the doctors),<sup>307</sup> that I have found your letter. Hence my answer may perhaps arrive much too late. As for the rest, *Pater peccavi*<sup>31</sup>! But the damned *insomnia*

<sup>a</sup> Father, I have sinned (Luke 15:18).

which has afflicted me this year has made me tremendously remiss about writing, since I have simply had to devote all my more tolerable moments to work.

Should *Weydemeyer* not have had *Kapital und Arbeit* printed yet, I would look it over as the original was full of the most appalling printing errors.<sup>341</sup> You have absolutely no idea of the treatment meted out to me by the party, i.e. the Chemnitzers (AS REPRESENTED BY Vahlteich). Only at Liebknecht's insistence, and also because Chemnitz had represented the thing as extremely urgent, did I undertake the work before leaving for Karlsbad, despite the highly disordered state of my nerves. And in view of the many asinities perpetrated by Most (now happily ensconced with Mr Dühring; a conceited laddie who, when he reads something, *no matter what*, instantly converts it into material for publication) and the small amount of space prescribed, this was no trifle. VERY WELL! Months went by without any news, I made enquiries<sup>12</sup> to which Vahlteich 'coolly' replied, saying the thing was only being set up in such fleeting moments as were left to the *party* printing office after setting up the Chemnitzers' philistine advertisements! Never before have I encountered such cool effrontery! This meant that the printing took almost a year! And when the opusculum did at last appear, it was swarming with printing errors which distorted the sense!

To avoid losing time it might perhaps be better if you were to go ahead with the printing in the way you suggested, and I was to correct for the second edition what had been printed (which would be far easier).

I and Engels will amend the *Communist Manifesto* straight away and then let you have it.<sup>148</sup>

*Ad vocem*<sup>a</sup> *Capital* and *Douai*:

*Firstly*: Has *Douai* got a *publisher*?

*Secondly*: The French edition<sup>17</sup> consumed so much of my time that I myself shall not again collaborate *in any way* on a translation. You must know whether *Douai* knows enough *English* to do the thing *on his own*. If so, he has my full authorisation and my blessing.<sup>342</sup> In which case, however:

*Thirdly*: He must without fail, when translating, compare the 2nd German edition with the *French edition* in which I have included a good deal of new matter and greatly improved my presentation of much else. There are two things I shall be sending you *in the course of this week*:

<sup>a</sup> Re

1. A copy of the French edition for Douai.
2. A list of places where the French edition shouldn't be compared with the German, but the French text be used as the only basis.

In Naples Mr Uriele Cavagnari is preparing the Italian edition of *Capital* (from the French edition); he is having the book printed at his own expense and is going to sell it at cost price. Good man!<sup>343</sup>

What you write about the Germans in no way surprises me. It's exactly like that over here. That's why Engels and I have disassociated ourselves from the whole bunch (as has Lessner). The only exception is a German working man with whom I am on friendly terms and whose name momentarily escapes me (Weyer,<sup>a</sup> I think); he has a seat on the LONDON TRADES' UNION COUNCIL and was responsible for the only sensible resolution—that working men should elect only working men to represent them in the HOUSE OF COMMONS—at the SHAMEFUL TRADES' UNION CONGRESS in Leicester,<sup>344</sup> at which the bourgeois played patron, among their number Mr Th. Brassey, the great swindler and millionaire, son of the notorious railway Brassey who 'contracted for' Europe and Asia.

The Ghent Congress,<sup>324</sup> whatever else it left to be desired, at least had the advantage that Guillaume and Co. were totally abandoned by their former allies. It was only with difficulty that the Flemish workers were restrained from lambasting the great Guillaume. That bombastic chatterbox De Paepe, and with him Brismée, insulted them; Mr John Hales ditto. The latter placed himself under the command of—Barry whom I had induced to go, partly as a member of Congress (as whose delegate, I don't know), partly as correspondent for the *Standard* (London).<sup>345</sup> I for my part do not wish ever again to become personally involved with Jung and Hales, but their second defection is useful so far as the Jurassians are concerned. Barry is my FACTOTUM here; he also kept an eye on the *Times* reporters (which newspaper has sacked Mr *Eccarius*). But more especially it was through him that, for months on end, I sustained *incognito* a cross-fire against that Russomane Gladstone in London's FASHIONABLE PRESS (*Vanity Fair* and *Whitehall Review*), as also in the English, Scottish and Irish provincial press, unmasking his underhand dealings with the Russian spy Novikova, the Russian Embassy in London, etc.; it was through him, too, that I exerted influence on English parliamentarians in the Commons and the Lords, who would throw up their hands in horror if they

<sup>a</sup> Adam Weiler



knew that it was the RED TERROR DOCTOR, as they call me, who had been their *souffleur* during the oriental crisis.

That crisis marks a *new turning-point* in European history. Russia—and I have studied her affairs from original *Russian* sources, unofficial and official (the latter accessible to only very few, but procured for me by friends in Petersburg),—has long been on the verge of an upheaval; all the elements are to hand. The gallant Turks have advanced the explosion by many years through the blows they have dealt not only to the Russian army and Russian finances, but also personally to the *dynasty in command* of the army (Tsar,<sup>a</sup> heir-apparent<sup>b</sup> and six other Romanovs). The upheaval will begin, *secundum artem*,<sup>c</sup> with some constitutional tomfoolery, *et puis il y aura un beau tapage*.<sup>d</sup> Unless Mother Nature is exceptionally unkind, we shall yet live to see the fun!

The silly nonsense in which the Russian students are indulging is merely a symptom, and of no value in itself. But symptom it is. All strata of Russian society are economically, morally and intellectually in a state of complete disintegration.

This time the revolution will begin in the East, hitherto the impregnable bastion and reserve army of counter-revolution.

It was with pleasure that Mr Bismarck watched the drubbing, but more than that it was not to be. Russia, if too much weakened, could not again keep Austria in check as she had done during the Franco-Prussian War! And, should revolution actually result there, what would become of the Hohenzollern dynasty's last safeguard?

Just now everything depends on the Poles (in the Kingdom of Poland) lying doggo. Rioting is the last thing that is wanted there at the moment! Bismarck would immediately step in, and Russian chauvinism would again rally round the Tsar. On the other hand, were the Poles to bide their time until Moscow and Petersburg are in flames and Bismarck were then to step in as saviour, Prussia would meet—her Mexico<sup>346</sup>!

Again and again I have dinned this into such Poles as I am in contact with and as have any influence over their compatriots.

The *French crisis*<sup>347</sup> is an altogether secondary affair compared with the oriental one. Yet one can only hope that the bourgeois republic wins, for otherwise we shall have the same old game all over again, and no nation can afford to repeat the same stupidities too often.

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<sup>a</sup> Alexander II - <sup>b</sup> Prince Alexander Alexandrovich (future Emperor Alexander III) - <sup>c</sup> by the rules of the game - <sup>d</sup> and then there'll be a fine how-do-you-do.

With warmest regards from myself and my wife,

Your  
Karl Marx

*Postscript*

The Genevan notary, Wessel, has informed me of the business of *Lingenau's* will.<sup>348</sup>

We (i.e. the executors) shall have to appoint a proxy in America, and you would be the only suitable person. What we need to know above all, however, is how the matter stands in America and whether the will can be implemented without endless court proceedings. You would oblige me if you could make inquiries about this and let me know.

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ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 5 October 1877

Dear Hermann,

At the end of this month (31 October) I shall have to make payments of approx. £380 and should therefore be pleased if you would send me the corresponding amount pretty soon. Might I add that I should be grateful if it could be so arranged that the remittance is made payable here *before* the 31st (incl. the three days of grace, hence nominally payable on the 27th inst. at the latest), since I should otherwise be unable, local banking practice being what it is, to avail myself of it on the 31st and, for anyone not in business, discounting is always troublesome and sometimes, even, well nigh impossible unless one gets various other people moving; and I should imagine that the Barmen Bankers' Association can make payment three days after date or sight as readily as ten.

I've loafed about a great deal this summer, seven weeks at the seaside<sup>289</sup> and then a fortnight in Scotland,<sup>333</sup> but it has actually done me a tremendous amount of good.

No doubt you will now admit that I was right in my assessment of the Turks' power of resistance and the weakness of the Russians in attack.<sup>a</sup> Next year the Turks will be twice as strong because they will be able to train their men during the winter. Should the Russians *not* move their army across the Danube for the winter, and this I can scarcely believe, they may be in for a surprise. Ice floes on the Danube, for instance, have scant respect for pontoon bridges, even if they do belong to the Emperor of Russia. Still, come what may, Russia will have her Constitution before the end of 1878 and, with it, the second edition of the French Revolution of 1789-94.

The man who has largely prevented the Turks from playing an altogether different kind of game with the Russians is the Sultan's<sup>b</sup> brother-in-law, Mahmud Damad Pasha, friend of Ignatiyev and for years in the latter's pay. Should you ever hear that he has been overthrown, you may rest assured that the vigour with which the war is conducted will be of a completely different order. He is also the man who brought about Mehemet Ali's recall.

Love to Emma,<sup>c</sup> the children, and all brothers and sisters,

Your  
Friedrich

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## ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN

IN HANOVER

London, 12 October 1877

Dear Kugelmann,

I am writing in great haste (I have a chemist from Mannheim<sup>d</sup> and a university lecturer from Munich staying with me) to inform

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 187-88. - <sup>b</sup> Abdul Hamid II's - <sup>c</sup> Emma Engels - <sup>d</sup> Probably Philipp Pauli

you as requested that I have received your letter and that, if I have the time and am able to do so, I shall gladly supply Mr Ecker with information as soon as I know more precisely what he wants of me.<sup>349</sup> I doubt if I can be of much help to him, for a perfect working man's dwelling, which on the one hand meets all the sanitary, etc., requirements and on the other won't cost the working man too much, is, as you know, like a triangular square.

We are getting on pretty well here; Marx has been at Neuenahr,<sup>307</sup> for the moment his liver is back to normal, his nerves are better, hence also his nights and, but for his being such a prey to colds, there would be little to complain of. I myself am very well; loafed about a lot during the summer, on top of which there have been numerous visitors, but I think I shall be able to get back to work next week.

Best wishes,

Your  
F. Engels

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time

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## ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS

IN ENGELSKIRCHEN

London, 13 October 1877

Dear Hermann,

It will be quite all right if the sum is made payable to me here in the manner described, but on the **30th**.<sup>a</sup> It must go through my bank, you see, and won't be credited there until the relevant cheque has actually been received by the CLEARING HOUSE in the afternoon; but by then the bank will be closed and I shan't be able to make use of it until the following day. Would you also be good enough to advise me *which* banker in Barmen is placing the money at my disposal, so that I can establish my identity;

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 279.

otherwise, if one no longer represents a firm, one frequently runs into difficulties in a case like this.

The collapse of the Russian army's organisations, command, staff, ammunition supply, rations, clothing, camp administration, etc., becomes daily ever more complete, a mighty debacle entailing the sacrifice of some 100,000 men. During the last fortnight in September and the first week in October the Russians are said to have lost 15,000 *dead* (i.e. those who *died* of wounds and sickness) and, since the beginning of the war, 47,000 dead alone. If they stay before Plevna<sup>350</sup> and on the Lom for another three weeks, it could be that the entire army will disintegrate.

Best wishes.

Your  
Friedrich

There has in fact been a bit of frost here too, but the geraniums are still flowering a little outside. In Scotland, however, the entire harvest is done for; on 20 September, near Edinburgh, I noticed that the corn was still quite green.<sup>333</sup>

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MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE<sup>52</sup>

IN HOBOKEN

[London,] 19 October 1877

Dear Sorge,

At the same time as this letter, I am sending you the enclosed manuscript for *Douai*, in case he is doing the translation of *Capital*.<sup>a</sup> The manuscript contains, besides a few alterations to the German text, indications as to where the latter is to be replaced by the *French edition*.<sup>17</sup> In the copy of the French edition intended for

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, pp. 276-77.

Douai, also despatched to your address today, the above-mentioned passages in the manuscript are marked. I found the work much more time-consuming than I had thought, added to which I had a nasty bout of influenza and have not quite got over it yet.

In case of publication,<sup>342</sup> Douai must say in the foreword that, besides the 2nd German edition, he has used the French edition which came out later and was revised by me, BUT BY NO MEANS that *this American edition has been authorised by the writer*. Were he to do so, English booksellers would at once set about pirating it in England, and would be *legally* entitled to do so. Although I am happy to concede translation rights *all over* Europe, wherever there is a COPYRIGHT [agreement] with England, this certainly does not apply to England, that land of Mammon. London booksellers have already made several attempts, frustrated by me, to contrive an English edition without my consent and hence also without payment. I, however, am quite determined that these gentlemen shall not enrich themselves at my expense, be it by a penny.

Just at the moment Engels' time is taken up in all kinds of ways, first by work for the *Vorwärts*,<sup>155</sup> secondly by a flood of philistine visitors from Germany, thirdly by his own 'influenza', and fourthly by his wife's illness. This is why we have been unable to tackle the *Manifesto* together to date.<sup>148</sup>

In Germany a corrupt spirit is asserting itself in our party, not so much among the masses as among the leaders (upper class and 'workers'). The compromise with the Lassalleans has led to further compromise with other waverers; in Berlin (via *Most*) with Dühring and his 'admirers', not to mention a whole swarm of immature undergraduates and over-wise graduates who want to give socialism a 'higher, idealistic' orientation, i.e. substitute for the materialist basis (which calls for serious, objective study if one is to operate thereon) a modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality and *Fraternité*. Dr Höchberg, the gentleman who edits the *Zukunft*, is a representative of this tendency and has 'bought his way' into the party—no doubt with the 'noblest' of intentions, but I don't give a fig for 'intentions'. Seldom has anything more pitiful than his programme for the *Zukunft* been ushered into the world with more 'modest pretensions'.

The workers themselves, when like Mr Most and Co. they give up working and become *literati by profession*, invariably wreak 'theoretical' havoc and are always ready to consort with addle-heads of the supposedly 'learned' caste. In particular, what we had been at such pains to eject from the German workers' heads

decades ago, thereby ensuring their theoretical (and hence also practical) ascendancy over the French and English,—namely *Utopian* socialism, the play of the imagination on the future structure of society,—is once again rampant and in a far more ineffectual form, not only as compared with the great French and English Utopians, but with—Weitling. It stands to reason that Utopianism which bore within itself the seeds of critical and materialist socialism, *before* the advent of the latter, can now, *post festum*, only seem silly, stale and thoroughly reactionary.

Latterly the governing principle of the *Vorwärts* would seem to have been to accept manuscripts—‘*copie*’, as the French say—regardless of its provenance. To take a few of the recent numbers,—first we find a chap unacquainted with the rudiments of economics providing grotesque *revelations* about the ‘laws’ governing crises.<sup>351</sup> All he reveals is his own inner ‘collapse’. And then we actually get a pert lad from Berlin being allowed to publish, at the ‘sovereign people’s’ expense, an endless series of articles containing his unedifying thoughts on England and the most egregious Pan-Slav poppycock<sup>352</sup>!

*Satis superque!*<sup>a</sup>

Your

Karl Marx

Apropos. Some (a few) years since, a kind of Blue Book (whether official or not, I don’t know) came out on the conditions of the MINERS in Pennsylvania<sup>353</sup> who are known to be in a state of altogether feudal dependence on their MONEY LORDS (I believe the thing came out after a bloody encounter<sup>354</sup>). It is of the utmost importance that I should have that publication and, if you can get hold of it for me, I will send you what it costs; if not, you might be able to let me have the title, in which case I should apply to Harney (in Boston).

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<sup>a</sup> Enough is as good as a feast!